

# BEYOND THE TOTAL INSTITUTION:

## AN ETHNOGRAPHIC REPORT<sup>1,2</sup>

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IN CONTRAST TO THE CONSIDERABLE DATA WE POSSESS ON THE INMATES OF MENTAL HOSPITALS, "NURSING" HOMES, SHIPS, PRISONS AND OTHER FORMS OF WHAT GOFFMAN CALLS "TOTAL INSTITUTIONS," WE KNOW VERY LITTLE ABOUT THE LIVES OF INDIVIDUALS RELEASED FROM THESE ESTABLISHMENTS. WHILE ACCOUNTS OF LIFE ON THE WARD AND IN THE CELL BLOCK PROVIDE US WITH SOME INDICATION OF MAN'S FATE IN THESE SETTINGS AND SUGGEST THAT DISCHARGED INMATES MAY BE INFLUENCED BY INSTITUTIONAL EXPERIENCES, ONLY A FEW DESCRIPTIONS OF INSTITUTIONALLY AFFECTED BEHAVIOR CAN BE FOUND IN THE POORLY DOCUMENTED LITERATURE ON THE EX-INMATE. FOR THE MOST PART, THE DIFFICULTIES INVOLVED IN STUDYING RELEASED INMATES OUTSIDE INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXTS ACCOUNT FOR THE WEAKNESSES IN OUR DATA ON THEIR LIVES. AND THOUGH THE FOLLOWING DISCUSSION OF THE SHIP'S EX-INMATES IS BASED ON ETHNOGRAPHIC DATA COLLECTED IN A SITUATION LACKING MANY OF THESE PROBLEMS, IT MAY BE WORTHWHILE FOR OUR PURPOSES TO EXAMINE SOME OF THESE RESEARCH DIFFICULTIES.

ONE PROBLEM INVOLVED IN LEARNING ABOUT DISCHARGED INMATES IS THE SHEER AMOUNT OF DETECTIVE WORK USUALLY REQUIRED TO TRACE THEIR WHEREABOUTS. SINCE INDIVIDUALS LEAVING TOTAL INSTITUTIONS SELDOM FAIL TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THEIR INCREASED SPATIAL MOBILITY, SUBSEQUENT ATTEMPTS TO FIND THEM OFTEN DEVOUR TIME AND FUNDS AT GARGANTUAN RATES. IN ADDITION, THERE ARE ALWAYS SOME RELEASED INMATES WHO RESIST ALL RESEARCH EFFORTS AND REFUSE TO BE FOUND. CONSEQUENTLY, INVESTIGATORS OF POST-INSTITUTIONAL

LIFE OFTEN DEAL WITH BIASED SAMPLES COMPOSED OF THE MOST EASILY TRACED EX-INMATES. A RECENT ILLUSTRATION OF THIS PROBLEM IS PROVIDED BY THE ANTHROPOLOGIST WHO DISCOVERED THAT NEARLY FIFTY PERCENT OF THE DISCHARGED INMATES HE SOUGHT HAD MOVED BEYOND THE FIFTY-MILE LIMIT OF HIS SEARCH AREA.<sup>3</sup>

WHILE FINDING THE RELEASED INMATE SOLVES ONE PRACTICAL PROBLEM, IT OFTEN INTRODUCES ANOTHER SET OF METHODOLOGICAL DIFFICULTIES FOR THE INVESTIGATOR. BECAUSE THE EX-INMATE, UNLIKE THE INSTITUTIONALIZED INMATE, IS RARELY FOUND IN SETTINGS WHERE HIS BEHAVIOR CAN BE EASILY OBSERVED AND RECORDED, ATTEMPTS TO LEARN ABOUT HIS LIFE USUALLY INVOLVE THE EXTENSIVE USE OF INTERVIEW SCHEDULES AND QUESTIONNAIRES. ALTHOUGH MANY INVESTIGATORS WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY PREFER TO UTILIZE OBSERVATIONAL TECHNIQUES TO STUDY INDIVIDUALS DISCHARGED FROM INSTITUTIONAL ENVIRONMENTS, THEY FREQUENTLY HAVE NO CHOICE IN THE MATTER AND MUST RELY ON VERBAL ACCOUNTS OF POST-INSTITUTIONAL BEHAVIOR. OF COURSE, THE RESULTS FROM SUCH STUDIES ARE SUBJECT TO THE CRITICISMS APPROPRIATE TO RESEARCH BASED ON DATA GATHERED IN THE CONFINES OF THE INTERVIEW AND QUESTIONNAIRE SITUATION.

THE RECENT DEVELOPMENT OF "HALFWAY HOUSE" PROGRAMS FOR SOME RELEASED PRISONERS AND MENTAL PATIENTS MAY REPRESENT PARTIAL SOLUTIONS TO SOME OF THESE RESEARCH PROBLEMS. THESE PROGRAMS, WHICH OFTEN HOUSE GROUPS OF DISCHARGED INMATES IN COMMUNITY-LIKE SETTINGS, PROVIDE INVESTIGATORS WITH SITUATIONS LACKING SEVERAL OF THE METHODOLOGICAL DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED IN THE STUDY OF OTHER EX-INMATES. BUT THERE IS ONE MAJOR DISADVANTAGE INVOLVED IN RESEARCH ON THESE PROGRAMS. IT IS REPRESENTED BY THE INSTITUTIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE HALFWAY HOUSE. THUS THE FINDINGS FROM STUDIES OF THESE ESTABLISHMENTS, THOUGH

ADDING TO THE LITERATURE ON THE EX-INMATE, WOULD BE OF DOUBTFUL VALUE IN LOCATING THE SOURCES OF INSTITUTIONALLY AFFECTED BEHAVIOR. IN OTHER WORDS, AN ACTION BY THE HALFWAY HOUSE RESIDENT COULD BE VALIDLY INTERPRETED AS A REACTION TO THE INSTITUTIONAL ENVIRONMENT OF THE PRISON, OF THE MENTAL HOSPITAL OR OF THE HALFWAY HOUSE ITSELF.

NEVERTHELESS, STUDIES OF THESE ESTABLISHMENTS COULD TELL US SOMETHING ABOUT THE LIFE OF THE EX-INMATE AND IN VIEW OF OUR LIMITED KNOWLEDGE OF HIS WORLD, IT IS INDEED DISAPPOINTING THAT SO FEW OF THESE PROGRAMS HAVE BEEN EXPLORED. BUT THE NEGLECTED HALFWAY HOUSE IS BY NO MEANS AN ISOLATED PHENOMENON: IT IS MIRRORED IN OTHER INSTANCES WHERE RESEARCHERS APPARENTLY OVERLOOKED OR IGNORED OPPORTUNITIES FOR STUDYING RELEASED INMATES. THESE CASES SUGGEST THAT OUR LIMITED UNDERSTANDING OF THE LIVES OF PERSONS DISCHARGED FROM TOTAL INSTITUTIONS MAY HAVE SOMETHING TO DO WITH A RELUCTANCE IN SOME QUARTERS TO EXTEND RESEARCH EFFORTS BEYOND THE BOUNDARIES OF THESE ESTABLISHMENTS.

IN ONE WAY, THE NEGLECTED EX-INMATE MAY BE ONE CONSEQUENCE OF OUR PREOCCUPATION WITH THE LESS DYNAMIC IMPLICATIONS OF THE TOTAL INSTITUTION CONCEPT. BY FOCUSING OUR ATTENTION ON THE STRUCTURAL FEATURES SUSPECTED OF STABILIZING THE INSTITUTION AND ISOLATING IT FROM SOCIETY-AT-LARGE, WE MAY HAVE IGNORED SOME OF THE PROCESSES WHICH ACT TO CHANGE TOTAL INSTITUTIONS AND TO LINK THEM WITH THE WORLD OUTSIDE THEIR BOUNDS. IN ADDITION, PERCEIVING THE INSTITUTION AS A CLOSED, ISOLATED AND UNCHANGING UNIT IS ESSENTIAL TO THE INVESTIGATOR WHO WISHES TO MAINTAIN THE ILLUSION THAT HE IS DEALING WITH A HUMAN GROUP IN A SITUATION WHERE MANY NON-CONTROLLED VARIABLES ARE ABSENT. THIS RESEARCHER HAS A VESTED INTEREST IN PRESENTING HIS AUDIENCE WITH A PARTICULAR PICTURE OF INSTITUTIONALIZED MAN. THUS

IT IS NO ACCIDENT THAT THE FEATURES FOR HIS MODEL OF INMATE LIFE ARE DRAWN FROM THE MOST LIFELESS AREAS OF OLD FOLKS' HOMES AND THE MOST STAGNANT BACK WARDS OF MENTAL HOSPITALS. ADMITTEDLY, THE LIVES OF THESE PEOPLE ARE SELDOM EXPOSED TO PROCESSES OF CHANGE OR THE WORLD BEYOND THEIR BEDSIDES, BUT THEY REPRESENT ONLY ONE CATEGORY OF INMATE: THOSE WHO GROW OLD AND DIE IN INSTITUTIONAL SETTINGS.

ONE OF THE MORE DYNAMIC CONTRASTS TO THIS INMATE CATEGORY IS PROVIDED BY THOSE INDIVIDUALS WHOSE CAREERS ARE MARKED BY SEQUENCES OF INSTITUTIONAL ENTRANCES AND EXITS. INCLUDED IN THIS GROUP ARE PROFESSIONAL SEAMEN, RECIDIVISTIC CONVICTS, READMITTED PATIENTS AND OTHER PERSONS WHO REPEATEDLY SHUTTLE BETWEEN INSTITUTIONAL AND NON-INSTITUTIONAL ENVIRONMENTS. THE COMINGS AND GOINGS OF THESE INDIVIDUALS REPRESENT PROCESSES WHICH APPEAR TO HAVE LITTLE IN COMMON WITH THE STATIC AND ISOLATED PHENOMENA OFTEN ASSOCIATED WITH LIFE IN TOTAL INSTITUTIONS. WHILE GOFFMAN'S CLASSIC WORK ON THE CAREER PROCESSES TRANSCENDING THE BOUNDARIES OF THE MENTAL HOSPITAL DEVOTED SOME ATTENTION TO THESE RECIDIVISTIC EX-INMATES, RELATIVELY LITTLE HAS BEEN PUBLISHED ABOUT THIS GROUP SINCE THAT TIME<sup>4</sup>. IN SOME WAY, IT CAN BE SUSPECTED THAT THE LIVES OF THESE PERSONS MAY REPRESENT ONE OF THE CLEAREST ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE INSTITUTION'S INFLUENCE ON HUMAN BEHAVIOR.

THE FOLLOWING DESCRIPTION OF RECIDIVISTIC EX-INMATES IS DRAWN FROM AN ONGOING PARTICIPANT OBSERVATIONAL STUDY OF UNEMPLOYED SEAMEN LIVING IN SEVERAL SAILORS' TAVERNS ON THE WATERFRONT OF A EUROPEAN PORT. IT IS BASED ON DATA COLLECTED DURING SEVEN MONTHS OF RESEARCH IN THIS AREA AND FIVE MONTHS OF RESEARCH ABOARD A CARGO VESSEL IN THE NORTH ATLANTIC. THIS ACCOUNT OF THE LIFEWAYS OF THESE MEN, WHO HAVE LEFT THE TOTAL INSTITUTION OF THE SHIP AND CHOSEN TO LIVE IN

THESE BOARDINGHOUSE-TAVERNS, IS INCOMPLETE AT THIS TIME. HOWEVER, IT DOES SUGGEST SOME OF THE WAYS THESE SEAMEN MAY HAVE BEEN AFFECTED BY THEIR INSTITUTIONAL EXPERIENCES. BECAUSE THE INTERRELATION OF THE SHIP TO THE LIVES OF THESE EX-INMATES IS ONLY PARTIALLY UNDERSTOOD AT THIS POINT, THE FOLLOWING IS INTENDED AS A PRELIMINARY STATEMENT OF A FEW FINDINGS FROM THIS STUDY.

SEAMEN PAYING OFF MERCHANT VESSELS, LIKE OTHER INMATES LEAVING TOTAL INSTITUTIONS, USUALLY RETURN HOME. HOWEVER, THERE ARE SOME DISCHARGED SEAMEN WHO NEVER GO HOME AND FROM THIS GROUP ARE DRAWN THE LODGERS OF THE SAILORS' TAVERNS FOUND IN MANY OF WORLD'S SEAPORTS. WHILE MANY OF THESE MEN DO NOT EXPLAIN WHY THEY STAY AWAY FROM THEIR HOME SOCIETIES, THOSE WHO DO GIVE REASONS FOR NOT GOING HOME CAN BE SORTED INTO THE FOLLOWING CATEGORIES.

ONE GROUP, A TRADITIONAL SOURCE OF RECRUITS FOR THE SHIPPING INDUSTRY, IS COMPOSED OF THOSE PERSONS WHO FACE IMPRISONMENT AND OTHER PENALTIES FOR POLITICAL CRIMES IN THEIR HOME SOCIETIES. ANOTHER CATEGORY IS REPRESENTED BY THE SEAMEN WHO WISH TO AVOID MILITARY SERVICE OR PENALTIES FOR PETTY OFFENCES COMMITTED IN HIS HOME SOCIETY. ANOTHER GROUP, WITH SOME ROOTS IN THE THIRD WORLD, IS COMPOSED OF THOSE SAILORS WHO CAN NOT OR WILL NOT PAY THE FUNDS NECESSARY FOR TRAVELLING HOME. A FINAL CATEGORY IS REPRESENTED BY THE SEAMEN WHO HAVE SOME SORT OF PERSONAL REASON FOR NOT RETURNING HOME.

IN MANY PORTS, SOME OF THESE DISCHARGED SEAMEN RESIDE AS PAYING OR NON-PAYING BOARDERS IN PRIVATE HOMES. FREQUENTLY, MANY OF THESE MEN LIVE IN MARITAL OR CONSensual UNIONS WITH LOCAL FEMALES. IN A FEW PORTS, SOME OF THESE SEAMEN MOVE INTO THE CLUBS AND HOTELS WHICH ARE OPERATED BY RELIGIOUS AND NON-SECULAR AGENCIES FOR SEAMEN. AND IN SEVERAL OF THE WORLD'S PORTS, SOME OF THESE MEN LODGE IN SAILORS'

TAVERNS.

THE BOARDINGHOUSE-TAVERN WITH ITS SEAFARING LODGERS HAS AN INTERESTING HISTORY. SAILORS' TAVERNS AND BARS HAVE BEEN PART OF THE UNEMPLOYED SEAMAN'S LIFE IN EUROPEAN PORTS FOR THE PAST TWO CENTURIES, AND THERE IS SOME REASON TO BELIEVE THAT DRINKING ESTABLISHMENTS HAVE BEEN PROVIDING SEAFARERS WITH LIVING ACCOMMODATIONS FOR HUNDREDS OF YEARS. FICTIONAL DESCRIPTIONS OF NINETEENTH CENTURY VERSIONS OF THESE ESTABLISHMENTS ARE FOUND IN THE WORKS OF HERMAN MELVILLE, WHILE MORE CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNTS OF SAILORS' TAVERNS MAY BE PIECED TOGETHER FROM THE WRITINGS OF EUGENE O'NEILL.

IN A RECENTLY PUBLISHED HISTORY OF SEAMEN AND SAILING SHIPS, THE SAILORS' TAVERNS OF NINETEENTH CENTURY EUROPE WERE DESCRIBED AS:

. . . . RATHER SIMPLE BOARDINGHOUSES FOR SEAMEN. THE CHIEF, THE BOARDINGMASTER, PROVIDED THE SEAMEN LIVING IN HIS ESTABLISHMENT WITH FOOD, LODGING AND A CONSIDERABLE AMOUNT OF DRINK. HE ALSO TOOK IT UPON HIMSELF TO MAKE SURE THAT HIS GUESTS OBTAINED BERTHS ON OTHER SHIPS AND RETURNED TO THE SEA ONCE AGAIN....IN MANY INSTANCES, THE BOARDINGHOUSE WAS RUN PURELY TO CHEAT THE SEAMEN. KEEPING ACCOUNTS OF THE SEAMEN'S DEBTS TO THE BOARDINGMASTER WAS A SWINDLE AND THE SEAMAN WOULD OFTEN HAVE TO PAY FOR THINGS HE HAD RECEIVED AS WELL AS FOR THINGS HE HAD NOT RECEIVED. IN THE END, HE WAS SENT TO SEA ONCE MORE AND THE BOARDINGMASTER COULD PUT MOST OF THE WAGES ADVANCED TO THE SEAMAN IN HIS OWN POCKET.<sup>5</sup>

ANOTHER ACCOUNT OF THIS PERIOD CONTAINS A DRAWING OF THE INTERIOR OF A SAILORS' TAVERN FOUND IN A EUROPEAN PORT. THIS PICTURE SHOWS A GROUP OF THE TAVERN'S LODGERS, SEATED AROUND A TABLE, TALKING AND DRINKING. SOME OF THESE SEAMEN ARE DRESSED IN WORK CLOTHES, WHILE OTHERS ARE CLAD IN SUITS AND VESTS. BEHIND THEM, ON THE TAVERN WALL HANG PICTURES OF SAILING SHIPS.<sup>6</sup>

ACCOUNTS OF TWENTIETH CENTURY SAILORS' TAVERNS MAY BE FOUND IN SOME GUIDEBOOKS FOR TOURISTS AS WELL AS IN A FEW WORKS BY WRITERS

CLAIMING INTEREST IN THE MENTAL, PHYSICAL AND SPIRITUAL WELL-BEING OF THE SEAMAN. FREQUENTLY, THESE DESCRIPTIONS ARE DEVOTED TO THE EVIL AND THE EXCITEMENT SUPPOSEDLY FOUND IN TAVERNS AND THOUGH THEY SAY SOMETHING ABOUT THE VALUES OF THEIR AUTHORS, THEY ARE OF LITTLE HELP IN LEARNING ABOUT THE LIVES OF THE SEAMEN LODGING IN THESE ESTABLISHMENTS.<sup>7</sup>

SEVERAL FINDINGS FROM THE STUDY OF SAILOR LIFE REPORTED IN THIS PAPER SUGGEST THAT MANY FEATURES OF TAVERN LIFE HAVE NOT CHANGED SINCE THE 1800'S. FOR EXAMPLE, ONLY A FEW ALTERATIONS ARE NEEDED TO BRING THE PICTURE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY SAILORS' TAVERN UP TO DATE. WHILE THE STYLES OF THE SUITS AND WORK CLOTHES WORN BY TODAY'S LODGERS HAVE CHANGED AND THOUGH AERIAL PHOTOS OF TANKERS AND BULK CARRIERS HAVE REPLACED THE WOODCUTS OF SAILING SHIPS ON THE TAVERN WALLS, LITTLE ELSE HAS CHANGED IN THE TAVERN'S OUTWARD APPEARANCE.

LIVING ARRANGEMENTS FOR LODGERS HAVE BEEN SLIGHTLY MODIFIED SINCE THE 1800'S. BOARDINGMASTERS HAVE BEEN REPLACED BY THE MEN AND WOMEN OPERATING TODAY'S TAVERN, BUT THE DEBTOR-CREDITOR RELATIONSHIP OF THE LODGER TO THE PROPRIETOR REMAINS UNCHANGED. IT IS STILL UNDERSTOOD THAT THE EARNINGS FROM THE SEAMAN'S NEXT SHIP WILL BE USED TO PAY BACK MOST, IF NOT ALL, OF HIS LODGING AND DRINKING DEBTS TO THE PROPRIETOR. RECENTLY DEVELOPED PROGRAMS OF UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION FOR SOME SEAMEN HAVE MODIFIED THIS REPAYMENT PATTERN IN SOME WAYS. THUS A LODGER RECEIVING FINANCIAL BENEFITS FROM THESE PROGRAMS CAN THEORETICALLY REDUCE HIS INDEBTEDNESS TO THE TAVERN PROPRIETOR DURING THE PERIOD THESE DEBTS ARE INCURRED. BUT MANY OF THE SEAMEN WHO COULD PAY BACK THEIR TAVERN DEBTS IN THIS MANNER DO NOT USE THEIR UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS FOR THIS PURPOSE. INSTEAD, THEY,

LIKE THEIR NINETEENTH CENTURY COUNTERPARTS, REPAY TAVERN DEBTS FROM THE EARNINGS OF THEIR NEXT SHIP.

THE WOMEN FOUND IN MANY OF TODAY'S SAILORS' TAVERNS REPRESENT A FEATURE OF THE LODGER'S LIFE SOMETIMES MENTIONED, BUT SELDOM DESCRIBED, IN EARLIER ACCOUNTS OF THESE ESTABLISHMENTS. ALTHOUGH THERE IS SOME OVERLAP, THESE WOMEN ARE EITHER THE OPERATORS OR BARMAIDS OF THE TAVERN. TYPICALLY, THESE ROLES ARE OFTEN CLOSELY RELATED AND THUS IT IS UNUSUAL TO ENCOUNTER A TAVERN'S PROPRIETRESS WHO HAS NOT BEEN A BARMAID DURING SOME PERIOD OF HER LIFE. USUALLY, THOUGH NOT ALWAYS, THE OLDER WOMEN OPERATE TAVERNS WHILE YOUNGER WOMEN WORK AS BARMAIDS. OFTEN, SOME FEMALE TAVERN OPERATORS ARE ASSISTED BY THE INACTIVE SEAMEN WHO ARE THEIR MARITAL OR CONSENSUAL MATES. CONSEQUENTLY, IT IS NOT AT ALL UNCOMMON TO FIND TAVERN POPULATIONS COMPOSED OF MALE LODGERS, MALE AND FEMALE PROPRIETORS, AND FEMALE SERVANTS.

IT IS DOUBTFUL WHETHER "SERVING GIRL" IS A TERM ACCURATELY CHARACTERIZING THE BARMAIDS ENCOUNTERED IN SAILORS' TAVERNS. ALTHOUGH THESE WOMEN OFTEN TEND BAR, WAIT ON TABLES, AND CLEAN THE TAVERN'S DRINKING AREAS, THEY SELDOM RECEIVE WAGES FOR PERFORMING THESE SERVICES. INSTEAD, MOST OF THEIR EARNINGS COME FROM A FIXED PERCENTAGE OF THE DRINKS WHICH ARE PURCHASED FOR THEM BY VISITING CUSTOMERS AS WELL AS BY THE TAVERN'S LODGERS. AS A RESULT OF THIS ARRANGEMENT, MUCH OF THE BARMAID'S WORKING TIME IS SPENT IN THE COMPANY OF HER DRINKING PARTNERS.

SINCE DRINKING WITH MEN PROVIDES THE BARMAID WITH THE PRIMARY SOURCE OF HER INCOME, IT COULD BE EXPECTED THAT SOME TAVERN SERVICES, SUCH AS BARTENDING, WOULD SUFFER. BUT THIS RARELY OCCURS BECAUSE THE TAVERN'S LODGERS OFTEN TAKE THE BARMAID'S PLACE AND ACT AS



BARTENDERS, WAITERS, AND PORTERS. IN THOSE TAVERNS WHERE BARMAIDS ARE NOT FOUND, THIS FEATURE OF TAVERN LIFE IS MOST OBVIOUS. HERE THE SEAMEN LODGING IN THESE ESTABLISHMENTS ARE THE ONLY PERSONS WHO WAIT ON TABLES, SERVE DRINKS, AND RECEIVE PAYMENT FOR THESE DRINKS FROM CUSTOMERS.

IN ADDITION TO HANDLING CASH, THE SEAMEN ACTING IN THESE ROLES ALSO KEEP WRITTEN RECORDS OF THEIR DRINKING DEBTS AS WELL AS THOSE OF THEIR FELLOW LODGERS IN THE TAVERN'S LEDGER. EVEN THOUGH THE SEAMEN PROVIDING THESE SERVICES TO THE TAVERN'S CUSTOMERS ARE UNPAID, THERE IS OFTEN CONSIDERABLE COMPETITION AMONG LODGERS FOR THESE JOBS AND THEIR ACCOMPANYING RESPONSIBILITIES.

WHILE IT MAY BE ACCURATE IN A VERY CRUDE SENSE TO DESCRIBE LODGERS IN THESE TAVERNS AS VACATIONING SEAMEN, OUR DATA INDICATE THAT IT WOULD BE A MISTAKE TO DISMISS THESE ESTABLISHMENTS SIMPLY AS HOTELS OR BOARDINGHOUSES FOR SAILORS BETWEEN SHIPS. FOR HUNDREDS OF YEARS, SEAMEN COMING ON LAND HAVE BEEN LIVING IN PLACES LIKE THESE AND THERE IS SOME EVIDENCE TO SUGGEST THAT A SAILORS' TAVERN PROVIDES ITS LODGER WITH A GREAT DEAL MORE THAN FOOD, DRINK, AND A PLACE TO SLEEP. AT THIS POINT IN THE RESEARCH, THERE ARE INDICATIONS THAT SOME ASPECTS OF THE TAVERN'S RELATIONSHIP TO ITS EX-INMATE LODGERS CAN BE UNDERSTOOD IN TERMS OF SOLUTIONS AND OPPORTUNITIES. IN OTHER WORDS, THE TAVERN PROVIDES ITS LODGERS WITH SOLUTIONS TO SOME OF THEIR POST-RELEASE PROBLEMS AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR DEALING WITH SOME OF THE INSTITUTION'S EFFECTS ON THEIR BEHAVIOR. WHILE ONLY A FEW OF THESE RELATIONSHIPS CAN BE OUTLINED HERE, MORE DETAILED DESCRIPTIONS OF THE TAVERN'S LINKS TO THE TOTAL INSTITUTION OF THE SHIP AWAIT PRESENTATION IN OTHER PAPERS.

LIKE OTHER INDIVIDUALS WHO ARE OR EXPECT TO BE DISCHARGED FROM INSTITUTIONAL ENVIRONMENTS, SEAMEN PAYING OFF SHIPS FACE TWO SORTS OF PROBLEMS: THE MATERIAL AND THE PSYCHOLOGICAL. IMMEDIATE MATERIAL PROBLEMS FOR MOST RELEASED INMATES OFTEN INVOLVE FINDING PLACES TO LIVE AND WORK. THEIR PSYCHOLOGICAL PROBLEMS, ON THE OTHER HAND, ARE NOT AS EASY TO IDENTIFY OR TO SOLVE. "RELEASE ANXIETY" IS THE RUBRIC SOMETIMES EMPLOYED TO DESCRIBE THESE DIFFICULTIES, BUT THIS LABEL MAY HAVE TOO MANY ASSOCIATIONS WITH INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXTS TO BE USEFUL FOR UNDERSTANDING POST-RELEASE PROBLEMS. FROM ONE VIEWPOINT, THESE PSYCHOLOGICAL DIFFICULTIES MIGHT BE UNDERSTOOD AS THE GRAND TOTAL OF FEARS AND ANXIETIES FELT BY THE INMATE AND EX-INMATE ABOUT THEIR "LACK OF FIT" WITH THE PATTERNS OF THE OUTSIDE WORLD. THE DISCHARGED SEAMEN, IN CONTRAST TO OTHER RELEASED INMATES WHO LACK ACCESS TO SIMILAR ESTABLISHMENTS, CAN OFTEN FIND SOLUTIONS OR PARTIAL SOLUTIONS TO SOME OF THESE PSYCHOLOGICAL AND MATERIAL PROBLEMS IN THE SAILORS' TAVERN.

FOR EXAMPLE, THE BOARDING FUNCTION OF THE TAVERN OBVIOUSLY SATISFIES THE IMMEDIATE HOUSING NEEDS OF PAID-OFF SAILORS. FOR ITS FIRT-TIME LODGER, THE TAVERN MAY BE JUST A PLACE TO LIVE. BUT FOR THE SEAMAN RETURNING TO A PARTICULAR TAVERN FOR THE FIFTH OR TENTH TIME, IT IS MORE THAN A BOARDINGHOUSE. IT HAS BECOME HIS HOME BETWEEN SHIPS. OFTEN, THESE SEAMEN WILL TRAVEL GREAT DISTANCES FROM PAY-OFF PORTS SO THAT THEY MAY ENJOY "HOMECOMINGS" AT THESE TAVERNS AND IT IS NOT UNCOMMON FOR THEM TO REFER TO THESE ESTABLISHMENTS AS "HOMES" WITHOUT THE SLIGHTEST TRACES OF SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS.

IN ADDITION, THE TAVERN OFTEN FURNISHES ITS LODGER WITH A PLACE TO WORK. FREQUENTLY, A SEAMAN ENTERING THE TAVERN LEAVES A SHIP WHERE HE MAY HAVE WORKED FOR HUNDREDS OF DAYS WITHOUT RESPITE. THUS

THE MINOR UNPAID JOBS HE PERFORMS AROUND THE TAVERN, THOUGH SELDOM EXPRESSED AS SUCH, MAY PROVIDE HIM WITH A RELEASE FOR SOME OF THE UNEASINESS WHICH OFTEN ACCOMPANIES HIS SUDDEN AND UNACCUSTOMED INACTIVITY. ALSO, PLAYING THE ROLES OF BARTENDERS AND WAITERS IN THE TAVERN MAY HAVE SOME PSYCHOLOGICAL BENEFITS FOR MEN WHOSE PREVIOUS IDENTITIES HAVE BEEN SO TIGHTLY LINKED TO SHIPBOARD ROLES.

ANOTHER PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECT OF THE TAVERN'S WORKINGS APPEARS TO INVOLVE THE ROLES PLAYED BY THE WOMEN FOUND IN THESE ESTABLISHMENTS. GENERALLY, A LODGER COMES TO THE TAVERN AFTER LIVING FOR SOME TIME IN AN INSTITUTION WITH AN EXCLUSIVELY MALE INMATE POPULATION. THE PSYCHOLOGICAL AFTERMATH OF THIS PARTICULAR INSTITUTIONAL EXPERIENCE IS FREQUENTLY REPRESENTED BY THE SEAMAN'S ANXIOUS AND HOSTILE FEARS ABOUT WOMEN. IN THE SAILORS' TAVERN, LODGERS WITH PROBLEMS OF THIS SORT ARE OFTEN ABLE TO ACT OUT SOME OF THEIR FEELINGS WITH THE FEMALES WHO WORK IN OR OPERATE THESE PLACES. EVEN THOUGH PARTICIPATION IN THESE PERFORMANCES CAN BE MENTALLY AND PHYSICALLY PAINFUL FOR THE BARMAID AND THE PROPRIETRESS, THEY SELDOM REFUSE TO TAKE PART IN THESE TAVERN "PSYCHODRAMAS." ONE FACTOR WHICH MIGHT ACCOUNT FOR THE INVOLVEMENT OF THE WOMEN IN THESE SITUATIONS MAY BE THEIR FINANCIAL RELATIONSHIPS TO THE LODGERS. WHILE THE BARMAID IS ONLY PARTIALLY DEPENDENT ON THE LODGERS FOR HER LIVELIHOOD, MOST OF THE EARNINGS OF THE FEMALE TAVERN OPERATOR COME FROM HER LODGERS. ANOTHER POSSIBLE REASON FOR THE PARTICIPATION BY SOME OF THE TAVERN'S WOMEN IN THESE PERFORMANCES MAY HAVE SOMETHING TO DO WITH THEIR OWN PSYCHOLOGICAL PROBLEMS. FOR INSTANCE, SOME OF THE TAVERN FEMALES WHO SPECIALIZE IN PLAYING "MOTHER" ROLES ARE WOMEN WHO HAVE LOST OR ABANDONED THEIR OWN CHILDREN. THUS THE BACKGROUNDS OF ITS MEN AND WOMEN SUGGEST THAT SOME OF THE TAVERN'S PSYCHOLOGICAL FUNCTIONS INVOLVE TWO SETS OF COMPLEMENTARY NEEDS: THOSE

OF ITS LODGERS AND THOSE OF ITS STAFF.

THIS LODGER-STAFF DICHOTOMY IS ONE OF THE MANY RETENTIONS OF INSTITUTIONAL LIFE FOUND IN THE SAILORS' TAVERN. SO FAR, ANALYSIS OF THE INSTITUTIONAL FACETS OF TAVERN LIFE SUGGESTS THAT SEVERAL OF THESE FEATURES MAY BE RELATED TO WHAT SOME STUDENTS OF THE TOTAL INSTITUTION HAVE DESCRIBED AS "DISCULTURATION."<sup>8</sup> FOLLOWING GOFFMAN'S DEFINITION OF THESE PHENOMENA, THE DISCULTURATED PERSON IS THAT DISCHARGED INMATE WHOSE INSTITUTIONAL EXPERIENCES HAVE RENDERED HIM INCAPABLE OF MANAGING CERTAIN FEATURES OF LIFE IN THE OUTSIDE SOCIETY.<sup>9</sup> FOR MANY EX-INMATES, THESE INABILITIES TO PERFORM SOCIALLY REQUIRED BEHAVIORS MAY BE TEMPORARY CONDITIONS. BUT FOR OTHERS, THERE ARE INDICATIONS THAT THESE INCAPACITIES MAY CONSTITUTE MORE PERMANENT PROBLEMS.

FROM ONE PERSPECTIVE, THE DISCULTURATED INDIVIDUAL MAY BE VIEWED AS THAT EX-INMATE WHO HAS LEARNED TO PLAY HIS INSTITUTIONAL ROLE TOO WELL. THUS THE WIFE OF THE DISCHARGED MENTAL PATIENT COMPLAINING ABOUT HER HUSBAND'S LIVING ROOM BEHAVIOR MAY NOT REALIZE THAT HIS MUTED, SMILING PASSIVITY SERVED AS HIS PASSPORT FOR RELEASE FROM A CLEAN, TIGHTLY SCHEDULED WARD WHERE SILENCE REIGNED SUPREME.<sup>10</sup> THESE COMPLAINTS ABOUT INAPPROPRIATE BEHAVIOR, INMATE WORRIES ABOUT RELEASE, AND "DISCULTURATION" MAY REPRESENT DIFFERENT ASPECTS OF A SINGLE PROBLEM: THAT IS, THE REAL OR IMAGINARY DISHARMONY BETWEEN A PERSON'S INSTITUTIONALLY LEARNED BEHAVIORS AND THE LIFEWAYS OF SOCIETY-AT-LARGE. ALL DISCHARGED INMATES MUST DEAL WITH THIS PROBLEM IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER, BUT TAVERN LODGERS MAY BE ONE OF THE FEW GROUPS OF EX-INMATES WHO POSSESS TRADITIONAL MEANS FOR HANDLING SOME OF ITS EFFECTS.

PRIMARILY, THE TAVERN HELPS ITS LODGERS TO MEET THESE DIFFICULTIES

BY PROVIDING THEM WITH A MIDDLE GROUND BETWEEN TWO WORLDS WHERE MANY OF THEIR INSTITUTIONAL HABITS CAN BE SHELTERED FROM OUTSIDE SOCIETY AND ITS CRITICS. IN OTHER WORDS, THE NEWLY DISCHARGED SEAMAN WHO FEARS THAT CERTAIN OF HIS INSTITUTIONALLY APPROPRIATE BEHAVIORS MIGHT AROUSE SOCIETY'S DISAPPROVAL CAN SAFELY RETAIN THESE HABITS IN THE SAILORS' TAVERN. THERE, IN THE COMPANY OF OTHER SEAMEN AND A TOLERANT STAFF, HE CAN FREELY ACT AS AN INMATE IN A SETTING WHERE HE CAN ALSO FEEL THAT HE IS PART OF SOCIETY AT LARGE. IN THIS AREA, THE TAVERN MAY PLAY ITS MOST IMPORTANT PSYCHOLOGICAL ROLE FOR THE SEAMAN. BY PROVIDING HIM WITH A NEUTRAL ZONE BETWEEN INSTITUTIONAL AND NON-INSTITUTIONAL ENVIRONMENTS, THE TAVERN ALLOWS ITS LODGER TO MAINTAIN THE DISTANCE NECESSARY FOR DEVELOPING A SENSE OF SELF THAT NEITHER THE SHIP NOR SOCIETY ALONE COULD GIVE HIM. IN CONTRAST TO THE SHIP WHICH CAN DEMAND TOO MUCH OF THE SEAMAN'S IDENTITY AND THE LAND WHICH CAN REJECT THE SEAMAN BECAUSE OF THIS IDENTITY, THE TAVERN FURNISHES ITS LODGER WITH A RETREAT BETWEEN BOTH WORLDS WHERE SOME SENSE OF SELFHOOD CAN EMERGE. ||

IN ADDITION, THERE ARE OTHER FEATURES OF TAVERN LIFE WHICH APPEAR TO ASSIST THE LODGER IN DEALING WITH HIS POST-INSTITUTIONAL PROBLEMS. ONE OF THESE MAY BE THE FAMILY-LIKE ARRANGEMENTS OF YOUNGER LODGERS AND OLDER MALE AND FEMALE PROPRIETORS FOUND IN SOME SAILORS' TAVERNS. ANOTHER MAY BE REPRESENTED BY THOSE ASPECTS OF TAVERN LIFE WHICH RESEMBLE FEATURES OF HALFWAY HOUSE PROGRAMS. A THIRD FEATURE MAY INVOLVE THE PSYCHOLOGICAL CONSEQUENCES OF CERTAIN TAVERN RITUALS. HOWEVER, THESE FEATURES AND THE ROLES THEY MAY PLAY FOR TAVERN LODGERS ARE NOT FULLY UNDERSTOOD AT THIS POINT OF THE RESEARCH.

SO FAR, IT IS APPARENT THAT THE LIVES OF THESE LODGERS CAN NOT BE UNDERSTOOD IN RELATION TO THE TAVERN ALONE. BECAUSE OF ITS MEDIAL POSITION BETWEEN THE SHIP AND THE OUTSIDE SOCIETY, THE TAVERN POSSESSES MANY CHARACTERISTICS WHICH ASSUME MEANING ONLY WHEN THEY ARE VIEWED FROM A RESEARCH PERSPECTIVE EMBRACING BOTH OF THESE SOCIAL WORLDS. IN THIS RESPECT, ETHNOGRAPHY'S REQUIREMENT THAT A RESEARCHER SHARE THE EXISTENCE OF THE PEOPLE HE STUDIES HAS HAD AN OBVIOUS SIGNIFICANCE. FOR EXAMPLE, IT IS DOUBTFUL WHETHER THE PUBLIC ASPECTS OF TAVERN EATING, SLEEPING, WORKING AND PLAYING COULD BE FULLY APPRECIATED BY AN INVESTIGATOR WHO HAS NEVER PARTICIPATED IN THE SHIPBOARD VERSIONS OF THESE ACTIVITIES. SIMILARLY, THE TAVERN'S LACK OF SCHEDULED ACTIVITIES FOR ITS LODGERS MIGHT SEEM INSIGNIFICANT TO THE RESEARCHER WHOSE OWN LIFE HAS NEVER BEEN RULED BY THE DICTATES OF THE SHIP'S WATCH SYSTEM FOR MONTHS ON END. ALTHOUGH A NON-ETHNOGRAPHIC APPROACH TO THE SAILORS' TAVERN WOULD BE OF SOME VALUE, IT IS DOUBTFUL WHETHER THE FINDINGS FROM THIS SORT OF RESEARCH COULD SUBSTITUTE FOR THE INSIGHTS GAINED THROUGH ETHNOGRAPHIC EXPOSURE TO BOTH THE LAND AND THE SEA CONDITIONS OF THE LODGER'S LIFE. THE VALUE OF THIS SORT OF APPROACH HAS LONG BEEN APPRECIATED BY STUDENTS OF INMATE LIFE.<sup>12</sup> IN HIS PREFACE TO ASYLUMS, GOFFMAN ADVISES:

IT . . . IS MY BELIEF THAT ANY GROUP OF PERSONS-PRISONERS, PRIMITIVES, PILOTS, OR PATIENTS-DEVELOP A LIFE OF THEIR OWN THAT BECOMES MEANINGFUL, REASONABLE, AND NORMAL ONCE YOU GET CLOSE TO IT, AND THAT A GOOD WAY TO LEARN ABOUT ANY OF THESE WORLDS IS TO SUBMIT ONESELF IN THE COMPANY OF THE MEMBERS TO THE DAILY ROUND OF PETTY CONTINGENCIES TO WHICH THEY ARE SUBJECT.

FINALLY, THE ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF SOME OF THESE TAVERN LODGERS ASHORE AND AT SEA HAS INDICATED THAT THEIR LIFEWAYS BEAR LITTLE RESEMBLANCE TO THE FROZEN MODELS OF INMATE LIFE SOMETIMES FOUND IN

THE LITERATURE. INSTEAD, THE FINDINGS OF THIS RESEARCH HAVE SUGGESTED THAT A PROCESSUAL MODEL OF INSTITUTIONAL AND NON-INSTITUTIONAL LIFE MAY BE NECESSARY TO UNDERSTAND THE CAREERS OF RECIDIVISTIC INMATES. HOPEFULLY, THE DEVELOPMENT OF THIS MODEL WILL THEN ADD TO OUR KNOWLEDGE OF THE WAYS IN WHICH MAN IS MOLDED AND MARKED BY THE TOTAL INSTITUTION.

NOTES

1. PRESENTED AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CENTRAL STATES ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY, BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA, 1970.
2. RESEARCH ON WHICH THIS PAPER IS BASED HAS BEEN SUPPORTED IN PART BY A FELLOWSHIP FROM THE NATIONAL INSTITUTES OF HEALTH (1-FOI-MH-42, 613-01) AND A RESEARCH GRANT FROM THE NATIONAL INSTITUTES OF HEALTH, (1-TOI-MH-11, 861-01).
3. ROBERT B. EDGERTON, THE CLOAK OF COMPETENCE: STIGMA IN THE LIVES OF THE MENTALLY RETARDED, BERKELEY: 1967.
4. ERVING GOFFMAN, "THE MORAL CAREER OF THE MENTAL PATIENT," PSYCHIATRY, 22: 1959.
5. ERLING ERIKSEN, VÅR GAMLE Sjøfartskultur, OSLO: 1968.
6. DIDERIK H. BROCHMANN, OPSANG FRA SEILSKIBSTIDEN, KRISTIANIA: 1916.
7. FOR A DESCRIPTION OF THE WICKED SAILORS' TAVERN, SEE LEO HERSSON, Sjømann hvorhen?, OSLO: 1966, ESPECIALLY PP. 104-06. FOR A DESCRIPTION OF THE EXCITING SAILORS' TAVERN, SEE ARTHUR FROMMER, EUROPE ON FIVE DOLLARS A DAY, NEW YORK: 1969, ESPECIALLY PP. 76-77.
8. FOR DETAILS ON THIS PHENOMENON, SEE ROBERT SOMMER, "PATIENTS WHO GROW OLD IN A MENTAL HOSPITAL." GERIATRICS, 14: 1959. A RELATED PHENOMENON, "DE-SOCIALISATION," IS DISCUSSED IN A STUDY OF EX-PRISONERS OF WAR. SEE ADAM CURLE, "TRANSITIONAL COMMUNITIES AND SOCIAL RE-CONNECTION: PART I." HUMAN RELATIONS, 1: 1947.
9. ERVING GOFFMAN, ASYLUMS: ESSAYS ON THE SOCIAL SITUATION OF MENTAL PATIENTS AND OTHER INMATES, GARDEN CITY: 1961.
10. MICHAEL SELTZER, "STATUS TRANSITION CEREMONIES IN THE MENTAL HOSPITAL," MIMEOGRAPHED, 1967.
11. FROM ONE VIEWPOINT, THIS FACET OF TAVERN LIFE MAY REPRESENT A "TERTIARY ADJUSTMENT" TO INSTITUTIONAL FUNCTIONING. FOR A DISCUSSION OF PRIMARY AND SECONDARY ADJUSTMENTS, SEE GOFFMAN'S "THE UNDERLIFE OF A PUBLIC INSTITUTION: A STUDY OF WAYS OF MAKING OUT IN A MENTAL HOSPITAL," IN ASYLUMS.
12. ETHNOGRAPHIC APPROACHES TO TOTAL INSTITUTIONS CAN BE FOUND IN SOME OF THE WRITINGS OF JULES HENRY, RICHARD CAUDILL, RICHARD SALISBURY, ODDVAR ARNER, STEPHEN RICHARDSON AND ROBERT EDGERTON. FOR OTHER APPROACHES TO THE INSTITUTIONAL CHARACTER OF THE SHIP, SEE VILHELM AUBERT, THE HIDDEN SOCIETY, TOTOWA: 1966, AND FREDERICK BARTH, MODELS OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION, LONDON: 1966.