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ETHNIC STATUS: AN INTERPRETIVE DEVICE USED IN THE DEFINITION AND MANAGEMENT OF DEVIANT BEHAVIOR

by

FLORENCE BETH BONNER

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

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APPROVED, THESIS COMMITTEE:

Kenneth C. W. Leter, Assistant Professor of Sociology, Chairman

J. Douglas Uzelli
Assistant Professor of Anthropology

Robert H. Dix
Professor of Political Science

HOUSTON, TEXAS

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ABSTRACT

ETHNIC STATUS: AN INTERPRETIVE DEVICE USED IN THE DEFINITION AND MANAGEMENT OF DEVIANT BEHAVIOR

Florence Beth Bonner

A study of the interpretative process of defining and labeling behavior deviant and non-deviant was conducted in a small southeast Texas town with a population of 1012. The work centered on the Black community of about 300 people. Fourteen informants participated in the study. These informants represented 20 families through marriage and kinship ties.

Methods included participant observation, and taped interviews with informants. The interviews consisted of asking persons to state the meaning of the "talk", the utterances which were used to describe and discuss behavior.

The primary focus of this study was to examine: (1) how, and which interpretative procedures are used in the definitions and management of deviance; and (2) how ethnicity as a particular scheme of interpretation was being used.

All members of the community used this ethnic scheme of interpretation to explain and manage the full range of behavior. Although no comparison was made between Blacks
and Whites, it was concluded that the Blacks use of this interpretative device led to definitions and categories of deviance that do not fit the "conventional" sociological models. They included: "being caught," "causing grief," and "messing up your life." In addition, conventional labels of deviance were often ignored or perceived as being "normal" such as 'passing' stolen ("hot") goods.

Finally, Blacks in this community do not perceive themselves as lawless people but rather as interacting in a context which they interpret as being inimical to their well being with no power to change it.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis represents a distillation of the first and most formative part of my scholarly career. I owe much to many people all of whom cannot be named here individually. However, I would like to give special thanks to the following people: Dr. Kenneth Leiter whose tireless efforts and patience in instructing and stimulating was invaluable; Dr. Chad Gordon who was always inspiring; and Lola Lopez and Barbara Podratz who provided, in addition to clerical expertise, a great deal of friendly support.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter One</th>
<th>INTRODUCTION</th>
<th>1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chapter Two</td>
<td>METHODS</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter Three</td>
<td>THE SETTING</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter Four</td>
<td>THE USE OF ETHNICITY TO CONSTRUCT DEVIANCE</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter Five</td>
<td>MEMBERS’ CONSTRUCTION - THE USE OF ETHNICITY TO CONSTRUCT DEVIANCE</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter Six</td>
<td>DEVIANCE: THE THEME OF INTERPRETATION</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter Seven</td>
<td>CONCLUSIONS</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix I</td>
<td>COMMUTERS</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix II</td>
<td>PROFILE OF THE ALLEY REGULARS</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix III</td>
<td>KIN GROUPS</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

This study is about deviance. It has as its focus how people in a small southeast Texas town think of deviance as an aspect of their social reality. Hereafter, I refer to the town as Tanktown.

My approach to deviance, though not original, differs from the way the concept is usually thought of by sociologists and by the public at large. Deviance is a functionalist concept, and traditional functionalist analysis treats it as a violation of laws or rules. These violations, the functionalists feel, result from: (1) ineffective social structures (families or schools) leading to collections of failures which create deviant subcultures aimed at getting what the individuals need but have been denied; or (2) in-migration of people whose values are in conflict with the dominant culture and whose ideas of right and wrong differ from the majority, thus causing conflict. Such an analysis leads to several pitfalls.

Underlying this formulation is the assumption of widespread agreement on what constitutes right and wrong. This agreement is assumed to be reflected in criminal laws and
requires an assumption that laws will be passed to punish what is believed to be seriously wrong behavior. However, there is widespread disagreement about what is right and wrong. Second, the legal system gives differential treatment to categories of people under the law. Finally, there is a vast array of behavior which may be considered deviant in one place or at one time, but not in other places or other times, e.g., mental illness, homosexuality.

Traditional labeling theorists recognize and attempt to remedy these theoretical problems. The labeling theory emphasizes the relativity of deviance and the fact that acts are not inherently deviant. Labeling theorists argue that the process by which people are labeled deviant should be the focus of sociological attention. However, this approach also has pitfalls. The primary one is the attempt to "objectify" the labels; that is, present them as objects external to the process of labeling persons. In this case, labels are never questioned; however, to hear the label is also a process of definition. The recognition of the labeling process and the deviant label is a product of interpretation. Showing it and illustrating the interpretative work is the focus of this thesis.

The approach to deviance that I use in this study is called "radical labeling theory." It rests on the following set of assumptions:
1. Social reality is created ("constructed") by members of a society.

2. Behavior has no intrinsic meaning, but acquires its meaning from the reality constructed by members of a society.

3. Thus, no behavior is intrinsically deviant but becomes deviant through the interpretations made by the members.

4. To define ("label") behavior as deviant is, in this sense, to make it deviant or to create ("construct") deviance.

5. To understand the nature of deviance, then, the sociologist should study the process by which deviance is labeled and thereby constructed, i.e., brought into being by members of the society.

Later in the chapter, I shall return to these ideas for a more thorough discussion.

Ethnicity

Although Tanktown is a multi-ethnic community, I will not draw comparisons between groups except where participants may do so themselves and the comparisons form a part of the definition. The central focus is on the Black members of the community.

An ethnic group is defined here as a group of people
who have a sense of shared alikeness based on their social biographies or inherited biological characteristics. I have used "ethnicity" rather than "race" because both categories are recognized as socially defined categories and ethnicity may include race (e.g., Jews). In addition, ethnic identification is viewed as a label and an interpretative device used by people in their settings to negotiate boundaries (Barth, 1965) and organize the social structure. This organization is defined as ethnic stratification; that is, the perception by members of an unequal distribution of goods, services, life chances, power and information. This concept is important where members of Tanktown are using the notion as an explanatory scheme for constructing context and behavior. In this case, deviance in Tanktown becomes problematic.

To understand clearly this interpretative explanation, I must first discuss in some detail the normative paradigm, the problems it addresses, and the theories which emerge from it.

The "Normative Paradigm"

A paradigm consists of a set of organizing assumptions about what entities make up the world, how they interact, what questions may be legitimately asked about such entities, and what techniques may be employed in seeking
solutions to the questions (Khun, 1971). According to Khun, answers are firmly embedded in the educational initiation that prepares and licenses the student for professional practice. Because that education is both rigorous and rigid, the answer comes to exert a deep hold on the "scientific" mind.

The "Problem of Order" is a fundamental concern of the normative paradigm and the theories emerging from it. Sociologists of this persuasion focus on "meaningful behavior" -- actions and patterns of actions that rest on three major assumptions: (1) that actions are stable and patterned; (2) that action is rule-governed; and (3) that there is shared meaning which rests on a common cognitive concensus.

The first assumption suggests that order -- patterned action -- can be accounted for by a set of norms. These norms are of two types, dispositions and expectations (Wilson, 1972). Dispositions are attitudes, sentiments, conditional responses, and the needs that have been internalized by the actor. An examination of order or change from this perspective requires a stable linkage between the situation and the actor's dispositions. That is, the link rests on the notion that the actor will behave in some specific way in a particular setting.

Expectations are those norms that have been institutionalized. These are the roles in the setting and the
sanctions associated with them. In this case, the actor is assumed to act in a specific manner because certain roles have been spelled out over time. Individuals are rewarded when they do them correctly and punished when they do them incorrectly.

The second assumption is crucial to this notion of rules. Cognitive agreement is necessary since social action is a dynamic process in which actions may be repeated, abandoned and/or modified. Hence, normative theorists must treat specific cases as instances of situations and actions. This premise requires that the actor be able to invoke the necessary and proper rule if order and stability are to be maintained. Thus, as Wilson (1970:61) puts it, "theories within the normative paradigm require an empirical assumption of substantial cognitive agreement among interacting actors." This agreement occurs through the process of socialization into a common culture which includes the abstract and physical aspects of the everyday world, i.e., ideas, philosophies, languages, symbols, and technology. Discrepancies are accounted for by the use of the concept -- subculture -- where differing definitions, dispositions and expectations account for deviations. Let us briefly review some of the literature that helps to forge and support this general paradigm position.

Taking the social order as a fact of life, normative
theorists proceed to ask, "How and by what means does the stability of society persist?" In answer, they propose theories that posit the interdependence of social phenomena. In this model of society, shared values and norms hold the multiple worlds of modern life together. Emile Durkheim, Max Weber and Talcott Parsons are major contributors to the normative paradigm. An examination of their work reveals the importance of the assumptions I have outlined.

Durkheim had a profound impact upon social thought and American sociological theorizing concerning social action in general (Division of Labor, 1964) and social deviance in particular (Le Suicide, 1951). Durkheim stressed the notion that social life must be studied in terms of observables. These observable "social facts" exist independently of the actor; they are indeed exterior to the actor. Each actor's behavior, then, his private and public feelings, hopes and fears, are influenced by forms of collective life which transcend the individual and can be studied without reference to any particular consciousness of concrete persons (Cicourel, 1964:192). Thus, social facts above all else are objective phenomena. They are also, according to Durkheim, patterned, stable and constraining.

His study of suicide (1951) elaborates his position. He argues that individuals, by reason of their membership in the society, are compelled to act and feel in certain
ways. This is first accomplished through the "moral order" -- by sharing similar beliefs, traditions and moral sentiments. Later, in The Division of Labor, social organization is seen as being based increasingly upon a complex interweaving of highly specialized and discrete roles which make up an organic whole. Thus, social facts are expressed in those aspects of social activity which show the formal structure. They show typicality, consistency, regularity or standardization.

Parsons notes that Durkheim's conceptual scheme shifts in his analysis of suicide from the coerciveness (expectations and sanctions) of the collective to the actor's knowledge of the situation and his action (disposition and internalizations). Parsons refers to this shift to a "cognitive" framework as a "residual category." It is this cognitive framework that Max Weber expands in his contribution.

Weber, like Durkheim, was concerned with an explanation of human social actions that could be made empirically and objectively as opposed to subjective theorizing about the actors. According to Cicourel (1964:196):

His definition of social action is taken to mean that cultural meanings (as group shared properties) orient, guide and modify social relationships and interpersonal exchanges in the course of face-to-face interaction and secondary communications.

He was also concerned with the problem of social order
and the use of external constraint as the moral authority. An understanding, then, of the structure of social action is assumed to begin and end with the conceptualization and observation of the cultural scene of action. Social action from this perspective is to be explained in terms of norms and values or ideologies that are binding on the group. The point of departure for the study of social action at this level, then, is factual and normative conditions. Thus, members of a society are seen as a population of actors who, in the course of their lives, engaged in action that is regular and repetitive. That repetitiveness rests primarily on the norms.

Norms represent crucial mechanisms in the maintenance of order. They may be regarded either as ideal cultural norms or in terms of actual behavior in a statistical sense [Clinard, 1974:4].

Theories of Deviance

I now turn to the theories of deviance which emerge from this normative paradigm. They should and do focus on subcultural deviation, "improper" internalization of norms, or "improper" or "inadequate" enculturation. Thus, theories of deviance emerging from this perspective focus on a state of normlessness (Durkheim, 1951) or a disjuncture between norms and societal goals (Merton, 1949; Cloward and Ohlin, 1960; Miller, 1955) -- they are theories of "anomie."
Other theories that use the normative paradigm focus on the process by which the norms of an earlier culture and system of social control are undermined (Park, 1925:106; Thomas, 1918; Wirth, 1938; Brackenridge and White, 1968: 204). These are the theories of social "disorganization." Still others focus on conflicting values. The value conflict conception develops preliminary statements about sources of deviance in the normative order, the concepts of differential social organization and association (Sutherland, 1924; Sutherland and Cressey, 1955).

Thus, current vocabularies for the explanation of deviance and social problems stem from the two traditions of social order theories and conflict formulations (Davis, 1975). The order vocabulary views deviance as a problem of system imbalance or social disorganization. Structurally, this entails a breakdown of social controls, including inadequate institutionalization of goals and/or means to achieve the goals (Merton, 1949).

The conflict vocabulary is drawn from the perspectives of Simmel and Marx. Simmel's version (adopted by Park and Burgess, 1925) views conflict as a universal form of social interaction that occurs wherever different ethnic groups come into contact with each other. Park asserts that the conflict leads to competition which triggers conflict, which maintains collective action and results in a continual
struggle of groups to maintain their status positions, i.e., roles and expectations.

The normative theories have glossed over the crucial role that stratification and political opposition play in forming and transforming social institutions. To give attention to power and its abuses or the tenuous legitimacy of legal institutions, the corruption of authority, and conflict as defined by Marx, would visibly undermine the notion of stable order based on shared rules. Peter Blau's (1964) *Exchange and Power in Social Life* implies a system in which the actors may all carry on the "game" of exchange and power according to an underlying set of rules. However, not all actors have equal access to means in the society, as Merton (1949) points out. Hence, the rules would not apply for all actors, but Merton avoids this issue by reducing the behavior of actors who break the "rules" to forms of deviance. This view creates a gap in the normative theories of deviance based on the paradigmatic assumption of rule-governed behavior, since all rules do not apply equally to all people, and because not all persons agree on the rules or even know what they are. Moreover, because people do not have the same or even similar opportunities for "goal achievement," these theories cannot account for differential behavior without imputing a model of the actor and applying it writ large to groups, e.g.,
Lewis' notion of a culture of poverty; Miller's subculture of deviance; Rainwater's "strategies for survival."

The major source of difficulty is that "multiple realities" exist among the groups involved in the interaction process. Hence, in communications about definitions, reactions are rendered problematic at all times because different vocabularies and different pools of knowledge are employed. Problems become much more complex when the persons who occupy low status in an ethnic stratification system, e.g., poor, uneducated, attempt to negotiate in the system. In such cases, the following problems have been associated with being labeled deviant. Lack of knowledge of the legal system may result in unnecessary fines, lock-up and/or detention (Skolnick, 1967). Because official meanings of deviance may conflict with group meanings of deviance, strain may occur more frequently within certain groups. In addition, groups may find the system inimical to their needs (Rainwater, 1971, 1965). Financial problems tend to complicate problems of interaction because some problems are best handled with professional legal aid under the control of the individual -- interactions involving the poor which may be complicated or aborted by the lack of financial security.

What are the consequences of these problems encountered in the interaction process? The first and most apparent one
is that lower status persons are more likely to be labeled and sanctioned by official agents of social control than others. Second, they are less prepared to avoid the stigma of the label or to neutralize it. I will return to a discussion of these problems later.

Interpretative Paradigms

Attempts have been made to solve some of these problems. Theorists trying to make the shift build on the interpretative model of Max Weber (adopted by Lemert, 1951; Howard Becker, 1963). I will examine some of the literature from this perspective to see what remedies are proposed and how effective they are.

The Weberian model holds that social and physical phenomena are different. We can predict and explain the physical, but with social phenomena, we can also understand. Understanding is possible because people make choices, have feelings, motives, personal values and attitudes that are significant factors in their activities (Hagedorn and Labovitz, 1973:44). However, the introduction of the notion of motives, feelings, etc., produces contradictions in the normative paradigm. For example, to propose, on the one hand, a normative structure which may be deduced and, on the other, introduce problematic variables, such as feelings and emotions, whose explanations lie in the interpretation
made by the actor and the researcher, creates an anomalie of
the kind Kuhn (1970) mentions; that is, the coupling of two
different theoretical explanations of actors and actions --
in this case, normative and interpretative explanations.
To solve such contradictions, Kuhn argues that there must
be a shift that converts the anomalies of the first paradigm
into phenomena of the second. However, as I will show later
in Chapter Four, this contradiction is not easily solved for
two reasons. First, as Kuhn (1970) points out, men whose
research is based on shared paradigms are committed to the
same rules and standards for scientific practice. That
commitment and the apparent consensus it produces are pre-
requisites for normal science, i.e., for the genesis and
continuation of a particular research tradition. Second,
that hold becomes a part of the background information even
when an attempt at shift is being made.

Consequently, the strength of the traditional "label-
ing" perspective, as it is called, is in its revised point
of view in which the social order is itself problematic
(Kitsuse, 1968; Becker, 1963; Schur, 1971; Scott, 1969).
These theorists have given primary attention to official
constructions of labels and little to those constructed in
the context. In addition, they neglect structural elements
of the act of labeling and examine groups rather than net-
works of differentially ranked participants.
These problems require a different approach. Let us examine how the "radical" labeling theory, which is the guiding principle in this study, contributes to the solutions.

Radical labeling theorists (Garfinkel, 1967; Zimmerman and Pollner, 1970; Sudnow, 1965; Weider, 1974) turn away from the sociological preoccupation with the problems of maintaining social order. Instead, they study the problems that those labeled deviants have with the order. Their concern with how society, through its agents of social control, negatively reacts to and victimizes moral offenders, lower classes and minority groups, provokes a different set of research questions and methods.

These theorists propose that unless an event and/or act is labeled "deviant," there is no deviance: no label, no deviance. This position reverses common sense reality in order to examine how common sense conceptions of crime and deviant behavior are constructed.

John Kitsuse (1968) pointed out from his data on definitions of homosexuality that a sociological theory of deviance would have to take into account explicitly the variety and range of conceptions held by persons, groups and agencies within the society concerning the forms of behavior. "Consequently, it is difficult, if not impossible, to derive a set of specific behavioral prescriptions
which will be normatively supported, uniformly practiced, and socially enforced by more than a segment of the total population" (1968:28).

This new approach has raised many questions. In the next paragraphs, I will examine one of these questions, which is: What is the importance of ethnic stratification in the construction of deviance?

The Importance of Stratification

Some people in our society enjoy certain rights, immunities and prestige and are given special responsibilities by virtue of being classified in a certain way. When sociologists speak of social stratification, they are referring to the ranking of categories of people. Ethnic stratification is one form of social stratification. In most studies, the focus is on "class" as the particular type of ranking system in America, defined by the use of such objective criteria as income, occupation, education, etc.

However, Tomatsu Shibutani and Kian Kwan (1965:4), in Ethnic Stratification: A Comparative Approach, make the following observation:

Inherited differences among men have long been noticed, but rarely have they assumed the importance they have today. Skin color has become a symbol around which men can be rallied.
This statement is even more significant today as ethnic groups themselves begin to use the symbols which have been used to assign to them a low social status (such as "Black" or "Chicano") as a way of creating cohesion and a sense of 'us' and 'them'. Thus, it seems apparent that ethnic stratification is significant in the process of interaction; hence specific attention to it instead of class seems more useful.

Shibutani and Kwan attempt to order systematically, through a comparative method, the data of racial and ethnic relations. Their objective is to present a conceptual scheme for the study of inter-ethnic contact and a closer look at ethnicity in determining position. I believe the attempt to provide a concise conceptual scheme fails. Its failure is primarily due to the confusion of two very different perspectives -- the normative and the interpretative positions. Let us examine what Shibutani and Kwan say.

The primary frame of reference is Robert Park's race relations cycle theory which illustrates the normative approach. The basic assumptions of this theory are:

1. Race relations is a process and irreversible pattern.
2. Inter-ethnic contact leads to competition for status and space.
3. Competition sometimes manifests itself as conflict.
4. Conflict leads to accommodation.
5. Accommodation is followed by acculturation and assimilation in which groups come to share a common culture together with its values and sentiments.

The logical denouement of this process is the ultimate dissolution of particular ethnic groups as they become merged with or submerged in the larger community. Despite evidence to the contrary (Wirth, 1938; Skylare and Greenblum, 1967), Shibutani and Kwan assert that this process is valid.

Conversely, the definitions of concepts are based on the interpretative model found in the early works of G. H. Mead (1934), H. Cooley (1956), and W. I. Thomas (1918). The two schemes cannot be and are not successfully integrated.

Shibutani and Kwan define ethnic identity as a process that emerges over the course of interactions. The basic assumptions are summarized here as:

1. People are able to interact based on anticipation of each other's behavior (e.g., expectations).
2. The anticipation is based on inferences about the persons involved in the interaction.
3. People are able to make inferences by categorizing people with whom they are not intimate.
4. Certain assumptions emerge about the categories.

5. A common category is race (shared, inherited, biological features).

6. Differences are not always valid, but the believed differences are the ones that count.

7. Conceptions of shared likeness, real or fictitious, is "consciousness of kind," and may be defined as ethnic identity.

8. People act on the basis of their own interpretations of reality. Hence, an ethnic group is defined as "people who conceive of themselves as being of a kind."

They are united by emotional bonds and concerned with the preservation of their type. Shibutani and Kwan (1965:41) assert:

...the manner in which a person identifies himself, regardless of the accuracy of his beliefs, is a matter of crucial importance, for what he does or does not do, depends largely upon his conception of himself.

In addition (1965:114):

How a person is treated does not depend so much upon what he is as upon the manner in which he is defined.

This interpretative position of Shibutani and Kwan undercuts the normative pattern of the works they have examined. In this scheme, both the minority and the majority are involved in the social system; what happens to one cannot
be understood apart from this total involvement. I suggest focusing attention on a particular community as a basic unit of analysis using an interpretative model to provide steps toward an adequate theoretical approach which, in turn, will lead to answers.

Robert Emerson's (1969) _Judging Juvenile Delinquency_ has as its focus an interactional/interpretative analysis of a juvenile court and addresses more directly and problems of explaining, accounting for, and sanctioning deviance and deviants directly. Attention is given to:

1. Descriptions of how the juvenile court functions within the social context of the community.
2. Conflicting ideologies evidenced by the different institutions participating in the work of the court and how these are worked out in a practical manner.
3. The reactions to perceived norm violations by officials in the competing institutions and the consequent negotiation of labels.
4. The interpretative processes involved in constructing delinquent identity.

Emerson's ethnographic account of the activity of the juvenile court examines the background features of the court's relations with the local political and social institutions. Particular attention is given to the institutional network concerned with child care, i.e., the
school, welfare agencies, probation officers and police.

Another major concern is the management of cases and the construction of moral character. This is related to the first concern because who comes before the court and how they are presented involves other institutions. Case management involves identifying "trouble." Emerson (1969) found that in this process of identification several other institutions were often involved besides the court, and the process is characterized by negotiation of the identity accorded the juvenile. "Trouble" may be identified in patterns of behavior and social circumstances that are felt to precede serious delinquent activity. For example (1969: 84):

> We look for "tip-offs" that something is wrong. We get some tip-offs just from the face-sheet; truancy, school attendance, conduct and effort marks...if you get something wrong there, you know there's trouble. When you get truancy or bad conduct and effort marks plus the delinquency, there is definitely something wrong.

There are also pragmatic reasons: limited courtroom personnel and limited space in institutions for persons who are "trouble." Hence, the court must define who is "trouble." Within this framework, the court is necessarily required to evaluate the acts by embedding them and the actor in a context to decide what is "trouble." It turns to the delinquent himself -- to his overall behavior, personality,
family and social circumstances, i.e., courtroom constructions, in order to decide how best to deal with the case. The explanation of the behavior is sought in the character and background of the offender; that is, what kind of person is he? This involves an inquiry into the moral character of the youth.

Moral character is accomplished through "presentation strategies" -- pitches and denunciations. Pitches are made by those who wish to place the youth in a favorable light. Denunciations are generally made to extract a more severe disposition by soiling and discrediting the youth. There are tactics used in both pitches and denunciations: (1) establishing a pattern; (2) family background; and (3) atypicality. The first tactic seeks to show that the youth has a prior history of delinquency. This may be done through official records or unrecorded accounts of "trouble." The second tactic seeks to show that family circumstances may have caused the trouble. A "bad home" may be used by denouncers to show "cause" for behavior, and pitchmakers may use it to excuse the youth in trouble. The third tactic, atypicality, may be used to cause the moral character to be unclear and require the court to make further investigation. The youth is embedded in a context for deciding the meaning of his acts and his identity. However, Emerson (1969) contends that in most cases, the typical
qualities of acts are readily apparent to all and become context used to decide meaning of the current act.

Success or failure of the presentation strategies are contingent upon the nature and response of the juvenile. Three defensive strategies -- innocence, justification and excuse -- may be used by the offender. "Innocence" is the act of denying any actual link with the act one is accused of. "Justification" and "excuse" both seek to erase and redefine the presumed wrongfulness of the alleged act. In the case of justification, some higher competing value is advanced against that violated by the act, e.g., a youth who is wrongfully apprehended by the police and who resists. An excuse, on the other hand, mitigates the actor's responsibility for his conduct.

Emerson's (1969) study reflects how ethnographic particulars are assembled to construct identity through the use of interpretative procedures. Outcomes are influenced by the kind of identity created in the courtroom. In determining how to deal with trouble cases, the court studies and assesses the moral character of the delinquents. In fact, Emerson asserts that the construction of the moral character is the central concern. The procedures involved in the assessment of the character of the youths fundamentally shape case outcomes and, hence, "delineate critical dimensions of the labeling process in the juvenile court"
(Emerson, 1969:269).

Emerson does not pay particular attention to ethnic groups; however, his focus is important to the elaboration of earlier assumptions about the centrality of ethnic stratification and ethnic identity, which I will take as my focus. Emerson's neglect in this area, I believe, leaves out important data. Shibutani and Kwan, for example, in their discussion of the moral community, argue that a conflict of values among ethnic groups occurs with "remarkable consistency." These may be new immigrants, or those who are segregated in the slums who have not assimilated. Thus, we may assume from the large body of literature on conflict of values and disorganization within ethnic communities that it does play a role in the concerns of institutions and should be explored, but from a different perspective about rules.

Emerson's delineation of managing of deviance and the creation of deviant identities in the context of the community provides the framework for examining ethnic identity as it is defined and delineated by Shibutani and Kwan. Before I attempt to integrate these two positions, a few words should be said about the contributions made by anthropologists to the study of ethnic identity and its role in social relations.

There have been fundamental disagreements among
anthropologists about the nature and importance of ethnic
groups in social relations and the nature of ethnicity
(Robbins, 1967). Some argue that persistence of ethnic
status is due an accorded superordinate status in society.
Others hold that ethnic status constitutes cultural expres-
sions of political variables. Robbins (1967:19) asserts:

Ethnicity is effectively a cultural or
ideological value, or set of perceptions
by a group about itself...As ethnicity,
it cannot suffice analytically...While
social ideology is important, it must be
rooted in a larger structural framework
of society.

He contends that the structural framework is provided in
the concept of class.

I agree that ethnic identity must be viewed in the
larger structural framework of society; however, I disagree
with Robbins' assertions that the concept for such an
analysis is "class." He is right when he argues (1967:23):

The definition of ethnicity should...rest
primarily on the identification of shared
cultural norms which are realized in overt
forms and which are self-consciously recog-
nized by the "ethnic groups" and by other
groups as well. In this way, we are directed
by common sense understandings of a particular
community in describing and identifying ethnic
groups. Its role and place in the social
fabric remain to be analyzed.

However, he ignores the fact that common sense understand-
ings do not necessarily stop with descriptions and identi-
fications of ethnic groups or ethnic identity, but can lead
to the discovery of how the social relations associated with ethnic identity are rooted in the larger social structure of a society. An example of one study is Elliot Liebow's (1967) *Tally's Corner: A Study of Negro Street Corner Men*. Liebow shows this by demonstrating the stereotype held by the White laborer who seeks workers in the Black ghetto. Emerson also neglects to study those common sense understandings.

Frederick Barth's definition provides a first step for this position, using ethnic categories in this way (1969: 4,5):

> A categorical ascription is an ethnic description when it classifies a person in terms of his basic, most general identity, presumptively determined by his origin and background. To the extent that actors use ethnic categories to categorize themselves and others for the purpose of interaction, they form ethnic groups in this organizational sense.

The use of categories and interpretative work in determining their sense is where Emerson and Barth fill the gap. Barth treats ethnic identity in the same way that Emerson treats creation of delinquent identity. It is created through the use of labels (ethnic categories) to identify behavior and/or people. Emerson's work shows the interpretative work and pragmatic contexts involved in creating delinquent identities. Barth's work suggests this same approach can be applied to ethnic identity too, thereby
studying ethnic identity in an interpretative paradigm and avoiding the paradigm mix characteristic of Shibutani and Kwan. Labeling theory, plus Barth's approach, points to an overlap: the study of the management of deviance among ethnic groups. Specifically, how ethnic definitions work in constituting ethnic/deviant identities.

Having examined some of the issues from the sociological and anthropological perspectives, I find that Emerson and Barth provide the most useful direction for this discussion. Emerson has as his focus the construction of the label by officials. Behavior of the persons being labeled is presented to aid in understanding that process of labeling. He pays no attention to ethnic identity nor the use of ethnicity in the construction process. Barth, on the other hand, provides a definition of "ethnic" in which ethnicity becomes a labeling phenomenon. An important element missing between these two perspectives is an examination of the behavior which I will attempt to provide.

In the following paragraphs, I intend to show in the analysis of the data the usefulness and effectiveness of such a model applied in a particular setting. I will show that the gaps of defining deviance created by the normative theories, and the neglect of ethnic status by labeling theorists as another labeling phenomenon which is used in the generation and interpretation of the labels, can be
filled. It can be filled by demonstrating that it is used as an interpretative procedure to create a context and, in turn, used to explain and neutralize deviance.

If we view the idea of people doing ethnography seriously, ethnic stratification becomes an interpretative device for the construction of the ethnography. In turn, the talk can provide an informal ("folk") theoretical framework that gives order to the ethnic stratification scheme.
Chapter Two

METHODS

This is a field study of a small town near Harris County, Texas. The basic method used in the work was participant observation. Two kinds of observation were made -- observation of what people said, and observation of what they did. The first was made through conversations with many persons and listening in on many others involved in particular settings. At other times, non-specific, non-directed talk was important. These encounters took place in the post office, bank, markets, on the street, sometimes riding from one place to another, in the church, and in the homes of "Tanktowners."

Then, there was observation without the benefit of conversation which proved to be of value. In these instances, sequences of behavior could be observed from a distance sometimes without the individuals taking any notice of my presence.

None of the material was gained by the use of a structured set of questions although, at times, I found it necessary to ask structured-type questions to get at issues that seemed to be of importance. In this chapter, I will
briefly describe the site selection, my entry into Tanktown, problems associated with the methods, and selection of informants.

Selecting the Site

Tanktown was not chosen because it was the most ideal or opportune place in which to study ethnicity as an interpretative device in the defining and performing of deviant behavior. It was not even chosen because it was the easiest and most convenient site. In fact, it proved to be most difficult in many ways. The choice and the question actually emerged together out of other research.

In 1974, I was enrolled in a graduate seminar on Urban Anthropology. One of the requirements in the seminar was for each person to develop and carry out a research project relevant to the course. I chose to attempt an examination of the development of institutional structures that surface in urban areas as a result of rural-to-urban migration. The original plan was to select a site close enough to Houston so that I could commute without difficulty. Also, the town needed to be small enough so that I could contact and interview most of the families and examine the institutional structures of the setting. Tanktown met these criteria and, hence, was the chosen site.

Examination of the data collected for this seminar led
to other unintended observations: (1) there was a significant amount of "deviant" behavior occurring in Tanktown which was unreported (that is, to official agents of social control) and often sanctioned by members of the community; (2) it appeared to be concentrated among the Black members of Tanktown; (3) knowledge of the behavior and the participants appeared to be widespread; and (4) the behavior was also not confined to the fringes of the community; instead, it was, as "Tanktowners" would say, "right up front." I was curious, so I went back later to examine the two related questions which are the focus of this thesis.

Entry

Entry into the community the second time was easy and required no statement as to why I was there. I had already spent months of intensive work gathering historical information, examining the economic patterns which were freely discussed, trying to examine political patterns which were not so freely discussed, and observing social relations in general. Therefore, my presence was accepted. In fact, most thought I was writing a history of the town, which could also be used by them as an advertising tool later in anticipation of a burst of "progress."

Selection of Informants
Although I taped conversations with the permission of fourteen people, I did not have a selected sample of people to interview.

Initially, I began talking to a town official with whom I was acquainted. He, in turn, contacted the Mayor, who contacted the City Clerk, who introduced me to members of the City Council. Each interview produced other names which were possible contacts.

These early interviews are important because they provide the texture of the setting. In the end, however, work was carried on with eight people. The eight emerged for specific reasons. One person provided a place in which to interview residents. This was particularly important because I frequently arrived in Tanktown during the week. On those occasions, it was necessary to have something to do even if an interview was scheduled just in case the subject was late, did not show up at all, or had little to say. In addition, this person could always inform me of new developments in the community. Two other persons provided me with a cover when I began exploring the nature of deviance in the community. I do not mean to imply by my use of the term "cover" that I was attempting to deceive anyone about my identity. It was necessary to be seen with a male in the places that I had to frequent; otherwise, one might be suspected of being a "pick-up." If the response
was incorrect, I would not have been able to observe and talk to the participants freely. These two persons had no idea what I wanted from my visits to the "alley," for example. I simply said I would like to go, and once we started, it was a necessary practice that was continued.

The other five informants represent different groups of people who were useful because they either had access to important information that I could not get otherwise, or they had frequent and important contact with a large number of people in the community, so that they served as a source of checks against talk from other members or observation about them. They were the persons with whom I spoke most frequently.

Collection of the Data

The data was collected through taped interviews, informal conversations and observations. I found, after some time, that my tape recorder proved to be a hinderance to many or most of my subjects, except when the topic was of a very general nature. Although much could be said for the important data that could possibly emerge from such talk, I found it expensive and, most of all, the intimidation expressed by some of the persons did not make it worthwhile. I soon gave it up after the history was constructed in favor of listening and writing as much as I could once I
was no longer in the presence of the person talking. In some instances, there was no discomfort at all if I wrote without taping. However, I found writing not to my liking even though my shorthand was fair. Such work deprived the other persons of the benefit of my full attention to which they seemed to respond. It was especially important to be totally unencumbered in the "alley" when observing and interacting. Therefore, I never carried writing material nor a tape recorder (although I was once tempted to conceal one, but I decided against it).

Flexibility of the Method

This flexible method proved to be useful. Many people who provided invaluable information did not begin to open up until we had spent many hours together. Others even lied about situations during the early encounters. However, when they no longer felt I was a threat to them, they corrected or filled in their earlier versions.

In addition, I was able to cross-check expressions and accounts of members. For instance, one may hear the same expression in private, in public, see it acted in varying settings and, thus, document its shadings of meaning. As Becker (1962) asserts, the connectedness of social organization prevents the participants from lying to you for a long period of time and covering the lie in all of the
possible relations. Unless, he adds, the primary business is fooling outsiders. I do not think Tanktowners had this as their primary business.

Problems Associated with the Method

One problem which Becker (1962) points out that I did experience in Tanktown was encountering an informant of a higher class who, Becker claims, through unspoken etiquette of such a relationship, leaves the informant free to be rude through evasiveness or ignoring demands of the questioner. This happened only once in the setting, but it occurred between me and a White male city official who did not wish to answer questions regarding the political participation of Blacks in the community. First, he ignored the question by speaking about unrelated matters and, finally, he informed me that that had nothing to do with the history of the town.

Bias

A potential problem, and perhaps one of the things that brings the most criticism from colleagues, is bias. The question is, do friendships, loyalties, obligations and other kinds of relationships which develop over the course of this type of work make the researcher desire to protect some members of the group by not seeing or
reporting events that make them vulnerable to attack or criticism? The answer is yes. However, one can always look for cases which disprove the conclusions being drawn and, in this sense, offset the bias. Most important is to know that the researcher is an interacting participant and that no matter how one tries, some bias can always be claimed.

I must admit that I often had the desire to "clean up" the language of the subjects in this work or avoid describing certain situations so that they might be shown in a better light. Even now, I am not sure that I did not do some of this in the selection of accounts from the many that were available, but the nature of the data and its presentation always permits the reader to anchor me in this research. Therefore, I feel confident that even the biased interpretations can be seen for their value to the research.
Chapter Three

THE SETTING

This chapter provides a description of Tanktown, its people, and other ethnographic features which are important background material for the definitions and the use of categories of ethnicity, deviance and labeling. Before I begin, I should point out my unique role as a participant observer in this setting. I lived in Tanktown for nine years at an early age. At the time of this study, I had not lived there for fourteen years. However, relatives who still live in the town provided a necessary link to the other members of the community. This helped to facilitate my observation and participation. It also provided an opportunity for me to examine the researcher's role more carefully in data collection, which was discussed in Chapter Two.

Now, let us turn to a description of the town, its early history and present setting, followed by a description of the people (kinship networks, geographic locations, etc.) and, finally, a description of how the ethnographic features are used.

The history of the town was assembled from taped
interviews with six of fourteen respondents and documented through newspaper files, courthouse records, observation of artifacts in the town, and examination of grave stones in the cemeteries and indirect information in conversations.

**Early History**

The early history was shaped by the Santa Fe Railroad Company and reputed "fine" farm land. A leading citizen, J_____ G_____, in 1895, wrote:

> The soil being from three to eight feet deep of "hogswallow" character, anything I might say in praise of this land, enriched and elevated by the great overflows of the Brazos and San Bernard Rivers, would be superfluous. Suffice it that anyone exercising medium industry will average threethirds of a bale of cotton per acre and forty bushels of corn after year [Bellville Times, 1895].

Tanktown was first settled by ex-soldiers whose chief enterprise was ranching and some farming. By 1870, a thriving village of 100-200 people was formed seven miles north of the town's present site near the banks of the Brazos River. It was called "Boonesville on the Brazos."

F_____ and J_____ G_____ were the two most powerful and dynamic persons in this early history. Stories are told on both sides of the Brazos about their power and "meanness."

One informant states:

Old man G_____ was mean...why he'd just soon kill you as look at you. ... I saw him shoot old Mexican boy 'cause he said he still owed him on last year's crop...I helped bury that
boy...couldn't ever tell whether they [any workers] owed G____ or not 'cause he owned the commissary and the ferry, and so you charged all year long in the commissary and he could tell 'ya whatever he wanted... specially when most of them couldn't read or write. Boy, some died...never got through paying.

Mr. M____, a leading citizen, had this story to tell about J____ G____:

When old man G____ died, he died at home, see, and he was hollering for days before he died...and, see, they didn't have no church funeral...guess they assumed nobody would come...but, so when they got ready to carry his body out of the house on the day they was to bury him, a lot of folks was standing around outside...I guess to make sure he was really dead...well, the house caught on fire...everybody said the Devil was after him before they put him in the ground.

Despite the hatred expressed toward the G____es, they were responsible for shaping and creating the early community. The house of J____ G____, although never repaired nor lived in after the fire described above, still stands today as a testimony to his wealth and power. It is the largest in the entire town and the most decorative. Even in its deteriorated state, it is impressive.

The political and social power of this family is illustrated by their ownership and control of the ferry which connected settlements on both sides of the river, and ownership of the only commissary. In addition, J____ G____ was the Postmaster and was instrumental in getting
the Santa Fe depot located in the community.

In 1880, the railroad company laid off the town and the site of 109 acres of land was donated to the company by G_____ to secure the location of the depot in Tanktown. The depot was important because the train would stop for mail, passengers, and freight, thus increasing business and business opportunities. The Southern Pacific Railroad Company also laid track that finally crossed the Brazos River. This company placed a water tank in the settlement "over the river," as members say, which created a "tank town." The steam engine trains stopped here to take on water and make repairs. Since G_____ dominated both sides of the Brazos, his business and power were enhanced even more. Finally, he had access to the Bellville Times newspaper as a forum. A quote from one of his articles earlier and review of many issues of the paper shows that he wrote a regular column. I found no other single family who made such an impact during this early period, nor who was as powerful or as well known as the G_____s, but there were others who made important contributions.

In 1894, Czech settlers were moving into Tanktown and other northern counties of the state. They sought land to farm and were encouraged by the prospects of good farm land capable of yielding huge crops of almost anything one might want to grow. By 1895, there were 400 residents in the
town (Bellville Times, 1959). At the turn of the century, Tanktown had five general stores, three family groceries, two saloons, one lumber yard, one barber shop, two blacksmiths, three hotels, two drugstores, one gin and grist mill, one restaurant, and a Baptist church (the first established in the town). The 400 residents were made up of three groups which were distinctively different and whose differences play an important role in our later discussion.

The People

The people of Tanktown are divided into three categories: Blacks, Czechs (or Bohemians), and American Whites. These group distinctions are made by members of the community. Black informants, and the Black community in general, perceive two types of Whites in Tanktown: Bohemians and "other Whites." Czechs in the town view themselves as Whites, but there are also the "other Whites" and the "coloreds." The "other Whites" view themselves as "American Whites" and the Czechs as the "other Whites," and then there are the "coloreds."

"American Whites" are those early White settlers like the G____s described above. They were ex-soldiers turned ranchers and railroad workers. The Czechs, or Bohemians, were those White European immigrants arriving from
Czechoslovakia. Those who settled in Tanktown came primarily from Moravia, later known as the states of Bohemia and Slovakia, apparently accounting for the frequent label of "Bohemians."

These people settled in Tanktown around 1890. The first school was built in 1892. By 1895, 25 to 30 Czech families lived in or near the town.¹ All were Catholic. A church was not constructed until 1901.

In the spring of 1900, J____ M____ donated land to Tanktown for the construction of the first Catholic church.² The present church and rectory stand on the same site today. The Catholic church is of central importance to the Czech people because it was the source of many social services, such as child care, financial aid and recreation.

Black people began moving into the area much earlier than the Czechs. These newly freed slaves settled in a

¹In 1895, J____ M____, the great-grandfather of the current Mayor, settled in Tanktown. He purchased 400 acres of land from the R____ family and began farming. He also dabbled in more land deals.

²Services were conducted in the new church in the fall of that same year. The structure was destroyed by the "Galveston Storm" and services were resumed in J____ M____'s home as they had been four years prior to the disaster. The present church was completed almost fifteen years later. The old structure was remodeled, moved to the side, and used as a parochial school until 1931, when the present school was completed. Today, the building is used for social gatherings and religious classes.
section called "the Colony." One informant states:

I can remember Grandma H____ telling us how they came in here on a wagon. Land was cheap then...you could buy for a few dollars an acre, and so they came in here and settled down to farm. I have a copy of the deed to the land down there in the Colony...that's where the "coloreds" first settled.

The oldest living member of Tanktown's community at the time of this study was a Black woman 104 years old (she died in the spring of 1976). Ms. K____, born March 5, 1968, came with her parents to Tanktown at the age of six (1874). This informant knew many generations of people and provided background information which served as a source of collaboration and a way of checking on others' accounts. In addition, she was the mid-wife for the general area and always assisted Dr. B____ with deliveries. When Dr. B____ was unable to tend to a childbirth, Aunt S____, as she was called by her family and all of the White members of the community who knew her, took care of the mothers and babies.

Aunt S____ remembers when she and her former slave parents moved to the area:

There were only a few houses, one store owned by a Mr. G____, but later, Mr. G____, who had the commissary near the river, took over the store. Mr. G____ was responsible for naming the town "Tanktown" after the railroad came through. His son, R____, later operated the store and was the Postmaster.

This ethnic division is "real" for the townspeople and the orientation has influenced the economic, political and
social relations of Tanktown. When members talk of their social, political, religious or economic affairs, past and present, they refer to the ethnic differences outlined and the history of their arrival.

According to one Czech informant, his people fared well economically upon their arrival in Tanktown:

We were primarily farmers, and soon after my grandaddy settled down here he built and operated a cotton gin...it was the first gin ...my grandaddy bought the first 400 acres of land.

He continued with a description of another Czech family's economic success, the P____s, who came after the informant's family. They operated the saloon and, after the town voted dry in 1896, the saloon was turned into a general store which served the community as a general merchandise store until the late 1960s. The R____ family owned and operated the local meat market which is still operated today by younger members of the family. The Czechs view themselves as prime movers in the community -- hard workers --they came with little and accomplished a lot. Today, they control the town politically, socially and economically.

The American Whites, the original settlers, were in control of the economy until the Czechs entered. One American White, explaining how the Czechs got control, had this to say:

It's like I told you. The Bohemians, the
Czechs, come in here and they'd rent three or four years, but most bought you out after the third year. They could borrow money from that Bohemian lodge [Slavic Benevolent Order of the State of Texas] over at Fayetteville. That's where most of them come from. Over there and LaGrange and Plum. Anyway, they came drifting in here and they'd find out how good it was and all about it and then they'd borrow the money from there and pay it off. Land was cheap, you know...they stole the land right out from under us.

This statement was supported by Ms. S____, a town official and also an American White. Although Mr. S____ did not use the word "stole," he did say that the Czechs were primarily farmers and were able to survive a lot longer than the small ranchers or other business operators.

Blacks were also farmers, but few could afford any sizeable tracts of land. Some did, however, own their own farms. Most worked for wages or share cropped for the larger and more powerful White farmers. Others were tenant farmers. At least two Black families did own a business -- one owned a saloon and barber shop, and the other owned a blacksmith shop. After the railroad came to Tanktown, many of the men went to work for the Santa Fe Railroad.

These economic patterns for Blacks are similar to those chronicled over and over again throughout the country at that time. They were blocked from full participation in the economic development process and remain in a disadvantaged position today. Ms. E____ best describes how the
Blacks perceive their economic position:

I don't know. As long as white folk got hold of everything, what you gon' do? Old Miss____, the welfare woman, she running around putting all of these old white folk on the government, even Mr. P____, and I know you know that man don't need no check from the government. But she didn't want me or T____ on; said 'ya'll got educated children to help you...But Miss M____ said she'd help me get on and she did. But she's white, you see. Colored people don't have no say so.

The use of ethnic differentiation between groups appears to be an important device for members in their interpretations of the past and present situation, and it is seen as an important feature in routine day-to-day activities. The Czechs describe themselves as stable, hard workers who struggled against great odds and won, they chronicle accomplishment for which they are proud. The American Whites feel they achieved a lot -- they built a town but had it "stolen" by the "Bohemians." Blacks, on the other hand, believe that they have been kept down, that "the Whites" have everything and they are unable to make significant progress in any area, i.e., political, social or economic.

This ethnic interpretation will receive further discussion toward the end of this chapter and will be the focus of the discussion in the following chapters, but first, a description of the physical layout of the town is necessary to understand the interaction of its members.
Town Today

Tanktown can best be described in sections named and used by its members to relate to each other. These are: "town," the "hill," the "colony," the "quarters," the "bottom," the "country," and the "alley."

"Town" consists of an area about six city blocks long and two blocks wide. All of the shops and activities are located along two main streets which are parallel to the Santa Fe Railroad, the track running down the middle of town. As you enter the community (going west), on the south side of the street is the cotton gin and two service stations. A short distance back from the street between the service station and a store front in an alcove is "Earl's Place," a cafe. About a half block farther down is the Western Auto Store, which is a recent addition. This was the store formerly operated by the P____ family, who now also manage the Western Auto Store. Next to it is a vacant building which was once the liquor store run by the county deputy sheriff. At this point, a side street (street 'A') intersects the two main streets, the south end of which is known as the "alley." The alley is lined with "joints" -- places to dance, drink beer, shoot pool, play dominoes, checkers, and sometimes eat. Also in this cluster of neon lights and blaring music is the gambling
shack and an old abandoned car out of which whiskey is sold after hours. These are almost exclusively Black businesses, but the gambling shack and the bootleg whiskey were controlled by the county deputy sheriff. A barber shop was once located in the alley, but that was fifteen years ago. The alley is our area of focus later in this discussion.

If we continue down the main street on the south side, the next block includes Irene's Cafe, known to Blacks as the "White cafe" (it was segregated until 1967). The "City Meat Market" is next. It has been an important feature of the town for some years because of its "quality meats." A few doors down is the one food market which was owned for more than a generation by Mr. G____ and, later, his sons. He lost the store in a "crap" game in 1969. The ownership changed hands many times after that until the store was permanently closed in 1977. The nearest food market other than the "Stop N Go" is twelve miles to the west, or seven miles south, or fifteen miles east, or seven miles north.

An antique store is on the corner at the end of this block. The side street that intersects here (street 'B') contains the cleaners (owned and operated by a Black), and the community's first integrated "night spot" which differs from the "joints" in that the building is newly remodeled,
comfortable tables and chairs are provided, and there is a waitress to serve the customers. The next block is rather vacant as the few buildings located on it are deserted. One of these buildings was once the local drugstore, but it has been closed since about 1960. At the end of the block is another service station (Texaco). You are now leaving town. If we cross the railroad at this point and turn east, on the north side of the street, the local bank is the first building encountered. It dominates this first block. Side street 'B' contains the Fire Department and the local mortuary for "Whites only." Crossing street 'B', we come to the post office and, next to it, the "Stop N Go" drive-in. At street 'A', on this side of the tracks, we enter a residential area. It does have one garage on it and the local butane gas company. The supplier works out of his back yard. This is essentially the town's business district.

Those who live on the fringes of this business district are all part of the concept of "town." Most of the families who live here are White. Those Whites who do not live in town usually have (or had) a fair sized farm and have lived there a long time or recently bought a piece of property, and they become historical landmarks, so members might say, "He owns the old G.R. place," or "He's right on the road to..."
Some "respectable" Black families live in town among the White families; however, most are concentrated in the other sections, such as the "colony," which is a small settlement of Blacks on the outside of town. No one is quite sure how it got its name, but all are sure that it was the original settlement of the Blacks who first entered the community. It is located about three miles east of town. Here, the first school and church for Blacks were organized.

Shortly after settling in this place, these families began to purchase land in other areas that were available to them, such as the "country" and the "bottoms." The "country" is approximately five miles south of town, and the "bottoms" is located about seven miles northeast of town. The land was purchased for keeping their cows and for farming. The original purchases often included just a home site. Only one or two families actually lived in the bottoms or country -- those who lived there were considered less well-off than others and not as respectable.

The "hill" and "quarters" are closer to town and are also predominantly Black areas. One White family lives in the "quarters," but none could be found in the area known as the "hill." Unlike the image it may provoke, the "hill" is not much of a hill and is not an area that is considered to be of any high status. The housing is much poorer here.
than in the other areas with the exception of the "colony," which is mainly occupied by aged and infirmed Blacks. It is very close to town. If one continued to travel south through the alley, he would find the "hill" at the end of the street about one-quarter of a mile south of town.

Additional background information, such as church affiliation, economic status, and relations between groups, are related to these geographic locations. For example, most of the persons on the "hill" were Methodist and were members of two specific families, the L____s and the K____s. Those persons living in town were members of Aunt S____'s family and one other prominent family, the B____s. They, too, are members of the Methodist church. Those in the "quarters" were persons who moved in from the "bottoms" or from "over the river" -- across the Brazos. These persons are Baptist and are considered less well off than town folk and less respectable than most hill folk.

Now that there is a geographic description of the placement of people, let us return to the ethnicity and its use in the interaction process.

 Ethnicity as an Interpretative Device

Ethnicity, as pointed out in Chapter One, is a sense of shared likeness used by members of groups as a basis for identification and interaction. The town history
presented earlier in this chapter seems to show that people in Tanktown differentiated themselves along a cognitive axis of ethnicity and time. This was visible because when interviewing members, each referred to themselves and others by specific group labels. Three such labels emerged: "American Whites," "coloreds," and "Bohemians/Czechs."

The "American Whites" are those individuals who identify themselves as descendants of the founding fathers of "America," and they have no ties or allegiance to another country. One informant put it this way:

I have a little bit of Irish in me, a little bit of German, and whatever else, but my family goes back five generations in this town, and that's a lot of history. This town is now about 90% Bohemian, 7% German, and 2% American White. I reckon I'm the only full-blooded American left here. I guess that's 1%, huh?

A Black respondent made the following observation:

When they [meaning the Czechs] come in, most of this was ranch land. The American man was ranching, and when the Bohemians come, he went to farming, and he was making more [money] farming than they was ranching, and they just eased on in and took over.

In an informal discussion with the Mayor, who is Czech, we see that there is, in turn, a separation of "other" Whites of Tanktown from the Czechs. Examine the following comments:

R: Let me see now, during that time...there was first a cotton gin over there by this fellow right here [pointing to his notes]...K____
K, and there was the Josey Hotel... and we had two doctors...

I: Oh, really? I've only heard about Dr. B.

R: Yes, well, there was Dr. B, and there was Dr. K. He was the Czech doctor.

(Interruption)

Yes, Dr. B was well known, but Dr. K took care of most of the Czech people.

The Mayor's accounts in general were so totally centered on the migration and progress of the Czech people, that to any question I asked about others in the town, he responded with, "I don't know," or "you might be able to get it someplace else."

Blacks also perceived themselves as different and used the same categories Whites used to designate the differences between themselves and Whites in general, and specific categories of Whites in particular. An example is the statement by the former Black principal:

...recreation...I think that recreation facilities for Whites and 'colored' both are better because lotta' times, you know, the same recreation for the Whites was for the 'coloreds'...when we had a football game or something in the gym, 'coloreds' and the Whites came...a library with books and things...now, you understand, but a lotta' those people don't understand [meaning 'coloreds'] what a library means to children and those children read books, honey, and...er...some children read a hundred books...and we had some 'coloreds' came and asked me about some 'colored' books...special 'colored' books, and so we...I named and we got 'em...don't have as many as we oughta', but we do have a variety of 'colored' books.
His reference was always to the "coloreds" and the "Whites." One might assume that he was old and this was an old southern way; however, a younger Black female made the following comments in discussing a wedding reception:

This shore' is nice [looking around at the American Legion Hall]...'colored' folk don't have nothin' like this of their own. It'd be nice if we did...I work here cleaning up for some of the big parties for the Whites and it's just as nice.

Time is another aspect of ethnic differentiation. It is also used to anchor the different histories. For example, when Mr. C____, the "last of the American Whites," talks about his background, he informs me that his family goes back five generations in the town. In addition, when he attempts to explain his relationship with the "coloreds," he states:

R: I remember when I was a boy, I used to run down there and fight that colored boy...I don't remember his name, but his mama was old M____ S____; she washed for us. I'd whop him...he'd be trying to get to that old wooden dirk [knife-like] that he made for himself. Everytime he'd get up, I'd knock him down and he'd try to get that thing out of his pocket. Course, he'd knock me down once in a while...but we sure used to fight...I used to sneak in old M____'s window and get into her cornbread. Then she'd catch me and throw me on her high bed and say, "Mr. C____, I'm gonna' getcha'." She'd just laugh. But her boy used to say later, "You know, Mr. C____, you taught me to fight like a white man," and I said, "Yeah, and you taught me to fight like...er [pause]...a colored man."
I:  How old were you?
R:  'Bout nine or ten.  [He is now 73.]

This focus on time is observable in the general description of Tanktown's history from each ethnic group.

An ethnic schema is also applied to the economic, political and social relations and used as an interpretative device to give meaning to actions in these areas.

Economic Relations and Commuting

The railroad was very important to Tanktown and with its decline, in addition to the reduction of the farming of cotton. The town did not continue to grow or attract people. Younger members of the community began to leave for jobs and educational opportunities in the larger cities. Those who remained either worked with small crews repairing the railroads, or carried on small family farming. The automobile also had its influence as persons could travel longer distances to work. As a result, others, especially the young, began to commute to outlying areas to work as laborers.

Commuters from Tanktown to other points consisted of young males and females. They travel up to 90 miles a day to work. The places of work include Valley Lodge (7 miles away) in Simonton (Ft. Bend County); the State School for Children in Richmond (16 miles away); W-K-M in Missouri City
(30 miles); Houston for day-labor (38 miles); and Galveston (90+ miles) to the Duval Sulphur Company. Until 1970, Duval had a mining plant located in Orchard, Texas, about seven miles from Tanktown, which employed more than twenty workers. Five retired when the mine was shut down.

Blacks make up the largest number of commuters. As many women commute as do men. The primary difference is the distance. Men generally commute the longest distances.

This decline in the traditional economic base, with emphasis on commuting, influenced changes in other areas related to the economy. For example, by the late 1950's, there was no doctor living in the town. The one attorney died and was not replaced. The jail became obsolete and the in-residence deputy was replaced by a county patrol unit. The local Postmaster described the present situation in the following way:

Well, it's so much easier to get into Houston now-a-days, 45 minutes out of Houston. Now, there's competition, Weingarten's and Henke's Stores, like that, and it's hard for a local merchant to compete with them kind of people. You can't blame the people [meaning Tanktown residents] because they're looking out to get by too. It's cheaper. But it does hurt the economy...

When asked what he thought was the mainstay of Tanktown's economy, he continued:

Right now, what's sustaining this area? Well, of course, you know people drive back and forth to Houston. I guess you've got
'em commuting back and forth...actually, if it was dependent on farming or the S.P. [the railroad], it just wouldn't be here. But by going into Houston, Galveston and other places, we keep going.

Commuting, then, appears to be important to the survival of the town. Recently, the Houston Lighting and Power Company announced intentions to construct a nuclear power plant in the area. This would stimulate the economy, and many residents hope it will revive the town. The former school superintendent and now City Clerk asserts:

We need that power plant. It's progress. But the people here don't understand that. For example, there's this old guy owns all that land up there on the corner by ___'s place...he's still hanging on to that property and we [the City] need it to build housing and things for the people coming in. Well, you know what we [City Council] did? We just passed a law...the tax will make it not worth his while.

According to the City Clerk, he and the other council members were just looking out for the best interest of all the people in the town. These economic shifts have also influenced the political structures.

**Political Relations**

In anticipation of the construction of the power plant, the town was incorporated in 1973, and the first laws passed were two tax laws; one, as we observed, was designed to force a resident to sell his property. Prior to incorporation, Tanktown was under the supervision of the county with
a commissioner as its representative. Road repairs, law enforcement, education and other social services were dispensed by the county government.

After incorporating, the City elected a Mayor and five Councilmen (there are no women). Several months later, they passed their first tax law, which was designed to separate residents outside of the township from Tanktown residents. The purpose was, of course, to provide services, such as water and sewage and other city services, for which persons would now be taxed through the city government.

The composition of the new city government is of interest because it reflects the shifts in power inferred earlier among the groups. The Mayor is an old-timer, Czech, a mail carrier, a member of the Catholic church, he owns a tract of land and is White. The five Councilmen are all White. With the exception of one, all are Czech and are old-timers or men from families that go back to the early ninetenth century.

The political involvement and influence is also perceived in ethnic terms. The perception is an unequal distribution of power in Tanktown. White, Czech males hold all of the power. They act as if they do and Blacks have accepted this as part of their social reality, i.e., Whites have power and Blacks do not. The following comments regarding the absence of Black representation in city
government are presented as an illustration:

I: What about their [Blacks] representation on the Council or other areas of planning and government?

City Clerk: Of course, there 'are' none on the Council, but there could be later. Like I said earlier, we have always, always gotten on well; no trouble at all. You take when we integrated the schools, we didn't have one bit of trouble.

Postmaster: There's no 'colored' person on the Council, but there could be. You know, though, the 'colored' people in Tanktown has always known that they'd get what's coming to them. We always had some fine upstanding citizens. You take Aunt S... best person you ever did see; anybody will tell you that. She was the town mid-wife for years until she was just too old to do it. She was Dr. B's mid-wife years ago.

I: Who would you recommend for a Council position?

Postmaster: Well, I don't know. We got some real good 'colored' citizens.

"Aunt S" is 104 years old and in a nursing home near by. She is hardly capable of assuming a position on the Council nor any other place in government. This was only one of many instances that a White informant put off a question by referring to Ms. K as the "model" "colored" citizen -- baby sitter, maid, mid-wife to the "colored" women in Dr. B's absence.

Ms. E, a Black informant responding to my
inquiries about a Black man's attempt to win a place on the council, observed that B____ J____ had run:

R: ...but he couldn't get it...he's so nasty, 'biggity' [uppity]...everybody was saying they wondered why he put himself up there. White folks sure didn't want him...'course now, if they wanted him, he'd got it, but B____'s too 'biggity'. Maybe if he wasn't, he'd be alright.

I: Did somebody else try?

R: Uh-uh. I tell 'ya, White folk ain't wanting you to put yourself up to them.

Blacks, therefore, perceive Whites as being in control of the political and economic structure. It is an "us" and "them" perception which is not new. On the contrary, it has been shown repeatedly that groups make distinctions between the "in" group and the "out" group. To recognize others as strangers implies a recognition of limitations of shared understandings, differences in criteria for judgement of value and performance, and restrictions of interaction to sectors of assumed common understanding and mutual interest. Mrs. E____'s comments about B____ running for a council position supports this notion of boundaries by illustrating how B____, a Black male, has not adhered to the mutual understanding about interaction between Blacks and Whites -- "If they had wanted him..." he would have gotten the position. The maintenance of these boundaries and the continued use of power as one
aspect of defining these boundaries can be observed in the following chapters.

The social relations are also ordered along ethnic lines. I will discuss these next.

Social Relations

A description of the social life in Tanktown elaborates the use of the ethnic scheme. This area is perceived as structured along ethnic lines and as being related to the economic and political relations. There is little social mixing of "coloreds" and Whites, and limited mixing among "American Whites" and the Czechs. Social gatherings take three rather definite forms: church, bingo, and alley entertainment. Although there are few weddings now, they are big events and so are family reunions which usually occur in relationship to holidays, such as Christmas. These are especially important among members of the Black community.

Organizations, such as the Masons and the American Legion, and their auxiliaries, the Eastern Star and the Legion Auxiliary, play an important part in the White community's social life. They were important (segregated activities) for the Blacks until the early 1960s. It appears that there are few young Blacks interested in replacing those who have died or are too old to carry on such activities.
Bingo is particularly important to Whites. It is played weekly at the Catholic church and one night a week (Friday) at the Legion Hall. Recently, some Blacks have begun to come to the Hall to play. On a Friday night, as many as 100 people (Black and White, but mostly White) may be found there on these occasions.

Another less visible social activity of White males is "heavy" gambling. The activity is not visible because the gambling is usually done outside of town in abandoned houses or in the summers "under the stars," as one informant put it. There was always a "lookout," a person who stood watch to warn the gamblers if someone was approaching. Many humorous stories circulate about one Black male who frequently served as the "lookout," who was said to believe in ghosts and, since the gambling was done at night in lonely deserted places, he was always afraid. The accounts of gambling are documented by the widespread knowledge that a local prominent businessman lost his home and business in a game. Although Blacks gamble, it is on a much smaller scale, and it is also a segregated activity and is confined to the alley, which was mentioned earlier.

The Black community's main social activity in Tanktown is church. "Respectable" Blacks go to church, work, and stay home or visit relatives on occasion. The less respectable fill the joints (cafes) in the alley on weekends and
occasionally go to church.

The alley is a place where persons may get together to drink (none of the establishments have a liquor license, but persons can bring their own bottle), dance, play dominoes, make sexual encounters, gamble and buy after-hour liquor. At one time, you could also get your shoes shined, your hair cut, and eat a "sit-down" meal on the "right" side of the alley. This side was informally reserved for the youth. Teenagers could enter the cafe to dance and visit with each other. It was the only social activity for Black youth besides school and church.

This description of Tanktown's setting -- geographic placement of people, economic, social and political relations -- provides a knowledge of boundaries and boundary maintenance. It also indicates negotiation of the boundaries and labels in this setting. The clearest examples are in the areas of territorial boundaries, such as churches and recreational facilities. One Czech informant, a town official who is Catholic, was asked what Whites attended the White Baptist church:

I don't know who goes to that church, you might ask Mr. S...he's Baptist, but I don't know who else could tell you.

Mr. S is also a town official and the local Postmaster, but he is an "American White," as are the other White Baptists, and there is little or no contact in the
churches since the large majority of the Czechs are Catholic.

Blacks, of course, are not participants in the White churches at all; however, these boundaries are constantly being negotiated. For instance, the public bingo games, which had been almost exclusively an activity of the Czechs, are now including Blacks and American Whites. In addition, I was invited by the Mayor and the local priest to attend mass. The Mayor encouraged me to come and note the beauty of the church structure.

This interpretative negotiated activity is especially important because "mainstream" sociology's primary assumption that interaction is based on shared norms that are culturally prescribed and transmitted is shaky to say the least. In this case, as Barth has concluded, if the people have a sense of shared agreement about rules, the agreement need not extend beyond that which is relevant to the social situations in which they interact. This implication is important to this thesis, for in the remainder of it, my task is to show how ethnicity may be used as an underlying scheme of interpretation to construct rules and deviance. In the next section, "The Alley," I begin an examination of some of the background features for this construction process. I have already shown that the "alley" is a place frequented by "non-respectables", according to members of the community. That is, if they are on the wrong side of the street.
The Alley

The alley has undergone changes because of the economic shifts mentioned earlier. The most profound impact was made by the decline in cotton farming. Many migrant workers once came to Tanktown to pick cotton. The workers provided an infusion of business and entertainment during the harvest season. However, farming declined during the 1950s and the migrants no longer came. An informant put it this way:

The alley used to "jump"...it don't jump no more...least not like it used to.

He meant that there were times when the joints would be crowded, especially when a band from Houston would come in to play.

Other changes have occurred here too. One can now buy "dope" in the alley and make homosexual contacts. The barber shop and shoe shine parlor are gone, and there is little separation between the teenagers and adults who come to the area. Like the church, the alley has its "regulars" (see page 158).

Alley regulars exchange all the latest gossip, but they are careful not to speak about people who are present if that gossip is considered "bad" or grounds for a fight. For example, individuals mentioned H____'s homosexuality, but no one challenged him nor ridiculed him openly about it.

Gossip is a form of communication not only in the alley, but
throughout the community. As a communication mechanism, it is good because the community is small and families are tied together by blood and marriage, so almost all members are connected as relatives or in-laws. The family kinship group shows how these members are tied together (see page 162).

Observation and participation among the alley regulars provided the ethnographic material from which analyses and conclusions in this study are drawn regarding construction of deviance and labels. These constructions were expanded by information from other members of the community.

**Deviance**

Through observation and participation in the alley and interviews with eight informants who frequent the alley (6) or are knowledgeable about alley activities (2), I was able to examine how members perceived definitions of deviance, who was deviant, and how they were labeled.

The ethnic scheme of interpretation used to tie the political, economic and social relations together is also an important device used to interpret responses to deviance. One example comes from Ms. A____, a Black respondent who made the following comments:

R: C____ and some other boys [young men] started to bring "hot" meat from up there at the plant where they work...people was just buying it right and left.

I: Whites too?
R: You know you know better than that.

I: Just thought I'd ask.

R: Cute, huh? They don't need to steal, it belongs to 'em. They got everything. Well, they stole that meat for a long time...came by here one day with a fourth of a cow. Begged me to store it in my freezer until they could sell it. But I didn't have no room. And I didn't have no money to amount to nothing to buy some. T____ filled up her box.

Mrs. A____ is an older woman who is an ardent church-goer, but she appears to feel that stealing the meat and selling it was all right because Whites have everything. Later in the conversation, she says, "times are so hard for everybody," meaning Blacks.

Mrs. W____, another Black respondent using ethnicity as a scheme of interpretation, explains why G____ and her daughter-in-law stole from the restaurant in which they worked:

R: Them White folk work her [meaning G____] to death, so she might as well get something out of it.

I: How much do they pay?

R: When K____ was working there, they paid her $2.15 an hour, but now K____ cooks, so it oughta be a little more. But my land, they want you to come six days a week from morning til' night. K____ used to take the stuff too. She say here, "I brought some shrimp" or whatever, "I fix they old butts since they don't want us to have it".

I: Did she ever take a lot?
R: Oh, yeah! But I told her, "Baby, it ain't worth it if you get caught." Course now, they'll come there, mess over...I don't know how much...and they'd rather throw it out than see the 'colored' folk take it home. [She was referring to the Whites who ate at the club.]

Here, we see the respondents perceive Whites as a group being responsible for low pay, overwork and discrimination, i.e., "they don't want to see 'coloreds' eat the food."
Thus, the stealing is justified. Mrs. W____ demonstrates this by her warnings to her daughter-in-law ("Baby, it ain't worth it if you get caught").

Several tentative arguments emerge in regard to traditional sociological theory.
1. Deviance is a result of a construction process.
2. A normative objective category of deviance is neutralized by the use of an ethnic scheme of interpretation.
3. The definition and neutralization of the behavior is created by embedding it in a context of ethnic stratification.

Through Mrs. W____'s use of ethnicity as a scheme of interpretation, we observe that she neutralizes the act of stealing. From her perspective, it is no longer defined as deviant. Thus, ethnic stratification, as a context, may be used in a particular manner which results in acts receiving statuses which may be negotiated, i.e., they may be deviant only when relevant in a particular context.
In Chapter Four, we will trace out in some detail this process of construction of deviant labels which leads to some important conclusions:

1. New forms of deviance are defined by Blacks in this setting.

2. These forms are not addressed in traditional sociology.

3. These forms may prove useful in understanding behavior labeled deviant by traditional sociologists.
Chapter Four

THE USE OF ETHNICITY TO CONSTRUCT DEVIANCE

This chapter describes some of the basic practices used by people to construct deviance. The analysis focuses on the construction process engaged in by me and the members of the Tanktown setting. Its departing point is the set of categories of deviance that emerge from my interpretation and observation at Tanktown. It is the construction of these categories and the production of the interpretations that are the topic of this chapter and Chapter Five. I must again point out that this is not a comparison between Blacks' and Whites' versions of deviance in Tanktown, nor am I invoking a standard of what is deviant. I am examining the methods that the people and I used to invoke definitions of deviant labels.

This chapter is an examination of my work as researcher and of members in this construction process. Definitions were achieved by the use of utterances of the people of Tanktown. They, in turn, use the same set of interpretative procedures to make known the context and categories of deviance. These procedures are: (1) Descriptive Vocabulary of Indexicality; (2) Third Party and Indirect Evidence;
(3) Retrospective and Prospective Interpretation; (4) Indicators: Deviant and Non-Deviant Behavior; and (5) Ethnicity as a Scheme of Interpretation.

In the remainder of the chapter, the dynamics of this construction will be examined. My construction is illustrated first, followed by an analysis of the members' constructions.

I began my analysis by constructing a simple typology of deviance based on the members' talk and actions. Information used to make this construction illustrates the use of the interpretative practices mentioned above. For example, it shows how indexical expressions stand on behalf of labels; how behavior linked to the label may be deviant or non-deviant; how accounts of behavior are assumed to be factual and are taken for granted; and how interpretative procedures are used to imbue the accounts with their facticity through the et cetera principle (Garfinkel, 1967), and retrospective and prospective interpretation (Kitsuse, 1968). Institutional forms of the collectivity, that is, race and ethnicity, were made known through the context described as the setting in Chapter Three, and used as a context to supply the deviant/non-deviant meaning to behavior. Each one will be discussed later in this chapter.
RESEARCHER'S CONSTRUCTION

How the categories of deviance emerged is the topic of this section, along with how the interpretative procedures cited above were used by me to create and hear the sense of deviances and the labels.

This typology emerged from members' talk. Such a construction is valid because "talk" is fundamental to all research. Normative and interpretative models fail in explanatory power without it. Garfinkel (1967) has shown that although the world presents itself as an organized setting, for the researcher, the "organization" is an accomplishment for the persons in the setting, and it is an accomplishment for the analyst. He demonstrates, through his study of several different situations, how the accomplishment is achieved, and he identifies the practices used, some of which will be examined later in this work, such as the et cetera clause.

An important aspect of Garfinkel's discussion of "talk" is the concept of reflexivity. He contends that the accomplishment of a sense of organization or norms in any situation has a reflexive character (see also Schutz, 1958; Merleau Ponty, 1960) in that, as the actors make their setting known through accounts of others, they at once elaborate the sense of norms or organizations for themselves.
Similarly, when the researcher uses the prescriptions of the actors in a setting to locate, identify and organize or recognize it to be what it is, the prescriptions become law-like, and these may be turned back upon the situation.

Zimmerman and Pollner, discussing Wieder's (1970) use of talk in *Telling the Convict Code*, also examines the pivotal role of "natural language" (i.e., talk). They point out that Wieder describes "rules", as naturally occurring phenomena, are observable to social scientists and other scholars in and through the societal members' talk. We can observe rules because people "talk" rules and "tell" rules, and they do so by making the rules evident to each other by talking about them. Talking about the rules simultaneously accomplishes them.

Thus, this typology represents an accomplishment of categories of deviance by me through the talk of residents of Tanktown. The order of the typology does not point to more or less activity or importance of either category.

**Typology of Deviance**

Type I  - Buying and selling of "hot" goods. (F., C.R.)
Type II - Buying and selling of "dope." (D., I., J., E., C.R., W.)
Type III - Homosexuality  - male (R.R.)
                   - female (W., B., H., E.)
Type IV - Murder, arson and burglary.

W.M.  C.R.  I.V.
E.Z.L.  J.

Type I: Stolen Goods

Buying stolen goods is a common event. Most of the items come from outside the community and, generally, the persons selling are outsiders who are not known to members. Everything, from clothes to jewelry, is for sale. Most members of the Black group have participated in this trade at one time or another. Some claim that it was only after the seller came several times that they realized the items were stolen, but they bought them anyway.

Mrs. T_____, for example, a woman about 65 years of age, bought regularly from the "old clothes man." One day, after he had not come for about three months, she was discussing his whereabouts with a friend and stated, "I didn't know at first that them things were 'hot' 'till he said, 'now, T_____, I can't get you exactly what you want all the time'...he had that smile on his face and I said, 'Oh, I see'...I knew then they was 'hot'.' The women continue their conversation with Ms. M_____ commenting, "some person used to always be passing through; don't see too many of 'em."

It appears, however, that the practice has been taken
up by some of the young locals who steal and sell on their own. For example, Ms. E____ made the following observation:

C____ and some other boys started bringing 'hot meat' from up there at the plant where they work...people were buying it right and left...They stole that meat for a long time...came by here one day and begged me to store it in my freezer, but I didn't have no room.

This same woman, speaking with her son on another occasion, discussed the stealing and attempted sale of three cash registers and other objects:

Mother: ...J____ K____ is looking for 'ya.

Son: I ain't stud'n J____; saw him yesterday, he's talking a lot of s--t about them cash registers.

Mother: You should'a stayed out of that...

Son: Hell, he's damn lie if he's trying to make out I had somthin' to do with it. That day I saw him, he said, "look here, man, I got these three cash registers... you wanna' take 'em off my hands for a few bucks?" But see, the nigger told me a lie 'cause he said old man he worked for in F____ gave 'em to him for doing some work.

Mother: Well, Mr. J____ came by here, told me I'd better get in touch with you 'cause J____ K____ said you had 'em, and I guess he figured you helped steal 'em.

Son: I didn't know he stole 'em even though I figured it 'cause of the way he was carrying on, "...ah, come on, man, I know ya' got ten bucks for one..."; besides, they was in too good a shape to be give-aways.

After he leaves, the mother continues:
R: Well, I hope Lord he didn't have nothing to do with it.

I: What's going on?

R: Child, I ____.

I: Who?

R: You know, M____'s youngest boy. He's outrageous...him and J____ K____ are outlaws. They'll steal anything they can get their hands on...stole this man's cash registers and didn't have any better sense than to go over to S____ to try to sell 'em...stole right up there at F____...they tell me I ____ stole that stuff from F____ and had it stored under his mama's porch...when the law came, started pulling out stuff, M____ didn't know what to make of it. You know, that's a shame, but he and J____ are something else.

This final statement appears to be a contradiction of support for "pushing" stolen items. However, it is evident later in the analysis that the construction process is dynamic and the same behavior may be deviant and non-deviant.

Type II: Dope

Buying and selling "dope" (marijuana, "speed," etc.) appears to be even more common than buying and selling "hot goods." There is common knowledge of its use, who sells it, and where it is sold. For instance, those who are users and sellers tend to "hang out" in the alley, so it is believed to be the primary source of contact for the trade. Despite the widespread use and knowledge of that use, arrests or
direct sanctions were not made. However, as this research was nearing completion, the main contact person was jailed and later sentenced to prison. The following excerpts demonstrate the use and knowledge of the drug traffic in Tanktown:

Mrs. D____, age 60, describes a user:

Lord, here comes C____ [an alley regular]...
Look how old he looks... on that 'stuff' all the time...

When asked what 'stuff' she meant, she replied:

Dope, honey. Dope.

Not knowing what she called "dope," she was asked what kind of dope C____ used.

I don't really know, but they say W____ [an alley regular] gets it for them...
whatever they want... pills, stuff to sniff, weed, anything.

Another respondent, J____, age 36 and an alley regular, made the following comments about W____ and her sisters:

...they roll joints [marijuana] and smoke 'em right in the streets. W____ sells the stuff... weed, pills, you name it, she can get it... E____ [another alley regular who does not live in Tanktown but comes in nearly every weekend] brings some in from Houston. But I was told her operation is big. B____ says a helicopter delivers to her.

He was asked how many people knew about W____ selling dope. "Everybody" was the response. His comment, "everybody" may appear to be an overstatement, but it is understandable based on observations and information of users which show
that they represent ties with nearly every Black family in the community. In addition, the twelve Black informants represent ties through blood or marriage with all of the families and each supports the others' claim of W____'s involvement in the drug traffic.

Type III: Homosexuality

Homosexuality was usually referred to in vague terms and never clearly stated as "homosexuality;" rather, members describe behavior and attributes of other members as "wierd," "funny," or "really something," "sissies," etc. For example, Mrs. D____, describing W____ and her sisters, states:

...both those girls are "really something."
They say that H_____ and B_____ are both men.

When asked to explain, she said:

...you know, they mess around with other women.

B_____, age 45 and an alley regular, regarding homosexuality, commented:

...Most of them is really "wierd." R____, you know what a "stud" they claim he was...
[nod]...well, you know, we all knew old L____ N____ was "funny," well, that's R_____ now...some folk say they've seen L____ N____ and R_____ together...

The informant was asked to explain what people saw and he retorted:

Now what do "sissies" do?
The respondent seemed exasperated by the question and, after some pursuing questions, the matter was dropped.

Type IV: Murder, Arson and Burglary

These three categories are lumped together because of infrequency of the acts and the limited number of members involved (4). However, we should note that two of them are also represented in the pool of dope users and/or sellers, and also in the lesbian action. The following illustrations are useful:

I: B____ was telling me about drug use here.

Ms. M: Oh, that's nothing. This town has gone crazy. These youngsters are all over in F____ robbing and stealing. M____'s boy had his stuff all under her house when the 'law' came. She didn't even know what was happening. And W____ and E____, both of 'em's kinda' crazy...always have been, you know. So what you 'gon get 'em in trouble for, just 'cause M____ [the mother] some more trouble and swear she don't need that... W____ killed J____ while she was pregnant.

I: Who killed J____?...why did W____ kill J____?

Ms. M: That's a long story. Some say it was about B____ J____, but nobody knows for sure. E____ said he was defending himself.

Another respondent, Mr. B____, in an informal conversation, said:

Mr. B: It's kinda' dead around this town now... especially since E____ died and C____
burned down B____'s place. You know, they never did anything about that. I thought B____ was so 'bad' he'd do something about it, but he didn't.

I: Do you know why he did it?

Mr. B: Tell me he was mad cause' old B____ said something ugly to him...dared him in his place [joint]...C R____ said he'd fight 'im...he'd burn the g_d_m f____ down... He did. [giggles]

These descriptions of alleged dope use, homosexuality, stealing and other behavior traditionally labeled deviant, and the subjects' understanding of that behavior requires interpretative work, first, to construct the labels and, second, to use them as sense-making devices to explain the behavior. The expressions are often equivocal, often having more than one meaning. The members frequently leave unsaid the particular meaning they want the hearer to select, and the listener has to decide its specific sense even though there are times when the specific sense is not clear. For example, the terms used in the accounts of homosexuality are not direct; rather, they point to or stand on behalf of homosexuality. These expressions are used to make unequivocal statements that nevertheless appear to change in meaning. How this is accomplished is important because it is the process of "hearing labeling" which is part of the total process.

Let us turn to an examination of the interpretative
practices used to define deviance by the people of Tanktown and myself. The practices include: descriptive vocabularies; indexicality; third party and indirect evidence; retrospective interpretation; indicators of deviant behavior; and ethnicity as a scheme of interpretation.

**Descriptive Vocabularies of Indexical Expressions**

Descriptive vocabularies of indexical expressions are statements which require the hearer auditor to know or assume something about the biography and purpose of the speaker in order to decide the sense. The circumstance of the statement or the previous course of conversation may be necessary. As Bar-Hillel (1954) points out, because of their equivocality, indexical expressions force the hearer to supply a context in order to decide meaning. The context supplied need not be identical to that intended, but unstated, by the speaker in order to have understanding (Leiter, 1978; Skinner, 1973). Context can be revised creating new meaning. Husserel (1943) presents a more extended examination of this sense-making process as it applies to meaning and action during communication. He and Garfinkel (1967:4) suggest that to decide a specific meaning from among many possible meanings, people embed the talk in a context. The context consists of the biography, the purposes of the user of the expression, the circumstances
of the utterance, the previous course of the conversation, and the particular relationship of actual or potential interaction that exists between the expressor and the auditor.

Thus, indexicality permits us to raise these questions: How do people achieve their understanding of talk and events? How do they decide from among all meanings the specific sense of what is being said since meanings relate to typical but only partially clear examples which usually change frequently (Farber, 1943:238)? The occasional nature of the constructions require an accomplishment of what the "real situation is" by the members doing the acting. Schutz points out that as a speaker is speaking, thoughts are building and meaning is thus filled in. It is, therefore, an accomplishment with memories of what has been said and anticipation of what is yet to be said. The expressions serve as a context.

Cicourel (1970) proposes that people refer to a great deal of social knowledge which is not linguistically formalized. The use of indexical expressions serves as an instruction to the hearer to supply a context rather than rely on dictionary meanings.

Mrs. D____, whom we discussed earlier (see page 77), is observing a young man about 30 years old approaching her house leading a horse (slowly), dressed in jeans which are
not clean, wearing an old hat that is rather askew on his head. As he walks toward us, she remembers aloud how neat and smart he was in school. She also compares him with his older brother, who is a college graduate and doing "well."

When she says, "look how old he looks, he's really turned out," it infers a meaning which is not yet stated. As the person, C____, reaches us, she inquires of him:

What's that you got under that hat?

and he replies:

My hair [as he removes his hat], which id done up in long braids.

The respondent shakes her head, laughs and asks:

How is C.W.? [his brother]

He responds:

Aw, I don't know. I don't go 'round him ...thinks he's too much.

As he moves on, she says:

Did you see how he looks? I told you, see how he talks about C.W.? On that 'stuff' all the time. You know, it makes 'em act so crazy...I don't know why they wanna' do it.

Her intent was to support her allegations in a previous conversation in which she was pitying the condition of the person and his "hang-up" with dope. The labeling is done here by using indexical expressions, such as "stuff," heard to mean "dope," but "stuff" might have meant other things. It means one's lover, male or female. It may also
mean a sexual encounter; for example, a male may be heard at any time to ask, "Where's your stuff?", to mean, "where is your girlfriend," or it may mean stolen goods. On the other hand, one may hear, "I got my stuff last night," heard to mean, "I had sexual intercourse with someone last night." The label depends on the interpretative work the listener is doing as well.

The same kind of interpretative work was done to construct the label of lesbian and dope pusher. Further labeling is done in the expression:

...but they say W gets it for them. Whatever they want, pills, stuff to sniff, anything. She and both those girls [her sisters] are really something. They say that H and B are both men. [Sneer, eyes squinted, shaking head.]

Here, the respondent alludes to the use and pushing of dope and uses the third party as a context for those expressions, "They say..."

Other respondents use the same kind of procedure to label R:

B: ...you know what a 'stud' they claim he was. Well, you know we all knew that old L N was 'funny'...well, that's R now. Some folk say they have seen them [R and L N] together.

I: Doing what?

B: Now, what do 'sissies' do?

In this transcript, the second respondent uses a number of
expressions which I hear and audit to label R____ a homosexual. I attempted to peel away the expressions to get at something "concrete," but, instead, was faced with yet another set of indexical expressions.

First, the respondent refers to the "stud" qualities attributed to R____ in the past. "Stud" is used, ironically, to stand for how people of the community viewed R____, i.e., he was viewed as displaying super-manliness through sexual performance. Then he says, "well, you know we all knew that old L____ N____ was 'funny'...Well, that's R____ now," to label R____ homosexual. The labeling is accomplished by my ability to fill in or hear "funny" as homosexual as opposed to mentally ill, humorous or "crazy." When I pressed the respondent for concrete details of R____'s "deviant" behavior, I was confronted with yet another set of expressions which require the same interpretative work:

Now what do 'sissies' do?...Well, one of these days, you'll find out, but all you have to do is look at R____. You know how L____ N____ walks and holds his hands...

"Sissie" is an indexical expression used on behalf of the label "homosexual" that requires interpretative work by the hearer to be heard as that particular label. "Sissie" is also frequently used to refer to a "weak" male (i.e., one who cries when hurt), which has nothing to do with
actual involvement with another male. As a follow-through to my answer that I did not know what sissies did, the respondent had this to say:

Well, one of these days, you'll find out, but all you have to do is look at R. You know how L N walks and holds his hands...well...R is getting just like him.

The identification is being done through the third party reference ("...you know how L N walks..."). The information is used as a context to objectify the label and R's behavior although the indications are vague, e.g., "all you have to do is look at how he holds his hands..."

"Third party" identification is the second interpretative practice to be discussed in the following section.

The Third Party

Most prevalent is the use of second-hand information or rumor to accomplish documentation of deviant behavior. Kitsuse (1969) found that most often respondents used "they saw..." as the lead response when asked to give evidence of sexual deviance. This feature is shown in the transcripts on Tanktown. Some examples are available in the following excerpts.

This respondent, when asked what types of "dope are available to Tanktowners, says:

I don't really know, but they say W gets it for them...
She admits she does not know, but follows through with "they say" to establish that it is known; therefore, it must be factual.

...same old people hang out down there [in the alley]. Most of 'em is really wierd. R_____ you know what a 'stud' they claim he was...well, you know, we all knew that old L_____ N_____ was 'funny,' well, that's R____ now...some folk say they've seen them together.

The use of the third party is a device which gives the deviance construction its factual character -- what everybody knows -- common knowledge. In other words, it is used to create the known-in-common act and actor. Goffman illustrates this in his example of the use of the third party by the mental patient at the pre-patient stage. He perceives a next-of-relation as the last resort for establishment of his sanity -- someone who knows he is not "crazy" (Goddman, 1967:137-138). Thus, third party is a method of building the factual character of the label by providing it with the sense of being known-in-common. The primary feature of this process is to link retrospectively second-hand references to behavior or behavior retrospectively to references.

Retrospective and Prospective Interpretation

Retrospective interpretation of behavior is a process by which the auditor assumes that the speaker will give
information later which will make clear a past utterance(s). Thus, past behavior may be interpreted in light of the new information.

Labeling is a product of retrospective/prospective interpretations of indexical expressions which necessarily require the listener and user to make assumptions about each other, such as knowing the biographies and purposes of both parties. This is important because communication requires a tacit assumption that what is communicated by the producer of the expression is understood by the listener.

Mrs. D____, her husband and I engaged in the retrospective/prospective process, and I constructed the "deviant identity" of C_____ during an interview.

The respondent uses her prior knowledge of C_____ to first construct what she considers to be a "good" boy, e.g., he was a good student, he dressed so neat going to school, and was so "mannerable." She draws on her husband's knowledge and mine of C_____ when he was younger to help make her account factual, "you remember" [he nods] and adds, "C.W. [his brother] still is...yeah, he's a nice young man...old C_____ is something else." Since I had not seen C_____, I was not sure what "something else" really described, but I waited for her to continue.

She compares this constructed "nice" image with what she says is a "turned out" man, which I heard to mean "bad,"
but I was still unable to focus on what the problem actually was. The situation becomes clearer as C____ approaches (Mrs. D: "Lord, here he comes now."). He is not neatly dressed, and the respondent supports her previous conversation about him by asking him about his long hair ("What you got under that hat?"), which she has indicated earlier is "wierd." With this constructed image of "wierd," "turned out," and her past information of what "they say" about C____ being on dope, the label of narcotics addict is inferred ("...on that 'stuff' all the time"). Her husband smiles and says, "that's why he acts so crazy, packs a gun too...did you see his eyes...barely open...Ms. D____ says, 'that dope'll kill ya'." Thus, together they retrospectively examine why C____ has been acting so "crazy," why he is "turned out," i.e., he was on dope. In light of the latter utterances and having gotten a look at C____'s appearance, I understand more clearly what Mrs. D____ meant by a "turned out" man -- someone on dope.

The use of the indexical expression "dope" means any drug that she believes will make the person behave "wierd," e.g., marijuana, narcotics, barbituates, etc. However, I heard and constructed an image of "narcotics addict," although C____ may never have used anything stronger than marijuana.

Another example follows in which J____ and I
retrospectively accomplish the label of homosexual for R_____.

R: ...R_____, you know what a 'stud' they claim he was...well, you know, we all knew that old L____ N____ was 'funny,' well, that's R_____ now.

I: How long has that been going on?

R: Couple of years now.

I: Why are they saying it?

R: Some folk say they have seen them together.

I: Doing what?

R: Now what do 'sissies' do?

I: I don't know.

R: Well, one of these days, you'll find out. But all you have to do is look at R_____. You know how L____ N____ walks and holds his hands. Well, girl, R_____ is getting just like him...Maybe that's why he used to shake his ass so much when he danced.

The respondent links R_____'s appearance with L____ N_____'s and retrospectively he recalls a manner of dancing as a possible link to the label "sissie;" ("maybe that's why he used to shake his ass so much...").

In both instances, the respondents rely on me to have at least tacit knowledge of the situation and the intended, but unspoken, meaning of the indexical expressions to make his or her descriptions understood. Also, they rely on my ability to fill in the label and use it as an interpretative device which, when used, allows the hearer to group and
hear particulars as "homosexual." Thus, it is a reflexive process, i.e., the label is both a product of contexting and serves as a context. In addition, when the respondent says, "You know how L____ N____ walks...", he is depending on our common knowledge of L____ N____ to relate to R____. The meaning of the inference is also dependent on a presumed knowledge of an established prior meaning of homosexual and the attributes. When my questions suggest that I do not have such knowledge, that I am seeking additional information or waiting for more to be supplied, the respondent either supplies additional ethnographic particulars to form a context or suggests that in the future, I will know.

R: Now what do 'sissies' do? [frowning, eyes squinted]

I: I don't know.

R: Well, one of these days, you'll find out...but all you have to do is look at R____. You know how L____ N____ walks and holds his hands; well, girl, R____ is getting just like him.

When the respondent says, "one of these days you'll find out," he shows impatience, "I haven't got time" (e.g., hand gestures as if to wave me away and saying "you're too dumb") -- to explain things you should know. The third party (L____ N____) is used to objectify his labeling by using comparability and suggesting that it is just a matter
of inspection: all one has to do is look and compare R_____ to L____ N_____. Throughout the discussion with J_____, I continue to seek or wait for new information.

Continuing, we observe the same kind of interpretative work is being done to construct the category of lesbian and dope pusher.

...but they say W______ gets it for them... whatever they want, pills, stuff to sniff, anything. She and both those other girls are really something. They say that H____ and B_____ are both men.

The respondent alludes to the use and pushing of dope by W______ and her sisters. She also presents an indexical expression ("they say that they are both men") which stands on behalf of the label "lesbian" (or homosexual). In answer to my question, "Men?", she made the following reply:

You know, they mess around with other women. You can just look at the way they walk.

This provided the additional information I needed to make sense of the statement. The respondent provided a vague indicator ("...the way they walk...") which gets its deviant sense by retrospectively invoking the underlying meaning of homosexuality, i.e., "men walk that way."

However, the behavior, as it is described, may be viewed as deviant or non-deviant. "Messing around" could mean coffee drinking groups or other non-sexual recreation. However, I heard and had an image of homosexual; thus, I entered into
the construction work of the label. Another example is Mrs. E____ and her daughter D____, who encounters E____, an alley regular:

Mrs. E: E____ stays hanging out in the alley ...most of the time with men...except when she with B____ W____ and H____. Tell me she's all out.

D: What?

Mrs. E: Messing with women. I knew when she was in up there at S____ [high school], she used to always be running 'round trying to get all the young girls riding with her. I don't ever remember her having a boyfriend.

D: I don't either. You remember she always wore those cut-off shorts and tennis shoes. B____ said it was because she didn't want to compete with L____ [her sister who was very attractive]. I guess what they were trying to hint was sure true.

Both women call upon memories about E____'s past to retrospectively document the imputation of lesbian.

Now that we have examined the use of indexical expressions, third party support, and the retrospective/prospective interpretation process of labeling, let us turn to the linking of behavior to the label. Here, I discuss the use of indicators of deviance in the construction process.

Indicators: Deviant and Non-Deviant

The behavior presented by respondents as indicators of deviance is generally as equivocal as the labels. The
behavior implies both deviant and non-deviant meanings and requires the use of the deviant label and other ethnographic particulars to provide them with a sense of being deviant. Some examples are:

R: ...look at the way they walk...
R: ...you know how L_____ N_____ walks and holds his hands...
R: ...'sissies'...

These examples embedded in the talk are explained in the following paragraphs.

They say that H_____ and B_____ are both men...you know, they mess around with other women...look at the way they walk.

The indicator (style of walking) is vague; thus, the sense must be provided through further interpretative work.

I: What do they do?
R: Now what do 'sissies' do?
I: I don't know.
R: Well, one of these days, you'll find out. But all you have to do is look at R_____. You know how L_____ N_____ walks and holds his hands...well, R_____ is getting just like him.

Kitsuse (1962) discussing the imputation of homosexuality from behavioral indicators, contends that the behavioral indicators are not inherently deviant, but a context is created which permits both deviant and non-deviant to be read as "homosexual." "Sissie," for example,
is frequently used to refer to a weak male (physical or one who cries), which has nothing to do with actual involvement with another male. Other indicators, such as style of walking, manner of holding hands, "messing around," describe behavior that might be deviant or non-deviant. In spite of the problematic nature of these indicators, the respondents treat the information as factual and objective (Leiter, 1971).

I have examined my construction of deviant labels through interpretative procedures of descriptive vocabulary indexicality, the use of third party, retrospective/prospective interpretation, indicators of deviance. Using these practices, I constructed a typology of deviant categories in Tanktown. It is interesting to note that my typology was very conventional, sexual deviance, stealing, murder, etc., although residents of the town treated many aspects of this same behavior as non-deviant.
Chapter Five

MEMBERS' CONSTRUCTION - THE USE OF ETHNICITY
TO CONSTRUCT DEVIANCE

The focus of this chapter is the examination of members' construction and management process of behavior labeled deviant in Tanktown. I will show that members in this setting use the same procedures I use to construct labels of deviant behavior, and that they use ethnicity as a scheme of interpretation to objectify and accomplish facticity of these labels. Ethnicity forms the practical and theoretical grounding of the categories of deviance.

To bring into sharper focus this interpretative process, I include some other details of how context (setting, situation, biography, etc.) is used. Cicourel (1970) argues that the work of looking behind the utterances (the talk) and finding their meaning by embedding them in a context rests on a set of interpretative procedures. The procedures are somewhat different from the ones I have been discussing, but they relate to them. They are listed and described later in the chapter.

First, I will describe the categories of deviance constructed by Black Tanktown members. A simple typology
has been constructed from their perspective:

1. Non-conventional sex
2. "Caught and dumb"
3. "Causing grief and trouble"
4. "Messing up your life"

These categories are discussed separately although they are related.

1. **Non-conventional Sex**

   The participation in non-conventional sex which I have labeled homosexuality in my construction is treated from the members perspective as non-conventional sex because (1) they do not label the behavior homosexuality themselves and (2) the behavior is managed differently for different participants. For example, L____ N____ described earlier in my construction as a homosexual is primarily ignored. He was only mentioned when informants wanted to describe or point to the behavior of R____ which helped to define him as a person practicing non-conventional sex. R____'s behavior is seen as deviant in two ways. First, he has been defined as a "super lover" (of women) and is the envy of the other males who buy the stereotypic notion of the Black male as "oversized" and "over sexed," which brings respect from one's peers because he can "get the women." Secondly, R____ is deviant because he does not fit the model of what a "sissie" should be. If he did he would not be deviant as L____
N____ is not deviant. For example, when J____, an informant, describes L____ N____ he refers to the way he switches when he walks, the way he bends his wrist and does an imitation of him. Thus, a model of the homosexual is present in a rather stereotyped form.

Thus, R____ is sanctioned because he has been held up in the community as a "macho Black male" and now he "turned" hence violating rules of the group.

On the other hand the lesbian relations discussed previously were only mildly sanctioned. The relationships were mentioned but no one seemed particularly upset by their existence nor was there any attempt to neutralize or justify the behavior.

2. "Caught and Dumb"

This second category may be defined in the following way: "Getting caught" brings unwarranted and unwanted attention to the Black community. "Dumb" means trusting one of the out group (Whites) and having them turn against you. It also may mean attempting to be a crook and not being good at it. Dumb may also be seen as going against Whites ("bucking the system").

For example, W____'s arrest for the sale and use of dope brought in County and/or federal agents of social control. This outside attention disrupted the routine of the community. This can be seen in the accounts of Ms. D____
and Ms. E_____ of the events which center on the excitement of the arrival of the agents, their use of guns, and their braving of vicious dogs to make the arrest. In addition it centered on W_____ being "dumb" because she trusted one of "them" -- one of the Whites.

Another example of "caught and dumb" is the case of I_____ who tries to play the role of crook and is to dumb to be a "good" crook. He stole items from a store three miles from the town, from a resident of the town, and then attempted to sell them right in the area. The inference was made that "any fool knows better." Thus, he was caught because he was just plain "dumb."

"Bucking the system" is shown in the example of a Black man who ran for a city council seat without the consent of the Whites who in turn put pressure on Blacks directly and indirectly not to vote for him. He is perceived as "dumb" because every one knows that "if the Whites had wanted him, he would have gotten it," says one informant. However, most contended that Whites don't want you (meaning Blacks) to put yourself up against them. Thus, one who does is not only dumb, but, brings unwanted attention and pressure from the power structure. Thus, those who talked of his efforts to run contended he was not worthy of their vote.

3. "Causing Grief and Trouble"
This category may be illustrated in situations where innocent people are made to suffer or get in trouble because of something someone else has done. Members frequently talked of heartaches and trouble. For instance, I hid stolen goods under his mother's porch and got caught. His action brought trouble for his mother and himself. In addition he involved the son of one of the respondents by claiming he participated which caused her to worry. She comments, "Lord I hope he didn't have anything to do with it."

Another example is W____'s murdering J____. W____ is viewed by the town as causing grief and trouble for her mother in addition to that caused recently when her brother, the only son, had been murdered by someone else. Now she is in jail and the mother has to persuade someone in the powerful White group to help keep her out of prison. She has also caused more grief for M____, J____'s wife, whose husband "ran around with other women" including W____. Now he is dead and she must raise five children without help.

4. "Messing up your Life"

"Messing up your life" is frowned on by all members of the community. "Messing up your life" is viewed as destroying what is considered obvious potential for success in the system (as defined by Whites) or "screwing up" potential for just "making it in the town."
For example, C____ whom we discussed previously is viewed by all members as having had the potential to be "well educated" and a success. He could have moved up and out of Tanktown as his brother did. One informant describing how he had "messed up" his life compared him to his brother who has a college degree, is always neat and clean, and has a "nice little wife." C____ on the other hand has long hair, is always dirty and is believed to be on dope all the time. While this respondent didn't explicitly condemn the use of dope she did condemn C____ because he could have done better.

Another illustration is C____ R____ who was being groomed for a job as a county deputy in Tanktown. C____ R____ became involved in selling dope and street fighting -- "wanting to be bad." During one quarrel he retaliated against the person by burning down his "joint." This was not tolerated by the group in that no one would support him for the office. He, like C____, was viewed as a person with a lot of potential for success who "blew it."

This typology is derived from the members' construction and differs from mine. I concluded that dope, homosexuality, stealing and murder were contextually deviant and non-deviant. It is evident that dope pushing, "studs" turned homosexual or stealing do not cause disorganization in this particular community, nor do they automatically set
into motion the social control mechanism in the hands of the powerful Whites. However, certain consequences, as a result of stealing, dope pushing and homosexuality, do cause disruption and are viewed as deviant. Let me explain what appears to be an apparent contradiction.

Selling dope by W_____ for example, was not reported to the police and when I asked informants why not, the answers were: "I just wouldn't." or "Why should I?" and "People are getting what they want." No one attempted to informally sanction or reprimand her either. However, when she was arrested, there was a great deal of talk about what she shouldn't have done, like, she shouldn't have trusted the white male living with her or she should have been more selective about who she sold to. Thus, members have constructed norms about engaging in alleged illegal activities. These norms are translated to mean not that one shouldn't steal, one shouldn't use dope or one shouldn't engage in homosexuality but rather you shouldn't "get caught," you ought not be "dumb," you "shouldn't mess up your life," and if you have the equipment to be a heterosexual lover you ought not get involved with "queers."

Thus, what sociologists would readily call deviance, what middle class America and agents of social control would label and sanction as deviant behavior does not hold for the members of Tanktown.
In the previous chapter, I used a set of interpretative procedures to assign meaning to and make sense of the environment based on observation, the talk, and participation in the setting.

I will continue with the examination of the social construction and its characteristics by looking first at the people of Tanktown's use of interpretative procedures to construct their categories and manage the behavior that forms the definitions and reactions to deviance. In addition, I will give attention to the ethnic schema.

A recasting of the interpretative procedures is necessary here to begin the analysis. These features differ for members. I used Cicourel's descriptions of Normal Forms, Institutionalized Features of the Collectivity, Et Cetera Principle and Reciprocity of Perspectives. These interpretative procedures are used in addition to some of those outlined previously.

1. **Et Cetera Principle.** The et cetera principle suggests that a speaker takes for granted that the hearer will fill in the unstated but intended meanings of the expressions. The et cetera principle also includes the notion of the retrospective-prospective sense of occurrence which we discussed earlier. That is, the hearer assumes the speaker will say something later to clarify a previous utterance when information is incomplete.
2. **Reciprocity of Perspectives.** The assumption of the interchangeability of standpoints is inferred here. Reciprocity of perspectives allows a member to treat himself and the other as occupying the same social setting such that if they exchange positions, each would see what the other sees. In addition, the facet involves an assumption of the congruency of relevance. Members assume that although they have different biographical circumstances, their experiences are sufficiently congruent so as to ignore until further notice any differences that might occur because of personal experiences and perception. Should a discrepancy be noted, however, this notion of differences in a biographical circumstance is used to explain divergent interpretations of the same event, thereby preserving the facticity of that event.

3. **Normal Forms.** When people engage in interaction, they assume that each other will make statements which are intelligible, recognizable and embedded within a body of common knowledge. Thus, one member appears to understand what is said based on expectations that the talk refers to common appearance in the setting or society.

4. **Institutionalized Features of the Collectivity.** Events have as their context of interpretation: (a) a commonly entertained scheme of interpretation consisting of a standardized system of symbols; and (b) "what anyone knows,"
i.e., a pre-established corpus of socially warranted knowledge.

Although these vary from the five procedures mentioned earlier, they relate to and contain some of the same elements. To explain members' construction clearly, I have provided excerpts, analysis and labeling of the interpretative procedures. Thus, it is easy to see the linking of these interpretative procedures, and it differentiates the members' process of construction from mine.

Let us turn now to a more direct discussion of the construction process for each category.

Non-Conventional Sex

B____ and R____, two other alley regulars, are constructing the homosexual identity of two other members.

The entire transcript is presented, followed by an analysis in order to preserve organization.

B: You could swear F____ was his woman... you can't separate them... [watching the two men drinking together].

R: You think F____'s popping it to him? [laughter] B____ could be the other way around, but whoever saw two old men [both are in their mid-20's] fight and carry on the way they do and live together... They tell me F____ jumped on D____ one night 'cause he didn't bring him some food... D____ must be the woman... he's always carrying on about how sick he is and he can't work. B____ J____, well, who gives a damn.
B: Well, I'm gon' watch those suckers. Wouldn't want to get off guard...you know what they say in the Army...

Both men try to look into the male/female role. They attempt to create an image on the basis of what is known-in-common about the heterosexual relationship. Somebody has got to be the woman and someone has to be the male. They continue this interpretation by invoking what Garfinkel calls institutional features of the collectivity and the et cetera principle.

...but whoever saw two old men [the men are in their mid-20's] fight the way they do and live together...D must be the woman.

(INSTITUTIONALIZED FEATURES
OF THE COLLECTIVITY)

The inference is that there must be something more; two adult males do not fight all the time and continue living together. Is it perhaps love? If it were a husband and wife or a heterosexual relationship, the institutional features of the collectivity would suggest "it must be love;" otherwise, they would break up. But the listener must fill in. Hence, B re-reads the situation retrospectively and says that D must be the woman. He has established that it is at least a homosexual relationship. The interpretative work is not yet completed, for the men also rely on the third party and indirect evidence to make their
labeling stand up.

...they say F____ jumped on him because he didn't bring him some food the other night.

(THIRD PARTY)

Speaking of R____'s believed homosexuality, a joint owner, B____, and an alley regular, B____, had this to say:

B: [the joint owner] ...how long has R____ and M____ been married?

B: [the alley regular] ...Don't know; let's see...their boy been out of school for a year now...he must be like 23 or 24. They been together a long time. [Watching R____ dance with M____.] She's got to be crazy...

B: [the joint owner] How come?

B: [the alley regular] S--t, man, first you keep your woman right under your wife's nose...everybody knows it's your 'stuff,' and then you turn around and deal with the man...warped sense, if you ask me.

(INDEXICALITY)

B: [the joint owner] Who?

B: [the alley regular] M____, man, his old lady.

B: [the joint owner] That kinda' stuff is unnatural. I had a feeling of sympathy for her...hung like a Jack and turned queer. But you know, I used to envy him when we used to go out back to take a leak.

(RETROSPECTIVE INTERPRETATION)

In the labeling of R____'s wife as "crazy" and the work of the construction of the label, we see the following
things come into play. First, descriptive vocabulary of
indexicality is evident when B_____ says:

B: [the joint owner] How come?

B: [the alley regular] S--t, man, first you
keep your woman right under your wife's
nose...everybody knows it's your 'stuff'...

The expression "stuff," as we have already shown, may stand
on behalf of a sexual relationship between a man and a
woman. Hence, it is used here as an indexical expression
to establish a non-conventional sexual relationship between
two men. B_____ also contends:

...everybody knows it's your 'stuff'...

Using normal forms to further create context for the label
"crazy" for R_____'s wife, he continues:

...and then you turn around and deal with
men...warped sense if you ask me.

When B_____ asks who he means, he says,

M____, man, his old lady. [the wife of R____]

Again, the use of indexicality is used; "warped sense"
points to her deviance. Also, institutionalized features
of the collectivity is invoked.

Finally, B_____ (the joint owner) contends,

That kinda' stuff is unnatural. I had a
feeling of sympathy for her...but you have
to feel sorry for him too...hung like a
Jack and turned queer.

(INDEXICALITY)

Retrospectively, he says,
...you know, I used to envy him when we used to go out back to take a leak.

This elaboration of information requires that the participants master a certain stock of knowledge. In many instances, we see that "filling in" is necessary; otherwise, no sense can be made of the talk. In mastering the social stock of knowledge, an actor knows what to expect and how to look for it. In the case of Tanktown, as in any setting, participation for members and researcher is a process of learning the typifications and particular details which make up the stocks of knowledge of the group. The array of typifications and particulars are complex in content and distribution, but we may differentiate them into interrelated areas of "the law," the management of drug use/sale, being a "stud," homosexuality and surviving. This stock of knowledge allows members to define situations and to label individuals.

The relevance of this kind of knowledge to the researcher comes across in the examples as they are listed. They can and do show the importance of it for researcher and member because it emerges in the unfolding course of specific situations and activities.

The knowledge comes into play in the course of interaction, such as the conversations in the joints, and is modified by discoveries made in the course of the actions or talk. Thus, these illustrations require that the stock
of knowledge not be deleted in favor of "cleaning up the language." Therefore, it is necessary to show what a "stud" is in Tanktown (size of genitalia); that "dope" is primarily "grass" from descriptions, but can include all categories of drugs.

"Caught and Dumb"

W____, after years of peddling dope, is caught. Mrs. E____ says,

...shouldn't have trusted that White boy she shouldn't been no fool...

(INDEXICALITY)

The inference is that it was a dumb thing to do. She continues to clarify the situation:

...she shoulda knowed he was up to no good...no little young White boy's going to come and hang out with W____ in a place like this.

(INSTITUTIONALIZED FEATURES OF THE COLLECTIVITY)

The fact that the man was White and W____ was Black was emphasized. The inference was that the Whites are not to be trusted.

Another example of "dumb" is illustrated by this respondent's comments:

...White folk talk all that stuff until you try to put yourself up beside them. Then you find out. Cause, remember C____, well,
he tried to get the job as deputy [sheriff] and B____ was helping. Well, they just
told his mama and daddy to put a stop to it.

(RETROSPECTIVE/PROSPECTIVE)

She contends that Whites will say that "coloreds" can participate in and share the power; however, she reflects back when C_____ made the mistake of assuming he could enter the political structure which is controlled by the Whites. This is viewed as especially "dumb" since everyone knows that they are not really honest nor serious about sharing their power. "They just told his mama and daddy to put a stop to it," she says with a wave of her hand. It is simple; it is understood, according to this respondent.

A similar example comes from another respondent who discusses B____, the joint owner, who ran for a city council position:

Old B_____ tried to run for the City Council ...he didn't get it...course, now, if the Whites had wanted him to have it, he would have gotten it.

(NORMAL FORMS,
INSTITUTIONALIZED FEATURES
OF THE COLLECTIVITY)

In this case, the respondent is very hostile toward the person. She suggested that he was not the right Black person to run, anyway, and that he was really "dumb" to try because the Whites especially did not want him. However,
she quickly points out that it would not have mattered if they had wanted him to have the position. She continues:

...I don't know why he did it...I guess he was dumb enough to think he could do it... The colored folk didn't vote for him either.

Mrs. E _____ adds:

...he was too 'biggerty' [meaning not especially friendly to Whites or Blacks]
...you just can't be that way and expect folk to help you... [The inference is that it was also dumb.]

(INDEXICALITY)

As the conversation continued with another respondent J _____, he contends that it is stupid to do that (meaning trying to run for political office) if they (Whites) do not want you to, "you get 'em 'pissed' at everybody else..."

Mrs. E _____ added,

...Yeah, Mr. S _____ drove me crazy every time I went in [meaning the Post Office] asking if we was gonna' support B _____. It wasn't his business, but I told him "no".

Thus, "dumb" means bringing trouble for yourself or other members of the Black group, which they perceive to be deviant.

Another example of "dumb" is expressed by this respondent:

You know, M ____'s youngest boy. He's outrageous, him and J _____ K ____ are outlaws. They'll steal anything they can get their hands on...stole this man's cash registers and didn't have any better
sense than to go over to S____ to try to sell 'em...stole right up there at F____!

She continued,

They tell me it wouldn't been so bad, but they knocked old man D____ G____ in the head...

(THIRD PARTY)

...now you know, that's pitiful...they could've killed him...

Another respondent, J____, commented,

...they don't care, but you know, they [meaning Whites] not gon' stand for that. You know when a 'nigger' acts that kinda fool what they're ready to do...

(NORMAL FORMS,
INSTITUTIONALIZED FEATURES
OF THE COLLECTIVITY)

...he could have taken two old rusty machines and got outa' there...now, they had to be crazy...

(INDEXICALITY)

The informant does not mean "crazy" in the conventional sense but, rather, "dumb"; that is, the action has set into motion the White power structure. The first respondent comments that Mr. J____, the county patrolman, has already sent word to I____'s mother that "...they'd better get that s--- back." "M____ didn't even know...I tell you it's a shame."

The third category, "causing grief" is discussed next.
"Causing Grief and Trouble"

I_____ and C_____ appear to be, for many respondents who live in Tanktown and others outside of it, classic examples of "causing grief and trouble." For instance, the former principal of the Black elementary school who no longer lives in Tanktown (but does live nearby), was interviewed because of his knowledge of the history of the town. He had this to say:

R: Yeah, A_____ [I_____'s sister] will soon be a doctor...I know that'll make her mama proud...specially with the boys the way they are and J_____ [her husband who was killed by W_____] dead...

I: What about the boys? I didn't know them well.

R: That youngest one, I_____, he's a pistol...drunkard, they tell me.

(THIRD PARTY, INDEXICALITY)

He continues:

R: He's caused his mama nothing but heartaches running up and down the road on that 'scooter' [meaning a motorcycle]...They say he's mixed up in dope too.

I: Was he in school with A_____?

R: Oh, yeah. As different as night and day...course, now, he was smart, but he just got wild. You know, M_____ [I_____'s mother] did a good job with 'em, but she just couldn't handle I_____. He's just ruined himself...doesn't seem to care about
himself or his mama...

(INDEXICALITY)

Another example of I____ "causing grief" is illustrated by the following example:

...They tell me I____ stole that stuff from F____ and had it stored under his mama's porch...when the 'law' came, started pulling out stuff, M____ didn't know what to make of it. You know, that's a shame, but he and J____ are something else.

The final category "messing up your life" is illustrated below.

"Messing up your Life"

Examples of messing up your life are found in various sections of different respondents dialogue which refers to C____ R____'s act of burning B____'s joint. It is described by Mr. B____,

Tell me he was mad cause' old B____ said something ugly to him...dared him in his place [joint]...C____ R____ said he's fight 'im...he'd burn the g____d____m____f____ down...

He did. [giggles]

Another respondent described his attempt to run for the position of sheriff's deputy.

He could have made it. A lot of the colored folk were ready to get behind him. He's real smart. But, he's crazy, selling dope...Burned B_____'s place. He just messed himself up. It's bad to cause ain't nobody else around to do it.

In the case of C____, his lack of neatness, long hair
and general lack of attention to his physical appearance leads Mrs. D____ to say that his use of dope has made him "crazy" and "weird." Thus, he has "messed up his life" because he could have been like C____ W____ whom he is very hostile against.

**Ethnicity as a Scheme of Interpretation**

It has been established in some detail in Chapter Three that historically Tanktown has been divided geographically, politically, economically, religiously and socially along a cognitive axis of ethnicity. This division has led to a perception of "us" and "them". Blacks are not the only ones who use the schema. However, I did establish that they have a sense of powerlessness; a sense of oppression; a distrust of the Whites and they believe that they are not capable of changing their situation. Thus, their use of this schema is not a mechanism created by them for a particular situation. Rather it defines, manages and supports all of the relations in the town.

It is evident from the illustrations that an ethnic schema grounds the members categories of deviance -- "messing around"; non-conventional sex; "causing grief and worry"; and "caught and dumb." But how does it work if at all when we turn it back upon the conventional categories of deviance constructed by me as a sociologist and agents
of social control. This is important if we are to make sense of the set of categories described as members creation of deviance and recognition of what is deviant. This matter is taken up next.

I will recast three examples of my conventional typology of deviance: (1) stealing; (2) homosexuality; and (3) dope, to show how ethincity as a scheme of interpretation underlies the use of these categories of deviance in Tanktown.

Ms. E____ and I had the following conversation:

I: I thought J____ didn't live here anymore.

R: Oh, yeah, he stays over there with his mama. He's a drunkard...stays sloppy drunk and M____'s boy stay high and racing that motorcycle.

I: Hey, is there a lot of stealing and going on with people like him?

R: Oh, naw, honey, not like that, but you know, they tell me M_____ kept her box [freezer] full from V____ L____. Guess maybe I____ figures it's alright too.

I: Hmm.

R: Them White folk work her to death, so she says she might as well get something out of it.

I: How much do they pay?

R: When N____ was working there, they paid her $2.15 an hour, but now M____ cooks, so it oughta' be a little more. But my land, they want you to come six days a week from morning til' night. N____ used to take the stuff too. She say here, "...I brought
some shrimp" or whatever, "I fix they old butts since they don't want us to have it".

I: Did she ever take a lot?

R: Oh, yeah! But I told her..."Baby, it ain't worth it if you get caught." Course, now, they'll come there mess over...I don't know how much...and they'd rather throw it out than see the 'colored' folk take it home.

The informant applies ethnicity as an interpretative device to M____'s stealing of goods from the "all White" (segregated) club by contending that the Whites work M____ to death so she should get some benefits -- the stolen goods are seen as the benefits. This inference is supported by her description of the working hours, number of days and low pay. Crucial to this presentation strategy is the construction of the notion of "us" and "them," e.g., "...they'd rather throw it (the food) out than see the 'colored' folk take it home." Ms. E____ contends, that the Whites who already have everything work the Blacks long hours for low wages. Further, they waste a lot of food but they would rather throw it in the garbage than allow the Blacks to take home even left-overs, so its all right to steal from them just don't get caught as she cautions "getting caught ain't worth it."

Homosexuality is given the same scheme of interpretation. This is especially interesting because only one case of homosexuality is interpreted from the members' perspective
as deviant and using ethnicity as the underlying schema although there are several. For example, B_____ and R_____ discussing R_____

B: Black men like R_____ used to wouldn't be caught dead messing around like that. Hell, I think its too much pressure.

R: What messing around?

B: You know. Him. The guy over there.

R: S--t! Ain't no g--damn pressure. M_____ [his wife] takes care of him...he... M_____ always had their thing going, so what you talking about?

B: ...that's it...M_____ being a school teacher...all these years watching that mess with M_____. Now the railroad is long gone and R_____ ain't got nothing ...I betcha' that ain't easy.

R: Now you gon' tell me you'd start switching around here just because you outa' work and Black? You've been down.

B: Hell, naw...but...

R: ...ain't either, he was probably queer all the time...but I ain't never seen nothing... him and R_____ and E _____, that old boy from up at B_____ set around and 'hit' on each other.

B: Oh, I believe he's queer as a three dollar bill...but you can't tell me a man with as much pride as the nigger had that he just turned.

R: Uh huh. You was always one for trying to figure something.

B: Some people do lots'a things.

R:Yep.
B: I still think the man's had his balls cut off. Everything in this town's sewed up... Whites got it...but they let M____ make it...she can help take his balls and not even know it.

This conversation becomes heated and the parties grow sullen and quiet. B____ leaves after the following comment:

B: I wasn't trying to say, man, you got to be queer cause white folk screw you around, but you ain't got a better reason...huh...that's all I'm saying...the man ain't run around here for years laying every female...had 'em running after him then...and you see too mucha' that stuff...gotta' be a reason.

R: Alright, alright, just be cool, be cool.

Ethnicity is the central focus in this exchange. As the conversation continues B____ says, "Black men like R____ used to wouldn't be caught dead messing around like that...", indicating R____ sitting in the corner close to another fellow talking.

R____ responds by asking, "what messing around?" and awaits B____ to fill in but he doesn't, he just stares and says "you know." R____ does respond as if he knows. He says, "S--t, man, ain't no pressure...", and continues providing more ethnographic details to create the context. For example, R____'s wife is a professional and he's a laborer. This is believed to cause pressure. B____, in turn, uses the expanded context and responds, "...that's it
M____ been a school teacher all these years...now the railroad's gone and R____ ain't got nothing." But R____, annoyed, asserts that being out of work and Black "ain't" grounds for "switching," another indexical expression used and understood in the context to mean homosexual. Retrospectively, he muses, "...he probably was 'queer' all the time," yet another indexical expression. B____ still attempts to invoke ethnicity as a causal model. He angrily says:

Oh, I believe he's queer as a three dollar bill...but you can't tell me a man with as much pride as the nigger had that he just turned...I still think the man's had his balls cut off.

The implication of castration is meant to stand for a loss of power. Thus, it may be construed as grounds for "turning," another indexical expression for homosexuality. Those responsible for this lack of power and, hence, the cause of the homosexuality (indirectly) are the Whites who have "everything in this town sewed up," according to B____. In fact, an old theme of the "castrating Black female" is brought in when B____ says, "they let M____ make it...she help take his balls and not even know it."

Finally, B____ asserts, as he prepares to leave, "you ain't got a better reason..." that is to explain the non-conventional sex. He then retrospectively constructs how a causal model may be made of the ethnicity.
...the man aint run around here for years laying every female...had 'em running after him then...and you see too much of that stuff ...gotta' be a reason.

Now let us see how this scheme works for defining the selling of dope. The first illustration is from a conversation with B____ about the arrest of W_____ on drug charges.

**Dope**

B: I guess you heard they **finally** got W_____.

I: What happened?

B: You know people like to think they're slick. She probably didn't deliver the goods right.

I: What do you mean?

B: She probably tried to give some bad stuff or not enough for the price. Now that I think of it, she might not have let somebody in on the action and they decided to turn her in.

I: Hey, maybe somebody just wanted to clean up the town.

B: You talking about S____ and the rest of them White folk?

I: [shrugs shoulders.] Whoever.

B: Naw. They weren't bothered by that. As long as niggers or the other Whites wasn't messing with their stuff, it was O.K.

I: What do you mean?

B: Well, how could she mess up for them? [pause] Huh?

I: [shrug shoulders, wait]
The respondent angrily concludes the conversation by saying:

What the hell do they care how much dope niggers gonna' get...ain't no business to mess up.

B____ emphasizes with gestures (frowns, sneers) how selling/using drugs was "O.K." for Blacks ("niggers") as long as it did not interfere with that group of Whites in control of Tanktown. Hence, we have our attention focused on Blacks as buyers and sellers, and the Czechs who have economic and political control, which we established in Chapter Three.

For instance, B____ asked,

You talking about S____ and the rest of them White folk?

The mentioning of Mr. S____ identifies which "White folks" he means -- S____ is one of the town officials.

In an earlier interview, I asked this respondent why W____ had not been arrested since there appeared to be knowledge of her drug activities, and he stated:

Well, I wouldn't report her, but s--t, if a plane brings the stuff to her, the 'law' must be in on it.

He continues:

...she's making money and people are getting high that wanna' get high. I could care less. Anyway, what else you got in this place?

I questioned B____ about why he wouldn't turn W____
in. He responded:

    I just wouldn't.

I asked if it was because he knew her so well. He sat quietly for a long time, and then he repeated:

    I don't know. I just wouldn't.

Another respondent, Mrs. E____, gives the following account:

E: Well, they tell me they got W____ yesterday.
I: Who got her?
E: The law.
I: From around here?
E: No. I reckon B____ [the county seat], but nobody really knows.
I: Hmm.
E: Some little young white guy with a beard took up there [at her house]...he was pretending to be wanting to buy something and she didn't know that he was the 'plant'.
I: Hmm.
E: They say when they came in there, they jump the fence with the guns drawn. Them dogs [three Dobermans and a German Shepherd] didn't phase 'em.
I: Who told you about it?
E: D____ and all of them...the town's been humming though; you can't miss hearing it.
I: Hmm. I wonder what they'll do to her.
E: Lord only knows. The child just didn't wanna work; she'd do anything not to work [shaking her head]. She shouldn't be no fool though; that White boy messed her up.
Mrs. E_____ had been critical of W_____'s involvement in drugs throughout my work in Tanktown, but here, we again see the invoking of the "us" and "them" notion after W_____ was arrested.

She shouldn't be no fool though; that White boy messed her up.

Even in the area of homosexuality, the ethnic scheme is invoked because R____, and not L____ N____, is condemned, though both are said to engage in homosexual behavior. R____ is condemned because the group members buy into the White stereotype of oversexed Black males. In the example on page 107, the respondent accusingly states, "he's hung like a jack and queer." The inference is with that kind of equipment, he should be "after women and no men." L____ N____, on the other hand, is accepted without justification or condemnation.

The assumption might be that the invoking of ethnicity is a neutralization tactic as described in the works of Matza, 1969, Emerson, 1967, Sykes, 1956, or Becker, 1963. The process of neutralization consists of denial, appeals to a higher cause to justify the behavior, condemning the condemning or as Emerson suggests "presentation strategies," someone else making a "pitch" for the labeled actor to "officials," which essentially says that he or she is "okay."

However, unlike the Sykes and Matza scheme of
neutralization being done by the labeled, this process in Tanktown is carried on by the spectators who also label. For the spectator, the question becomes, how do we avoid using and subscribing to the conventional labels of thief, homosexual etc. Take, for example, the case of Mrs. E___, who is critical of the actions of W____, the "dope pusher," but asserts, "...she shouldn't be no fool, she shouldn't have trusted that 'white boy'." Thus, she blames W____'s "dumbness" and the "white boy" for W_____ being caught.

Emerson proposed that as more militant Black activity occurred, it may be that we would see "principled justification" occurring. That is, the view that an act is permissible given the contingencies of the actual situation. Thus, a look beyond the conventional notion of neutralization is needed. In fact, Emerson's data shows a "high" degree of consensus about what was deviant. For instance, when juveniles were brought before the court or agents of social control, they rarely tried to justify their actions with neutralization tactics. However, some accounts given clearly demonstrate that the actions of the juveniles were justified. Therefore, it appears that a contradiction occurs which is solved by Emerson's introduction of the concept of principled justification.

Because a clear division exists between groups in Tanktown, a researcher could use the notion of neutralization
and principled justification as an interpretative device which would be useful in regard to his or her theoretical background (which forms a part of the stock of knowledge for the researcher), but the members are not drawing upon the stock of knowledge in this conventional way. The Blacks in Tanktown consider deviant that behavior which brings into action the White power structure, a structure perceived, as I have shown in earlier chapters, to be in total control, against a member or members of the Black group, especially if that action causes "grief" to a family, "screws up" the life of the actor, or brings a "bad image" to the Black community. Conventional acts of deviance are neutralized on the basis of this ethnic schema which gives a perception of "no way out" -- no control over their own lives. Most important is that the neutralization process is reversed. The spectators do the neutralizing and not the persons labeled deviant.
Chapter Six

DIVANCE: THE THEME OF INTERPRETATION

There are two specific gaps in the theories of deviance that are of concern in this chapter. The first is found in the normative theories, especially those of the strain, anomie and alienation type, which raise the question of how we recognize the deviants. These theories, such as Merton's scheme outlined in Chapter One, are designed to account for all behavior which varies in some technical way from the norms of the community, including behavior which may not be considered a problem by members. For example, the compulsive worker and the dope pusher are both deviant according to this scheme, since each is deviating from the ideal standards of the community. However, as Erikson (1962) points out, the "anomie" theory cannot easily take account of the over-conformist, like a compulsive worker, because, no matter how desperate his private needs may be, he does not ordinarily create concern in the rest of the community. But the robber or dope pusher may throw the whole machinery of social control into action. Therefore, an important question unanswered is, how can we differentiate between people who infringe
the norm without attracting notice, and those who excite so much alarm that they earn a deviant reputation in society?

The second gap is found in the traditional labeling perspective which purports to correct the problems of the above kind by suggesting that the critical variable in the study of deviance is the audience which eventually determines whether or not any episode of behavior or class of episodes is labeled deviant. In addition, however, traditional labeling ignores the ethnic scheme of interpretation for generating labels and interpreting what is deviant and non-deviant.

Those theories of anomie, alienation and strain are of particular importance in this discussion because these are the primary models for explaining deviance among American Blacks. I refer specifically to Blacks because of the continuing proliferation of studies and data which purports to show Blacks commit the greatest portion of crime as one form of deviance, and they represent higher percentages in other areas.

Based on available data, I believe I can show, through an examination of the nine propositions outlined in Chapter One, that there is a way to answer the question, "Why are some and not others sanctioned?", and to bridge the gap that occurs because we have not carefully examined this ethnic scheme. First, I will recast the nine propositions:
1. Men act on the basis of their own interpretation of reality.

2. They are able to interact based on expectations about the behavior of others.

3. These expectations are based on inferences about the persons involved in the interactions.

4. The inferences "rest" on the network of statuses and their roles and relations in the context of the configuration of groups in a society.

5. Ethnic stratification is a way of labeling, and ethnic identification is one such interpretative device, according to Barth (1969).

6. Ethnic stratification is one form of "social organization" over the course of interactions.

7. People may come to have a conception of alikeness whether the belief is real or fictitious.

8. Explanations, emergence (or lack) of definitions, and management of deviance must be analyzed within the context of the social setting.

9. Focus must be based on descriptions of social context and sets of relations that exist between configurations of groups.

I will begin by discussing each proposition separately as it relates to the data. Next, I will discuss these propositions as a seamless whole as they apply to interaction in
the larger context of the society.

**Interpretation of Reality**

The construction and interpretation of reality for any member(s) of society rests on background information, historical and biographical. According to Schutz (1962, 1966), the world, as it presents itself to members operating under the attitude of everyday life, is an historical, already organized world -- thus, the world of everyday life is taken for granted. It is experienced as an intersubjective world known or knowable in common with others. Everyday activities and their perceived connected features, then, present themselves with the promise that they may be understood, acted upon in practically sufficient ways by competent employment of appropriate proverbs, paradigms, motives, organizational charts, and the like. Thus, what is known or knowable about its organization awaits recognition or discovery precipitated by occurrences or events whose accomplishment requires coming to terms with circumscribed features relevant to the anticipated action.

Our discussion and description of the people and the relations between them in Chapter Three illustrates how this historical and biographical information is used by members of Tanktown in constructing reality. Consider Mr. C____'s statement (page 44). He often said that the Czechs
"stole the land right out from under the American Whites."
In answering my questions, Do you really mean they stole it?
and How did they manage to do it?, he gave accounts of past
history and typifications about the Czechs to construct his
view of what "really happened." He says, "they'd rent from
you three or four years and then borrowed the money to 'pay
it off'." This was a fair economic enterprise and acknowled-
ges the economic and political power of the Czechs, but
they are "theives;" as he says, "they come drifting in here
and stole our land."

According to Pollner and Zimmerman (1970), the members'
knowledge of the workings of the everyday world is more or
less ad hoc, more or less general. Similarly, Garfinkel
(1967) speaks of "common culture" as "...the socially
sanctioned grounds of inference and action that people use
in their everyday affairs and which they assume that others
use in the same way. Socially-sanctioned-facts-of-life-in-
society-that-any-bonafide-member-of-society-knows depict
such matters as the conduct of family life, market organiza-
tion, distributions of honor, competence, responsibility,
goodwill, income, motives among members, frequency, causes
of, and remedies for trouble, and the presence of good and
evil purposes behind the apparent working of things. Such
socially sanctioned facts of social life consist of descrip-
tions from the point of view of the collectivity member's
interests in the management of his practical affairs" (Garfinkel, 1967:76). This he calls "common sense knowledge of social structures."

This "common sense culture" is accomplished by members' use of accounting practices through which commonplace activities of everyday life are made familiar and recognized as familiar. Mr. B____, an acquaintance of Mr. C____, demonstrates how this idea of ad hoc knowledge unfolds and the notion of a "common culture" is created. He fills in Mr. C____'s statement about the Czechs stealing the land with the following:

When they [meaning the Czechs] come in, most of this was ranch land. The American man was ranching, and when the Bohemians came, he went to farming, and he was making more [money] farming than they was ranching, and they just eased on in and took over.

More history is provided; the difference in economic strategies, an increase in money and, hence, the opportunity to "ease on in." He too implies that it was sly, sneaky, and not legitimate. Mr. B____ is Black. Actually, to an observer, it would appear that the Czechs entered into legitimate contracts and made honest, sound investments. This is not how the "American Whites" view the situation.

Likewise, Weider (1970) contends that this accomplishment consists of members doing, recognizing, and using ethnographies. Therefore, the interpretation of reality, or the process of "sense making," must be embedded in a context
of history and biography. This process of "sense making" seems apparent in the accounts constructing the context presented in Chapter Three, and it is especially important to note that ethnicity provides the underlying scheme of interpretation.

In Chapter Four, we presented Cicourel's (1970) formulation of a set of interpretative procedures, Normal Forms, Et Cetera Principle, Reciprocity of Perspectives, which he contends members use to permit elaboration of the context to accomplish sense, and which helps to explicate Garfinkel and Weider's positions. These procedures are recast below:

1. **Normal Forms.** Members assume when they engage in interactions that each will emit utterances that are intelligible, recognizable, and embedded within a body of common knowledge. Also, they assume that each is understanding what the other is saying.

2. **Et Cetera Principle.** Under the et cetera assumption, members take it for granted that the listener will fill in the unstated, but intended, meanings of the speaker's expressions. This principle also includes the assumption that the speaker will say something later to clarify a previous utterance. It is the notion of retrospective-prospective sense of occurrence.

3. **Reciprocity of Perspectives.** The interchangeability of standpoints is assumed. It permits a member to treat
himself and the others occupying the same social setting such that if they exchanged positions, each would see what the other sees. Members assume that although they have different biographical circumstances, their experiences are sufficiently congruent so as to ignore, until further notice, any difference that might occur because of personal experiences and perceptions. However, when and if discrepancies are encountered, these same differences are used as explanations of the different interpretations of the same event, thereby preserving the facticity of that event.

This set of procedures brings into focus the interpretative work that goes beyond the actual utterances. For example, on page , we are able to view the entire scheme of interpretation in a seamless whole. The reader can observe B____, an alley regular, and R____, an alley regular, bring into focus a category of deviant behavior and invoke ethnicity as a scheme of interpretation to make sense of the behavior. At the same time, they use the same device to create a context in which they anchor the deviant action. The et cetera principle is used by the two several times to fill in the unstated meanings. For example:

B: Black men like R____ used to wouldn't be caught dead messing around like that. Hell, I think it's too much pressure.

R: What messing around?

B: You know. Him. The guy over there. [He points and gestures toward the two men in the corner.]
In addition, the concept of reciprocity of perspectives is brought into play at B____'s (the joint owner) urging. We can hear him saying that it is possible to change places with R____ (meaning it could happen to one of them), but they encounter a discrepancy, "you gon' tell me you'd start 'switching'??" B____ says "no," but, in turn, he uses their differences to preserve the facticity by stating,

...and you see too mucha' that stuff... gotta' be a reason.

Here, "switching" means becoming a homosexual.

In addition to the interpretative work needed to accomplish "sense," members act on the basis of their interpretation of the sense of meaning. In the case of the two men speaking above, they angrily depart from each other, each believing that his interpretation is correct. Another example of people acting on what they perceive to be 'real' follows.

In response to my question regarding Black political participation, the Postmaster responded as follows:

...you know, the colored people in Tanktown has always known they'd get what's coming to them...we've always had some fine upstanding citizens. You take Aunt S____ [the town's midwife and all-around babysitter, 104 years old], best person you ever did see...

I read this to mean, "we aren't looking for or interested in having a Black on the Council," or that one does not
exist that is suitable. My assumption was that Tanktown would not soon see a Black on the Council, at least not until interpretations were altered, especially since Aunt S____, as I mentioned earlier, is female and 104 years old. There are no women in city government.

Expectations about Others' Behavior

Through the process of interpretative procedures, members will act based on expectations about others' behavior as we have seen in the previous paragraphs. Two respondents do infer action based on their perceived expectations about another category of members. Thus, we do not employ expectations of behavior in the same sense as Mead (1968) does, e.g., gestures and signs seen as symbols endowed with meaning and based on rules which must be learned and used by actors so that they respond in ways that are perceiveably normal and stable. Instead, we use the concept to convey the notions about behavior which emerge when an ethnic scheme of interpretation is applied. One important expectation is: "Blacks should expect Whites to look out for them." Consider the example on page  , Chapter Three. Both the City Clerk and Postmaster infer that Blacks have no need to worry about participating in the city's government because they, the Whites, will see that they "get what's coming to them."

Blacks also have a sense of this expectation although
not stated in the same positive manner. Mrs. A____ states it succinctly, "...can't put yourself up to White folks..."
Examine part of her statement regarding a Black politician's attempt to get elected:

...everybody was saying they wondered why he put himself up there. White folks sure didn't want him...course now, if they wanted him, he'd got it.

As Cicourel (1970:15) shows, the meaning conveyed by linguistic and non-linguistic utterances and gestures are unclear and remain so. For instance, the Mayor, the Postmaster, and the City Clerk (all White males) interact with me, a Black female researcher who is totally out of character with their notions and expectations of "coloreds."
Thus, all keep referring to the good relations between Blacks and Whites and ignore completely any real discussion about the possibility of a Black participating in the political or economic structure at any level. Their idea of a "good Black citizen" is an elderly Black female, 104 years old, in a home for the aged, who was the town maid and mid-wife.

Inferences and the Network of Roles and Statuses

Propositions three and four are related and treated in the following paragraphs as such. Proposition three assumes that expectations rest on inferences about persons involved
in the interaction. Proposition four assumes the inferences are made on a network of roles and statuses. This network is seen by Turner (1970) to be interpretative. Thus, a rather simple but important stratification scheme emerges from the data. Whites are perceived to occupy the position of power in the community irregardless of wealth of position, while Blacks have little or none. Some other gradations may be seen within groups, but these do not appear to be crucial to interaction since all behavior appears to be cast in Black-White relations, e.g., Black "respectables" have as much sense of "weness" and "theyness" as do alley regulars when it comes to dealing with Whites.

In Chapter Three, we described the ethnographic features of the community and detailed historical and biographical information about the members made known through their accounts. These accounts differ based on who is giving them and under what circumstances. Chapter Four set out the social relations in the context of the setting described in Chapter Three and examined the question of the use of ethnicity in the definitions and doing of deviant behavior. Ethnographic details from Whites and Blacks were presented to show how I constructed a notion of ethnicity and how, once constructed, it was observed to be used by members in the construction and sanctioning of deviance.

To understand how these sets of relations act as
interpretative devices, I have recast statements by informants providing information about the political and economic activity.

R: I guess you know an 'old boy' ran this past election [two weeks before these interviews]. You see, last April, when we were elected Councilmen, we drew straws for one-year and two-year terms. Two people drew short straws, which meant that they had to run for re-election. We won 'unanimously.' But old B____ ran, a 'colored' boy. Nobody like him, colored nor the white people.

I: Did he get any votes?

R: Yeah, a few. But now, don't get me wrong. We got some fine coloreds...you take Aunt S______..."

Here, the inference is that B____ is not one of the respectable Blacks, but his presence was not needed even if he had been because Whites lead and look out for Blacks.

Another set of excerpts from a Black further illustrates the use of these interpretative devices:

...White folk ain't gonna' let you have too much...they get mad if you do...when I got this car, all P____ said was, "Well, you must be doing okay if you can get a car like that"...I guess I shoulda' never let her know I had the car...she used to be so nice, now when I go to work, she's so nasty, tries to order me around. I told her I work for her daddy and not her.

Ethnic Stratification

As we have demonstrated, a stratification scheme emerges based on the talk of members that is primarily an ethnic
scheme whereby members label themselves and others. Based on the labels and interpretative work used to embed them in the "common culture," members carry on interactions in ways which continue to elaborate and make the scheme known. Each informant, in the telling of biographies of members, associated them with an ethnic identification and used that identity to elaborate background features of the social, political, religious and economic relations in the setting. As a matter of course, the "setting," detailed in Chapter Three, emerged out of these interpretations of ethnic identity for me and for others with whom interaction was being carried out. The construction of ethnic identities is especially important as a way of examining the process of labeling, defining and interpreting behavior within the context of the Black group in Tanktown. Behavior perceived by me and them to be deviant and/or non-deviant was elaborated in Chapters Four and Five.

**Social Organization**

The stratification scheme also imposed a perceived order on community relations and geographic distribution of members in the community. This organization has consequences for all on-going relations in the setting: for example, the place of work and types of jobs available; religious affiliation and placement of religious structures;
wealth and power as seen in the "locked-up-for-Whites-only" political structure.

**Concept of Alikeness**

One may be able to argue that not all Whites nor all Blacks fit this scheme, and this is true, but wherever Blacks or Whites perceived themselves in the constructed structure, i.e., respectable versus non-respectable, Czech and powerful, or American White and forced out, it remains clear that there is no uncertainty about social places in the Black-White scheme. In this sense, we suggest, real or imaginary, that there is a shared sense of alikeness -- "they and we."

Shibutani and Kwan point out that although the difference may not be valid, it is the believed difference that counts. In many excerpts, we have presented these perceived differences. Also, we see that individuals interact based on this belief of shared alikeness. An example is that of the elderly woman who would have stored the stolen meat for the two young men because "Black folk" cannot get anything, not even their rightful welfare benefits, unless another White intercedes.

Thus, as Shibutani and Kwan suggest, there is a uniting here, based on emotional bonds and concern with the preservation of 'type.' I should add that I treat the above
statement to mean not an inherent desire by people of an ethnic group to preserve themselves but, rather, the use of the ethnic identity as an interpretative device used by the members to elaborate, neutralize, constrict and otherwise alter behavior within the group and between groups. The same dynamic process is used by "others" in their relationships toward the group or groups.

Therefore, theories which purport to be able to apply a set of statistical variables to a category or class of categories of behavior will find the explanations woefully incomplete. Completeness requires a description of the context as an interpretative device, i.e., configuration of networks, of roles and statuses between groups, i.e., boundaries, and interpretative procedures used by members to create and maintain them. This is illustrated in the following example which is expanded from Chapter Three:

R: I don't know. As long as white folk got hold of everything, what you gon' do? Old Miss _____, the welfare woman, she running around putting all of these old white folk on the government. Even Mr. P____, and I know you know that man don't need no check from the government. But she didn't want me or T____. She said, "y'all got educated children to help you, and your houses are too good to say you need help." But Miss M____ said she'd help me get on and she did...but she's white, you see. Colored people don't have no say so.

I: Hmm.

R: C____ and some other boys [young men]
started bringing 'hot' meat from up there at the plant where they work. People were just buying it right and left.

I: Whites too?

R: You know you know better than that.

It is evident that how she perceives the situation of Black people in the town with regard to their position of power and status, that her perception of and reaction to a category of behavior (stealing) is different than what we might expect if we could take the "rules" as given, which is how the normative theories generally work. We might expect some suggestion that C _____ and cohorts are wrong, but she makes no attempt to neutralize behavior or label; instead, she says simply, "Whites don't have to" (buy 'hot' meat).

On the other hand, the dominant labeling theories (Becker, 1963; Schur, 1971) cannot direct our attention to how the modeling or labeling of the deviant might occur in this situation.

I proposed early in this work that an interpretative/interaction model was important in order to identify deviant and non-deviant behavior, and especially important to answer the question of why some behavior causes excitation and action and not others. As we have demonstrated, our interpretative interactionist model can account for the behavior in the above situation by overlaying the action with the
ethnic scheme. Hence, C____ will not be reported to "the law."

However, I should include another important contribution which helps to make sense of the data presented here. This contribution comes from Pollner and Zimmerman, who place the interpretative aspect of the model in an even broader perspective by showing how the documentary method proposed by Garfinkel is objectified in the context of doing research. The documentary method includes the following notions of treating an actual appearance as: (1) "the document of," as "pointing to," as "standing on behalf of" a pre-supposed underlying pattern; (2) the underlying pattern derived from its individual documentary evidences, but the individual documentary evidences, in their turn, are interpreted on the basis of "what is known" about the underlying pattern; and (3) each is used to elaborate the other.

Pollner and Zimmerman (1970) contend that the features of a setting attended to by its participants include:

...among other things, its historical continuity, its structure of rules, and the ascribed statuses of its participants. Under the attitude of everyday life, these features are "normal, natural facts of life." Under the attitude of everyday life, these features are objective conditions of action that, although participants have had a hand in bringing them about and sustaining them, are essentially independent of any one's or anyone's doing.

They assert that when viewed as the temporarily situated
achievement of parties to a setting, these features will be termed the "occasioned corpus" of setting. By use of the term "occasioned corpus," they emphasize that the features of socially organized activities are particular, contingent accomplishments of the production and recognition work of parties to the activity. Pollner and Zimmerman offer several recommendations in the explanation and use of the occasioned corpus, and three additional ones which expand the notions of the model.

1. The occasioned corpus is a corpus with no regular elements; that is, it does not consist of a stable collection of elements.

2. The work of assembling an occasioned corpus consists in the on-going corpusing and decorpusing of elements rather than the situated retrieval or removal of a subset of elements from a larger set transcending any particular setting in which that work is done.

3. Accordingly, from the standpoint of analysis done under the auspices of this notion, the elements organized by the occasioned corpus are unique to the particular setting in which it is assembled; hence, ungeneralizable to other settings. That is, for the analysis, particular setting features are "for the moment" and "here and now."

Thus, by this proposal, a given setting's features are not referrable for their production and recognition to
"cultural resources" transcending a particular occasion. Hence, they assert that the analyst cannot have recourse to such explanatory devices as a shared complex of values, norms, roles, motives, and the like, standing independent of and prior to a given occasion.

4. The work of assembling an occasioned corpus is embedded in the work through which it is displayed and detected, regardless of the recalcitrance and obviousness the element may appear to possess when viewed under the jurisdiction of the attitude of everyday life. In fact, the very obviousness of the features of a setting, such as family's appearance in the evening as the same family to which one said goodbye that morning, is itself an element that remains to be concertedly accomplished as a constituent feature of the setting's appearance.

This seems evident from the central part played by me in assembling and depicting the ethnic scheme of interpretation in Tanktown. I have already shown that the setting of the community under study is dependent on and attached to the situated work through which and by which it is made notable and observable.

5. The fact that members take for granted, insist upon, and talk about features of a world and knowledge of those features transcending any particular here-and-now situated appearance, is preserved intact and made a feature
of the work of assembling an occasioned corpus.

6. The occasioned corpus is thus conceived to consist of members' methods of exhibiting the connectedness, objectivity, orderliness, and relevance of the features of any particular setting as features in, of, and linked with a more encompassing, ongoing setting, typically referred to as "the society." The work of the occasioned corpus is the work of displaying the society "in back of" the various situated appearances constituent of everyday, located scenes.

Using such a scheme, we find that the study of deviant and non-deviant practices must be analyzed by examining the various practices members employ to sustain the sense of an objective structure of social activities, i.e., a society exhibited from the vantage of a particular situation. The features for this study were made known and available through these interactions and interpretations of members' and researcher's work, lay and professional.

In Chapter Seven, I will discuss briefly the implications of this study and its usefulness to the discipline of sociology focusing specifically on crime and race.
Chapter Seven

CONCLUSION

In Chapter One it was argued that the theories of deviance generated by the normative paradigm which are based on the primary assumption that behavior is rule-governed cannot explain many questions which arise when looking at deviance. These gaps appear for the following reasons:

1. All rules do not apply to all people.
2. All people do not agree with the rules or even know what they are.
3. All persons do not have the same or even similar opportunities to achieve goals and meet expectations of a society.

Thus the following problems occur which are not adequately explained by the theories:

1. Low status, uneducated people make up the largest number of persons arrested, labeled and incarcerated because they do not know how the system works.
2. Ethnic minorities and especially Blacks form the greatest number of officially labeled deviants.
3. Official meanings of deviance may conflict with group meanings.
Traditional labeling theorists attempt to address these problems by treating the social order as problematic and focusing on official construction of labels. It was shown that there are also weaknesses in this approach. First, little attention is given to those labels constructed within the actors' context that are not already officially labeled. Second, no attention is given to the process of labeling where there is a network of differentially ranked participants. In view of these gaps in the knowledge of deviance, I proposed a radical labeling approach. This approach turns attention to those labeled too, however, the question is, "what problems do those labeled deviant have with the social order?" According to this view unless an act is labeled there is no deviance. This position reverses common sense reality in order to examine those common sense conceptions of crime and other deviance that are constructed.

On the basis of the radical labeling perspective I examined the interpretive process of constructing deviant labels in one small specialized community. Labeled and unlabeled individuals were part of this study and the community was differentially ranked according to ethnic groups. The methods included participant observation and tape recorded interviews. These methods and the selection of informants are described in Chapter Two.

Chapter Three describes and defines the context through
ethnographic details. These descriptions show that an ethnic schema underpins all of the community relations -- economic, political, religious and social.

In Chapters Four and Five the issues of constructing labels and the importance of the context and the interpretative procedures used in this construction is delineated.

Chapter Four takes up the role of the sociologist as researcher in the process of the construction of labels. My work in establishing a set of deviant categories based on interpretative procedures which help define and at the same time form a part of the context is shown in some detail.

The argument was made that behavior and labels were equivocal; that behavior implied both deviant and non-deviant meanings; and required the use of the deviant label and other ethnographic particulars to provide them with a sense of being deviant. My construction was a conventional sociological model of deviance based on my own stock of knowledge as a sociologist. This construction process was continued in Chapter Five from the perspective of members in Tanktown.

Chapter Five examines how members construct a set of categories that are different from mine. The participants use an ethnic schema which grounds the theoretical and pragmatic construction of deviance. It is argued that this
ethnic schema is applied as an interpretative device to make sense of behavior and ground the behavior. That is, to establish a sense of reality for the participants in the setting.

Chapter Six provides an examination of the interpretative process from the point of view of the nine propositions presented in Chapter One with the intent to show how some of the questions created in the discussion of the normative and traditional labeling perspective might be approached. It also delineates the use of the ethnic scheme using the concepts from the perspectives of Barth, Shibutani and Kwan and Emerson. Such questions as who is sanctioned and why?

The focus of this study of the use of ethnic status in the process of defining and managing deviant behavior involved finding the sense of deviance through the "talk" of the participants and examining the application to and management of labels to categories of behavior that were constructed by these participants. Several questions were asked and attempts were made to answer them.

1. What do the participants define as deviant?
2. How is the definition constructed?
3. What assurance is there that the construction is correct?

The members were shown to describe and define their interactions through a set of interpretative procedures which are
defined by Harold Gardinkel and Aaron Cicourel. The procedures as outlined and defined in Chapters Four and Five led to the description of four categories which differ from the conventional categories I constructed.

Members defined as deviant:
1. non-conventional sex
2. "caught and dumb"
3. "causing grief and worry"
4. "messing up your life"

These categories are grounded in an ethnic schema which serves both as context and as a neutralization technique. It is of interest that I used the same procedures but developed and adhered to categories used by agents of social control and sociologists even though I was not consciously prepared to do so. Thus my sociological scheme must be taken into account. I am sure that this is the case in many instances of research which leads to a discrepancy between what is theoretically hypothesized and what is empirically observable.

In summary, I have made the following findings: (1) Members of Tanktown use a set of interpretative procedures outlined by Garfinkel and Cicourel, including an important addition -- ethnicity as a scheme of interpretation which is used to construct the social reality. (2) Deviance is recognized through the construction of labels, that is the
deviance is a function of the labels. (3) The ethnic schema is used as a neutralization technique which is different from the traditional description of neutralization tactics in sociology.

The construction of social reality has to do with reflexivity of social behavior. Members use the ethnic scheme as the underlying pattern and the underlying pattern derived from its documentary evidences, in turn, are interpreted on the basis of "what is known about the underlying pattern;" therefore, each is used to elaborate the other. Thus, this ethnic scheme not only grounds the behavior but it is used to interpret the behavior that occurs in the setting or context.

The deviance, then, is constructed by creating labels that are made known through this ethnic schema. The labels are, in turn, used to make known the scheme and elaborate further the behavior which has been labeled deviant.

In addition its use as a neutralization technique not by those labeled deviant but the spectators doing the reacting and labeling further illustrates the importance as a finding.

Traditionally, sociologists have examined ethnicity from the perspective of power and distribution of goods. Although members in this setting talk about power and distribution of goods based on ethnicity its use is not
confined to these areas.

Hence, before we take the idea of differential ethnic status for granted it is necessary to understand its meaning to groups and understand more clearly how it is used in building a social reality. As I have shown the people in Tanktown use the concept of ethnicity as an elaborate scheme to explain everything in the social context in addition to forming the basis for the context.

Limitations of the Study

This study has the following limitations and weaknesses.

1. It centers on a specialized setting.
2. The population is small.
3. The categories of deviance are special to this community and may or may not be found in another setting.

In spite of the limitations, it may be argued that the use of an interpretative scheme has some advantages in examining the relationship between ethnicity and deviance.

Implications for the Future

The findings suggest that it may be fruitful in the future for sociologists to examine neighborhoods within metropolitan areas where Blacks and other ethnic minorities
are concentrated, permitting the use of the interpretative model so that it is possible to examine this process of constructing deviance. Perhaps a series of such studies would lead to further information on the relationship between ethnicity and crime. Similarly, policy-makers may find more useful ways to plan and construct programs which are already geared toward remeding the situations that are now believed to "cause crime."
Appendix I

COMMUTERS

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Appendix II

PROFILE OF THE ALLEY REGULARS*

MARY -- at least 75 years old, can be found in the alley every weekend. She dances and drinks with the younger men. Her favorite pastime is to demonstrate how she can still dance. She does the solo frequently with the crowd looking on and clapping.

ELMER -- 67, is the chatter box. He talks all the time. Spins tales that are filled with half truths. Plays dominoes with any takers and comes to the alley with the expressed purpose of getting drunk.

KATE -- is an unattractive flashy dresser who gets drunk regularly on Saturdays and plays the piano for the Baptist church on Sundays. Her contention is that there is nothing else in the town to do and besides, "loving the Lord and doing what's right ain't got nothing to

*The names are all fictitious to provide anonymity for the real people.
do with drinking a little beer on weekends."

EDWINA -- a close friend of Kate's, comes to the alley to share the gossip and drink beer. She is quieter, in her 60's, and usually shares her time between Kate and a male friend from a nearby town. Her youngest sister runs the joint in which she spends the most time.

JO ANN, HEATHER AND TERRY are sisters. They are young, ranging in ages from 25 to 33. They come to the alley every weekend and on many of the days during the week when the joints are open. The three tend to form their own group. As members say, "they run together." The alley provides them contacts for the sale and exchange of "dope," which Jo Ann is said to control in the community. All three of the women are lesbian.

ELLEN R. -- is another alley regular who does not live in Tanktown anymore, but makes frequent trips there on the weekends and spends her time with Jo Ann, Heather and Terry. Ellen is a confirmed "user." Her mother owns the "cafe" which is now run by her younger sister, Faye.
CHUCKIE R. -- was once thought to be a prime choice to run for constable of Tanktown with the Austin County Sheriff's Department. He is a pusher of pills and "pot." He was also responsible for burning William's joint.

HAWKEYE -- the "super-stud" now labeled "funny," and "queer," is married to one of the community's "respectable" citizens, a local teacher. He was also the overt lover of another alley regular, Willow.

WILLOW -- is the mother of Jo Ann, Heather and Terry. She was married during her affair with Hawkeye, but her husband died very slowly of tuberculosis. Her son was killed by one of the Smith boys.

JACK AND JOE, cousins, are young men in their 30's who "hang out" in the alley; Joe to see if he can "catch him a woman," and Jack because there is "nothing else going on." Jack is married and has six children.

CHICO -- said to be Hawkeye's homosexual lover, is an older man, lives alone, is single, rides a bicycle everywhere he goes, and wears a
Mexican sombrero year-round. He tends to keep to himself and, like Mary, dances solo style to the urging and delight of onlookers.

WILLIAM -- owner of one of the joints (until Chuckie burned it down), is also a regular. He is a man in his late 40's, 6'4" tall, and weighs around 300 pounds. He has a history of heart trouble and has already suffered one heart attack. He plays dominoes, drinks mostly beer, and is never seen as drunk. He talks politics with anyone who will listen and commands the attention of those who do not want to listen. He is said to be mean when angered and is supposed to be "bad" - tough.
Appendix III

KIN GROUPS

MARRIAGE TIE

Mayes
  Halston

BLOOD RELATIONS

Kennedy
  Miller

Smith ——— Norris ——— Barnes ——— Jamison
  Grant
  Hutton

Blood Ties ———
Kin Ties ———
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