

THE SOCIAL SYSTEM OF A VANCOUVER NIGHTCLUB

An illustration of a Method of Analysis of  
an Organisation - A Preliminary study of  
the patterns of interaction prevalent in a  
Vancouver nightclub

by

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Arts 4

1910 57 5

An essay submitted in partial fulfilment of  
the requirements for the Degree of Bachelor  
of Arts

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

April, 1960

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## INTRODUCTION

This study is designed to illustrate a mode of analysis of social systems. The tenor of the treatment of the data gathered is frankly impressionistic, with a close proximity at times to the journalistic style. This may or may not be grounds for criticism depending on whether it is thought that the journalist's style precludes sociological treatment of data. The astute journalist, it should be noted, more often than not reveals true sociological insight.

The material of the study was collected throughout the period beginning in the Summer of 1958 and ending with the Summer of 1959. Subsequent visits were made to the nightclub from time to time after the period of intensive observation to check previously noted phenomena. No information was collected by formal interviews. The technique that was used exclusively has been described as participant observation. This method included the asking of questions in apparently spontaneous and informal conversations, once the observer had been accepted into the situation to be studied. In this way it was possible to obtain information that could not have been elicited by formal interviews, since the informants were extremely unwilling to be interviewed, or to give out information that could fall into the wrong hands. In fact, only four informants knew the observer in his role as a researcher and they undertook to guard his secret when the purpose of the study was

explained to them. It may be that, rather than a conscious effort on their part to withhold this information from their fellows, they simply forgot what they had been told.

The participant observation entailed the performance of several roles in addition to that of investigator. Of these the principal ones were entertainer, paying customer and guest of the management. Latent in these was the role of university student and simultaneously manifest was that of a Negro. It is believed that these various roles provided the observer with a variety of perspectives from which to view his new surroundings. Perhaps the most important role in this social milieu was that of Negro, strongly supported by those of entertainer and university student. It was in this way possible to gain admission and acceptance into the "inner fraternity" of the organisation, even to obviating the hostility and suspicion of the Negro male members--so much so, that one voluntarily revealed the techniques of the gentle art of "pimping." One still had to be extremely wary in questioning these men, nonetheless.

Methodologically, this study has its shortcomings. The absolute reliance on participant observation alone has probably left large gaps in the information. Yet it was the only practiceable method, determined not only by the demands of the situation, but also by the investigator's methodological naïveté. Now one learns that participant observation ought to be supplemented by other research techniques. In addition,

alternative interpretations with equal feasibility could possibly be suggested by astute students, but those offered seem most appropriate in the light of knowledge of the situation and the information acquired. It can only be hoped that too much taking of phenomena for granted due to over-familiarity, and the necessity for deferring note-taking until far from the scene, have not introduced serious distortions.

It must also be admitted that no explicit hypothesis was formulated before undertaking the research, except for the very obvious assumption that a social system would be found to be operating. The study is mainly descriptive, but perhaps it might suggest hypotheses that could be put to the test.

The essay is organised into three main sections which are followed by a conclusion. Part One is the description of the organisation of the Malabar according to the formal definition of the various statuses and roles together with the various dimensions of interaction that result from the division of labour. Part Two is concerned with a description of the informal patterns of interaction that occur among the customers, centring mainly on the structure and behaviour of the group that has been described as the "inner fraternity." For want of a mode of organisational analysis that would preclude the artificial separation of an organisation into the so-called "formal" and "informal" structures, the first two sections of the essay are concerned with the "formal" and "informal organisations" of the social system.

In Part Three the data is aligned with existing sociological theories and compared with previous studies which have some relevance for this essay. Three major areas of theory are dealt with: social organisation, deviant behaviour and race and ethnic relations.

These three sections are followed by a conclusion in which support for, contrasts with, and contributions to theory and previous studies are systematically presented. The final parts of the essay consist of an appendix embodying some reflections on prostitution in its relation to society and a select bibliography of the literature extant.

#### Acknowledgement

It is almost impossible to apportion justly the debt owed to one's teachers. Mention of any to the exclusion of others, always smacks of partiality, and perhaps of ingratitude. Nevertheless I must acknowledge the invaluable help of Mr. Y. Löchen and Dr. K.D. Naegele, both of whom contributed so lavishly to this study. To the former thanks are due for the initial orientation and encouragement in the study, while the latter was of inestimable value in keeping me on the path set on and in crystallising my thoughts and ideas for this essay.

## PART I

### Definition

The nightclub falls into that category of collectivity known as a business organisation and is oriented to the production of a service for its customers: the provision of entertainment for persons who feel the need for this type of service and are capable of paying for it. As an organisation the primacy of whose orientation is the production of a consumable product, the nightclub differs from the usual business firm, since the three facets of economic activity, production, distribution and consumption of the product, all take place within its confines. It is thus a unique instance of the consequence of the division of labour in modern industrial society--or in one that has felt the influence of the industrial ideology--combining the features of three other kinds of organisations, the restaurant, the theatre and the dance-hall.

The combination of the functions of these three types of collectivities results in the nightclub's output, entertainment, being a composite product, partly tangible in the form of food for the satisfaction of a biological need, and partly intangible in the form of services for the aesthetic and emotional satisfaction of the customers. The restaurant facet of this organisation consists in the provision of a

perishable material product for immediate consumption, involving one aspect of the service units by which the food prepared by the cooks in the kitchen is brought to the customers by the waitresses. As a dance-hall only a service unit operates, for here no tangible product is offered to the customers: the dance band plays music and the customers dance on the floor laid out for this purpose. Similarly, the other sub-division, the theatre aspect, exists only for the provision of a service. Entertainers--singers, dancers and comedians--perform their acts to divert the customers, providing them with an intangible, enjoyment.

The nightclub, as its name implies, is a nocturnally operating social system and can be compared with other types of organisations. Like a university one class of persons necessary for its proper functioning pay for admission and are absorbed into it, so that the personnel may perform the routine technical functions by which the purpose of the organisation is implemented. Moreover, both are alike in that their employees depend on the co-operation of the students in the one and the patrons in the other so that they can produce a condition in the individuals with "materials" that are really "inside" them: the employees' tasks in teaching and entertaining respectively is to "draw out" their clients. However, the nightclub is unlike the university, since its clientele, as opposed to the latter's student body may change nightly, and furthermore, the university may operate both day and night.

A nightclub offers little opportunity for promotion in its limited hierarchy: that is, a waitress cannot become a doorman-bouncer, although an assistant manager, where such a position exists, may become a manager. This is quite unlike a factory which has two extended hierarchies of personnel--management and workers, interacting on a broadly uni-dimensional relationship manufactures a tangible product, has much scope for promotion within each hierarchy, and even between hierarchies and does not have the added dimension of customer-employee relationships in its structure of interaction. Furthermore, by a system of alternate worker shifts, a factory may operate both night and day.

At first sight it seems that the presence of the added relational feature of customer-employee in the restaurant puts it on par with the nightclub with regard to scope of interaction, but the latter has in addition the unique feature of service employees catering specifically to the emotional gratification of the patrons. No tangible product is produced by their efforts, their occupation consisting of creating within the patrons a state of mind known as enjoyment, without the mediation of consumption of a material substance. The service here offered is therefore of a different kind to that supplied by the waitress and hence a different relationship is created.

Thus the principal difference between the nightclub and most other business organisations is its nocturnal operation

to provide facilities for the leisure satisfaction of persons who normally are occupied diurnally in earning a livelihood in the other business organisations of society. Here leisure is consumed; what is produced and sold is entertainment, or rather the elements by means of which the patrons attain their goal largely through their own efforts.

### Personnel

The persons necessary for the functioning of this type of organisation are divisible into two categories, employees and patrons. The former are further separable into staff and entertainers. The staff comprises the permanent employees who together form the basic organisation of the establishment, including apart from the manager, the cooks, waitresses, doorman-bouncer, and the dance band, who together are concerned with the regulation of entry into the premises, the control of behaviour within and the supply of the tangible products to the patrons once they have been allowed to enter, as well as an intangible product--music--which is necessary as an initiator of one of the types of activities engaged in by the patrons--dancing.

The other type of employee is the entertainer who is a transient worker, for although his routine of work might involve an itinerary that takes him around several nightclubs and may in fact consist in employment exclusively by nightclubs and theatres, this pattern involves a short stay, usually of a few weeks, and his salary is generally calculated on the basis of the length of his stay. Transience is therefore an integral

part of the entertainer's career, leading to a planned nomadic professional existence which enhances his reputation and is both the cause and effect of his success.

It is possible in particular cases of nightclub operation to include dance band musicians in this entertainer category, especially when dealing with big-name jazz bands whose career patterns involve the constant mobility described above, but there is usually a permanent house band employed in the clubs where they play and the itinerant jazz musicians are actually entertainers employed for periods varying from one night to a few weeks to supply a brand of performance different in style from that of the permanent house band. In addition, the special categorising of some employees here as transients in no way denies that individual workers of the staff, employed on a free contractual basis, change their place of employment at management's or their own decision, but this is usually the result of maladjustment in interaction situations rather than a specific and established professional career pattern.

According to this classification of nightclub personnel--(permanent employees will henceforth in this context be referred to as staff and transients as entertainers) the structural dimensions of the relationships that normally result from the organisational blueprint are as follows: management-staff, management-entertainers, management-patrons, staff-patrons, staff-entertainers, and entertainers-patrons. The inter-relationship of these various categories of persons

together constitutes the social system of the nightclub. The six dimensions listed above indicate the patterning of interaction that can be expected in the establishment according to the formal organisation which states the limited purpose of the business. A seventh dimension of interaction is possible, that between the police and the persons in a nightclub, because the organisation operates under licence granted by the municipal authority, by whose direction the police may enter to check on the compliance--or non-compliance--with the legal requirements.

#### Authority

It is the management's responsibility to see that all persons present in the establishment become familiarised with the rules, especially in so far as they relate to wider societal norms, and that their activities coincide with the requirements. To ensure that behaviour lives up to the expectations he can impose sanctions on customers limited to the establishment alone, such as summary ejection from the premises for the particular night, or the imposition of a ban on further admittance. Rewards are in the form of continued patronage in the case of customers and continued employment for the staff.

The actual performance of the activities necessary for the operation of the nightclub is shared by the different kinds of employees in both categories. This internal division of labour makes for proper functioning of the organisation

with regard to the routine technical functions--cooking and serving food and drink, maintenance of discipline, playing dance music, and diverting and amusing the patrons--that implement the nightclub's goal of producing entertainment for its customers.

Management in its role of supervisor of the activities of the employees and final authority with regard to disciplining customers within the organisation serves to coordinate the various spheres the activities of which comprise the total system. Authority is delegated to the bouncer who in the name of management is responsible for maintaining order among the customers, for ensuring that no undue liberties are taken by customers with the staff and entertainers, and that, where special legal prohibitions from the wider society are applicable, the law is obeyed so that the licence under which the nightclub operates is not jeopardised. Hence it is to the management's immediate and long-term interests to ensure that harmonious relations prevail within the organisation so that a peaceful relationship with the wider social system may be maintained.

#### Relations with society

The nightclub's primary goal orientation to production accords with a major value of the larger society in which achievement is stressed. The individual is expected to get something done to earn a living within the legitimate bounds laid down by the political system. As a social system

within the larger system of society there is of necessity a close relationship with the latter. First, the nightclub operates under licence granted by the competent governmental authority which defines the conditions under which the organisation can implement its goal, such as the hours of operation, the sale of alcohol, the minimum wages that can be paid to the various categories of workers, especially for non-unionised workers. Second, the society is source of all persons actively engaged in the operation of the establishment, both workers and customers. Workers in every category, whether employed under free contract as in the case of cooks or union agreement as with dance band musicians, have to be recruited from among the individuals and collectivities of which ~~the~~ larger social system <sup>comprises</sup> ~~is comprised~~, and the nightclub is the particular area in the economy from which their livelihood is drawn. Customers, on the other hand, represent individuals who are normally occupied in earning a living in other forms of business organisations which operate diurnally.

### Pattern-maintenance

Their presence in the nightclub represents a choice between alternative ways of consuming their leisure, which is one of the rewards workers enjoy for contributing to the maintenance of their society and is itself the alternative to work. This institutionalised separation of work and leisure leads to the consideration of leisure activity as a replenishing of the energy expended in keeping society going by

participating in the activities of the various sub-systems. In other words, the nightclub as an organisation oriented primarily to the production of entertainment represents one method of managing leisure, and functions as a societal filling station. In so doing it fuses the two opposite aspects of behaviour, work and play, in that some people's work provides the play element for others. The staff and entertainers work to provide enjoyment for the customers who pay to be entertained by the facilities offered.

The customers are absorbed into the organization and become a necessary part for its proper normal functioning. Desire to participate, which is implicit in the willingness to enter, coupled with the ability to pay the price of admission and to buy the goods offered within are the only criteria for membership in the customer group, though of course, the agreement to abide by the rules of good behaviour demanded by the management is a further implication. Staff and entertainers, however, may have to submit to lengthy interviews and perhaps even a trial to prove that they possess the skill or talent necessary for filling the various positions. There is thus competition as between degrees of skill for the available positions, whereas among the customers if competition for participation can be said to exist, it is for the privilege of paying for the available seats. The extent of whatever competition prevails is determined by the reputation that the nightclub has acquired. For the customer this involves such factors as the prices charged for admission, food and

drinks and the calibre of the entertainers, but for the staff level of salary paid, class of customer in attendance and conditions of work are determinants. The entertainer may actually have to be competed for with other organisations and his availability may depend on his popularity with the public, the salary offered and the time and number of other engagements.

### Management of Deviance

The nightclub's reputation may also affect the wider society's view of its activities, that is, as to whether it is "ritzy", or "a dive." In the former case it may draw little criticism except from rabid temperance-leaguers in a free-drinking society eager to see a population of teetotalers, and extreme moralists who see only sin in the half-exposed bodies of dancers and strippers. But when a nightclub is classed as a "dive" many more people in the surrounding society are freer with demands for its annihilation. It is normally pictured as a den of vice and every imaginable form of criminal behaviour is attributed to its denizens. The ultimate is achieved when the police, prodded by pressure groups who claim deviations from the norms of decency and legality as violations of the societal and organisational values, move to effect its closing. The alleged deviance may pertain solely to the organisation's value system as in the case of the consumption of alcohol on premises not so licensed.

Generally, patterns of behaviour are tolerated within nightclubs which deviate from the norms of the society; that is,

deviance from the established norms are managed in such a way that limits are set within which the specific form of deviance is acceptable. Thus the societal norms prohibit a woman divesting herself of her garments in public, especially in the presence of men, restricting the act of undressing with its implications of sexuality to the bedroom. Yet this behaviour performed especially before men is the whole content of the "stripteuse's" act as a nightclub performer. A similar situation occurs in the performance of the female impersonator-- a man who dresses as a woman and assumes feminine mannerisms and traits to amuse his audience.

Nevertheless, on the whole, behaviour patterns within the nightclub must be compatible with the behaviour expectations according to the value system of the society, since any organisation is merely a functionally differentiated subsystem of the larger social system, and the primary goal towards the attainment of which the organisation is oriented is a specialised function for the society. Thus the nightclub's goal of production in the economic sphere measured by its monetary return as a business organisation is the societal function of helping to maintain the system of achievement, and its product of entertainment is society's input by contributing to the efficiency of the workers in other social systems. It also functions to bring capital into the economic stream and as a source of employment for various categories of workers. In short, it both receives and contributes power by the social legitimation of its organisational purpose.

## The Malabar

The "Malabar", the nightclub which is the special focus of this study, is located in the East End of Vancouver on the fringe of the area popularly known as Chinatown. It is surrounded by numerous cheap hotels and rooming-houses, beer-parlours, cafe-restaurants and stores dealing in second hand goods. The immediate environs is associated with people of low socio-economic status, the unemployed and unemployable of several ethnic groups, for whom this section of Vancouver is both residential area and playground.

This nightclub is a small establishment situated on the second floor of a corner building which houses on the first floor a small hardware store, a trading company, a laundry and a clothing store. It is reached by climbing a narrow stairway at the head of which is a short passage at right angles to the stairway, ending at the door of the nightclub and the teller's wicket where the admission fee is paid. On entering through the door one is confronted by the small dance floor on to which the tiny bandstand abuts from the opposite end of the room, and which is flanked on the left by two and on the right by three rows of tables and seats. These extend down the full length of the room shutting in the sides of the bandstand. Off to the left of the bandstand beyond the tables there is a small closet-like room which serves as the dressing-room for the entertainers. Immediately on the left as one enters and beyond the two rows of tables is the kitchen sandwiched between the

men's washroom on the left and the ladies' room on the right. When roped off the dance floor serves as the stage or performing area for the entertainers--singers, comedians, female impersonators, dancers and drummers--who provide the acts for the floor-show. Nearly two hundred patrons can be crammed into this cramped seating arrangement on a busy night.

The Malabar is not licensed either for the sale or the consumption of alcohol on the premises and persons under the age of eighteen years are legally barred from entry. Notices on the walls both within and without the establishment proclaim these conditions which the customers must obey and the management enforce. The only beverages sold are iced water and aerated drinks while a very limited range of choice between Chinese, East Indian and Canadian dishes is offered. The band can play dance music until two o'clock in the morning nightly except on Saturday nights when one o'clock is the legal limit, after which a jukebox supplies music for listening only, since it is contrary to the terms under which the licence was issued for dancing to continue after the above-mentioned hours. It is the responsibility of the owner-manager to ensure that no transgressions of the legal restrictions occur and he can either warn offenders to desist, evict them or summon the police to do so. The reward for conformity to these regulations is permission to stay and return in the future.

#### Division of Labour

There is a simple division of labour to facilitate

the carrying out of the basic functions necessary to maintain the business as a viable concern. The span of control of the owner-manager is small enough to enable him, if need be, to directly supervise all activities within the Malabar and smooth out friction. Normally, however, the dance band musicians and the corps of entertainers require little direction after being hired and shown the job requirements, and the other personnel know their simple routine of work sufficiently for smooth coordination of the different tasks to be the general rule. Apart from the management in the person of the owner-manager and his reputed wife the personnel consists of two doorman-bouncers, two cooks and a helper for dishwashing, three waitresses, a four-piece dance band that might be augmented to six, a master of ceremonies and entertainers numbering from three to seven performers. The Malabar's management thus supervises a maximum of twenty-one employees.

The manager or his wife is in charge of the admission of patrons and the sale of aerated beverages, thus being directly in charge of the receipt of all money. The price of admission varies according to whether the patron desires to have a meal or not. If he decides to eat he is given a meal ticket on payment of the higher price. The manager presses a buzzer and one of the doormen admits the customer and indicates where he may sit. One of the waitresses then goes to the customer's table, places glasses and a jug of water on it and enquires whether she may be of further service. The latter may then present his ticket, reserve it until later, or order some

beverage. If he requests his meal indicating his choice of dishes, the waitress proceeds to the kitchen and informs the cook what is wanted. The latter prepares and apportions the preferred dish and hands it over to the waitress to be taken to the customer. Until they are called to action each of the above-mentioned persons remains in readiness at his station. The manager and his wife sit behind the ticket window separated from the rest by a long counter, behind which is lodged the aerated drink cooler. The waitresses sit or stand before the counter, the doormen stand near the door and the kitchen staff are in their domain.

The musicians are usually seated at tables adjacent to the band stand and at about 10:30 p.m. they take their places and begin to play dance music in sets of three or four numbers. After every set or two they give way to the juke-box. At the end of a set the bandleader advises the customers via the microphone that it is time to play the juke-box and customers desirous of having music either for listening or for dancing, must put coins into the machine and choose their tunes. This procedure, an alternation of band and juke-box music, is the pattern followed throughout the night until the band finally stops playing and dancing officially ends. From this time on the juke-box becomes the only source of music.

Usually at about one o'clock the manager's wife announces that the floor-show is about to begin and requests the patrons to leave the dance floor which is then roped off.

The master of ceremonies takes the microphone on to the floor immediately front of the band stand and opens the show by singing a couple of songs. He then introduces each of the several acts--dancers, singers, comedians--in turn, and the entertainers perform their respective routines to the enthusiastic applause of the audience. After the final performer leaves the floor, the ropes are removed, the band starts playing again and the customers resume their dancing.

### Illegitimate Practices

The management of the Malabar has resorted to several practices which run contrary to the legal conditions laid down for the organisation's operation and these practices have necessitated the institution of further practices. These illegitimate actions have at present become a necessary part of the organisation's structure and functioning, and puts the establishment in constant danger of legal sanctions. Persons under eighteen years of age are sometimes admitted; patrons are allowed to have and consume alcohol on the premises; some patrons even "bootleg" liquor there; and dancing is allowed to continue after one o'clock on Saturdays and two o'clock on other nights. This permissiveness of the management with regard to the patrons' violation of the law necessitated the adoption of measures of safeguard against unexpected visits by the police. Consequently, the manager, his wife, the two doormen, and occasionally the kitchen helper make frequent rounds armed with flashlights--the lighting is calculated to

create an atmosphere of semi-darkness--in order to collect and remove empty liquor bottles from beneath the tables. The evidence is then hidden in a corner of the kitchen.

In addition, a look-out is stationed in a cubicle at the head of the stairway behind a plate of glass almost entirely covered with pictures and notices advertising the club so that he commands a view of all comers without being himself seen. As soon as the police arrive at the foot of the stairs the look-out--the two doormen and the kitchen-helper alternate in this position--presses a button which causes bright lights to go on in the nightclub and if the juke-box happens to be playing at the time it stops. The customers take their seats hurriedly, swiftly down the contents of their glasses and secrete their liquor containers on their persons, so that when the police enter, they are greeted with an aura of apparently innocent enjoyment, which they survey before departing.

No doubt, the pressure of competition from neighbouring rival nightclubs of the area where such practices are routine forced the owner-manager to adopt this behaviour which has so far proved adaptive for his survival in business with a false air of legality. For formerly before he permitted after-hours dancing, customers stayed away or patronised establishments where they could both drink and dance until closing time. This catering to the satisfaction of the customers' desires by operating with the motto "the customer is always right" has led the management to resort to

illegitimate behaviour, the pursuance of which with immunity requires the customers' cooperation, for they, too, are liable to legal prosecution if apprehended in any of the illegal actions which are permitted by management within the premises. There is thus a profound absorption of the customers into the organisation as it is normally expected to operate and as it does actually operate with illegal modifications of its structure.

### Supervision

Technically the owner-manager is the coordinating supervisor of the administrative system represented by himself and his wife, and the operative system comprised of his employees and his customers, as well as the chief authority having control of operations and persons within the organisation for the attainment of its primary goal. In practice, however, his supervisory role is shared with several of his employees. The doormen-bouncers are responsible for the maintenance of discipline, ensuring that the norms of the organisation are complied with, although the final word with regard to the exercise of the authority delegated to them rests with the manager. Generally the bouncers are called in to adjudicate in disputes between customers especially in cases where violence flares up, for in order that the proper functioning of the social system be not disrupted, harmony in relations must be maintained not only in any one sector, but between sectors. The bouncers' job, then, is not only to protect the management by

preventing damage to property and personnel, but also to defend any hard-pressed customer against his fellows. In their policing capacity they try to pacify belligerent customers, who may eventually have to be summarily evicted should they become too obstreperous.

The nature of the bouncers' job requires that they possess a combination of brute strength and tact and the Malabar has employed individuals with both these qualities but there have also been times when this dual qualification could only be met by two men. They have usually been quite capable of deciding whether soothing words and gestures were needed to calm a particular situation or whether it was time to depend on brute strength alone. Failure to choose correctly between these two alternatives can be disastrous as happened in the case of one bouncer who, resorting to words when strength was the only solution, was floored by a customer who struck as he talked. He quit soon after this incident. Occasionally it is found that neither strength nor diplomacy is possessed by both bouncers together to the degree needed for a particular occasion and then the manager plus volunteers from among the other customers come to help quell the disturbance. Only once was the internal organisation observed to be inadequate to handle such conflicts: the manager admitted defeat and called the police.

The master of ceremonies is the intermediary in relations between management and the entertainers, once the

initial arrangements for the employment of the entertainers have been negotiated, and even here he has some say, since his greater knowledge of performers and their accessibility enables him to make valuable recommendations for their engagement. Even though a particular entertainer, a dancer or singer, for example, makes the required arrangements for band accompaniment with the bandleader, where the co-operation of the band is necessary for the performance of the act, the master of ceremonies has to be familiarised with this arrangement so that he may have some knowledge of the nature of the act which he can communicate in his introduction of the entertainer to the audience. Himself a singer, he stands in the relation of a performer to the band and colleague to the other entertainers and this interactive relationship makes him less of a supervisor and more of an in-group member to these experts.

The bandleader by definition is responsible for the operation of the band and any negotiations with the manager regarding changes in policy are handled by him. The other members of the band regard him as the leader and depend on him to protect them from both the management and the customers and should he fail in this they have avenues for seeking redress by quitting the band or by reporting him to the officials of the union to which they all perforce have to belong. The leader then acts in his own self-interest, that is, with regard to retaining the present personnel of his band and their esteem on which depends the possibility of obtaining future personnel. Since he could be blackballed with the union and consequently

with other musicians, he does in fact shield them from conflict with management and the customers who bring any request that affects the behaviour of the band to him and he, conversant with the wishes of his men and the policy of the band, is at liberty to grant or deny such requests in his and/or their name. Furthermore, professional dance band musicians are notorious for their refusal to submit to the overlordship of laymen, "squares", stressing that their technical functions can only be adequately judged and supervised by one of their own occupation.

The manager's wife can be regarded as the supervisor of the three waitresses, but in actual practice little supervision is required by these workers, for their routine techniques and patterns of action are so simple that only a few minutes would be required to learn them. They thus go about their tasks when their services are needed and on an exceptionally busy night far from being dictated to by the manager's wife, they are actually helped by her in their work--she would perform the same tasks as they. Ordinarily, management's approach to the question of supervision of the employees can best be described as "letting things take their course," for only when a bottleneck occurs in the operations does supervision become evident, and management itself is more likely to assume the role of additional staff, then to act as if the temporary ineffectiveness of the waitresses is due to their efficiency.

In the kitchen this employee autonomy and management

non-interference is further emphasized. The cooks are fully conversant with their tasks, which have been simplified by the very limited range of choice in the dishes offered the customers. No attempt is made to satisfy a customer's demand for any kind of food that is not indicated on the meal ticket and the whole problem of the cooks therefore is reduced to catering to the expected numbers on any night. No doubt consultation with the manager originally was necessary to determine the quantities of raw materials required, but now the familiar pattern of slack business during the week and heavy business on week-ends and nights immediately preceding public holidays must have brought standardisation and a consequent denial of the usefulness of supervision.

#### The Position of the Customers

The customers, the persons for the satisfaction of whose wishes the organisation operates, both command the organisation's services and are subject to the authority of the management and thus occupy an ambiguous position within the organisation--they hold at the same time positions of authority and subordination. Their superior position is expressed in the fact that without them the Malabar would have no purpose and could not function, and this is pointedly demonstrated by the illegitimate practices the management was forced to adopt in order to retain their patronage. Yet once they have been admitted into the establishment they become subject to the authority of the manager, an authority that has

the related functions of ensuring that the harmonious operation of the organization is maintained according to the internal rules and norms laid down for its operation, as well as guaranteeing that the club will continue to occupy the place legally accorded it in the city under the terms of its licence.

The customer's authority is best demonstrated in his origination of action for the waitress. When he is ready to eat he hands over his ticket to the waitress who then informs the cook of the customer's choice. This is the cue for preparation and apportioning of the food which the waitress is to serve to the customer. After the latter has eaten, the dishes are returned to the kitchen to be washed by the kitchen helper. It is thus seen that the customer sets in motion a chain of events that travels three ways along a stated path, finally culminating in the washing and storing of the dishes in the kitchen: each member of this section of the staff depends on the customer to give the cue which is relayed and translated into action at different stages along the line.

The musicians, too, have a service link with the customers, except that in their case they are the originators of the customers' action--they play music for the customers' dancing or listening pleasure. Yet the kind of music played broadly depends on the customers' preference and indeed, they let it be known--loudly--what kind of music they want played. The bandleader also gets an indication of their

preference by the selections they make on the juke-box. With the entertainers the relationship is more one of complementarity rather than of authority in that the co-operation of the customers is necessary for the proper performance of the former's act. The aim of the entertainer is to divert the patrons, but to do this he must stimulate them to respond to his performance so that he can perform better, in order that they may enjoy better. In other words, the necessary interstimulation of performer and audience results in heightened enjoyment for the patrons and a more definitive performance by the entertainer who must be stimulated to work to establish an emotional tie so that he can help the audience attain greater enjoyment of the performance. The best performers always have "the feel of the audience," they know how to elicit their co-operation and can thus control them. Knowledge of the way to elicit this reciprocity is part of the entertainer's stock in trade and he can therefore be co-operative during his performance but aloof before and after. At the Malabar, however, this cooperative attitude is generally carried through in all relations with the patrons who in any case seldom allow barriers to be erected shutting them out; that is, if the performers seem unwilling to approach them, they unabashedly invite themselves into interaction with them.

### Inter-personal Relations

Inter-personal relations between the different categories of persons in the Malabar are generally smooth, and

this in spite of situations that would tend to produce conflict. However, most such situations are limited to inter-customer clashes and consequently the management is drawn in. Thus, the manager's wife occasionally tends to be officious towards the longest employed waitress, who responds by listening with an air of insouciance before trudging off as if to minister to some patron's need. The manager never seems to interfere in such conflicts, perhaps because he is fully conversant with his wife's ways after long domestic association. When such an approach is made to the bouncers, accompanied by shouting, she is either ignored or shouted at in turn.

Waitress-customer interaction presents no problems because the waitress will usually treat the customer in the same way he treats her--if he joshes her, she joshes right back, if he is rude, so is she and a pleasant word is rewarded in kind. This is practicable because the waitress is of low socio-economic status, as are the customers who, in addition, may be engaged in a deviant occupation. Customers swear at one another and use foul language as a commonplace: such behaviour draws no sanctions, except perhaps a request from the bouncers to lower the volume. Only drunks or other inconsiderate persons who interfere with the free enjoyment of others are likely to be treated harshly.

A blurring of status definitions is characteristic of the Malabar and the exercise of status privileges is seldom rigidly followed. The manager's wife helps the waitresses, the

manager helps the bouncers and even customers volunteer aid to the latter on occasion. Due to technical considerations, only the musicians and entertainers are exempt from such interchangeability. Thus the waitresses are accepted by the cooks on a fraternal level and are often allowed to apportion the food for the patrons. If status distinctions were rigidly adhered to, this would be in the nature of a deliberate concession by the cooks to the waitresses who are subordinate to them, and who would thereby enjoy a brief raise in status, but this is sometimes an effective adjustment to the situation when there are several varying orders from customers on a busy night.

This informality in inter-status relations seems due to the shortness of the line from manager to waitress--from top to bottom and a consequent scarcity of promotion opportunities and this situation is concomitant with the small size of the nightclub and the lack of space for expansion in its present location. A fully bureaucratic form of administration was therefore unnecessary, since the owner-manager is able, under the present administrative structure, to supervise his employees directly and maintain effective communication. Functionaries intermediate to the top leadership and the workers, who could be a source of conflict in management-worker relations, are therefore not part of the internal structure, especially since whatever little supervision is needed is provided incidentally by employees who hold other statuses within the organisation.

Furthermore, the atmosphere of camaraderie which prevails in the Malabar, between management, employees and patrons would militate against the establishment of the kind of relationships that seem characteristic of bureaucratic organisation, for by the very nature of the services rendered, personalised treatment is called for; the depersonalisation of relationships between personnel and patrons would be incongruous. Customers who are dissatisfied with such impersonal treatment can effectively protest by taking their patronage to one of the several rival establishments in the Chinatown area, and their continued resentment would result in financial loss to the owner, already faced with wide fluctuations in nightly and seasonal business.

### External Relations

The Malabar of necessity is related to other sub-systems operating in Vancouver, in fact these other sub-systems constitute the environment in which it operates. First, the organisation has certain connections with the governing political authority, the municipal council. This body through its licensing inspector grants licences to all nightclubs and cabarets, desirous of carrying on business in the city and thus legitimates their operation according to the municipal by-laws, which define the particular goods and services that can be offered, and when they can be offered, to the legal categories of persons designated as suitable for consuming such goods and services. In addition, representatives of the

municipal authority, the police, are empowered to check constantly that the terms of the contract under which the Malabar and other similar establishments operate are adhered to.

Furthermore, the Malabar is also subject in its functioning as a legitimised organisation to the universalistically defined rules that are operative in Vancouver, the province of British Columbia, and allowing for provincial variations, throughout the whole of Canada. Thus the use of force in human relations is carefully regulated and is permitted only to representatives of the political authority and to the management in rigidly defined circumstances: no one may legitimately contract to violate the norms of society, nor may the manager's authority be used to compel people to violate these universally applicable norms within the Malabar. In fact, the conduct of affairs here must conform in general with the societal norms of good conduct and this applies to all the human relations situations that are likely to occur during the nightclub's legitimate operation.

As an economic production unit the Malabar has relations with other business organisations in the city. For instance, it uses the facilities of a bank in some of its financial transactions. The raw materials that are transformed into its finished tangible product must be purchased from other business organisations that are a part of the economic system of Vancouver. In addition it deals with trade union's system through the musicians' union, since the members of any dance

band employed in the premises must be union members, a condition insisted upon by the powerful local branch of the union.

Of necessity all its employees whether unionised or not must be recruited from the wider society and the persons, the satisfaction of whose wishes is the *raison d'etre* of the organisation--the customers, are themselves members of the larger social system and generally perform societal roles other than that of nightclub customer. The Malabar, then, in a society where every able person is expected to earn his livelihood by socially approved means in legitimate occupations, affords workers of low socio-economic status a place of work wherein they can live up to the society's expectations. Moreover it functions indirectly to maintain this same pattern, in that it provides entertainment and recreation which have been institutionalised as the obverse of work, and represented as action designed to counter the monotony of productive labour and to aid in replenishing the energy so expended. Regarded in this way, there is seen to be a symbiotic relationship between the nightclub and the society. In other words, the legitimation of the Malabar's goal of production in the economic sphere carries with it the commitment that this organisation function to maintain the patterns of behaviour that are established in the city.

However, despite the Malabar's general adherence to the values and patterns of behaviour expected of all organizations and of this type especially, in Vancouver, there

are other practices that occur within it that tend to run counter to and seem even to threaten some societal ideals. Thus like other establishments of its kind, and other legitimised organisations such as restaurants and cinemas, the Malabar is connected with the dating complex in Vancouver, in that unmarried young men take unmarried young women here for "an evening out on the town," an action that is expressive of some measure of affection and regard. Dating is an established preliminary in North America to marriage and the raising of a family. Sometimes the Malabar serves as a rendez-vous where clandestine extra-marital relationships develop and flourish. Thus it is seen that the nightclubs relations with the larger social system of Vancouver ramifies into the political-legal, economic, occupational and the other social spheres of the community life of the city.

## PART II

### Customers' occupations

The Malabar's customers are predominantly persons of low socio-economic status who reside in the surrounding district of Vancouver's East End. These consist of legitimately employed manual workers of various kinds such as dock-workers, truck-drivers, sailors, railway porters, machine workers, occasional workers and housewives, as well as persons engaged in deviant occupations, prostitutes and their pimps, pickpockets, boot-leggers and sellers of drugs. In addition, white collar workers employed in stores and business firms, university students and wives of lower middle-class men, who are sometimes self-employed, are frequent users of the nightclub's facilities.

### Ethnic Affiliations of Personnel

Various ethnic groups are represented in this composition of customers, Whites, Negroes, native Indians, East Indians and Chinese. The classification "white" subsumes persons of such various national origins and stocks as native Canadians, Hungarians, Italians, Germans, English, and no attempt is made to separate persons who are the progeny of miscegenation. Whites are by far the most numerous, women predominating over men, and Chinese, despite the adjacency of Chinatown, are the least represented. Negroes are the second

largest group with men outnumbering women, and they are followed in order of size of aggregate by Canadian Indians and East Indians. Women are predominant among the former of these last two groups and the latter consists exclusively of men.

The vast majority of the whites were born in Canada with only a few who are recent arrivals to the country and generally the same applies to East Indians--Canadian Indians are, of course, all natives. Negroes, however, are mainly non-Canadians, a few having come from the West Indies and the majority from the United States of America. The remaining small proportion who were born in Canada, are originally from the Prairies and the Maritime Provinces. Moreover, the West Indians who frequent the Malabar are temporary residents in Vancouver, being seamen whose ships are in port or university students. Only two are permanent residents and are both engaged in legitimate occupations, one as a logger, the other as a construction worker. The American Negroes are members of the American armed forces who come to Vancouver on furlough, as well as ex-servicemen who have adopted Vancouver as their home and are mostly engaged in deviant occupations, together with a few who have married white Canadian women and work as various kinds of labourers.

#### The Inner Fraternity Composition

An unusual feature of the customer situation here is the presence of a number of persons who may be described as "permanent" patrons and constitute what will be referred to as

an "inner fraternity." They number all told approximately forty men and women who may not all be present on any one night, but some of whom can be found in the nightclub every night and sometimes comprise the total body of customers. This "inner fraternity" of patrons consists of prostitutes and their pimps, bootleggers, drug-pedlars, pickpockets, promiscuous women and part-time prostitutes, as well as persons who earn a livelihood by legitimate means; in other words, this ever-present nucleus comprises persons who are legally categorised as criminals and others who straddle the realms of legality and illegality, either in their full-time occupations and/or in their leisure activities. Deviants outnumber the others in this group even though a single man may fall into several classifications as pimp, bootlegger, pickpocket and drug pedlar.

#### The "Old Men"

All the male members of the "inner fraternity" are Negroes who hold the status either of husbands or "old men," the prostitute's term for their pimps or boy-friends to some female members of the group. Whites outnumber the women of the other ethnic groups: in fact, there are only five Indians and three Negroes among the female members, who actually outnumber the males. This is because some of the prostitutes have no pimps, that is, men to whom they hand over their earnings, but have "old men" who are temporarily brought into the group as dancing or drinking partners and are sometimes rewarded with free sexual intercourse. Consequently, these temporary draftees are a constant source of

new faces in the group and occasionally they may even attain the status of permanent old men, though not necessarily pimps.

### Part-time Prostitutes and Promiscuous Women

The part-time prostitutes are women who are normally engaged in legitimate activities such as being waitresses or housewives and occasionally, perhaps, in order to weather a domestic crisis, engage in prostitution either to supplement their regular low income or to be able to afford some added luxury. They are usually erstwhile prostitutes who abandoned the full professional life but retain a partial foothold in it to cope with emergencies. Similarly, the merely promiscuous members of the "inner fraternity" are either gainfully employed in normal jobs in the daytime or are housewives, both apparently seeking to escape the monotony of their daily existence. They are different from the two classes of prostitutes mentioned above in that they do not charge a monetary fee, but bestow their sexual favours on men who take them to the Malabar and/or "show them a good time" by dancing with them, satisfying their demand for alcohol, and generally being attentive to them. Perhaps, too, they differ in that they really enjoy sexual intercourse ("a good trim"), though one is then forced to wonder whether their promiscuity implies a love of variety per se, or a constant search for the elusive great thrill. Women in the wider aggregate of patrons who are not members of the inner fraternity also are classifiable under these same categories. ✕

### The "Chaste" Women

In contrast to the above-mentioned types of female inner fraternity members stand the white female members who neither sell nor are promiscuous with their sexual favours. In fact, they adhere rigidly to the expressed ideals of the wider society with respect to marital fidelity and "maidenly" virtue, at least so long as they are in the Malabar. Yet they seem to accept the sexual behaviour of the others without attempting to impose their standards on them, although their marital status is the same. For these girls the "inner fraternity" seems to function as a continuing peer-group, a survival, with the necessary modifications of increased age, from school days. They seek and find with certain members of this group the satisfying companionship that is reminiscent of their adolescence.

This attitude is typically expressed by Bertha who at first expressed bewilderment at her continued frequenting of the Malabar and the general Main Street area--"The Block" as it is familiarly called by its denizens. Asked why she did visit this area so often, since she lived in a district far removed from Chinatown, she replied

"Well, after all, I grew up and went to school with most of these kids on The Block."

A divorcée and the mother of a small daughter, her expression of a peer-group relationship that continued into adulthood, in spite of a change of residence on her part, implies the

satisfactions thereby which perhaps later association with people known after her marriage, for instance, did not supply. Her sole criticism of the members of the group who were prostitutes was directed at the girls who are

"stupid enough to give their hard-earned money to some damned no-good man."

### Leadership

The "inner fraternity" in all its ethnic variety is here regarded as a "leaderless" group, that is to say, there is neither a formal nor an informal leader; neither one elected, nor one tacitly recognised as such. Activity which necessitates the concerted action of several members originates with different people at different times. The role of decision-maker rests with whoever comes up with an idea that can interest most of the members. It is interesting to note that this role of "idea-man" is performed much more frequently by the female members. In fact, the closest approximation to a leader in the group is Penny, considering the number of activities she initiates, the care she takes of the younger prostitutes in the group and the number of girls she has roomed with or given shelter in her room. Frash, and with a fun-loving spirit that belies her sad-looking face, she is fully capable of giving better than she receives with either tongue or fist. Possibly because the prime function of the group is to provide companionship for its members and perhaps because of dislike at being ordered about, a situation that might arise with an acknowledged leader present thus threatening

the comparative autonomy they enjoy as a leaderless group, no definite status of leader has emerged, although, informally, different people play the role at different times, one person more so than the others.

### The Power of the Women

None of the men would perhaps be willing--even if it were possible--to assume the role, because of the insecurity of their position and the opportunity for internal jealousy which might break out and result in accentuating their insecurity vis-a-vis the girls and eventually, the police. The fact that the pimps especially control the earnings of their "old ladies"--the prostitutes who work for them--and do use violence towards them on occasion with apparent impunity, actually does not put them in a secure position of dominance over the girls. The latter can play one man off against another and if threatened with violence can as a last resort have recourse to the well-known antipathy of some policemen for the Negro denizens of the Block. | 2

This relative lack of security of the male members of the group, negating any striving for dominance over the female members, the prostitutes especially, is clearly demonstrated by the case of two Negro men who through the instrumentality of their "old ladies" eventually landed in gaol. The first formed an attachment with an Indian prostitute while A.W.O.L. from the U.S. Army for several months. She secreted him from the police until he tried to abandon her |

for another woman. This was the occasion for her to turn him over to the police who handed him over to the U.S. Military Police. The other incident concerns a Negro who was married to a white prostitute but took another "old lady" in addition, neglecting and mistreating his wife while he favoured the new-found love. All were members of the "inner fraternity." The wife took no action against her rival but engineered a gaol term for her "old man" on a wife-beating charge. The list of such cases could be expanded together with noting the frequency of threats to set the police on the "old man" who displays any domineering tendencies. The girls are obviously quite aware of their power in this regard.

#### The Inner-Fraternity as a Sub-culture

Within the larger aggregate of patrons who frequent the Malabar, the "inner fraternity" functions as a sub-culture in which behaviour prohibited or frowned upon by the wider society becomes the norm. It is true that some of this tabooed behaviour is indulged in by the rest of the customers as a whole but the "inner fraternity" has set itself apart from the rest of the patrons who only occasionally attend the Malabar and in many cases are not likely to return after one visit. In any event, the types of behaviour shared by the inner fraternity and the rest,--such as illegal drinking and after-hours dancing--are not peculiar to the Malabar alone.

#### Status System

As a sub-culture the group has developed its own

status system. By and large its members belong to that ill-defined pot-pourri of persons and behaviour patterns referred to as the underworld. They are therefore outside the pale of the established social system of statuses: they are in society in reality, but technically are not of it. The status system operating in the group is a reversal of the normal societal system, in that where known deviants at best hold the lowest status, here they are the persons at the top of the hierarchy. Socially acceptable persons are generally excluded from membership and the acceptance of status within this sub-culture, were it to be publicised, would result in loss of status in the wider social system.

A noteworthy case is that of a well-to-do middle-class woman, a resident of West Point Grey, a habituée of the Malabar who is treated with considerable hostility and contempt despite attempts to crash the barrier. In fact, she was all but beaten up by a white female member of the inner fraternity for enticing Negro men to her table to share her drinks. It was perhaps felt that she was employing her fraternisation with these men to subtly gain entry into the group. It mattered little that this woman had absorbed some of the norms of the sub-culture, the symbols of her class position displayed in this situation by her latest model car, expensive coats, lots of good liquor, ample spending money--plus her imagined wrongs against the group debarred her from acceptance. The irony is that it is virtual outcasts, who by withholding amicable relations, are maintaining social distance from the

socially acceptable; the goodwill of upholders of the societal values is devalued.

X

A parallel situation is to be found in the notable absence of white men from the inner fraternity. Although a large proportion of the prostitutes' clients are white men, yet they are openly contemptuous of these men, avoid friendly relations with them generally, even frequently refusing to dance with them, and call them "patsies", a term which as far as could be ascertained is synonymous with the vernacular "sucker." One possible interpretation might be that the psychological mechanism of projection is operating here. The prostitutes especially seem to imagine that the white men have very low opinions of them not only because of their occupation, but also for consorting with Negro men. Perhaps both are real reasons in their minds giving a sense of secret shame which is hidden behind aggressive fronts and a "don't care" attitude. They, however, project their own feelings on to the white men and by so doing actually persuade the latter to be hostile to them in return. They thus create the situation the existence of which they had assumed in the beginning--a "self-fulfilling prophecy."

#### Negro-White Men Relations

Moreover, a common bond of hostility exists within the sub-culture towards white men especially. For the Negro men who are the girls' partners are generally hostile to white men, especially if the former have white "old ladies." They

need very little excuse to display this antipathy or to resort to violence. This is partly explicable by the socio-historical situation in the deep South, from which almost without exception these Negroes come, sometimes with California or Washington as entrepôts. It is possible, too, that the hostility towards white men especially that is manifested by the inner fraternity may be also partly due to a common awareness of a similar lot. Both white prostitutes and their Negro pimps may be conscious of their depressed positions in the society and may be making common cause of this. Or it may be that the prostitutes casting around for fellow deprived persons chose the handy Negro men because of the much publicised handicaps under which their ethnic group labours in the United States and the similar but less overt deprivations in Canada. Then it would be that partners in misery become partners in crime.

From the point of view of these American Negroes, and still considering the socio-cultural milieu in which their early socialisation took place, it may be that they regard this consorting with white prostitutes as getting their own back. In this fashion they can compensate for the prohibitions so rigidly enforced in their original homeland. They thus see these women not as prostitutes, but as white women whom they can marry, put to work to earn money for them, and against whom they can be almost as aggressive as they wish with comparative impunity. The forbidden fruit for which they (generically) have suffered so many indignities are now readily

accessible and immunity to the usual chastisements is guaranteed.

### Sub-Cultural Norms

Certain kinds of behaviour have developed and become fixed in this sub-culture. Some pertain to the control of the intra-group behaviour of the participants in the group and can be considered as norms that contribute to its stability and survival as it is now constituted. Some concern the groups relations with the rest of the customers in the Malabar, and others are peculiar to some few of the group's members, indicating its flexibility, or at least, its tolerance of behaviour which deviates from that of the majority.

Thus because the male members are all Negroes from the United States of America, the girls refrain from referring to them as "niggers." These men are extremely sensitive about this appellation and all that it connotes, and react violently to it. Indeed the utterance of this name by one of the girls, for instance, seems to activate cohesive forces among the men, no matter what personal differences may have hitherto existed between them. They heap abuse on the head of the unfortunate girl who uttered the word, as she is being beaten by the individual to whom she thus referred and the others can only with difficulty be restrained from adding their share of blows. Harsh experience has therefore taught the group's female members to avoid this term which has such power to release the men's aggressiveness.

Similarly, for one girl to call another a "bitch" is a sure way to precipitate a violent conflict between the namer and the named. The reactions of the remaining members of the inner fraternity to such fights are various perhaps dependent on the prevailing mood. They may sit and watch as they tear each other's hair and trade buffets until the bouncer steps in, or some other girl with a grudge against one of the combatants, may seize the opportunity, under the guise of attempting to separate them, to get in a few blows of her own. Else, mutual friends, male or female, may effectively assuage the ruffled feelings, or the respective "old men" may hold them apart, or again, one "old man" may slap down his "old lady's" opponent under the indifferent eye of his opposite number. Whatever course the intervention may take, the conflict usually ends under the watchful eye of the bouncers, who may issue warnings to the erstwhile combatants reminding them what the penalty is. A particularly serious and prolonged fight may call down a ban varying in duration from a few weeks to several months on the girls concerned. Any girl judged guilty of "horning in" on another girl's "old man" would suffer the same fate at the hands of the injured party, with the overt approval of the other girls who are alive to the latent threat against themselves expressed in such behaviour.

Some of the behaviour patterns that are standard in the group are concerned with relations towards "outsiders," that is, customers who are not members of the group. For example, the girls capitalise on the known sexual wishes of both

white and Negro men in order to obtain liquor. When the liquor supply of the group is exhausted or at a low ebb and the members are unable or unwilling to buy more, the girls resort to "table-hopping." They pick out the tables of lone men or groups of men where a plentiful supply of liquor has been observed and invite themselves to join the party. By leading the "suckers" to believe that sexual favours will be forthcoming they help their new hosts to exhaust their supplies, sometimes even overtly or secretly sending drinks to friends at their own tables. When either they think they have had enough, or the liquor is running low they return to their companions abandoning the disappointed men.

When the latter are "patsies" and they protest, there are always the "old men" ready to persuade them to "take things easy": persistence will only add injury to insult. Negroes however, are often much more vociferous and violent when they realise that they have thus been "conned," giving vent to their injured pride by calling the girls various kinds of names or even attempting to beat them up until the "old men" intervene and the bouncers are forced to call halt. There is no way by which redress can be secured and it is amazing how often this practice has been used with complete success by the prostitutes, the promiscuous and "chaste" women of the group. In addition, there are some men who are fairly regular customers of the Malabar, with whom the girls maintain casual acquaintance, apparently as a matter of expediency, from whom they can get drinks by merely asking for it.

Another pattern of behaviour by which outsiders are exploited by the group members involves the pimps who are pickpockets and their girls. These men select likely prospects, that is men who either have been flashing money around, or are suspected of carrying a "roll." The pimps then, after some conversation, either join him at his table and invite girls over, or invite him to their table--with his drinks. The latter is the better course to adopt and the preferred one, since it is then easier to get rid of the "loot" by passing it to any person on the opposite side of the table who then leaves the scene, should the victim "get wise" after the act. The girls then each dance with the prospective victim in turn, "feeling him out" as they hold him as close as possible and go through various erotic movements calculated to fix his thoughts exclusively on the extreme proximity of her body. Sometimes a single girl may dance with the victim--usually an older man--even after he has been robbed, pretending to enjoy his dancing and thus preventing him thinking about money. Or perhaps, after the "feel" is made, if the girl is the lone Negro prostitute in the group, an adept pickpocket, she may rob the victim herself while they dance, instead of returning him to the males. The "loot" is later divided among the participants in this drama.

For a successful dénouement of this plot, from the pickpocket's point of view, the victim must not be aware of his loss until he leaves the Malabar and tries to hire a cab to take him home. When the theft is discovered in the nightclub,

the manager is forced to investigate and the victim may call the police, since the manager is hardly able to help him. The group members concerned will have long since left the scene, although the victim is by then too drunk to identify anyone.

Not all the girls in the group will assist in the above practice, and only a few of the men are pickpockets. But although members will denigrate such practitioners among themselves and refuse to be directly associated with their acts, yet they will never "squeal" on any member, and they consider "squealers" the lowest form of life. In fact, refusal to give information to the police especially, is an area of consensus not only for this sub-culture, but for the body of patrons as a whole. Only men who have been robbed of their money will call the police to lay complaints and even when fights bring injury to customers, the latter are very reluctant to call the police.

#### Internal Deviance of the Group

The above-mentioned toleration of disapproved behaviour gives some indication of the degree to which deviance from activity acceptable to the majority of the members is countenanced without serious disruption to the functioning of the sub-culture. Further evidence is furnished to properly illustrate this feature. Thus, there is the contrast in sexual behaviour between the prostitutes and promiscuous women on the one hand and the "chaste" women on the other.

Since the latter form only a very small part of the total female membership of the group, their refraining from coitus with various sex partners is actually contrary to the expected normal pattern of sex behaviour, yet they remain members of the group. It must be remembered, too, that sexual activity is a major value of the sub-culture, whether as an economic enterprise or a source of pleasure. It must therefore be that the conformity of this minority to several other norms of the group, plus long-standing ties of friendship, have secured their place in the "inner fraternity." Added to this is the fact that the "chaste" members accept the sexual behaviour of the majority, though abstaining from it; they criticise only those prostitutes who work for pimps, a group which is open to further criticism by another minority, the independent prostitutes.

Another institutionalised departure from the strict definition of the group's standards is the use of drugs. The majority of members deprecate the use of "goof-balls" (which were found to be tranquilliser tablets) and heroin which are the usual forms of "dope" taken here. Yet a minority of the girls, including all the Indian prostitutes who use "goof-balls," utilise these materials while a few of the men are "goof-ball pushers" and are still members of the group. Aversion to this practice is so strong that the older female members strive to dissuade the new prostitutes who are starting on "goof-balls," the use of which they regard as the first stage in a sequence leading through "skin-fixes" to "mainlining."

Penny, for example, succeeded in persuading Meg to drop the habit soon after she had started "skin-fixing," and Diane took Jo to live with her in order to try persuading her to abandon the recently acquired "mainline" habit. Incidentally, two of the older prostitutes quit the group and went to live with their white "pushers," when they were "really hooked" and just when they were beginning to be cold-shouldered. Girls who get on the habit are considered fools and every effort is made to help them break it, probably because they regard themselves as a "mutual protection society," and they fear that the practice might spread among them.

Heavy drinking is a characteristic feature of the sub-culture, but the ability "to hold your liquor" is stressed and highly valued. Members of this group seem to be always drinking and often say that they are drunk, though their normal gait and behaviour would hardly betray this fact. They get disgusted when other members become uncontrollably intoxicated and usually make hurried preparations to take them home. This is especially a failing of the younger prostitutes, of whom one of the Indian prostitutes is outstanding in this respect. It is perhaps, in her case, the combination of goof-balls and alcohol that is unmanageable. Probably this form of deviance from the group's expectations is regarded as the result of improper socialisation, a defect that will be remedied by longevity in the profession and the sub-culture.

Mild fraternisation with "patsies" is also tolerated

by the group, possibly because of the benefits likely to accrue to them from such relations. Thus, although some female members (some men do, but their case is different, since there is evidently less threat to sexual property) would not fraternize with these white men, they tolerate the practice in others as expediential.

The use of obscene language is a characteristic of the "inner fraternity" and, in fact, although this practice is widespread and normal in the Malabar, the members of this group are most outstanding in their uninhibited use of it. Their normal conversation is spiced with words referring to the sex act and the full power of their invective is often displayed when one member gives vent to his hostility either against another group member or an "outsider." The most crushing terms that can be applied to an opponent in such a verbal battle refer, one to the incestuous relationship between a man and his mother, the other to a woman being the active partner in oral-genital contact with a man. These are particular favourites and are applied indiscriminately to male or female. The former especially is galling to a man, who may react violently against any opponent so naming him.

### Bootlegging

The bootlegger members of this sub-culture do not sell their wares to persons who are unknown to them, because of the risk of selling liquor to a policeman in plainclothes. Sales are generally restricted to members of the group or to

other persons who are known to be frequent patrons of the Malabar, and who can be trusted not to betray them to the police. Formerly, liquor was sold to practically anyone in the establishment--with the observance of minimal care--as long as the money was handed over. This evidently worked well because the female members, the prostitutes especially, were the ones who were approached by the men wanting the liquor and the transaction was mediated through them.

However, restriction of sales was resorted to when a "rookie" plainclothesman (for the prostitutes know most of the older men) enticed one Negro bootlegger and his wife--they operated together--to sell him a bottle of liquor. Though a newcomer to the Malabar, he was not suspected because the transaction was negotiated by one of the doormen who had been drinking with him there the night before. The doorman approached the bootlegger, his erstwhile partner as a doorman, and recommended the unknown policeman as a "good guy." The following night the bootlegger and his wife were sub-poenaed by two different plainclothesmen and were subsequently gaoled for violating the liquor laws.

Of the patterns of behaviour described above, those that relate to the internal harmony and solidarity of the group are the most rigidly enforced. For, although the group is informally organised, the individual members probably sense in one another like needs generated by like circumstances which are not generally shared by the rest of the customers, nor by the larger social system. They are clearly conscious of their

status and are selective with regard to the persons who are accepted into the "primary group relations," that is, those who are welcomed as their status equals. Each member's participation in the group and adherence to its norms is thus influenced by his awareness of similar behaviour on the part of other members, whatever was the motivation for originally joining the group. Now they share common sentiments and loyalties with some sense of mutual dependence and support, reinforced by a common hostility to the "outsiders," whose generally reputable behaviour is disreputable to them. Respect can now be achieved only from their fellow members--the sole remaining source of prestige and approval.

#### The Elite of the "inner-fraternity"--the prostitutes

At the core of this sub-culture, are the prostitutes who can be regarded as the elite of the system. They have the greatest measure of power in the structure by reason of their sexual attractiveness. The male members are dependent for their membership on acceptance by them and this is particularly true of the "old men" who cannot achieve such status until these girls accede to their request to enter the "old-man-old-lady" relationship. The prostitutes therefore manipulate the men by means of their sexual accessibility and "hold the whip hand" over them literally and figuratively. For not only can they, once they have accepted them as "old men," abandon them for someone else, but if their actions become too violent, the girls can turn them over to the police or force them to return hurriedly across the border, in order to avoid a brush

with the law.

These girls then generally have the power to say which men will be accepted as status equals, even though some of them will subsequently be turning their earnings over to these same men who will be living a relatively leisured life. The prostitutes without pimps, however, retain the greatest measure of independence and power, since they can introduce new men into the group for the duration of their whims and caprices, while holding on to their earnings. In addition, these girls enjoy the greatest freedom of action in the group, being able to deviate most from its standards without jeopardising their status, since they are themselves the originators of these standards. This position of dominance by which these girls control inclusion in and exclusion from the group, is characteristic of "power elites" in any group or organisation.

For the prostitutes the inner fraternity constitutes an informal work group affording the satisfactions of primary relationships between peers in the work sphere. Competition between members is held to a minimum, nevertheless, for the spirit of the occupational milieu must not intrude upon the kind of interaction that is sought in the group. Not only are they peers in the work world, but they are also social equals, sharing a social status derived largely from their common occupation, and their social power is based on their sexual and commercial attractiveness for the men in the group.

The Malabar serves a dual function for the prostitutes. It is at once the scene of their leisure activities and the source of clients. Although the majority of them prefer not to work while they are in the club, there are a few who are always on the alert for men seeking their services. These last, owing to the demands for money put on them by their pimps, are forced to combine work with their leisure: in fact, this has become their characteristic pattern of operation or work routine. They utilise the knowledge that some of the men who come to the Malabar are seeking sexual outlets. Consequently, finding clients from whom to earn money is more important than enjoyment and relaxation, although they do derive some measure of enjoyment in their surroundings, particularly if the prospective clients are keen to dance and drink before leaving.

For those girls who are there purely to enjoy themselves, however, the Malabar serves the same function as for the rest of the customers who attend ostensibly to spend their leisure hours. The former are here with their escorts to dance, dine, drink and talk the night away and if they are approached by men seeking the services of prostitutes, they recommend the "night workers" and receive a share of the earnings in return. This "fee-splitting" is an established informal practice in such cases, but there is no fixed proportion that is given. All their attention is given to the men with whom they came to the club, whether their pimps or their temporary companions.

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### Prostitute's Itinerary

For them, coming to the club is one of the activities in a daily pattern that is adhered to with monotonous regularity. They go to sleep in the early hours of the morning and seldom awake before the early afternoon. Then comes a visit to their favourite cafeteria, and lounging spot, where they sit around and converse. The stay at this place may be interrupted by a visit to their favourite beer parlour or attention to clients. In the late afternoon and early evening the hunt for clients begins in earnest on the "Block." This search might entail waiting in this same cafeteria, or either of the other two between which it is sandwiched; or frequent exits and entrances are made through the doors of these three establishments. The aim of these quick trips seems to be to present themselves on the sidewalk periodically without delaying too long, in order to avoid the charge of loitering or soliciting. When the opportunities thus afforded are exhausted the search shifts to the beer-parlours, where business and pleasure are combined. If enough business is attracted to satisfy them, or the results did not justify the efforts, they return to their favourite drinking place, and in the event of this being already closed, they either go directly to the Malabar or go to their rooms to return later. As was mentioned above, some continue their business operations in the Malabar, while the others follow the normal activities of the mass of customers. The above itinerary and round of activities is adhered to daily and only illness, a sojourn in gaol, a trip out of Vancouver,

or sometimes marriage, is likely to cause any alteration in the pattern.

It seems to be followed compulsively and, although some of the prostitutes have expressed dissatisfaction, especially with the nightly attendance at the Malabar, complaining about the loss of the original thrill experienced in such visits, yet they continue to come and join in the patterns of behaviour that have been established. They seem powerless to break away as long as they remain in Vancouver, particularly since the sub-culture operates within it, and perhaps its ties are even powerful enough to force their return.

Apparently the sub-culture has achieved a life of its own with a demand character that compels conformity with regard to attendance at least, which, so long as it continues, will contribute to the survival of the group. The girls seem to derive some measure of security from belonging to the "inner fraternity," being assured of physical protection and psychic support. They appear to avoid being alone, living together, either in the same room or hotel, despite the short-lived nature of the affective relationships they engage in. Friends of today may be enemies next week, but even their enmity is ephemeral, judging from the frequency with which those who are separated by open hostility one day, will act like close friends another day. This alternation of affection and dislike between them is manifested in the ways in which they talk to and about one another, harsh bitter insults yielding

place to sympathetic concern. Both these contradictory attitudes seem to be bonds between them, acting in combination, and together with such other forces as the circumstances under which they live in the society, as a cohesive force in the sub-culture.

### Group Sanctions

It therefore follows that the severest form of punishment that can be meted out to a deviant from the group's standards is ostracism. This would likely have greater effect on the prostitutes because of the particular psycho-social forces operating in their situation. They are already practically outcasts from the wider social system for violation of its legal and moral norms and are denigrated even by those who consort with them in order to make use of their services. The only remaining system in which they can find a sympathetic moral climate is this sub-culture wherein similarly placed persons stand to profit from the satisfactions it provides. To be debarred from participation would therefore mean the removal of the last source of self-respect. The prostitute ostracised from this sub-culture would then have to engage in a search for other kindred souls outside of the system, who can provide satisfactions akin to those deprived of.

Ostracism however is not frequently employed and only one girl has been known to suffer such a fate. Her position had been none too secure within the group and eventually no

member displayed anything but hostility towards her, frequently resorting to violence. The last bonds of tolerance maintained by two of the other girls were severed and having no "old man" in the inner fraternity, she was forced to avoid seeking companionship in the group. She tried for awhile to compensate for this loss by consorting with other regular customers and entertainers, but failing in this she decided to leave Vancouver with a promise to change her way of life. A drug addict, a lesbian and one of the older prostitutes, the prevailing rationalisation added uncleanliness to these traits as the reasons for her abandonment. Of course there are other addicts in the group as well as others, male and female, who have engaged in homosexual activities both for work and leisure. What might have been a factor of great moment in her ostracism was the lack of an "old man" in the group who, mindful of his financial loss, would have defended her, or at least given her some tie of marginality, since none of the other members would further tolerate her company.

#### Prostitute-"Chaste" Women Relations

Perhaps the most stable bonds of affection or sympathy in which these prostitutes are involved is their relationship with the "chaste" female members. Unlike the promiscuous women and the part-time prostitutes, the "chaste" ones are hardly likely to be viewed as competitors for men and work since they maintain a single attachment and their men might not be members of the sub-culture. They seldom room with the prostitutes though close contact is maintained

with them and, deriving an income from the legitimate occupational field, if they earn their own living, they are able to keep sick prostitutes company at night and to care for them, while the latter's co-workers must be out "hustling." Thus whatever the needs that brought these women into the group, the prostitutes can look on them with some warmth--and perhaps with envy--aware that some persons who conform to the norms of the wider society with regard to sex, do manifest some warmth and respect for them.

### Marriage

Several of the prostitutes are married or have been and those who are still single generally have some desire to marry. They marry or hope to marry their pimps, hence their present or prospective husbands are all Negroes and very few of those who are divorced or separated from their husbands have been married to white men. Seldom do they enter into marriage with the chance that they will abandon prostitution, although a few have entertained this hope, only to be brought to the realisation that their husbands will not work, or are unable to find jobs. They thus find themselves in the position of the family bread-winner while their husbands live an apparently perpetual life of leisure. In cases of this sort, marriage, apart from the legal change of status, brings no change to the old prostitute-pimp relationship. Yet they do get married to men who, they know and confess, will continue to treat them badly.

A few couples do try to desert the old activities but eventually return when either insufficient funds are earned legitimately or some business venture undertaken has come to nought. In the former case, the wife might become either a full-fledged prostitute again or engage in her former activities on a part-time basis. In the latter case, the old patterns of life and work are resumed, perhaps with the addition of a greater demand for money on the part of the erstwhile pimp and present husband.

It is thus seen that these prostitutes adhere to the generally prevailing societal values concerning marriage with the major difference, however, that in most cases the wife is the breadwinner. There is little stable family life resulting from these marriages and only a few of these couples settle down to establishing a family in which the father has a steady job, such as being a railway porter. In the majority of cases there is no such opportunity for normal familial relationships and the desire of these girls for marital security is frustrated. Where they marry American Negroes with whom they had lived in an "old man-old lady" relationship for a period of several months, the men sometimes return across the border leaving their newly-acquired spouses to fend for themselves in accordance with their old patterns of life. The girls, however, obtain some measure of security from this new and tenuous relationship. They are able somewhat to forestall the police in the latter's attempts to bring

charges of vagrancy against them. They are able to tell to the police enquiring as to their means of support that they are cared for by the earnings of their husbands in the U.S.A.

### Pregnancy

These abandoned prostitute-wives together with those whose pimp-husbands remain in Vancouver avoid pregnancy by contraceptive means. Pregnant prostitutes continue to ply their trade until the last possible moment before confinement and are back at work as soon as possible after childbirth. Abortion is resorted to when either through carelessness or the failure of some contraceptive mechanism they become pregnant, and they either abort themselves or employ the services of well-known abortionists. The exorbitant fees charged by the latter is a motivating factor leading to the minimisation of this occupational hazard of the prostitute. Another hazard, the contracting of venereal disease, can also be effectively minimised by the utilisation of the same contraceptive methods that negate the possibility of pregnancy, but the consequences of venereal disease are much more widespread, leading not only to the ostracism of the particular prostitute once her condition is known by the other prostitutes, but also to avoidance by clients who have been themselves infected or have been informed by others who have been.

Yet despite the nuisance value of pregnancy, some

of the prostitute members of the inner fraternity do become pregnant, whether by accident or design, and bear children. Thus in the Summer of 1958 there was a rash of pregnancies among both the single and married prostitutes. Perhaps this is related to their desire for marriage, being another way of proving to themselves and the world that they are still women, possessing the ideals of socially approved women with regard to marriage and children. Their status in a world beyond the pale of society has not completely obliterated their desire to adhere to some values and ideals of the society that has denied their existence, despite their institutionalisation of behaviour patterns that are disreputable to the outgroup.

#### The "Old Man"- "Old Lady" Relationship

The pimps who are members of the inner fraternity are exclusively American Negroes. They are predominantly from the Southern U.S.A., although some are from the states of Washington and California where they made their homes after migration from the South, before coming on to Vancouver. Some others were drafted into the U.S. Armed Forces from the South and were stationed on the West Coast, whence they came North to Vancouver on furlough and decided to stay after serving their term. A few others are one generation removed from the South, their parents having migrated to the North before they were born. Once they have been separated from the U.S. Armed Forces they headed for Vancouver and continued the pattern of life begun when they were in uniform. Perhaps it is the accessibility of white women that serves as an attraction, allowing a

type of contact that is ostensibly rigidly tabooed in the South and to a lesser degree in the North.

Very few of them work once they have arrived and have been accepted into the prostitute-pimp relationship. The vast majority of them settle down to being supported by their "old ladies" and spend their time gambling, and drinking. The most serious work engaged in by them involves bootlegging and picking pockets, both of which can be practised in the Malabar, where their business and pleasure are combined. There, too, they serve as protectors for the girls should a dissatisfied "patsy" attempt to exact what he imagines to be his deserts after being "suckered" into parting with his liquor. It seems that these pimps are ever on the watch for opportunities to manifest their aggressiveness, which is frequently brought to bear either on "patsies" or the girls themselves. Extremely sensitive where the subject of colour or race is concerned, they react violently to the slightest suggestion of this question and are prone to read it into situations which could be otherwise interpreted. The girls are well aware of this and other habits of the Malabar soon learn that any statement which ambiguously skirts the colour question may be interpreted as an insult by these men and result in violence.

The pimps like to have many girls working for them principally because this means a greater financial return, but the prostitutes who have pimps prefer to be the only "old lady"

that their "old man" has. For a girl to withhold money from her "old man" because she has learnt that he has other "old ladies" is to invite a beating and the same result generally attends a failure to present him with the sum of money he has sent her out to get. Whenever a pimp has several girls working for him, he usually manages to arrange some sort of peaceful relationship between them, an uneasy peace at best, since the first girl is never satisfied to share her man and she will be laughed at by those who have no pimps or those who are not sharing their "old men" with other girls. She may even be encouraged to fight with her rival or rivals thus forcing the pimp into decisive action, since she may call in the police if he beats her too often.

### University Students

The Malabar is frequented by students of the University, but only a few Canadian students are among the number who go, the majority being West Indian Negroes. These students, like the other patrons of the establishment are there to utilise the facilities offered legitimately by the management as well as to drink and seek sexual outlet. The Canadian students are paying customers of the prostitutes but the West Indians stand in a special relationship to the female members of the inner fraternity. Their privileged position vis-a-vis these girls is due partly to their ethnic origin and partly to their status as university students. The

combination of these factors makes them readily acceptable to the girls as "honorary" members of the "inner fraternity" and not merely as prospective clients for their wares.

These students are invited by the girls to sit with them, dance with them and share their liquor. The latter are well aware that the West Indians are seeking sexual outlet and that therefore they are valuable to them as sexual objects. Nevertheless they tend to discourage any brash approach to the subject, coming to it by circuitous paths. The girls want the students to act as if they were courting and dating them, with some pretence of affective involvement before submitting to sexual relations with them. They evince some interest in the students' academic activities and express envy at not being able to share in them.

It is interesting to note that when the students first meet these girls they say that they are practical nurses, or are attending night classes at the University here: one girl even stated that she was a university student from Montreal and had "taken a year out." They are of course aware that nobody is deluded by these statements, which, however, serve to put them on a level comparable to that of the students and may at best reveal their secret fantasies and ambitions, as well as dissatisfaction with their profession. These illusions which they attempt to create are all consistent with their sub-cultural behaviour in the Malabar: that is, they are out "socially" and are not working.

Even though they are aware that the students know what their occupation is, they do not want to be regarded as prostitutes. They desire to be treated as women "out on the town" before going to bed with them and since sexual intercourse on such occasions is not a commercial transaction, the students have proof only that they are promiscuous but not that they are prostitutes. It is possible that here is a situation where these students, when they are present, act as a normative reference group in respect of sexual behaviour for these prostitutes. The latter feel that they have to conform to what they believe are the expectations of the students. They seem to have assigned a role to the students and to act towards them in the manner in which they think the students expect them to behave.

The West Indian students benefit greatly with regard to their sexual satisfaction by thus being placed in a privileged position by the prostitutes of the inner fraternity. They are seeking the most accessible women for their own gratification, whether these latter are prostitutes or merely promiscuous. The only expenditure that they incur is the charge for admission into the establishment and relationships durable enough to provide ready sexual gratification are sometimes founded. The girls who enter into such relationships, neglecting the fact that they are only used conveniently by the students, lord it over the other girls when they can say "my old man is a student at the University." This is

proof in their eyes of considerable status gain and instances are known when this fact has been employed to discourage the obvious intentions of other men.

This honorary membership in the "inner fraternity" held by West Indian students has brought them into some measure of conflict with the other Negroes in the sub-culture. This applies particularly to the pimps who have vested financial interest in the girls. They resent any attention paid to the students by the girls and vice-versa because they see in this a threat to their position and finances. They therefore warn the girls, especially those who work for them, to stay clear of the students because they are out to get them for nothing. However, they have never reacted violently against the students but just make it difficult for any contact to be made so long as they are present in the Malabar. This works well under their eyes but contacts--and relationships--are established in their absence, both parties being careful to restrict their behaviour to innocent dancing whenever the pimp or pimps are present.

It is quite likely that, in spite of the secretive nature of the arrangements, these men do have suspicions about the existing relationships and vent their rage on the girls outside of the Malabar. Where the girls in the sub-culture have no steady "old men" there is no conflict, since the choice of their temporary partners in the group depends entirely on them and should some other men have designs on

them when they have chosen students there is no decisive action these men can take to triumph over their rivals except to malign them. The relative infrequency of the students' visits to the Malabar, however, renders them open to subtle attacks by rivals who employ their absence to ingratiate themselves with the girls. It is not unknown for students to return and discover that they have been supplanted by others, but their ready access to the sub-culture gives them ample opportunity to establish new relationships, relying exclusively on their conversational prowess and the attraction they know they have for these girls.

#### The Entertainers and the Inner Fraternity

Entertainers stand somewhat in a position similar to that of the West Indian students, especially if they are Negroes. Singers, dancers and musicians are all quickly approached by the female members of the group eager to get on familiar terms with them after they have seen their acts. Here there is intense competition among the girls to see who would eventually gain the prize of having an entertainer as their "old man." The girls make the overtures and leave no doubt as to their intentions. It is not unusual to see several girls around a single entertainer, each vying for the position of his temporary mate. The shrewder entertainers make no open choice, utilising the services of all who are willing, but generally a single choice is made. When this happens the former "old men" are either deserted until

the temporary "old men" leave for another job or else the girls are shared. The girls may even desert the tables at which the rest of the inner fraternity sits and take up positions at the tables near the bandstand where the musicians and entertainers generally are placed.

Unlike the West Indian students who like most university students are notoriously impecunious, the entertainers are expected to spend, because they are obviously at work and getting paid. Although the initiative was out of their hands, once they have been committed to some sort of relationship with these girls, they are forced to spend quite freely in their company, if only to prove that they are not stingy. They thus publicly indicate to their partners that they appreciate them, whatever their private opinions may be. For the prostitutes especially, this is different from their normal commercial arrangement, although it involves the expenditure of money by the man and the submission to sexual relations by the girls. The relationship now assumes some semblance of affectivity, that is, to all appearances the behaviour is the same as that of a steady dating couple in which the male partner is expected to assume the financial responsibility of entertaining the girl.

Participation in an amorous relationship with an entertainer is evidently regarded by the female members of this sub-culture as a gain in status and prestige, judging from the intense competition that occurs in the process of acquiring

one as a boy-friend. In addition, the behaviour that attends such an acquisition seems designed primarily to demonstrate to the world at large that these particular girls "have arrived" and that it was a major achievement. Every opportunity is taken to call out to the entertainers and otherwise give the impression by subtle feminine actions that "he is mine" and there is mutual satisfaction with the relationship.

One consequence of this pattern is that entertainers find it quite easy to establish rapport with the audience in the Malabar. They find their staunchest supporters among the members of the inner fraternity, both male and female, including among the latter those girls who were the losers in this avenue of status gain. Perhaps coupled with genuine enjoyment of the entertainers' performances, these last enjoy some measure of vicarious satisfaction in the success of their companions and entertain some secret hope that they will be the successful ones when the next opportunity arises. It may be, too, that the members of the group derive satisfaction in their association with the performers, through the mediation of such of their members as are directly involved. Whatever the nature of the factors which contribute to this strong support, entertainers regardless of the quality of their act, are greatly encouraged by the presence of this ready-made "cheering section." The members of this group are loud and long in their applause and most frequent in their demands for request performances, behaviour which is soon adopted by the rest of the patrons. The entertainers then find that the audience is

very co-operative and their task of entertaining is made much easier.

There seems to be less opposition by the male members of the group to the female members consorting with male entertainers than with West Indian students. This is probably due to the fact that entertainers are itinerant workers whose stay in the city is rather short, whereas the students are usually here for several years, a period that might be comparable with the length of the sojourn of certain of the "old men." Furthermore, it is possible in certain cases, the latter do benefit financially from the relationship between their "old ladies" and the entertainers. Money received by the girls might be turned over to or shared with their pimps---partial compensation, as it were, for the loss of their services. This is likely to be quite infrequent, however, and hence might count for little towards the absence of strong opposition. Perhaps the fact that the men attempt to establish relationships with the female entertainers, just as the women do with the males, plus the factors suggested as contributing to the strong group support for entertainers, operate here as well.

The relationship between the members of the inner fraternity on one hand and West Indian university students and entertainers on the other is viewed here as serving the former as an avenue for gains in status and prestige. It seems that the establishment of their own status system within the

Malabar is not completely satisfactory, but that their own positions must either be tested against others from the wider society or brought into alignment with them. It makes no difference in this situation that the statuses they have chosen for such comparison are near the bottom of the accepted social hierarchy. For since the members of this sub-culture are by and large outside the accepted system, even the most depressed positions in this would be automatically superior to their own. Perhaps it is not merely coincidence that the two most favoured aggregates of persons hold positions in the larger social system bordering on the marginal. The variance of their patterns of behaviour from the societal norm might have been mistakenly construed as deviance.

This apparent granting of status equality to outsiders is in fact a search for status gain. The narrowly restricted movement within their own system, in which the prostitutes are at the top, necessitates going out of this limited arena if further gains are to be attained. The two classes of persons who have been selected for familiar and informal primary social relationships can therefore be regarded as of a rank above the topmost inner fraternity members. Consorting with these people thus represents status gain for the participants in such relationships and added prestige is reflected back on the sub-culture. A circular flow of privilege is thereby set in motion: that is, their high status in the social system of the Malabar gives these girls ready access to persons they regard as having higher status. Their

mutual acceptance of each other carries higher status for the girls and reinforces both their position within the inner fraternity and that of the latter within the Malabar.

In essence this temporary gain is obtained by an exchange of rewards. The girls reward the chosen man with their most highly prized possession--sexual favours--and take in return, perhaps unknown to the men, increased status and prestige. Admittedly, these relationships are principally sexual, and in most cases short-lived, but there is the notable absence of a financial tie, as is the case with the pimps. In addition, the absence of commercialised sexual relations might be regarded as the restoration, for the prostitute, of an acceptable self-image as a woman. The prevailing attitude of society denies this image, because of the way in which she earns her living.

#### The Inner Fraternity and the Management

The presence of the inner fraternity in the Malabar as a core of patrons, some of whom can be counted on to be present every night, has great significance for the operation of the establishment. There are even occasions when the total aggregate of patrons consists exclusively of inner fraternity members. Consequently, the members are all well known by the manager and staff and concessions are extended on each side. Thus in an emergency bouncers have been recruited from among the male members and the manager is quite indulgent towards over-violation of the norms of the establishment. Fighting,

for instance, by inner fraternity members is less frequently punished by expulsion even when the bouncers have no direct close relationship to the members of the group. The exchange of favours has created obligations of mutual help for both sides.

The known presence of the prostitutes as frequent customers works in the direction of attracting men in search of sexual outlet. Male customers come in alone with the hope of making an arrangement with these girls in order to obtain the sexual gratification they seek. The management is not concerned about this although it is certain that they know what occurs. The excuse for condoning or ignoring this might be that as long as no flagrant act takes place within the premises, it is not their business. After all, the owner is conducting a business and as long as customers pay at the door and enter they are free to interact sociably, so long as there is no overt objection by the people concerned. Customers are free to leave and return once they have been checked off before leaving. Under the circumstances it would be poor business policy to refuse entry to single male or unescorted female patrons merely because it is suspected that commercial sexual relationships will be established within. Furthermore, women who are not known prostitutes do come alone and leave with or without men, after what may be described as innocent interaction from the sexual point of view.

The inner fraternity was one of the major influences

in forcing the management of the Malabar to permit dancing beyond the legally specified hours. Originally there was strict adherence to the regulation, until the restriction was resented in the face of the manager's refusal to allow the violation. The inner fraternity reacted by moving out en masse to a rival establishment which offered less facilities but permitted after-hour dancing. The Malabar's business declined because the unattached men followed the group to the new haunt and it must be remembered that the group formed a stable core of customers whose presence could be counted on when the irregular and occasional ones were otherwise occupied. There were nights subsequent to this migration when the staff and entertainers alone occupied the premises. The management was thus forced to extend the hours of dancing which together with the greater variety of facilities offered for the entertainment of patrons enticed the inner fraternity to return. This change of policy necessitated the institution of certain illegitimate practices that were described as forming part of the formal organisation of the nightclub.

This core group also exerts influence in the length of stay of entertainers who are their particular favourites. This can readily be seen to follow from their relations with entertainers. As was mentioned before in dealing with the authority structure obtaining between manager, staff and entertainers, the manager and the master of ceremonies with his greater familiarity with performers are responsible for the booking of entertainers, but the patrons informally

influence the retention of performers once their initial stay has ended. In this the inner fraternity, again principally because of their long and frequent patronage have the greatest measure of informal power. Whereas the majority of patrons, on a week-end, for instance, might enjoy the performance of particular entertainers, they have little interest in having them held over, because they might have their fill of such "acts" during the normal two-week "run."

The members of the inner fraternity, however, have more than aesthetic interest in the performers, deriving other satisfactions as well from their intimate, personal relationships with them. At least three groups of performers are known to have had their stay prolonged because of such informal pressure and a third has been recalled several times to satisfy these paying customers, even though the manager complained of their high cost. It should be remarked, incidentally, that all these acts drew capacity houses, but it is amazing how members of this sub-culture kept requesting the same songs and dance routines nightly for weeks, despite the fact that these groups possessed fairly large repertoires of equally good--and sometimes better--routines. The tragic outcome for one Negro quintet of this triangular romance between management, inner fraternity and entertainers was disintegration. Special favourites of this inner core, they were retained for an unusually long stay, eventually doubling both as house band and entertainers, but jealousy over the sexual rights to some of the inner fraternity women led to the

dissolution of the quintet, when its members failed to arrive at a satisfactory compromise.

Generally, the relations between the management and the inner fraternity are cordial, the only exception being the attitude of the majority of female members of the group to the manager's wife. With very few exceptions they dislike her intensely and openly express a desire to do her violence. This no doubt is due to her officious manner and her tendency to alienate with her penchant for dominance. This they resent particularly since they say that she is only a common-law wife. Although the owner-manager is characterised as a "money-grabber," since he leaves them to their own devices and seems always to withdraw from situations of conflict, they display a much more friendly attitude towards him, blaming any shortcomings on his wife, who far from withdrawing would be more likely to intrude. However, the situation is so set that the inner fraternity can carry out its operations without paying much attention to the management of the Malabar, who are least likely to interfere in their activities.

In fact, so closely interwoven is the system that the manager actually places great confidence in the group who has it in its power to give the nightclub a good reputation, that is, as far as their purposes are concerned. A reputation for non-interference in the customer's activities, provided that there are no dangerously flagrant breaches of the law, would be more adaptive in these circumstances, than one

of being too obtrusive. It might be said that at the Malabar the barest minimum required for the continued existence of the establishment is complied with. The only alternative seems to be to cease operating. The management seems to recognise that it is good for business to maintain an alliance with the steadiest customers, even to the further detriment of his licence. Thus novice prostitutes who are apparently under the minimum legal age for admission to nightclubs are admitted after being vouched for as being of the proper age, by members of the inner fraternity.

#### The Malabar and the Police

The police are frequent visitors to the Malabar. In fact, it is considered unusual when a night passes and neither uniformed policemen, women police officers, nor plainclothesmen of the Anti-Vice Squad fail to make their appearance. It is not unusual for the establishment to be visited by all three branches of the city police within a short period of time on the same night. Although they are such frequent visitors, yet they are hardly ever summoned by the management or patrons. Indeed, throughout the entire period of observation for this study, only once were police officers called in by management to help eject a particularly violent and obstreperous customer.

Both management and patrons seem to prefer to have their mutual difficulties resolved without the aid of external agencies. In fact, when the signal is given that the police

are on their way in, whatever formal distinctions exist between both parties disappear. They co-operate to present a united front to the intruders: whatever obviously illegal behaviour was engaged in, is now abandoned until the common enemy has departed. It is to the advantage of both parties to observe such precautions and to unite in holding off the police. For if, after-hours dancing or the drinking of alcohol, for instance, is discovered, one repercussion would be the closing of the Malabar which would have consequences for the owner-manager, staff and patrons.

The former loses his business and probably the chance of starting another of the same type in Vancouver, although he could conceivably enter some other kind of business operation. It is assumed here, however, that this is the field of business he wants to engage in and the Malabar best satisfies him. Thus, being caught operating illegally would mean more to him than just losing any business opportunity. The staff will lose their means of livelihood in surroundings they perhaps enjoy and must then return to the labour market and compete for positions, most of which require training they do not possess. Like the management, the staff will be deprived of a preferred activity, as well as being faced with alternatives that may be unattainable.

For the customers the obvious loss will be their "playground" or place of entertainment. For the irregular customers this might not count for much, since they probably have alternative means of consuming their leisure. But for

the members of the inner fraternity with few, if any, alternatives the closing of the Malabar would be a tragic loss. The basis of their status system would be removed; the operation of their informal work organisation would be disrupted; in fact, practically the whole fabric of their sub-cultural system would be destroyed. In their way then, they have at least as much vested interest as the management in the survival of the Malabar as a business organisation. They can therefore be expected to ensure that the rules concerning behaviour vis-a-vis the police within the nightclub are observed. Indeed, newcomers to the establishment are hurriedly told by them (as well as by other regular customers, outsiders, to the inner fraternity) what to do--to hurry from the dance floor, if it is after hours; to hide their bottles at any time the signal is given; and sometimes to drink the contents of their glasses. On management's side, the frequent rounds by the manager, the bouncers and the kitchen-helper to remove empty bottles, completes the picture of the co-operative front against the police.

A favourite time of entry for the police is when the floorshow is being staged. They generally stand just inside the door near the manager's section and look at whatever performance is taking place. If they do enter when the show is not being staged, this is the spot they always occupy until they depart. Rarely do they move around, and only occasionally do they say anything to the manager. The women

police officers are exceptions in this regard. They usually walk around and talk to the female members of the inner fraternity, writing down the names and addresses of some girls who seem new to them and perhaps appear under-age. The other police officers, however, generally remain aloof, except when occasionally approached by some female member of the inner fraternity, being content just to look on and talk among themselves.

Generally it seems that the precautions taken about liquor especially are wasted on the police, whose habit of standing near the door has been noted, especially by the inner fraternity members. These latter even developed the practice of keeping their drinks before them, not even bothering to "toss them off" when the policemen enter, although the bottles are kept out of sight. Hardly ever are attempts made to investigate the contents of glasses before customers. It is only recently since the question of the illegal consumption of alcohol in nightclubs arose in the municipal council and the city prosecutor threatened to close down four of these establishments, the Malabar included, that plainclothes police officers were seen to look under the tables for bottles of liquor and to investigate the storage place for empty bottles.

It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the police are fully conversant with all the illegal activities that are carried on in the Malabar--the bootlegging and consumption of liquor, the operation of a prostitute's "agency,"

the admission of the patrons ineligible because of their age, and after-hours dancing. In fact, this conclusion is warranted, by the fact that members of the police force, male and female, have participated off-duty in the normal customer activities. Furthermore, one husband-and-wife bootlegger team was prosecuted and gaoled for operating in the Malabar when it was obvious that they were not the only ones operating there. One further incident reinforces this conclusion. A customer was once hauled out of the Malabar by uniformed policemen, who had been called, for once, to quell a disturbance. The customer was found to have a bottle of whiskey which was seized and taken out as well with great show. He returned alone a few minutes later minus his whiskey.

The only illegal activity that really ceases while the police are present is after-hours dancing. By this time music for dancing is supplied by the juke-box which is automatically cut off by the turning on of the bright lights which signal the coming of the police. One would expect that the sudden silence and bright lights in a usually dimly-lit and noisy atmosphere would create suspicion, especially since there is a loudspeaker at the foot of the stairs outside; but the police have not so far manifested anything but indifference. On the other hand, it is difficult to detect the operation of prostitutes. Superficially, a man making overtures to a prostitute, or the latter soliciting a man in the Malabar, behaves like any other man or woman in the establishment. The

couple may be dancing while the negotiations are taking place, or they may be sitting at a table, or selecting tunes at the juke-box. These are activities followed by and expected of any couple who gain admission and one cannot judge a customer's intentions by noting whether he or she entered alone or not. It is therefore easy to see how the prostitutes who utilise the Malabar as a "pick-up centre" can operate even in the presence of the police, regardless of whether or not their profession is known.

If the intention of the police in visiting the Malabar so frequently is to discourage the occurrence of such illegal activities as do take place, their general behaviour and attitude while present belie their intentions, unless it is believed that the mere presence of the police is sufficient to inhibit illegal actions. Yet, since most of the prostitutes and their associates seem to be known by the police, perhaps their visits do serve the function of checking to ascertain who are present or absent, and of indicating to these persons that they are under constant surveillance. It may therefore be said that the choice of the Malabar as their "social centre" by the members of the inner fraternity and the other deviant "outsiders" has perhaps made the task of the police easier in keeping watch on their actions. They are thus allowed some licence to operate--a licence which could be summarily withdrawn at any moment, if so desired--as long as grosser aspects of their behaviour are not flaunted before the public.

Such a situation then constitutes an unofficial zoning, as it were, concomitant with an informal leave to carry on their activities. This, of course, raises questions as to the possibility of secret arrangements and understandings involving the police, the Malabar's management and the deviants who are members of the sub-culture within.

## PART III

### Theoretical Considerations

The description of the Malabar as an integrated complex of differentiated functional relationships, has suggested examination of the material in accordance with three major areas of sociological theory: social organisation, deviance, race and ethnic relations. Each will be dealt with separately, although they are inter-related in actuality.

### Social Organisation

Organisational analysis originating from Weber's formulations on bureaucratic structure has been primarily concerned with examining large organisations on the scale of business corporations, factories and hospitals, in which administration is based on a rational division of labour among the various statuses of a hierarchy.<sup>1</sup> Such analysis tends to stress the rationalistic orientation of administration, viewing the non-rational spontaneous patterns of interaction--the so-called informal organisation--as an emergent system deviating from the formal prescriptions, rather than as a sine qua non of social systems. Blau, however, recognises that such interactions are not peculiar deviations from the formal blueprint of the

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<sup>1</sup> M. Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organisation, translated A.M. Henderson and T. Parsons, Glencoe, Illinois, The Free Press, 1947, pp. 329-341.

organisation but are consistent, patterned elements which are part of the dynamic nature of organisations:<sup>2</sup> in other words, these activities, though spontaneous, are no less essential than the ones which are pre-determined.

Such large-scale models of complex rational organisations are inappropriate for analysis of small organisations of the Malabar type, except to serve as a measure of the extent of the latter's bureaucratisation. In addition to its size, the Malabar possesses other characteristics which differentiate it from the kind of organisation that is usually studied. Some of the employees are relatives of the manager and his wife while others are drawn from outside the family circle; one class of employees are itinerants whose work pattern involves short, periodic sojourns and hence frequent personnel changes for the establishment; the class of persons for whom the organisation produces are taken right into the work situation for the duration of business operations.

The presence of the manager's wife, two uncles, a cousin and his wife's brother and cousin as workers together with other employees who are non-relatives will have consequences for the authority structure and management-worker relations. Separately considered, the application of two opposed sets of criteria, relational or non-rational for kin and affinals, and rational for non-relatives, in the manager's

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<sup>2</sup> P. Blau, The Dynamics of Bureaucracy, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1955, p. 2.

dealings with workers in the same work situation is likely to result in conflict arising from too overt favouritism towards relatives. Workers who are outside the system of family relationships will tend to feel resentful of benefits which they think are awarded on a purely relational basis and the resultant disharmony would have repercussions on worker productivity.

Stable and harmonious work relations can be achieved either by replacing non-relatives by relatives, or by treating non-relatives in a manner similar to relatives. The first alternative has obvious limitations. The availability of adult relatives cannot be increased by the immediate demands of the situation: family size was a fait accompli and if qualified relatives were available they would likely have been employed. The second alternative is the one that seems to have been practised here. It was a matter of trial and error to find employees with the appropriate personality characteristics who could fit into the predominantly familial relationships that were pre-established.

This pattern, coupled with the smallness of the organisation gave rise to a system of primary relations similar to what is found in the family circle. Manager and worker form an informal group in which formal status and role definitions are blurred and there is little need for formal coordination. Such primary group relations finds the workers identifying with management instead of forming informal groups

among themselves and there is no problem of a division of loyalties because of the personalised relationship.

The entertainers and dance band musicians lie somewhat outside this pattern of primary relations. This is due mainly to their status as experts who are not connected with the material production aspect of the organisation. In addition, the short duration of the entertainers' period of employment, a function of his career pattern, precludes the development of close and stable ties with the organisation. They are closest to the musicians with whom they have to work, so that their partial isolation is partly self-imposed and partly professionally determined. The dance musicians, however, stay out of the pattern of primary relations with the other employees and management because of their traditional aloofness, inspired by their emphasis on the perceived distinction between "squares" and jazz-musicians. It is thus orientation to the values of their profession that makes them indifferent to the other human elements of their social situation.

The familial relationships also give rise to an authority pattern contrary to that of full-fledged bureaucratic organisations in which authority derives from expertise and incumbence in office. In normal family relations, the younger generation defers to the parental generation: that is, authority is based on such non-rational considerations as age and sex. Thus the manager should normally either defer to the

two relatives of his father's generation, his uncles, who work in subordinate positions as cook and kitchen helper, or, by the rational system, impose his authority on his familial elders and evaluate their performance in accordance with their status as subordinates in the work situation. There would then be conflict between the values applicable to the family situation and those obtaining in a specifically bureaucratic milieu.

The resolution of the problem is again arrived at by the de-emphasizing of status definitions--both relational and occupational--and a consequent blurring of authority relations. The work situation then approaches the polar position of consensually-based work organisations according to Gross' ideal typology of symbiotically-based versus consensually-based work organisations.<sup>3</sup> At the symbiotic pole of the continuum, work specialties are rigidly defined by formal rules, a rationally based authority is more in evidence because of the need for evaluation and coordination of the complex division of labour. This is found in large work organisations with a high degree of bureaucratisation, where the impersonal work relations produce informal groups among workers who identify with each other vis-a-vis management.

At the consensual pole, specialties are taken for granted and are distinguished by informal agreement. Authority

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<sup>3</sup> E. Gross, Work and Society, New York, Thomas Y. Crowell, 1958, p. 269.

and status relations tend to vanish with little need for formal coordination. This is characteristic of small long-established work organisations, in which the worker identifies with the organisation and management because of the personalised work relations. Gross thus postulates a trend away from consensus toward symbiosis, as the size of the organisation increases and complexity and bureaucratisation set in. There occurs a shift in emphasis--since neither element completely disappears--for symbiotic elements assume increasing importance and the organisation is hard put to retain its primarily consensual orientation. Whyte sees a similar shift in the nature of work relations in the restaurant as the organisation increases in size and the social structure becomes more complex.<sup>4</sup> The Malabar is seen to fall near the consensual pole of the continuum, not only because of its size, but also because kin-based relations lie at the core of its work organisation.

The smallness of the Malabar also differentiates it from characteristically bureaucratic organisations with respect to supervision, channels of communication and promotion. The shortness of the line from management to worker means that the manager readily has all operations under his eye. There is thus no need for supervisors as intermediaries between management and worker and one source of conflict arising from the supervisors' dilemma of identification is obviated. In

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<sup>4</sup> W.F. Whyte, "The Social Structure of the Restaurant," in R. Dubin (ed.) Human Relations in Administration, New York, Prentice Hall, 1951, pp. 60-67.

bureaucracies offices are organised on the principle of hierarchy with each lower office controlled and supervised by a higher one by a system of span of control. Supervisors are faced with the problem of orienting themselves either to their subordinates or to their superiors, a choice which entails cutting themselves off from benefits. Identification with management brings the resentment of the workers who may retaliate by withholding information, or by sabotage, thus jeopardising the supervisor's position. On the other hand, too close a relationship with the workers may also be injurious to his tenure of office and his chances of promotion up the hierarchy. A compromise is generally worked out, however, by which the supervisor retains the best of both worlds, withholding the application of formal rules and sanctions in order to secure the cooperation and loyalty of his subordinates.<sup>5</sup>

In the Malabar the shortness of the line and the establishment of primary group relations obviate the necessity for such an adjustment. But whereas the physical proximity and informal work relations make for harmony, conflict can also be produced due to personality clashes or variations in the moods of individuals. Such conflicts between individuals, however, are minimised by the very informality of the relationships.

The entertainers and dance band musicians enjoy a great deal of functional autonomy in the Malabar and supervision of their activities is not problematical. Their belief that

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<sup>5</sup> Blau, op. cit., p. 167.

their expertise entitles them to deferential treatment precludes their submission to supervision by other than persons of their own way of life. Indeed, the nature of their work allows them to follow a pre-established time-table with a minimum of interference from the management, whose contacts with them are practically limited to salary arrangements.

Communication is a problem that is allied to supervision in large-scale organisations. Increased complexity of the division of labour and bureaucratisation necessitate the establishment of formal channels through which information must pass from one level of the organisation to the other. The very complexity of these systems gives rise to the distortion and suppression of information according to the vested interests of incumbents at different levels of the hierarchy. Moreover, the slowness of the passage of information along the circuitous channels necessitates informal modifications of the communications system in the interest of more efficient operation. Where an organisation is comprised of administrative as well as productive divisions, the weaknesses of the communications system are accentuated.

Shortness of line in small organisations like the Malabar minimises the likelihood that information on its way between the top and the bottom will be distorted or suppressed. The manager is able to perceive shortcomings of operation as they occur and propose remedies immediately because he is in a position close enough to every worker to see the whole system at

work. He does not have to await a report, so that crises and new situations can therefore be dealt with as they are seen to occur, because he is close to the bottom, although he is at the top.

Unlike large bureaucracies, however, these small consensually-based work organisations offer little or no opportunity for individual advancement within the system. In a bureaucracy, being an official constitutes a career and incumbents therefore expect that normally there will be some upward mobility within the organisation, based on seniority, technical knowledge, or both. In the Malabar employees cannot expect promotion within the organisation because of the shortness of the line, the simplicity of the division of labour, and the lack of continuity between the positions of waitress, bouncer, cook, entertainer, musician and owner. Factors such as kinship, specialised talent or technical knowledge and availability of capital debar progression from one position to another.

For instance, it is conceivable that a waitress can become an entertainer--a dancer perhaps--or a bouncer can become a jazz musician, provided that they had the necessary talent and/or technical knowledge required for such an occupation. Similarly, with the necessary capital resources, talent and inclination anyone of them could become an owner-manager of a similar organisation. Nevertheless, upward mobility is not then necessarily achieved within the organisation, for it may

require transfer to another organisation of the same type which is given a higher evaluation. In this hypothetical case, such vertical and geographical mobility may be achieved either by retaining the same occupational status or by assuming another.

The absence of opportunity for promotion within the Malabar and organisations of this type is somewhat compensated for by other benefits that accrue to the employees. They receive, in addition to their salaries, payments in kind of the goods and services provided by the organisation, free admission on nights off, acceptance into fellowship, and sometimes pay increases, bonuses, or tips.

The Malabar's work organisation includes a body of specialists whose work pattern is based on transience. These workers, the entertainers, enter the organisation only temporarily, staying usually for a period of two weeks. This means that there must be a certain degree of flexibility in the structure to allow for such frequent changes of personnel. This flexibility is in fact built into the organisation to accommodate these transient specialists whose entrances and exits would disrupt the efficient operation of other types of organisations. Indeed, for organisations such as the Malabar, frequent changes in entertainers are an indication that the management is fulfilling its bargain to satisfy the patrons' needs for variety in entertainment. For the entertainer, frequent changes of places of work mean that

there is great demand for his services because he has succeeded in measuring up to the nebulous criteria of popularity.

These specialists then are not fully absorbed into any single organisation and this status of being partial outsiders has consequences for the kinds of social relationships in which they are involved in these organisations. In dealing with management and patrons they maintain a great measure of aloofness because of their profession-orientation. But this of necessity has to be carefully delimited because of their dependence on both management and patrons. They are dependent on management for employment without which they cannot achieve popularity; yet, once they have become "big-names" they succeed somewhat in reversing the tables, since they are then in a position to refuse their services to some managements and play on rivalries between them. Their dependence on the patrons, as the arbiters of their popularity standing, is more lasting.

In bureaucracies the specialists who are employed are absorbed into the organisation's structure because the office of a bureaucrat constitutes a career. Ideally, they are recruited on the basis of technical competence, which usually can be properly evaluated only by other members of their profession and not by their administrative superiors. The presence of professional experts in bureaucratic organisations sometimes leads to factional conflict between "cosmopolitans" and "locals"; that is, between those who are primarily oriented

to their profession and those who are primarily loyal to the organisation that employs them.<sup>6</sup>

Such conflict is not likely to occur in organisations like the Malabar where the specialists--entertainers--though profession-oriented, are transients. The profession-oriented dance band musicians are permanent members of the staff, but their functional autonomy and physical semi-isolation allows them to work according to a time-table, withdrawn from conflict-situations. Here a potential source of conflict arising from the proximity of some employees who insist on their status to others between whom status lines are blurred is controlled by the general informality and flexibility of relationships in the organisation. Moreover, the nature of the work of these specialists is such that their main interaction with the other persons present precludes the development of conflicts over expectations. That is, while they are producing musical sounds for the customers' consumption, it is not possible to have at the same time any kind of direct relationship with the consumers, other than this symbolic one.

The necessity of admitting the patrons directly into the work situation of an organisation makes it imperative to decide on the nature of the relationships that will prevail between the staff and these persons. They have to be contended with because of the influence they have on the production

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<sup>6</sup> A. Gouldner, "Organisational Analysis" in R.K. Merton, L. Broom and L.S. Cottrell (eds.) Sociology Today, New York, Basic Books, Inc., 1959, pp. 401-428.

Processes of the organisation. Whyte deals with this problem for the restaurant but he is more concerned with the situation as it is found in large organisations, although he does briefly mention small organisations in his tracing of an evolutionary developmental sequence from small restaurants to highly bureaucratised ones.<sup>7</sup>

In these large organisations the question of the adjustment of the restaurant personnel to the customer relationship is made more crucial by the complex division of labour and obvious differences in social status between customer and worker. For example, the waitress must balance deference to her supervisors and the patrons with some measure of aggressiveness towards the other waitresses and the pantry workers, in order to attain an emotional equilibrium enabling her to work efficiently in her several dimensions of interaction. In this situation, informal groups develop to help waitresses, particularly to adjust to the real and imagined attitudes of her superiors and the customers. Gross states that these informal groups provide the individuals with reassurance, self-confidence and a sense of belonging in an impersonal work structure that tends to impress them with the servile nature of their occupation.<sup>8</sup>

In small organisations with their rudimentary division of labour and close personal relations between owner and worker,

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<sup>7</sup> Whyte, op. cit., pp. 61-63.

<sup>8</sup> Gross, op. cit., p. 379.

the latter's confidence is bolstered in dealing with customers who are likely to be regulars. In the Malabar's case the customers are predominantly of low socio-economic status just like the waitresses who are free to banter with and talk back to the customers whom they regard as their equals. Situations that could lead to tension are relieved by humour and aggressive behaviour in which the waitress is likely to give as good as she gets--if not better--without recourse to the manager by either party. In addition, relations are on a first name basis with frank expression of feelings and opinions by the participants, and tipping, which is the customer's way of expressing both his appreciation of the service and his superiority over those who serve him, is practically non-existent. The customer is then in his milieu and generally behaves as is his wont, without pressure to do otherwise.

Furthermore, the fairly rapid rotation of customers in large restaurants makes the customer relationship more delicate for the workers who have to be in direct contact with them. Prompt and cheerful service, in addition to fine cuisine, makes the organisation's reputation, therefore it is important that the waitress' manner and appearance should not detract from the efficient standards the management is striving to maintain. She must stay within the rigid bounds of her role, regardless of what tensions she is under, and in spite of the variety of personalities she must encounter in fairly

quick succession. She cannot employ the tension-reducing mechanisms of the Malabar waitress, through fear of losing her position. Nevertheless, the very short-lived nature of the personal contact probably prevents the development of greater tension and conflict.

Patrons in nightclubs usually stay until closing time. This pattern gives greater opportunity for the establishing of lasting customer-worker relationships--and hence of conflict situations where customer-worker status differences are prominent. The prolonged interaction between waitresses and customers could result in the development of negative attitudes by the one towards the other. But, as has been stated above, the virtual absence of status differentials in the Malabar, the freedom of workers to deal with patrons in a manner that emphasizes the similar social origin of both parties, and the smallness of the organisation fostering the development of primary group relations, all make for the minimisation of conflict or the dissipation of conflict and tension by "talking it out."

The characteristic informality of relations in this organisation is the first feature that strikes the observer. The predominance of these informal primary relations masks the formal aspect of the organisation, necessitating a closer look to discover the definitions of the various statuses and roles required for the implementation of the organisation's purpose. The almost complete interchangeability of the

different roles--the manager doing the bouncer's tasks, his wife assuming the waitress' role, the kitchen-helper joining the manager and bouncers in their periodic rounds of the tables, and even patrons aiding in this task--speaks of an un-bureaucratic ideal that would cause chaos in larger organisations.

Abbeglen has shown in his study of the Japanese factory the existence of quasi-familial relationships parallel to such as have been described above for the Malabar.<sup>9</sup> He remarks on the close involvement of Japanese management in the personal and private affairs of the workers creating a paternalistic system parallel to the clan or kinship organisation which seems to pervade Japanese social structure, with the oyako or father-son type of relationship as the model. He states that the situation holds for factories of all sizes, being only more highlighted in the smaller ones. It is thus seen that the prevailing impersonalised system of relations in modern western bureaucracies is not inevitable, that social and attitudinal factors, such as found in small organisations of the Malabar type or in a society such as Japan, operate to negate this development and, instead, to produce an alternative system. In both cases the systems of relationships within the family organisation and the business organisation seem to have a common structural base.

It is here suggested that this pattern of shifting roles, indefinite status boundaries and informal primary

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<sup>9</sup> J.C. Abbeglen, The Japanese Factory. Glencoe, Illinois, The Free Press, 1958, pp. 128-134.

group relations, is the effective working out of a compromise necessitated by the co-existence of kin and non-relatives in the work organisation. This is facilitated by the smallness of the organisation and the lack of differences in socio-economic status between the servers and the served. The entertainers and the dance band musicians are thus seen to occupy an anomalous position in this work situation, maintaining an aloofness from the other personnel, because of their career pattern of transience on the one hand, and their profession-orientation on the other. Nevertheless, it is thought that their functional autonomy which is related to the nature of their work in the organisation, together with the essentially primary group relations among the other persons, negates the appearance of any serious rifts in the organisation. That is, the fundamental flexibility of this organisation allows for the existence of such situations.

The description of the organisation of the Malabar has been based somewhat on a modification of Parsons' suggested schema for the analysis of organisations.<sup>10</sup> This schema, however, seems mainly directed towards the formal organisation, neglecting the so-called informal organisation. Explicit consideration of the latter is not allowed for; rather, it seems to be either implied as a major assumption, or left to be inferred. Furthermore, this conceptual scheme

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<sup>10</sup> T. Parsons, "Suggestions for a Sociological Approach to the Theory of Organisations," Administrative Science Quarterly, 1, 1956, pp. 63-85.

seems to imply consideration only of organisations in which the value systems are compatible with the values of the wider society. It does not seem to allow for adaptation to situational changes that can produce contradictions between the two systems of values--as in the case of the Malabar--where the operation of the organisation directly contravenes the institutional norms under which it is supposed to function. In other words, the organisation has been legitimated by one set of values but maintains itself by another and contrary set. This weakness is highlighted by the useful suggestion for the consideration of the relationship between the organisation and the larger social system of which it is part. By this, organisations are regarded as sub-systems having differentiated functions within the larger social system but it must be remembered that the concept of functions implies dysfunctions as well.

According to Parsons' typology with respect to the type of goal or function of organisations, the Malabar--and nightclubs in general--could be classified under three different types: economic goal primacy, pattern-maintenance, integrative (the fourth is orientation to political goals).<sup>11</sup> For the nightclub as a business organisation is oriented to the "maximisation of production with minimal cost." This is its goal, or rather that of its management, and its achievement is measured by the financial return. This organisation

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<sup>11</sup> Loc cit.

also "contributes to efficiency on the societal level" by "refuelling" individuals in the society so that they can carry on the tasks of society. Moreover, it has a "pattern-maintenance function" as well, if leisure and entertainment be regarded as values to which the individuals in society have to be socialised: in order to "maintain the on-going pattern of society" nightclubs exist to facilitate those whose task it is to do society's work.

There thus seems to be some overlap between the types "integrative" and "pattern-maintenance"--the hospital which Parsons<sup>12</sup> classifies as an "integrative organisation" can also be included under "pattern-maintenance," where health is regarded as a "valued pattern to be maintained." These two types do not seem to be mutually exclusive or to differentiate sufficiently between classes of organisations. In addition, there probably is some confusion arising from the use of the concepts goal and function interchangeably.

### Deviance

As yet there is no unified theory of deviant behaviour to account for the variant forms of deviance encountered in society, as well as the failure of deviance to occur when conditions thought to be contributory to it are present. Nevertheless certain formulations and conceptual schemes have been put forward by sociologists--notably Parsons, Cohen, Merton--which give promise of laying the necessary

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<sup>12</sup> Loc. cit.

groundwork for such a theory.<sup>13</sup> Merton's scheme which is regarded as a special case of Parsons' broader typology seems particularly applicable in considering the Malabar as a deviant organisation.<sup>14</sup> Cohen's is supported by the existence of the "inner fraternity" as a sub-system of the Malabar.<sup>15</sup>

As a business organisation catering to the satisfaction of the customers' needs, the Malabar's success in achieving its goal is measured by the monetary rewards that accrue to its management over and above its production costs. Success in operating, an economic organisation is then an approved cultural goal to be attained by utilising the means institutionalised in the society. This means for the management of the Malabar, that the establishment should be conducted in accordance with the terms of its licence governing the admission of persons over eighteen years of age, the sale and consumption of alcohol, and dancing in the premises. Adherence to these regulations which are generally applicable to all organisations of this type constitutes conformity to the socially approved means by which these organisations can legitimately achieve their purpose. Failure to abide by these universal rules is then interpreted as deviance and the

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13 T. Parsons, The Social System, Glencoe, Illinois, The Free Press, 1951, pp. 249-325; A.K. Cohen, Delinquent Boys. The Culture of the Gang, Glencoe, Illinois, The Free Press, 1955, pp. 65 ff; R.K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, Rev. ed., Glencoe, Illinois, The Free Press, 1957, pp. 131-194.

14 A.K. Cohen, "Social Disorganisation and Deviant Behaviour," in R.K. Merton, L. Broom, and L.S. Cottrell (eds.) Sociology Today, New York, Basic Books, Inc., 1959, pp. 461-484.

15 A.K. Cohen, Delinquent Boys. The Culture of the Gang, Glencoe, Illinois, The Free Press, 1955, pp. 65ff.

pressures which led to such departure from the norms must be sought out.

The three above-mentioned regulations have been consistently violated by the management of the Malabar, because it was found more efficient to maintain the organisation as an on-going system by violating rather than by conforming to the institutionalised expectations. In Merton's terminology, there has been innovation: that is, the culture goals have been accepted, but the institutionalised means for attaining the approved goal have been rejected.<sup>16</sup> The end now justifies the means, since the emphasis laid on the culturally learned success-objective has been divorced from the related institutionally defined controls. Whether money is obtained illegitimately or by socially approved methods, it still retains its validity as a symbol of success in business.

The existing social arrangements have contributed to this deviant mode of adaptation. The licensing authorities seem to follow a policy of discrimination, apparently according to the socio-economic status of the customers and of the nightclubs, in issuing liquor licences. Thus, no nightclub or cabaret in the Chinatown district of Vancouver has been granted a licence permitting the sale and/or consumption of liquor on its premises, whereas similar establishments in the West End have been so licensed. The patrons of East End nightclubs who are predominantly of low socio-economic status

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<sup>16</sup> R.K. Merton, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

are thus underprivileged in this regard and the deprivation they must endure seems to be due to the particularistic application of a norm that on a rational basis should be universalistic. This preferential treatment seems related to the differential evaluation of the two districts in the popular mind.

In addition, the existence of several other night-clubs in the area subjected the Malabar to intense competition for customers. These rival establishments had adopted illegitimate measures to attract and hold customers, who, dissatisfied with the Malabar's adherence to the rules, particularly to the two o'clock curfew on dancing, deserted the Malabar in order to patronise those establishments where their wishes were satisfied. It made little difference that the Malabar offered greater facilities for their entertainment. Therefore, in order to stay in business the management was forced to adopt the methods of its competitors and permit behaviour that was known to be contrary to the law. Conformity was thus dysfunctional for the continued successful operation of the Malabar from the financial point of view. The alternative was deviance from the institutionalised expectations, the adoption of methods which though illegitimate were technically more efficient for goal-attainment. In other words, conformity to the established norms created greater strain than resulted from the adoption of deviant modes of behaviour which came to be accepted as the norm within the organisation.

This persistence of deviance as the accepted mode is the opposite of normal social behaviour, where, as Cohen states, the ties to the institutional order are powerful enough, most of the time, to suppress deviant behaviour which produces greater strain.<sup>17</sup> Here there is such strong commitment to the achievement of the cultural goals that whatever means promise fulfilment are utilised without regard to their position on the moral scale: that is, the institutional limitations on the choice of means is completely ignored and technical efficiency becomes the principal criterion in the consideration of alternatives. Thus, the alternatives to adopting illegitimate practices are abandonment of the enterprise or continued operation with a minimum of customers, either of which means financial loss and, eo ipso, denial of the success-aspiration as expressed in monetary returns.

The patterned deviant response of the Malabar's management to the lack of congruence between regulatory norms and norms of expediency makes it possible to regard the Malabar as a "protest organisation." Management and customers combine to dissent from the socially structured arrangements by which they are threatened with deprivation of the culture goals they have internalised--financial success for the management and the customers leisure satisfaction in the form of entertainment. Unlike the West End establishments where the

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<sup>17</sup> A.K. Cohen, "Social Disorganisation and Deviant Behaviour," in R.K. Merton, L. Broom and L.S. Cottrell (eds.) Sociology Today, New York, Basic Books, Inc., 1959, p. 468.

personnel are on the side of the angels, and hence favoured in the achievement of their objectives, with no need to decry the social arrangements, the Malabar's management and customers are constrained to register their protests by action which at once makes their position known and provides goal-satisfaction. It is the social structure which gives rise to the malintegration between goals and means and thus motivates a deviant response from the Malabar personnel.

The organisation in its totality is thus a delinquent social system with a further deviant sub-system differentiated within it. The management represents an example of white-collar criminality in business and the "inner fraternity" depicts deviance of the underworld type.<sup>18</sup> The difference in the evaluation of both types of criminality seems related to the differential in social positions between the two groups, there being greater tolerance of the former, while the latter is usually regarded as the professional type and more frequently subjected to punishment. This class bias in the implementation of the law is generally related to the ability of the white-collar criminal to use political and financial power in order to secure immunity. However Whyte has shown that the low class criminal enters into arrangements with the police, whereby the latter in exchange for a "pay-off" withhold the application of

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<sup>18</sup> E.H. Sutherland, "White Collar Criminality" in L. Wilson and W.L. Kolb (eds.) Sociological Analysis, New York, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1949, pp. 788-798.

sanctions.<sup>19</sup>

No evidence of such practices can be adduced for the Malabar situation, but it is a fact that the management of this establishment enjoys immunity from prosecution by the police who are obviously fully conversant with the illegal practices resorted to in operating the establishment. On the other hand, "professional criminals" who are members of the "inner fraternity," the prostitutes and bootleggers especially, are prosecuted, though not as frequently as would be expected from the frequency of the visits by the police and the latter's knowledge of the patterns of behaviour. It is true, however, that the management and the customers present a "solid front" against the police, mutually supporting each other in the face of the threat presented by the police.

It is also true that, by the very nature of their role as investigators of crime, the police must acquire some guilty knowledge, which must to some degree be kept secret.<sup>20</sup> In order to obtain information he can work with, the policeman must establish and maintain connections with the underworld. To reveal all he knows would mean cutting himself off from his valuable connections and sources of information. He thus refrains from reporting certain "facts" in order to obtain more "facts." This conspiracy of silence thus seems to be an

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<sup>19</sup> W.F. Whyte, Street Corner Society, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1955, pp. 123-139.

<sup>20</sup> E.C. Hughes, "The Study of Occupations" in R.K. Merton, L. Broom, and L.S. Cottrell (eds.) Sociology Today, New York, Basic Books, Inc., 1959, pp. 442-458.

integral component of the policeman's role, establishing a dilemma that cannot be resolved as easily as the layman believes. It must be admitted, however, that this is a potentially dangerous situation, since such behaviour may be taken beyond the point of necessity by individuals who have become enamoured of the power so acquired. Thus the policeman may resort to blackmail and even force or encourage his connections to widen the scope of their activities to satisfy his greed. It is interesting to note that the priest, the lawyer, the physician, the reporter, are among others who are placed in similar situations by their normal occupational activities.

Cohen's formulations with regard to the culture of the gang have been found particularly useful in considering the development of the sub-culture of the "inner fraternity" in the Malabar.<sup>21</sup> This sub-culture emerged as a mode of adaptation by the core group or elite of the "inner fraternity" to the external pressures from the wider society. The prostitutes who are the nucleus around which the sub-cultural group developed adopted the Malabar as their "clubhouse" primarily in order to escape prosecution when they operated as "street-walkers." Thus, although their pattern of activities--the soliciting of customers--is known, it is difficult to detect and differentiate this from the behaviour of the other customers

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<sup>21</sup> A.K. Cohen, Delinquent Boys, The Culture of the Gang, p. 65 ff.

within the organisation.

In addition, they were able to develop the solidarity of a work organisation with a common meeting-place, a process that was facilitated by their common low status position in the respectable system of social statuses. In response, behaviour that was adjudged disreputable in the larger social system was enthroned as the norm of the group, and a status system was developed based on adherence to the sub-cultural standards. Thus generally, persons belonging to the status system of the wider society were debarred entrance to this private system, and the prime criterion of in-group status was rejection of the out-group standards. It is thus seen that these individuals came together because of their like needs which arose from the common circumstances of their shared occupation. They were able to achieve status in the eyes of their associates who employed the same criteria of evaluation and created a moral atmosphere that was congenial to all.

This is not to say that there are no hostilities within the group, for competition to obtain customers and "old men," and personality differences do cause tensions and antagonisms to arise in this situation of prolonged close contact. Nevertheless, a common social situation with common sentiments and understandings supported by the hostility towards and against the out-group, directs their loyalties towards the in-group and one another: that is, the pressure from

outside unifies them all and nullifies the internal conflicts by making them aware of a common enemy. The sub-cultural system thus achieves a life of its own which outlasts any particular member of it because it continues to serve their needs.

This shared system of adjustment among a community of individuals gave rise to the "inner fraternity" but this does not mean that all the participants in the system had the same motivation for participation. The "chaste women," for instance, do not suffer the same pressure because of their different sexual behaviour. Rather, they seem to want continued association with a long-standing peer-group. Some are employed in acceptable low status occupations in the larger social system and are perhaps motivated by personality characteristics that debar them from fellowship in the socially acceptable world. Similarly, for the "promiscuous" women who have not commercialised their sexual favours, the motivation to join was different; their nocturnal excursions do not call down on them the same opprobrium as the prostitutes' patterns of sexual behaviour.

The male members of the sub-culture, who are all Negroes, are introduced by the female members, the prostitutes especially, who regulate the achievement of status in the group. They seem to be motivated primarily by financial gain from the earnings of the prostitutes and the prospect of sexual relations with white women. This last must be considered in the

light of their socio-cultural background in the Southern United States of America where inter-racial sexual contact, particularly between white women and Negro men is seriously tabooed. In addition, racial discrimination here though less overt, is present, so that the apparent racial equality in the sub-culture provides some measure of satisfaction, perhaps tinged with revenge.

The "inner fraternity" then, consisting of the prostitutes and their associates--some deviants and others not--has adopted a pattern of behaviour that allows it to survive in its environment. Although it is a system that has a large measure of functional autonomy, it must also be regarded as a differentiated sub-system within the social system of the Malabar. The interdependence of the management and the sub-cultural group is evidenced by the need they have for each other. The prostitute members serve as an attraction for male customers to the establishment and the bootleggers are a ready source of liquor to all customers who have gained admission. On the other hand, the premises serve the inner fraternity as a permanent rendez-vous wherein male and female partners for sexual relations can be found, and for the bootleggers it is a marketplace for the sale of their wares. Thus both elements have a vested interest in the continuance of the activities of the other, for a disruption in one will have serious repercussions for the other. This quality of functional interrelationship is the essence of a social system.

Hall's concept of the inner fraternity as applied to the medical profession has been adapted for use in dealing with the core group of patrons in the Malabar.<sup>22</sup> An interesting comparison can be made between members of the medical profession and the prostitutes who are the founders and elite of the sub-cultural group and hence are taken as representative of it. In both cases the "inner fraternities" control the status systems of their respective sub-cultures, with the important difference that the medical elite is not limited in its regulatory functions to the local level but eventually extends to the national level. The Malabar elite is limited in its operation to a single organisation and as such is unique. Next the medical profession stands high on the societal prestige hierarchy and the medical inner fraternity is thus concerned with regulating status and prestige within the profession, over and above that accorded to it by society. However, the inner fraternity of the Malabar consists predominantly of prostitutes whose occupation is given low status in the social hierarchy and is completely devalued as criminal. The prostitutes are therefore engaged in establishing a system in which they can achieve status and control its acquisition.

Furthermore, both occupations are concerned with the impersonal manipulation of the human body. Both the physician and the prostitute deal with nude clients, with the

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22 O. Hall, "The Informal Organisation of the Medical Profession" in *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, 12, 1946, pp. 31-44.

important difference that whereas the doctor is clothed while manipulating his patient's body, the prostitute is herself nude. In addition, the prostitute's manipulation of her client necessitates simultaneous manipulation of herself: that is, unlike the physician, her body is the instrument with which she works; in order to manipulate her client's body, she must submit her own to be manipulated by her client. Such a comparison leads to the questions: why is the physician held in high esteem while the prostitute is denigrated, and what is the significance of the body as a sociological variable with regard to prestige.

Perhaps the major consideration is the problem of values. The physician's impersonal manipulation of the human body is regarded as a matter of crisis. The restoration of health is a socially valuable activity in order that the work of society can be carried on. In other words society needs its individuals healthy for its own survival. Thus the physician is permitted to treat the human body as an object, so that he can be more technically efficient in restoring the person whose dignity is bound up with his whole body. The commercial aspect of this relationship is considerably underplayed, so that the physician's fee is not meant to be a measure of the task performed. He is performing a socially necessary service and is thus rewarded with high status and prestige.

On the other hand, the provision of sexual satisfaction is not regarded as necessary for health and is legitimised only in the conjugal situation where there must be no trace of commercialisation. But the prostitute makes a business of providing sexual gratification outside of marriage. She thus violates all the religio-moral values which circumscribe the sexual act. In other words, she makes an occupation out of sacrilege. Her only interest in the act is the fee earned, and so for violating rather than upholding the social values she is given low status. In her case there is no sense of crisis, for the work of society can be done without her kind of manipulation: in addition, she is denying the dignity of the human body by its commercial use.

It can be deduced from this that such persons as dancers, boxers and acrobats whose occupations call for manipulation of their bodies are given high social prestige (though comparatively low status) because of the absence of overt sexual elements in their occupational behaviour. Moreover, by supplying entertainment they are upholding rather than violating social values. Thus their treatment of their bodies is regarded as skill, while the prostitutes' actions are considered abuse, even though she, too, provides pleasure.

In summary, the deviant situation of the Malabar is seen as produced by the established social arrangements. The internalisation of the prevailing social values of success and achievement through hard work and productivity has led to

the adoption of illegitimate but technically efficient means to attain the socially approved goal when the socially prescribed means have proved inappropriate and ineffective. It should be noted that adherence to the dominant social values can produce either deviant or socially admirable patterns of behaviour.<sup>23</sup> The difference lies, other things being equal, in the efficacy of the means available for achieving the valued objective.

### Race and Ethnic Relations

The social system of the Malabar is comprised of persons who are members of several ethnic groups. Thus the owner-manager is an East Indian, his wife is White, his employees are native Indians, Whites, Negroes and East Indians, and his customers present this same picture of ethnic differentiation. Looked at from the point of view of inter-group relations this social system consists of members of various ethnic groups as the inter-related parts. Apparently it is a situation of racial harmony, but a closer look casts doubts on this thesis.

Simpson and Yinger suggest the application of structural-functional theory as a fruitful perspective for the study of the influence of social structure on inter-group relations in a social system.<sup>24</sup> The usefulness of this theoretical

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<sup>23</sup> A.K. Cohen, "Social Disorganisation and Deviant Behaviour," p. 468.

<sup>24</sup> G. Simpson and M. Yinger, "Race and Ethnic Relations," in R.K. Merton, L. Broom and L.S. Cottrell (eds.) Sociology Today, New York, Basic Books, Inc., 1959, pp. 376-399.

perspective can be tested in the social system of the Malabar. Each major sub-division of the organisation-management, workers, customers and the "inner fraternity"--~~is~~ comprises ~~the~~ persons of different ethnic origin as mentioned above. As a whole, the system works well to promote and maintain the organisation's activities. The problem is to discover whether inter-racial conflicts and tensions arise in any one part of the system and what corresponding changes are brought about in the other parts.

It should be noted that a great danger in the consideration of social systems is the tendency to neglect the functional autonomy of the parts when looking at the functional inter-relationships. One part of a system, though linked with the rest, may be able to survive apart from the rest of the system, and changes within this part need not have repercussions in the other parts. Thus there can--and have been--personnel changes in the staff without there occurring changes in the working of the whole system. In fact, the organisation is so structured that frequent changes in employees do not affect the rest of the system. Entertainers, Negro and White, come and go, with such changes remaining unsupported by others. These changes are, as it were, isolated from the rest of the system and their effects are decisively limited. For example, it matters little to the customers in the Malabar who entertains them, so long as they are entertained.

On the other hand, inter-racial conflicts between

customers may or may not affect the staff. Thus, if a White male customer comes into conflict with a male Negro member of the "inner fraternity" over a woman, the bouncers are likely to intervene and all activities will cease during the disturbance. Yet, if a Negro man were to administer a beating to his White "old lady" as they sat with others at a table, the bouncer, though aware of the occurrence would not interfere, and activities would continue normally. The difference in reaction is not due merely to the magnitude of the disturbance caused, but rather to what might be referred to as the difference between external and internal affairs. The former case is a matter of inter-group conflict between the "inner fraternity" and the outsiders, whereas the latter is a "family affair," a matter that concerns a single group only. There is the danger that the police may be summoned in the inter-group conflict, but little likelihood that such a course will be adopted in the other case.

In both cases it is quite likely that the conflict is an expression of racial prejudice, but the prejudiced party in this situation is the Negro. The Negro "inner fraternity" members tend to see any inter-personal conflict in terms of black versus white and seem to create opportunities for expressing their aggressiveness. When situations that can be so interpreted are lacking with outsiders they turn their violence inwards against their female companions in the group and on occasion even against one another, judging from the expressions

they use. They seem to be ever mindful of the racial situation in the United States, especially in the South from which they come, and give vent here to feelings that must of necessity be pent up in their homeland. This is an opportunity for them to "get even" and they can do so with comparative immunity in the Malabar.

It is significant that the most rigidly enforced norm of this sub-culture refers to the use of the word "nigger" by the white female members. The latter, on pain of a severe beating, dare not speak this word with its racial connotations, in the presence of their men, not even to report someone else's words. The girls are fully appreciative of its effects on the American Negroes but repeat it as a quote--with apologies--to West Indian university students, who seem unaffected by it. It is interesting to note, too, that the Negro members of the "inner fraternity" are prejudiced against the West Indian Negro students. This attitude, while compounded with jealousy over sexual property, is related to the West Indian's comparative indifference to the American's preoccupation with race, together with the "city slicker's" contempt for the "country bumpkin." It would seem that the prejudice of the Negro "inner fraternity" members is related to their aggressive feelings and needs, and their social insecurity. They may be said to feel a need to defy an authority which is not actually present in their immediate environment but exists in their socio-historical background: they are aggressive because they feel themselves to be victims of aggression.

It has been suggested that "equal-status contact" between members of different ethnic groups tends to reduce prejudice.<sup>25</sup> With the exception of the Negro men, this seems generally true for relations in the Malabar, where the different racial groups co-exist peacefully. A possible reason for the exception has been mentioned in the preceding paragraph. In a milieu where they are surrounded by status-equals these individuals, despite the frequency of contact and the absence of overt acts of prejudice towards them by their fellow members, remain prejudiced. In fact, they might have been influential in getting the female members of the group to express animosity towards white men in general. Their motivations, however, are different, the girls' prejudicial feelings stemming from resentment of their extremely depressed status in the larger social system. The Negroes' attitude, then, remains a sphere of conflict in the social system, which must be tolerated as the cost of maintaining individual freedom of action because of differences in beliefs.

The inter-racial situation within the Malabar cannot be considered apart from the prevailing social conditions of the surrounding community with its multi-racial population. In general there are relatively few overt acts expressive of racial prejudice which come to the notice of the general public and such few acts are sometimes played up in the newspapers. The prejudicial attitudes lie smouldering

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<sup>25</sup> Loc. cit.

under the surface and are directed towards all non-white groups, Asians, native Indians and Negroes, as well as against some Whites whose cultural background has traditionally made them scapegoats.

The high visibility of non-White persons leaves them particularly open to acts of racial prejudice, whereas in the case of Whites recourse must be had to the interpretation of names and presumed physical characteristics. Perhaps the persons who are brought face to face most often with the subtle and sinister modes of prejudiced expression are the fair proportion of non-White students present in this university community. An enumeration of the types of incidents in which they are involved would serve no useful purpose, but suffice it to say that it is unfortunate that landlords and employers do not advertise their attitudes when inviting applications for positions they control.

Asian students fare somewhat better than Negroes, partly due, perhaps, to the well-known intellectual tradition of their countries. The latter, however, stand out rather as "exceptions," and are lionised as such, a notion that is usually betrayed by naïve acquaintances. But perhaps the most revealing area is that of intimate social relationships culminating sometimes in 'miscegenation', when protestations to the contrary, prejudicial attitudes are revealed and rationalised. It is usually surprising to members of the prejudiced majority group that members of the minority group usually hold

prejudices in reverse, as a defensive reaction to the out-group's attitude. Yet the ban on intermarriage which ranks supreme in the order of racial and social discrimination finds a corresponding taboo among Negroes. The violators are then exceptions for both sides. The main problem of the Negro student who by his very presence here is upwardly mobile is how to reconcile the low status traditionally assigned to Negroes with his own movement up the social hierarchy. The dilemma is usually resolved by returning to his own country.

It is therefore seen that in the context of the environing society, the ethnic relations found within the social system of the Malabar are somewhat unusual. In this co-operative rather than competitive atmosphere relatively free and constant "equal-status" contact between the different ethnic groups represented seems to have resulted in a considerable reduction of prejudiced attitudes--with one outstanding exception. In the wider social system, however, such contact, except for its institutionalisation on the university campus where an artificial situation has been created, is comparatively restricted and there is even withdrawal from such situations. Consequently, prejudice, though covert, remains fairly widespread and the contact hypothesis remains largely untested. In addition, it can be surmised that the situation here differs only in degree from that in the United States and that if the population of Negroes were to increase appreciably here, ethnic relations would approach those across the border.

## Conclusion

The attempt to align the material of this study with existing theoretical formulations and previous studies has dealt primarily with three areas, social organisation, deviant behaviour and race and ethnic relations. Other areas, such as occupations, reference groups, social stratification, have only been hinted at and not treated systematically.

This theoretical interpretation of the data has necessitated examination of the applicability of the existing conceptual schemes to the major sociological areas covered in the study. In general, no startling departures from established theory were discovered; the study seemed to provide support and illustrations for previous findings and formulations. The notable exception is in the area of social organisation where some of the limitations of the standard schemes employed in organisational analysis have been pointed out and will here be stated in a more coherent form.

## Social Organisation

First, it is believed that the usual division of organisations into formal and informal aspects in dealing with organisations as social systems tends to lead in different authors to an unnecessary emphasis of the one at the expense of the other. Which aspect is emphasized and which overlooked depends on the author's particular preference for a theoretical frame of reference. Thus "informal

organisation" may be viewed as an aberration of the formal structure. Rather the system should be regarded as a whole wherein both aspects are essential to the proper constitution of the organisation. Nowhere is either feature found to be absent, although the prominent characteristic of an organisation may be found to be either "formal" or "informal."

What seems to be needed, therefore, is an analytic scheme that allows study of organisations without distortion, so that when the predominant "atmosphere" of a social system is described as "formal" or "informal" it will be due, not to the investigator's own bias, but rather to the structural bias of the organisation itself. With this in view, it is thought that Parsons' suggested conceptual scheme for the analysis of organisations may prove quite useful.<sup>26</sup> However, the scheme seems heavily skewed towards the formal aspect of organisations, without explicit consideration of the informal features. Perhaps this schema could be extended and modified to incorporate this neglected aspect in order to allow a more holistic treatment of organisations.

In addition, there is a tendency in the consideration of social systems to neglect the functional autonomy of parts, while being primarily concerned with their functional inter-relationships. This has been pointed up by examination of the social system of the Malabar. Moreover, the pre-occupation of organisational analysis with large-scale

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<sup>26</sup> T. Parsons, "Suggestions for a Sociological Approach to a Theory of Organisations," Administrative Science Quarterly, 1, 1956, pp. 63-85.

bureaucratic organisations has resulted in a strong focus on the rational, impersonalised human relationships that exist in such social systems. It has, therefore, come to be assumed that such relations should normally be expected. However, this study has shown that this is not necessarily so; there are certain conditions which militate against the impersonalisation of human relations in organisations.

Under such conditions the work organisation assumes the characteristics of an intimate personal group with a close bond of primary relations, such as are found in familial groups, between management and workers. In other words, there is a value-emphasis on particularised relationships stressing loyalty and internal harmony, as opposed to the prevailing emphasis on universal, rationalised means-end relationships stressing efficiency and performance. Such developments are not necessarily the function of the size of the organisation and the composition of its personnel.

### Deviance

In treating deviant behaviour, the Malabar is regarded as <sup>a</sup>delinquent social system, a "protest organisation," in which the management has instituted some illegitimate practices in order to maintain the establishment as an on-going system and has given tacit approval of some others. Thus, generally, all the personnel within the organisation are aware of their deviant status and mutually support one another in their related patterns of behaviour. It is

suggested, in accordance with Merton's conceptual scheme, which seemed particularly appropriate here, that the organisation assumed its "protest" nature as a response to the prevailing social arrangements by which goals highly valued by the society cannot be achieved.<sup>27</sup> This is so because either the approved means are withheld, or they have been found technically inefficient, and alternative, though socially disapproved means, have been substituted. Thus the management's adaptation to the situation has been both innovation and retreatism--in Merton's terminology.<sup>28</sup> The former, by its substitution of new means for old, and the latter by its refusal to concern itself with or do anything about the deviant behaviour of the inner fraternity.

The growth of a specialised deviant sub-culture within the delinquent society of the Malabar has been examined in the light of Cohen's formulations on the culture of the gang. The data were used to illustrate Cohen's thesis that a sub-culture develops as a response to the social circumstances of the participants.<sup>29</sup> Thus the "inner fraternity" was seen to develop partly as the prostitutes' way of escaping prosecution for "streetwalking" and partly as an answer to their low status position in the societal status system. Finally, a comparison was made between Hall's medical inner fraternity and the Malabar inner fraternity with an examination of the

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27 R.K. Merton, op. cit., p. 140.

28 Loc. cit.

29 A.K. Cohen, Delinquent Boys, The Culture of the Gang, p. 65 ff.

factors that might be considered to account for the high status and prestige of the physician as opposed to the low status of the prostitute.<sup>30</sup>

### Race and Ethnic Relations

Consideration of race and ethnic relations in the Malabar with reference to the "structural-functional" theory of intergroup relations and to the "equal-status contact" hypothesis of prejudice proved rather inconclusive. That is, with regard to the structural-functional theory it was found that changes in one inter-racial section of the organisation did not necessarily have repercussions in other parts, though on the other hand, changes might be produced. This ambiguous situation was seen to be related to the relative functional autonomy of the different parts of the social system. Similarly, it was seen that equal-status contact generally resulted in harmonious inter-group relations but that there was a notable exception to this pattern in the case of the Negro members of the sub-culture. This exceptional reaction is regarded as traceable to their socialisation in a different socio-cultural milieu which generated certain needs and tensions within these persons. In this social situation they are able to satisfy the needs and reduce the tensions with an immunity not possible in their country of origin.

A comparison was also made of ethnic relations as

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30 O. Hall, op. cit., pp. 31-44.

found both in the Malabar and the wider community and it was found that the situations differed somewhat. The brash, overt comradeship of the Malabar was found to be opposed by a hidden, smouldering atmosphere of prejudice in the community. Miscegenation, frequent and approved in the former, was comparatively rare in the latter, and severely frowned upon. Non-white persons are not perceived as a threat in the Malabar and co-operation rather than competition is the prevailing mode between the various ethnic groups represented. In the wider society equal-status contact has little opportunity of being tried, except in the institutionalised situation of the university, where at least the norms of polite intercourse would serve to prevent overt expression of inter-group animosities.

#### The Malabar and the Community

It remains now to consider the place of the Malabar in the community. Viewed mainly as a social system that functions to maintain and encourage deviant behaviour, it may be regarded as an organisation that ought to be annihilated, since it glorifies what is abhorrent to the value system of the community. This is to labour under the misapprehension that there is such a phenomenon as a perfectly integrated society where all is bliss and harmony. Society is made up of various groups with different interests, beliefs and attitudes and what is enthroned as the dominant value or norm is merely representative of a part of the society. There will therefore always be alternative ideals that could be promulgated.

This argument states in effect that opposition or conflict is inherent in society: there must be areas of tolerated disharmony as the obverse of harmony. Yet, a society cannot properly function if it is torn in different directions by violently conflicting interest groups. There must therefore be limits set on what conflicts will be allowed to occur and within what areas, but there must also be consideration of consistency between such restriction and the other values of the society. That is to say, there must be elasticity in the social structure to cushion and absorb the conflicts that are likely to occur at different points of the social system.

From this point of view the recent clamour for the closing of the Malabar and other such organisations in the East End of Vancouver denies any function to these establishments. It is trying to remove the symptoms without bothering about the disease. It is saying that once these organisations are removed the deviant behaviour that occurs in them will be eradicated. This, of course, denies that there is any inter-relationship between the sub-systems of a larger social system. There are, apparently, obvious measures that can be adopted to ameliorate the situation: a change in the liquor laws and the legalisation of prostitution. This is not to say that such measures will totally eradicate the deviant behaviour and not have latent consequences for the whole community. Nevertheless, if the prime concern, as it seems to be, is to prevent the violation of the laws concerning liquor and prostitution, here at least are possible solutions that have not been tried.

The people who keep the bootleggers and prostitutes in business in the East End are not all criminals; most of their fellow conspirators are "respectable" citizens. Thus, with the liquor situation especially, the pursuance by the licensing authority of a policy of discrimination apparently based on location of residence and socio-economic status is simply to invite a large proportion of people to be deviant. Comparison of their situation with that of others will convince them that they are deprived of privileges which ought to be granted universally rather than on the present preferential and non-rational basis. They will therefore drift together because of their homogeneous status and like needs and appropriate to themselves the rights they see withheld. Thus closing the Malabar in the hope of eradicating this delinquency, without any attempt to ameliorate the circumstances which generate the behaviour is likely to be a futile undertaking, which might maximise, rather than minimise the deviant behaviour aimed at. For then the resultant attitude would be one of defiance, since the authorities might be regarded solely as a source of punishment, without any redeeming features.

### Reform

A genuine concern on the part of the authorities and those who clamour for reform would necessitate a thorough examination of the part played by the Malabar--and the other organisations of its kind--in the lives of the people of the area, both deviants and conformists. Perhaps it would then be

seen that in order to preserve the valued latitude in action for such a heterogeneous community with its varied interests and attitudes areas of limited conflict must be tolerated.

Consideration should be given to the question: what workable alternatives are there with which to replace organisations such as the Malabar and still satisfy the needs of those who resort to them. If no feasible substitutions can be visualised, then there ought to be some investigation into the possible modifications of such of the prevailing social arrangements as are seen to contribute to the maintenance and/or development of such "protest organisations." The laws governing the sale and consumption of liquor readily come to mind. It seems reasonable to assume that, where a law in a community is more honoured in the breach than in the observance, the competent authorities would recognise its futility and rescind it, rather than force the police to sympathise with offenders. Such a situation cannot but help to produce unnecessary deviant behaviour, leading perhaps to disrespect for the law in other areas of social life. A similar situation exists with regard to the curfew on dancing in nightclubs which are allowed to stay open fully two or three hours after dancing must cease and the band stop playing.

Possible alternatives to closing the Malabar seem to lie in the modification of social conditions, principally by legislation. Such legislative changes would create an

atmosphere in which unnecessarily irksome regulations are removed and otherwise respectable, law-abiding citizens will not be compelled to violate laws which hardly anyone respects. This is not to say that more rational legislation will automatically create a problem-free situation with regard to nightclubs, for difficulties, such as the behaviour of minors towards these organisations, will still remain. However, these are problems which seem to be related only incidentally to nightclubs as such: that is, minors bent on deviance, because of whatever familial conditions and personality factors are operative, will utilise the social arrangements which fit in with their values.

The question of prostitution and alternative solutions to sexual behaviour, which in public discussion generates more heat than light, is not so easily resolved and has been given somewhat fuller treatment in the appendix which follows.

#### Suggestions for further research

Several problems which deserve systematic study have been hinted at in the body of this essay. Although research into these matters may not prove to be practicable, they are nevertheless suggested as being of interest.

##### 1. The Police

There ought to be an examination of the relations between the police and organisations like the Malabar, because

of the former's apparent sympathy with the illegitimate practices adopted by both the management and the customers of such establishments, in spite of their evident knowledge of the situation. Such study should involve consideration of their attitudes towards these people, the factors which seem to determine the development of such attitudes, and their perception of their own and the other people's roles.

2. The Malabar as a producer of deviance

A systematic examination should be made of the Malabar as an organisation that functions to produce and/or maintain a deviant sub-culture in the community. This should include a thorough study of the social conditions in the wider society which seem to generate such a response, and the measures that can be applied to ameliorate these conditions where possible.

3. The attitudes of the members of the Malabar sub-culture

Research should be undertaken into the attitudes of the deviant members of the sub-culture towards the social arrangements in the Malabar and the wider society, involving their perceptions of social conditions and the effects on their behaviour.

4. The social role of the prostitute

This study should investigate the place of prostitution in society and include the prostitute's perception of the self and the other, prostitution as a work specialty,

the public image of the prostitute, and her reference group behaviour.

This list of researchable topics is not meant to be exhaustive, nor are the suggested points for consideration intended to limit their treatment in any way. Rather, the intention is to suggest directions that could be followed in research into these related problems and others deducible from the material of this essay.

## APPENDIX

Reflections on Prostitution and Society

The presence of prostitutes in the Malabar as the nucleus of the inner fraternity, which is considered to have such importance for the functioning of the social system has been given rather summary treatment. The problem of prostitution merits, I believe, some consideration with regard to its place in society, apart from its position in this sub-system. The following comments are intended neither as an original nor a definitive statement, rather they represent the crystallisation of ideas assimilated from various sources. My debt though unexpressed is nonetheless profound but the comments are given as my own, because I feel the process of assimilation has been accompanied by a transformation which is, perhaps, a distortion of the original. No other author can therefore be blamed for the thoughts here expressed.

Prostitution is the predominant mode of female delinquency today. No attempt will be made here to trace its long and varied history throughout different civilisations and cultures. Suffice it to say that it was not always regarded as a social scourge, but that at various times and in various places it has received religious, politico-legal and social sanction.

Most considerations of prostitution today look at the problem strictly from the religio-moral point of view, and as such prostitutes are unequivocally condemned as incorrigible criminals. The exception to such outright condemnation is made by students of society who are concerned both with the structure and function of society and the relation of the individual to his society. They thus tend to regard both the functions and dysfunctions of prostitution for both society and the individual. This point of view ought to lead to consideration of prostitution as a work specialty, but so far very little seems to have been done from this perspective.

It is true that work in society is always an object of moral judgment and control--thus partly explaining denigration of prostitution--but it appears that the notoriety attached to this occupation is traceable much deeper than this to values, beliefs, and attitudes concerning marriage, the family and sexual behaviour. Thus, generally, the prostitute is regarded as being engaged in a deviant occupation which violates the social norms of sexual behaviour and threatens the stability and existence of the institution of marriage and the family. Little regard is paid to the functions of conflict for social structure; the dysfunctions seem always to be uppermost. Thus, such a question as what would be unintended consequences of the eradicating of prostitution or, more specifically, what would be the effects on the family--assuming, of course, that prostitution could be abolished is not treated.

The anticipation of such problems would be part of the application of structural-functional theory to the study of social systems. It would also involve the consideration of the functional autonomy of parts of the social structure; that is, were changes to occur centred around prostitution, for example, would they necessarily affect the institution of marriage and the family--and how much.

These comments follow from the view that prostitution is one of the areas of conflict inherent in society and as such must be tolerated. It follows, therefore, that I think an integrated society is one that admits that some of the principles of its organisation are likely to clash and cause friction at some points and has learnt to live with this situation; that such conflict between the more acceptable and the less acceptable functions to strengthen the social structure by re-affirmation of the positive values; more specifically, that the socially disreputable system of prostitution serves to fortify the acceptable institution of marriage and the family.

There is a considerable degree of ambivalence towards prostitution in society. On the one hand, prostitutes are not generally regarded as serving any useful purpose and are relegated, as disreputable, to the criminal underworld by the respectable sectors of the community. Yet, on the other hand, it is these same respectable sectors of the society which utilise the services of the prostitute. In other words,

the prostitute is able to earn a living and survive by helping respectable people to escape the norms they find irksome, even though they pay lip service to them: most of the prostitutes' customers consist of people who adhere to most of the societal norms most of the time.

It can therefore be said that the prostitute is given a secret social sanction to carry on her profession, but that this "licence to operate" is always denied by the authorities when the operation is questioned. There is a conspiracy of silence about the secret pact that exists, and one party to this pact pretends that it does not exist. It is as if the prostitute were engaged to perform society's "sexual dirty work," but when she is caught on the job, society denies that the task or the performer exists, or even acts as if the worker has created a job where there is no need for one.

The notion of "sexual dirty work" and the unwillingness of respectable society to admit the necessity of the task might help to explain the prostitute's position of low status in the societal status and prestige system. To accord her a better position in the social hierarchy would be to admit the existence of her task and the necessity for it, and this would hurt the moral sense. Behaviour therefore seems to be patterned on the requirements of an ideal hypothetical situation. There is a denial that unmarried males have sexual drives that must be satisfied, and the same condition is made

to apply to all other men who for whatever reason are separated from conjugal sexual outlet. Thus, there is objection to the giving and the receiving of a service under these circumstances.

One alternative solution to this problem of the sexual satisfaction of unmarried males is for unmarried non-prostitute females to serve as their sexual partners. This, of course, runs counter to the social ideal of pre-marital sexual chastity for women. Growing out of this is the belief that such unchaste behaviour devalues women in the marriage market, since men prefer to marry virginal women, but, as always, reality falls far short of the high aspiration. There is indulgence in pre-marital sexual relations by women and such women do find husbands. The standards of sexual morality are thus not as strict for men as for women and this dual morality which demands continence for women but permits sexual experience to men actually works to encourage prostitution, and implies that respectable women do not have sexual drives that require satisfaction.

Internal and external conditions then motivate men to seek out prostitutes towards whom they have an attitude of ambivalence and the social arrangements with regard to the prosecution of prostitutes for violating the norms seem generally aimed at maintaining this feeling. Thus the prostitute's sexual partner is not subject to any penalty, save, perhaps, the embarrassment of having to testify against her: a necessary partner to the act enjoys immunity, while the other

is punished. It would appear that the person who obtains gratification is regarded as the victim of the crime, in spite of the obvious conspiracy to violate the law. In effect, this arrangement both rewards and punishes the bad, or conversely serves to prohibit both the good and the bad.

The principal objections to prostitution seem to be based on the commercialisation of the sexual act and the denial of any binding ties of responsibility and psychological obligations. That is, coitus is indulged in as a source of income rather than with any intention of fulfilling the obligations of marriage concerning procreation. But perhaps just as important, if not more, is the psychological effects on women, both prostitutes and respectable women. Prolonged utilisation of the services of prostitutes could help develop in men an extremely selfish attitude whereby their prime concern is for their own gratification without thought of their partners' needs and this result of the impersonal situation with prostitutes could be carried over into the marital situation, with possible disastrous consequences for marital adjustment.

In addition, it seems generally to be assumed that prostitutes are women who suffer some personality maladjustments due in part to family and social conditions. As such they are then regarded as persons requiring the kinds of treatment accorded the mentally ill, otherwise they could not have followed the occupation they are engaged in. Moreover, the conditions of their work seem conducive to addiction to

alcohol and narcotics. This view runs counter to that which regards the prostitute merely as a criminal that deserves incarceration, a method which serves neither as a deterrent, nor a cure. It is an argument for reform by means of a restoration of psychological well-being and investigation into the aetiology of prostitution: that is, consideration of the kinds of girls who become prostitutes.

It follows from this that a major problem in the legalisation of prostitution would be the recruitment of prostitutes. If it is decided that prostitutes are sufferers from curable personality defects, would such persons be allowed to become prostitutes by choice or force of circumstances, or would they be given the necessary treatment. And if they are given treatment and are then inclined to abandon prostitution how would the needs of their clients be satisfied. There is also the question concerning those women who deliberately choose the profession as a means whereby they gain both income and sexual satisfaction. The major problems are thus seen to be what alternatives to prostitution are there, and what would be the consequences of these alternative modes of behaviour for both society and the individual.

The functions of prostitution for the individual must therefore be reckoned with. Many men must resort to prostitutes because they do not have the socially acceptable opportunities for sexual outlet in the conjugal situation. These men--those who for a variety of reasons are unmarried,

the physically unattractive, the so-called perverts, those away from home, and husbands who because of their own or their wives' psychological condition cannot find sexual satisfaction in the marital situation--are forced to seek the services of prostitutes in order to satisfy their sexual needs.

Alternative courses for such men to follow are continence, to have sexual relations with respectable women, married and unmarried, or to practise homosexuality. Conventional moralists would prefer the first, decriing the other two as being perhaps equally reprehensible. The second course would involve some measure of promiscuity on the part of respectable women, violation of the rigid code of sexual morality which seeks to protect the virtue of women, and perhaps disruption of familial relations. The third course is regarded as abhorrent even under conditions which seem to foster it such as where men are shut in and institutionally segregated from women. Continence, the moralists' ideal course, is an impossible rigid demand which few men are willing or able to follow.

Thus, in order to satisfy these masculine needs, and preserve the valued virtue of women, men must resort to prostitutes. This, however, is not to deny that they do have relations with respectable women in communities, but rather that under the prevailing dual morality a greater hue and cry is perhaps raised against this practice. Prostitution therefore serves, by providing sexual gratification for these

married and unmarried men, (and the former make greater use of it) to preserve marital and familial relations and the sexual chastity of unmarried women. It also functions as a source of livelihood for some women who perhaps are not capable of performing other social tasks or who, for whatever reasons, have chosen this as their career pattern. Any decision on a policy towards prostitution must therefore consider the consequences of the proposed course for the individual's personal adjustment and the functioning of society without unnecessary conflicts. Both permission and prohibition have disadvantages. It is therefore a question of expediency under the existing social arrangements, as to which course presents advantages that outweigh its disadvantages.

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