



TO THE OFFICE OF GRADUATE STUDIES:


The members of the Committee approve the thesis of
Sharon Gertrude White presented December 24, 1971.



Joseph F. Jones, Chairman


Dennis Brissett


Barry Lebowitz

APPROVED:



Don C. Gibbons, Head, Department of Sociology



David T. Clark, Dean of Graduate Studies


AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF Sharon Gertrude White for the
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APPROVED BY MEMBERS OF THE THESIS COMMITTEE:


Joseph R. Jones, Chairman


Dennis Brissett


Barry Lebowitz

It is through the announcement and placement of various identities that one is able to enter into various types of social relations. Identity is a label used to describe a person in a particular situation as being a kind of social object. A person announces his identity and others place him as having this identity on the basis of his appearance. Structural relations have been defined as relations which one may enter by using a title, while interpersonal relations are entered by using a name or nickname. Structural identities place people in categories, while separating them from others in different categories. Names are used to identify an individual and thus, distinguish him from all other individuals.

It has been the purpose of this thesis to gain an under-

standing of an empirical world (gay drinking places) through the application of the theoretical concept of identity as discussed by those in the interactionist perspective.

The method of participant observation was used to gather the data for this investigation. The role of "participant-as-observer" was assumed. The observations were conducted in male gay drinking places in an urban area over a period of three months. Both informal and formal interviews were conducted with informants.

It was found that in the gay drinking places there are different structural identities which may be announced and placed in order to enter into structural relations. In most situations these structural identities are announced and placed on the basis of appearance. Knowledge of these structural identities allows the exploration of the relations between those presenting a specific structural identity with those presenting the same structural identity and with those presenting different structural identities. While the announcement and placement of identities facilitates interaction, in some cases it may preclude interaction. Additionally, it is suggested that the various gay bars and taverns acquire imputed identities. The subject of identity transformation in the gay drinking places was also investigated. When a person new to the gay subculture is aspiring to the identity of gay regular, he must learn how to announce this identity. Gay drinking places serve as places where the individual may announce his intention of becoming a gay regular and where he may meet others who have the identity to which he is aspiring. In gay drinking places he enters into a coaching

relationship with other gay regulars who serve as models for him, teach him how to appear, and define the various situations in which he finds himself.

Names and nicknames are used to enter into interpersonal relations with others in the gay drinking places. In the gay drinking places, it was found that while a person's structural identity indicates that the person can be shown to be a specific type of person, it is a person's name or nickname which identifies him as an individual. In interaction, a name brings to mind various situationally relevant elements of biographical information. The biographical information which may be brought to mind is in many cases limited to information accumulated about the person's activities in the gay drinking places because last names are rarely used.

IDENTITIES IN GAY DRINKING PLACES

by

SHARON GERTRUDE WHITE

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CHAPTER I

THE CONCEPT OF IDENTITY

INTRODUCTION

Theories about identity are always embedded in a more general interpretation of reality; they are "built into" the symbolic universe and its theoretical legitimations, and vary with the character of the latter. Identity remains unintelligible unless it is located in a world. Any theorizing about identity--and about specific identity types--must therefore occur within the framework of the theoretical interpretations within which it and they are located (Berger and Luckman, 1966:175-176).

The purpose of this chapter is to present and discuss two theoretical perspectives of identity, the psychological and the interactionist, and the differing use of the concept of identity in these perspectives. The psychological perspective makes use of the concept of identity in explaining the need of the individual for a feeling of continuity, of knowing who he is, as he exists in society. Identity in this perspective is a psychological requirement. In the interactionist perspective identity is viewed as a social requirement. It is by means of the announcement and placement of identities that situations are defined and that people are able to engage in interaction.

In this chapter, while the use of the concept of identity within these theoretical perspectives will be discussed, major emphasis will be placed on the interactionist perspective, the theoretical framework used in this thesis. The use of the concept of identity in understanding interaction will be stressed. Stone's (1962) discussion of the various types of identities which are announced and placed in order to enter into certain types of social relations will be the key element.

I. THE PSYCHOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE OF IDENTITY

The psychological perspective provides one way of viewing reality. King (1965:94) states that "Man's behavior is seen as being determined and capable of being understood in terms of the individual's dynamics, character structure, unconscious motivations, and social learning." The psychological perspective provides a framework by which to study the individual and his behavior. In this perspective, each person is unique. Man engages in behavior in order to adjust to inner stimuli--whether these be biological drives or psychological needs--and to outer pressures imposed by the physical and social environments.

Man is usually seen in this perspective as a passive being who engages in certain actions in order to exist. All behavior and all an individual's experiences can be explained in psychological terms. Within this perspective there are various schools of thought which explain behavior in terms of instincts, traits, drives, or needs. It seems at times, however, that it is hard to distinguish between what are called drives, needs, and instincts. These various concepts are used to explain why a person acts and the explanations center on forces which are internal in the individual. These explanations, however, border on the tautological (Dewey, 1970:471) in that the concepts are used to explain why the behavior occurred; but when the concepts are defined, they are defined in terms of the behavior. (For a further discussion and criticism of these concepts see Lindesmith and Strauss, 1956:267-310 and Stone and Farberman, 1970:167-368.) The psychoanalytic school of thought suggests that most behavior is influenced by the unconscious and that behavior takes place because of unconscious mental processes (Lindesmith and Strauss, 1956:

283-295), but as Whorf (1970:41) asserts,

. . . it works only in the sphere of the abnormal and the deranged, and it is becoming evident that the abnormal is not the key to the normal. Moreover, it is so resolute in its determination to deal with intangibles that it shows almost a contempt for the external world and strays continually into the realms of phantasm.

Many of those involved with the psychological perspective are interested in the factors involved in the development of a child into an adult. Those in the psychoanalytic school of thought especially emphasize the importance of childhood in the formation of the individual. In the development of the individual both heredity and the social environment play a part. Heredity determines the level of development which a person may reach and the social environment determines if and in what ways a person may reach this developmental level. The developmental psychologists also emphasize the importance of learning on development.

The psychological perspective, then, views man as being passive. He comes into the world as a biological entity and this determines or provides the limitations on what he can become. The social environment also plays a determining factor in what he will become. The psychological perspective can then explain--depending, of course, on which school of thought is being used--why a person does what he does by calling forth various drives, needs, traits, instincts, or unconscious mental processes, etc. The psychological perspective explains and organizes human experiences in terms of the psychological makeup of the individual. The individual is pushed and manipulated and shaped by his heredity, his environment, and his drives, needs, and unconscious mental processes. In this approach the concept of identity is used to explain an individual's

feeling of who he is in relation to his social environment and in relation to other individuals.

In the broadest and most popular sense, the concept of identity has been used to provide an answer to the question "Who am I?" (Ruitenberg, 1964:15; Lynd, 1958:15; Wheelis, 1958; Klapp, 1969:5). The use of the concept of identity has gained popularity among those psychologists interested in human development. Erikson (1960) was probably the originator of the use of the concept of identity as a developmental phenomenon, especially what he calls ego identity. Erikson stresses the importance of the periods of childhood and adolescence on the formation of identity, although identity formation continues throughout life. Erikson (1960:47) feels that ". . . it is a life long development largely unconscious to the individual and to his society." It is through experiences during childhood and especially in adolescence that a person makes many identifications. It is through these various identifications that the developing individual will be forced to make many decisions concerning himself and which will ". . . lead to a more final self-definition, to irreversible role pattern, and thus to commitments 'for life!'" (Erikson, 1960:45). Ego identity is seen by Erikson as a developmental process, where one's social experiences and identifications with others play a very important part in determining how a person feels about himself and where his place is in society.

Lynd (1958:204) provides a good summary of Erikson's conception of identity:

. . . Erikson deliberately selects a term that has a double direction, that clearly indicates that some sort of correspondence between the inner and the outer world is indispensable for a sense of identity. He uses the term identity with multiple connections, which include: unconscious and conscious

strivings for continuity of personality, a tendency toward synthesis beyond even conscious striving, a criterion for the outcome of this striving and this tendency, a maintenance of congruence with the ideals and identity of one's social group, a conscious awareness of who one is. By implication he includes in the meaning of identity the self as subject and as object, as observer and observed. . . .

This developmental approach takes the view that identity is developed during the adolescent period. Erikson and others use the concept to explain the condition in which the adolescent finds himself. He is in a state of confusion. He does not know whether he is an adult or a child, and he must make decisions about his future. As he begins to identify with others, and as others suggest that he is a certain type of person, he begins to see where his place is. He has then gained identity. Identity is viewed as something which the individual experiences both consciously and unconsciously about himself. Identity is a continually changing and forming process in an individual. It is an inner feeling in the individual about how he views himself and how others view him and is influenced by the social environment.

The concept of identity has come into vogue particularly among those involved in the psychological perspective in the United States. The concept is being used to explain some of the psychological problems of adjustment which American people are now facing. The psychological problems come about principally because of the lack of structure in the social environment. Whereas the sociologist is apt to focus upon this lack of structure and the resulting normlessness (which he would label "anomie"), the psychologist would tend to focus upon the individual's inability to adjust to this social condition (and would call this lack of adjustment an "identity crisis"). Thus, the behavior occurring as a result of the anomic condition is explained in terms of the person having

an identity crisis.

In this instance, the psychological perspective is trying to explain man's behavior as being caused by his inability to adjust to his environment. Man is viewed as a passive creature that needs to be pushed and manipulated, but because of the lack of structure in the social environment, this is not occurring and man is in limbo. This perspective's explanation seems overly narrow, in that it gives no credence to man's ability to manipulate the social environment. Instead of seeing the ways in which the individual might change his social conditions as a way out of perceived difficulties, this perspective has an individual going to an analyst who will then try to help him find his place in society and will try to help him remake himself so he fits into that place. The concept of identity is used clinically to explain the individual's feeling of aimlessness.

In this context, identity involves two major aspects: 1) The individual must know in what ways he is like others and, 2) An individual must know that he is unique, that he is different from others. In the first instance, an individual must find out in what ways he is like others in society. He must do this in order to find his place in society. A person must discover that he identifies with certain social roles, certain life styles, and various values in society. He needs to know that he fits in and how he fits in. Both Wheelis (1958:19) and Ruitenbeek (1964:17) emphasize the importance of stable values in society and their effect on an individual's identity. Wheelis (1958:19) asserts that identity

. . . depends upon stable values, and upon the conviction that one's actions and values are harmoniously related. It is a

sense of wholeness, of integration, of knowing what is right and what is wrong and of being able to choose.

In these terms, identity is dependent on the social environment. When values are unstable or contradictory, then one's sense of identity will be unstable; one will not be able to orient himself; his sense of identity will be missing. Wheelis (1958:205) emphasizes that identity is something internal to the individual, and that ". . . it is to be created and achieved" and is influenced by the structural aspects of society.

It is through this ability to see how one is like others and to see where one's place is that a person is able to have identity. If values are unstable, if life styles are too rapidly changing and if the social environment is in flux, then the individual will not be able to find where he fits in, because he will have nothing stable with which to identify. Lynd (1958:140) proposes that ". . . congruence of feeling and thought, subject and object, awareness of inner anticipations and memories that find their dialectical counterpart in the outer world of people and of things is the stuff from which a sense of identity is formed."

The emphasis of the psychological perspective on the need of the individual to be able to identify with various facets in the social environment in order to discover how he fits in can be criticized for seemingly placing too great an importance on the effect of the social environment on the individual. If these various facets of the social environment are unstable or unclear, then the individual ends up with a number of psychological problems because he cannot adjust. It seems as if this approach allows no room for the individual to control or change

the environment, and the individual plays no part in creating the social environment. Left unanswered is the crucial question of how this social environment ever developed in the first place.

Another important aspect of identity is the ability of the individual to see in what ways he is different from others. He must be able to feel that he is unique. He must see himself as an individual existing in society, and as such, being more than the roles he plays. This ability to see how he is different from others seems to be dependent upon his ability to identify with others.

Broadly understood . . . , identity involves the individual as he exists in his society. Man must know who he is: he must be able to sense himself as both author and object of his actions. For the only true fulfillment of his human needs is his development as a fully individuated personality, which recognizes itself as the center of its own being. Such a person has achieved identity (Ruitenbeek, 1964:11).

Once a person knows where he fits into society--where his place is--and that he is a unique person, then he may be said to have identity. This identity is an inner feeling of the individual. Identity in this perspective is a feeling which one has about oneself, gained through his social experiences. Having an identity provides a person with a feeling of continuity, security, and togetherness within society.

Klapp (1969:39) sees identity as:

. . . a functioning system of three basic variables: (1) what a person thinks about himself introspectively; (2) what he projects or sees imagined or accepted in the eyes of others (his social identity); (3) his feelings, validated when "real to me" and when shared with others.

In the second and third of these factors Klapp takes into account the fact that the identifications which others have of actor have some effect on actor's identity. Klapp, however, continues to stress the importance of the inner feelings which one has about himself, and if these inner

feelings about himself find congruence or are validated by others, then the person is involved in achieving identity. According to Klapp (1969: ix), when a person's life has meaning to him he has identity.

One of the major problems with the concept of identity as used in the psychological perspective is that it is difficult to conceptualize clearly what phenomena are being included in the concept. Most of those using this concept use it to explain an individual's lack of orientation. The theorists explain the lack of identity much better than they explain what identity is. The question of identity comes up when a person is disorientated, is wandering around aimlessly, not knowing where he is going. A person needs identity to be psychologically stable, and if he is not, then he has an identity problem. The concept is used to explain why an adolescent goes through a period of not knowing what he is or where he is going. The concept is also used to explain the condition of many Americans in today's rapidly changing society. The concept is kind of a catch-all used to explain a variety of psychological problems. It has almost become more popular for a person to be going through an identity crisis than for a person to be neurotic; but then, maybe the identity crisis is a new form of neurosis.

The psychological approach tends to view society or the social environment as a given. This perspective takes the view that an individual's behavior is influenced and shaped by the social environment. It does not take into account the possibility of individuals acting together or by themselves to influence and shape the social environment. By means of emphasizing the influence of the social environment and the psychological makeup of the individual as explaining an individual's behavior and feelings, this perspective does not allow the individual to create

his own destiny. This perspective takes a very deterministic view of man.

In the psychological approach to the concept of identity, it seems almost as if the concept has become as useless as the concept of personality. Perhaps this problem is illustrated by Stone (1962:93) when he expresses the opinion that ". . . the impetus to discovery afforded by the term has been so great that its meaning threatens to spill over the bounds of analytic utility."

The view of man as a passive animal, as used in this perspective, seems rather limiting. It allows for no creativity in the individual. This perspective is not useful in explaining how things get done and how individuals come to associate with one another. Most of the psychological argument is somewhat tautological or if not, it tends to explain behavior in terms of the unconscious which is not prone to investigation. (On this point also, see Lindesmith and Strauss, 1956:283-295.)

The psychoanalytic concept of identity has the additional limitation in that it really seems to have no relevance in answering questions such as "What is the importance of identity in the daily functioning of life?" "In what ways does identity influence or affect interaction and why?" In this conception of identity, a person either has it or he doesn't, and if he doesn't, then he is looking for it.

II. THE INTERACTIONIST PERSPECTIVE OF IDENTITY

The interactionist perspective provides an alternative view of reality. Instead of organizing all human experiences in terms of psychological or large scale social structural explanations, the interactionist perspective views interaction as defining reality. In this perspective

every individual is seen as creating his own reality through his involvement in interaction. This perspective does not try to explain behavior, as does the psychological perspective, but it tries to provide descriptions of what actually happens in particular situations so that people will be able to understand others. The interactionist perspective is only concerned with actual observable behavior and not the underlying psychological reason for this behavior.

In the interactionist perspective man is seen as being by nature active; he is not, as in the psychological perspective, driven to action because of psychological factors and manipulated and shaped by the social environment. In the psychological perspective, society exists separate from individuals. In the interactionist perspective it is the individuals acting together which create the social environment. The individual is viewed as the creator of society and one cannot separate the individual from society, as is done in the psychological perspective.

In the interactionist perspective, man is viewed as a social being who is always acting, not reacting to psychological drives and social environmental factors. All behavior occurs in a social context. The interactionist perspective deals with what happens when people come together in face-to-face contact. Man is seen as symbolic and it is the ability to communicate which makes man social. The interactionists are primarily interested in understanding how individuals act and the consequences of their actions.

To the interactionists, the term "encounter" describes two or more people coming into face-to-face contact. "Interaction" is used to indicate an encounter where there is an overlap of response among those engaging in the encounter. "Overlap of response" indicates that the

response of the individual to his own behavior and the response of the others involved in the encounter to his behavior is roughly congruent. The interactionist perspective is then interested in understanding how it is possible for interaction to occur; why in some cases an encounter never leads to interaction; and why in some cases an interaction may terminate before it has run its natural course.

The interactionists also view all behavior as situational and continually changing. In order to understand what occurs in encounters, it is necessary to study it in the situational context. The interactionist perspective does not concern itself very much with trying to understand behavior which occurs across situations, but mainly provides descriptions of what is happening in the particular situation.

Stone and Farberman (1970:2) seem to summarize this perspective's view of man when they allege that ". . . man is viewed as an active agent, selecting out those stimuli or objects to which he shall respond, accomplishing his selections in the matrix of communication, and transforming his society or his social world in the process."

Mead's concept of the "Me" may be viewed as a bridge between the psychological conception of identity and identity as discussed by the interactionists. Mead states that ". . . it is due to the individual's ability to take the attitudes of . . . others insofar as they can be organized that he gets self-consciousness. This taking of all of those organized sets of attitudes gives him his 'me' that is the self he is aware of" (Strauss, 1956:230). In other words, it is through role taking that he is able to see himself as an object. Meltzer (1967:11) interprets the "Me" in this manner:

The "Me" represents the incorporated other within the individual. Thus, it comprises the organized set of attitudes and definitions, understandings and expectations--or simply meanings--common to the group. In any given situation, the "Me" comprises the generalized other and often, some particular other.

The "Me" then is the self viewed as a social object. Because the individual is able to see himself as a social object he has an identity. The "Me" is comprised of all these organized sets of attitudes, it is cross situational and provides continuity for the individual.

The interactionist perspective has modified Mead's work to some extent by making the study of identity situational. The concept of identity is used to understand the names or words which people use to describe themselves in a particular situation and the names or words which are used to describe him by others. Identity is a kind of label or signal used to describe the person in a particular situation as being some kind of a social object.

. . . identity establishes what and where the person is in social terms . . . when one has identity he is situated--that is, cast in the shape of a social object by the acknowledgment of his participation or membership in social relations. One's identity is established when others place him as a social object by assigning him the same words of identity that he appropriates for himself or announces (Stone, 1962:93).

The idea that in a particular situation a person presents himself in a given manner and that others assign him some name or see him as some particular type of social object is important for the ensuing encounter if it is to develop into interaction. Strauss (1959:9) states that:

Identity as a concept is fully as elusive as is everyone's sense of his own personal identity. But whatever else it may be, identity is connected with the fateful appraisals made of oneself-by-oneself and by others. Everyone presents himself to the others and to himself, and sees himself in the mirrors of their judgments.

Identity involves the judgment of a person by himself and by others as

to the type of social object which he is in a situation.

Goffman (1963a:2) suggests that:

Society establishes the means of categorizing persons and the complement of attributes felt to be ordinary and natural for members of each of these categories. Social settings establish the categories of persons likely to be encountered there. . . . When a stranger comes into our presence, then, first appearances are likely to enable us to anticipate his category and attributes, his "social identity". . . .

Goffman is pointing out that there are socially established categories in which people are placed and that people are assumed to have various attributes because they are members of or are assumed to be members of a particular category in a particular situation.

Society is organized on the principle that any individual who possesses certain social characteristics has a moral right to expect that others will value and treat him in an appropriate way. Connected with this principle is a second, namely that an individual who implicitly or explicitly signifies that he has certain social characteristics ought in fact to be what he claims he is (Goffman, 1959:13).

The ability to assign or place people as having an identity is facilitated by appearance as has been suggested by Stone (1962:86-95). Once one is able to place another's identity, one will then be able to assume that he has various attributes and through the process of role taking will be able to act towards this person.

It has been suggested in this discussion that identity is a name or word which is used to indicate what type of a social object a person is. The question may now be asked of what relevance is this concept. Why is it necessary for a person to announce a particular identity in a situation and why is it important for others to place or assign him some particular identity? This refers back to one of the major concerns of those involved in the interactionist perspective. Two of their major questions are: "How is it possible for interaction to occur?" and "What

are the guarantees against an encounter which does not develop into interaction?"

One of the first problems which may occur when two or more people encounter each other is that the situation must be defined so that interaction may occur. In any situation, each person entering it will have a plan of action. In order to implement this plan of action it will be necessary for him to define what kind of a social object he is in that situation. It will also be necessary for him to define the other social objects involved in the situation so he will know how to act towards them (McCall and Simmons, 1966:60-61). It has been suggested by Travisano (1970:597) and Goffman (1959:1-9) that the announcement and placement of identities plays an important part in defining the situation. Goffman (1959:1) believes that:

Information about the individual helps to define the situation, enabling others to know in advance what he will expect of them and what they may expect of him. Informed in these ways, the others will know how best to act in order to call forth a desired response from him.

In this same vein, Foote (1951:18) feels that

. . . the common man assumes that categories applied to his fellows immediately indicate the motives to be imputed to them. Likewise, his identities give common meaning, stability and predictability to his own behavior as long as he clings to them.

If interaction is to occur, it is necessary for the situation to be defined. One of the ways in which a situation is defined is through the announcement and placement of identities. Stone suggests that identification is one of the guarantees for interaction.

According to Stone (1962:90)

The term "identification" subsumes at least two processes: identification of and identification with . . . identification with one another, in whatever mode, cannot be made without identifications of one another. Above all, identifications of

one another are ordinarily facilitated by appearance and are often accomplished silently or non-verbally.

Appearance plays a very important part in the identification of one another. A certain identity may be assigned actor on the basis of his appearance and it is through appearance that an actor may announce a certain identity. Stone (1962:90) states that "Ordinarily appearance is communicated by such non-verbal symbols as gestures, grooming, clothing, location, and the like. . . ." Sometimes, however, ". . . discussions often 'appear'--that is, serve only to establish the identities of the discussants" (Stone, 1962:91). Appearance, thus, often serves as the basis for interaction. Once identities of the various participants have been established, it will usually be possible to identify with the participants and interaction can occur.

In other words, the identities of participants in an encounter serve as signals and provide a definition of the situation. It is necessary for the identities of those involved in the encounter to be established before any interaction can take place. Without the establishment of these identities, role taking would not be possible and the participants would not be able to respond to each other.

Stone asserts that "Social relations, viewed as on-going transactions, can be classified according to the identities which must be placed and announced to permit entry into the transaction" (Stone, 1962:94). Stone goes on to describe four types of social relations which may be entered into according to the types of identities which must be placed and announced. These various types of social relations are (1) human relations, (2) structural relations, (3) interpersonal

relations, and (4) masses.* It should be noted that there are not just a few different identities, but that there is a possibility for an infinite number of identities.

Identities Required for Entering into Human Relations

It has been proposed by Stone (1962:94) that "Human relations are those requiring the placement and announcement of such universal identities as age, gender, or community membership." In order to enter into social relations with others, these types of identities must be placed and as such are usually done non-verbally. Stone (1970:234) points out that "The knowing of the Other's gender is known silently. Seldom, upon meeting a stranger, do we inquire concerning the stranger's sex, although we may ask age and initiate some circumlocutions in the effort to place and appraise his social status."

A person's appearance usually announces such identities, e.g., sex, age and to a lesser extent community membership. Once the reviewer has determined these identities, he will usually respond to the person being reviewed in the appropriate manner. Following from this, it would seem that there are certain expectations attached to these types of identities, e.g., one expects a woman to act in a certain way and depending on the reviewer's sex, specific sets of actions towards her will be seen as appropriate. Stone (1962:90) clarifies this:

Everywhere we find vocabularies sexually distinguished: there are languages for males only, languages for females only, and languages employed to communicate across the barriers of gender. Obviously, identifications of the other's gender must be established before the appropriate language can be selected for the upcoming discourse.

*The identities required to enter into masses will not be discussed in this thesis.

Following from this, it would seem that gender identifications on the apparent level take place before any action on the discursive level takes place. Identities which must be announced and placed in this realm of human relations provide the basic structure for all interaction, but even in this realm, as we shall see, some confusion may be found (Stone, 1970:227-237).

The response which these identities elicit may change depending on the society or culture, and they may also change in one specific society or culture, but one will always find that these basic distinctions based on age, sex and community membership hold.

Identities Required for Entering into Structural Relations

Stone (1962:94) defines structural relations as ". . . those that may only be entered by exchanging a name for a title." In this type of relation too, identities are presented in order to enter the relation. Structural relations may be seen as those relations which hold a culture together and provide for continuity. Exchanging a name for a title allows one to enter into a variety of relationships which ordinarily could not be entered only by the use of a personal name. The title brings to mind a certain type of person who holds the title and those interacting with the bearer of the title will respond to him in a manner in accordance with the expectations which surround the title. The title thus provides the basis for interaction.

One example of a structural relationship might be that of the doctor-patient relationship. This type of relationship can only be entered by exchanging names for titles, i.e., doctor and patient. Once this has occurred, the doctor, because of his title, will be able to per-

form certain functions and the patient will respond in a certain manner, because of the identities assumed. Once these identities have been announced and placed, interaction may proceed.

While Stone seems to speak specifically about structural relations which may be seen to operate in the larger culture, it also seems possible to speak of structural relations which entail various titles in a subculture. A subculture here will be defined as a style of life which is distinct in most aspects from the larger culture in which it is located. Norms and values emerge in the subculture which in many cases are different than in the larger culture. In some subcultures one finds ". . . the creation of a series of inverse or counter values (opposed to those of the surrounding society) in face of serious frustration or conflict" (Yinger, 1968:58). As in the larger culture a variety of structural identities will be found which are necessary to announce and place in order to enter into the structural relations of the subculture. While the structural identities or titles may have little meaning to those in the general culture, they serve as an organizing force in the subculture, as do structural identities which are relevant in the larger culture. Sykes (1958:83-86) believes that

. . . social groups are apt to characterize individuals in terms of crucial "axes of life," or lines of interests, problems, and concerns which the group faces, and then attach distinctive names to the resulting types or typical social roles. . . . By distinguishing and naming we prepare ourselves for action--and, indeed, as Malinowski has suggested, a good part of action itself is a matter of distinguishing and naming.

Various structural titles may be seen to develop in order to distinguish between various types of individuals so that interaction may occur in whatever cultural realm or subcultural realm is involved. In prisons, which may be called subcultures, various structural identities

have developed which enable the inmates and the prison officials to know what kind of behavior to expect, so that they can act accordingly. In Spradley's (1970) ethnographic study of urban nomads, he has been able to delineate the various structural identities which are used by those in this subculture to deal with one another. Spradley discovered that the tramps had developed a variety of titles which distinguished one type of tramp from another, e.g., Bindle stiff, Airedale, Rubber tramp, etc., and that various different attributes could be found for each tramp identity. Spradley (1970:79) states that ". . . these terms refer to identities, not to persons." These various names then are titles; and as such are used by those in this subculture to identify one another and by this means to allow for entrance into structural relations.

The importance of place or location in the announcing and placing of identity is emphasized by Lofland (1969); Goffman (1963a); Gross and Stone (1970); Jones (1970); and Klapp (1969). Stone (1962:90) proposes that, "Ordinarily appearance is communicated by such non-verbal symbols as gestures, grooming, clothing, location, and the like. . . ." If a person appears in such a place and is dressed in such a manner and acts in such a way, then the reviewer may assign him a particular identity which the person may or may not be announcing. If it is the case that the person may not be announcing this identity which the other or others may be assigning him, it is necessary, if any interaction is to take place, for negotiations to occur surrounding the person's identity. While incongruence in announcements and placements may occur in any situation, the recognition and resolution of the incongruence identification is especially important for structural relations in a subculture. A person from the larger culture may enter a situation in the subcultural realm

and present an identity which is inappropriate for this situation because he does not know the appropriate identities to be presented, or because he really does not care. The others present in the situation may assign him an identity which is appropriate for the situation, but which is not acceptable to him. The problem in this situation then becomes one of negotiating what identity the person is to have in this situation if the situation is to be defined and interaction is to occur. It is of course possible that the encounter may come to an end. In some cases a new person may enter into a situation in the subcultural realm and aspire to an identity which is being placed on him. He may not be able to assume this new identity, however, without some guidance. He will not know how to identify others, what the various titles are in the subculture, or what attributes those having these titles are supposed to possess. In other words, a person new to a subculture and desiring to join the subculture will not be able to engage in interaction until he knows what identity he is to announce in a particular situation and until he knows the identities of those whom he encounters and what attributes these various identities signify so he will know how to respond.

What is being suggested is that in any culture, various names or words are developed to distinguish different types of individuals as social objects possessing certain attributes. These words are used to signify certain attributes which are possessed by certain types of people and do not refer to particular persons. The definition of the situation is one of the prerequisites for interaction. One of the ways in which the situation is defined is through the announcement and placement of identities. Structural relations may be described as encounters between people where it is necessary that they announce that they possess a

certain title. The structural identity is the word or title which is used to indicate the category. In the situation in which a person is new to a culture or subculture, it will be necessary for him to learn what his structural identity is in the situations in which he finds himself. He will also need to learn what the structural identities are of those whom he encounters in order for him to engage in interaction.

Of interest in this discussion are the processes involved whereby any individual who does not know the appropriate identities of either himself or others when entering into a situation becomes able to identify himself and others so that interaction may occur. This is principally a question of identity transformation as it occurs in the situational context. Lofland's idea of escalation and Strauss' idea of identity transformation involving turning points and coaching, provide some clues to the processes which are involved in a person's learning what structural identity he is to announce in a particular situation, so that he may announce this identity and so that others may place him as having this structural identity on the basis of his appearance.

Strauss (1959:108-109) suggests that in one's life one has many different identities and these are always changing depending on the situations in which he finds himself. He states that ". . . the movement from status to status, as well as the frustration of having to remain unwillingly in a status, sets conditions for the change and development of identities . . . The lives of men and women can--theoretically, at least--be traced as a series of passages of status." In a person's life he encounters a number of new experiences in situations which he cannot explain using his old categories of thought; he must reconceptualize many of his ideas and feelings about who he is in this particular situa-

tion. A person may encounter many "critical incidents" in his life when he must evaluate who he is in a situation, and many times during this evaluation he may discover that he was not what he thought he was.

This will particularly occur in a situation where a person announces a specific structural identity, but those involved in the encounter continue to place him as having another structural identity. If this were to happen in a variety of situations (or in even one situation with sufficient valence) involving different people, one might describe these as "critical incidents," for the individual being so placed. In this instance, he may seek to find ways of maintaining his old identity in these situations by finding new explanations which will account for the placements of others; or he may begin to take on the identity which others are imputing to him and try to find ways of dealing with this new identity. One possible way to do this is to find others who have had like experiences or who share the same problems and will provide him with a new way of looking at life.

This area of identity transformation and the assumption of a new identity may be seen as the process which Lofland labels the "escalation" of identity--the processes and various factors involved which help in facilitating identity transformation in a situation. The importance of these processes may be seen in the need to define the situation so that interaction may occur. Lofland (1969) describes various types of situations and settings where the problem of the establishment of identities may be easier or more difficult. In describing escalation in relation

to those taking on a deviant identity,* he discusses a variety of arrangements and situations which are more helpful in this escalation process. One of the conditions is the arrangement of Others around Actor. Lofland suggests that while the arrangement of normals and deviants is more facilitative than a condition of deviants only, that a condition of deviants only is more facilitative than a condition of normals only. This is possible because ". . . deviants only can and do offer concrete models upon which and in terms of which, Actor can mold his own conduct. The models of possible being are more clearly specified" (Lofland, 1969:159).

The importance of "place rounds" in the escalation process is also stressed by Lofland. Place rounds may be described as those places where Actor goes during his daily activities. While integrated place rounds--or those places where the Others know each other and communicate with each other--are more facilitative of escalation, one may participate in quasi-integrated place rounds and these may also be conducive in the escalation process. According to Lofland (1969:165) "For many Actors, certain sections of the city or certain complements of places spread throughout the city may come to have a highly integrated character . . . it is possible that a territory . . . can, for some Actors, come to have a quasi-integrated or even integrated character wherein imputations of their deviance are generated and reinforced." Following

*Lofland (1969:298) also suggests that this process is not limited to the assumption of a deviant identity, viz: "Discussions and analyses of such matters as the social act, social and personal identities, identity assumption, processes of social identification, escalating interaction processes, arrangements of others around Actor, types of place rounds, etc., are applicable, far beyond the narrow confines of the sociology of deviance."

along this line, Lofland also suggests that identities are imputed to various places and that this implies a type of person who goes there. Those places which are inhabited by deviants may be differentiated between formal and informal places. While formal places are more facilitative of escalation because the Others in these places may have power over Actor in the situation, the Others in informal places use persuasion in trying to show the attractiveness of the possible new identity to Actor. Lofland (1969:171) stresses the fact that

. . .normative, emotional ties to Others who already wear the deviant label become particularly important in place rounds made up of at least some informal deviant places. The institution and success of escalation seem sometimes to rest heavily upon the availability of informal sites that make possible rather powerful emotive attractions and attachments in a relatively short amount of time.

By appearing in one of these informal places, Actor, who has still not completely accepted the identity that is continually being imputed to him in various encounters, may be making a semi-public announcement of his possible willingness to consider this new identity. His presence, then, is one way in which he is trying to define the situation. Strauss (1959:95) states that ". . . one often marks a recognition of self-change by announcement, but this announcement itself forces a stance facing forward, since the way back, however tempting it may still look, is now blocked."

The role which deviant Others play in the deviant escalation process is very important, as both Lofland and Strauss suggest. Even after Actor has started going to the various places inhabited by the deviants and has made a semi-public proclamation of his possible interest in the new identity by appearing in these places, it is still necessary for other deviants to serve as examples in teaching him what his new identity

entails and providing him with the needed ideology and rhetoric so that he can know what his new name for himself in these situations signifies and also so he knows what the names given to others signify and how to identify them. These Others also help to provide the person with the hardware which will be necessary for him to present in an encounter if others are to identify him. Clothes, ways of dressing, and physical items may be described as hardware while certain gestures and vocabularies are software. Both are very important in the announcement and placement of structural identities. These Others teach him how to appear. This is done ". . . in order to facilitate Actor's personal identification (and to facilitate Other's continued imputations of him)" (Lofland, 1969:175).

Strauss (1959:110) calls this process "coaching" and describes the coaching relationship in this manner: "A coaching relationship exists if someone seeks to move someone else along a series of steps, when those steps are not entirely institutionalized and invariant, and when the learner is not entirely clear about their sequences (although the coach is)." The coach then stands ready to interpret, predict and explain signs and experiences to Actor who is not sure what is happening to him. Since the coach is in most cases leading Actor into unknown territory, it is up to Actor to keep the situation in perspective and realize if he is being harmed. Because of this, Strauss feels that during the first periods of coaching, both the coach and the coached will hold back and not get too involved until they are relatively sure of what is going on. According to Strauss (1959:116):

. . . the coach must challenge old modes of doing, seeing, and thinking, as well as point out new modes. When the learning and re-learning is extreme . . . there must be massive and

frontal attack upon identities. In less drastic kinds of change, through the agency of coaches, a man is requested also to turn his back upon his past, to discount previous accomplishments, to divest himself of earlier prides, to disidentify himself with old practices, old allies, and even old loves.

While this discussion has suggested the situation of only one coach, it is, of course, possible that there may be many coaches with perhaps one or two playing the most important role. There may also be different coaches in different situations at different times.

One might visualize this process of coaching as providing a definition of the situation. The situation where one or more persons are coaching another in the attributes needed to be able to announce a structural identity provides a definition of the situation. Goffman's (1959: 104) discussion of teams is illuminating here. "A team is a grouping, but it is a grouping not in relation to a social structure or social organization but rather in relation to an interaction or series of interactions in which the relevant definition of the situation is maintained." As the coach and the coached enter other situations, the coach helps the coached announce the appropriate identity so that those in the encounter may define the situation and interaction may take place.

Through the processes of escalation* and transformation, it may be possible that Actor will learn how to present the identity which is

*The success of the escalation process in a situation will also be dependent upon factors involving the Actor apart from the situation. Lofland (1969:177) suggests that these factors are: ". . . (1) the degree to which Actor is oriented; (2) the character of his attachments to normals and deviants; and (3) the congruence between his cognitive field or set of coding categories, and those presented. Each of these elements may vary." In the end, Actor may decide that he does not want this structural identity and may avoid those situations where it is assigned to him.

necessary to announce in order to enter into certain types of structural relations. Actor will also acquire the attributes which this identity signifies. Through these processes he will also learn the various other structural identities used in the culture and how to identify others as having a particular structural identity and the particular attributes which these identities signify. Once the escalation and transformation processes have culminated, it will be possible for Actor to enter into various structural relations which require a specific structural identity. Actor will then be able to announce his identity and others will place him as having this identity and the situation will be defined and interaction will occur.

Identities Required to Enter into Interpersonal Relations

The identities which must be announced and placed in order to enter into interpersonal relations will now be discussed. Stone (1962:94) states that "Interpersonal relations are those that may only be entered by an exchange of names or nicknames. . . ." Stone qualifies his discussion of interpersonal relations by saying that "The exchange of names does not guarantee that an interpersonal relationship will always be established." Thus, one usually enters this type of relationship by using a name instead of a title. While structural identities may change, a person's given name typically does not, and in this way the name provides some degree of continuity in his life; however, this provision of continuity is not provided in the case of nicknames since the nickname may be known and used by only a select group of people.

While certain structural relations may interfere with interpersonal relations, it is more likely that the exchange of names may cause some

structural barriers to break down. Once one person has entered into a structural relationship with another, it is quite possible that names will be exchanged; although this is not necessarily always true. Once names have been exchanged or even before, it is possible that Actor may catch new clues about Other that may appeal to him. It is being assumed here that Other belongs to a structural identity category with whom Actor does not usually interact on an interpersonal level. In this manner, Actor is gaining additional information about Other and Actor may change his first feelings about Other. Actor may then act towards Other on the basis of these new clues. In this way, the structural barriers may disintegrate and Actor and Other may engage in interaction of a more interpersonal nature. Another instance where the exchange of names may result in the breaking down of structural barriers is when Other with whom Actor is socially acquainted on an interpersonal level introduces another Other to Actor. It is being assumed again that the additional Other belongs to a structural identity category with whom Actor would usually not interact on an interpersonal level. Because of Actor's relationship with Other, Actor may look past the additional Other's structural identity and begin to deal with the additional Other on an interpersonal level.

Once a name has been introduced in an encounter, the name acts as a signal to the other participants and brings to mind the information they know about him that is relevant to the interaction. In most interactions a person's name serves as a signal to distinguish him from the other participants. Through the use of names, one may get to know another's personal identity. Personal identity means the:

. . . positive marks or identity pegs, and the unique combination of life history items that comes to be attached to the individual with the help of these pegs for his identity. Personal identity, then, has to do with the assumption that the individual can be differentiated from all others and that around this means of differentiation a single continuous record of social facts can be attached, entangled, . . . becoming then the sticky substance to which still other biographical facts can be attached (Goffman, 1963a:57).

How much Other gets to know about Actor's personal identity will be dependent on how intimate Other becomes with Actor and the ability of Actor to control personal information about himself (his biographical information).

What is being suggested is that one usually uses a name when entering into an interpersonal relationship. Knowing a person's name acts as a signal and allows one to call upon various pieces of information that are known about that person depending on how well that person can control information about himself and the degree of intimacy of the relationship. A name, then, sets the person off as a unique person.

Like a name, a nickname also allows one to enter into interpersonal relationships. Unlike the use of a given name, however, a nickname does not necessarily have any biographical information attached to it and there is very little chance that this biographical information may be gained unless one is in an intimate relationship with the other, unless the given name is also known, or unless others who know the person so nicknamed are able to provide biographical information. A person does not need to be well known to be given a nickname and it may be assigned on the basis of some personal or physical characteristic or mannerisms of the individual. In many instances a nickname may be assigned to a person by a friend or by those in a friendship group, and very often these are the only people who know the nickname or the reason the nick-

name was assigned. The nickname may, however, go beyond the friendship group or may last even after the group has dissolved and be used by others who might not know the reason for the nickname, but use it as an "identity peg" (Goffman, 1963a:56).

Names and nicknames are usually the key to entering into interpersonal relations. They serve to set the person off as a unique individual whereas the titles used to enter structural relations place a person in a particular structural identity category as well as separate him from those in other structural identity categories. The title is used as a signal to indicate the type of person who holds the title and as such is a signal in interaction as to how others should act toward this person.

The last type of social relation which Stone suggests people enter are those which he calls masses. These types of relations are entered anonymously and therefore require no particular identity to gain entrance. Specific identities are not necessary to announce and place. People enter these relations as what Stone (1962:94) calls ". . . 'relational categories' such as customer, movie-goer, jazz fan and the like." Because identities are not involved in these relationships, the implications of "masses" are not explored here.

In order to engage in social relations with others, various types of identities may be presented depending on the type of social relations entered. Stone has differentiated four different types of social relations which people may enter by announcing certain identities. One type of social relation is human relations which requires the announcement and placement of such things as sex, age and community membership. Another type of social relation is that which requires a person to use a title

in order to gain entry, the structural relations. Names and nicknames allow one to enter into interpersonal relations. The last type of social relation is what Stone calls masses which the person can enter anonymously.

While these various social relations which people are able to enter because of certain identities have been presented as concrete categories, it must be kept in mind that this does not occur as neatly in everyday life. One way to see this, as Strauss (1959:71) suggests, is to "Visualize interaction as both structured, in the sense that the participants represent social positions; and at the same time as not quite so structured."

The interactionist perspective uses the concept of identity to explain how people name each other and one's self as social objects so that interaction may take place. Identities as signals are necessary in order to enter into any type of interaction. The identities announced and placed are both dependent on the situation and help define the situation. They bring people together and at the same time set them apart. As Stone (1962:94), states "To have an identity is to join with some and depart from others, to enter and leave social relations at once." The ability to announce what one is in a particular situation and the ability to place what others are provide the mechanisms by which people are able to select out objects to which they will respond and also those to which they will not respond. After these objects have been defined, they will know what to expect from these objects. Much of the identifications of others is done on the apparent level taking into consideration dress, mannerisms, hardware, software, and location.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter the psychological and interactionist perspectives of the concept of identity have been discussed.

The psychological perspective views man as being passive. Man is shaped, driven, and manipulated by his drives, needs, instincts, various unconscious mental processes and the social environment. This perspective tries to explain why people do the things that they do. Each individual is treated as a unique person. Many of the explanations used in this perspective are either tautological or unresearchable. The concept of identity in this perspective is used to describe the inner feelings of an individual about where he fits in in society and how he is different from others. The concept is usually used to explain an individual's state of disorientation resulting from the lack of norms and stable values in society. In this case, the psychological perspective describes the resulting behavior as an identity crisis in which the individual does not know "who he is" in relation to others and his social environment. The phenomenon being explained by this concept seems rather illusive and hard to pinpoint.

The concept of identity used in the interactionist perspective seems to be more helpful in understanding what happens to people when they come into face-to-face contact. The interactionist perspective views man as a social being. Man is both active and symbolic. The interactionist perspective tries to describe how it is possible that interaction occurs. The concept of identity is used to try to understand how situations come to be defined under the assumption that it is essential that a situation be defined before interaction may occur. The announce-

ment and placement of identities is one of the ways in which situations are defined. Different identities must be announced and placed in order to enter into various types of social relations.

This chapter has stressed the importance of the announcement and placement of identities in order to enter into certain kinds of social relations in a culture. It has also been demonstrated that various identities must be announced and placed in order to participate in social relations in a subculture. While the identities in the subculture may have little relevance in the outer culture, they serve as an organizing force in the subculture. Before it is possible to discuss the various identities which are announced and placed to gain entrance into social relations in the gay drinking places, it will first be necessary to provide a review of the literature on public drinking places, homosexuality, and gay drinking places so that one will be able to understand the development of the gay subculture and the importance of the gay bars and taverns to this subculture. This review of the literature will be presented in Chapter II.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE AND DEFINITION OF THE PROBLEM

INTRODUCTION

The announcement and placement of identities is essential if interaction is to take place. It is the purpose of this thesis to utilize the concept of identity, as described by those in the interactionist perspective, in order to provide some understanding of the organization of the "gay"* subculture. It is not the goal of this thesis to test specific hypotheses or to generate specific hypotheses regarding the concept of identity, but rather to suggest that one will be able to gain some understanding of the underlying organization of the gay subculture as it appears in the gay drinking places through the study of the various types of identities which may be announced and placed in order to enter into various types of social relations. The objective of this thesis will be to discuss the various types of identities which must be announced and placed in the gay drinking places. These identities must be announced and placed before one can enter into the various types of social relationships discussed by Stone (1962). Gay bars and taverns**

* The term "gay" will be used here to refer to those overt homosexuals who are actively participating in the activities of the homosexual world. "Gay" is a term which is used in the homosexual community to mean homosexual.

**A tavern is a drinking place serving beer or beer and wine and is licensed to stay open until 1:00 A.M. while a bar serves hard liquor and also beer and wine and is licensed to stay open until 2:30 A.M.

are the setting for the data to be used in this thesis.

Gay bars and taverns were chosen for the setting of this thesis because they are the main institution in the gay world (Achilles, 1967) and because, being a public place they are relatively easy to enter. Following Goffman (1963b:132) gay bars and taverns may be thought of as "open regions" and the people who frequent those places may be thought of as "open persons." Open regions are ". . . physically bounded places where 'any' two persons, acquainted or not, have a right to initiate face engagement with each other for the purpose of exchanging salutations." In other words, it was felt that because of mutual accessibility (Goffman, 1963b:131) it would be easier to engage the participants in the gay drinking places in conversations. Another reason for the choice of gay drinking places was Cavan's (1966:13) emphasis of the expectation of unseriousness and inconsequentiality in drinking establishments. Cavan proposes that:

If what occurs in unserious settings is assumed to be exempt from counting, there is no immediate necessity to acknowledge or maintain any pre-existing relationship or acknowledge or maintain any pre-existing self. A certain amount of liberty may be taken with both.

Given this expectation of unseriousness and inconsequentiality then, it seems that the rules governing normal day-to-day life may be disregarded to some extent and that new sets of behavior patterns emerge which are indigenous to the specific expectations surrounding the drinking place. In some ways this may be seen as being somewhat limiting, but if one is interested in studying situational behavior, this would seem to provide a good setting because one would not have to worry to a great extent about taking into consideration other facets of the person's life. In the study of identity this would seem particularly useful, because one would be able to study the identities which arise in the particular situations. Other

identities in other spheres of life are not important in the situations occurring in this type of setting.

Before discussing the specific concerns of this thesis, it will first be useful to present a review and a discussion of the literature on public drinking places, homosexuality in general, and gay drinking places, specifically.

I. PUBLIC DRINKING ESTABLISHMENTS

The study of public drinking places, or more specifically cocktail lounges and taverns, provides a large area for sociological investigation. One may look at the various types of populations drinking places serve, their function, their ecology, the interaction patterns which occur among the patrons, and how ecological and spatial factors affect what happens inside and who frequents them. While the area of bars and taverns would seem to offer numerous opportunities for sociological research, especially in the area of leisure time activities, relatively few research reports are available. This lack of research pertains both to the study of the bars and taverns as social institutions (the functions which they perform for the society at large and for those who patronize them) and to the use of bars and taverns as a research setting for the study of human behavior and interaction.

Much of the research in the area of drinking establishments can be classified into four areas: (1) The bars and taverns are treated as a social institution. (2) The study of the ecological and spatial characteristics of bars and taverns. (3) A discussion of the various types of bars and taverns and the functions which they perform. (4) Studies of the normative and ritualistic patterns which develop among the patrons

of bars and taverns. These normative patterns are usually dependent on the type of bar or tavern which is being studied, although some ritualistic patterns may exist regardless of the type of bar or tavern, e.g., treating.

Drinking Places as a Social Institution

One of the areas of interest in research concerning public drinking places is the idea that these public drinking places are a social institution. Clinard (1962:271) provides a description of the institutional features of public drinking establishments. They are:

- (a) The serving of alcoholic beverages is an indispensable feature and an important source of revenue even if food is served. . . .
- (b) As a drinking establishment it is commercial and public in the sense that theoretically the opportunity to purchase a drink is open to all, whereas the bar of a private club or fraternal organization is restricted to members and their guests.
- (c) The drinking of alcoholic beverages is group drinking in a public place.
- (d) It must have a functionary--a tavernkeeper, bartender, or as in Europe, a barmaid. This person, in addition to serving alcoholic beverages, also acts as a sort of receptionist.
- (e) Finally, it has a physical structure and a set of norms. Patrons are served at a bar, tables, or booths, in specially decorated surroundings, with entertainment or recreational facilities like cards, darts, and shuffleboard available, thus distinguishing it in some way from the customary activities of other similar establishments. Certain norms are also well established, including certain hours of drinking and appropriate drinking behavior.

Thus, Clinard suggests that these are the various institutional features of bars and taverns, although he never does give his definition of a social institution.

Another important aspect which is taken into consideration by both Cavan (1966:30-37) and Clinard (1962:273-275) is that public drinking places are subject to legal regulation in terms of licensing, qualifications of bar and tavern owners and those working behind the bar, regula-

tions concerning who may be served, and regulations concerning hours of operation. It is important to take these rules and regulations into account not only because they represent the legal control over the bars and taverns but also because they enable one to discover why some behavior must remain hidden and why the patrons and bartenders must exert some social control and keep a watchful eye on some of the behavior which they allow to exist in their establishment.

Ecological and Spatial Characteristics of Drinking Places

Another area of interest in the study of bars and taverns is in the ecological and spatial aspects of the drinking place. Both Cavan (1966:88-111) and Sommer (1967) emphasize the importance and function of spatial properties in the bar, as well as the function of lighting and noise level on how they affect the type of activity and the form interaction will take in the drinking place, as well as the duration of interaction. They both suggest that the physical bar is the focus of attention, except in nightclubs and that the lateral form of seating is more conducive to interaction among the unacquainted (Cavan, 1966:95). Spatial properties also serve as a way to separate different activities and different groups who may be using the bar at the same time. Thus, spatial properties may affect interaction and may, in many cases, prove a determining factor in what form interaction will take and may also be a matter of concern for those who are present. Cavan (1966:29) found that the location of drinking establishments was ". . . closely associated with the ecological distribution of potential patrons." The location of the drinking place will also determine to some extent its use.

Types of Drinking Places and Their Uses

The various types of public drinking places is the third major area of concern. It was demonstrated by Cavan (1966:143-233) that public drinking places may be distinguished by their special uses. A public drinking place may be used by different groups for different purposes. The special use made of a public drinking place may change according to the time of day. The analytic types of drinking places identified by Cavan (1966:144) are, according to their usage: convenience bars, night-spots, marketplaces and home territories. In accordance with what was suggested above, a particular drinking place may be both a marketplace and a home territory bar for the same group of patrons or for different groups. The special uses may also be distinguished according to the spatial properties (arrangements) of a drinking place and its ecological location.

A similar classification of drinking establishments according to the location, type of patrons and their uses is provided by Clinard (1962: 275-279). He proposed that there exist five types of drinking places: 1) skidrow taverns, 2) the downtown bar and cocktail lounge, 3) drink-and-dine taverns, 4) nightclubs and roadhouses, and 5) neighborhood taverns.

Cavan's typology of public drinking places seems to be the most useful. In her classification scheme, the convenience bar is used for the purposes the name suggests--to while away the time. The convenience bar is usually located in the business and shopping districts of cities. People stop at a convenience bar after work, during lunch, while waiting for someone, or as a break in shopping. The nightspot usually has a

programmed course of activities which are considered the main involvement of the patrons while other activities such as talking, meeting people and drinking are considered side involvements (Cavan, 1966:154). Opportunities for encounters with strangers seem to be minimal in this type of public drinking place.

A third type of drinking place is the marketplace and seems to be a popular area for social research, since it is in this type of bar that various forms of deviant sexual activity may have their beginnings (Roebuck and Spray, 1967 and Gottlieb, 1957). The bars which are labeled marketplaces, are labeled so because they are used ". . . as centers of exchange for various goods and services, as well as clearing houses for certain kinds of information" (Cavan, 1966:171). Cavan (1966:171) seems to feel that the most predominant good or service in a marketplace bar is sex, whether in a homosexual or heterosexual context or whether commercial or non-commercial.

The home territory bar or tavern seems to be the most popular for sociological investigation, especially in the area of standing behavior patterns and the exercise of various forms of social control over patrons by other patrons and bar employees (Clinard, 1962:283). This may be a result of the ease of observations once the investigator has established himself, since there is a regular group of clientele. In comparing the cocktail lounge to the home territory tavern, Gottlier (1951:559) found that "The lounge caters to a transient clientele which does not form a cohesive group. But the tavern, a product of the neighborhood and catering to individuals with similar backgrounds, becomes the center of a voluntary association enforcing group norms and organizing group action."

Cavan (1966:206) describes the home territory bar or tavern* as a ". . . setting where patrons may stake out proprietary claims and create an order of activity indigenous to the particular establishment, to be defended if necessary against the invasion by others." Those patrons who inhabit the bar are given the label "habitués" since they ". . . share one or more features of their social identity and this common bond forms the basis of defining those who are welcome in the establishment and those who are not" (Cavan, 1966:206). These drinking places develop their own standing behavior patterns and methods are devised to exclude those who do not "have a right" to be there.

Cavan (1966:233) points out that the uses which are made of a home territory bar and the habitués who use it will determine what type of territory defense is necessitated.

Thus, just as variations in use may modify to some extent the standing patterns of behavior typically associated with the public drinking place (as in the nightspot), so, too, may variations in use modify to some extent the inconsequentiality typically associated with the setting.

This, then, has been a brief summary of the various types of public drinking places described by Cavan (1966). The label which may be assigned a particular place will be dependent on the manner in which it is used, its location, and the type or types of clientele it serves.

Normative and Ritualistic Patterns

Norms and rituals develop in the drinking places and control the behavior, as well as act as a determining factor in the behavior of the clientele. The range of permissible behavior is determined by the type

* For further discussions on home territory taverns see Clinard (1962:277-279) and Richards (1963:260-268).

of establishment and the patrons. A person who patronizes the establishment will come to know this range and this knowledge will act ". . . as a guide to inform him of what he can expect on the part of others and how he is expected to respond to their course of activity" (Cavan, 1966:75). In some public drinking places, the open display of affection is permissible while in others for various reasons it is controlled or at least concealed.

In addition to discussions of acceptable and non-acceptable behavior, research reports contain accounts of the biography or acceptable identities which patrons may present, or be assigned. Cavan (1966:85) found that in public drinking places, many times the patrons fabricated a biography which was acceptable to other patrons as long as it was coherent and internally consistent. There are other occasions, however, when one may be invested with a biography by other patrons based on their patronage. Taking the area of biography further, Cavan (1966:85) suggests that, ". . . where there is a common set of biographical attributes shared by most of the patrons of an establishment, the same set of attributes may be attributed to others who patronize the bar and those who work there as well." This seems to suggest an imputation of identity to those who enter the bar. Cavan (1966:87) continues, suggesting that no matter what type of identity or biography is assumed or imputed, that because of the expectation of unseriousness and inconsequentiality ". . . the conduct of patrons within the bar need not be geared toward the anticipation of biographical consequences."

As a result of the openness of the public drinking place and the loose normative structure, encounters with others are problematic and are dependent on ". . . a variety of contingencies that make them always

tentative and often superficial" (Cavan, 1966:63). There are, however, various ceremonial phases and ritualistic acts such as treating, whose meaning are dependent on:

. . . the context within which they take place . . . and . . . there are others for which the meaning is relatively specific regardless of context, permitting only one reading for those who are witness to them. However, whether such rituals and ceremonies are variable or specific in their meaning . . ., they have implications beyond the immediate moment and hence may be a matter of concern for those present. But again . . . the consequences they engender are not automatic. The constraint or respect which the presentation of a gift drink or the utterance of a ceremonial phrase requires are not present from the onset but, rather, are established only by actively undertaking a particular course of action (Cavan, 1966:139).

This review of the literature has focused on the main areas of concern in the study of the public drinking establishment as a social institution; investigation of how the ecological and spatial properties affect interaction; delineating the various types of public drinking places according to their use, location, and their patrons; and discovering the various behavior patterns which develop. Next to be considered is a review of the general literature bearing upon homosexuality.

II. HOMOSEXUALITY

A brief review of the literature on homosexuality will serve to set the problems facing the homosexual and the reasons for the development of the gay drinking places in context. Only male homosexuality is considered here, because the interest of this thesis is only on male drinking places. This exclusiveness has arisen from fear of biasing the data if female gay drinking places were included in the observations.

Homosexuality and Incidence of Homosexuality

In most literature on the subject, the term homosexual is used to refer to persons who are sexually attracted to members of their own sex and engage in sexual behavior with a same sexed partner, exclusively or almost so. This is to be distinguished from a homosexual act which refers to a sexual act, usually culminating in orgasm, between two members of the same sex (Kinsey, 1948). Westwood (1960:4) points out that, "Homosexuality is a condition, but homosexual acts may be committed by men who are not usually regarded as homosexuals. The distinction between propensity and behavior is important. . . ." In discussing homosexuality, then, one must keep in mind the distinction between homosexuality and engaging in a homosexual act. Another problem which arises when trying to define the homosexual person is that many people have histories of both homosexual and heterosexual experiences. As various writers in the area of homosexuality suggest (Kinsey, 1948; Westwood, 1960; Hoffman, 1968; and West, 1967), it is not possible to have only two extremes in sexual behavior--one being strictly heterosexual and the other exclusively homosexual--for in actuality sexual behavior forms a continuum.

Since engaging in homosexual acts is defined as deviant behavior, it is of interest to discover the prevalence of this type of behavior. Kinsey's (1948:650-651) survey in the area of male sexuality, provides the information that some overt homosexual experience is not uncommon among males. Some of his findings on incidence in the United States are as follows:

37% of the total male population has at least some overt homosexual experience to the point of orgasm between adolescence and old age.

18% of the males have at least as much homosexual as heterosexual experience between the ages of 16 and 55.

13% of the population has more of the homosexual than the heterosexual . . . for at least three years between the ages of 16 and 55.

10% of the males are more or less exclusively homosexual . . . for at least three years between the ages of 16 and 55.

8% of the males are exclusively homosexual . . . for at least three years between the ages of 16 and 55.

4% of the white males are exclusively homosexual throughout their lives after the onset of adolescence.

Societal Reactions to Homosexuality

Homosexuality has been defined both legally (see Hoffman, 1968:77-79; Mitchell, 1969; and Schur, 1965: 67-114 for a discussion of some of the legal definitions and resulting problems facing homosexuals) and socially as deviant sexual behavior. Behavior which differs from the expectations of others, and is labeled by others as deviant, is what may be called deviant behavior (Becker, 1964:2-3). In this society, the expectations and norms surrounding sexual behavior define "normal" sexual relations as being heterosexual and allow only certain heterosexual acts. All other sexual behavior is defined as deviant. There is a difference, however, between what people ought to do and what people do; and even if behavior changes it may take a long time for the norms and laws to change. Homosexuality is labeled as deviant behavior because it violates the "normal" expectations surrounding the area of sexual relations. Homosexuality and the whole area of sex is relatively little talked about and there seems to exist a forced detachment from reality

in dealing with the area.

Because of the little knowledge surrounding the area, people, in general, have preconceived and stereotyped notions about homosexuals. Many people seem to class or identify homosexuals with sexual molesters, child molesters, exhibitionists, and etc. (Simmons, 1965). In the words of Leznoff and Westley (1956:259):

In our society homosexuality is defined both legally and socially as a criminal and depraved practice and the homosexual is threatened by powerful legal and social sanctions such as imprisonment, physical violence, social and occupational ostracism, and ridicule.

These problems arise partly from misconceptions surrounding the area of homosexuality and homosexuals. One problem which arises partially from these misconceptions is that if an individual is arrested for engaging in a homosexual act, even though it may be an isolated experience, he may be legally labeled a homosexual for the rest of his life.

One view of homosexuality which seems to be gaining in popularity among the public, but not necessarily among homosexuals, is that it is a mental illness or a symptom of mental illness. Those holding this view see homosexuality as a disease which can be cured (Hoffman, 1968:154, Berg and Allen, 1958 and Bergler, 1959). This may be a way to rationalize away the problem in the eyes of the public. It seems to have developed via the homosexuals who have come to public attention, who are under psychiatric care and have become subjects in studies. Another reason for this view is that much of the theorizing in the area of the etiology of homosexuality has been conducted by psychoanalysts (Bieber, 1965:248-267 and Krich, 1954). The validity of this view seems to be doubtful and may be just a way of washing away public guilt (Szaz, 1965: 124-139). Hooker (1965) argues that homosexual object-choice may be

sexually deviant, but that the homosexual may be psychologically normal. Hoffman (1968:160) seems to feel that the mental illness approach is both a definitional and labeling problem. He asserts that:

. . . homosexuality in itself does not necessarily indicate mental illness. The question is partly definitional and partly empirical. The definitional question is: do we want to say that a sexual preference for one's own sex is, by itself, either a mental illness or a symptom of an illness? This is a question which cannot altogether be solved by adducing scientific evidence since it is basically a matter of attaching a particular label (mental illness) to a particular kind of sexual object-choice (homosexual).

The above discussion has demonstrated that the position of the homosexual is problematic in a variety of ways: Socially he is stigmatized since his behavior departs from the normal expectations concerning sexual behavior and if discovered, he may be confronted with fear, ostracism and hostility. If caught in a homosexual act or arrested on the basis of one of the laws which are used to "protect" society from homosexuals, he may be legally labeled a criminal and a homosexual. If he seeks psychiatric help or is forced into doing so by relatives, the courts, or social pressures which have resulted in his developing neurotic symptoms, he may be labeled as mentally ill, which while also being a stigma in modern society, seems to be one which is more acceptable than that of homosexual or legally labeled sexual deviant. West (1967:243) concludes that:

The intense and irrationally motivated hostility of Anglo-American culture towards homosexuals is to blame for many of the attendant social evils. Were it not for their sense of sinfulness and rejection, and their heavy burden of guilt, many homosexuals would function better in society, work more efficiently, and have less tendency towards escapist behavior, neurotic breakdowns, despondency and suicide.

Perhaps another result of societal pressures is a form of self-fulfilling prophesy. Hoffman (1968:188) calls attention to the fact that

the homosexual has a large emotional investment in his sexuality and then goes on to question the determinants of this.

. . . it is clear, is it not, that this is a direct result of having his sexual feelings defined as a problem by the larger society in which he lives? . . . The homosexual is forced into an excessive concentration on sexuality because his sexual feelings have been made an issue for him by his society. Thus, sex fetishism in the gay world is the logical product of the oppressions to which the homosexual is subject by the very fact of his homosexuality.

It should be quite apparent that the homosexual faces many problems in dealing with the world and the people with whom he interacts. In interaction with "straight" people he may be shown to be a discreditable person. According to Goffman (1963a:2-4) a disparity exists between his virtual social identity and his actual social identity. The outcome of an episode of interaction is problematic, as is the total episode. In seeking sexual partners his situation is also problematic, because there is always the chance that he may be dealing with a policeman or with someone who may rob him. Perhaps one of the greatest problems for the homosexual, even for those who are well adjusted is that they are forced in many ways to lead a split life. Among employers, fellow workers and some friends, they are forced to put on an appearance of being "straight," dating girls, laughing at heterosexual jokes, etc. During their off hours, they put the "straight" world aside to some extent and sink into what West (1967:103) calls ". . . a twilight world of secret assignations, parties, and dubious drinking haunts." The homosexual's whole life may be seen as a chain of problematic situations and how he will adapt and adjust is in itself problematic.

Etiology of Homosexuality

Up until the present time, a concern with the etiology of homosexuality has been the major focus of those interested in studying homosexuality. One of the most popular approaches to the etiology of homosexuality has developed around psychoanalytic theory and psychoanalysis. These theories have evolved mainly from contacts with homosexuals who have come under psychiatric treatment. Most of these homosexuals are covert and have not been able to accept their feelings, most of which arise from societal condemnation.

It seems to be the major contention of the psychoanalytic approach that the factors which may be involved in producing a homosexual object-choice have their foundation in infancy. Freud is one of the founding fathers of the theory that homosexuality may arise because of a neurotic fear of females which arises during infancy out of intense conflicting feelings toward the parents. One of Freud's main theories is that of the unresolved Oedipus complex. (For a review of some of the psychoanalytic theories see Hoffman, 1968:119-163 and West, 1967:172-260.)

While psychological factors may play a role in channelling sexual urges in either a heterosexual or a homosexual direction, these theories are lacking in many respects. It is impossible to generalize these etiological factors to all homosexuals, since they have evolved from a select group of homosexuals. These theories also do not help in explaining the phenomenon of bisexuality. The psychological approach also does not explicate why some homosexuals are able to adapt to their condition and others are not; and in conjunction with this, why some homosexuals become members of the gay world while others remain secretive in their

homosexual orientation.

Another theory used in the study of the etiology of homosexuality is that of biological propensity. The biological factors may involve hormonal imbalances or heredity. West (1967:160), however, found that evidence from endocrinological studies suggest that, ". . . the choice of male or female as love object has nothing to do with hormones." (See also Perloff, 1965:44-69 and Pare, 1965:70-79 for further evidence against the theories of biological propensity.) Some homosexuals find the biological theories appealing, however, since they serve as mechanisms in absolving responsibility for their sexual deviance (West, 1967:161). Westwood (1960:46) found that 37% of the 127 homosexuals involved in his study were ". . . convinced that their homosexuality was inborn."

A social-psychological perspective provides another way in which to discuss the etiology of homosexuality. Those using this perspective suggest that a person learns his expected sexual role through interaction with the significant others around him during his formative years.

Following in the Meadian tradition, Hoffman (1968:114) states that:

The individual develops a sense of who he is by incorporating or internalizing the attitude toward himself which his parents have toward him. They hold attitudes toward him before he even develops a sense of his own identity, and it is through the child's incorporation of these attitudes that, in fact, his sense of identity is developed. . . . Consciousness is thus a social product. The sense of self and the self-concept in all its ramifications, are dependent upon the definition of the individual which he gets from the significant people around him.

A person's feeling of self worth comes from his own values and the responses and appraisals which he receives from others. Hoffman (1968:117) calls attention to the fact that in childhood and adolescence

. . . the individual learns a great deal about who he is, what he can do and cannot do, and how his age-mates will respond to

his actions. This learning is crucial for the development of identity in general, and sexual identity in particular.

If a young man does not show sexual interest in girls and is not attractive to girls, he may be ridiculed by others, and this may bring about a lowering in self worth. Through failures and embarrassments occurring when trying to make heterosexual contact, a young man's confidence in his masculinity may suffer and he may seek out other youths with the same problem or he may begin to isolate himself from activities with youths his own age. This may be one possible route on the way to homosexuality, depending on new situations which may arise and the people with whom the person may come in contact.

In discussing these various approaches to the etiology of homosexuality, it seems quite plausible that there is no one causal explanation--the reasons why and the types of adaptations used differ from person to person, even though some patterns may emerge. Perhaps Simon and Gagnon (1967a:256) say it best:

. . . it is our feeling that a better understanding of these behavior sources will reveal a complex, multivariate process in which there is great variation in the combination of attributes that produce similar outcomes. What is most important is to avoid the frequently made assumption that even extensive knowledge of the processes that initiate a homosexual commitment will provide substantial knowledge about how a homosexual career will be enacted. Implicit in such an assumption is the belief that subsequent homosexual behavior will represent, to a significant degree, a reenactment of the originating circumstances. Such assumptions seem to be unwarranted, for the factors that initiate a homosexual career, indeed any career, remain only a part of a series of elements in a dynamic and variable process.

In this section so far three areas of interest have been discussed: (1) homosexuality and the incidence of homosexuality; (2) the societal reactions to homosexuality and the resulting problems to the homosexual and (3) the various ways in which the etiology of homosexuality has been

treated. The next area of concern is with how a person takes on the identity of a homosexual. The types of adjustment patterns utilized by homosexuals and the factors involved in one person making use of one type of adaptive pattern and life style, while another one, with perhaps the same developmental background may take on a different life style will be discussed.

Identity Formation

There are two phases or parts, in the process of self-identification as a homosexual. One must first admit to himself that he is a homosexual; and second, socially he must admit his homosexuality. The subject of homosexuality is relatively undiscussed in our society. It is quite possible that a person, especially a younger person, may be engaging in homosexual behavior, but not know that this behavior is deviant or that it even has a name. He may not identify it as being deviant or himself as a homosexual or he may not know how to label his behavior or himself until he meets others who provide him with or can label his behavior for him. (For a discussion of the self-conception of some juvenile boys participating in homosexual behavior for money see Reiss, 1964:181-210.) He may, in fact, even think that he is unique in his sexual interest, or that it is just a passing phase. A long period may pass before he recognizes and accepts his homosexuality, even though it may have been defined for him.

It has been suggested by those in the interactionist perspective that identity occurs in interaction with others and is not fixed, but may change (Stone, 1962 and Strauss, 1959). It follows, therefore, that a homosexual's identity is formed and becomes cognizant to the individual

through his interactions with other homosexuals as well as "straight" people. As Hooker (1965:42) states ". . . their personal and social identities as homosexuals have been defined, in part, over the course of continuous social interaction with other homosexuals." She continues: "Individuals may move from one sector of the homosexual world to another at different stages in their homosexual careers, so that rather striking changes in behavior patterns and accompanying psychological gender identity may occur" (Hooker, 1965:44).

Another aspect of the identity problem can be fitted into what is called the "identity crisis," which is the ". . . phase during which the acceptance of private homosexuality is being transformed into an acceptance of social homosexuality" (Simon and Gagnon, 1967b:221).

In the formation, acceptance or rejection of a homosexual identity, Hooker (1967:178-179) suggests that the gay bar may play a prominent role. Making an appearance in a gay bar, called "coming out," is one way of socially identifying oneself as a homosexual. If the person has had doubts or fears about his homosexuality, the gay bar may serve the function of demonstrating to him that he is not alone and that there are many men in the same position as he and that these men are masculine appearing and physically attractive. "Coming out" in a gay bar may help reduce his fears about his homosexual identity and may also provide him, through his relations with others, with justification for the homosexual way of life and in this way serve to remove some of his guilt feelings about his homosexuality.

Modes of Adaptation

A variety of modes of adaptation are used by homosexuals in dealing with the social world. It should be emphasized, however, that a homosexual's life may be seen as a career which may take many turns and is dependent on the situations in which he finds himself, the opportunities available to him, the interactions which he may have with others, as well as his own personality characteristics. Just because he may be secretive and covert at one point in his life does not mean he will remain so for the rest of his life; and just because he is overt and participates in the gay world at one time does not mean that he will always do so, although the probability is greater for the latter possible outcome.

Because of societal condemnation, most homosexuals are unable to fulfill social requirements in the area of sex, even though in other respects they conform to societal norms and expectations and are able to function adequately in society. The homosexual may try several means to adapt to his problematic life situation and try several life styles. The homosexual's involvement in normal societal activities, involving occupation status and social status may play a determining factor in the type of life style which he chooses to adopt. Leznoff and Westley (1956: 254-260) feel that the extent of the homosexual's involvement in his social status and his concern with occupation mobility and prestige, may play a factor in his engaging in covert homosexual activities. Those who reject societal goals and demands may lead an overt homosexual life (see Achilles, 1967:229).

Therefore, one of the factors involved in the mode of adaptation followed is how much of a status threat the discovery of his identity

would be. The style of adaptation is also dependent on the amount of autonomy his occupation allows him. Humphreys' (1970a:17) also suggests that marital status is a factor in determining what type of life style a homosexual may adopt.

It is now possible to discuss the various forms of life styles adopted by homosexuals as methods of adapting to their problematic situation. Various writers (among them those in the homosexual community) have assigned labels to the homosexuals who engage in these various forms of adaptations.

Perhaps one of the most unsatisfactory or self-torturing forms of adaptation is made by one, who for some period or maybe for his whole life, may be considered a covert homosexual, a secret homosexual, "trade," or a "closet queen." The homosexuals who adapt in this manner may include those who refuse to accept their homosexuality, but still participate in various types of homosexual acts; those who while accepting their homosexuality choose not to participate in the gay world for various reasons, whether they are in fact too old to participate and be accepted in the gay world or they just do not like gay life; and those who fear recognition as a status threat, a threat to their job or because they are married. The covert adaptation may take a variety of forms (see Humphreys, 1970a:16-24; Hoffman, 1968:53; Leznoff and Westley, 1956:257-263 for a discussion on the various forms of covert adaptation). Westwood (1960: 79) asserts that the compulsion of covert homosexuals:

. . . to seek only anonymous homosexual encounters is often the result of strong guilt feelings. Such encounters are often interspersed with long periods of restraint, together with resolutions to give up the habit. These men do not have friends who are homosexual and do not want to mix in a homosexual group. Their pattern of anonymous "one night stands" means that they are more likely to indulge in homosexual behavior in a public place.

This in a few sentences describes the state of the covert homosexual. He leads a guilt ridden life due to societal pressures and at those times when he may seek sexual gratification, he most often does so in circumstances where he may be caught by law enforcement officials. It is rather paradoxical that the covert homosexual who tries to keep his homosexuality hidden must engage in sexual activity in public places in an effort to remain anonymous while also facing the possibility of general public disclosure through arrest.

While for many sex in public places is a way of life, for others, however, it is just one step in their homosexual career. For many, the public sex phase is important because they are not yet ready to accept their homosexual identity or they do not know of any other place to meet sexual partners. Through the learning process which occurs in interaction with other homosexuals, they learn how to recognize other homosexuals and become informed of other homosexual haunts, such as gay bars and then may refuse to participate in sexual encounters in public places.

In the homosexual's search for adaptive patterns which arise as a result of societal norms and as a result of the need to find sexual partners, he may choose many paths and participate in many groups. Goffman (1963a:105-123) proposes that the person who is socially stigmatized may seek out others who have the same stigma and many form or join groups of those similarly stigmatized which provide a new set of norms and a way of viewing the world and normals. The group also provides legitimization and a rationale for living the kind of life those who are so stigmatized lead. As with other kinds of stigmatized groups, homosexuals have also developed a subcultural adaptation, "the gay world," to their stigma. The homosexual's ambivalent feelings about his

identity as a homosexual and his feeling about the homosexuals in the gay subculture will be determinants of when and if he will join the gay subculture.

West (1967:184-185) points out that many homosexuals do make a workable adjustment to the problems of their life both physically and emotionally. He puts it in this manner: "Provided he accepts his position philosophically and mixes with others of like mind, the homosexual can leave behind the emotional turmoil that originally drove him away from women" and that, "Neurotic conflict only remains evident in those who do not fully accept either homosexual or heterosexual adjustment."

As pointed out earlier, interaction with others will affect the way a homosexual adapts to his deviation. As Humphreys (1970a:17) has pointed out,

The degree of contact with a network of friends who share the actor's sexual interests takes a central position in mediating not only his preferences for sex-role, but his style of adaptation to--and rationalization of--the deviant activity in which he participates

Hoffman (1968:55) has also demonstrated that the homosexual community serves many functions and helps the homosexual resolve many of his problems once he has learned to define himself as homosexual--it helps him accept his homosexuality. Participation in the homosexual community provides security for the homosexual and allows him to express his feelings freely without fear of sanctions.

Those who become members of this deviant subcultural community variously called the "gay world" or the homosexual community are described in the literature as gay, overt, or well-adjusted. Humphreys (1970a) found that those who participate in the gay community were usually single and in independent occupations. This agrees with Westwood (1960:

167), who concluded that there was a tendency for his contacts to be self-employed or to want to run a small business. This type of homosexual openly participates in the gay world. The homosexual participating in this world is socialized into the homosexual society. Humphreys (1970a:23) states that, "Most of his friends and social contacts are connected with the homosexual subculture. His attitudes toward and rationalization of his sexual behavior are largely gained from this wide circle of friends." A homosexual who is gay wants personal sex and not public sex and rarely participates in tearroom* activity. The social lives of those who participate in the gay world centers around the gay bars, private parties and circles of friends. Leznoff and Westley (1956: 262) discovered that:

Overt groups are characterized by: (a) no particular standards of admission; (b) unselfconscious and unrestrained practice of homosexuality; (c) little involvement in heterosexual activities; (d) little concern with identification as a status threat or the sanctions of heterosexual society.

It may be suggested, then, that the homosexual who participates in the gay world has found a satisfactory solution to his problems. He is participating in a group which has developed its own norms and which helps provide legitimization and justification for his behavior. He has group support and a number of friends who share many interests with him. While the gay community has been treated as the adaptive life style which the overt homosexual uses to adjust to his problems, it must be kept in mind that those who participate in this community or subculture do so in varying degrees and as Hooker (1967:169) points out:

* Tearrooms are public restrooms in which homosexual acts regularly occur.

. . . the homosexual community or world and the kinds of persons who travel those paths and live in that world cannot be treated as independent of each other. The relations between personality variables and homosexual subculture variables in determining the commitment to and patterns of, adult homosexuality are complex. For many, the stability of the commitment appears to be a function of the interaction of both sets of variables.

(For more detailed discussions on the gay world see: Hoffman, 1968; Hooker, 1967; Time, Oct. 31, 1969:56-57; and Leznoff and Westley, 1956; and Westwood, 1960.)

So far in this chapter the literature on public drinking establishments and homosexuality have been discussed. The next section of this chapter will be concerned with a review of the literature on gay drinking places and a comparison of gay and public drinking places as found in the literature.

III. GAY DRINKING ESTABLISHMENTS

In the literature on homosexual drinking places, in many instances they are described in terms other than those used when referring to "straight" drinking places. One does not find, to any great extent, a description of the standing behavior patterns and the interactional patterns which may be discerned in the gay drinking places, but in its stead, one finds that the writers have taken more of a functional approach. The gay drinking establishment is described as an institution which has developed to meet the various needs of a deviant population and also as an institution which serves as a bridge between the gay and the straight worlds (Achilles, 1967). The literature on gay bars and taverns does not stress the sociability and the unserious aspects of why people go to bars as does the literature on straight bars. Below is a general

review of some of the literature on gay drinking places, as well as a brief comparison between this treatment and the treatment accorded "straight" drinking establishments.

As has been suggested earlier, the homosexual or "gay" community may be seen as one possible deviant subcultural adaptation to a deviant identity--that of being a homosexual. Achilles (1967:231) suggests that the gay bar was:

. . . naturally adopted as the institution serving the homosexual Community for several reasons. For the most part, participation in the Community is a leisure time activity, albeit the participant's most important activity. Therefore, the institution serving the Community must be one adapted to sociability and leisure. Homosexuals, subject to pressure from law enforcement agencies, require a gathering place which is mobile and flexible as possible, that is, a place which can open, close, and open again without great alteration or loss. . . . The Community's main institution must be one which provides some degree of anonymity and segregation from the larger society. The bar renders this service well, because it is such a common type of establishment that there is not great pressure from members of the larger society to gain access to any particular bar.

Hoffman (1968) and Hooker (1967) both agree with this view of the gay bar. It is an institution providing a gathering place (a setting in which social interaction may occur), a particular atmosphere, goods and services which are essential to keep the homosexual community functioning as a community and fulfilling the needs of sociability, legitimization, provision of new normative standards, and a welcoming atmosphere which the homosexual needs, due to societal reactions against him. West (1967:107-108) feels that it is in the gay bar that the homosexual can remove the mask which he wears every day when in contact with "straight" society and relax and be accepted for what he is.

The question of why the gay bar remains an institution, and has been for some time an anomaly in American society, is answered partially

by Hooker (1967:175), when she surmizes that the stability of this type of institution occurs because of three factors:

1. Bars are highly lucrative for the owners and despite harassment and closing of individual bars, licenses are constantly sought to re-open under new ownership or to establish ones in new locations.
2. They meet the expectations and needs, and are geared in an integral way to the behavior patterns of a large homosexual population.
3. Authorities unofficially believe that elimination of the system is both undesirable and impossible: 'that kind of person has to have someplace to go and at least they are with their own kind, and you don't lose 'em; you just move 'em around a little.'

It would seem after this brief discussion that those writing on "straight," i.e., presumably heterosexual, bars and taverns and those interested in gay drinking establishments treat both as institutions. Those interested mainly in straight drinking places emphasize such features as the serving of alcoholic beverages, a place where anyone can come in, a place where people can come together and socialize and meet people, provision of various forms of entertainment; and an atmosphere where various norms develop. Those interested in the gay drinking place view it as an institution which has been developed to meet the needs of a deviant group and the emphasis is on how the drinking establishment meets these particular needs rather than treating the bar in the way in which those interested in straight drinking places treat them. The major difference between these two treatments, then, is that those interested in gay drinking places emphasize those particular features which seem to be important to the gay population and their problems and needs. As argued by Hoffman (1968:51):

The gay bar plays a central role in the life of very many homosexuals--one which is much more important than the role played by straight bars in the life of all but a few heterosexuals. This is connected intimately with the use of the gay bar as a sexual marketplace, and, of course, with the fact that homosexuals, as homosexuals, have really no place else

where they can congregate without disclosing to the straight world that they are homosexual.

Therefore, in the literature on gay bars and taverns the emphasis is generally on sexual aspects rather than on more general interactional aspects or aspects which may be found in any bar and tavern. The emphasis is on the deviant aspects rather than on the "normal aspects" which may be shown to exist everywhere. Cavan (1966) is the only writer who seems to include gay bars and taverns along with the straight drinking establishments in her discussion, but then again, she has also isolated out those features which are pertinent to the gay community.

One area of concern shown by those interested in gay drinking places is in their ecology. Achilles (1967:238) feels that gay bars do not develop by accident, but that their location is carefully and systematically planned. She also proposes that most gay bars are gay from their opening to their closing and that a straight bar is usually not infiltrated and changed into a gay bar. Gay bars are usually grouped together in various areas of the city, because the patrons usually make the rounds of the bars in a given evening and it is more facilitative to have them close together. In Los Angeles, Hooker (1967:173) found four determinants involved in the location of the gay bars. They are:

. . . proximity to 1. residential areas with heavy concentrations of homosexuals, 2. beaches or other places of homosexual group recreation or leisure time activity, 3. public entertainment districts--theaters, etc., 4. areas of high tolerance for and relative permissiveness toward other forms of deviant behaviors.

As has been suggested by Cavan (1966), Achilles (1967:243) also asserts that the location and the internal features of the bar will determine the type of clientele and the uses made of the bar.

Patrons go to a specific bar for a specific purpose, and a bar's locale may be an important factor in determining the purpose for which it is used. . . . The purely physical characteristics of an area also influence the nature of a bar's patronage. . . . The internal layout of the bar is an additional factor.

This seems to be in agreement with the literature relating to "straight" drinking establishments wherein it is suggested that the location will determine the use made of the bar and the type of clientele who will use it. As was suggested earlier, the physical features of the establishment will influence what occurs inside. While the literature on gay drinking places does not emphasize standing behavior patterns, one particular feature which in the literature seems to occur principally in gay bars (but which from this writer's experience is also true of "straight" drinking places) is what has been called the "milling" area. This is an area where the patrons stand and walk around engaging in brief conversations with each other. This type of area also supposedly makes meeting possible sexual partners easy (Hoffman, 1968:54 and Cavan, 1966:104).

As in any discussion on drinking establishments, one of the areas of interest is in those who patronize the establishments and their characteristics. It seems rather redundant to suggest that homosexuals are the patrons of gay bars along with a few straight people who may be curious, "in the know," or just happen to drift in. It is not true, however, to say that all homosexuals go to gay drinking places because those who engage in gay bar activity are those who have accepted the overt pattern of adaptation or are in the process of doing so. Hoffman (1968:10) and others (Humphreys, 1970a:11) have found that ". . . the number of people in the gay bars is just a small portion of the total male homosexual

population. . . ." Those homosexuals who do not frequent the gay bars and taverns may do so for a number of reasons, some of which are: they already have a long-term love relationship with someone and do not feel the need to mingle with other homosexuals; or because of their occupation or socio-economic status, they are afraid of exposure and are content to establish small cliques of friends; or because they do not like to drink; or because they have not really accepted their homosexuality and are not involved in the gay community.

According to Hoffman (1968:26) the main patrons in the majority of gay bars are young, attractive, masculine looking men and are promiscuous. Hoffman (1968:143) suggests the reason for this being that "male homosexuals are most attracted by masculine partners and not by effeminate ones . . . effeminate men are held in much lower esteem than are masculine-looking homosexuals, and it is masculinity rather than girlishness which is most desired in the sexual partners of most male homosexuals."

Achilles (1967:240), while seemingly agreeing with this, asserts, however, that the gay world is made up of a number of social types, each of which comprises a sub-group in the community whether the determinants are age, socio-economic status, race, or the masculine-feminine continuum. In connection with this, she calls attention to the fact that:

Often a bar will cater to one particular sub-group, and . . . the bartender has an important symbolic function, serving as a mark of identification. One swift glance at the bartender, and the initiate knows what kind of a bar he is in and what kind of people he is likely to find there.

According to Hooker (1965:44), the type of clientele attracted will also influence:

. . . the informal rules or standards that they promote concerning effeminate display. In some bars, for example, obvious effeminacy in dress or demeanor is not only frowned upon

but may be sufficient reason for the refusal of admission. In other bars, there are no standards of admission and the most obvious display of effeminacy may be found, so that the clues to biological maleness and femaleness are blurred and judgements are uncertain.

This discussion seems to agree with the research reports on "straight" drinking establishments. This is particularly true, when one considers research on home territory bars or neighborhood taverns, where one of the main features of this type of drinking place is the sharing of similar characteristics among the patrons (Cavan, 1966:206; Gottlieb, 1957:559 and Clinard, 1962:277-279).

While one of the major concerns in the literature concerning "straight" drinking places are types of drinking places, one finds that gay bars are not so widely classified. Gay bars, in the literature, are usually referred to as sexual marketplaces. One of the main functions which the gay drinking place performs is the provision of a setting where possible sexual partners may be met. Hoffman (1968:60) states that, "The gay bar tends to encourage the 'one-night stand.' This is sex without obligation or commitment, without significant personal encounter, sex for the sake of sex alone." Another very descriptive comment made by a popular magazine is that, "Since homosexual couples cannot comfortably meet in mixed company, the gay bars become impersonal 'meat racks'--not unlike 'swinger' bars for heterosexual singles--whose common denominator is little more than sex" (Time, Oct. 31, 1969:64). Cavan (1966:74) also seems to find this, since she uses the gay bar as an example of what she has classified a marketplace.

While it is true that a major function of a gay drinking place is to provide a meeting place for those interested in possible sexual partners, one needs to ask the reason why this is necessary and why most

of what goes on in the gay bars and taverns has a sexual undertone.

Perhaps Hooker (1967:177) provides a partial answer to this question.

The relative absence of women in the homosexual world, the negative sanctions of society against homosexual relationships, the pressures toward secrecy and the risks of revealing one's own personal identity as a homosexual, and the market character of the bar setting in which meetings occur, combine to produce the kind of sexual exchange which we have described as a stable feature of the 'gay' world.

While the idea of the gay drinking place as a sexual marketplace might not sound very attractive, it does have positive features.

Achilles (1967:231) concludes that the bar does provide a setting where sexual partners may be met and that the:

. . . bar is the only place where these contacts, necessary to those concerned and illegal according to the law, can be made with a reasonable degree of safety and respectability. The individual may feel much less anxiety and guilt if he is able to carry on this aspect of his life in an organized framework of social norms and values.

The gay bar, then, provides an atmosphere where the homosexual can make sexual contacts away from the public's eye. The overt homosexual does not have to seek a sexual partner in a public place as does the covert homosexual. (For a further discussion on seeking sex in public places see Humphreys, 1970b.)

Other than serving as a sexual marketplace, the gay drinking place serves various other functions. One function which the bar can serve, as has been suggested earlier, is that it is here where the phenomenon called "coming out" occurs (Hooker, 1967:179). This occurs when a man first publicly identifies himself as a homosexual, and may play a very important part in his homosexual career.

Gay drinking places also serve as sociability centers, much like any other bar or tavern, whether straight or gay.

Every bar has its clusters of friends who gather to exchange gossip, to look over the new faces, to spend a social evening in an atmosphere congenial to them where the protective mask of the day may be dropped. Bars are, therefore, communication centers for the exchange of news and gossip, and for the discussion of problems and hard luck stories (Hooker, 1967:178).

As Cavan (1966:177) suggests ". . . some homosexual bars are known as 'cruisy gay bars' and others are not, which is to say, some are known as sexual marketplaces and others as home territories." It is, of course, possible for the same bar to serve both purposes.

It is perhaps unfortunate that the main emphasis in the literature on gay drinking places is that they are sexual marketplaces, rather than places where individuals go to drink and socialize and enjoy being with others. But then, the emphasis on the sexual is necessary since it is because of their sexual preference that the homosexual has been made a societal outcast, and the institution of the gay drinking place has developed. The gay drinking place, other than providing a place to find sexual partners, is also a place where the homosexual's identity may be validated since he is surrounded by other homosexuals. It seems rather discouraging that there has been shown no other interest in the literature on gay drinking places than this one aspect. Those studying the gay drinking places have limited their research interests to only one aspect of human behavior while the gay drinking places offer an opportunity to investigate more general aspects of human behavior. There has also been some discussion on the importance of sociability and behavior patterns occurring in this setting, but this discussion also has centered around the sexual sphere. What is basically being suggested here is that the gay drinking place could be used as a setting in which to study human behavior other than that which is most apparent and most discussed. With

this suggestion in mind, it is now possible to discuss the subject of this thesis.

IV. DEFINITION OF THE PROBLEM

While it is not being denied that the above literature on the gay bars is important in providing an understanding of the gay world, what is being suggested is that perhaps the gay bar can be used as a setting in which more fundamental processes of human behavior can be studied. It is asserted that it is not possible to understand the gay world only in terms of the ways those participating in this world adapt to the outside society, e.g., the gay bar as an institution serving the needs of the gay community. Therefore, the investigator might more profitably start with the basics of interaction and then work up from there. In other words, if one wants really to understand the gay world, or for that matter, any social world, or an aspect of a world, it is necessary first to understand how people relate to each other--how social order is possible. Scott and Lyman (1970b:92) state that:

The task of the sociologist is to uncover the routine grounds of action that the actors themselves are often only partly capable of expressing directly. . . . To account for the uniformity of social order, the sociologist in this tradition attempts to locate and describe these taken-for-granted expectancies.

It is therefore the goal of this thesis to try to discover some of the underpinnings of what keeps the gay world or for that matter any social world functioning by utilizing the concept of identity as used by the interactionists. To understand how interaction is possible should be one of the basic concerns of sociology, although not the only concern. Perhaps it is so fundamental that many in the discipline tend to look

over it, and around it, but never at it.

One of the major assumptions being used in this thesis is that it is through the announcement and placement of identities that situations are defined and interaction is possible. One must first identify what one is acting towards before one can identify with the object and interaction can occur. In order to gain some understanding of interaction, it is also necessary to take a situational approach, for it is contended that only by first understanding that sphere of life is one able to understand other spheres of life. In this context, Goffman (1963b:197) is relevant.

Ordinarily, situations are thought to be so closely enmeshed in a particular on-going institutional setting, and these settings to be so very different one from another, that excision of situations and their gatherings for separate study might seem questionable. However, it is only in situations . . . that these accessibilities will have to be faced and dealt with. And in facing these accessibilities and dealing with them, a common and distinctive character is given to the social life sustained in situations, regardless of the uniqueness of the larger span of social life in which each gathering is embedded and of which each is an expression.

It is the purpose of this thesis to discuss the identities which must be announced and placed in the gay drinking establishments in order to enter into interaction in the various situations in which one might find himself.

Stone's (1962) idea of the various types of identities which must be announced and placed in order to enter into various types of social relations will be used as the framework for this thesis. The types of social relations which are relevant for this discussion are: 1) structural relations; 2) interpersonal relations; and 3) human relations. This discussion of the various types of social relations that may only be entered by the announcement and placement of certain identities has been

presented to provide a better understanding of the organization of the gay subculture as depicted in the gay drinking places.

Those identities which must be announced and placed in order to enter into structural relations will first be discussed. Structural relations are those which can only be entered by exchanging a name for a title. The various titles which are necessary for entering into structural relations in gay drinking places will be discussed. The bases on which these identities are announced and placed will also be discussed as well as the difficulties which may arise. Relationships between those possessing the various identities will also be discussed. Another area of concern will be the idea of identity transformation as discussed by Strauss (1958) and Lofland (1969).

The second kind of identities which are necessary to announce and place which will be discussed are those required to enter into interpersonal relationships. In these types of relationships names and/or nicknames will usually be used. The importance of given names will be discussed in relation to entering into relations with others as well as the predominance of nicknames used amongst those participating in gay bar activities.

The identities needed to enter into human relations will be discussed in Appendix A. While these identities are usually age, sex, and community membership, only sex will be dealt with.

It is hoped that this discussion of identities will provide a better understanding of the gay world as depicted in the gay drinking places and also of the important place which identity plays in everyday life.

The emphasis in this thesis is not then on the gay bar as a sexual marketplace or as a refuge for those who must hide their homosexual

identity in everyday life and only (in some cases) in the gay bar can they let this one aspect of their life come to the front as others have done. Rather, this thesis is an attempt to gain a better understanding of how those participating in the activities of the gay drinking places organize their world in this particular setting.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY, DATA COLLECTION, SETTING AND POPULATION STUDIED

INTRODUCTION

The methodology used in the gathering of data for this thesis was participant observation. The first section of this chapter will present a review of the literature on participant observation. The second section will discuss the actual procedures which were used in the data collection. A discussion of the setting and the population studied will be presented in the last section of this chapter.

I. METHODOLOGY

Participant Observation and its Use

Participant observation may be described as participation by an observer in the daily activities of those he has undertaken to study. Depending on his area of interest, it is not always essential for the observer to participate in all the activities of the population being studied. The observer is in constant search for the reasons that people act as they do in specific situations as well as how they interpret their world and the things that happen to them. Kluckhohn (1940:331) provides an excellent definition of participant observation:

Participant observation is conscious and systematic sharing, in so far as circumstances permit, in the life activities and, on occasion, in the interests and affects of a group of persons. Its purpose is to obtain data about behavior through direct contact, and in terms of specific situations in which the distortion

that results from the investigator's being an outside agent is reduced to a minimum.

Anthropologists have long used the method of participant observation to gain an understanding of the life styles of those who live in communities and cultures which differ from their own. The method of participant observation has been used to study foreign communities, as well as communities existing in one's own culture. Studies by anthropologists utilizing the method of participant observation have ranged from a study of a small Mexican village by Kluckhohn (1940) to a study of the urban nomad by Spradley (1970). Using this method, Whyte (1943) was able to investigate slum life and Liebow (1967) was able to study the lives of the Negro streetcorner man. Sociologists have also used this method in the study of deviant groups (see for example Polsky, 1967). In the area of homosexuality, four studies have been conducted using participant observation--Hoffman, 1968; Achilles, 1967; Hooker, 1967 and Humphreys, 1970.

While some sociologists have used the method of participant observation to study community life, there seems to be a relative neglect of this type of methodology. This neglect might partly be the result of the lack of concrete guidelines or procedures to follow in conducting participant observation. Perhaps, however, the major reason for the relative disuse of participant observation in sociology lies in the fact that most sociologists stress scientific empiricism. The value of quantified data is emphasized. These sociologists tend to believe that the field of sociology should be concerned with accurately measuring man's behavior and being able to predict his behavior. In order to accomplish this, rigorous methodology has been stressed by methodologists. Becker (1970:

15) suggests that the emphasis on rigorous methods by methodologists

. . . has further strengthened the hardly conscious belief of most sociologists that some problems can be approached in a "scientific" way while other problems, no matter how interesting or important, must either be ignored for the time being, until we devise sufficiently rigorous methods, or dealt with in ways that rely on intuition and other non-communicable gifts. If no strict set of approved rules and procedures exist, then either don't do it or anything goes.

Whatever the case may be, participant observation does allow the researcher an opportunity to see behavior as it occurs and to gain some understanding of the rationale behind the behavior. Since participant observation is most useful in exploratory studies, it allows the researcher to discover important areas in need of further study and in many cases allows for the development of hypotheses as well as the testing of hypotheses. One of the major assets of participant observation along this line is its flexibility.

Polsky (1967:109) makes a case for field work when he points out that

. . . if we are to make a major advance in our scientific understanding of criminal lifestyles, criminal subcultures, and their relation to the larger society, we must undertake genuine field research on these people.

This assertion is applicable in many areas other than in the criminal realm. If sociologists are to understand the behavior of people, it is necessary to participate in their lives in order to understand why they act as they do and how their actions merge to create their particular lifestyle. Whyte (1943:285) found that through the use of participant observation he ". . . could examine social structure, directly through observing people in action."

Problems in Participant Observation

One of the first problems facing the would-be participant observer is gaining entry into the group, subculture, or community which he wishes to study. As Becker (1970:16) suggests

. . . getting permission to conduct a study has had little serious methodological discussion. What can be found in the literature deals largely with the question of ethics, of what promises it is proper to make to the people you propose to study in order to get access and to what degree you are bound by those promises.

Perhaps even more important than this is the question of whether the observer should disclose his identity as a researcher or whether he should not. In other words, it is a question of whether or not the researcher should assume a disguise to enter into the area which he is interested in studying. The researcher must decide whether he is going to become a "complete participant" or a "participant-as-observer" (Gold, 1969:33-35).

Those who are in favor of disguised observation with the researcher becoming a "complete observer" argue that

The means of overcoming this limitation [not fitting in] to participation is the assumption of a general role or roles which have definitions in terms of the community's set of organized statuses. To do this, one's research intentions cannot be disclosed (Kluckhohn, 1940:333).

Another argument in favor of disguised observation is in reference to entry into hostile settings. A hostile setting

. . . is specifically one where the very materials which the researcher seeks to gather are defined by the gatekeepers and actors as potentially dangerous to them should they be used in a negative or careless manner by the researcher. For this reason, in the hostile setting, the researcher is apt to encounter active resistance to his efforts by those sectors he observes. In sum, the hostile setting is one where the definition of "threat" hovers over the researcher, engendering resistance wherever he goes (Ford, 1970:2).

Following along this line is the idea that while the subjects should be prevented from harm, "We are not protecting a harassed population of deviants by refusing to look at them" (Humphreys, 1970b:169). (For further discussion see Horowitz and Rainwater, 1970:4-8.)

While there are those proponents who argue in favor of disguised observation, there are also those who are opposed to it on the basis of ethical and methodological concerns. Erickson (1967:368) feels that ". . . disguised observation constitutes an ugly invasion of privacy and is, on that ground alone objectionable"; and also that ". . . this particular research strategy can injure people in ways we can neither anticipate in advance nor compensate for afterwards." (See also Von Hoffman, 1970:6.) In Erickson's (1967:370) words, disguised observation shows ". . . an extraordinary disrespect for the complexities of human interaction."

Selltiz, et al. (1967:218) point out that undisguised research is a simpler procedure, and Daniels (1968), Liebow (1967) and Whyte (1943) have demonstrated that undisguised observation can be conducted with a great deal of success. While there is always the possibility of reactivity using the undisguised method of participant observation, this method both increases the possibility of the observer getting a greater amount of data through the help of informants and also ". . . the role carries with it numerous opportunities for compartmentalizing mistakes and dilemmas which typically bedevil the complete [disguised] participant" (Gold, 1969:35). The use of the disguised role also always carries with it the threat of discovery (Brymer and Farris, 1968).

Whichever method is chosen to gain entry by the would-be participant observer, the problem of establishing relationships with his subjects

Will be of utmost importance. As Humphreys (1970b:24) found,

The real problem is not one of making contact with the sub-culture but of making the contact "stick." Acceptance does not come easy, and it is extremely difficult to move beyond superficial contact in public places to acceptance by the group and invitations to private and semi-private parties.

In order to gain acceptance, he will probably have to prove himself to his subjects and this is liable to be a slow process. Ford (1970) provides an interesting description of rites of passage which an observer may have to go through before he gains complete entrance into a hostile setting.

Another problem facing the participant observer is the relationship between his role as observer and his role as participant. Throughout his period of observations, he must be able to keep his various roles clear to himself.

While a field worker cannot be all things to all men, he routinely tries to fit himself into as many roles as he can, as long as playing them helps him to develop relationships with informants in his master role (i.e. participant-as-observer, etc.) (Gold, 1969:32).

Perhaps one of the beneficial effects of this need to keep his roles clear is that it allows many possibilities for obtaining data that would never otherwise be obtained. As Selltiz, et al. (1967:22) point out

Through intensive participation in community life, the observer exposes himself to experiences that give him a first hand knowledge of the more subtle pressures and counter pressures to which the members of the community are exposed. His introspection about his own experiences as a participant represents one of the most fruitful means of understanding the community's characteristics.

The observer must also be able to assess how his various roles affect those he is studying. He must be able to act as a participant and then he must be able to look at what happened as an objective observer and analyze what occurred. (For a description of the active participant vs.

the passive participant see Schwartz and Schwartz, 1969:245-252.)

Once in the field, the participant observer must establish strong relationships with those whom he is studying. Daniels (1968:284) found that "Personal friendship became the most important channel of information." It has been suggested by some (Polsky, 1968; Whyte, 1943; Liebow, 1967) that it is best to establish relationships first with those who hold prominent positions in the community and in this way, once complete acceptance has been gained, it will be possible to meet other members of the community, who will accept the participant observer because he is a friend of the other person. Making friends among the participants requires a period of trial and error. One must have an open mind and a non-assuming and non-prejudiced attitude.

If one is studying deviants, he must not enter the field with the idea that he is going to change them or save them. Schwartz and Schwartz (1969:94) express the opinion that it is important that the observer relate to his subjects on a "human level" and that when doing so ". . . the observer's attitude toward them is one of respect and interest in them as human beings as well as research subjects. . . ." Polsky (1967: 119) proposes that "Successful field research depends on the investigator's trained abilities to look at people, listen to them, think and feel with them, talk with them rather than at them." Polsky (1967:121-129) also provides a helpful set of rules for the participant observer. The techniques which are used to gain a firm footing in the field will depend on the participant observer, the situations in which he finds himself, and the people with whom he is involved.

Once in the field, the observer should try to fit in as best he can in his manner of dress, speech, and actions but this will also depend on

his situations. As Polsky (1967:128) points out ". . . you must walk a tightrope between 'openness' on the one hand and 'disguise' on the other, whose balancing point is determined anew in each investigation."

Liebow (1967:254) states that

When in the field, I participated as fully and as whole-mindfully as I could, limited only by my own sense of personal and professional propriety and by what I assumed to be the boundaries of acceptable behavior as seen by those I was with.

The success of the observer as a participant depends in large measure on how successful he feels he is and on how comfortable he is in this role. Liebow (1967:256) discovered that "In retrospect, it seems as if the degree to which one becomes a participant is as much a matter of perceiving oneself as a participant as it is of being accepted as a participant by others."

One of the criticisms of participant observation is that it may create a reactive effect. "The patently visible observer can produce changes in behavior that diminish the validity of comparisons" (Webb, et al., 1969:113). The possibility of the reactive effect occurring can, however, be checked with the use of informants. McCall (1969:132) argues that by ". . . comparison with informant interview accounts of similar events in which the observer was not present" the possibility of reactive effect can be checked.

As pointed out earlier, the use of informants is perhaps one of the most valuable tools available to the participant observer. The informant may also be used as a way of checking the validity of the observer's perceptions of a situation. As Selltitz, et al. (1967:217) put it "Usually, of course, the participants in the situations cannot check on the validity of theoretical interpretations, but they can tell the observer whether he

has caught the meaning the situation and the behavior have for him."

McCall (1969:132) also agrees with this view. Dean and Whyte (1969:106) caution that when making use of informants, the observer must keep in mind that

. . . we are getting merely the informant's picture of the world as he sees it. And we are getting it only as he is willing to pass it on to us in this particular interview situation. Under other circumstances, the moves he reveals to us may be much different.

Schwartz and Schwartz (1969:108) comment that "The confidence that develops in a relationship over a period of time is perhaps the best guarantee of spontaneity, and informants who are important should be developed over time with care and understanding." Informants should be cultivated with care and feelings of trust must be built up between the observer and the informant.

One warning issued to the participant observer is that he must not become overly involved with his informants and he must protect himself from "going native." Gold (1969:35) states that

Although the field worker in the participant-as-observer role strives to bring his relationship with the informant to the point of friendship, to the point of intimate form, it behooves him to retain sufficient elements of "the stranger" to avoid actually reaching intimate form.

In relation to the warning of not "going native" Ford (1970:11) points out that

The observer may begin to define himself more as a participant and less as observer. His reports and observations can become whitewashed by the groups he studies or, even more damaging, he himself may unconsciously become mesmerized by those he studies and lose his ability to accurately recount his experiences.

If the data gathered are to be valid the participant observer must establish relations with informants who can offer valuable assistance. On the other hand, the observer must be careful not to become too closely

involved with his informants. The participant observer must become close and involved with those he is studying, while still remaining at an objective distance. (For further discussion see Schwartz and Schwartz, 1969:89-104 and Whyte, 1943:279-358.)

Another problem which faces the participant observer is the possibility of bias or of being accused of bias. Becker (1967:240) points out that one form of bias of which the social researcher is accused is that of sympathizing with the group being studied, especially if this happens to be a deviant group. In answer to this accusation, Becker (1967:244) replies that ". . . there is no position from which sociological research can be done that is not biased in one way or another." The other form of bias is of a more general nature. Schwartz and Schwartz (1969:102) call this a sociocultural bias and also warn that ". . . one's frame of reference, in part a product of one's professional training, influences the selections one makes from the phenomenon . . . and determines how and what is observed." Whatever the source of bias, the participant observer must be aware of its existence as best he can and try to protect his data from it.

Recording of Data and Analysis

The recording of observations is a very important aspect of doing participant observation, since these recorded observations are the data of participant observation. The method of recording observations will be dependent upon the situations in which the observer finds himself. Whatever method the researcher uses--whether he is able to take notes during his observations or whether he must wait until after he has left the field--Selltiz, et al.(1967:211-214) suggest that ". . . he should

write up as soon as possible after a period of observation, a complete account of everything in the situation that he wishes to remember."

The observer should also try to keep the actual observation separate from his interpretation of the observations. This allows the observer to be able to analyze both the observation and his interpretation of the observation. As Schwartz and Schwartz (1969:91) summarize ". . . participant observation becomes, in part, a process of registering, interpreting, and recording."

In participant observation, the analysis of the data seems to be never ending. As Becker (1969:246-247) suggests,

. . . analysis is carried on sequentially, important points of the analysis being made while the researcher is still gathering his data. This has two obvious consequences: further data gathering takes its direction from provisional analysis; and the amount and kind of provisional analysis carried on is limited by the exigencies of the field work situation, so that final comprehensive analyses may not be possible until the field work is completed.

Ethical Considerations

Those engaged in participant observation are faced with a number of ethical concerns. One important ethical issue is that of confidentiality and the promise of anonymity to the subjects under study. The researcher must decide whether to promise confidentiality and if promised, whether he will be able to abide by his promise (see Rainwater and Pittman, 1967: 357-377). In connection with this, the participant observer who is studying deviant groups may witness various deviant acts during his observations and ". . . possession of such knowledge creates ethical and legal problems for the sociologist because he does not have privileged communication and, moreover, because of the hazy and ambiguous legal status of persons possessing such knowledge" (Brymer and Farris, 1968:307).

Usually the pledge of confidentiality means that fictitious names and situations will be used in the final report.

Another ethical problem which Rainwater and Pittman (1967:363) point out is that the researcher must be ". . . sensitive to the way these findings are used, particularly to whether or not they are used in ways that seem illegitimate, given the findings," or used in ways which might bring harm to the subjects. This is suggesting that when the findings of a sociologist are made public, that the sociologist should try to make sure that the findings cannot be misinterpreted or that they cannot be used for reasons which were not intended in the research. Perhaps this is more easily understood by using an example from Rainwater and Pittman (1967:362). Rainwater had conducted a study for Planned Parenthood to try to learn how their clinic could operate more effectively. He found that ". . . most lower class women could not sustain the kinds of habits required to practice contraception effectively with the then existing methods. . . ." Two years after the study was published, there was a dispute over whether or not family planning facilities should be established in some public facilities. "In the course of the controversy that ensued several officials who opposed the establishment of family planning services in this way quoted the study to support their contention that lower class women really did not want help in limiting their families."

One other ethical problem is discussed by Daniels (1968:290):

The most serious ethical problem . . . is the fact that friends in the group studied may be displeased or discomfited when research reports reach publication state. The problem is combined with the realization that, inevitably, one's own main interests in the group members is an exploitive one . . . one inevitably approaches all relationships with informants from the specialized perspective of one who will eventually withdraw.

Sometimes this realization colors one's interactions to the extent that it draws reproaches from one's friends.

While the method of participant observation has many problems and is perhaps one of the most difficult and tedious methods in sociology, the results are well worth the effort. If the participant observer uses this method with great care, he will find that he has a vast range of data available to him, as well as a great deal of flexibility. By using this method, the researcher will find that he is able to study human behavior as it occurs and that he will be able to understand better what happens. Kluckhohn (1940:337-338) provides four reasons for the use of this method:

First, it affords access to the data which come from observation in the current situations in which the community members are involved. . . . [Second] There are in all groups certain kinds of data which are guarded more closely than other types. . . . The ready access to gossip is the third respect in which participant observation serves to increase the range of information. Gossip is an important source of information both for what is said and for what is not said. . . . The fourth respect . . . lies in the advantage derived from being in the position of the person who is being taught.

II. DATA COLLECTION

The method of data collection used in this thesis was participant observation. The role which I assumed was that of "participant-as-observer." I decided to enter the field as a non-disguised observer for principally two reasons: 1) My first reason was an ethical concern. I felt that it would be unethical for me to appear to be something that I was not. If I had used a disguise, I would have been trying to make friends in the bars and those whom I had made friends with would think of me as a friend. I would, in effect, be using their friendship without their knowing it. I also felt that by using a disguise I would be

invading the privacy of those whom I was observing. 2) I felt that by letting known my research interest, I would be able to gather more complete and accurate data. I felt that this would be easily accomplished since I was a woman studying male homosexuals and I would therefore not arouse suspicion concerning my intent.

I decided to limit my observations to male homosexual bars because I was afraid that I would bias my data if I also observed in female homosexual bars, and that I also would feel very uncomfortable. I felt, before beginning this study, that a woman participant observer would be more acceptable among male homosexuals and would be less likely to bias the data than a man. I felt that those I was observing could not accuse me of any ulterior motive which they might had I been a man. The validity of this feeling was confirmed by a number of subjects. For instance, after explaining my purpose for being present in the bars to two different people, they both stated that they would accept me whereas, if I were a man, they would question my intentions. One respondent told me that he has used this excuse--that of doing a master's thesis on homosexuality--to explain why he was looking at pornographic material for homosexuals in an "adult bookstore" and that the proprietor had not believed him. I had known several homosexuals prior to entering the field and had worked through my feelings about male homosexuals to a point where I was quite sure I would not bias my data. In the gay drinking places, there was also a ready-made role for me, that of a fag hag* and while all those with whom I spoke knew that I was doing research, I was not out of place.

* A fag hag is a straight woman who spends time with gay guys in gay drinking places.

Since I had had prior contact with homosexuals and had been in the gay drinking places before, I had no trouble locating these drinking places once I was ready to begin my research. While I had expected that my entrance in the gay drinking places would be easy, I had not thought that gaining acceptance would be as difficult as it was. While I began my observations in the beginning of August, 1970, it was not until the end of the month that I felt like I was really participating in the activities and was accepted by the participants. While I had had prior acquaintance with one of the participants, he had made it fairly clear that I would have to gain my own entrance and that he would not sponsor me until I had proven myself to some extent and had developed relationships on my own.

After one experience on entering a gay tavern and having hostile stares directed at me, I decided that it would be best to begin my observations in the gay bars where there were more people and where I would not be so obviously out of place. I also found that at the very beginning of my observations, I was more easily accepted if I appeared with another girl. Two girls in a gay bar were not looked at with suspicion because they were placed as being gay girls, whereas one girl by herself was suspect. By seeing two girls sitting together, guys were more likely to come up to us and talk and ask us to dance. When anyone would approach us, I would explain my purpose for being there and they all seemed to accept this with the exception of one person, who would not believe me. After about two weeks of this type of activity, I decided that it was time I started going to the bars by myself. Each night that I went I was able to meet one or two new people and in two weeks, I was beginning to feel quite comfortable and could walk into the bars and

usually have someone with whom to talk. Perhaps one reason for the slowness in my acceptance was that I waited for someone to approach me rather than approaching someone, but this waiting tactic appeared to carry a lower risk of rejection than would a more aggressive approach.

After this period of about four weeks, my previous acquaintance introduced me to his friends who in turn introduced me to their friends. At this time also, my friend began bartending at one of the taverns and I began doing my observations in the taverns. In fact, in this one particular tavern, I became the "researcher in residence" and hardly part of an evening could go by without some joke about my research.

During this period, since I had become entrenched in several groups, I found that I began making the rounds of the taverns and bars with the groups. On most evenings, I tried to spread my time among various groups, so that I would have a variety of experiences. I found that during the weekends, it was almost impossible to make many general observations, since the bars became very crowded and so during these periods, my observations centered around the group with whom I was spending my time.

During the whole time of my observations, I never felt that my presence in any way influenced the people I was observing, at least not to the point where it would affect my data. I was treated as just another member of the group and if they didn't want me around, they would tell me to leave or, in most cases, would ignore me and walk away from me. In a number of instances, I was used as a method of escape by some of the guys. If they didn't want to talk to someone they would come over to me and begin a conversation or else ask me to dance. I do not feel, however, that this happened because of my role as a participant observer, but because I just happened to be the one who was relatively free at the

moment. There were probably instances where some of the guys avoided saying or doing things when I was around, because they might have thought that it would offend me. If this did occur, I doubt if it occurred very often after they got to know me. Neither of these possible influences by my presence would have interfered with the area in which I was interested.

While I never felt that I completely lost my role as observer, there were times when I felt that I was in a rather tense position. This would occur primarily when one person would begin telling me about his personal feelings about another person and the other person would also confide in me. On several occasions, I felt that I was caught in the middle and would have to remind myself of my role, so that I would not interfere. On one night at a birthday party in one of the taverns, I became quite drunk and was afraid that the others would think that I had over stepped my position, but this never occurred and the only mention of it was that "It happens to the best of us" and "How's your head?"

Throughout my weeks in the field, I found that participant observation was an excellent method to use in the study of the announcement and placement of identities. Bruyn (1966:12) points out that

What is especially distinctive about the method of participant observation is the manner by which the researcher gains knowledge. By taking the role of his subjects he re-creates in his imagination and experience the thought and feelings which are in the minds of those he studies. It is through a process of symbolic interpretation of the "experienced culture" that the observer works with his data and discovers meanings in them.

The method of participant observation requires that one becomes a participant along with those whom he is studying. In order to do so, one must take the roles of others. In order to role take, one must be able to identify the others. During the beginning of a participant observation

study, one learns how to identify others slowly from those around him. One finds out what identities are important in the area one is participating in.

The method of participant observation allows the observer to find himself in various situations where he must identify the participants and where the participants must identify him. If he was not a participant in these situations, he would not be able to discover the importance of the identities of the other participants nor the importance of the identity which he is presenting. Through actually participating in situations, the participant observer gains an awareness of what is going on during the situations and later, when he is recording and analyzing the situations. The importance of identity occurred to me particularly on one evening, when I had been in one bar and was wearing a dress and sitting up at the bar by myself. I had then left this bar and gone to another where I was approached by a guy who started telling me about gay lib, and that he thought that I would feel very comfortable there. I then explained to him my purpose for being in the bar and he stopped talking to me about gay lib and introduced me to his friend. It was at this point that his friend told me that he had seen me at the other bar but was afraid to talk to me because "I didn't know what you were." After his friend told him what I was doing, he felt that he could talk to me because my identity was established.

After this incident, I was careful to watch for other situations where the question of a person's identity came up. In another situation I found that the way I would dress would affect the reactions of others towards me. One evening I was asked to leave a bar and was later told by several of my respondents that it was probably because I was wearing

pants and the bartender who had asked me to leave didn't like Lesbians. I went back to this bar regularly after this, but wore a dress and the bartender never said anything to me.

In participant observation the analysis of the data is carried on while one is in the process of gathering the data. Because of the flexibility of participant observation, once one has discovered something which he feels is important, he is able to investigate it further and ask questions about it. Once I had discovered that the people in the gay drinking places were assigned various titles (structural identities), I was then able to discover on what bases they announced this identity and on what bases others placed them as having a particular identity. Once I was able to identify people, I was able to observe what people with what title interacted with others having the same title or a different title. It was through talking with others that I learned that nicknames were important. After this was discovered, I was able to take a closer look.

Because participant observation actually allows the observer to participate in the activities of those under study, he soon acquires a grasp of the importance of identity. The participant observer becomes a member of the group under study and in interacting with them, recording the data and analyzing the data as he goes along, he is able to isolate important issues which seem to be important in the lives of those he is studying.

All of my observations took place in the bars, taverns and sometimes in the after-hours coffee shops and were conducted during a three-month period from August through October. The hours of observation were usually between 9 P.M. and 4:30 A.M. about four to five nights a week. I probably should have gone into the bars during other hours of the day, but due to

my schedule, this was not too feasible. Informal and formal interviews were conducted with informants. Informants also proved helpful in explaining to me what was happening and in answering any questions which I might have. The majority of the informants were gay regulars and most of the data is presented from their point of view. This occurred for three reasons: (1) The majority of the participants in the gay drinking places are gay regulars, (2) Most of the activity in the gay drinking places revolves around the gay regulars and (3) The gay regulars were the group which most easily accepted my position as a participant observer. The formal interviews which were conducted asked specific questions of the gay regulars, e.g., "What types of people do you find in the gay drinking places and how do you identify them? "What happened when you were coming out?" and "Describe the typical clientele in each drinking place." These interviews were conducted after the field work was completed and for the most part were tape recorded. These formal interviews were conducted as a means by which to validate my observations and to gain additional information. During my first week in the field, I tried taking notes, but found this was next to impossible, so I recorded my observations on a tape recorder the moment I got home in the morning, or sometimes after I had gotten up. Some analysis of the data was conducted during the transcription and typing of the observations, although most of the analysis was conducted after the field work was completed.

III. SETTING AND POPULATION STUDIED

All observations were conducted in the gay bars and taverns in an urban area of about 350,000 people. It is not the intention of this researcher to generalize the findings to any other cities, to any other gay bars, or to any other time period. There are four gay taverns and two gay bars and one semi-gay bar in this urban area. (At the time of writing this thesis, one of the bars has been closed because the building in which it was located was condemned.) The majority of the observations were gathered in two of the taverns and two of the bars which are in about a six block area. The other taverns and bar are located near the waterfront. The information on these other two taverns and one bar was gained mainly from informants.

The population studied included any one who came into the bars and taverns--whether gay or straight or male or female. The age of the population ranged from 17 to about 55 and this population studied probably included a wide range of occupation groups.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS: IDENTITIES WHICH MAY BE ANNOUNCED AND PLACED TO GAIN ENTRY INTO STRUCTURAL AND INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS IN GAY DRINKING PLACES

INTRODUCTION

Gay bars and taverns have been described as the major institution serving the homosexual subculture. The gay drinking places may be described as a special type of place and as such plays an important part in the announcement and placement of identities. The gay drinking places are imputed with the identity of being drinking places where gay people go.

Appearance is the basis by which identities are announced and placed. Appearance includes a person's dress, age, body shape, and mannerisms. By appearing in a certain location, a person's identity may also be established. Words may also be used to establish identities. It is being suggested in this thesis that by a person's appearance in a gay drinking place and by being dressed or acting in a certain manner that he will be announcing that he has a specific identity in the gay drinking places and that others will place him as having a certain identity.

This chapter will provide a discussion of the various types of identities which may be announced and placed to gain entry into structural relations in the gay drinking places and the bases on which these identities are announced and placed. The ways in which those possessing

these various titles relate to others having the same title and others having different titles will then be discussed. The next section will provide a discussion of the specific gay bars and taverns and their imputed identities. A discussion of identity transformation will then be presented. The last section will present a discussion on the importance of names and nicknames in entering into interpersonal relations.

I. STRUCTURAL IDENTITIES IN GAY DRINKING PLACES

In any culture or subculture, one will find the existence of structural relations. Structural relations have been defined as encounters between individuals where it is necessary to announce that they possess a certain title and in this way suggest that they belong to a certain category of persons. Structural identity is the word or title which is used to indicate the category (Stone, 1962:94). The title brings to mind a certain type of person who holds the title and those interacting with him will respond to him in a certain manner in accordance with the expectations which surround the title. The title then provides the basis for interaction. Structural relations may be seen as those relations which hold a culture or subculture together and provide for its continuity.

As was suggested earlier, structural identities are usually announced and placed on the basis of appearance (for a more detailed discussion see supra, pp. 18-22). In the gay subculture as depicted in the gay drinking places, one discovers the existence of a number of structural identities which may be announced and placed in order to enter into structural relations. These various identities are announced and placed on the basis of appearance. The various structural identities in the gay drinking places are discussed below. The bases on which these iden-

tities are announced and placed are dress, general appearance, mannerisms, age and location.

Gay males. Gay males in gay drinking places announce that they belong to or may be placed into basically six different structural identity categories. These titles indicating these categories are: (1) gay regulars, (2) nellie people (queens), (3) super butches, (4) dirty old men, (5) old nellie queens, and (6) heads.

Gay regulars. The gay regulars belong to the most common structural identity category. When walking into any gay drinking place, those possessing this identity are likely the first to be apparent, since they make up the majority of those frequenting the gay drinking places. If a straight person were to see one of the regulars on the street, he would not be able to identify him as a homosexual. One bartender in a tavern felt that

The average gay person is hard to tell. I think I'm average and I don't think I look any different, or act any different than most people. His image is changing a little. They use to be kind of clean cut and now they're getting a little funkier. They're just very ordinary looking. It's hard to tell anymore--even for me. There's a movement towards being more themselves. Not fussing so much with appearance and all that, because they're getting away from the physical attraction between two guys, trying to play on that too much.

Thus the gay regular in the bar looks much like any other male one might encounter during daily activities outside the gay drinking places. In the gay drinking places, he may be easily identified given that he is where he is. Another respondent suggests that the regulars may be divided into two groups. One group he calls the "socialite gay regular." In regards to appearance, this gay regular may easily be identified because he

. . . is one who you see smiling a lot, laughing a lot, running from table to table, talking a lot with his friends who are also talking a lot. Socially drinking and smoking cigarettes, camping,* I guess. Just in general, I guess being happy at being gay. . . . They dance together and giggle and talk together. The gay regulars you almost always see dress nicely. The shirts and pants are in style, up-to-date, no tears or wrinkles in them, their shoes are shiny, hair is neatly combed into place. You can always find those people.

The other type of regular which this respondent describes is just a little bit different than the socialite gay regular. He suggests that these regulars also are always to be found.

They're regulars and drink moderately and dance now and then and they stand around with guys who are like them--good looking and wear nice clothes, not super fine, just on the fringe between the very very nice nellie people's clothes and the up-to-the minute hippie type influence clothes. They're usually butch.**

The identity of the gay regulars in the gay drinking places is easily placed on the basis of appearance. They are usually between the ages of 21 and 40, are well groomed and wear fashionable clothes. While most of them will admit to looking for possible sexual partners as one reason for being in the drinking places, the majority of their time seems to be spent socializing with friends, dancing, and catching up on the latest gossip. On most evenings, one will find these regulars standing or sitting in groups drinking and talking. They may leave their group for a few minutes to talk to someone else or to dance, but the majority of time in the drinking places is spent with friends.

*Camping or camp means just to have a good time among gay people. It means exaggerating gayness in a fun manner and joking about things that are gay.

**

In this context butch means masculine looking.

An ordinary evening for a regular usually starts at home as he prepares for the evening. His preparations include making sure his hair is perfect and that his clothes are well pressed and well put together to create the effect he wants to achieve. He usually goes to the taverns first (if he likes the tavern atmosphere) where he meets his friends. He then proceeds to make the rounds of the various bars, seeing who's out, meeting friends, drinking, talking, dancing, and perhaps looking for someone to go home with. After the bars close, the gay regular usually leaves with his friends to go out and have coffee and talk about the evening, whom they saw and any news which they may have learned. One respondent states that regulars are those who ". . . make it a social thing to be there, to see other people, to be dancing."

Nellie people. Another identity which may be announced and placed in gay drinking places is that of a nellie person. Other titles which may be used for a person possessing the characteristics which earn him this title are queen and drag. While the title of drag is usually reserved for a gay person who dresses in women's clothes, it is normally the case that the person possessing the title of nellie is also a drag on occasions. In the words of one respondent, ". . . usually the very gay nellie person is very sympathetic with the drags or is one anyway." It is possible to say, then, that the title of nellie is sometimes used for a person presenting the necessary characteristics and at other times this same person may have the title of drag if he is dressed in women's clothes. The title of queen is usually used interchangeably with nellie, e.g., "he's a real queen." Dress and mannerisms give this person's identity away. The gay person who is called nellie is the stereotyped gay person with the limp wrist and lispy voice. One respondent describes

the nellie person in this manner:

Well nellie type, just about everything is overdone. I mean like, if you're in "hip" clothing, it's too "hip," too overly "hip," a little bit too arranged. Red, white and blue pants and red, white, and blue shirt and the whole thing is overdone. Just the general bearing--a person's bearing has a lot to do with it--hands, the way they move. The general movements, if they have flippant movements. But usually you don't base too much on that, because somebody might be really effeminate and they might just walk in and sit down. Unless they're an extreme case you can't tell until they talk. What they say and how they say it. If they use their hands a lot, flipping their hands around a lot. The types that everybody knows are queers. They're the ones that everybody knows about. A little bit lispy in voice.

Corresponding with the nellie person's dress and mannerisms is also used the description "screamer." "They're all the screamers, they run around making all the noise." To all those who take part in the gay drinking places' activities, the nellie person is easily identified--whether he is dressed in his normal attire or whether he is in drag.* This type of person, then, is easily identified by his manner of dress and once he starts to talk there is little doubt left. One person who is easily identified as having this identity is Connie. One section of my observation data gives this description:

Connie from the _____ came flitting in looking as nellie as ever. She drifted around to all the tables. Her hair is short, kind of combed up on her face and she was wearing makeup. She didn't seem to be doing too much except going after every guy in the place.

Super butches. The title super butch is reserved for those gay guys whose appearance is in direct opposition to those called nellie. The super butch is not that apparent in the bars and taverns in this city,

* Sometimes problems in identification might arise if the person is in drag and he is not well known as a drag queen. For a further discussion of the drag queen, see Appendix A.

with the exception of one place, but there are a few. When they make their entrance into a drinking place, they are easily identified. One respondent describes the appearance of the super butch in this manner:

Ultra masculine, works at it really a lot. Might do things that you think "Wow, he's really a tough guy." It's all done with clothing--clothing and the way they talk. You lower your voice range about two octaves and use four letter words a lot and you slap--ha ha--slap people around a little bit. Because it's compensating for the fact that they're sort of ashamed for the way that they are. [Dress]--it can go into even leather--leather and levis and the chains and the whole bit, you know. There are a few motor cycle types here in _____ who dress that way. I think you've seen them, with the caps and levis and the little chains and all that shit. It's really sort of silly, because what does it prove--a homosexual is a homosexual.

When a gay with the title of super butch enters a bar, he is usually with a group of about two or three other guys. They stand at the entrance and look around at everyone, while everyone looks at them. Then they slowly walk around with their chains jingling. The super butches never seem to dance. After maybe having one beer, they slowly walk out. Unlike the nellie person, they do not flit around to the tables screaming.

Another type of gay male who receives the label of super butch is also called a "cowboy." The cowboy is usually from out of town and is not too prominent in the drinking places, except for one tavern. One respondent states:

I'm sure they all live on some kind of chicken farm or something, some kind of ranch and they come in and they drive pickups or they drive old clunkers and they're sort of dirty and they're sort of butch, straight looking and they like beer and they're not social, and they like to come to the bar and there is this one bar . . . and they like to go there and feel like this is a homey atmosphere.

While the super butches do not frequent the gay drinking places regularly, they do come into the bars and taverns on occasion and might be described as being on the fringe of the gay subculture.

Dirty old men. As in the larger, straight society, the gay sub-culture also has a group of individuals which are identified as dirty old men. A dirty old man is easily identified by his general appearance and his actions. In one respondent's words,

They're usually overweight, they aren't particularly real good looking. . . . They dress in sort of out-of-style clothes. Sometimes overweight--usually overweight, I think. You find them at a table usually by themselves or standing by themselves drinking--holding their drink in their hand looking around. Sometimes you see them talking to someone younger, rarely someone their own age.

Another respondent describes the dirty old man in this manner:

He's anybody who's maybe anywhere from 40 years old up and his main objective is sex with a young guy and he just plays it for that, using anything he can to lure somebody into bed. _____ is a typical dirty old man. He's usually not too attractive anymore and he's usually not too cool. Probably never very attractive and he uses things other than his personality and his ability to make friends to make people.

The dirty old men are few in number and usually known to others. They are kept separate from older gay regulars by the fact that they are usually by themselves or with a much younger regular. One respondent states that ". . . not every older man is a dirty old man. Some are really great people, that's because they've worked at having friends instead of sex."

As an example, on several occasions I observed a dirty old man trying to make liaisons with younger guys. This particular dirty old man is overweight and rather short, is probably about 50 years old and almost always wears a dark suit. During one episode, he came up to a younger guy, probably about 21 or 22, and started talking to him. After a few minutes _____ gave the younger guy his telephone number and the younger guy gave him his. After this exchange, the dirty old man left the bar. On another occasion this same dirty old man was observed sitting with two

young regulars, one whose hand he was holding. I was with two regulars and we were sitting at a table next to them. One of the regulars I was with said that the young regular was really naive and that he didn't know what he was getting into and that he hadn't been out very long and was probably just trying to be nice to the dirty old man because he didn't want to hurt anybody's feelings. The other regular I was with said, "I think you've got him wrong, I think he knows perfectly well what he's doing."# This example demonstrates two things: (1) the regulars whom I was with had identified _____ as a dirty old man and (2) they disagreed on whether the young regular had identified him as such. This same dirty old man was a joke among the go-go dancers, who are all under 21. One of the dancers told me that when he had first started working at one of the bars, the dirty old man had passed a note to him, inviting him "up to his place" and that this had also happened to another dancer.

Nellie old queens. There are few nellie old queens in the drinking places. A person who is called a nellie old queen is usually an aged nellie person. They are usually over 40. One respondent describes the nellie old queen in this manner:

. . . the aging actress type. Usually a retired hairdresser or something. There aren't too many of them around any more. They're people who were just screaming fags in younger days and who have managed to become sort of polished ladies in their old age and they sit around. Elderly, prissy types. They sit there with legs way crossed and holding their cigarettes going ha-ha-ha. They become grand to cover up for what they don't have. They become above it all. If they get drunk, they turn into a mess.

While I was sitting in an after hours coffee shop one night, there was an

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Will be used to indicate quotations which are not verbatim.

older guy pouring coffee for everyone. He was short and chubby and nellie. I asked one of the regulars I was with who he was and he said, "Oh, that's _____, another old queen and he just really thinks he's cool and he's been around for a long time."#

It is interesting to note that growing old is a major fear amongst the regulars who patronize the bars. Those who are nearing their late 30's do not like to talk about their age and go to great extremes to maintain a youthful appearance. If one is old, he may be no longer acceptable to the regulars, or he no longer feels that he is attractive in the way he once was. Once a gay regular has reached 40, he will usually stop participating in the activities of the gay drinking places or if not, he might easily find himself being identified as either a dirty old man or a nellie old queen. The other alternative is to accept his age and rely on friendships which he has developed. In a conversation with a regular about another older regular, he said, ". . . it's really a funny thing about _____. That when there's somebody around that he likes or if someone's after him, then he's super friendly and nice but if there isn't he just withdraws into his own little world and pouts and this is really bad with someone his age."# In many cases, once a regular begins getting too old, he begins to lose his right to be moody and choosy, if he wants to maintain a position in the bars.

Heads. There are also a number of "heads" in the gay drinking places. They are the ones who are using drugs. While they are not easily distinguished from regulars, they tend to keep close to each other. As far as appearance is concerned, they are not as "clean cut" as the regulars, but neither are they long hairs. One respondent describes them in this manner: ". . . they don't have long hair all the time.

They're hip types--they're not short hairs--they're very in, but they aren't necessarily hippies." The person who is called a "head" is usually stoned on something and is usually to be found in the bars where he can dance. While many of the regulars may "turn on," they do not do it to the same extent as do the heads. The heads also, while dressed hip, do not seem to put such a great emphasis on their appearance.

Girls. Girls who frequent gay drinking places may be identified as either gay girls or fag hags. As with the gay men, their identities are announced and placed on the basis of appearance.

Gay girls. Since the observations for this study were conducted in male gay bars and taverns, gay girls were not found to be in frequent attendance. A few gay girls, however, did come into the bars and were easily identified. The appearance of the gay girls makes their identification quite easy. They are usually dressed in pants and usually have short hair. Some of them have a masculine appearance and while extreme butchiness may be fairly normal in a girl's gay bar, this does not seem to be the case for those gay girls who frequent the male gay drinking places. One possible reason for the absence of any really butch gay girls might be the fact that they would probably be asked to leave, as I was once when I appeared in one of the bars wearing very sloppy, unfeminine clothes. The gay girls usually come in with one or more other girls, although males are sometimes with them. A gay girl was never observed in any of the drinking places by herself unless she was meeting someone. There were four or five gay girls who frequented the bars quite often and they would dance together and talk with some of the regulars.

I found that it was easy to create the appearance of being a gay

girl (this was not done purposely) during my first weeks in the field. I found that if I would appear with another girl and dance with her, we were placed as gay girls, especially if we were wearing pants and were by ourselves. In one instance another girl and I were sitting at a table and one of the bar employees came by and said, "How are you butches doing?"

On some occasions it seems that an identity may be placed on someone according to the identity of the person he is with. If a person's identity is in question and he is seen with a person possessing a certain identity, this same identity may be placed on him, at least until further clarified. On one occasion I explained to one of the regulars that I was doing research on the gay drinking places. The next night I was with a gay girl and I saw him again. Several nights later I saw him again and he came up to me and asked me if I was gay. Taken by surprise, I said, "No, why?" and he said, "My friend said that that girl you were with was gay and so I thought you were."#

Fag hags (fruit flies). A fag hag or fruit fly (both mean the same thing) is a straight girl who is always seen with a group of gay regulars or nellie people in the gay drinking places. One respondent made this comment about fag hags:

They're attracted to the gay guys and enjoy being around them because they don't hold an immediate aggressive threat to them; which I think is fine. Who wants to always be around someone who is after them all the time? There are degrees of the severity of attraction of the girls to the guys. Some girls are really into it much farther than others.

It is quite simple to identify a fag hag from a gay girl. When asked to differentiate a fag hag from a gay girl, one respondent said,

Oh, easy, because the fag hag or fruit fly is going to be sitting there with a bunch of guys. There's always going to be

one girl sitting with a bunch of guys and if she's a gay girl she's going to be sitting with a bunch of girls or maybe she'll be with one or two other girls and with some guys. You can just look and see. They'll be one girl sitting at a table with a bunch of guys all around her--this is her attention thing.

While being seated with a group of regulars or nellie people, rather than girls is one clue to a girl's identity as a fag hag, appearance--the way she looks--is also a clue. The majority of the fag hags are overweight and not too attractive.

Most of the fag hags are . . . definitely unattractive girls. But there's about 2 or 3 who are very attractive. [But he qualifies this.] They're usually running around with a bunch of hairdressers or guys who've got all these good tips on grooming. Two out of three will look really nice, even the heavier ones will have really nice hairdoes; even the ugly ones because at least two in the group are usually hairdressers.

The fag hags usually wear dresses. They dress in a manner which will emphasize their femininity. If they happen to be attractive or have a good figure, they will emphasize this. As one respondent stated when asked about the way fag hags dress:

. . . depends on how they're inclined, but if they have sort of a nice body they usually dress seductively. I think they like to do this, because they can sort of overdo and they still know that they're safe and the guys will still applaud them for having this great look about them. The guys can empathise with her and joke about it because this is the way they like to look when they're in drag.

The fag hags who can dress in a wild seductive manner will do so, while those who can't, because of their figure, usually will dress somewhat conservatively, but will have nice hairdoes. One evening one of the fag hags was out dancing and she had on a long blue pants dress which was cut very low in the front (down to the naval) and looked like nylon. It reminded me of a night gown. As one respondent suggested, "They are just a unique thing." Usually if the gay males she is with are neat and good

looking, her appearance will be on the attractive side. "If the guys look nice, the girl looks nice."

Straights. Those in the gay world call people who are not homosexual or who are not "in the know" straights or sightseers. Straights or sightseers are usually easily identified. One respondent suggests one way in which they announce their identity:

Older straight couples who come in. They look around. They've heard about it, want to check it out, have a drink or two and laugh, stare around, giggle and leave.

While younger straight people may not dress differently than the regular clientele, barring the nellie people and the super butches, they can usually be identified when they first walk into the bar.

You can usually tell by how long they stay, how they look around, how they're watching people. General mannerisms, how they're conducting themselves.

One night while I was sitting with some regulars at _____, a couple walked in the door. As soon as they came in, they paused for about two minutes and the girl's eyes became very big and she took hold of the man's arm. They talked for a minute and then they walked out. In another minute or two they came back in and stopped again and looked around and then slowly walked to a table in the back where they sat down and ordered a drink and commenced to talk quietly to each other, every once in a while looking up. I asked my friends about them and they said that they were straights. To confirm this, I went up and asked them if they were straight, and they told me they were and that they had come in by accident, thinking that it was a straight bar. When they walked through the door and discovered that it was not a straight bar, they decided to stay and watch. (This particular bar had once been a straight bar.) While this couple did not draw a great deal of attention to them-

selves, other straights who come in with the seemingly purpose of "watching the queers" become quite boisterous and really call attention to themselves.

Hustlers. The title of hustler is placed on those who are straight and who will engage in various sexual activities with gay men for money or a place to stay. There are not many hustlers who frequent the drinking places in this area, but there are a few. One respondent said that the hustler can be identified in this manner:

Hustlers convey the super stud, super butch image. They don't talk a lot. They look sort of seedy and wear tired clothes or body trim stuff. . . . The hustler still has to get that sort of sloppy look because it's more masculine. The pants are going to be tight.

The has-been hustler also fits into this structural identity category. He has lost his looks to a certain extent and has passed the age where he can any longer hustle with results. He still conveys the super masculine image or in other words, he still dresses like a hustler. One has-been hustler that I became acquainted with usually wore tight, faded blue jeans and a faded blue work shirt. This has-been hustler usually spent most of his time in the taverns playing the machine games and rarely talked to others who were in the tavern. When he was in the bars he was usually by himself or with a girl. One respondent made this comment about has-been hustlers:

They're an interesting category, because before they could make an excuse for their homosexual activity because they were getting paid for it and then all of a sudden nobody's paying for it anymore and they found that they sort of enjoyed it, so then all of a sudden they can't admit that they're really gay and a lot of them are definitely bisexual anyway, but still they like the homosexual aspect so they will either bring straight girls into the gay bar sometimes, or they'll try to pick up the girls or try to pick up a dyke which is even worse, because they're trying to prove their masculinity, because if they were in a straight situation they probably wouldn't do anything.

Weirdos (sickies). The title of weirdo or sickie seems to be bestowed on those for whom no other title can be applied. (For a discussion of a related category called "Dings" in prisons, see Schrag, 1944:91-96.) Those who possess this title might be said to belong to a residual category in the gay drinking places. As one respondent stated:

We don't have labels for them, just that there's really some weird people around. You have to get used to the weirdos being around. There aren't that many of them really or it's like "Watch out for that one." Each one is his own kind of weird.

While the weirdos cannot be identified by their physical appearance alone, they are known by reputation or one may easily place their identity by entering into a conversation with them. The weirdos might well be called social outcasts who have no place else to go. I seemed to have had the pleasure of meeting several. One individual particularly stands out in my data. He was a young man and was fairly good looking. He seemed to be lacking in intelligence and had had a mental breakdown. While he was friendly, he was also quite pathetic, and for a period of time would follow me around like a puppy dog. He, as well as others, told me that the only reason they came to the gay drinking places was because they want to be around people who will not bother them and this is one place where they can go. Most of these weirdos remain by themselves in the bars, dancing once in a while. No one bothers them and they don't seem to bother anyone unless one happens to start a conversation with one as I did on several occasions.

Résumé of Structural Identities

Stone (1962:90) asserts that "Appearance, then, is that phase of the social transaction which establishes identifications of the participants. As such, it may be distinguished from discourse, which we conceptualize as the text of the transaction--what the parties are discussing." It has been demonstrated in this discussion on the various structural identities that the basis for the announcement and placement of these identities is appearance. While appearance is normally communicated non-verbally, there may be times when "discussions often 'appear'--that is, serve only to establish the identities of the discussants" (Stone, 1962:91). Stone labels this instance when discussions serve to identify the individuals in the encounter as "apparent discourse." Apparent discourse is used in the gay drinking places as a means of placing a person's identity when a single male walks into a bar or tavern and is not known by those present. Physically he does not look any different from any of those regulars in the drinking place. If the person on first glance is not identifiable, the regulars will usually not assume anything, but will wait for him either to look at them in a certain way or wait for him to say something which will give them a clue to his identity. At one tavern which sometimes attracts stray straight people, the bartender tries to maintain a non-assuming attitude. He states that "Something they do or say tips me off. They have to say something and then I know. Physical appearance doesn't help me at all." One clue which he uses are eyes.

I think eyes have a lot to do with it. Have you ever noticed that gay people look you directly in the eye a little more? If you look them directly in the eyes and they look directly back, they're usually gay. There will be an eye contact thing going

on. It's a gay characteristic. You're trying to read things in people's eyes. They work at it a little more.

Along this line, but relying more on words from the individual in question about his identity, this same bartender says:

We get a lot of out-of-town people and usually an opening line will be "Didn't this used to be called _____?" or if you want to go back further, "Didn't this used to be the _____?" It's always been a gay bar. Or "When did they change the name of the place?" In a very casual way they let you know. Or "Where is everybody tonight?" and that means they're really looking hard. But they usually make the first step in identifying themselves. If not, maybe I'll just go up and say "Hi" and if I want to find out I will engage them in some conversation and I'll usually then draw something out of them.

This same bartender also told of one encounter where he and the other person identified each other as being straight, when they were in fact both gay because of a discussion which established their identities in a specific situation.

I know one guy who came in there one time and he went through this whole spill about his wife and everything else and telling me about all these straight things he had been through, because I wasn't coming on gay to him and he left me with the impression that he was straight and subsequently I've seen him at the _____ and other places. So it's just how you come across. It's a big game.

II. RELATIONS BETWEEN THOSE WHO HAVE THE VARIOUS STRUCTURAL IDENTITIES

Before people may enter into structural relations, it is essential that the identities of the possible participants be announced and placed. As Stone (1962:90) suggests, ". . . identifications with one another, in whatever mode, cannot be made without identifications of one another." Once identifications of one another have occurred, the situation may be defined, and interaction may ensue. It is, of course, possible that once identifications of one another have been made, that interaction may not

occur, due to structural reasons. This suggests that the identification of others is a prerequisite for entering into an encounter, but that once these identifications are made, it is possible that they may preclude an encounter. Once the various structural identities in a culture or subculture have been distinguished, it is then possible to discuss structural relations. The prior section has discussed the various structural identities which may be found in the gay drinking places. This section will then deal with how people with specific structural identities relate to others with the same identity and how they relate to those with other structural identities. In other words, through the use of the concept of identity, it has been possible to discover the structure of the relations which exist among those people who come into gay drinking places.

Gay regulars. The gay regulars comprise the largest category of individuals participating in the activities in the gay drinking places. Those individuals who possess this title relate mainly with others possessing the same title. Those who belong to this category, however, form friendship cliques which are usually made up of two to five regulars. Friendship cliques are usually formed on the basis of age, interest and general character type.

On a person's first time into the gay drinking places all he will likely notice is a lot of men standing around talking, drinking and dancing. It is only after spending some time in the drinking places that one is able to begin to see the various groups and know that there is just not a random distribution of people standing around.

During the beginning of my field work, I discovered that in the drinking places there would be a few regulars by themselves and then

there would be groups of regulars standing or sitting together. The longer I remained in the field, the more I noticed that these same regulars would always be together no matter what drinking place I went into. These friendship cliques seem to be one of the major features among the regulars in the bars and taverns. When I asked one respondent about these cliques and how strong they were, he said:

Stronger than most people care to admit. You'd like to feel your group does not isolate nor eliminate anybody, but they usually do, unless you bring somebody into the group. You run around with your friends, people you have a good time with. They shift periodically.

When I would be with a specific group, we would meet in a tavern and then we would go to the bars together. Sometimes one person would leave to talk to another regular outside of the group or sometimes some other regular would come up and talk to someone in the group, but from the beginning of the evening to the end, a period of about four hours, those who belonged to the group would stay in close proximity to one another. In relation to this one regular states that:

You stick with your friends wherever you go. Unless you're a hardcore cruiser,* you look to be with your friends, look for people you can talk to. Nobody likes to stand there like an idiot all night, looking for somebody for sex and that's it. You want to be with people you like, you don't want to stand there alone, unless you really want to find a trick.

When there is a regular alone, this usually signifies that he is looking for a trick, i.e., a sexual partner. In doing this, at one particular bar he will be sitting at the bar, facing the dance floor, half on and half off the bar stool. At another bar, he will be standing by himself next to the cigarette machine or next to the juke box. The regular who is cruising at one tavern might be sitting by himself at a

*Cruise or cruising means looking for someone with whom to have sex.

table. It would seem that the various bars and taverns have a defined place for those who are cruising.

While each bar or tavern has a defined area for cruising, each friendship clique will usually take over a particular table or place in the bar or tavern for their group and they will usually be found there. Even if the group is not there, one member might be.

Usually the group you run around with you stay with and even if you're not with the group you'll stay in the same place a lot. Certain places you will stand. Like _____ and his friends. When _____ gets up to the _____ he's in a clique. He sits with about three or four guys at the bar in the same area and they're always the same people and they always drink up a storm together. _____ will always stand by the post. I guess it's just security and habit, you feel like even if there's nobody there, you feel like you're still in your place, you aren't out of place.

Whenever I was in the bars, I could usually count on finding the people I was looking for by either going to the bar and standing in the place where they usually stood or by looking for them at their table or by looking for them on the dance floor. When I was with one group, we would sit at the table by the door and when I was with another group, we would stand just off the entrance to the dance floor.

It is important to note that while these regulars do form friendship cliques, they do not limit all of their activities in the drinking places to that group. They talk with other regulars and they dance with others and they are usually seeking others for sexual purposes. They do, however, always return to their group and their group acts as a centering for them, a group they can return to and know will be there. In these drinking places, most of the regulars know each other casually, if not by name then by appearance. The regulars spend some time going around saying hello to other regulars and talking to others for a short time.

Since the regulars make up the largest category participating in the gay drinking places, they do on occasion enter into encounters with those possessing different identities. The relations which exist between the regulars and those possessing the other identities will be discussed below in terms of those possessing the other identities.

Nellie people. The nellie people are an interesting identity category. Unlike the regulars, they do not form into tight cliques.

As one respondent states:

There's one kind of group that I've never seen grouped together and that's the nellie guys. They don't group together. They just free float all the time. A lot of times there will be two of them together floating around, if they're in drag especially. When they're in drag they do parade around a lot, greeting the crowd.

While the nellie people do not form tight cliques, one will usually see a nellie person talking to another nellie person. The rest of the time a person with this identity flits from one table to another saying, "Hi, how are you?" and then leaves again before one has a chance to answer. Most of those who belong to other identity categories other than the fag hags avoid the nellie people because they are too flamboyant. The times when this avoidance is disregarded is during the time of the drag balls. At this time much of the attention in the drinking places is centered on the nellie people, because they are the ones who put on the show which is the main center of conversation among the core participants for about a month before and a month after the balls. At this time the nellie people become the center of attention and encounters between them and the regulars center around talking about what they are going to wear to the ball and some of the special attractions of the ball.

Super butches and nellie old queens. The super butches and the nellie old queens seem to relate pretty much to those in their own category. As was pointed out earlier, the super butches keep to themselves and seem to come into the bars mainly just to put in an appearance. Usually the nellie old queens will be with friends or with some of the nellie people and rarely do those belonging to the other identity categories have anything to do with them.

Gay girls. The gay girls remain pretty much to themselves. While they do not form definite groups in the drinking places since they come in infrequently, when they are there, there will usually be between two and five together. While they do remain pretty much to themselves, it is common to see a couple of regulars sitting and perhaps dancing with them. There are two gay girls who seem to spend quite a bit of their time in the bars. While they are always together they are quite friendly with a number of the regulars. One evening, I observed two girls sitting at a table next to the wall at one of the dancing bars. One of them was super butch--she was fat and had very short hair. The other girl was petite and cute with short curly hair and wearing fashionable pants and a shirt. They seemed to be going together, at least they were kissing a little bit. The cute girl was dancing with quite a few regulars besides dancing with her girl friend. For the most part, the regulars seem to accept and relate to those gay girls who are relatively feminine looking, but tend to avoid having any contact with those gay girls who are butch looking. As one regular states, "I won't talk to a butch type. Well, a super butch, one that weighs about 180 pounds, that lumber around with their petite little girl friend along." Other than the regulars and other gay girls, the gay girls do not have any contact with those having

other structural identities.

Fag hags. The fag hags are very interesting. While there are a number of them in the bars and taverns, they do not group together. Perhaps even more interesting than this is, as one respondent comments, "The girls have nothing to do with each other, they're sort of queen of their own little group of guys." It seems almost as if there is a sense of hostility among the various fag hags. At times, I felt that one in particular was hostile towards me. I feel that she had placed me as another fag hag and whenever we would come into close proximity of each other, she would direct glares at me.

The fag hag relates only to those who belong to her group and this group is usually a friendship clique of regulars, although there is one loose group of nellie people who have a fag hag with them. Each fag hag becomes a member of one of the friendship cliques to which regulars belong. As a member of the clique, she will sit with them or stand with them at their stable places in the drinking places. The fag hag will talk to the members, drink with them and occasionally dance with them. She will very rarely have any interaction with members of other groups, or for that matter, with any other person having an identity other than a regular or nellie person.

Some regulars do not like fag hags and will have virtually nothing to do with them and do not believe that they should be in the bars. For whatever their reasons they have a great dislike for fag hags. Some regulars are jealous that the fag hags are trying to seduce some of the regulars. It is said of some of the fag hags that they will sleep with anyone who gives them a chance. One night when I was being introduced to a regular for the first time and was telling him my reasons for my

presence in the bar, he said, "OK, as long as you aren't a fag hag."

Dirty old men. One might say that the dirty old men and the hustlers are much like the fag hags in one way. Those who have either one of these structural identities do not associate with others having the same identity. The dirty old men are usually by themselves or in the company of some younger nelly person or regular. I observed one dirty old man who would come into one particular bar fairly frequently. He would talk to a couple of the young regulars and then he would leave. I never once saw him dance with anyone. While the majority of the regulars seem to have a dislike for the dirty old men, they will use him if need arise. In one case, one of the regulars was kicked out of his house and had no place to stay, so he went and stayed with one of the dirty old men.

Hustlers. While the dirty old men must, in a sense, pay regulars in some manner for any relationship with them, the hustler, on the other hand, is paid for his services. I was never able to observe any hustlers in action and on one occasion a hustler was pointed out to me. At this time, he was sitting with four gay girls. One respondent told me that he had had a hustler come up to him one night and offer to go home with him for five dollars, which he turned down and told him that he didn't need to pay to have anyone go home with him. As it ended up, the hustler bought this regular coffee, much to the regular's surprise. The hustler is normally by himself, but there are not very many hustlers who frequent the bars and taverns in which I spent most of my time.

The has-been hustler, like the hustler, spends most of his time in the bars and taverns alone playing the game machines. He tries to pick up gay girls with poor results. One particular has-been hustler has a

very bad reputation, as I think is the case with most of them. On one particular occasion, I observed one of the has-been hustlers in one of the taverns for about two hours. During this period of time he did not talk to anyone other than the bartender to ask for more beer. He spent the entire two hours in the tavern drinking beer and playing one of the game machines by himself. Perhaps one reason for the bad reputation of the has-been hustler is that while he was a hustler he was charging money for his services and now that his services are no longer desired, he continues to go to the gay drinking places where he no longer belongs. He professes to be straight, but still goes to the gay drinking places. While there will be some regulars who will talk to him, most will leave him alone.

Heads. The heads seem to belong to one large group. While they are fairly cliquy, they are much like the regulars in that they do talk to others, although mainly they stick with those who have the same identity. Those who have this identity do not frequent the taverns, but spend most of their time at the bars where they can dance. While the heads do associate with the regulars, and they may have a fag hag who spends time with them, they will very rarely associate with nellie people, nellie old queens, dirty old men, hustlers, or weirdos.

Straights. The straights are in a category all unto themselves. They usually appear in groups of two to five people. Their identity is usually quite easily placed and once this is done, they are generally avoided by all others in the drinking places. Most of those possessing other identities agree that there are some straights whom they do not mind being in the bars and taverns. Those straights who are quiet, do not bother anyone and seem to have a good time are usually ignored, but

feelings of hostility are not directed at them. The straights that are most disliked by the other participants are those who are loud, obnoxious and are there for the sole purpose of making fun of the participants. These straights do not hide their purpose for being in the gay drinking places and point at people and laugh at them. The regulars in turn may tend to make fun of the straights by directing loud comments at them such as "What are those sickies doing here?" The most common occurrence, however, is that there is no encounter between straights and the others in the drinking places. The straights are virtually ignored as long as they are quiet.

Weirdos. The weirdos are also in a group all unto themselves. The weirdos, like the fag hags, dirty old men, and hustlers, do not associate with those with the same structural identity. Those with this identity are almost always by themselves. While they may be open to encounters with others, these others tend to avoid any encounter with them. One night while I was sitting with a group of regulars in a bar, one of the weirdos came up to talk to me and the regulars that I was with just ignored him like he wasn't there. They continued carrying on their conversation as if he didn't exist. After he had left, they asked me what he wanted and made the comment that he was really strange. I saw this same weirdo one night standing by some nellie people and they were also ignoring him. On another occasion, I ran into this person out on the street as I was going into one of the bars. He told me that he had tried to go in and that the bouncer told him that he couldn't because there was a private party going on. After I left him, I went into the bar and there was no private party. What seems to have happened was that the bouncer identified him and did not want him to come into the bar.

Resume of the Relations between Those Possessing the Various Structural Identities

The above discussion has described the way in which those possessing the various structural identities relate to others having the same identity and to those having different identities. It is interesting to find that there are some structural identity categories within which those holding the title do not associate with others having the same identity, e.g., fag hags, while there are others who interact with those possessing the same identity as well as those possessing different identities. This suggests that the possession of a structural identity both allows one to enter into some structural relations and prevents one from entering into others. As Stone (1962:94) states, "To have an identity is to join with some and depart from others. . . ." This section has demonstrated that through the use of the concept of identity one can discover the various structural relations which exist in the gay bars and taverns. The next section will deal with the various drinking places, their imputed identities, atmospheres, and who goes to them.

III. THE GAY TAVERNS AND BARS

In the same manner in which the gay bars and taverns become identified (see supra, p. 25) as places in which homosexuals spend their time and serve as an institution to the homosexual subculture, the specific bars and taverns have an imputed identity as perhaps either being the meeting places for those having a specific structural identity in the gay subculture or some variation of it or as a mixing place for all those who are the patrons of the gay drinking places.

In this section, the various taverns and bars will be discussed in

terms of their imputed identities. There are four taverns and three bars. Taverns have been defined as drinking places serving either beer or beer and wine and are licensed to stay open until 1:00 A.M. A bar serves hard liquor in addition to beer and wine and is licensed to stay open until 2:30 A.M. The various drinking places will be grouped in terms of their location. Pumpkins, Sweetie Pie, Kneel's Place and the Den of Iniquity are located within a six block radius, while Queen's Place, The Quarry and Ulysses are located near the waterfront. The names for the various bars and taverns are pseudonyms.

Pumpkins. Pumpkins is a tavern and during the beginning of my observations and until towards the middle of my field work, it seemed to be in a transitory period. Several months before my appearance in the gay drinking places, Pumpkins had been known as a head tavern. As one respondent remembered:

It had just been very, very popular with long hairs and people into grass and dope and that had a great deal to do with the bartenders who were into that sort of thing, I highly suspect. They left and Pumpkins at that time was kind of slow.

It was at this point that I entered the field. During this period, the business at Pumpkins was very slow. The first couple of times I was in Pumpkins, there were very few people there. The bartender was rather nondescript and so were the patrons. A new bartender then arrived and business began picking up. The new bartender is quite attractive and seems to draw in a crowd (see Achilles, 1967:237-241 for a discussion on the importance of the bartender).

The crowd which comes to Pumpkins is made up of the older regulars. The atmosphere at Pumpkins is one of a friendly neighborhood tavern. The bartender seems to know almost everyone and usually jokes with his

favorites. There are also a few older nellie people who come in and usually sit together. While it is usually a fairly quiet place, at times ". . . there is always a lot of screaming and hollering, gay type screaming and hollering." Everyone is friendly and there rarely was anyone by himself there. It seems as if it is just a place where a familiar group gather every night and everyone is known. While there are definite groups that come into Pumpkins, the members of the groups talk to others not in the group. When Pumpkins is not very crowded, everyone sits at the bar and those who don't have a seat usually stand by those sitting. On occasion, a lone regular might come in and sit at a table by himself and on these occasions it is usually apparent that he is cruising. He might stay there for half an hour drinking beer and then if he doesn't meet anyone, will leave.

After business began picking up another bartender was added. He also drew a number of people in, but these people were also older regulars. Pumpkins seems to have developed into a tavern where older regulars come to be with friends and joke around. The joking atmosphere is further enhanced by the two bartenders who many times play games with each other and the tavern developed into a very friendly place because of the people who went there and the bartenders who drew them in.

Pumpkins is not what is known as a gay cruising tavern, although some cruising is done. While drinks are bought for people, this is not done in the majority of instances as a method of meeting someone because almost everyone seems to know one another. Someone might buy someone else down the bar a beer and the bartender will say, "You have a sponser" and then the person receiving the beer will say, "Thanks" and that is usually all there is to it.

The music that is played also adds to the atmosphere of Pumpkins. The music is campy--it is usually old show tunes and a lot of Judy Garland. The music is a constant source of joking amongst the patrons and seems to add to the happy, friendly atmosphere.

During this latter part of my time in the field, Pumpkins had developed an imputed identity as a place where older regulars went. It had had an imputed identity as a head tavern and then the bartender left and it went through a transition period. It then became known as a tavern where older regulars went, and very few of the younger "pretty" regulars went there. This change in the imputed identity of the tavern was seemingly a result of the change in bartenders. In a sense, then, the bartenders at Pumpkins were a determining factor in who went to Pumpkins and therefore, in the imputed identity of Pumpkins.

Sweetie Pie. Sweetie Pie is another tavern, but it is much different from Pumpkins. While Pumpkins seems like a friendly neighborhood tavern catering to older regulars, Sweetie Pie is much like the stereotyped gay sexual marketplace tavern one finds discussed in the literature. Whereas Pumpkins' interior is homey and not plush, Sweetie Pie's is fairly plush with a lot of mirrors, chandeliers, and black lights. Pumpkins has a roomy space between the bar and the tables for a milling area, while Sweetie Pie has a narrow space between the bar and the wall, with tables in back. As one respondent states:

It's arranged sort of like in a long line so that you feel you are either at one end or the other. I don't find that comfortable. If you want to go to the restroom you have to go through all the line and it gets very crowded on some nights.

While Pumpkins developed an imputed identity of being a place for the older regulars, Sweetie Pie's imputed identity, much like that of its

interior, is that of being a place for the "pretty" younger regulars. It seems that while Pumpkins has gone through a number of identity changes corresponding to its changes in bartenders, Sweetie Pie has always been what it is, and has always been the most popular of the gay taverns. As one respondent states:

Sweetie Pie is hard to describe because it's always been the same. I have a personal aversion to Sweetie Pie because it's awfully plastic in there, it's a physically uncomfortable place for me to be. But they're all the clean-cut-pretty types, that just stand around looking clean cut and pretty and that's about it. It doesn't look like fun, it's more hard-core cruising. You rarely see anyone who goes to Pumpkins regularly at Sweetie Pie. You can get into a conversation with someone at Pumpkins much easier than you can at Sweetie Pie because at Sweetie Pie you're working more at cruising, that's it.

This is quite an accurate description of the identity of those who go to Sweetie Pie.

During the various times that I was in Sweetie Pie it was always crowded. I was impressed by the fact that it does not seem to be a friendly place and that most of the regulars stand around with a beer in their hands by themselves. They might talk to someone for a minute, but most of the time is spent just standing there looking nice. They do, however, meet their friends there when closing time is nearing. There is, however, one very close group of regulars that goes to Sweetie Pie and it is very exclusive, and they are always by themselves. Like the interior of Sweetie Pie, all the patrons also look very nice and neat, with their hair very carefully groomed. Sweetie Pie has a very cold, sterile atmosphere which is in direct contrast to Pumpkins. Perhaps this is the result of the fact that those who go to Sweetie Pie are more interested in cruising than in being with friends. It seems perhaps ironical that while most of those in this tavern are trying to cruise nothing

usually results, possibly because they are all so intent on cruising and looking nice that they are not approachable. In a conversation with one regular, I was informed that he prefers Pumpkins because it is a better place to cruise. He feels that Pumpkins is better for cruising because it is always less crowded than Sweetie Pie and that "At Sweetie Pie the only thing anybody ever does is just stand up and look around at people, but there really isn't much successful cruising because you can't really see what's going on."#

A number of fag hags may be seen in this tavern with a member or two of their group, since they have a tendency to be with the younger "prettier" gay regulars. There is only one fag hag that goes to Pumpkins regularly. One of the dirty old men may also appear in this tavern. While a couple of gay girls may come into either one of the taverns, this is usually a rare occurrence.

The major differences between the imputed identities of Pumpkins and Sweetie Pie result from the different regulars who go to each place. While Pumpkins is a homey place attracting older regulars who want to see their friends and have fun, Sweetie Pie attracts the younger regulars interested in presenting an appearance and interested in cruising. While the bartenders at Pumpkins seem to make a difference in the imputed identity which the tavern acquires, this does not happen at Sweetie Pie. In each of these taverns during the time the patrons are there, friendship cliques are slowly forming. While this is more apparent in Pumpkins, it slowly begins happening in Sweetie Pie as closing time nears at 1:00, and the patrons are getting ready to go to the bars.

Kneel's Place. Kneel's Place is a dancing bar. It has a large room with many tables with the bar at one side and the dance floor in the front

with a stage for the go-go dancers. The stage for the go-go dancers is constantly being moved to put it more in the center of attention, without much success. Even though it is a dance bar, Kneel's Place seems to attract many of the older regulars, but it is a conglomeration of everyone. Its patrons have a tendency to shift from it to the other bar, but it is usually not as crowded as the other bar and only on nights when it has something special, e.g., cheap beer or a show, does it really pick up. One respondent said this of Kneel's Place:

Sort of an older crowd there. That varies though. Sometimes there are a lot of people there. It varies like maybe every two or three weeks it shifts. It shifts back and forth from one bar to the other. . . . I don't like the physical set-up of the place.

There are those steady people, however, that go there all the time. Most of the groups that go to Pumpkins tend to go to Kneel's Place with the exception of one group who will go there for a few minutes and check out the crowd and then go to the Den of Iniquity. One reason for their preference for the Den of Iniquity is that Kneel's Place has more of a tavern atmosphere. The bartender at Pumpkins also seems to encourage the patrons of Pumpkins to go to Kneel's Place. While some of those who go to Sweetie Pie also go to Kneel's Place, this is not where they spend most of their time, with the exception of one group that very rarely appears at the Den of Iniquity.

By the time most of those who go to the taverns make it to either one of the bars, they are usually in strong cliques and this is most apparent at Kneel's Place. One group which goes to Pumpkins spends the rest of the evening at Kneel's Place sitting and standing near the end of the bar. There are usually four to six regulars in this clique plus one fag hag. The strong clique that comes from Sweetie Pie sits at a

low table up front near the dance floor. There are usually from four to eight regulars in this group and they very rarely have a fag hag with them. The rest of those who are in Kneel's Place are in groups of from two to five regulars. While there are several fag hags there with the groups, the majority of the fag hags do not go to Kneel's Place because the groups they are with do not go there, although they might come in for a few minutes.

While Kneel's Place has a dance floor and go-go dancers, there are very rarely many people dancing unless it is one of its sporadically busy nights. It seems to be more of a place for the older regulars to congregate and talk. When I asked one head what he thought of Kneel's Place, he said, "I never go there. I've been there a couple of times, but it's kind of dead, the music isn't very good, the dancers' facial expressions are bad and it's a big cold place, so I really don't like it very well at all." Most of the heads do not go to Kneel's Place. Gay girls also do not seem to go there. One possible reason for the non-patronization of gay girls might be that once Kneel's Place had a "no pants rule" where they would not allow girls in pants to come in. This rule was to discourage gay girls, and even though the rule was changed, it was very rare to see any of the gay girls in Kneel's Place. Super butches, dirty old men, nellie old queens, hustlers, straights and weirdos would come in sometimes, but they are likely to appear any place.

Kneel's Place was known mainly for attracting older regulars who were not that interested in dancing. At times, Kneel's Place would try to attract others by the use of gimmicks such as cheap beer, special shows, free hard-boiled eggs, etc., but once these gimmicks were over,

those who did not regularly spend much of their time at Kneel's Place would go back to the Den of Iniquity.

Den of Iniquity. The Den of Iniquity is also a dancing bar. It is the most popular of the gay drinking places and attracts members of almost every identity category. As one respondent states:

You'll find almost any kind of person there except the cowboy, television watching, sometimes getting up playing pool, drinking person, because that place is just too loud for that type of people and there aren't too many of those types anyway. . . . I like the place. 1) Because it has a good dance floor and has nice loud music, has lots of room and has a great variety of people there. Sometimes I'm not in the mood for long hairs, sometimes I'm not in the mood for the flippy, happy crowd. It's arranged very well. The different levels . . . you step up to this place and you step down to that area and the dance floor is sometimes crowded, but that's no big deal. People complain about it, but the ones who complain are the ones who stand there making it crowded.

The atmosphere of the bar is very friendly and fun loving. The bar is not the center of attention, because everyone is around the tables and the dance floor. It is a large place and has one elevated area in the back. It has chandeliers and a stage for the go-go dancers. As was suggested by this respondent, it attracts all identity types. It attracts the heads and is the only drinking place to which the heads go. The heads usually seem to stay in the elevated area of the bar when they are not out dancing. The nellie people also go there and can be seen flitting around from table to table.

While some of the older regulars come to the Den of Iniquity, especially the one group from Pumpkins, most of the patrons are the younger regulars who have been at Sweetie Pie earlier. It is interesting to note that while these younger regulars are at Sweetie Pie they are usually by themselves, standing around trying to look attractive, but by the time they come to the Den of Iniquity they are in their friendship

cliques and seem to be more concerned with being with their friends, talking to people and dancing than with trying to put on an appearance and cruising. While Sweetie Pie is a rather sterile place, the Den of Iniquity is a rather loud fun place. Those who go to the Den of Iniquity come to dance and be with friends.

In the Den of Iniquity one will find the various cliques sitting at their tables or standing with their fag hag if the group happens to have one. One will also find the super butches walking through, the dirty old men, the nellie old queens, hustlers, and the weirdos here. The gay girls also appear here more than at any of the other drinking places. The straights also seem to have more of a tendency to come to this bar than to any of the other bars and taverns. Most of the music is fast, popular and loud and the go-go dancers seem really to enjoy their job and have fun in contrast to those at Kneel's Place, who very rarely smile. Some groups of regulars who go to the Den of Iniquity do not go to any of the other drinking places, especially the taverns. This might be a result of their dislike for a tavern atmosphere and beer and their desire to dance rather than just sit or stand.

The imputed identity of the Den of Iniquity is that of a mixing place for all identity types. One does not need to announce a particular identity to gain acceptance in this bar. It is a bar where almost everyone goes.

Queen's Place. Queen's Place is a tavern and among some of the gay crowd has the nickname of "The Old Man's Tavern" and it seems to live up to its name. It attracts older regulars tending toward the super butch and a few of the younger nellie people. While it is populated by older regulars, these regulars differ from those one finds at Pumpkins. One

respondent describes the clientele in this manner:

What are at Queen's Place are the young guys with the pointed-toe shoes and the white socks and the slick backed hair and the old men and most of these young guys are sort of grubby types and it is always sort of like a seedy poverty pocket or whatever and nobody really looks that nice. They're the people that work at dressing conservatively so they don't look gay. They're more uptight down there about being gay, I think. They don't like to wear clothes that are fashionable or anything like that. They're sort of super straight. They don't even look as with it as the straight outside world does. They wear, like, a solid colored button down collar, short-sleeved shirt, maybe tan levis, and a plain jacket. No pattern, everything very muted and they're all just generally that type. Nothing will draw any attention to them as being fashionable. You can call them generally frumpy. I think it's because they're worried about their gay image.

Some of the dirty old men also come here. Queen's Place also has the reputation of being somewhat of a cruising tavern. This tavern has a hard core tavern atmosphere with pool tables and a TV set. It attracts the older, more conservative gay regulars who are more seriously intent on cruising and not looking gay. It does not have the gay atmosphere which the other drinking places described possess. While the younger guys are nellie, they do not dress in the flashy manner of the nellie people who go to the other drinking places.

The Quarry. The Quarry is also a tavern and seems to cater to those with a super butch identity and to hustlers. One respondent describes the patrons in this manner:

The Quarry is motor cycle types, mixed trade, some hustlers. Guys that want to be really butch. Guys that are really worried about looking too effeminate might go there. They holler around a lot and drink a lot and play the butch role.

Since it does attract those with super butch identities, some gay regulars suggest that from appearances it is more like a straight neighborhood tavern where the action is rather slow. There is some pool playing, and some of the patrons watch TV, but it is still definitely a gay tavern.

It is very rare to find any of the regulars, nellie people, fag hags, old nellie queens or dirty old men in this tavern. It is a tavern for super butches and the atmosphere is also one of masculinity.

Ulysses. Ulysses is a bar, but does not have dancing. In its stead it has pool and a card room. It is a mixed bar--gays and straights--and seems to cater to those who go to Queen's Place and The Quarry. When I first began my field work, Ulysses was described as a "toilet hole" by one of the regulars to me and another regular said this:

Talk about seedy poverty pockets. It has a dirty, old back room, where they play cards and spit tobacco on the floor. You get those people who go into Queen's Place and The Quarry plus a bunch of winos or people who happen to drop in from the dirty book store next door. It's bizarre.

Needless to say, not many of the regulars go to Ulysses nor do any of those possessing identities other than the super butches, hustlers and the older conservative regulars and nellie people who patronize the other two taverns. Ulysses has a rather bad reputation among those regulars who go to Pumpkins, Sweetie Pie, Kneel's Place and the Den of Iniquity.

Resumé of the Gay Taverns and Bars

The above has been a discussion of the various gay drinking places which may be found in this urban area. This discussion has demonstrated that particular drinking places acquire an imputed identity among those in the gay subculture according to who goes there and the atmosphere which the drinking place has. It is interesting to note that the taverns seem to develop more definite imputed identities, in that they cater to more specific structural identity types than do the bars. The next section of this chapter will deal with the area of deviant identity transformation.

IV. IDENTITY TRANSFORMATION

It has been suggested that in order to participate in the various activities of a subculture and in this case that aspect of the gay subculture as is found in the gay drinking places, one must announce an acceptable structural identity so that others may place one's identity and interaction may occur. If a person is new to the subculture, he must learn what identity he is to announce so that he may engage in structural relations in the subculture (see supra, pp. 21-23). In this section, the case of the individual who is aspiring to the identity of the gay regular will be offered as a prototype. In this instance, it is the case of an individual whose identity is being transformed from a person who has thought himself a homosexual but has never participated in the gay subculture, to one who assumes the identity of the gay regular in the gay drinking places. It is being suggested that this identity transformation occurs slowly as the individual finds himself in various situations. Lofland's idea of escalation to a deviant identity and Strauss' idea of identity transformation involving a process of coaching in the various situations, provides a way of understanding this idea of identity transformation. In this manner, the individual may learn what structural identity he is to announce in a particular situation, so that others on the basis of his appearance may place him as having this structural identity.

Lofland (1969:159-171) suggests that being surrounded by deviants and being in places inhabited by these other deviants acts as a facilitative force in the assumption of the deviant identity by the individual who might be aspiring to that identity. The gay drinking place provides

a very suitable place for the study of identity transformation. The gay drinking places may be seen as quasi-integrated place rounds for those in the gay subculture. They provide very suitable surroundings for the person interested in becoming a gay regular. There are seven gay drinking places and each place is inhabited by deviant others who can guide and serve as models for the new person.

Strauss (1959:95) suggests that ". . . one often marks a recognition of self-change by announcement. . . ." In the gay subculture the term "coming out" (see Hooker, 1967:179) is used to describe the process whereby a person first enters into the gay subculture. The person who is "coming out" is coming out of his closet* and announcing his interest and intention on becoming a gay regular. He is making a public declaration of this intention. This process of "coming out" normally occurs in the gay drinking places. One respondent describes the importance of the bar in the "coming out" process in this manner:

It's very important in coming out, because you need to feel comfortable and bars provide an atmosphere where everybody else is gay and everyone is relaxed about it. So it relaxes you in the first place. In the second place, it provides a place where you can meet and have relationships with other guys and you can have a variety of experiences and you can get it straightened around in your head about how you feel about being gay and what kind of people attract you and where you want to be in the gay world and like that's really good for your head, because you can go in the straight world and you know where you are in this other world and you can be more relaxed in the straight scene.

The gay drinking places, then, provide the setting whereby the person can meet others with the identity he may be aspiring to. While appearing in the bars and taverns is a form of announcing one's intention to assume

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Those homosexuals who do not accept their homosexuality and do not participate in the gay subculture are said to be in the closet.

the new identity, it does not insure automatic assumption of the identity by the individual nor does it mean that he is automatically accepted as a gay regular by the others. This slowly develops as he appears in the drinking places and faces a number of different situations and learns how to act in an appropriate manner.

A person's first experience in the bars can be rather frightening. Being in the drinking places demonstrates to the person that there are others like him, but he is still different. He does not really fit in. He is announcing that he is gay and that he is interested, but he does not really have a structural identity yet, and he does not know what the others are, other than that they are homosexuals. One respondent described his reactions to his first night in the gay drinking places and others' reactions to him:

I still felt very straight about things and I felt that I may be there but it doesn't mean that I'm like these people. I felt like I knew I was but somehow I felt like they belonged to another world that I just wasn't with it even though I was just as much gay as any of them. For one thing, I didn't have the experiences and I didn't know the sociability that gay people have toward one another when they recognize that they are gay and the things they say and the things that are just automatically understood. I felt separated. I didn't feel like I was announcing that I was gay. I felt like I was announcing that I was interested and I was observing the scene.

The first day everyone assumed that you were gay by the very fact that you were in there. You were not immediately accepted simply because you were a new person. You weren't immediately accepted, but everyone would be eyeing you, because you were a new person, a new face, especially the regulars who are around themselves all of the time. Whenever anyone new is in the bar, they know that this person is new. They start talking about this person and if they are in any way good looking, they are all interested. I felt like they were all looking at me, they were all ready to get their hands on me. Everyone I met wanted to swim right down in my eyes.

Another respondent described his first night in this manner:

I was scared to death and I sat there from 9:00 until 1:00 and that was a hard liquor place where everyone went after the

taverns close and there was no dancing. So I sat and drank and drank and didn't get drunk. I was too scared and then when it was 1:00 and the place was filled up with people, I really got scared then. It was a new experience. The person I was really glad to see was a person I had gone to college with. I wasn't talking to anybody. This creepy old man kept sitting next to me breathing heavily into his hand.

Since the novice has made the first move, it is now up to the deviant others present to present a model for him and to help him know what his identity is in the situations in which he is going to find himself in the gay drinking places. He must be taught how to appear and how to act (see supra, pp. 25-26). The person has announced his intention; now he must be coached into his new identity.

The process of coaching is usually a slow one and is usually facilitated by a group of other deviants. Strauss (1959:110) suggests that

A coaching relationship exists if someone seeks to move someone else along a series of steps, when those steps are not entirely institutionalized and invariant and when the learner is not entirely clear about their sequence (although the coach is).

On the individual's first night in the bars, he may have been brought in by some friends or he may meet one or two people that night. If this person is interested in them and they in him, a coaching relationship usually develops and he will be slowly initiated into the subculture. The group or coaches usually take the coached person around to the bars (see Lofland, 1969:165) and introduce him to others. One respondent feels that:

It's important to meet people when you're first coming out . . . because it's a traumatic thing. Most people go through a thing where they think they're the only one of their kind in the whole world. You feel like you're just a freak and then all of a sudden you realize that you're not a freak. In the bar hopefully you'll meet some nice people who will introduce you to their friends and you'll form some good friendships, instead of running into somebody who just wants your body. You get passed around from person to person that way, which really is

a bummer of a way to come out.

The respondents to whom I talked all stated that during the first couple of months they were out, they would go to the bars at least two or three times a week, always in the company of their new friends and never alone.

We'd bar hop to at least three different bars once or twice every time we went out. You always find out where another place is by being in a place, but I went with someone else. I probably wouldn't have bar hopped that much, but they were interested in the idea that I get around and see a lot, so I sort of accepted the idea of thinking that they knew more than I did, because they had been out longer than I had.

The respondent who said that on his first night he had met an old college friend stated that:

After that I ran into the one person and he and I did everything together for six to eight months, so I met his friends and had sort of protection. I was never alone; if I was alone, I wasn't around.

It seemed to be the case among many that I had talked to that during their "coming out" period, they met a person who became their lover for a period of time and he was their major coach and introduced them around.

Because the new person is unsure of himself, he finds himself very susceptible to his new friends and he begins to accept what they tell him and how they interpret situations to him (see Strauss, 1959:110-116).

As one respondent states:

It was a new world and I wanted it and I accepted it all for whatever it was and it was very easy to accept how things were and what I should do to fit in. You might say that it being a new field that I didn't make very many choices at all. I would like to say that I made choices because that makes me a greater person, but somehow I just accepted the way everything was and I found that I wanted--I felt like I had to fit in with the loudest part of the group. Not quite the very loudest, but somehow I felt that I was supposed to be like them in the way I would dress, talking, in drinking--socializing, smoking a lot. I would do a lot of drinking of beer. I sort of convinced myself that I liked it and later realized that I didn't. But it was one of the things that you did in order to fit into this group.

It becomes very important for the individual to try to fit in with the group that he is with and this usually means acquiring their way of dress, their mannerisms, and their vocabulary (see supra p. 25).

I felt personally that it was important to accept these aspects-- these gestures and the vocabulary and how one dressed, because they made you a part of the group that I belonged to. I thought that this was where I was supposed to fit in. There must be a real driving hunger with a person who is just coming out, because I know a lot of people who think that they have to conform to one of these gay groups in order to be successfully gay and I did for a while and after a while I realized that I could be any way I wanted and still be just as much accepted, however, not by the same loud, well-known socializing bar group. They seem to be the loudest and so when I was first coming out, I felt that they were representatives of the best of the bar scene, because they seemed to be the happiest, they seemed to be the most socializing, the most relaxed about the whole thing.

While the manner of dress is not strictly dictated, the new person learns to dress nicely and care about his appearance. One respondent states:

I never took their suggestions for the way to dress, except for the suggestion that you wear something up-to-date. I mean sort of in style at the time and you don't wear white socks and in the summer you wear sandals. This was very important for a gay guy. These are the things that I followed and I felt that they were part of the look that the gay guys expected of one another.

Much in the same manner as the person picks up cues in dressing, he also picks up the language which is popular at the moment and he learns what the words mean either by asking someone or by observing the situations in which the word is used. One respondent states that at the time he was coming out:

There were a few words that it seemed everybody else was using so you began to use them also. Bitch was one. That was the really popular one. It was bitch in the way that someone was a bitch. It was usually a derogatory term for some guy that you didn't like. He's a bitch like my mother is a bitch or my sister is a bitch or all girls are bitches and so that was the way you used that. You put somebody down--another guy, you'd say, "Oh, she's a real bitch." Sometimes in a fun way too. Another word was fish and fish meant girl and whenever you wanted to say--the door to the bar was open in the summer and a girl walked by, you would sit around in this little

group and one guy would say, "Oh, fish" and another guy would agree and they would accept that word, used that way.

- Another respondent states that

Terminology was about all I learned from them, because they all dressed about the way I did anyway. I didn't know what cruise meant and I learned. Things like that. Cruising and trick and all that. I didn't know what that meant. I didn't know that trick was a straight term that they just applied to gay situations, also. I was really naive.

Other than providing models for the person in the midst of identity change, the coaches also define situations for the novice. In defining the situations in which the novice finds himself, they identify people for him, tell him whom to avoid and why, and suggest how he should and should not act. I remember one particular situation in which I was in. One regular had just pointed out someone to me and I made the comment that "He's kind of old, isn't he?" and received a minor lecture. This regular told me never to mention age to this person and that age was never to be discussed with older regulars. At another time, I was describing something to a regular about a zucchini squash and I measured it lengthwise to describe how long it was to him, and he said, "Oh, really!" and said it with sexual connotations. He said, "Sharon, don't ever do that around here, that just has one connotation. If you're measuring something other than that, measure it up and down and not lengthwise."# So I said OK. This is one thing that is very apparent in the bars--sexual jokes, sexual connotations put on almost anything that is said. Different symbols mean different things and they must be learned.

In another situation I was talking to a younger guy who was just coming out and he related a story to me of what had happened to him that evening. It seems that the night before he had gone home with an older regular. On the next night (the night he was talking to me) he was with

another regular whom he really liked and they walked into one of the taverns arms linked and in this tavern was the regular whom he had gone to bed with the night before. Not knowing how to react, he thought it best to leave and so he just turned around and left the tavern, leaving his friend standing there. The other older regular had seen him and so he followed him out and told him that he need not be embarrassed because he was with another regular and that this was just a normal occurrence and that there was no need to feel embarrassed and leave a place just because you see someone you once went to bed with and you are with someone else.

The coaches, then, help the individual define the situations in which they find themselves. They help him to announce the appropriate identity and they identify the others present for him so he may act appropriately. It is in this manner that one discovers the link between identity and the definition of the situation (for a further discussion see supra pp. 14; 27-28). When asking a regular what he would tell a new person who was just coming out, who was his friend, he said:

I wouldn't say anything about his clothing. I would probably tell him things to watch out for. If they're a little bit naive about something, if they aren't too aware of what's going on, I'd like to clue them in on it. When people are being friendly, when people are being friendly with them with the objective of bed in the back of their mind. I usually tell them if so-and-so is after them and they'll usually giggle a little--it's nice to be sought after, but then sometimes you look at the person who's seeking you out and it's not so nice after all. I don't give them too much advice, sort of play it by ear as things go along.

He continues:

If someone new comes into the bar and they don't know the bar situation, I'll tell them what bars they'll probably feel better in. I will try to get them to know the people I think are nice. That's important to meet nice people right away, so you can feel comfortable and walk in and be able to talk to people. If you

know enough of the right people to talk to--the good people around to talk to--the whole thing's going to be much more easy for you. You're less apt to get in trouble--get messed up with some guy and people and have bad experiences.

Most of the coaching is accomplished during the situations in which the novice finds himself. The coaches, in essence, interpret the situations for him, telling him about different people in the situations and warning him about situations to avoid.

The importance of a group to coach the novice into the identity of a gay regular seems to be of utmost importance if the person is to take on successfully this new identity and therefore be able to enter into structural relations in the gay drinking places. I met one young person during my field work who was having a great deal of trouble taking on this new identity and could not seem to function in the drinking places although he continued coming to them. Even though he had been out for one year, he had not joined a group and was always by himself. He had not been coached and seemed unwilling to be coached. He told me that he felt very uncomfortable in the bar and taverns even though he continued to go to them. He said that he was really uptight and had had very few relationships with anyone in the bars other than one night stands. He said that he really liked to dance, but that he would not dance with another male. I told him that that was really strange, because there was seemingly nothing wrong with it because everybody else did it. He said, "Yeah, I know, but I just can't bring myself to do it." On one evening while I was talking to this person a bartender came over and bought him a drink and said that it was from Joe, and this person said, "Who's Joe?" and the bartender pointed him out and this person just looked startled. This example has been given to demonstrate that without being

coached and helped along the way, a person who is interested in assuming the identity of a gay regular has many problems and usually does not feel comfortable in the situations in which he finds himself because he does not know how to react properly in the situations or to the people in the situations. In a sense this person has made no more progress towards assuming the identity of a gay regular than he had when he had first come out.

In any case, with the proper coaching the novice will soon find himself comfortable in most situations and will know how to act. He will know who he is in the situations and who others are. If he continues to frequent gay drinking places he will learn to announce his identity as a gay regular in the drinking places and others will treat him as a gay regular.

Résumé of Identity Transformation

This section of Chapter IV has presented a discussion on how an individual learns to announce a new identity. It is important that the person interested in taking on this identity present himself in places where he will find others with the same identity. Once he has done so, others with this identity will, in a sense, take over and coach him so that he may announce this identity and so that others may place him as having this identity. Once he has acquired this identity he may take part in the structural relations which take place and feel comfortable doing so.

V. IDENTITIES USED TO ENTER INTO INTERPERSONAL
RELATIONS IN GAY DRINKING PLACES

Stone (1962:94) suggests that "Interpersonal relations are those that may only be entered by an exchange of names or nicknames. . . ." Whereas structural identities seem to group people together, names identify people as individuals. In structural relations one may only gain entrance by announcing that one possesses a certain title and others must place him as possessing this title. The structural identity suggests that a person belongs to a particular structural identity category and as such, serves to distinguish him from those in other structural identity categories. The announcement of a structural identity suggests that the person possesses various attributes which persons possessing this title are assumed to have (see supra, pp. 13-15). In structural relations, then, the title is used as a signal to indicate the type of person who holds the title and as such, is a signal in interaction as to how others should act toward this person. While the title serves to suggest that the person is like others possessing the same title, a name or nickname serves to indicate that the person is unique. A name is usually used to enter into interpersonal relations. The announcement of a person's name or nickname serves as a signal to distinguish him from the other participants. While a person's title brings to mind various attributes those possessing the title are presumed to possess, a person's name brings to mind various pieces of biographical information that are relevant to the interaction. Through the use of names one may get to know another's personal identity (Goffman, 1963a:57).

In the gay drinking places names and nicknames are used quite fre-

Stone (1962:94) states that "Interpersonal relations are those that may only be entered by an exchange of names or nicknames. . . ." A name is usually used to enter into interpersonal relations. The name acts as a signal to the other participants to bring to mind the various bits of information they know about him that are relevant to the interaction. Through the use of names, one may get to know another's personal identity. Names and nicknames serve to identify a person as a unique individual, while structural identities are used to place a person in a particular structural identity category and in doing so, distinguish him from those in other structural identity categories.

It is felt that a discussion of these various identities in the gay drinking places which may be announced and placed in order to enter into structural and interpersonal relations will provide an understanding of the underlying organization of the gay subculture.

II. METHODOLOGY

The method of participant observation was used to gather the data for this investigation. Participant observation was defined as the participation by an observer in the daily activities of those he has undertaken to study with the goal of discovering why people act as they do in specific situations as well as how they interpret their world and the things that happen to them. The role of "participant-as-observer" (Gold, 1969:33-35) was assumed. The observations were conducted in the male gay drinking places in a specific area. The period of observation was three months. Both informal and formal interviews were conducted with informants.

III. MAJOR FINDINGS

It has been asserted that in any culture or subculture, one will find the existence of structural relations. In order to enter into structural relations, it is necessary that one announce that he possesses a certain title and others must place him as possessing this title. The structural identity is the word or title which is used to indicate what type of social object the person is (Stone, 1962:94). In the gay drinking places, it was found that various structural identities do exist. The structural identities which may be announced and placed in the gay drinking places are: (1) gay regulars, (2) nellie people, (3) super butches, (4) dirty old men, (5) nellie old queens, (6) heads, (7) gay girls, (8) fag hags, (9) straights, (10) hustlers and (11) weirdos. Stone (1962:90-91) suggests that appearance helps to establish the identities of people and that "Ordinarily appearance is communicated by such non-verbal symbols as gestures, grooming, clothing, location, and the like. . . ." It was found in the gay drinking places that appearance plays a very important role in the announcement and placement of these various structural identities. Especially important in the gay drinking places are dress, mannerisms, location and age in the announcement and placement of structural identities. There are instances, however, when it might not be possible to place another's identity on the basis of his appearance. This occurs in the gay drinking places when a young man may enter the drinking place by himself and those present may not be able to place his identity. In this situation "apparent discourse" is used to place his identity. As Stone (1962:16) suggests, ". . . discussions often 'appear'--that is, serve only to establish the identities of the

discussants."

After having discovered these various structural identities which may be announced and placed, it was then possible to investigate the structural relations which exist in the gay drinking places. It was found that the announcement and placement of some structural identities may not only facilitate interaction, but in some cases may preclude interaction. The relations between those with specific identities and others with the same identity was explored, as well as relations between those possessing a specific structural identity and those possessing different structural identities. It was found that the gay regulars form friendship cliques and interact mainly with those in their clique and other regulars outside of their clique. They do, however, at times interact with individuals possessing identities different from their own. The nellie people tend to interact with other nellie people, regulars and fag hags. They do not form strong friendship cliques, but float around. Super butches and nellie old queens seem generally to interact with only those with a similar identity. Gay girls and heads seem to remain with those possessing the same identity, but both will interact with regulars. Fag hags interact with either regulars, nellie people, or heads if they are members of the group to which the fag hag belongs. The fag hags almost never interact with other fag hags. The dirty old men and hustlers, like the fag hags, do not interact with others possessing the same identity. They both engage in brief exchanges with those having other structural identities. The straights are always with other straights. All those possessing other identities in the gay drinking places very rarely interact with straights. Through this investigation of the relations between those possessing the various structural iden-

tities, it was possible to discover the structure of the relations which exist among those people who came into the gay drinking places.

Lofland (1969:165) has suggested that various deviant places are assigned an imputed identity which implies the type of person who goes there. It was felt that the various gay drinking places would acquire an imputed identity among those in the gay subculture who frequented the gay drinking places. It was found that the various gay drinking places do have imputed identities which have resulted from the patronization of those with specific structural identities or some variation of them and the atmosphere of the drinking place. Pumpkins is known as a tavern where older regulars go. Sweetie Pie is a cruisy tavern frequented by the young "pretty" regulars. Kneel's Place is a bar and the major participants are the older regulars who go to Pumpkins. The Den of Iniquity is a bar and has the imputed identity of being a mixing place for all identity types. Queen's Place is a tavern and is known as "The Old Man's Tavern" and is a cruisy tavern. The Quarry is known as a tavern frequented by hustlers and super butches. Ulysses is a bar attracting those individuals who go to Kneel's Place and The Quarry and winos. It has a bad reputation among most of the gay regulars.

In order to engage in structural relations in a subculture and in this case, the gay subculture as depicted in the gay drinking places, it is necessary that one announce an appropriate identity so that others may place one's identity and interaction may occur. In the gay drinking places a new person aspiring to the identity of a gay regular must learn how to announce this identity and this involves identity transformation. The case of a person aspiring to the identity of a gay regular was discussed as a prototype. Lofland's idea of escalation to a deviant identity

and Strauss' idea of coaching have been used to explain how one is able to learn to announce the identity of gay regular. Lofland (1969:159-171) stresses the importance of places inhabited by other deviants as being facilitative in identity transformation. The gay drinking places have been shown to be a very suitable surrounding for one aspiring to the identity of gay regular. Strauss (1959:95) suggests that ". . . one often marks a recognition of self-change by announcement. . . ." In the gay drinking places, the term "coming out" is used to indicate a new person's first time in the gay drinking places. When a new person is coming out, he is making a public announcement of his possible intention on becoming a gay regular. Once he makes this announcement he then usually enters into a coaching relationship (Strauss, 1959:110) with one or more gay regulars. The coaches serve as models and teach him how to announce the identity of a gay regular in the situations in which he finds himself and in doing so, help to provide a definition of the situation.

Stone (1962:94) also suggests that names or nicknames are used to enter into interpersonal relations. In the gay drinking places, it was found that while a person's structural identity indicates that the person is a specific type of person, a person's name or nickname identifies him as an individual. In interaction, a name brings to mind various biographical information about the person. The biographical information which may be brought to mind is in many cases limited to information accumulated about the person's activities in the gay drinking places because last names are rarely used. It was also found that in some cases, the use of names may sometimes break down structural barriers which exist between those having different structural identities who do

not usually engage in interpersonal relations. It was also found that nicknames are used quite frequently in the gay drinking places. While nicknames are also used in the drinking places to identify people as individuals, a nickname does not necessarily have much biographical information attached to it. Nicknames, in the gay drinking places, are also used to identify people from others with the same name. This might possibly result from the fact that last names are not commonly used. It was also discovered that in the gay drinking places, there seems to be two types of nicknames. One type of nickname is a feminine name and the other develops out of some personal characteristic of the individual.

In this thesis the concept of identity as discussed in the interactionist perspective has been used to provide an understanding of an empirical world--gay drinking places. Throughout this thesis the channeling as well as the facilitating features of this concept have been brought to attention. It has been demonstrated that gay drinking places may be used for research purposes other than research on deviant sexual behavior and thus provides an area for future research. Another suggestion for future research is the application of the concept of identity to other empirical settings, if the concept is to be fructified.

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APPENDIX A

IDENTITIES IN HUMAN RELATIONS

Human relations are defined as those relations in which such universal identities as age, sex, and community membership must be announced and placed in order to gain entry. A person's appearance usually allows announcement and placement of such identities, especially sex. Once these types of identities have been announced and placed, the interactants will usually respond in an appropriate manner based on the expectations surrounding the identity. The phenomenon of the drag queen in the gay drinking places presents an interesting study in the area of appearance, which demonstrates the sex of the person. In this case, however, the person is appearing as a female although he is a male.

The drag queen is usually a nelly person who dresses up in women's clothes on special occasions such as balls and at other times for fun. When in drag, the drag queen is normally very elegantly dressed in an evening gown or some other more formal type of female attire. They also wear very elaborate wigs and a lot of makeup. In most cases they have the appearance of a beautiful woman, although in some cases it does not come off too well. As an example, one night I was in one of the coffee shops after the bars had closed with some regulars and this one really tall girl came in with very high hair and a black short dress, that looked like velvet, with a very low V-necked front and a low back. She looked beautiful. Thinking that she was a girl, I asked one of the regulars who she was and he laughed at me and told me that "she" was a professional

drag queen. I was really fooled, but I could tell that a lot of work had gone into creating this appearance because he looked so much like a girl. This person was exceptional, however, since he did it professionally. The drag queens go through a lot of work to achieve the appearance they announce. As an example, one respondent said this:

You want to know how they get cleavage? With tape. They get tape and actually bind themselves in like this--and I've even seen a guy that did a dance routine and he wanted cleavage and his skin actually split here because he was just taped too much. Pushed together up here too much. They go through a hell of a lot. If they're heavy enough, they'll just put on a bra, reach in it, grab as much as they can. It's fantastic the distortions they go through to get into that bunch of crap.

I was able to observe a drag show (which was a strip drag show) in one of the bars and was amazed at the costumes and how beautiful these nellie people looked. I thought that if I were in any other kind of bar, I would think that these nellie people really were girls doing a strip act. They were very real and their mannerisms were very feminine. The real shock came at the end when they took off their bras and there was nothing there.

While the appearance of drag queens is not a very common occurrence in the bars, there will usually be one or two nellie guys in drag on the weekends and on special occasions such as Hallowe'en and a month or two before the semi-annual drag balls.

The reasons why nellie guys dress in drag are varied. One respondent feels that the nellie guys who go in drag do so as a means of stepping out of their male role. He states:

They don't want to be always in an all male role. They want to get into a scene where they are a girl and not a guy, and I think that's why they really go far out when they do it--all the hair and all the gowns, because the feeling is really strong.

Another respondent feels that those who go in drag do so to attract attention. It is their way of putting on a show and it allows them to step outside of themselves and become another person. When I asked one regular why he thought some guys went in drag, he replied:

That's one thing I really don't understand--as long as I've been around for seven years, I don't understand that. They're frustrated stars, I guess. They want to sing and dance and parade around, because a lot of gay people are really big on shows, theaters. The performing arts are really attractive to them. And this is the closest they can get to be in them.

For whatever reason these guys go in drag it is informative to watch them and see other people's reactions to them. In a sense they are announcing that they have an identity which they can be proved not to have. They are faking their sex by dressing as the opposite sex. One would expect that since they have taken on the dress of the other sex, they would also try to act as members of this sex and in most cases this proves true. When in drag, most of them take on, in a sense, a different personality and act as they think a girl would, in ways of walking, talking, and acting towards others. One respondent describes the change in this manner:

There are two extremes. A lot of them when they're in drag are a lot more forward and a lot when they're in drag are more demure. But they always make a change. There's a mental change when they're in drag, almost always and a couple of the black drags I've noticed--like, as soon as that guy's in drag, he always feels like he has to kiss me. The only time he does this is when he is in drag.

Another regular states that

When they're in drag, some of them really play the role. It's a game, but that only happens on special times. These are not transexuals or transvestites.

When these nellie people are in drag and they conform to the expectations which their announced identity calls forth, the others in the drinking

places treat them as having the identity which they are announcing.

This occurs even if they know that the person is in drag. When I asked one respondent how he treats a drag, he said,

I like to treat them like girls. But it blows my mind because I'll walk up to one and start to treat them like a lady, or be kind, or initiate a conversation or pull a chair up for them or something, and they don't follow the rules at all and they come out with short statements and they sometimes forget to blink their eyes and they sometimes forget to smile and come out with a deep throat thing and say something very butch and I think "Well, if they're going to be in drag, why don't they complete it." They make me mad.

Another thing which occurs when a nelly person is in drag is that he is almost always referred to as "she." One respondent commented on this:

When you're talking about a drag queen a lot of time you'll say she. I think I even do that sometimes. Because they try so hard to be identified as women sometimes that you'll say she. When you see somebody in drag do you say, "He looks very nice" or "She looks very nice"?

One thing that always struck me as very interesting was that when in drag, the male uses the women's restroom. On the first occasion that this happened to me, I was really surprised. I went into one of the restrooms in one of the bars and as I was getting ready to leave, I walked into the outer part and there was _____ looking in the mirror just as if he really belonged there. I was rather taken by surprise but he acted as if it were nothing out of the ordinary.

Appearance acts to determine the way in which one's identity is placed in the realm of human relations. Even though this placement is, in a sense, erroneous, congruence occurs because the person is purposefully announcing this identity. On one occasion I was in a 24-hour coffee shop which was frequented by both straights and gay people after the bars closed, and I was able to observe a very interesting situation between a group of straight people and a drag queen and her escort. One

head and I were sitting in a booth in this coffee shop and a drag queen came walking in. As he walked in, a group of three straight couples, who were sitting at a table near the door, started telling him how pretty "she" was and what a good dancer "she" was. He acknowledged them and then sat down at a table next to ours. After he sat down, a good looking man came walking in and went over to his table. Once he sat down, he received a round of applause from the straight couples. At this point I could not really figure out what was going on. As the straight couples were getting ready to leave, one of the men came over to the table and apologized to the man the drag queen was with and said, "She's just so great and is such a good dancer and has such beautiful legs and everything."# They finally left and the drag queen said to the man she was with, "It was really fun putting them on, if they only knew."# What seems to have happened was that these straight people had seen the drag queen performing at one of the bars and his true identity was never revealed and they honestly believed that he was really a "she" and were acting accordingly. While this is an exceptional case, because this drag queen was a professional, it was interesting to note that his appearance had led those people actually to believe that he was a woman and they had reacted to him as though he were.

While most drag queens are easily recognized by those in the gay drinking places as being drag queens, this is sometimes not possible. The question of their identity sometimes results when it is a person who usually does not appear in drag or when it is someone from out of town. If it is not possible to tell, the person will usually be treated as a female, until he slips in some way or unless he's asked. When I asked one regular if he ever had problems in knowing whether the person was

really a girl or if it was some nellie person in drag, he said,

Usually you can tell. I'd say five out of six times you can tell it's a guy. [How?] Five o'clock shadow, bone structure, too large shoulders, too narrow of hip, too tall, voice, too much makeup. Girls don't wear that much makeup and their's is so gunged on. That's why black guys can get away with it more; they don't have to wear as much.

One respondent told about a party where he had met what he thought was a girl and had talked to her and after the party found out that she was really a drag.

This person had the same female bone structure, everything. I really felt funny. It was after the party that I found that it was a guy.

This appendix has demonstrated the importance of appearance in the announcement and placement of the universal identity of sex which is used in entering into human relations. While it may be shown that the drag queen is not what his real sexual identity is, when he is in drag, he is announcing that he is a female and others place him as such and act towards him as if he really were, if he is at all convincing in the particular situations in which he is in. If he puts on the appearance of being female, but does not live up to the expectations surrounding the way females act and talk, then he loses his respect as a drag queen and the others become upset because the ongoing interaction has been interrupted and the rules of that interaction have been violated.