DIFFERENTIATION IN THE SOCIAL EVALUATION OF WORK: AN INVESTIGATION OF STIGMATIZING CHARACTERISTICS OF DEATH-RELATED OCCUPATIONS

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MATTERS METHODOLOGICAL — Some Philosophical Considerations.

Quantitative Elements

Even in qualitative research a certain number of elements need to be quantified. Since no previous research could be located that identified the structural elements of the Death Industry in total (that is Examining Bodies, Trade Unions, Trade Associations, Forensic Organisations and Ancillary Interest such as the Police, Coroner, Clergy, Registrar of Deaths, Medical Specialisms other than Forensic, and various Voluntary Associations), the structural composition of the market for funeral, embalming and cremation services had to be traced; the various grades of the labour force defined in terms of their organisation and activities and the likely fortunes of the principal occupations projected in quantitative terms. Other quantifications relate to face sheet data where a survey method has been employed and the response rate as well as the answers in percentages expressed. Here, key questions have been addressed to the total population of Forensic Pathologists in England and Wales aimed principally at qualitative responses and emphasizing more particularly a mix of values, attitudes and personal experience in practising their professional skills.

Qualitative Methods

This research deals with functionally disparate death occupations that are socially graduated in a status and prestige-oriented way from Gravedigger (Semi-skilled), to Embalmer (Technician), to Funeral Director (Administrator), to Forensic Pathologist (Qualified Professional), with the main objective to discover whether any of these four occupations are exposed to social and occupational stigmas. One can, within a qualitative scheme of research select a number of techniques which are mutually supportive. Thus, detailed selective case studies requiring lengthy recorded interviews with Funeral Directors and Embalmers have been supplemented by meetings and conferences of the associations concerned, and in the case of Grave Diggers by shorter questionnaires, personal interviews and vignettes from secondary sources where previous research could be located. One's methods need flexibility and may have to be adjusted in the light of one's endeavours to obtain the best possible data. In the case of Forensic Pathologists, where personal contact with respondents is constrained by attitude towards non-medical outsiders, by geographical location, time on the part of doctors or cost of travel, by administrative rules in hospital or by Home Office regulations, one has to address specific questions to individuals by correspondence, giving assurances of confidentiality and hoping to establish a fruitful relationship in this way.

The Logic of a Humanistic Approach in Death Research

The number of dead can easily be quantified and organs of cadavers measured, but the concept of death or the feelings of the fear of it do not suitably lend themselves to quantification. Compared with quantitative paradigms based on a positivistic school of social investigations, employing scientific procedures, hypothesis-testing and statistics, qualitative research does not yet enjoy wide acceptance in social research. (Marshall and Rossman, 1989)[1]. But for this study an intrusive researcher needed data which would go to the very root of the respective respondents' self and reveal truthful and sincere feelings about the human condition as it relates to death work. The challenge was how to get close to occupational members and their values, to see the world as they see it, in a natural setting, unconstrained by artificial experiments. To opponents, this method often projects a mystical experience, an enterprise vaguely planned, wasteful of time, uncertainly focussed and conceptionally not integrated. In this research this criticism finds no support. On the contrary, it has been possible by the variety of tools already referred to above and including the use of (Campbell's 1957)[2] triangulation, to achieve a collection of data which substantially meets the four canons of soundness in qualitative research that Lincoln and Guba (1985)[3] established; credibility (in-depth description of complex variables or inter-action so embedded with data drawn from a setting that it cannot help but be valid): transferability (whether a second researcher can make a generalisation relevant to another

population): dependability (whether changing conditions in the
phenomena studied are appreciated and possibly not replicated): and
confirmability (removing objective evaluation from the researcher and
placing it squarely in the data themselves). When dealing with the
choice of method for each of the occupations, it will be seen that for
forensic pathology there is no second population consenting to be
interviewed, whilst the selection of cases from the other three
occupations are considered to be a good representation of cohorts in
the industry. Hence there is reason to believe that the canons of
soundness have been successfully met.

The Biographical Method — not a Marginal Methodology

The point to argue here is that history is no longer to be seen as just
a restrictive account of battles, treaties, dynastic marriages, or a
sequence of significant events, illuminating perhaps political or
intellectual elites, but much more the cumulative result of a network
of relations into which human groups daily enter, unknown as individual
participants all destined to remain, but together providing the living
substance of the historical process, the parts of which a prevailing
researcher may seek to investigate. Thus in context, the selected
biographical accounts of undertakers, for example, have made possible a
connection with the global, structural characteristics of change in
parts of this industry (e.g. takeovers of businesses, the vogue of
cremation), and the diagnosis of the social consequences of family
firms of undertakers and individuals affected by this process. At the

same time, a researcher would wish the subjective inherent in autobiography to be heuristically grounded to contribute to scientific knowledge (so to speak). This occurs, according to Franco Ferrarotti,[4] quoting Sartre, by the identification of those important spaces which serve as pivots between structures and individuals, that is, the social fields where the singularising practice of man and the universalising effort of a social system confront each other most directly. Ferrarotti warns against psychologist reduction. 'A man is not an individual but more a singular universe. He is 'totalized' and at the same time universalized by this epoch: he re-totalizes it by reproducing himself in it as singularity. Universal by way of the singular universality of human history, singular by way of the universalizing singularity of his projects, he demands to be studied simultaneously in these two senses.' Individuals do not totalize a global society directly but do so through mediation of their immediate social contexts, and the limited groups of which they are a part, as these groups in turn are active social agents which totalize their contexts. Thus, society totalizes each specific individual by means of the mediating institutions which totalize it ever more precisely as concerns the individuals in question. Although the biographical method usually turns to the individual, the banality of the evident tends to hide the misunderstanding that presents him as a social atom, or the most elementary heuristic unit of sociology. Simmel[5] (in his writings on the subject) was aware of this and regarded the individual as a complex synthesis of social elements who far from grounding the social, is its sophisticated product. Ferrarotti now tries to connect Sartre's social-pivoted spaces between structures and individuals (as

mentioned in the paragraph above) by conceptualising them as primary groups - families, peer groups at work, neighbourhood, classrooms and possibly including semi-total institutions, where there is restricted movement or environment. All these groups participate at one and the same time in the psychological dimension of their members and in the structural dimension of a social system.

In Ferrarotti's view, therefore, the primary group should be chosen as the basic heuristic unit which takes an investigator at once beyond any risk of nominalism, atomism, and psychologism. The primary group to him is the authentic element of the social GRUNDKOERPER (the ground corpus) no longer based on the social action of one single agent, but on that of a social totality. But, how does one obtain the biography of a primary group? Has Ferrarotti an answer to that? He has not! Instead, he recognises this as a problem and asks questions for other methodologists to take up the struggle: does it involve juxtaposing or cross-tabulating the individual perspectives which its members have of a group and its history? Will it not require to establish a continuous interaction with the group in its totality? Again, how can one identify the dialectic between the totalization a group makes of its context and that which each group member makes of it? By what mediations can this proposed sociological perspective integrate the basic models and techniques normally employed in observation and analysis of the psychological study of groups? Ferrarotti ends his piece on social research by these words: 'A whole body of theoretical reflection awaits us, in order that we can one day make the journey from the most simple to the most complex: the discovery and

identification of the specific (historical) terms of an individual's sociality.' My methodology seeks to parallel what Ferrarotti tried to do, build up a group picture from the persons supplying me with phases of their life/work histories and in this way show not only the subjective awareness of the stigmas attaching to their work but also how this helps to build up the occupational profile of groups, and how (taking account also of technological developments), charismatic personalities can influence the evolving fortunes and structural shape of an occupation or profession.

Life History as a Method

One of the claims for historical sociology is that it should concern itself with the varied social experiences in the life histories of individuals (Abrams, 1982)[5]. In a humanistic context, such a concern is reconcilable with Dilthey's hermeneutics of the so-called 'lived experience' kind of analysis that interprets not only human interaction as such, but also its meaning, like Weber's Versteher concept, requiring human action to be perceived not in positivistic or naturalistic purity but once more in terms of meaning and purpose that is given to social action in work and life. If one can align oneself with the logic of these theoretical stances it follows that a qualitative analysis of the data, largely based on the respondents' self, seems the most suitable to adopt. This has been done by attempts at uncovering that which underlies the often epistemological unobservable phenomena, as well as by focus upon the biographical approach helps a researcher to get an inside view of a culture and how

he or she interacts with it; helps to define the career path of a
respondent and the problems besetting certain occupations and
professions under review; enables one to glean evolutionary cultural
patterns and how these are linked to the life of an individual, their
significant impact and how he or she reacts to it. Life history
methodology emphasizes the value of a person's own story, providing the
pieces for a more complete picture of a concept by which it is possible
to gauge the interconnection of apparently unconnected phenomena.
Thus, documents of life (to borrow Plummer's words, 1983[7]) add much
flavour to a qualitative study, although a perceived lack of generality
and issues of truth and bias pose some limitations.

The Problem of Access to Data

Any person approaching a firm of funeral directors with a view to
researching it is likely to get short shrift, especially after
Jessica Mitford's book[8] about the American way of death (and at the
commencement of this research, a New Society article[9] denigrating the
profession and causing displeasure among those who have read it.)
Latterly, there have also been complaints about over-priced funerals
and the involvement of the Office of Fair Trading, quite apart from the
commonly employed satirical way in which undertakers are presented in
the media. Nor have embalmers escaped unwanted publicity from a recent
television programme which denied this para-profession credit for their
good work, if not bringing it into actual disrepute. The members who
participated in this unauthorised venture were crossed of the
professional membership register. Grave diggers, now seen as an

unimportant appendage to the disposal of the dead, are themselves
members of a dying occupation and tend to deny their occupational name
at every opportunity. As for pathologists in the forensic field, their
status has been on a slide, their ranks depleted, starved of funds,
officialdom remaining mute to the plight and morale in the professional
now at the lowest of ebb. Out of the blue comes this researcher. It's
clutching at straws, why not fill in his questionnaires, as long as we
don't have to meet him for interviews. That, at any rate was the
impression as a reason for the co-operation given, a time of need. In
the normal course of events, professional and occupational groups as
organisations do not like to be researched, and the less so by
outsiders. They fear that nothing good will come of it:
uncomplimentary details will reach the public and images distorted,
diminishing prestige revealed, ethical behaviour probed or adverse
relations with competing bodies disclosed.

Cultivating Relationships — A Strategy that Works

Wearing the methodology hat in this part, I have to discuss how (as a
sociologist) I have tried to convert an ever-shifting web of social
relations into a understandable system of manageable knowledge. Death
occupations are relatively uncharted research territory, making the use
of standardised tests and methods unsuitable tools. Burials and
cremations or homicides can be easily quantified but the meaning of
death and death work, and that of the stigmas attached, would present
methodological problems, if such an approach were to be attempted.

Additionally, the area of this research is heavily overlaid
emotionally, with the various incumbents tending to use complex
strategies to enable them to cope. This made necessary at times
immersion in such groups as undertakers, embalmers and grave diggers,
mixing and listening to informal 'in-talk' at conferences, meetings and
outings. In the case of doctors in the forensic field personal
interviews were found to be not welcome. Some incumbents are
deliberate in distancing non-medical outsiders from their work
environment whilst others (the majority) are out in the field or in
Court, in the laboratory, hospital mortuary, or busy with students if
based at a teaching hospital. A good deal of time is also spent on
drafting reports, reading documentation, conferring with coroners or
lawyers and the police. Unlike a novelist, I could not move the
characters around. They play themselves, but in a theatrical setting
not easily accessible to researchers. Their small number and therefore
thinly spread geographical distribution country-wide, in hospitals and
universities, presented additional constraints. Thus, for this group I
found it best to enter into a most personal relationship from a
distance by posing the sort of questions in writing one might hesitate
to ask in face-to-face meetings. After browsing in the medical library
of Guy's Hospital among the massive volumes of forensic pathology texts
and deriving benefit from the Quincy Television programmes, as well as
reading Smith's History of Forensic Science, Mitford's American Way of
Death and Aries' Western Attitudes Towards Death, I felt able to
construct a set of questions to which unstructured, in-depth answers
were invited.

The seeds of my interest in forensic work two years before this research are to be found in the fascinating case of Dr. Clift (See Chapter VIII pp.43-45 for details), who for an apparent misinterpretation of clues in a number of homicide cases, suffered the most severe professional discredit societal stigmas can impose. My subsequent request, and one of my first feelers for information to the International Association of Forensic Sciences, revealed the Secretary of this Society to be the same Dr. Clift. A copy from him of the Outline Papers presented at the 10th Triennial Conference at Oxford in 1984 proved most helpful, particularly the reasons given for the difficulties of recruiting new blood into the forensic profession. But over and above the interest in this marginalisation in the forensic field has been that of an earlier one in the (then) designated the 'Hotel and Catering Industry' (and now better known as the Hospitality Industry) and some grades of socially lowly-evaluated employees, such as kitchen porters, among others. At that time American and English writers on matters social (e.g. Goffman 1963, Douglas 1970, Polsky 1971, Titmus, 1960, Townsend, 1962,ᶜ¹ᵒ�situʾ have all concerned themselves with such problems as mental disabilities, ethnic group relations, deviance, poverty and community care whilst virtually ignoring the fact that stigma can also be related to work and occupations. The present research continues my interest in the concept of stigma as applicable also to professions and para-professions, but introduces the additional dimension of death work.

The Technical Execution of the Study

Following earlier information from Dr. Clift that the speciality
experiences acute recruitment difficulties, I decided as a first step
in this new research, to discover from doctors already practising in
other specialised fields, why they themselves have not opted for
forensic pathology and why they think newly-qualified doctors have not
done so. I constructed a short questionnaire, including face-sheet
data and enlisted not only my own G.P. for help but also friends and
acquaintances to give the questionnaires to their doctors for
completion. Some of these friends either worked in hospitals, have
treatment there or have sons who are themselves doctors. These
contacts were exploited to the limit of goodwill. In this way, I
managed to obtain the views of some 36 practitioners (male and female)
in ten different specialities. Although contacts were made through
people known to me personally via my address book, telephone and
visits, the doctor sample is random in a sense as with the exception of
my personal doctor, no others were known to me. The basic object was
not the strict identification of a control group, but simply to obtain
reliable information about the problem from a group competent to give
it. It makes for an interesting comparison with the views subsequently
asked from the forensic pathologists on the same topic.

My next step was to construct a set of questions to be addressed to
members of the forensic pathologist fraternity themselves. The purpose
was to test by unstructured qualitative means matters that are of the

utmost sensitivity to the profession and to determine whether it could
be inferred from the responses that occupational stigma is present.
Each of the questions contained, as it were, inbuilt hypotheses on some
aspect connected with the (to me and the general public) traumatic
nature of their work. The planted 'squatters' were intended to provoke
a kind of cross examination out of court, tempting respondents to
attack or defend, to spill the beans, and the majority did. My
intention was to find out, not to condemn or criticise, to try to be
objective but sympathetic to their plight, and perhaps eventually help
to minimise the possible stigmas by a contribution that would lift the
image of this profession by an articulation of the feelings of its
incumbents without the disclosure of identities.

The essential target population was the total number of forensic
pathologist, located throughout the country (and at the start of my
research) 48 doctors in number. I discovered the existence of the only
organised group for this specialism to be the British Association in
Forensic Medicine and managed to obtain from the very helpful Hon.
Secretary a list of Fellows and Members, giving the addresses of their
work place, their professional qualifications and date of membership.
In addition, I obtained from the Home Office the names and addresses of
all Forensic Pathologists on the Register at that time. This help was
of maximum importance since without it, the investigation might have
had to be confined to a small number willing to be interviewed. The
BAFM List contained 187 members at the time, including Hon. Fellows and
Overseas Members. The Hon. Secretary (clearly research-oriented) also
helped with the identification of the 48 members and fellows who are

practising in the forensic pathology field. Formal personal letters then went to each doctor explaining the purpose of the research, together with my questionnaire, each question on different coloured paper for easier identification at analysis time. 27 doctors responded, mainly with frank and detailed information. Two follow-up letters were sent to the non-responders, asking for reasons which 9 members supplied. Curiously, the majority of the non-responders consisted mainly of doctors on the Home Office List and based in London Teaching Hospitals. It became later necessary as a follow-up from significant points in some of the responses to enter into personal correspondence with particular doctors and professors. I managed in addition interviews with a senior doctor at Surrey University, a Forensic Pathology Professor at the London Hospital Medical School (plus conducted tour of the department) and a Histopathologist from Southampton General Hospital, who does much work for the Coroner. All these activities were supplemented by attending meetings at the Royal Institute of Public Health and Hygiene, the Royal Society of Medicine, viewing a Mortuary, visiting a Coroners' Office and regular reading in the Institute of Advanced Legal Studies of such journals as that of the 'Forensic Society', 'Medicine', 'Science and Law', 'Criminology', 'American Journal of Forensic Medicine and Pathology', 'Human Pathology', the 'Canadian Medical Association Journal' and 'Forensic Science International'.

In Pursuit of Funeral Directors

My on-line computer search confirmed the information from the Hon. Secretary of the BAFM that the profession of Forensic Pathologists had never been sociologically researched. As shown on page 3, undertaker work has attracted intermittent curiosity, initially in America and more recently in this country. With rare exceptions, it was mostly confined to coping with dying, bereavement and funeral cost. Along with most members of the public, I saw funeral directors as a remote breed of people who look sad, wear black attire and walk at a slow pace, to be avoided if possible.

I did on rare occasions look into the shop window if there was a parlour near my bus stop. On such occasion the lady in charge came out and in the ensuing conversation gave me the benefit of her extensive experience of client behaviour in grief, the kind of eccentric excesses that it is not good for public relations in funeral work to discuss. Together with reading Mitford's book about the profession, which a critic described as 'to shock and entertain', this incident provided enough impetus for a sociologist interested in occupations to include this activity as a part of the research. It was logical in the circumstances to complete the occupational cluster of the death system, to take in Embalmers and Grave Diggers and research those also.

The National Association of Funeral Directors estimates full-time membership at 7,000. Members operate mainly in small units throughout the country, whether independent or centrally controlled as branches.

The work routine of corpse disposal consists of a set of standard

practices, however local individual relationships are forged with the

bereaved in the course of carrying out these routines. As shown in

chapter 4, local goodwill, cultivated over generations, keeps these

small undertakings viable. Given this operational similarity and a

general philosophy of proclaimed service-giving, together with an

enacted compassion towards the mourners, a standard questionnaire to a

10% sample of 700 respondents (and a likely statistically

unsatisfactory response rate) would have proved not only costly and

time-consuming for a researcher working alone, but would almost

certainly have yielded a similarity of concise answers to a set of

structured questions, and all without the benefit of personal contact.

An appointment at that time with then (then) Secretary of the NAFD

assisted in obtaining mostly general information about a career in

funeral directing, courses available to qualify, syllabus content and

access to training. This interview confirmed for me that the prior

decision to opt for a small number of case studies in depth, based if

possible on lengthy recorded meetings with experienced funeral

directors would be the more profitable by far. How to find such

people, who in addition would also allow one to tour their premises,

was the next problem.

The feverish hunt for contacts had now begun: this entailed browsing

through English and American funeral journals, enlisting the help of

friends with introductions, interviewing the Curator of Works at the

V & A, himself a hon. member of the NAFD and lecturer to funeral

directors, attending at Eastbourne a conference on Death-care and

Bereavement, and my supervisor herself knew of an old-established firm famous for the Horsedrawn Hearses. Also, a neighbour at home, arranged an introduction to a well-known firm of Monumental Masons and I was shown around the works; but of maximum value was the help from the National Officer of the Furniture, Timber and Allied Trades Union, who arranged four interviews for me. Before long, I had appointments in London, Margate, Eastbourne, Bournemouth, Gravesend and Norwich, comprising a good cross section of companies. I perused in addition the financial press and obtained the Annual Reports of the biggest companies. Of my ten interviews (subsequently transcribed to facilitate analysis), I utilised the best five. One of the funeral directors happened to be interested in undertaking research for a higher degree and I managed to be of assistance with the presentation of a suiatable scheme and the registration at his local university. He has become a friend and I had the benefit of data normally accessible only to insiders in the 'trade'. Of course, my contact with funeral directors did not end there. All employ or have close contact with embalmers, or are frequently qualified as embalmers themselves. The methodology used for data from that profession (or para-profession, as the Americans refer to embalmers) was to be again a qualitative one and on a case basis, but supplemented by attendance of conferences, visits, demonstrations and exhibitions, and becoming a (nominal) non-practising embalmer myself (See page 17/18).

Compiling a Structure of the Death Industry

I had in Norwich and later in London the opportunity to make a closer study of parts in Crematoria not usually accessible to the public, having procedures explained by the superintendent and seeing the cremating furnaces in operation, as well as a machine reducing the bones to powder and the urns and polytainers containing the ashes of various shades. At that time, it became clear to me that a chapter on the structure of this industry must be an essential task, to get the feel of it and to appreciate the function of all its arms. This had not been done before and required the identification of all professional and trade associations by designation and number, composition of work force and unionisation, as well as such ancillary interests as coroner, clergy and voluntary bodies. A great deal of correspondence and library search was involved and the Middlesex Polytechnic was particularly helpful in this respect. My work resulted also in the acceptance of an 8,000 word article by an internationally known academic service industries journal for publication in March 1991. All this was done alongside my new search for data from the next target group, the embalmers.

The Sharp-end of Death-care

My lengthy recorded interview with the Trade Organiser of the FDTAT, who himself has a lifetime of experience of this industry, was of enormous help in the identification of the various trade unions

connected with the Funeral Industry and their historical evolution. He explained to me the relationship between an undertaker and an embalmer, and learning also more about the existing professional organisation, the British Institute of Embalmers, provided a good opening for my investigation. As chapter 6 explained, outsiders rarely known who is an embalmer, although as an organised body they care about a favourable image vis-a-vis the media and seek to elevate the profession towards a better recognition. One obvious first step was to establish contact with this institute. My letter to the National General Secretary explained that the 'profession' had never previously been researched and that I needed in the first instance some general information about the history of the BIE, male and female membership, the percentage of members who are also funeral directors, whether there is a shortage of members, how many are self-employed, if the local authorities offer study grants, whether an age structure of the members was available, why (as I discovered) doctors refuse to advise embalmers of the cause of death, whether the Association has a Code of Ethics, and how members get into the profession, having also shared in common with the general public the mistaken assumption that the purpose of embalming a body is to preserve it permanently. In his dual role as also the Public Relations Officer, the National General Secretary was accommodating enough to send me printed information on 'Modern EAmbalming as a Service to the Living', Membership details, a copy of the Ethical Code, and attempted to answer my questions as best he could.

I also requested a copy of the current issue of the bi-monthly journal, The Embalmer, from which I learned about the 59th AGM and Conference at

Windermere, together with the full business and social programme, the latter mostly for the wives and children of members. I immediately asked to be allowed to attend this conference and it was there that the first resistance was encountered. I was told that it has been the rule since the Institute was formed that only members and students are entitled to attend the Business Sessions and the AGM. The only part of the programme open to me would be the Education Session, the (ceremonial) Installation of Officers, the Closure Proceedings and all the Social Functions. I was also advised that if I wanted to attend the Business Programme, I would have to put in writing the reasons for wanting to do so. for this then to be considered by the Executive Committee. The letter from the National General Secretary concluded that he did not hold out much hope about permission to be given. My special interest in the sociological aspects of occupations and professions made it virtually mandatory to be granted presence. I produced a lengthy letter to make a good case: the significant parts for a researcher are the business sessions as an opportunity to look into the 'soul' of as professional association, to gain an idea of its progress, its aspirations, its ideology and how it copes with its problems, of which a President's and National Secretary's addresses are vital ingredients. Being left in the dark about such matters, I made the point that what I could then contribute by my research would be the poorer for being excluded. Stating also my genuine interest in all aspects of the professional involvement in the funeral process, in the cultural insight to be gained and promising that I would accord all the proceedings due confidentiality, pretty well concluded my case designed to melt the hearts of the Committee.

A further letter from the National General Secretary advised me of the recent Executive Committee Meeting and their unanimous decision that they could <u>not</u> set a precedent in my case and regretted that I would <u>not</u> be allowed to attend this Business Sessions. To rub it in, I was also advised in this letter that he understood from his colleagues of the National Association of Funeral Directors, that their rules are the same concerning such sessions. At that particular stage, the possibility of gaining some insight into the ethos and character of these semi or para-professions seemed, if not closed, somewhat remote. Still, all was not lost. I was, after all, allowed to attend. Maybe the Committee just wanted to test my genuine interest. The Conference would afford me an opportunity to meet embalmers and funeral directors informally at least, and although a costly venture on the whole, allow me also to view the opening and closing as well as the banqueting ceremonial sessions. Sitting alone in the hotel lounge during the proceedings from which I was barred, and hoping to engage in a chat any of the 150 people attending, chance would have it that the Technical Editor of the Embalmer Journal dropped in for a quite few minutes' work in the lounge and we got into conversation. Explaining the reason for my presence to him, he let it be known that as one of the directors of an old-established undertakers in a seaside town, he is also a graduate in Psychology and very interested to undertake research for a higher degree himself. My offer to help with information and to write an article for the journal later was gratefully accepted and an excellent relationship was established which continues to survive.

In short, by the time the Conference closed, I managed in addition to meeting the technical editor, to interview three full-time practising embalmers, have most useful informal talks during the coach outing and at the restaurant shop with a number of embalmers' wives about how they perceive the occupation and their role in the family, be introduced to the National General Secretary and Senior Officers of the Institute, obtain the addresses of the Principal of an Embalming College for further help, and that of a Director of an Embalming Company, with an invite to come and view a session at the London premises of a large firm of funeral directors with a conducted tour thrown in. I also attended the Educational Meeting at this Conference, at which the proposal of a modular course structure was discussed, and obtained the Chairman's agreement to allow me to attend the Embalmer Education Conference at Keele University later that year. All told, it was for me not only a very successful Conference, but more importantly a vital means to obtaining essential case data, if perhaps not quite a 'rite of passage' to insidership. (Term borrowed from Van Gennep, 1909[1]).

The BIE is forever keen to enhance its professional status. My article for their journal on an 'Outsider's View of the Profession of Embalmer' contributed to get me know. It discussed in sociological terms what makes a profession and suggested that the BIE is not far from achieving this status. About this time, a BBC 2 programme discredited the profession and members were deeply hurt. Disciplinary action and some resignations followed. Rules and codes require to be meticulously observed and (as I saw for myself) professional consciousness symbolised by ceremonial rites, chains of office, riband medallions, cups and defined membership categories from 'Master Fellow' down, are a

part of the sub-culture that was strongly in evidence at the
Conference.

Becoming a Student Embalmer myself

All qualified embalmers are taught to follow similar routines in their
work. Of course there are degrees of skill. To put the parts of an
autopsied corpse together and make it resemble what looks like a human
require much experience. The similarity of the work was once more a
big influence in the choice of the case study method and the use of
personal contacts as the better option, providing a richer data source
than that obtainable from a survey. It is also likely that the
embalmers, receiving my questionnaire, would have checked with their
professional association, and been discouraged from filling it in. I
managed eventually to get all my case studies together to give me
analytical rather than enumerative induction possibilities for
comparing my cases, and for establishing that stigmatising tendencies
exist. Remembering what Robert Park[12] (of Chicago School fame and
himself a student of Simmel) said to his students when talking about
field work: 'Get your hands dirty with research', it occurred to me
that I needed at least to see an embalming job done, if not being able
to follow Znaniecki's advice some 56 years earlier, that the one way to
experience an activity is to perform it oneself (Znaniecki, 1934[13].

About this time I had the surprise of my life. A letter from the
(then) National General Secretary, answering some of the questions I
posed, also contained the following paragraph:

'...I have arranged for you to receive the Embalmer Journal until
the end of 1988 and have just thought of an idea you may be
interested in, which would mean that you would receive the Journal
for the next three years and also that you would be entitled by
right to attend all the BIE Meetings that you wish together with
the Keele Educational Convention, and that is to become a
registered student of the Examination Board of the Institute.   I
realise of course that you will not be attempting any of the
examinations, but it would help you in your research and also
assist in permitting you to attend the various meetings you
wish...'

I duly completed the necessary forms, paid my subscription and became a
student member. My status had now radically changed and I was
virtually an insider now, and had I moreover felt disposed to study for
an embalming career, the way would have been open to do so. Without
any doubt, my general demeanour and adaptation socially (wearing black
at Conference Banquets, observing codes, showing interest and a
willingness to learn) had convinced the powers that be of my
objectivity as a researcher and of my goodwill towards the BIE.

The grim and stressful task of doing embalming work (an average of
eight cadavers per day) has been fully discussed in chapter 5. It
struck me forcefully at the Keele Educational Convention, with all the
lectures, slides, discussions and anatomical exhibitions that were on
offer, that my knowledge and background in the subject were simply
inadequate, even as a modest embalmer apprentice, to understand fully

the technicalities that cropped up in textbooks on Pathology, the
Embalmer Study Manual and the DHSS Code of Practice for the Prevention
of Infection in Clinical Laboratories and Post-mortem Rooms. As soon
as I got back to London, I enrolled for a 12 week evening course,
designed especially for the Funeral Services, which included such
topics as causes of death and disease, infections, handling the dead
and its legal aspects, among others. It did a lot to equip me at the
very least to ask intelligent questions of the Forensic Pathologists in
follow-up correspondence and of the Embalmers at the demonstrations I
attended.

The Sight of Dead Bodies and its Effect on me

Before this research, my sight of dead bodies dated back to the Second
World War years. I vividly remember seeing a night patrol of six in a
field in Germany one morning, all stiffly lying there, faces bluish-
grey. They must have been there for some days. I also saw more dead
when advancing through a wood. One body still holding the mess-tin
with food in one hand and fork in the other, with the mouth wide open.
A strange sight it was. At one of my visits to a firm of funeral
directors last year, a van load of bodies had just arrived as I was
chatting to the manager. They were soon transferred to the
refrigeration compartments. I was shown four of these bodies later.
They all looked still fresh and pink, and the one black man among them
as if just sleeping. Some time later, I was invited (at my special
request, I should add) to view embalmers at work. The embalmer

entrepreneur was one contact I had made at the Conference. He and his team of women performed the work at a funeral director's premises. I was given a white jacket and apron to put on before the work commenced. The embalming chamber looked and smelled more like a medical room, with lots of surgical instruments on the table. During a prior tour of the building, my host introduced me to one of the directors who asked whether I had ever seen a dead body before and suggested that it would be better if I did not see the autopsied body that had just arrived from Italy. Back in the embalming room, two bodies were wheeled in and the women got to work. Both bodies, elderly, one male and one female, looked somewhat shrivelled up, but the faces showed a peaceful expression. Within the space of just over 30 minutes, now beautiful and doll-like, these same faces and bodies were on their way back to the 'fridge cabinets, awaiting a visit from the bereaved.

I did get a quick look at the autopsied body from Italy. It was an athletic-looking youngish man in boxer shorts, with his face bashed in; gruesome it was. I tried to hide my emotion about the whole experience which seemed to be routine for the embalmers. Is this, I wondered, what Park and Znaniecki had in mind? I declined the offer of tea and took my leave. I had seen the sharp end of death work. On the train home I glanced at people in the compartment - that biggish man with the beard, that plump woman in the corner - and visualised them on the embalming table. The general effect of the experience does wear off. The bodies were not those of family or friends after all. As a student member of the BIE I am expected to attend the Divisional Meetings, which may be held at the premises of a funeral director if a

demonstration is part of the programme. At one such meeting recently,
an embalming of an autopsied corpse took place and I had the benefit of
a full session with all the trimmings of a difficult case, more fully
described in the chapter.

Some voices in America see the art of restoring corpses as a sordid
hoax. The account of my experiences show that I do not share this
view. I hold this occupation in high regard. Its status has not yet
attained that of a profession and its members do in some way compensate
by fascinatingly meticulous attachment to pomp and ceremonial. They
more than any other death occupation, are at the very core of the
cadaver. My other important reason for a more detailed methodological
description is to show how initial resistance can be overcome by
cultivating personal relationships and so get at the sociologically
significant elements in the practice of distinctly marginal work. For
the remaining occupation of grave digger, participant observation as a
field work medium would have been seriously considered, had it been the
main area of the research. The next section will show why visits to
cemeteries for case interviews and a close observation of the work
routines was preferred as the more beneficial way for my data
collection in the circumstances.

Grave Diggers — A Liminal Occupation

When considering a suitable methodology for my investigation of the
grave digger role, my thoughts revolved around the degree of 'leeway'

or latitude endowing all four of my death-related occupations and I
detected here an inverse relationship between the position of the
occupation or profession in a status and prestige hierarchy and the
ambit of discretion in the action of carrying out its work. If this
reasoning is accepted, it is logical to assume that a mistake by a
forensic pathologist in assessing the cause of death (and the possible
conviction for homicide of an innocent person) is a much more serious
one than that of an undertaker's confusion of the identity of a body
(which can, however, ruin the business), an embalmer's wrong use of a
chemical (and so spoiling irrevocably the view for the bereaved), or a
grave digger's in digging the hole in a wrong location of the cemetery
(very likely the responsibility of management in any case). I argue,
therefore, that if the scope of discretion is small, and incidentally
the consequences of a mistake less serious, it is usual that the work
function requires shorter training, is less skilled and likely to
consist of set routines. Hence, the case study method would again
prove the more rewarding as compared with the benefits of conducting a
survey. The latter option would have presented the additional
limitations of not finding it possible, due to inadequate records, to
establish a reliable population; the frequent denial of the
occupational name; and the likely cost of correspondence and time;
and, bearing in mind also problems with literacy (as has been
discovered in my previous research of kitchen porters), in filling in
the questionnaire, although this should not be taken to apply
universally.

Although I did not know any grave diggers personally to begin with, I had started to collect the odd article I could find on the subject and in addition used friends living in rural parts of the country to brief me on the situation in their area. Tentative perusal of literary works also helped me to construct a preliminary picture of how the image of this occupation group was presented. All these, more casual activities, were carried out simultaneously with other parts of the research. A suitable letter to the London Borough of Camden Cemeteries and Nurseries Manager drew a favourable reply and I was allowed by special appointment to interview grave diggers at the East Finchley and West Hampstead Cemeteries. Through personal contacts I managed a good interview in Norwich with a retired grave digger, and access to an unpublished dissertation on grave diggers in the Colchester area. Short questionnaires supplemented my interviews and dealt mainly with the work histories of the respondents. The meeting with Cemetery supervisors and respondents had to be conducted out in the open and during working hours, on occasion during inclement weather and with the accompaniment of traffic noise nearby. I took notes on the seat of a JCB digger. But the one advantage was that when funeral parties arrived (hearse or limousine, a small procession of mourners, undertaker staff and clergy) and an interview had to stop to allow an incumbent to attend to his duties, I was able at leisure to observe the whole ritual. By and large, cooperation with my research was willingly given, although in my innocence I almost spoilt it by my question to the foreman as to whether corpses ever got mixed up. He became quite reticent thereafter and seemed to have seen in me someone who might have a political motive in asking such a question. Another possibility

is, of course, that this really occurred. Had the grave digger

research been the main or the only part of my work, there would have

been a further opportunity to meet and interview more incumbents

through the good offices of NUPE.

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APPENDIX 2

CONTENTS

THE ORIGINS OF STIGMA

THE ORIGINS OF STIGMA

There are several difficulties in attempting to provide an adequate definition of stigma; it is variable, ambiguous, bound by history, culture and environment. Many social scientists testified to its elusiveness and complexity. For example, Goffman addressed himself to the topic of stigma in 1963 and yet barely half a page is given to it in his book. More details here will be presented, not least because the ambiguous nature of the concept may be alleviated by crossing disciplinary boundaries, and also because the equivocal nature of stigma from different vantage points can be examined.

The Perception of Stigma in Classical Greek Literature

Stigma is related to the secular Greek word STIZO, which is to mark or prick with a pointed instrument. The flesh of humans or animals has been branded or tattooed. Aristophanes, an eminent Greek Grammarian writing c.450-385 B.C. writes that in the case of cattle and other animals, stigmata were branded to safeguard against theft or, where horses were concerned, to signify the mark of ownership. Herodotus, an early Greek Historian (c.484-425 B.C.) explains stigmata applied to the human body as denoting signs of disgrace or the branding of a deserter. The Philosopher Plato (c.427-347 B.C.) holds that criminals received the mark as punishment, while the Hellenistic writer Diogenes Laertus (3rd. Cent. A.D.) states that slaves suffered this special penalty if

they absconded and were later caught or broke the law in some other way. The Physician Xenophon (c.430-354 B.C.) writing a work on the human body, tells of the labelling of slaves by the name STIGMATIAS and thereby branded desperado. This appears to be the first known social mark or slur on individuals or groups. As to the nature of the bodily mark, Aetaius, a medical writer whose time is not agreed but historians place him as early as the 4th Century A.D., informs us of special branding letters being used on the forehead of slaves in the imperial period as a mark of ownership whilst soldiers in the Roman Army were given an abbreviated tattoo mark of the emperor on their hand. No other precise information can be found of the form in which the marks were imposed although Herodotus also talks of sacred marks as a sign of religious devotion in honour of the gods.

Information from the Old Testament

In an attempt to trace the origins of stigma disciplinary boundaries may have to be crossed and biblical mythology included. One point of entry is the Old Testament which contains some interesting details on the question of stigma and occupational distinctions. One reference to stigma appears in Septuagint (LXX) as an ornament in the plural label of stigmata. According to Jewish legend, seventy-two scholars of the Diaspora at Alexandria helped with the Greek translations of the Old Testament around the 3rd Century B.C. so that the Jews might read the scriptures in familiar language; hence the Roman numerals. The idea behind the word 'stigmata' occurs in a number of instances, for example in Exodus 21:6 to marks as a badge of the ownership of slaves. There

is also a mention in Ezekiel 9:4 to the Hebrew letter TAU as a pledge
of safety against the day of judgement of the remaining Israelite
faithful. In Isaiah 44:5, God's people are bidden to inscribe his name
on their palm as a promise of fidelity. Real stigmata were, however,
expressly forbidden by the rubric of Leviticus 19:28, but in apostate
time, Israel borrowed this practice from the Gentiles. Fertility-cult
practices, though rarely, took place in Canaan if a prophet had God's
mark on his forehead (Kings I 18:28, 20:41). It is also noted that
captors branded Jews in the inter-testamental period (Psalms of Solomon
2:6) and the Hellenistic persecution of Jews by way of forcible
imposition of pagan symbols. Finally, accounts from the philosopher
and writer Philo of Alexandria (c.50 B.C. - A.D. 45) suggest the
acceptance of the brand with a red hot iron as a mark of apostasy. A
further reference in Ezekiel 9:4 may be added where a mention in the
Damascus Rule 9:10-12 of marks on bodies (and also on grave sites) were
seen as symbols of a protective belonging to God. Tattooing was not
popular with the loyal Jew, who saw his badge of elect belonging in
circumcision and evidently needed no other religious marking.

The Mark of Cain

The Genesis story of Cain deserves a little extra space not only for
its relevance to stigmatizing marks but also its association with
occupational status at that time. The first pages of the Old Testament
tell us of the deep-rooted antagonism between farmers and shepherds,
typified by the biblical accounts of Cain and Abel. The farmers by
working the soil restricted the nomadic shepherds' grazing grounds

while the shepherds' flocks constituted a menace to the farmers' crops.
The story of the slaying of Abel too is well known. However the
interpretations have caused controversy. If Adam, Eve and Cain their
son, were the only people on earth then why the mark to protect him?
Whether the sign was perceptible to Cain alone in token that no man (or
perhaps beast) should kill him, or whether it was some sign or bodily
mark visible also to others is uncertain. Cain, as the accursed
wanderer with God's mark (possibly on his forehead) presumes the
existence of other populace to be protected from. Whether roaming
nomads, hunters or warriors 'whose hand be against every man', or fears
not from men but wild beasts in the land of Nod was the case is for
ever open to speculation. The story of Cain's crime and punishment has
many layers of meaning which derive from different historical epochs
and a massive variety of literary sources.

Maccoby's Hypothesis

The Mark of Cain story receives additional significance in the light of
the interpretation of the historian, writer and lecturer Hyam
Maccoby.[1] His mythological figure is coined 'The Sacred
Executioner'. He argues that the historical reality that lies behind
such stories as Cain and Abel is the institution of human sacrifice.
It was practised in the ancient world only in times of great emergency.
Who is the sacred executioner and what are these emergencies? The
sacred executioner (either a God or a human being) as a result of
slaying another person is treated as both, sacred and accursed. Such a
person in myth is then ejected from society and condemned to long

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wanderings at the same time as enjoying the special privilege of being protected from attack and thus having his life prolonged. The pattern may vary with a person sometimes more accursed than sacred, but the basic proposition is always the alleviation of the guilt or helplessness felt by a people in the face of their God. Thus, Cain branded as murderer, is also sacred and held in awe by society which benefits from his deed and is protected by the God now appeased by the sacrifice. Few of the myths portray human sacrifice openly. More often accidental death or murder for personal gain subsequently punished, veils the guilt on the part of society in which it occurred and a later desire to shift the blame, despite the desperate need that was felt to perform the deed. (Sacrifices have long taken on the character of 'offerings' and are gifts to God rather than redeeming ties or sin-offerings. Milgrom, 1971).[2] The equivocal character of the story tells us (say Maccoby) that the ritual sacrifice is the real subject of the myth and the good consequences that may be seen to follow from the slaying are perhaps the foundation of a city, the inauguration of a nation, the staying of a famine, the saving of a people from the wrath of the gods or the defeat of a threatening enemy. Among a number of other examples, Maccoby aims by his hypothesis to explain, how an individual (say, the Wandering Jew) symbolised by a nation (the Jews as a whole) may be set in the role of the sacred executioner. I shall refer to this author again in a later discussion when he considers the position of the Jews in more cosmic terms.

Stigmata and the New Testament

Whether or not by the characterisation of some Christian writers quoting the Gospels of John the latter has set up the Jews as a collective Sacred Executioner is not open to discussion here. The concern is the genesis of stigma. One can find in Paul's letter to the Galatians (6:17) a reference to the marks of Jesus he bore, said to be the scars of his apostolic sufferings which mark him as a slave of Christ, in the same way as Roman slaves and soldiers were designated as a symbol of allegiance owed. Another meaning suggested by Martin (1976)[3] is for Paul to have carried a badge of protection that none of his enemies in Galatia can ignore with impunity as the Galatians could be presumed to be aware of the idea that religious teachers were under the care of the gods and so immune from attack. Galatians (6:16), as also Philippians (3:3), refer to stigmata as the Christian counterpart to Jewish circumcision, marking out the new Israel as a sign of messianic hope for an ultimate outcome of history - eschatological fulfilment. Paul's letters to the Christians of Rome (2:25-29) and Colosse (2:11-13) asserted the supremacy of Christ and Christian duty, however, rather than the stigmata to be seen as his tattooed sign of the cross or the name of Jesus on his flesh. It is said in Ephesians (3:1,13) that stigmata are the scars and wounds Paul received as an apostle in his missionary service of the Gentile churches. The Revelations of St. John (7:2f Apocalypse) also contain such metaphorical usages as the marking of God's people with seals.

Discussion

To explain adequately the concept of stigma in a theoretical sense and investigation of other disciplinary and conceptual points, is sometimes necessary. Equally, historical landmarks can also be illuminating. For example, the Bible may be seen as an enlightening repository of events in the crucial stages of man's development. Established myths in the minds of people can become the outlines of culture and in general are stories that characterize a given society. Myths have often aided antropologists like Malinowski and Levi-Strauss in their explanation of tribal beliefs. If one considers the classical times of Greece, there were the victorious Olympian gods over the barbaric Titans, their ideals of polytheism, artistocratic individualism and militarism. There is, however, also a sociological perspective. Greek society was based on exploitation and class differentiation in the triadic form where the highest status was accorded to the full citizen, with resident aliens and the slaves groups of a much lower order.

By another line of theoretical argument, this discussion is not just about the recognition of paradigms. Stigma, as will be seen later, involves the drama of life events and the related pains and triumphs of real people. Equally, stigma is not just about stigmata, the physical branding and marking that have been considered. Its multiple dimensions embrace questions of morality, devaluation by disfigurement, character blemishes and the behavioural responses to these; and in sociological relevance, the attachment of a social lable on people and their propensity to cope. The Greeks ostracised individuals and groups

as a result of disgrace and enforced exile for long periods was often

the case. Women and slaves were in a subordinate position in law by

reason of their dependence on others for their existence and status.

So likewise the poor who could not compete. Women were in a

particularly ambivalent position, seen on the one hand as the source

and providers of life and on the other, the physically, morally,

socially and intellectually weaker sex, the she-monsters of Pandora-

like outrageous and devilish cunning. (The Word of Athens, 1984).[4]

A brief focus on sexual relations at this time is also of relevance

here. Sexual relations with women, often widely available through

prostitution and slavery, were much more the means of procreation or

physical satisfaction than emotion. Love from a woman, being a

dependent member of society, was not felt to be worth as much as that

from a male, particularly that of an older, wealthy, influential one,

for a younger man, so made to feel wanted and valued for himself. It

would, however, not be correct to assume no stigma at all on

homosexuality or that all Greeks practised both, homo and hetero sexual

relationships. The former was clearly the preserve of the wealthy and

leisured rather than that of most Greek males, who struggled to scrape

a living from the land. Aristpohanes, for example, is quoted to have

laughed as loud and brutally at 'queers' as any modern comedian.

Nevertheless, homosexuality was an important feature in Greek social,

intellectual and possibly also in political life (Hammond, 1975).[5]

In sum then, classical Greece presented the image of a harsh society in

a civilisation where existence was pretty precarious, where wars

prevailed, where the opposite to freedom was slavery, but where high

regard was also placed on mercy and pity. Between the archetypal figure

of Cain and the early Greeks some 3000 years had elapsed and Christian

values were still several hundred years away. This latter period needs

now to be briefly considered next.

Commentary on the Testaments

The Old Testament is alive to the full acrimony of the antithesis

between ruler and ruled, exploiter and exploited. The rich, and Kings

especially, counted as being the owners, with complete power over their

subordinates. Dependents on the other hand, and above all slaves,

often had practically the status of property. They counted as pure

cash (Exodus 21:21) and could be transferred by means of a will at a

man's death similarly to real estate (Leviticus 25:46). Israel lived

in this antithesis as it lived in the air of its environment. How then

did the Old Testament come to terms with the institution of slavery?

Slavery was very much part of the social structure of the Near East in

ancient times. It had, basically speaking, two roots: great numbers

of slaves were brought in as prisoners of war and, in addition, there

was a smaller number who in their own country got into debt and were

forced to sell their bodies, lives and working capacity into a debtor's

slavery. Leviatan 25:6 lists four types of dependent workers: male

slave, female slave, hired labourer and foreign worker or stranger. A

second type of female slave also existed, the virgin bond-maid, who was

primarily assigned to the service of the mistress of the house, whereas

the other female slave belonged to her master. On the whole, it was a

time of fermenting conditions with the different kinds of Old Testament
schemes seeking to alter the existing state, one could say, in line
with God's liberating rule, perfected in his servanthood. So, the Old
Testament saw men in the midst of social tension as being on the road
to freedom between the declaration of God's early acts in salvation
history and those future acts which prophecy has proclaimed. (Wolff,
1974).[6]

The cultural atmosphere in the world of the New Testament owed its
origin partly to the diffusion of the Hellenic spirit permeating the
West and East. Some of the Greek slaves were more learned than their
Roman masters and managed to counter their stigma by the application of
professional skills. They were often not just performing menial tasks
but serving as teachers, physicians, accountants and overseers of farms
or of business. So all-pervading was the cultural influence of the
vanquished Greeks that the city of Rome became virtually Greek-speaking
and artistocratic young Romans were keen to master the language and
attend the Greek universities of Athens, Rhodes, Tarsus and other
cities. Social differentiation was pronounced. It was a world of rich
and poor, the virtuous and the criminals, freemen and slaves, existing
side by side. In Judaism, the wealthy artistocracy were chiefly the
families of the priesthood and of the rabbis. The Hasmonean clan
dominated Palestinian society. Business traffic connected with the
temple was within their control as was participation in revenues from
the sale of animals for sacrifice and from the exchange of money
connected with the temple taxes. Social division among the Jews was to
some extent limited by the common obligation to obey the law since

equal responsibility to God places them all morally equal in His sight.

The wealthy were seen not only as specially blessed by God's favours

but also as righteous and deserving, thus meriting the favour by good

works. In this way, although self-perpetuating, this inherent moral

equality kept the Jewish oligarchy from becoming too oppressive.

The New Testament shows references to slaves and the ownership of them.

This institution is neither attacked in its pages nor is it defended.

In Paul's letters to Asian churches, both slaves and slaveholders were

Christians, with the slaves enjoined to obey their masters and the

masters commanded to refrain from being cruel to them. At the same

time, Christian fellowship was so powerful as to gradually weaken the

impact of this institution and gradually cause slavery to disappear.

This was also a time when crime and morality presented problems. The

socially deprived were the restless hordes of the unemployed, the

despairing and the disinherited, descending on the big cities to prey

to improve their lot. This state was seen as a breeding ground for

crime. Despite the large number of decent citizens, society was

plagued by all kinds of evils, not least mirrored in the unscrupulous

and immoral character of high officials, even emperors. This is

reflected in Romans 1:18-32, which paints a ghastly picture of the

heathen world with nothing to check the downward moral drift. (Merrill

C. Tenney, 1961).[7]

Limitations of the Civilising Process

It will be clear from this description of the social divisions in classical Greece that a division of labour existed there. According to Gouldner, large areas of social disorder needed to exist to enable a cheap supply of slaves to be maintained. Since Hellenic civilisation was one of wars, piracy, kidnapping and privateering, peaceful international order was inhibited thereby at the same time as disorder was useful because it allowed those outside the basic political unit to be subjugated as slaves, and without the slaves there could be no citizen elite. Athenian freedom and democracy countenanced slavery of an estimated third of the population and also withheld political freedom from women. Less than 30% were of the citizen class, the privileged marked out by talent, leisure, choice of vocation and all the intrinsic benefits of Athenian life. (Gouldner, 1969).[a] It has also been seen that Greece's religious ambience was one of belief in the divine influence in or control of, human affairs. Conformity to a given set of beliefs was not demanded, nor was there a strict code of ethics.

Weber's interest in the rise of capitalism led him into the monumental study of the religions of India and China and of their difference from Ancient Judaism. Looking back over the centuries, he found in the Near East countries a development similar to the despotism of the Orient that so well served the elite at the expense of the masses. It has been shown that the principal low status groups during these times were

the slaves and women. 'Fodder, a stick, and burdens for an ass; bread
and discipline, and work, for a slave' (Ecclesiasticus 33:24-28). Such
words imply that slavery, quite a natural and indispensable institution
for the Israelites as also for others in the ancient world, was
particularly hard in Palestine. It was, however, practiced more
liberally and more humanely than anywhere else. The quoted text also
ends with 'If thou hast a slave, let him be as thyself.....treat him as
a brother'. Israelite legislation has always been kindly with regard
to slaves. The foreign slave was considered a part of the family,
enjoyed a day of rest, (and once circumcised), took part in worship and
religious festivals. (Exodus 20:10, 23:12). The position of the
female slave was always a special one as she often became a concubine
of the buyer or his sons. That meant bondage for six years or more
with scant protection from the Deuteronomic law. This position
prevailed until the Old Testament prophets appeared when one could
detect the early traces of demystification and rationalization emerging
to give meaning to the educated and the uneducated. The New Testament
also has a frequent mention of slaves, although translated usage might
be 'servant' or 'handmaid'. They figure in the Jesus Parables as
'Tares, Wicked, Husbandmen, Unmerciful Servant, Prodigal Son', alluding
to their social position in Matthew 10:24-25; 20:27; 24:45-47. Jesus
and the New Testament writers never attacked slavery directly, but its
condemnation appears to have been implicit in the liberating message of
the Essenes. (W. Corswant, 1956).[3]

Endword

In the discussion so far, the term 'stigma' has simply been introduced. One reason must be the multiplicity of meanings attached to it and a need to define it more precisely in sociological terms. This will be attempted later in this chapter. The term can, however, be applied to ruthlessly exploited groups in Classical Greece to the 6th Century B.C., where for example a sea port at Delos could deal with 10,000 bodies a day (Burn, 1965).[10] Groups were handled collectively in this way and bore the physical marks of bondage in evidence. Stigmas appeared also in another way. The Greeks attached a moral failing to the bodily marks of the bearer if he were maimed, lame, or impaired in some other way. Deafness, for example, was equated with a mental defect and adultery inviting the stoning of a woman for breaking this norm. Another point to make at this stage is that although historical events have been enlisted to demonstrate some early forms of stigmatization, it is not a study in which it is intended to analyse successive periods of evolution. Whilst legend, myths and the supernatural played a significant role, the social order was such that the Greeks had no clear conception of time, thinking that the future was mainly a repetition of the past. (Karlin, 1967).[11]

Thriving literature in classical Greece and some archaeological records have made it possible to some extent to detect elements capable of a sociological interpretation - exploitation, elites in the citizenry and other class divisons, servility in households, the approaches and benefits of leisure for some and a differentiation in occupational

activity. When it comes to the Testaments, sociological analysis does
not aim to answer religious questions or determine the truth or
particular beliefs. By their nature, such beliefs are not subject to
empirical test. There are no fieldwork notes, no clear and
uninterrupted longitudinal track and little or no verification of third
parties for data gained from indigenous reports. Biblical scholars
have for some years been using historical sociological methods to
reconstruct a picture of the setting in which various parts of biblical
accounts are based. (Association for the Sociology of Religion,
Association Meeting, 1985).[12] Also textual critical studies of early
Christian documents take place all the time as more recently they do
for early Judaism in an attempt to discover how people's behaviour is
influenced by what they believe.

The Intellectual Impact of Sociological Interpreters

The founding fathers of sociology have not neglected to make their
contribution to distinguishing good and evil: perceptive interpreters
of Durkheim's Elementary Forms of Religious Life (1912)[13]r see in it
an account of how a social hierarchy originated and how its power is
maintained, countering the criticism that there is little if any
mention of any negative or dysfunctional effects of religion in
Durkheim's sociology (Thompson, 1982)[14]. Swanson (1960)[15] gives a
radical application to Durkheim's metaphoric analogy in his suggestion
that belief in a monotheistic deity occurs only in societies where, if
there are different types of hierarchically ordered groups and one

being the dominating group, this will provide the social conditions
that a high god symbolizes or represents. Perhaps the Testament period
can be perceived in this way. Engels explains the early spread of
Christianity in terms of the growth of the proletariat, both slave and
free, in the Graeco-Roman empire (Berger, 1970)[16] and he, like Marx
(his close collaborator and friend), saw in Darwin's biological theory
of evolution respectable scientific evidence for their philosophical
materialism. Indeed, if natural laws operated in this way, one could
dispense with the literal interpretation of the biblical accounts of
creation. If one is to believe the Social Darwinist Gumplowicz, only
the fittest will survive. He was not strictly a sociologist, but his
ideas, that the continuous struggles between groups (ethnic and others
capable of being biologically identifiable) were unavoidable, universal
and the only means by which cultural development could proceeed, were
accepted at this time only to be discredited later during the 19th
Century. (1875, 1883, 1855).

Unlike Durkheim, who saw some common basic elements to all religions in
their ritualistic practices which have an integrating force, Weber
viewed society as a tension of status groups which differ in style of
life, the prestige they enjoy and in the social and economic power they
wield. He also noted such groups to fight at times for ideals to give
coherence and meaning to their lives. Bendix (1960)[17] put it this
way: 'Weber was not content to see any accepted belief or convention as
something given; he sought to demonstrate that dominant beliefs and
institutions of today are the relics of past struggles among suffering,
striving, doing men. Perhaps this explains why a man (Weber) who was

passionately involved in the events of his day nevertheless spent a
major portion of his scholarly career on an investigation of social
changes that have occurred some twenty-five hundred years ago'. Of the
six world religions, I propose briefly to discuss his study of Ancient
Judaism, partly because this has some association with what has gone
before, and partly because of Zeitlin's recent re-interpretation of
Weber's views. The basic reason behind Weber's interst in the six
religions was to identify the differential effects of economic
structures on the life of peoples in these groupings. He could find a
correlation but not a one-way causation in, what seems to him, a direct
relationship between the practical ethics of a community and the
character of its economic system. In one of his articles (Mohr,
1956),[18] which deals with religion and social status, Weber refers to
Nietzsche's observations that an important element in Jewish ethical
religion, not apparent in the magical and animistic religions of all
caste systems, is resentment. In Nietzsche's sense this accompanies
the religious ethics of underprivileged people. At the same time, the
old beliefs bring consolation through the assertion that the unequal
distribution of worldly fortune is based on the sins and injustices of
the privileged groups, and the postulation is that sooner or later God
must take his vengeance on the privileged people. In the form of this
theodicy of the underprivileged, moralism serves to legitimize the
conscious and unconscious thirst for revenge. But then, in the
priestly accounts of the Canaanite enemies of the people, hope is
offered as long as Israel does not arouse God's wrath through
disobedience and thus merit its own abasement beneath the heathen.
Weber does not align himself with these propositions, at least not

completely. He points to the broad historical changes within Judaism and it would thus be an unprecedented distortion if one were to single out resentment as the only decisive element within it, although it is said that resentment does not play such a conspicuous role in any other religion of the underprivileged strata - the Hindu and Buddhist Asiatics. It would therefore be false, says Weber, to represent the need for salvation and either theodicy of congreational religion as the outgrowth of resentment alone - as, therefore, simply the result of a 'morally repressed revolt of the slaves'.

Whereas the pariah castes in India attempted to be ritually correct in their conduct so that they might be reborn higher in the caste-structured world, it was the religious promise for the Jews that the world was neither eternal nor unchangeable. It was a creation and its structure a product of man's activities, mainly those of the Jews and of God's reaction to them. God guards the social order, was the thinking, and those who serve him will be rewarded. This idea was prominent throughout the world. The Israelite's image had also the novel twist of a two-way contract with Yahweh, their God: that he protect the laws and customs of Israel but such protection did not mean they were unchangeable as in India. As the law rested on agreement, it could be changed by a new agreement, or by revelation. Under this covenant also, magic, sorcery, and sacrifices lost their meaning. But not everyone interpreted the covenant in this way. The history of ancient Israel was a continuing battle between the priests of a rational religion who could intellectually discover what Yahweh's will was and those who stuck to the old practices of idol worship, sorcery

and ecstasy. Thus, according to Weber's analysis, the locus of religion shifts from the natural to the societal.

If Weber saw Israel entering upon its historical life as a confederacy of peasants, with a so-called low 'stand' or status, he also recognised in religious activity groups of prestige. In this level of stratification are included the priest and the prophet. It was not so much the incumbent as the office of priest that carried the charisma and guarded the laws and rituals in times of war and peace. That they often quarreled between themselves about cultic practices and religous syncretism is not of concern in this discussion of prestige. Weber presents the role of the prophets as a kind of elite group with personal charisma. The peoples of ancient Palestine, once a nomadic, militarized composition with strong kinship ties and clan status and power clearly recognised, experienced in a generation or two the struggles of a disruptive transition. Now they were declassed, demilitarized and the old status hierarchies of the clans of little significance. Economic interests were now closely tied to strangers. There were still some semblance of order as long as the glory of the monarchy remained despite the abrupt changes the people endured. It is at this stage that traditional authority began to crumble and war from powerful neighbours once more threatening the squabbling rulers. People grew restless, began to question the traditional views of the individual and the world, and in their confusion turned to the prophets who had been little heeded in better days.

Weber saw the role of the prophets as innovators and also as prophets
of doom. As Bendix (1962) explains:

'They were distinguished from all others of their kind in
materialistic terms, because they did not accept gifts and
practical men will not pay for oracles that consistently predict
disaster. These prophets spoke to the public at large when the
spirit moved them, whether or not their counsel had been solicited
and whether or not it suited the authorities. In Weber's view,
they were the first demagogues and pamphleteers, who glorified the
tribal confederacy of the past in pointed contrast to the
abominations perpetrated under the Monarchy'.

It is at this point that I return to Zeitlin's research (1984).[19] He
rejects the notion that these classical prophets saw themselves as
religious innovators. His new interpretation is that they waged a war
against exploitation, immorality and social injustice against idolatry,
the Pentateuchal enemy. This was quite in line with the social changes
of their period and the emergence of new class divisions of the
professional military officer, court officials, a landed aristocracy,
urban patriciate and ministers. The prophet was not an oracle but a
critic whose mission was not foretelling but to warn people from
wrongdoings so that the prophecies of doom should not come to pass.
Although the title of Zeitlin's book is Ancient Judaism, Biblical
Criticism from Max Weber to the Present, he was not mainly concerned
with a re-examination of Weber's methodology and findings but rather
set out to criticise some dominant views of Biblical scholarship and to
show that what is new about the prophets in exile is their practicality
rather than belief and worship freed from the sacrificial cult and the

development of the synagogue. Zeitlin shares with Weber the interest
in the elite strata in the sociology of religion which is perhaps why
he notes the latter's elevation of the role of the prophets and the
denigration of that of the priests. He is also at variance with Weber
when monotheism has actually replaced polytheism in popular religion at
the time.

Other Indicators in the Origins of Stigma - Pollution

About the same time as some of the founders of sociology probed the
causes of social harmony and social change, early anthropologists such
as Levi-Strauss, Levi-Bruhl, Malinowski, Frazer, Racliffe-Brown among
others, interested themselves in directly observing other cultures and
compiling ethnographic data with a view to contributing something
substantive by way of concepts and theories. Sacrifice, rituals, magic,
totemism and pollution were some of the practices they looked at which
could be said to contain stigmatising elements. But some of the
attributional characteristics such as bodily filth, unnatural sexuality
and the various purifying ritual and sanitary disposal of the dead as
also dietary codes, have their origins once more in classical Greek
culture and the theology of the Testaments and it is proposed to pay
some attention to this aspect first.

Dirt, Defilement and Impurity

Individuals who are in some way exposed to, or contaminated by dirt or other kinds of impurities upon their person, are liable to be shunned or discredited by those others for the time being not so affected if the offending attribute can be smelled, can be seen, is known to be contagious or discrediting. Goffman's studies,[20] to be discussed later, have provided ample evidence for that. Also, there may be certain qualifications if one considers high-status occupations exposed to it. This proposition will in any case assume acute relevance when death-related professions and occupations are discussed later in this study. For the moment, one can quarrel with this proposition firstly because it is a paradox since every person is so exposed at some time or other in their daily activities, and secondly, because of the variety of meanings and interpretations a word such as 'pollution' can convey. Hence a good way to approach the subject will again be to briefly focus on original meanings in Classical Greece, in the Testaments and then enlist the help of Anthropologists to draw complex perceptions and structural implications together.

Classical Greek Culture

Historically, all religions had woven in them the concept of impurity. In primitive cultures a supernatural force (the taboo), possessing harmful powers, was thought to be transferrable by human physical contact. death and sexual processes were a part of the power-charged taboo and any such contact required purification from a priest to free

the individual from the evil threat of demonic influences which caused

him much anxiety. Purity was later more inwardly conceived and

diverted from the ritual to the moral, and it assumed more ethical

proportions. Terms exist in Greek religion which refer to a whole

realm of uncleanliness and range from purificatory to expiatory rites,

although these were more concerned with warding off the harmful spirits

by exorcism and ritual acts than penitence for sin or inward

purification of the heart. (Plato, Laws 4, 716e, De Placitis

Philosophorum 5 and 6).

The Testaments — Mythology and Ritual

As to the Old Testament, the distinction between clean and unclean is

possibly a very early one and bears a close connection with Israel's

belief that uncleanness and Yahweh are irreconcilable opposites. The

majority of reference to purity and impurity are cultic and widely

thought to come from Priestly writers as also from the prophet Ezekiel

who moved in priestly circles. Indeed, impurity is inimical to Yahweh

and separates one from worship and from God's people, so must be

opposed and purged out as an abomination (Leviticus 7:19f). The pre-

ethical foundation of the cultic and secular life of Israel is embodies

in this distinction and starts with the person himself. Diseases like

leprosy, for example, render him polluted and it is the priest's duty

by means of so-called declaratory fomulae to pronounce such a person as

clean or unclean. One can here observe how the close association

between sin and diseases find expression in the faith of Israel.

Likewise, sexual processes are treated as making a person unclean. Various sections in Leviticus and Genesis list emission of semen, menstruation, unhealthy discharges, intercourse, adultery, rape, homosexuality and other sexual aberrations. These regulations were aimed mainly at the sexual practices of the Canaanites. A dead body was seen as unclean in the highest degree; such uncleanness transferring to every person who is present and also to opening of the vessels (Num. 19:14f). Special cleansing water rather than ordinary water, previously mixed with the ashes of a red heifer had to be used in cases of defilement by contact with a dead body (Num. 19). Such practice expressed Israel's decisive rejection of all forms of a cult of the dead, as was found in the other religions around the territory at that time.

Both Testaments condemned the worship of false gods. Turning away from idols and pagan worship was essential to the recognition of the 'living and true God' as an indication of repentance (Revelation 9:20). It also followed from this basic attitude towards idols that Christians were debarred from eating sacrificial meat, seen as pollutious (Acts 15:20, 29; 21:25). This prohibition, adopted by the Apostolic Council was justified by a reference to Jewish practice and presupposes that in this matter Jews and Christians were basically in agreement. As to the disposal of the dead, burial and cremation were widely practiced in pagan Greece whereas in the Semitic East, burial always predominated. In the New Testament period cremation was almost universal among the Romans, although in contrast, the Egyptians regarded the preservation of the body important and indispensable to the after-life. The New

Testament, on the other hand, instructs that burial be on the same day if a man is hanged so as to guard against the defilement of the land for he is accursed. Defilement in classical Greek teaching is used in metaphor as causing a stain on people or places, or being unclean and needing ritual cleansing. There is also a broader moral interpretation of the word which derives from Plato in the polluting of one's soul, or for profaning religion and justice (Europides). Further, to defile or befoul is also metaphorically used in an ethical and religious context, to signify actions which demean or pollute oneself and or others in sexual matters. As to the concept of purity, this acquired a new character through the teachings of Jesus. He rejects the observance of ritual regulatons as something merely external. The Pharisees believed misguidedly that uncleanness derived in concrete form from the outside can defile a person (Matt. 15:11). From within, out of the heart of man, come evil thoughts, murder, wickedness, fornification and foolishness (Mark 7:21-23). Jesus countered this Pharisiaic emphasis on cleansing the hands with a demand for purity of the heart. It is the spiritually pure, not the ritually or ceremonially clean who are blessed and who obtain access to God's presence during Temple worship (Psalms 17:15; 42, Ezra 7:98). This does not mean that Jesus annulled the purity regulations of the Torah, but this interpreter suggests that by demanding purity of the heart and character Jesus broke through the innermost essence of Judaism and left it behind him (Kaesemann, 1964).*

*Note: Ernst Kaesemann lectures now published in English as Essays on New Testament Themes, translated from the German by W. J. Montague, London, SCM Press, September, 1964.

According to these teachings of the pure love of Jesus, fully

surrendered to God and to other men, there are no longer any unclean

foods (Mark 2:13-17). Jesus does not repel lepers but healed them

(Luke 17:11-19) and sat down at a table with tax collectors and sinners

(Mark 2:13-17).

Anthropological Concerns with Rituals and Pollution

Clearly the Bible was written in an unscientific age, and whether the

biblical writers intended their words to be taken as history or as

myth, and whether one must therefore 'demythologize' such writings on

the assumption that the miracles did not actually occur but instead

some spiritual truth is enshrined in the stories in symbolic form, is

not my argument. Let the theologians battle it out. But, insofar as

myths are connected with rituals, rituals and rites with pollution and

pollution with stigmatization, they must be a part of the discussion

here.

In this area, the most important contribution has come from Mary

Douglas (1966).[21] Her proposition is that every society has customs

and rules concerning pollution and dirt. Earlier anthropologists, such

as Frazer (best-know book The Golden Bough, written in 1900),[22] made

an important distinction between religion and magic, viewing the former

as the propitation of supernatural powers and the latter as a pseudo-

science which attempts to manipulate the natural laws. Frazer also

distinguished between types of magic: there is the 'sympathetic

magic', in which like is thought to produce like even if it doesn't -
calling a human by the name of an animal; and there is contagious
magic, in which things previously in contact can influence one another
at a later time. He saw the passing of human development in the
successive stages of magic and superstition on the science and
rationality, but as to magic, he conceptualised that as false or a
bastard science in which homoeophathic magic and contagious magic
erroneously correlate cause and effect because of a misapplication of
the association of ideas. Frazer appreciated the confused state of
religious thought with uncleanness and sanctity not clearly
distinguished. This hazy perception indicated primitive thinking and
was illustrated when he wrote about the Syrian attitude to pigs. Are
they unclean or are they sacred? Another anthropologist, Robertson-
Smith (1889),[23] in his writings on the subject of the religion of the
semites, distinguished between the rules of protecting holiness,
sanctuaries, priests and everything else pertaining to God, and the
non-religious, magical behaviour (especially that concerned with
pollution), used the term taboo. According to Douglas, magic beliefs
and superstition did not impress him as worthy of academic attention.
Robertson-Smith's studies centred mainly on semitic ritual, tradition
and religion from an antropological view and he believed that the
latter served an important social and practical purpose in society.

It is clear now what early forms of magic could do: they include pacts
with the devil or bargains struck with the gods, control over ghosts
and warding off spells, place blame or create scapegoats. Witchcraft
and sorcery fall into this category also. The latter involves the use

of magic for evil ends, whilst the former attributes the causes of misfortune to particular individuals. In all these cases, social harm will befall the accused, or groups of accused. Malinowski attributes to magic a fear-allaying function (1948).[24] However, magic potency ascribed to menstruating women or to the dead has not generally inculcated social security in relation to those portents; it has rather indicated those social situations which a culture regards as social hazards (Benedict, 1950).[25] As to rituals, it has already been shown that religious ceremonies were linked with agricultural tasks. These ceremonies began to assume a compulsory nature as all members of society took care not to offend the gods by ignoring the religious duties expected from the community. Thus, national rituals came to be organised by priests, scheduled to be held on regular calendrical occasions and usually representing initially a blend of magic and worship. Unscheduled or critical rituals, not related to the calendrical system existed also and arose to propitiate the gods as well as to cleanse the community of any bad luck whenever disaster threatened or when it was believed that the gods had been angered. Earthquakes and foreign invasions were typical of the occurrences which called for critical rituals.

This is a convenient point to return to Mary Douglas and her major contribution to new concepts on pollution. She does not align herself with Robertson-Smith's idea that the ancients are different from us. She maintains that primitive mentality must be approached through an understanding of our own. The distinction between religious behaviour and secular behaviour is also thought to be misleadingly rigid and if

one wished to find a solution to the puzzle of sacred contagion, one should start with more familiar ideas about secular contagion and defilement. The ancient, but still used word in English-speaking cultures 'dirt' is seen as a key word here, first defined by Lord Chesterfield as matter out of place.[26] Earth in the garden is just earth, a normal state in a normal place. However, earth in the kitchen is dirt, a matter out of its normal place. Douglas elaborates the idea thus: if order has been contravened there must have been ordered relations in the first place. Dirt is therefore not one idea but a compendium category embracing events that blur, smudge, contradict or otherwise confuse accepted classification. In other words, a given system of orderly values has been violated. The definition of defilement, being more distant from the historical peculiarities of Western civilisation, is silent on the relation betwen dirt and hygiene. The discovery of pathogenic organisms is a recent event whereas the idea of dirt ante-dates it and is therefore more universally applied. If one were to look upon all pollution behaviour as a reaction to any event that may confuse or contradict cherished beliefs, one could approach it psychologically (in terms of perception) or anthropologically (at the structural analysis of culture). Both approaches refer to the way in which an individual receives and absorbs new experiences.

Theorising on dirt further, Mary Douglas maintains that: if dirt implies a system, direct avoidance has to be regarded as a process of tidying up so that the order in the external physical events may conform to the structure of ideas. Thus, pollution rules are to be

seen in the nature of an extension of the process of perception, if dissonance is to be reduced. If pollution rules are infringed, either grave or trivial sanctions may follow since the cultural community does not want norm breakers. Homicide, for example, may be treated according to the relationship between killer and victim. If the former is a member of the victim's group and the group is normally entrusted with the protection of members' interests, the dilemma of the group may be solved by couching the sanction as a misfortune befallen upon the offender without human intervention and the homicide is then treated as a pollution. Douglas then goes on to say that pollution beliefs and behaviour are expected to relate to the moral values of a culture as these constitute a protective device, although not necessarily to correspond closely to the gravity of the offense or danger of contamination. Some moral failings may, therefore, attract prompt and unpleasant consequences. Apart from their capacity to reinforce the cultural and social structure, pollution beliefs can reduce ambiguous moral values where, for example, adultery is condemned in women and tolerated in men. Or, if an adulterous man were dangerously contagious, pollution belief would reduce ambiguity, even if he were condemned only on the latter condition, because this would endanger the outraged spouse. Contagion in such a case could also be mitigated by a purification rite on moral grounds.

At this stage of her discussion, Douglas refers to Durkheim's analysis on the function of symbolism and ritual, whether strictly religious or not. Although dangerous powers may be imputed to the gods, they are in fact powers vested in the social structure intended to ward off the

deviant behaviour of its members. Not only those of the religious cult
but all pollution rules are to be included here. Enlarging on her
exposition, Douglas then deals with human physiology. Pollution rules
here regulated (otherwise prohibited physical contact) contact with
blood, excreta, vomit, hair clippings, nail clippings, cooked food and
such. Anthropologists have noted that physical pollution beliefs vary
from place to place. Whilst in some communities menstruation
pollution, pollution by contact with the dead, or pollution of food or
blood, may be greatly feared whilst in others this may not be so.
There is no common practice in the human condition and the variations,
suggests Douglas, become interesting as an index of cultural
patterning. It seems to her that physiological pollution expresses
symbolically what are undesirable and what kind of repercussions these
may have on the structure of social as well as cosmological ideas.
This could mean restricted contact between the sexes, even sitting in
the same chair, sharing the same latrine, using the same cooking
utensils, spoons and combs may be prohibited, or negatively sanctioned
by pollution beliefs. Such avoidances clarify and maintain social
definitions. Colour bars and caste barriers are also enforced by these
means, depending how roles and allegiances are defined. Pollution
concepts thus guard the threatening disturbances of the social order.
Some of Van Gennep's ideas on sacredness are now related. He noted
that rites of transition treat all marginal or ill-defined states as
dangerous. His treatment is compatible with a sociological approach to
pollution, but says Mary Douglas, this does not go far enough; not
only marginal social states, but also the edges of all boundaries used
in ordering social experience should be seen as dangerous and

polluting. Van Gennep's rites are prophylactic rather than purificatory; they do not restore lost status but define entry into a new status and in this way emphasize an individual's progress through the totality of his socially recognised existence. All sections of society are so affected.

I have presented the gist of the ideas in Mary Douglas' book. It has attracted ample credits for its originality and for venturing into an area previously under-researched. Her thesis is said to be unashamedly polemical but goes some way to explaining the extraordinary differences in beliefs about pollution which characterise various societies. (Storr 1966).[27]

A discussion of the origins of ritual pollution is not really complete unless one includes some comments on the system of castes. The word originates from the Portuguese 'casta', a box with a tightly fitted lid from which the contents cannot be easily removed. This is how the Portuguese looked upon the caste stratification system they found in India, where this rigid form of stratification is an intrinsic part of Hindu teachings. Beliefs about purity and impurity there belong to the mystical but are also related to hierarchy and segregation. Pollution can be temporary if for example defilement occurs accidentally or wilfully by contact with a polluted person or object. This will require purification by ritual means and results from such as menstruation, other bodily functions, intercourse, child birth or death. If a person is defiled in this way, normal social status may not be resumed until the appropriate purifying rites have been

performed. This applies also to persons who are in some defined relationship to the polluted person. A menstruating woman is barred from entering the kitchen and certain other parts of the house. Bathing at the end of her period in a specially prescribed ritual is required before she is allowed to return to her household chores.

Stevenson's research (1954)[28] revealed that castes are ranked according to the extent to which their pattern of behaviour causes them to be polluted or enables them to avoid pollution. Status is also given to objects ranked by standards of purity and impurity. Ritual values influence diet, marriage customs and occupations if these are connected with pollution ideas and have a bearing on how castes and sub-castes are ranked. At the same time, Marriott's investigations (1959),[29] have shown anomalies in this ranking order. Customary behaviour does not always coincide with caste placement. He found, for example, vegetarian castes to be ranked below meat eaters. The ranking of impure activities is also unclear. Here, hair-cutting is not necessarily more or less impure than butchering meat or washing clothes. There is also an index of low ranking common to all castes in line with the various customs which are the source of pollution. At the same time, women from whatever caste, sweep their homes and do other impure household work. Marriott finds the many discriminations between castes based purely on attributional grounds confusing. Some of such rankings should castes rank equally but do not. He feels that attributional theory makes more sense at the extremes of caste hierarchy with Brahmins and Untouchables more easily defined at top and bottom than the middle ranges of the caste system.

Pollution theories in the various societies where they exist may be seen to have a religious basis. For example, if the Israelites believed that all bodily issues were polluting, then perceiving themselves as a perpetual minority group and threatened by anything from outside their small society, the individual physical body may be taken as a symbol of the body politic. By keeping their individual bodies pure, the Israelites symbolised their intense need to preserve the integrity of their society. Caste society is another example in the application of religious values held. Mary Douglas does not hold with psychological reductionism that explains rituals and taboos in neuroses but thinks it a duty of every craftsman to stick to his last. Nonetheless, psychologists cannot explain why one society regards menstrual blood as contaminating whilst another does not. As an anthropologist, it is her view that pollution and taboo, although seemingly alien to our lives, can be approached through the common notion of dirt as disorder to which the reaction is the positive effort to eliminate it, to organise the environment in some ideal way. The argument is not what pollution has to do with primitive society alone but with the social order of human experience of which every society has its symbolic rituals, customs and regulations.

As these comments about pollution form the background to a later analysis of 'death work', a preliminary link associated with the caste system may be established here. In Hindu society some caste members gain their livelihood in the handling of polluted objects. They need to sweep, wash defiled garments or engage in some scavenging activity, or they may be part of a category itself directly polluting, such as

the taking of life. Such people are considered always to be polluting by other groups who do not make their living in this way. Ritual status may also affect those in traditional occupations which are not defiling because an ascribed rank is attached to them. Such a rank makes them ritually dangerous to higher castes and subjects them to pollution by contact with castes below them. The kind of contact is often situationally defined, can vary by activity or position in caste hierarchy. In some parts of India, high caste members may accept certain foods and water from castes not far below them whilst at the other extreme, the Untouchables pollute others without physical contact, by merely appearing within a defined distance of them (Bailey, 1964).[30] In Western culture also there may be deviant conditions that automatically elicit what Jones, Ed., (1984)[31] calls 'primitive' affective responses in the beholder. He cites physical anomalies like facial disfigurement, withered arms, mastectomy cases, tumours, hunchbacks, and most obviously, dead and dismembered bodies. It is assumed that the nursing and medical professions routinely adapt to such conditions, but that most of us experience something ranging from vague uneasiness to extreme revulsion in their presence. This kind of cultural reaction differs, of course somewhat, from the mystically impure and dangerous in caste society.

Having in the previous paragraph considered circumstances of the past and present where pollution beliefs and attitudes may influence the field of occupations and professions, I will now by way of concluding this section, offer brief details of a report on an aspect of pollution that may be regarded as the origins of the future. It is a variation

of pollution by means of scientific application to 'meddle with the forces of nature'. Top Italian anthropologist Professor Brunetto Chiarelli of Florence University has revealed his involvement with successful experiments in America where a female chimpanzee was made pregnant by the use of a male human sperm. It was only because of the moral, social and ethical pangs of conscience that the good professor decided to kill the half-man, half-ape creature before it was born. These experiments were already planned twenty years ago but recent discoveries in the field of bio-genetic mutation have made possible such an operation on human-like chimpanzees to enable the matching of chromosomes. What then would be the purpose of such a sub-human creature? It seems that it would be for doing monotonous, routine and dirty jobs, or possibly as organ banks for transplants. Professor Chiarelli hastens to point out that he is no Dr. Frankenstein, although he may hope that the humanoid apes could, technically speaking, multiply themselves and improve their intelligence over future generations. From the foregoing discussion of super-human and religious legend, and the biblical teachings of creation that man was made by God and not by himself, it will be clear what problems this would cause. The report refers also to the horror and outcry, especially from the Vatican, that this announcement of the human ape has generated (House, 1987). [32]

Other Discrediting Attributes – Racial Stigmas

This attempt to discuss the origins of stigmas in greater detail was encouraged by the fact that it had not been considered by sociologists or social anthropologists from a vantage point as far back as ancient cultures. That approach has made possible an identification of physical and social discrediting attributes affecting individuals and groups for which terms and labels such as 'sacrifice', 'banishment', 'slavery', 'defilement', 'pollution', 'purification rites and rituals', have been employed. Additionally, the umbrella term 'stigma' has also been used in a somewhat imprecise fashion to reveal these various deprivations. The next chapter has therefore been marked out to give urgent attention to the questions of meaning and definition of stigma in conjunction with a review of contextual literature that now exists. First, however, the task in hand is to distinguish between ethnic and racial groups so as to avoid conceptual confusion and then single out one group of people, the Jew, to trace how, over a period to the late 18th Century, their encounter with the various forms of civilisation was experienced. Of particular interest in such a brief case application is what Goffman (1963)[33] calls 'tribal stigma', but has been for the purpose of this illustration variously described as anti-Semitism, racialism, discrimination, and more recently by the Anglo-Jewish historian Lewis Namier, martyrology. (Silver, 1987).[34] The Jewish people are not, however, a race; they are an ethnic group and it may be useful to clear up any possible misunderstandings at this point.

Race and Ethnicity

The word 'race' has long caused confusion well demonstrated a hundred
years ago by Ludwig Gumplowicz, a Jew from Poland, who then occupied a
university chair in Graz, Austria. In his book on Race and State
(1875),[35] he was rather unclear in the use of the term, sometimes
referring to a people, sometimes to several ethnic groups and sometimes
to a group identified by certain biological characteristics. Class
struggles also entered into his propositions. To be a race, a major
group of people must be biologically inbred and have similar physical
characteristics which breed true from one generation to another.
Although the Nazis caricatured the look of a Jew in their literature in
a particular way, they did not succeed in establishing definite
physical or other characateristics which could clearly identify what
people are Jewish. Kroeber (1948),[36] an anthropologist, noted that
most of the physical differences do not seem great enough to account
even partially for the wide cultural variations found in people, nor
(with a few exceptions) are these such as to give one race a great
advantage over the others. There has been too much intermixing over
millions of years for dividing Homo sapiens into distinctive categories
of red or dark skins, flat, thin or long noses, straight or curly hair,
etc, to have biological reality. Two further great misconceptions may
also be noted: one is that physical differences represent different
degrees of evolutionalry development from the same ancestors.
Actually, all major divisions - Caucasian, Mongoloid or Negroid -
display characteristics that may or may not be attributable to man's
common ape-like ancestor. The other misconception has to do with the

use of the term 'blood'. Different types of blood are not found to
follow racial lines. Hence, a person's race cannot be distinguished by
blood group, nor can hereditary traits be transmitted through blood.
Germ plasma does _that_. For all these reasons, it has been more helpful
to talk of 'ethnic groups' who are distinguished by shared cultural
characteristics that include religion, language or nationality. That
cleared up, I can now return to what was from the late 19th Century
known as anti-Semitism.

The Origins of Anti-Semitism — A Case Study of 'Racial' Stigmatization

The roots of the term are Greek but the word 'Semite' was in 1879
coined by Wilhelm Marr, to express hatred of the Jews during the then-
current anti-Jewish campaigns in Europe. Its correct meaning embraces
all people who speak Semitic languages, including most Arab and
Ethiopian people. Anti-Semitism was soon used more widely as a term to
denote all forms of hostility directed towards the Jews throughout
history. Manifestations of anti-Jewish passion if classified by
specific cause or rationale: e.g. economic, social or racial.
Detailed historical descriptions have identified the sequential time
periods during which major events, such as segregation in ghettos or
the pogroms, have taken place. These are the times in Antiquity, the
Middle Ages, Modern Europe and the 20th Century. It is possible within
the framework of this investigation to deal with the main events of the
first two only. There is now in any case a greater awareness of the

occurrences in Modern European time and the recent Holocaust is in the mind of everyone.

The burning of the Jewish temple on an island in the Nile some 400 years B.C. by a group of Egyptian priests is one of the earliest recorded instances of anti-Semitism. To the early polytheistic Greeks the Jews were 'different'. They much preferred to honour their numerous gods, the attendant cults, ceremonials and feast days, to the confusing theory and practice of Judaism, one single God and the (to them) cumbersome rules prescribing dietary and sexual restrictions, fastings, days of atonement and other chastisements. A curious people, the Jews were regarded with barely concealed dislike. The ancient Greeks and Romans considered the Jews as alien and exclusive for refusing to assimilate. Under the Pax Romana peace meant war against enemies threatening any of its boundaries; and it meant satisfying the faithful, whose politico-religious belief pledged them to support their state. The Roman raised his right hand in salute, which was later to be imitated by the Sieg Heil salute of the Nazis. It was the duty of every citizen, subject, ally, friend -- indeed, every person bound in any way to the Empire, to believe in the prosperity and supremacy of Rome. The small population of Jews refused to share this faith. Bloody suppressions followed, but these may have been seen by the Romans less as anti-Semitic persecutions than quellings of national rebellion. The prolific Roman writer and historian Tacitus considered Jewish customs in general to be 'impious, abominable and owing their prevalence to their own (the Jews) depravity'. He also said about the Jews that while they are obstinately loyal to each other they feel

nothing but hatred and enmity for the rest of the world. (Tacitus, the Histories, Vol. 2, pp202-218). Tacitus was an agitator of the first order, plucking libelous frabrications from Greek anti-Semitic literature and citing them against the Jews. (Heer, 1967).[37]

Apart from Tacitus, there were others to add fuel to the fire. Apion was one of the instigators in Alexandria around the first Century B.C. He was known as Apion the Grammarian, a vain and ambitious writer in the Urban Centre of the Hellenized East who managed well to appeal to the credulous imagination of the populace and impress them by his pretention to learning. His indictment of the Jews was not so very different from the way in which it had previously occurred over the centuries - aspersions on the Jewish race, denial of their loyalty, and a crude misrepresentation of their religious beliefs and rites. One of the curious allegations Apion publicised was about the sleeping Greek in the Temple who was seized by foreigners, shut up in the Temple and 'fattened by the strange provisions set before him'. When he became suspicious and inquired of the servants the purpose of this, he was told it was to fulfil the laws of the Jews. They would lead him to a wood, kill him and sacrifice with the accustomed solemnities, and taste of his entrails..... (Hay, 1951).[38] Apion was a most dedicated anti-Semite of the ancient world. He suspected that the Jews drank the blood of gentile children and he also provided the novel explanation for the Jewish observance of the Sabbath that after the six-day march of the Exodus from Egypt, the Jews 'developed tumours in the groin which was why after safely reaching Judaea they rested on the seventh'. (Josephus, Against Apion I, p.301). Libelous pronouncements also came

from Plutarch and Strabo. The former, a Greek scholar and biographer,
liked to study and write about rituals. He thought it possible that
the Jews abstained from eating pork because the pig was an object of
veneration, whereas Strabo, basically a geographer but also interested
and writing about customs and traditions, attributed such abstemious
conduct together with excision and circumcision to superstition.
(Eliav, 1971).[39]

Unlike the Nazis, the Greeks and Romans did not intend to destroy the
Jews root and branch. That phase of anti-Semitism began with the
conversion to Christianity of the Roman Emperor Constantine in 312.
One can trace the early part of the first two Centuries of the
Christian era under Hadrian to evidence various restrictions. There
was a ban on the study of Talmudic law and Jewish scholars were not
permitted to hold classes or meet with students. Christians were
forbidden to convert to Judaism under penalty of death, but the Jews
were encouraged and at times forced to become converts, and the
Justinian codes of the 5th and 6th Centuries excluded Jews from
positions of authority. Intermarriage was prohibited and Jews were
forbidden to own Christian slaves. The construction of synagogues was
also banned and social intercourse with Christians strictly regulated.
It was a time of numerous anti-Jewish demonstrations and acts of
violence aimed at Jews individually and collectively.

Despite forced conversions, massacres and a variety of impositions
affecting religous practices, Jewish life and culture managed to
survive in European countries, notably in France, Italy, Visigothic

Spain and Byzantium. However, from the 11th to the 13th Century, the Jews experienced in Spain a 'golden age' of history. Islamic rule allowed them freedom and privileges unparalleled in any of the Christian countries in Europe. There was a blending of Jewish and Arab cultures, stimulating both Jews and Muslims, which resulted in significant and enduring discoveries in the fields of mathematics, physics, medicine and astronomy. Careers for the Jews were now possible and their contribution resulted in many benefits for Islamic Spain. But the position was not shared elsewhere. Living in isolated gentile communities, the Jews in France and Germany were more vulnerable and constantly exposed to persecution. The crusades by the turn of the 16th Century, marked by frequent suicides and wholesale butchery of Jews, was a clear demonstration of what they could expect. Legal and other types of restricton multiplied rapidly, especially after the Third and Fourth Lateran Councils (during the 11th Century). There were five of these Councils ranked of ecumenical and thus special interest in Rome, setting out rules for Christians on such matters as the right to elect a Pope, the duties of teachers, rules on preaching and confessions, and the prohibition of new religious orders. The Fourth Council declared the Jews as outcasts, with whom there was to be no social mingling, much less intermarriage. They were not to leave home during Easter week, not to employ Christian servants and certainly not to hold public office. The council decreed them as infidels who henceforth must wear a badge of identification in the form of a round patch of yellow cloth in a place on the upper garment. This practice filtered through to the Nazi era where in concentration camps and

occupied areas similar marks on the Jews symbolised their status as the lowest form of humanity.

Thus, the irrationality of anti-Semitism was widely reflected in the literature at that time and spread further over the next centuries. England expelled the Jews in 1290. France, after a spate of massacres and extortions, harassed and banished them a hundred years later. Germany pronounced the Jews as serfs of the state, confined them to petty trades and imposed heavy taxes on them, whilst the Spanish Jews suffered the fate of expulsion in 1492 after having in the previous century been subjected to unceasing persecution by the Catholic rulers of Castile and Aragon. This was also the time of the Inquisition, which developed the technique of brain-washing to perfection. The human material were the Marranos, the converts to Catholicism, and the technique was to humiliate the victim, make him suffer, lower his power of resistance and reduce him to a near-infantile state of mind. Neither Jew nor Marrano was free from the Inquisition established by Ferdinand and Isabella. Up to the 16th Century, Western Europe can be said to have been the centre of Jewish life. If the rulers were benevolent, Jews practiced their religion and participated in the economy. They rose to prominence in banking and commerce and became influential advisers, known as 'Court Jews'. If the authorities were despotic, the Jews were the lowest order in society and accused for every misfortune (like causing the Black Death by poisoning wells and food supplies), as well as being restricted to money-lending and other unsavoury activities.

Although the intolerance of the Middle Ages may be regarded as of multi-causal in nature, it was mainly religious fanaticism that attracted the wrath against the Jews. If persecution of the Jews enjoyed divine approval, the hierarchy of the church also suspected them to be responsible for, secretly behind and the protectors of, the Albigensian heretics and heathens. This and similar movements bore association with the reappearance of the female-figure in religion after centuries of repression but papal canonists considered that a crusade against such heresies was meritorious and justified. The Reformation brought no relief. Many Catholics saw in Protestantism a Jewish conspiracy agains the church. Many of the clergy and rank-and-file Catholics held the Jews responsible for the death of Jesus Christ. Also, a large body of the Catholic populace had been led to believe that Jews engaged in such bizarre practices as drinking the blood of Christian children and defiling Christian maidens on ceremonial occasions. (Rogow, 1968). It must be said that Papal prohibition of violence in Rome and other Papal States was not just academic. In fact, Paul II ordered the Passion Play to be supressed because the audience used to go out and beat up the Jews after each performance. Little was however done to relieve them from the degraded condition of life to which they have been condemned by Innocent III.

The Reformation had divided Christendom and the Jews suffered the penality of their unavoidable neutrality. The reaction against them, which coincided with the Catholic Counter Reformation, resembled in many respects the anti-Semitic campaign of Hitler when he promulgated the Nueremberg Laws in 1935. The newly-elected Pope Paul IV in 1555

enforced this degradation by the issue of a document which emphasized the doctrine of mediaeval Papacy. The Jewish people were once more declared to have been condemned by God to eternal slavery. They were told once again that they were 'insolent' because they presumed to the same standard as other human beings. Pope Paul IV offered the Jews no hope of salvation in this world or the next unless they submitted to baptism. They were ordered to wear a badge of shame and live like animals in a compound, known henceforth as the Ghetto; and they had to sell, at a nominal price, all the property they possessed outside the Ghetto walls. Paul IV made sure that Jewish money would find its way into Christian pockets. Papal legislation during the following centuries confirmed, and often added to, these oppressive measures. (Hay, 1951).[38] For good measure, a list of professions and occupations from which Jews were to be excluded, was also produced. (Rogow, 1968).[40]

The confinement to the squalid quarters of the Ghettoes in Italy dominated Jewish history for three centuries. The rigidities of Catholicism could not be reconciled with the rationalism and liberalism inherent in the Renaissance. The struggle between Catholicism and Protestantism split Europe largely into the South for the former and the North for the latter. But the Protestant sects were no more tolerant of the Jews than was the Roman Catholic church. The bigoted Luther's hatred was intensified by his intellectual vanity and the vigour of his faith. Nothing could shake his conviction that those who disagreed with him were the obstinate enemies of the Holy Spirit who deliberately closed their eyes to the truth. He was certain that his

amended version of the Christian message would be readily accepted by the Jews, and they would at once join him in his assault on the Catholic Church. He attributed their refusal, not to any defects or deficiency his new doctrine might contain, but to the obstinacy of the stiff-necked race. He then attacked them with the full blast of his hatred. (Hay, 1951).[38] In 1542, Luther published an essay on the Jewish question (Title of Pamphlet: Against the Jews and their Lies), quoted in Marcus, 1960:[41]

'What then shall we Christians do with this damned, rejected race of Jews?.....Let me give you my honest advice. First, their synagogues shall be set on fire.....Secondly, their homes should likewise be broken down and destroyed.....Thirdly, they should be deprived of their prayer books.....Fourthly, their rabbis must be forbidden under threat of death to teach any more.....Fifthly, passport and travelling privileges should be absolutely forbidden.....Sixthly, they ought to be stopped from usury......Seventhly, let the young and strong Jews and Jewesses be given the flail, the ax, the hoe, the spade, the distaff, and spindle, and let them earn their bread by the sweat of their noses.....and if there be any danger (Luther counseled) of Jews doing harm to their gentile overlords, let us drive them out of the country for all time.....away with them.'

Adorno and his team of researchers in the United States investigated whether there is any correlation between an authoritarian personality and an upbringing by oppressive parents, and also if this be the case, whether this results in hatred and aggressiveness against the Jews and other outsiders.[42] This suggests that Luther's ranting may not be due to a peculiarly German characteristic. (1950). Erikson (1959)[43] included Luther in his psychoanalytic study of American youths. Luther did have a 'generational' problem, not uncommon in a closed society,

caste or group seeking exclusiveness, where there is an ambitious father pressurising a son to become his successful heir. According to Erikson, Luther never dared to admit to hating his father, a miner who had risen in life through diligence and energy and wanted his son to do well in the world. Luther transferred the hatred of his father to God. The young Luther's troubled conscience exploded in his deadly fear of Christ the Judge. He felt himself to be some sort of criminal and the torments of Hell which he suffered were the product of conscience, dogma and terror combined. Erikson's view is that the significance of Luther's barbaric and desparate hatred of the 'devilish Jews' can only be understood in close relation to his own personality development and the acute crisis of Germany and Christendom to this day.

Undoubtedly, there is also a sociological explanation for autocratic fathers. Of particular interest is, however, the question why certain social groups are exposed to stigma. This will be considered in some depth in part three of the Appendix. As for anti-semitism, some of the historical reasons will have become clear from this brief case study. Apart from xenophobia, misunderstandings of religious teachings (Jews as deicides), Freudian displacement of Jesus theories, scapegoating, occupational and economic, among other reasons that have been suggested from time to time, I need in conclusion to return to Maccoby's thesis[44] (See page 4). In his reply to his attacker and critic Professor Derrett, Maccoby explains how anthropological considerations enter into his propositions relating to the sacred executioner. The role of the Jews in Christian myth, he argues, is similar to that of dark figures in previous myths associated with human sacrifice.

Examples are Set, in Egyptian mythology, and Loki, in Scandinavian mythology. A wealth of anthropological data makes these figures probable and they derive from the ritual practice of cursing and driving into the desert the performer of the necessary sacrifice, so that the tribe or community can absolve itself of the deed of blood by which it achieves salvation. In the Christian myth, the role of the dark figure of Sacred Executioner is performed individually by the eponymous Judas, and collectively by the Jewish people. The dispute between the author and critic (Times Literary Supplement, April 1 and 15, 1983),[45] relating to the deeper causes of anti-Semitism, Christian doctrines of Original Sin, Vicarious Atonement, Religious identity and the precise role of Jesus as perceived by the Romans, is somewhat peripheral to my discussion and I shall not dwell on these complexities here. Maccoby's arguments are provocative and controversial. He also argues, as will be recalled, that sacrificial rites arise in periods of profound crisis (such as revolutions, the founding of nations, battles, and such), as a means of disguising, both to the sacrificers and their victims, the brutality of the burden imposed upon those caught up in these events. Myth is also the medium by which these collective events are cast into more cosmic terms and thus made palatable by the humand psyche. Maccoby hopes in his conclusions that readers of his book will perhaps gain a deeper understanding of the atavistic nature of anti-Semitism and its unbroken historical connection with rites of human sacrifice; that this understanding will help to eradicate this evil from the world, will further the efforts of modern man to shoulder the burden of his own guilt, and avoid all devices by which guilt may be shifted to his

fellow-men. In this way, we might reverse or improve the behaviour and

qualities which cause us to feel so guilty while eschewing the chimera

of achieving absolute moral purity and perfection. (Maccoby,

1982).[46]

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APPENDIX 3

CONTENTS

SOME OCCUPATIONAL PROFILES FROM THE PERSONAL AND OTHER SERVICE SECTORS

OCCUPATIONAL PROFILES EXPOSED TO STIGMA

Introduction to the Six Case Studies

My first (and introductory) Chapter makes reference to previous

research in the area of occupational stigma undertaken by myself, but

could not for reasons of space enlarge on some of the fourteen that had

been subject to investigation. I have selected six case studies for

inclusion in this appendix, of which the first five are profiles where

the stigmas arise mainly from the job activity itself, although self-

image and public image associated with the occupational name (as

distinct from the actual work involved and the tools and materials used

to perform it) will be seen to constitute additional and contributory

factors in the generation of stigma. The sixth case of Mozart, the

composer, differs in that it reveals multiple stigmas to exist that

derive more from personal traits and relationships, and indeed from a

way of life, that were not intrinsic to the nature of the work he did.

The occupations of kitchen porter, nightwatchman, janitor, restaurant

worker and hospital porter, have certain characteristics in common

which finds them in the lower levels of most occupational prestige

ratings and are taken to be fairly representative of stigma in work.

Included here are such social, symbolic, work-related and subjective as

well as structural identifiers as: low status in the community; low

status in the occupational hierarchy; slow structural change in the

occupation; technological neglect; employee collective ineffective;

absence of a recognised career structure; incumbents have no responsibility over other employees; hardly any influence on decision-making; low media image; low image in most cultures; low rewards system; low evaluatation of the consequences of mistakes; the work is mostly menial or of a manual type; tools and materials used in the work tasks have a low symbolic prestige; and the work situation is frequently subject to tension, friction and/or stress. In general, whether the work performed is direct personal (Client's comfort), indirect personal (Client's environmental care), or ancillary personal (Client's property), the findings are that the work is intrinsically monotonous and often dirty, offers little opportunity for the expression of skill, is viewed chiefly as an end in itself and not likely to become an important or approved element in the worker's total identity. My previous research discussed these matters in some detail. The case of Mozart is one of a gifted musical talent in his own estimation not properly recognised. This hurt him deeply. The multiple stigmas engulfing him may be identified as physical disabilities, drink addiction, tangled finances and debts, courtship rejection, unemployment, pauperisation, ostracism, courtesy stigma (explained in Chapter 1), and unnatural death. The case study enlarges on these stigmas which are, in a sense, timeless and in particular remembered in this the Centenery year of Mozart's death.

Case 1: The Kitchen Porter as a Stereotype

A rough and ready estimate of the number of kitchen porters (also known as kitchen hands or plongeurs) in this country is some 100,000, based on the number of licensed and unlicensed hotels, guest, boarding houses and holiday camps which are published from time to time by management consultants, training boards, defined by Government Agencies or private bodies and subject to grading. If one also includes hospitals, the great variety of establishments where institutional catering takes place and the vast number of non-residential establishments such as restaurants, the total of kitchen porters (allowing also for a floating population drifting in and out of the Industry) may be considerably larger. Calculated on this basis, this low-status occupation would be no less than ½% of the total working population, approximately double the number of doctors in the country, who reside near the top of the occupational status scale; and forty times that of university professors, also holding top position in the scale. The kitchen porters are variously described in the 'trade' as vagrants, unemployables, scum, crooks, dodgers, alcoholics and similar, and they consist therefore of a large section of stigmatized work people much deserving of attention and research.

The word 'trade' used above applies to the entire hospitality industry. Catering and hotel executives, chefs, cooks apprentices and almost any number of the many and varied occupations in this Industry will have

his/her own story to tell of the kitchen porter encountered. It has been possible to construct a representative picture of his image in the trade from opinions, interviews and articles describing this stereotype. Such descriptions confirmed in the main the observations in an essay by the catering officer of a London college, from which one may glean a realistic image of this occupation as it has existed for many years, and certainly long before Orwell's time of 'Down and Out', as the brief historical indicators will show. It used to be a popular derision in the kitchens of the larger London hotels in the war period to ask what has an I.Q. of 144, to which the standard answer was 'a gross of kitchen porters'. Many establishments today still operate traditional catering methods which require the performance of many unpleasant tasks, without which the provision of hospitality and food would lack essential support. Scouring pots, removing swill, cleaning drains and lavatories, scrubbing floors, are but some of the many distasteful, unpleasant, badly renumerated tasks that today's 'untouchables' have to perform, important as such work may be (were it not performed by someone) to complement a viable business operation.

Small (1971),[1] in referring to porters, cleaners and general skivvies, calls them the 'forgotten legions of the trade', ignored by theorists, regarded as a necessary evil by employers and the subject of slick sneers by everyone from apprentices to managers: '...your typical kitchen porter arrives flat broke and seeking a sub, stays for a few months of spasmodic attendance, but is never at work the day after payday, and eventually walks out owing money to any other employee fool enough to have lent him any...' The kitchen porters, of

whom a large number are said to have been guests of Her Majesty, are

described as a constant source of worry to managers and head chefs, not

only because of absenteeism disrupting the smooth running of the

kitchen, but also because of the quality of their work. Small puts it

this way:

...'All they are fit for but not good at may seem a defeatist and
cynical but accurate description of the professional kitchen porter,
but can you deny that it is true of a high percentage of those unshaven
men in greasy raincoats sent up by the labour exchange...I suppose that
part of the definition of a typical professional kitchen porter is that
he has no fixed home and moves from one seedy lodging house to another,
usually owing rent. It must be a strange and horrible existence in
this Dickensian sub-strata of our modern civilisation. Image, if you
can, what it would be like to wash greasy pots in tepid water all day
long (with occasional spells of spud-bashing for light relief) and then
to have nowhere to go after work but a sordid doss-house, smelling of
cabbage and socks. Under these circumstances, it is very likely that a
pub would take most of your meagre wage, and as your shoes wore out,
the price of a new pair would compete in value with a couple of
evenings on the beer.'

To test out this image before commencing my research of this

occupational group in a formal way, myself and some colleagues have

conducted provisional but unrecorded tests by questioning hotel and

restaurant managers, catering and staff officers, managers of

employment exchanges, chefs, cooks, uniformed hotel staff, waiters and

trainee cooks. In substance this view appears to prevail within the

trade and most can recall some incident of eccentricity which support

the image of the stereotype. Once again, one is reminded of the

interacting influences that bear upon an incumbent by reason of his

work and the valuation society places upon it, his basic material and

psychological needs, and his own orientation towards a way of life

which may run counter to expected norms. Small thinks that an

improvement of extrinsic rewards would still not draw good employees to

this sort of work and indeed could aggrevate the porter shortage since

if one is clean, bright and reliable, he could soon be promoted to

assistant cook, breakfast or vegetable cook by a staff-hungry

management.   Thus, anyone remaining a kitchen porter must be pretty

hopeless in his view.   Small goes on to describe the living-in

situations:

'Those employers able to offer accommodation to their porters do not,
strange to say, keep them that much longer; but they do acquire a
whole new set of problems.   I shall never forget going round the staff
wing of one hotel when helping in the search for missing silver.   It
was not an experience I would want to repeat too often, for I saw (and
smelt!) enough dirty underwear, empty bottles and soiled china on that
occasion to last...we didn't find the silver incidentally, but we did
discover that one of the kitchen porters was keeping a greyhound in his
bedroom...'.

I was at that time bothered by and suspicious of this image, and began

to ask questions: Why this acute shortage of kitchen porters

throughout the whole industry at a time of unemployment? Why does

Small associate the type of work performed with the character and

psychological make-up of the incumbent and at the same time accords him

the designation of 'professional'? Are we here dealing with mal-

socialisation of a distinct group? Or, a business paying what a man is

worth? Was there also a larger, macro-social and economic problem

related to the static and dynamic climate in the divisions of labour,

specialisation and the presence or absence of technological shifts as

this affects occupational titles? Does a kitchen porter merely live up

to the sort of image expected of him? What of the micro picture and

the resources an undertaking is prepared to allocate to training and an

improvement to the work environment behind the vision of the customer?

One needs also to remember that this industry is still regulated by the Wages Council and that the practice of living-in is regarded as an addition to earning. Small's experience was fairly typical in the trade. In conceding that kitchen porters have no worthwhile home life in comparison with part-time kitchen maids who are said to be used to washing pots and cleaning stoves, he argues that kitchen porters have, therefore, no real reason for working.

Orwell's descriptions of his experiences as kitchen porter in Paris and London (1963), gave impetus to my interest to research this evidently stigmatized occupation from ancient and mediaeval times right through the Centuries to the present and gather survey data on the biographies of kitchen porters in 70 West Midlands hotels. The in-depth research covered the facesheet details, work experience, work attitudes, work histories, working conditions, training, work associations, practical adaptations, occupational status and prestige, aspirations and orientations, health, housing, hobbies and leisure persuits. (Saunders, 1981).[2] In contrast, managerial attitudes towards kitchen porters have never been empirically tested, but secondary evidence suggests that he is still perceived as a man who 'bums' around the kitchen; a man whom one ignores; a man who muddles through; a man who plays the system; an appendage to the sink; and undefinable individual without a precise place, doing an unattractive job that must be done by someone. This absence of understanding and rapport is not helped by an official and peculiar categorisation on the part of public authorities (as for example the Department of Employment), which defines him as one 'whose previous employment was on a casual basis',

and so attaching a label addressed to all and sundry who have contact with him that he is a permanently unstable individual. Such an orientation might well be seen as typical also among public and institutional agencies a kitchen porter has contact with and so operate to produce a state which Merton termed 'self-fulfilling prophecy.'.[3]

These intra-industrial, extra-institutional and public social images which conjured up these distorted role perceptions and the ill-defined stereotype mediate strongly to make this occupational group as well as its individual members a credential-less entity. Moreover, such impressionistic social constructions tend to operate as a deviance-generating influence, develop a contra-culture, cloud any possible opportunity structure and is likely to result in an anomic reaction and retreatism (using once more Merton's terminology) on the part of the incumbent, where both 'means and ends are rejected'. I have devoted some space to show how the wider view of the (so-called) public can and does act as a powerful agent in the generation of occupational stigma. It will now be of significance to present in brief the actual research results in comparision.

The general picture of the sample (constructed from data of a spread of 70 hotels in eleven West Midlands towns and cities) may be considered as fairly representative of the whole country, other than London, and does identify the kitchen porter as a stereotype, but substantially different from the one variously described in the trade as a vagrant, scum, thief, crook, dodger, alcoholic or committer of arson. This not to disclaim that such individuals among kitchen porters exist, but the

evidence refutes the preconceived expectations that his performance is low, his conduct unpredictable or eccentric and his stay at the work place of short duration. The typical man has no permanent home, no family, no communal links, a limited education, no qualifications, a limited capacity to compete in the labour market, economically weak, isolated and in need of friends, but willing to work. In short, not so much a career deviant as the hospitality industry sees him, as a marginal person, or member of an underclass. A big metropolis like cosmopolitan London has its own hazards and opportunities for the temporary job seeker in the hotel world and attracts an image of a labelling process that encourages an unconvential (and at times), negative execution of his role. But, in the rest of the country, of which our social actor in the West Midlands area is a most likely representative, his occupational role is more like that of a peripheral worker. That means, his work is discredited by considering it unworthy of training, and debased because it has no lasting, tangible value. The working environment is too isolated (usually alone in a steaming scullery, up to his armpits in the sink) to offer social satisfaction, his rewards too meagre to provide an incentive, and the prestige accorded him too low for self-respect.

Apart from the ascription as member of a 'non-occupation', the kitchen porter is also a person with an identity and with biographical sequences of experience of a socialisation process that holds inbuilt ingredients of deprivation, often originating early in working life, with all this leading inevitably to a low profile in society generally and a public affirmation of a stigmatized status. In addition to these

component variables that make up the profile, the one most startling information (and constituting another stigma dimension) that the survey revealed, was that 67% of all the respondents to have been afflicted by physical or mental illness or partially disabling injuries. Additionally, 20% did not admit disability, even though this was visible to the interviewer. The research considered in detail the nature of these handicaps and correlated it with stability in and absence from work, and could not find evidence that would suggest an unfavourable comparison with national averages of the group of other occupations discussed in this Chapter.

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Case 2:   The Tortured Self of the Nightwatchman

In this work experience, one has an illustration of how the strictly controlled pace at which a job holder may have to operate, plays upon the self and kills the feeling of doing something worthwhile. It shows how the imposition of tight control and the removal of any kind of initiative can add to the frustrations of an incumbent. Why then is such work needed? The changing nature of business structures has made the faithful, aging or handicapped servant of the firm, drowsing the night away beside the fire, redundant. The ever growing scale of property requires a much more sophisticated organisation protecting it against the increasing volume of crime. Large corporations may be able to carry the loss, but the insurance world demands efficient measures for the safeguard of their property for obvious reasons. Tom Nairn (1968),[1] before becoming a writer and teacher, has experienced life as a nightwatchman and described it this way:

> 'This new protection is complex. A rationalised surveillance invades the night, organising nothingness into quasi-military discipline of uniforms and signals, making sleep at noon a permanent way of life for thousands. The most marginal of tasks has swollen into a growth-trade, a hive of men guarding the sleep of the capital. Producing nothing, this labour exists to make nothing happen, its aim is emptiness. Its abstract and solitary structure, like a negative image of day-time work, reverses the diurnal beast of life and betrays the meaning of labour, creating a new, pure, objectless estrangement, lasting from every twilight until long after dawn'.

To Nairn, the nights were slow torture and he found the strangest thing to be silence. Nightworkers go to work in the evening, which for them

then ceases to exist as a cushion normal workers use for leisure and recreation to recover from the stresses of the day. The evening is really a function of civilisation; a mirage of afterworks; a kind of collective dream of later on concealing the artificiality of what has been accepted as an institution only through the day/night rotation. Not so to night-men. They have to fit in with the routine of others, entering the tensions of activity just beginning when transport and people go the other way, relaxed and expectant homewards. Nightworkers feel regret, resignation or indifference on the journey to work, depending on how deeply the life of silence has penetrated their being, to follow the rhythm of returning to work every evening at eight.

Nairn now describes the workplace and work routines. The watch is done at a large tobacco warehouse. Except for a few workrooms and offices, the six-storey building is made up of partitioned space, with a mass of heavy cartons filled with tobacco and cigarettes worth £5m. Night-men are the guards, controlled by a hierarchy of rank in the order of sergeants, inspectors, chief inspectors and commanders. Guards are issued with padlocked bags containing clocks with key-holes below the dial. The keys are fixed to the wall at various parts of the building. One turn will stamp the time and the key number on a paper tape inside the bag and connected to the clock. Thus, time is carried with one as a symbol of the work environment, a watchman's clock machine, representing a deeper, more intimate penetration into one's being. Padlocked away in the bag, it was as inaccessible as time itself, embodying time's estrangement and compulsive manner, almost like a life companion, demanding attention every few minutes of the working night.

The repetitive, solitary circuits constitute the work action, and the clock registers the point-to-point transfer of the body. The complete record of one's labour could be traced by opening the bag and unwinding the tape. Missing out keys is fatal in consequence. Six minutes are allowed to get from one key to the next. Since the big robbery, says Tom Nairn, the manager is a frightened man. The first thing he does in the morning is to get the tapes from the bags and study them for hours. One wrong time or number missed and he is on the 'phone to headquarters, which brings in the inspectors, checking the work routines for a whole week.

Nairn then goes on to describe the subjective experience of a night-patrol man in this way:

> 'A forced stroll, whose pace can never be altered, is exhausting beyond belief...the very ease of the actions transforms itself into most utter nausea, a lead-like feeling from which no escape is possible...one feels packed with staleness, a fatigue coming not from exertion but out of systematized rationing of exertion...the endless half-tension forces a craving for real tension - any kind of violent movement. At the end of the patrol, there is a renewed promise of liberation, like a short-cut to regaining possession of oneself, the self work had taken away...this dream-like, monotonous existence is not creative dreaming, the relaxed search of the mind for a needed idea or feeling; one emerges empty, confronting the void with no further resources...It is the sensation of being turned into an object, a labouring material thing, that we all are...where else has civilisation distilled its own roots in quite this refined fashion, to give such undiluted taste of its underlying secret...in this job, there is no skill, no part of oneself, no set of disposition developed as the valuable thing sold in the transaction with the employer, and the very vacancy of the task has this as its corollary; but in turn, paradoxically, this lack swallowed one completely...demanding no part of oneself, the job in fact demanding everything. It consisted of doing nothing...like an endless vortex, into which one was compelled to fall headlong, touching nothing, towards nothing, an invading silence, more deafening than the loudest machine'.

Not every nightwatchman is able to transmit his feelings in such an
articulate manner, but one gets from this description a clearer idea of
how (Gouldner's) 'other self'[2] reacts if little or nothing is
demanded from it by the nature of the work in certain types of
occupation. One feels that for this man at least, the absence of
intrinsic work satisfaction predominates over all else and even the
receipt of greater extrinsic benefits might not make any appreciable
difference to his suffering. Career-wise, the prospects of advancement
for an ordinary night security guard are not good. Some seek transfers
to day jobs within the company, guarding wages or bullion in armoured
cars. Very few consider the work as a permanent job in career terms.
Nairn's attempt at analysing the kinds of worker recruited found them
an odd collection of exiles from living, rather more removed from the
everyday realities than the ordinary Soho or Notting Hill prototypes of
non-conformity, putting up a laboured pretence of normality. Many had
no family life at all. The population is made up of divorcees or men
separated from their wives and families, those who had failed in a
previous occupation and were either too old or lacked the courage to
try anything new. Thus, a solitude already established in daylight-
living was the usual condition which enabled the men to bear the
loneliness of the night.

I have considered the subjective experiences in this kind of work,
looked at the work location, work environment, work routines and career
prospects, later to be compared with the other occupational case
studies where stigmatizing characteristics are evident. In some
respects, the nightwatchman like the janitor, is an isolate. The only

human contact occurs with colleagues who congregate in the warehouse
recreation room after return from a patrol. By and large, Nairn found
the social bonds to be more stunted than he had ever previously
experienced. Symbols transparent only to fellow watchmen did exist -
perhaps only an exchange of glances beyond what labour demanded -
existed as a language of the workplace to ease acceptance of the
alienating work's ritual. The first light at dawn was the most dreaded
moment of the twelve hours. It came at Nairn's turn to reach the roof
of the building, the point which he regarded as the end-project of the
job, too early, however, to free him from fatigue, and leaving some
more hours of watching still to be filled. The places where one could
collapse for a few minutes out of sight were all known but never
mentioned. Finally, at home, sleep was always difficult, in spite of
the extreme tiredness this work imposed. Sleeplessness and an absolute
revulsion against any more of this work eventually drove him from the
job, as he so apty says:

> 'I had entered far deeper than ever before into work's
> estrangement...I picked up the 'phone and told headquarters I was
> ill and wanted to quit...they were quite used to a rapid turnover
> of the labour force...I sent my uniform and other things in a huge
> brown paper parcel to headquarters and then did nothing for a
> whole month'.

Unemployment tends to be more of a stigma when job opportunities are
good and yet, the nature of the work as described affected Nairn to
such an extent that he was willing to exchange it for the possible
stigma of a workless person. However, the occupation itself, whilst
not considered to be highly skilled, did not attract a stigma in the
sense that it debased incumbents in the eyes of others, given its

ingredients of unsocial hours, nightwork, disruption of family life and not a particularly good remuneration. Clearly, we have here another dimension of a stigma which arises (at least in Tom Nairn) from a distaste of military-type control procedures, the monotony and isolation of the work and to Nairn its lack of purpose and the self-alienation it created in him. His revealing description of the type of person employed or seeking to be employed appear to invite the label of deviant, the Soho or Notting Hill prototype of non-conformity, the divorcees, the separated from their families, the failures in previous occupations, the ones who see themselves too old or lack the courage to retrain. The description implies that skills to do this work can also be discounted. It seems that stigmas here attach more to members of the occupation, and through it self-evaluation, than they do through the occupational name and what its image imparts on those outside. However, the possiblility remains that if membership is identified to suffer largely from the 'dilemma of difference' (as Ainley et al would have it),[3] this would, not unlike the occupation of kitchen porter, rub off on the occupation itself.

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Case 3: The Apartment Building Janitor's Stigmatizing Experiences

Ray Gold (1964)[1] made a close study of the work routines of Janitors in residential buildings in Chicago, where he found their work not only completely lacking of any kind of intrinsic satisfaction but also plagued by extreme frustrations. To begin with, the janitor cannot hide the fact that he makes his living by doing other people's dirty work. Like most other jobs, a variety of tasks are involved but when questioned, janitors can be bitterly frank about this work. In answer to what they considered the toughest part of their job, they said almost to a man: 'garbage; the stuff is often sloppy and smelly and almost kills you when you first start; the tenants don't co-operate; you ask them today and tomorrow and still there is the same mess of garbage over again by the incinerator; it is the most miserable thing to sort out.' Thus, the disgust is not only a physical one between janitor and garbage, but involves also the relationship with tenants. As Hughes (1958)[2] has said, when discussing work and the self, 'the dirty work of an occupation may be dirty in several ways: it may be physicaly disgusting; it may be a symbol of degradation, something that wound's one's dignity; but, it may also in some way go counter to the more heroic of our moral conceptions.' It is because members of many other occupations do not speak so freely about their work, and may even conceal the infra dignitate, that we get false notions of the problems or overlook them entirely. We therefore also (comments Hughes further) get a false notion of the possible psychological and social

by-products of the solutions which are developed for the problem of disgust.

There are further conditions embracing the janitor's work which contribute to intrinsic dissatisfaction and add tension and insecurity. Neither the public nor tenants accord the janitor high work status and he struggles and strives to find ways to reconcile these influences with his self-perception. There is another relationship that also presents a problem to the janitor, which is one that revolves around his occupational and personal aspirations. Both these relationships entail human and moral tensions with which he has to come to terms. I shall focus on tenant interaction first. The janitor is the only permanent employee to give service to tenants in residential buildings. His work tasks include looking after the heating and water systems, cleaning and maintenance within and outside the building, as well as the less demanding repairs. One part of the work routine is determined by weather and season - shovelling snow, coal or cutting grass - and the working day is long, although there may be at times only intermittent heavy duties. The janitor gets some free time during the day, but he must be available lest there is an emergency. He may find ways to escape from the monotony, but his leisure activities are restricted, narrow and confined. When he does get away for a while, no matter what arrangements he makes, he suffers from the acute anxiety that there may be a fire, boiler explosion or flooding.

It is, however, the tenant who interferes most with the daily activities of the janitor's life and work: but for the broken window,

regular Sunday cleaning could have been done on time; but for the clogged pipe, he would not have been ignominiously called away from a meal with his family and his wife's critical relatives, to whom he had just explained the importance of his work. Inside the work environment, the tenant can cause a janitor great status pains by the way he/she treats him, whilst at the same time being careless by 'dirtying' the place up. Not only that, the tenant-public feels that its individual demands must be catered for at once, thus - in the words of the janitor - it is like having to please fifty bosses at once. Not all janitors absorb passively the abuses of 'bad' tenants, but try to change them by 'training'. This means that the janitor uses various sanctions to get the offending tenants to conform to his way of thinking. Friction and countless frustrations do however arise when, in the case of 'untrainables' remedial effectiveness is not achieved. Then, the janitor's self-conception is undermined until he manages to come to terms with the situation by acting, for example, as the janitor-psychologist and diagnosing the transgressing tenant as ill or mentally unstable.

If one looks at the janitor's outside relationships with significant others, practical priorities also come into the reckoning. Such role-set members would include janitors in other buildings, the managing agents and union officials. If the janitor has substantive aspirations (that is, wishing to extend the nature of his work) as well as giving intrinsic emphasis to his work, one may observe two distinct kinds of social interactions: colleague-animosity and janitor-boss paternalism. Gold explains these in a meaningful way. The janitor has some contact

with colleagues although little in the way of group feeling has been observable. He is conscious of the lowly social image of his occupation in the community, at the same time as his personal or self-image approximates more to that of a middle-class evaluation. To reconcile these two diversities, the janitor's attitude is to affirm the community evaluation, but at the same time not thinking of himself as unprincipled, disorderly and irresponsible as is the stain or stigma placed on other janitors. Given that there is not to be found any spirit of a true colleagueship among janitors, the work situation nevertheless demands some co-operation if there are to be any free evenings. This leads to informal agreements on what is termed 'building-switching'. The danger here is that the deputy may neglect unfamiliar tasks which can cost the employed janitor his job.

There appears also to be a certain reluctance of the janitors to discuss the work they do among themselves, even when they meet socially in the liquor store. Gold found the reason to be fear. They fear each other, and they fear that certain disclosed information may lead to a loss of job. Building-switching is therefore mainly a utilitarian arrangement. Another practice, referred in janitor argot as 'cut-throating', is largely responsible for maintaining the social distance. It means stealing another janitor's building, and occurs when one janitor persuades another janitor's boss that he is a better man to look after the building; or indeed might cheat - perhaps when deputising - by letting unchecked water run into the boiler of the desired building to get the temporarily absent incumbent into trouble. A third method is known as 'stool-pigeoning', of which an example would

be the disclosure of a breach of union rules, when a janitor's wife is known to help him with his duties. Other, more subtle forms of cut-throating also exist, an instance of which is for the janitor to exceed his effort level and thereby exerting a threat to the security and livelihood of other janitors in the locality. Since the janitors normally work alone, participation in a decision-making process has less relevance in this occupation. A dependency relationship may, however, be valued for its own sake if the incumbent defers to a paternalistic boss as father figure, or idolises the boss.

If decision-making be of a smaller significance to a janitor, an element of protection is important to him. He needs to achieve greater security without becoming completely isolated from social activity. There are union rules and the landlord will expect no more in the way of work than conforms to these rules. Yet, janitors feel obliged to do extra work, for if they do not, they are exposed to cut-throating and that leaves only the landlord to turn to. Hence, it is the motto of some janitors that a 'janitor should work in the interest of the owner'. This is an additional influence to the intrinsic element of a job as propounded by Fox (1971)[3], where a high-priority aspiration of an instrumental kind for the purpose of removing fear and insecurity operates, under which substantive participation is made difficult because the janitor is anything but free from grace and favour of his boss, who may use the cut-throating mechanism to further minimise intrinsic work satisfaction without at the same time increasing extrinsic rewards. The janitor's position is therefore one akin to Seeman's definition of powerlessness (1967)[4] and fear, that permeates

the entire occupation, and additionally forms a barrier to group
solidarity and a more intimate colleague relationship. The ironic
situation seems to be that janitors, to gain security, play up to those
against whom they are organised in order to gain protection against
those with whom they are organised.

Priorities do not, however, remain static and janitors find ways and
means to lessen insecurity. Gold discovered two distinctive attitues.
Firstly, no janitor would admit that he deliberately aspired to this
career, of which in the evidence a wide variety of reasons were given
to account for their entry. But, once in this occupation, incumbents
formulate a philosophy of success which has as its base the kinds of
social skills that are to be regarded as even more significant than
technical proficiency, considered by most of the janitors as fairly
routine. A second identifiable attitude, if there was not a threat to
his economic security, was the concern about status. This was
especially important to him as far as tenants were concened, who tended
to hold him in low esteem and often treated him accordingly. The
janitor attempts to change this by the means demonstrated earlier, and
to see himself as successful only if he has 'good' tenants. The
importance of the prestige and dignity factor in the eyes of the tenant
and the public seems to override that of income. Additionally to a
janitor's security-prestige motive, many cohorts regarded retirement as
a way of ending distasteful work.

This kind of opting-out aspiration has a construction placed upon it
which compares with that of waiters who, instead of joining a union to

improve working conditions, prefer to see themselves as future
restaurant owners. Substantive aspirations are therefore sought, not
as members of a team, but as eventually becoming the boss-man himself.
Thus, the goal in this occupation seems to be early retirement but is
rarely ever to be reached because, in the first place, the union allows
the janitor to service only as many buildings as he can cope with
(which limits his income); and in the second, saving is difficult when
a little luxury status item such as a car, may reduce him and his
family to substistence level. Wealth is equated with security in
retirement. Wealthy janitors are few, but they are the subject of
envy, gossip and legend. Such values serve to justify a modest
existence, although great sacrifice has enabled some janitors to profit
from property deals. The retirement goal helps to bear the burden of
stigmatized work, but is in fact, an occupational myth, unless it be
that in the rarest of cases an apartment owner (having established a
really good relationship) will lend the janitor money to invest, an
occurance bewildering other janitors, who cannot fathom how the money
was come by. From this general picture of the janitor's work it
appears that the limited autonomy he enjoys in day-to-day decision-
making to satisfy (in Gouldner's terms (1970))[5] his 'other self', is
far outweighed by the frustrations of handling garbage, discreditation
by tenants, colleague animosity, job hazards and lack of employment
security.

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Case 4: Social Ranking among Restaurant Workers

This fertile field is still one largely neglected by researchers in the social sciences. One of the most recent doctoral studies on the world of waiters was completed by Nicod[1] in 1979, after collecting his data as a participant observer in five differently-graded English hotels. The perspective of this research has an anthropological flavour and includes such subcultural elements as customer stereotyping, rituals, pilfering, status manipulation and the management of crises, among the matters explored at the workplace. Shamir (1975),[2] in his unpublished thesis on the working environment and attitudes of British hotel employees, was also interested in the question of status incongruities arising out of the perceptions that different occupational grades had about each other. Another piece of unpublished research by Chivers in 1971[3] inquired into how chefs and cooks in hotels, restaurants and hospitals saw their career and working life. There is, however, among the major contributions in the sociological field a much earlier study on human relations in the American restaurant industry, conducted by Whyte during the abnormal wartime situation 1944/45,[4] whose theoretical findings appear to have hardly dated. It is this study which I would like to present as a part of my cases where status and prestige variations of the incumbents are directly associated with the materials they use in their jobs.

When the National Restaurants Association came to an agreement with the
University of Chicago in 1943 that the serious labour relations
problems needed to be solved, William F. Whyte, a sociologist from
Cornell was called in to undertake a work-based attempt at action-
research in order to gain some insight at a time when ('Speedy
Taylor's') Scientific Management still dominated the industrial scene.
Whyte's major objectives were to contribute something to new knowledge
in the field of industrial human relations and to provide some guiding
principles of practical value for supervisors and managers of
restaurants. In his endeavour to test the values and attitudes in the
world of catering in a war-time emergency, when special demands and
responsibilities to feed the labour force was placed upon this
industry, he did not shirk such delicate matters as the significant but
not readily recognised, part women play or the kind of problems ethnic
relations posed. In order to appreciate the problems peculiar to this
industry, some matters have to be placed in its proper operational
setting.

Wherever cooked food is served to customers, one finds that the
production and service functions have to be combined. The product is
geared to immediate consumption and the whole enterprise geared to this
end. Two kinds of activities take place: those that involve customer
contact in the front part of the establishment and the work of
preparation that goes on behind the scenes, in kitchen, service pantry,
scullery and stores. The tasks of these departments may be
differentiated from those relating to direct meal production and those
entailing the ancillary backup services, each of these requiring

specific role performance and involving special role relationships, to
make a rapid provision of customers' orders possible. Although Whyte
and his team considered a whole range of matters, such as restaurant
structures, union involvement, gender and ethnic problems and
communication among others, I intend to confine this discussion to
mainly what is of sociological interest about work in kitchens, where
seemingly low-status actors perform to please primarily the next-higher
status incumbent within the occupational hierarchy, rather than the
anticipating, out-of-sight audience out front. As will be demonstrated
shortly, where work takes place in small groups, status is of
considerable internal importance (distinct from the external image an
occupational name may suggest) and is closely related to the intrinsic
work values held.

With the passing of the old French-style cooking during the inter-war
years, the status of the artist-chef has given way to the technologist
in the kitchen. Also, the replacement of the craftsman by the female
cook has blurred the old distinction of rank and symbolic uniforms.
However, variations in status still exist. When Whyte investigated the
situation in the large kitchen of a Chicago restaurant, he discovered
an official as well as an informal status scale. The first was based
on formally appointed gradings, relating to prescribed duties, whilst
in the second case, the social standing depended less on the work
function or dress than it did on a person's background, skill,
seniority, financial recompense and significantly, on the materials
handled. Those who worked on the finished product enjoyed a higher
status than those connected with the earlier stages of production. No

single variable exerted a major influence, but all the factors
mentioned operated to place the component bodies of the kitchen
brigade.   Officially, the working supervisor of the fish station
ranked on par with other supervisors, but still his status was
depressed on account of the unplesant smell of the material used.
Perceptive observation by Whyte and his asistants resulted in a number
of illuminating propositions.   It was found that work stations had a
social ranking, with the cooking function taking top place.   Skill and
pay were found to be most relevant, and as might be expected,
everything revolved around this particular range.   Next came the salad
section, which had prestige because it dealt in finished products, and
the women vegetable cooks spoke respectfully of the old salad station.
Further down the line was the chicken preparation station, then
chicken-cooking and vegetable preparation;   located at the very bottom
was found to be the fish station.   These rankings could be observed by
worker behaviour towards one another.   Furthermore, even finer status
distinctions existed to be discovered by the perceptive observer.

These distinctions are now worthy of a more detailed consideration.
The larger stations had within them a ranking of their own, depending
on the kinds of tasks performed, the seating position at the work
table, allocation of time, whether male or female worker, and the
sequence of the work flow.   Apart from the cooking/non-cooking
division, a status grading the various kinds of vegetables themselves
could also be observed.   Parsley was at the very top, to be followed by
celery and other luxury and decorative items;   green beans held top
position of the regular vegetables, with spinach and carrots next;

then sweet and white potatoes and onions last, as the most undesirable
(to work with) of all vegetables. There are also recorded comments
from the researchers which revealed the characteristics of the
materials which kitchen workers held in high or low esteem: 'high' -
lack of odour, crispness, cleanness, freshness and aroma; 'low' -
staining hands, sloppy to handle, smelly, dirty and greasy items.
Status and prestige variations occurred as a direct extension onto the
workers who handled certain of the meats and vegetables, whilst yet
further differentiations in work patterns were attached to strength,
seniority, full or part-time employment, age, work consistency and
speed. Workers with some of the favourable characteristics were able
to control or criticise others who did not have them, and thereby
elevate their own status position in the kitchen. Prestige differences
occurred also when, for example, meat was in short supply, at which
time the fish station gained in importance. These findings are most
revealing because they show how the perceived prestige values of the
materials used (and also tools in other cases) can affect the status in
which manual workers are held in kitchens and elsewhere. Old women and
those who cleaned vegetables part-time, spending the rest of the day on
dishwashing, had low status while the young and the strong were more
favourably placed within the organisation of their work. It will not
have escaped the reader that the less adequate, for whatever reason in
this situation, are seen by the others as flawed and not fully capable
to handle the better type of work. In view of this negative placement
and the inferred discredit, talking of a blemish or stigma is perhaps
not entirely out of place.

If the prestige value of the materials used can enhance or depress

status, it is logical to assume that this will affect the subjective

meaning of the work and work attitudes, or may often be the source of

friction. Thus, if materials in certain occupations consists of

grease, dirt and garbage and the tools with which to do the work are of

the most primitive kind, individuals will respond not so much to the

situation as to their interpretation of it. This raises some

interesting issues of analysis. To begin with, it is not a question of

(Braverman's) deskilling[5] since skills in this case have not been

eroded by advancing technology. Nor do all workers necessarily

experience diminished satisfacation by the simplicity of tasks.

Indeed, satisfaction may be entirely relegated in favour of ample pay

and fringe benefits (as Goldthorpe's research has shown (1969)),[6]

although that is not the case with Whyte's kitchen workers. On the

other hand, one can argue in a more generalised way that the tendency

towards standardization of food (not least as a marketing function

through the conditioning of the customer), more so in war time perhaps

but also in the last few years more recently, has taken on increasingly

the product characteristics of the non-service industrial sectors.

Whilst such a view may be more applicable to the broadly-emerging

positon of chefs, it is probably not completely irrelevent to talk also

about deskilling of assistants and operatives in kitchens. Kitchen

operatives tend to be a transient section of the catering industry

which as a result makes for weak association and union membership.

Does this mean, therefore, that there is no occupational ideology?

This could well be the case if not even a definite occupational name

for the work can be identified. Such incumbents as described carry the

labels of 'assistant', 'operative', 'porter', 'hand', or the generic
term 'worker', which in no way reflects what these people are actually
engaged in doing or what kinds of skill they are employing, given that
it is the appended word 'kitchen' that reflects what they all have in
common.   If status symbols are as relevant as Whyte has shown them to
be, a 'parochial ideology' (to use Dibble's term (1962))[7] may not be
completely absent on the part of the more permanent worker, who has
been presented in this research to care about the seating position in
the kitchen, about the speed, smell and esteem of materials, and in
some instances about the reputation of the restaurant.   Both the idea
of 'deskilling' in the labour process and the concept of an
'occupational ideology' are to be seen as significant influences when
present or absent (as the case may be) in a discussion of occupational
stigmas and will need further consideration at a later stage.

Whyte and his co-researchers observed and interviewed in 12 restaurants
of various types and sizes in the Chicago area.   It is not claimed that
this represented a true cross section of the industry on a nation-wide
basis.   His aim was to locate a wide range and variety of human
problems and explain them sociologically in a way that lay people can
understand.   One example concerned the location of control in the flow
of production that produces the cooked meal.   Meal times are equated
with rush periods and tension.   Pressures come from the impatient
customer and like a chain reaction affects the entire staff.   In most
catering establishments, the quantity of food for consumption that
cooks are allowed to prepare in advance is strictly limited by
considerations of cost and waste.   When cooks fall behind, a customer's

irritation filters through to service pantry and runners since no one else can supply the food. At the Chicago restaurant under review, the status of runner was just above pot washer and immediate friction results if he orders the higher status cook to produce beyond his maximum food limit. Whyte offers examples of pressure at meal times as it affects the waitresses and how they react to it. As she competes with other waitreses in the line for her order, she needs to please the guest, the supervisor, pantry staff, bar servers and checkers. In turn, the pantry girls are constantly on the receiving end of the waitresses' temper. In times of pressure, some girls break down and cry; others may argue with a waitress, while the rest impatiently wait for their order of cooked food, which in turn builds up more pressure. Therefore, the work flow requires the food to travel through various stages before it reaches the customer. Then there is also a flow in reverse, consisting of a mass of dirty plates, dishes and pots. In rush periods, these literally rain upon the (usually) understaffed plongeurs, who work long hours in hot and steamy sculleries and try to keep abreast with the demand. They are often used as outlets (and scapegoats) for the frustrations and bottlenecks in the organisation, and as butts for the bad temper of the entire kitchen staff.

Hall's research (1969),[8] also found low-status dish-washers to have little interaction with staff located higher in the status scale. Low-grade kitchen workers were not often consulted on matters affecting them. This had the effect of low aspirations and a non-alignment with the organisation. As to the waitresses, Whyte's findings suggest that they did not aim for the top, although some managed to achieve the more

modest goal of hostess which involved, however, the sacrifice of tips.

The chances for upward job mobility of the Negro employee were also

considered and were found to be severely restricted in most catering

establishments, so that there was little opportunity for him to rise

further than dish-washer in his catering career.

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Case 5:   The Case of the Hospital Porter's Ambivalent Identity

'Portering', a head porter is quoted to have said 'is unskilled work'.

'Porters', said another, 'are the ambassadors of the hospital'.

(Smith, 1969).^{'¹'} This case study will show the hospital porter to be

conscious of his low status in the organisation, experience fears, to

regard some aspects of his work with distaste, but others as

significantly important in his relationship with patients.   Smith puts

it this way:

'It is true that a man of moderate or even low intelligence can walk in
off the street and 'get by' as a hospital porter without any formal
training.   He can, indeed, within a short time, get the same pay as a
conscientious and experienced man who guides, instructs, comforts
agitated and bereaved relatives, lifts, moves and cheers gravely ill
patients, erects life-saving apparatus and copes with emergencies of
every kind'.

To really appreciate his baffling status, we need to know more, about

his work, his self-image, his exposure to stigma in the hospital.   The

case observations to follow are the result of interviews with a small

group of porters in two large teaching hospitals.

It is often popularly assumed that some of the less-skilled occupations

cannot be intrinsically satisfying and meaningful to an incumbent and

that extrinsic rewards (mainly monetary) assume an importance that

transcends all else.   That perception remained unconfirmed by this

investigation.   Indeed, instead of finding their work activities

alienating, the complete reverse appears to be the case by their

emphasis of porters' work on public service and 'care'. It is perhaps also true to say that we, the public, acknowledge the social contribution of some of the less pleasant and frequently stigmatized occupations when for any reason such work is temporarily not done. To look at the structural picture and the work routines first, one of the hospitals (in the West Midlands) has undergone vast expansion and provides for some 1,000 beds at this time. It was at one time known as the 'Work House' to most locals and the attitude of the older patients was that they have come there to die. Porters were used more functionally, initially as aides and later as nursing auxiliaries, but with the development of occupatonal specialisation, their function has become a supportive one. The other hospital of similar size, only some 15 years old, is situated in London with the aeriel view of a cross, but as yet without a historical tradition. As is the modern trend, both are multi-purpose, with some 50 wards and a staff of thousands, divided into well over 50 different occupations exclusive of the medical personnel. Both are virtually self-contained communities, with shops, banks, postal service, newsagents, libraries and their own radio station with request programmes.

Each of the two hospitals employs close to 100 porters, not including catering and other domestic ancillary staff. Duties of the hospital porters are spread over a number of departments: X-Ray, Pharmacy, Physiology, Orthopaedic, Psychiatric, Maternity, the Operating Theatre, the Mortuary and some general wards. Some porters may be concerned with general servicing in the whole hospital, including such menial work as refuse collection, laundry tasks, bread and milk distribution,

admission lodge and messenger duties. Rotating shifts are worked to

cover the needs of the hospital round the clock. To an outside

observer, a distinct impression was gained that there operated some key

factors which tended to compensate for some of the more gruesome tasks,

factors which reduced estrangement and abhorrence and mediated somewhat

to prevent the disintegration of the porter brigade. To appreciate the

phenomenology of the work routines which are often nauseating or

polluting, and at the same time detect an important mitigating force,

it will be meaningful now to describe briefly some of the work

experiences as the porters saw them.

The first job in the early morning is the collection from the various

wards of the dead, who have to be transported to the mortuary and the

bodies usually housed in metal boxes. The chargehand sends two porters

for each body, but four persons are normally involved in taking a body

to the morgue: the porters, the sister-in-charge and the morgue

attendant. A porter then takes the death certificate to the office and

ward beds are prepared for new occupiers. Not all the bodies are

carried in boxes. There is the case of a 9-months old child who died

after many hours on the operating table. A porter carried it, wrapped

in a blanket, so as to preserve discretion. That man had children

himself and this incident caused him a great deal of agitation. By the

time this early-morning job is completed, the hospital is in the full

throes of activity. Porters everywhere, attending to people at the X-

Ray station, accident and emergency, seeing to urgent specimens,

delivering gas cylinders, helping with laundry and kitchen rubbish

disposal (which rates extra pay), directing entrants into the car park,

delivering flowers and moving patients by chair or in bed, to various departments. Some of the porters take better to the work than others. To quote porter A: '...some ward duties can make you sick. One has to touch patients with skin ailments all over their bodies, or lift old frail people. We get used to it, but some of us don't. The most unpleasant task is to put refuse from the wards into bags, like stained, smelly linen from bed wetting...'. Each of these hospitals has at least a dozen of clinics, which operate throughout the entire working day. That is really the busiest period.

Porters work also in out-patient treatment rooms and they don't only move patients. Porter B's work on a particular day involved some auxiliary nursing and he explained: '...whenever I have to remove a plaster cast, my heart sinks; blimey, I'm frightened I might hurt the patient. The other day, I was asked to take off a kid's plaster. This caused me no end of worry and tension...perspired all over while I was cutting it...'. The variety of the work and its people-orientation holds, however, a great attraction for many a porter. The Deputy Hospital Secretary told me that certain routine duties are found to be rather dull and labour turnover in these areas tends to be high. For example, delivering bread and milk is not liked because there is no contact with patients. Another dull routine consists of taking to and collecting sheets and other linen from the laundry building. Here again, there is no contact with patients and the work, extending over a 6-day week and not part of the rotary arrangement, is not well paid. It is clear that the intrinsic element of patient contact is significant in a hospital porter's work.

The operating theatre is a central place in the hospital, but holds a mixed attraction for the porter, although it has been found to be more popular than moving furniture. It differs from the work in wards in a number of respects. Porters may be permanently attached there and thus enjoy a high status within the porters hierarchy. In this kind of setting, medical personnel have to work in teams entailing a fine division of labour, and all members complementing one another. In this situation, the porter gets to know the surgeons, sisters and others in the team. Such porters are seen as privileged in that they are not part of the general pool, rate special training and often higher pay. Even, so, not everyone can take it, as porter C indicated:

'...it takes a strong stomach to work in the operating theatre. It isn't just the lifting of sick people (and the lifting of females by male porters can cause embarrassment) as it is the operations; take a case of a gangrene: the surgeon would saw off a leg or an arm and hand the dripping limb to the porter to put into a bag. Some porters refuse to work there...'.

As a rule, the Hospital Secretary advised me, porters do not like moving bodies, nor do they get extra pay. Some porters have to assist with post mortems, which involves cutting bodies open or extracting parts; but this is mostly done on a voluntary basis and the older porter who has been in the war takes better to the work.

As to porters' work in the wards, when patients are under constant medical treatment or long-term occupants, they do get to know the porter well, often by first name. One frail lady insisted the porter take 10p every time he brought her a cup of tea. Patients strike up a rapport with the porters, although one might expect a great deal of anonymity in hospitals of that size. Some members of the porter

brigade have been doing this work for years. One also finds several

father/son sets on the job. Nor is the work completely male dominated

since the sex discrimination legislation and those women who opted to

work in hospital portering were doing as well as the men. At this

point, it may be of interest to add some comments on status and career

prospects. Those porters who work on rotating shifts are seen as a

part of the 'elite' by colleagues because during their 24-hour duty

stretch, they get to know most of what goes on in the hospital. The

rules require that some porters are always to be in the pool room, on

call so to speak. There are telephones everywhere, even in lifts. One

of the hospitals has 1,400 of them. Once a job is done, the porter

will normally return to the pool but checks by 'phone with the poolroom

whether a job can be done on his return journey. In this way waste is

avoided. There are no deadlines as is the case in producion work and

porters use their time with discretion; but the flow of duties is such

that there is little time for more than casual socialising. Although

staff canteens exist, the large acreage and number of buildings over

which the duties of individual porters are spread, is not congenial for

the cultivation of colleague relationships.

In addition to the practical implications in the exercise of the

hospital porter's work role, there are some peripheral, less obvious

and possibly more abstract matters to be considered. These relate to

informal codes, to the mode of dress and to occupational ideology.

With an estimated number in excess of half a million patients in

hospitals on any one day of the year, three quarters of a million

waiting to get in and a load of about twenty million out-patients, the

30,000 (or so) porters and ward orderlies should never be out of work.
Job security is one of the factors that is liked, although labour
turnover in some establishments reaches to 40%. Whilst some of the
porters adopt an instrumental attitude and treat their work as a means
to an end, the majority gave as a major reason for wanting to work in a
hospital its positive value to society, highly emphasizing the word
'care'. Apart from sick people's appreciation of a few cheering words
from the porter, he regards himself (in his proclaimed ideology) as an
auxiliary nurse, as a social worker, as an alleviator of pain, and as a
saviour of the medical staff's mistakes. Perhaps this somewhat
illusory self-image is not quite consistent with a porter's general
status in the hospital, for he is still on the lowest pay scale and
feels looked-down upon by management. Indeed, the porter is very
conscious of the low esteem in which he is held by the medical staff,
who tolerate him according to their prevailing mood or disposition.
Some surgeons rate a porter who can set up an operating theatre; but
older matrons have not looked kindly on fraternisation by porters with
nursing staff. Over and above the satisfaction derived from patient
contact, membership of a collectivity is seen as giving the undervalued
porter more security in the event of a dispute, better recognition and
certain union benefits, as well as a group voice vis-a-vis the medical
staff in the protection of his/her interest.

Career prospects are not good as there are so few chances for promotion
to chargehand or deputy head porter. Training is still seen more in
days than weeks or months. Most hospitals now have porters wearing
special uniforms with badges symbolising their function. Portering

services vary with a particular type of hospital (General, Psychiatric, Geriatric, Children's, Maternity, Infectious Diseases, Mentally Handicapped, Chronic Sick or Teaching Hospital), but how meaningful the work is can be gleaned from the sentiments expressed. I discovered a clear division in the orientation between those porters with regular patient contact (and so incidentally also with medical staff) and those others, regarded by all and sundry as general 'dogs-bodies' around the hospital. The role perception of the former is thus quite different: they see themselves as comforters and morale boosters of patients and relatives, as monitors in patient mobility, alleviators of pain, stage managers of the operating theatre, providers of hygiene services (like fumigation), caretakers of residential medical services (as for example in the mortuary or post mortem room), communications link with the outside world, guardians of the hospital's security, and not least as directly involved nurse-aids. This great variety of roles assures that grade of porter of a clear occupational self-identity at the work place. Added to that is also a definite code of ethics, one of the rules of which expresses the wrath from colleagues an offender would incur if he were to pilfer or steal from the sick or the dead.

Within this intra-occupational status division, it is the non-medical, general category of porter (who, day-in and day-out, carries, scrubs and cleans), far removed from patient-care and contact, who is the more stigmatized. His morale is often reflected in informal wear (slacks, T-shirt and Jacket), and such instructions from medical staff as this or that area being out-of-bounds or off-limits, conveys to him his

lower order within the setting of the organisation, and the low esteem

in which his responsibilities are held.   (<u>Saunders</u>, 1979).[2]

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CASE 6: MOZART: A CASE OF MULTIPLE STIGMAS AND UNRECOGNISED GENIUS

My brief look at the fortunes of Mozart is offered as a general characterisation of some of the stigma ingredients in whose short life they were amply located. The human proportions of this man, who tried to make his way in a world in which he was neither appreciated nor understood, were rather complex. Those familiar with his story will know not only of the highly gifted musical, but also of a fiscal, romantically-rejected, medical, scatological, religious and severely stigmatized, Mozart, the Austrian composer who could write operas at the age of 12, produced 600 works of high quality, but whose demise at only 34 years of age was accompanied by the poorest of burials known to Vienna, a lonely hearse clattering its way to a paupers' field where his body was placed in an unmarked grave. This year (1991) makes it a 100 since he died an unnatural death and it is only by the passage of time that the world has reversed his status, validity and esteem.

Born in Salzburg in 1756, a small and not a particularly healthy child, Wolfgang enjoyed a life at Court, where his father Leopold was violin master to the Prince Archbishop of the town. Following a short spell there, his life was given to much travel, at first with the family and in later years visits all over Europe, where the prevailing cultural and social milieu was strongly reflected in the music he created. Mozart's family undertook these journeys early on because father saw it as a divinely ordained duty to prevent his son's genius from being

stunted were he to be confined to the narrow, stifling work of the Archbishop's Court. Still, health-wise it was not such a good start for the young genius. During the three-year trek through Europe and England with the family at the age of 6, Mozart was smitten with a succession of childhood diseases, including colds, rashes and fevers that sometimes necessitated cancellations of scheduled appearances. At the age of 8, it was scarlet fever and in London, he suffered from respiratory diseases.

There are many books that discuss his talents, his industry and his music. My short biographical profile aims only to show an ambivalence of status and identify the stigmas of which one must say in fairness that some are only the result of unproven allegations, intrigue, envy, rumour and jealousy. Mozart's letters indicate two grievances about his social status, or it might have been wounded pride. One was the lack of recognition of his supreme talents over that of lesser ones in Viennese society. Indeed, when he was in service as a musician to the Archbishop Colloredo, Mozart was not allowed to play in other houses and forced to eat with the servants. Owing to consequent strained relations, Count Arco, the Archbishop's High Steward, physically kicked him out 'on his behind', an indignity suffered when Mozart personally handed in his letter of resignation. Another gnawing sentiment was his consciousness as an Austrian of the deference given to writers, painters, architects and musicians from the Latin countries. Mozart, living just before the outbreak of the revolution, was really the first supreme genius born into a feudal society who dared to go freelance, making friends from mercantile citizens and professionals in Salzburg

and Vienna as well as from the aristocracy to secure his livelihood.
(Hutchins, 1976).[1]

The fiscal Mozart makes interesting reading. He could never manage on
his income, was constantly in debt and borrowing money. There were
allegations that he was given to drink and to gambling at high stakes,
but there is no real evidence to support this theory. It is more
likely that he was a lavish spender during his days of relative
affluence. There were therapeutic trips to the expensive resort of
Baden; travelling in style; owning a horse; being attended by his
personal hair dresser daily; and living in high-rented quarters he
could not afford. Morality-wise, he was also accused of having affairs
with his students. His financial position deteriorated badly during
the last five years of his life when he wrote imploring letters to
friends for loans to help him out. It was a life of constantly
striving to secure income and teaching was not well rewarded
financially.

As to religion, Mozart was brought up as a devout Catholic. This may
on the one hand explain why he had so far been inhibited about his
desire to experience sex. It was later one of the main reasons why he
decided at last to marry. On the other, there was the contradiction of
his interest in Freemasonry. His father was anxious that Mozart should
adhere to Christianity. He responded to Leopold's promptings on
observance but liturgical music did not play a large role in his
output. How can one explain the attraction to Masonry? It was a phase
of contradictions and enlightenment in Europe at the time. To Mozart,

the practices and teachings of Freemasonry were an exciting extension
of religion and most local brothers in the craft were also Catholics.
Sensitive to the snubs of society as he was, the company of people who
forgot rank appealed to him, at least during the making of music, but
this mixing with the Masons was looked upon with disfavour in church
circles.

Mozart experienced unrequited love when he got to know the family
Weber. Herr Weber was a music copyist with no prospects and a large
family to support. Two of the five daughters played a part in Mozart's
life. He was himself poor at 22 years of age and really needed a
lucrative permanent appointment at a great Court which was the only way
in the 18th Century for a musician to earn a reasonable living.
Aloysia Weber, a pretty girl with an exquisite singing voice was only
15 when Mozart fell violently in love with her. But Mozart's
dominating father Leopold would have none of that and ordered Wolfgang
to Paris. Meanwhile, the Webers had become prosperous. Aloysia was by
now earning good money as a prima donna, with fame spreading and no
longer interested in the poor struggling composer. At heart a cold and
calculating girl, she hurt Mozart deeply and disillusioned he returned
to his hated birthplace Salzburg. Eventually, she became the wife of
an actor and when that marriage broke up, Wolfgang had still not lost
interest in her. His father did not want an involvement with any of
the Weber daughters nor to see his gifted son end up as an impoverished
musician. What Leopold did want was for Wolfgange to marry into the
artistocracy with enough money to relieve him of financial worries. It
was not to be. At the age of 30, Mozart left Colloredo's employ in

Salzberg and moved in with the Webers. Madame Weber had become a
penniless widow with four daughters to support, and scheming to marry
lodger Wolfgang off to one of them. Mozart married the 18 year old
Constanze Weber in 1782, a match that pleased no one apart from Madame
Weber and with father Leopold positively hostile. Bachelors with some
distinction were fair game at a time of congresses, when Vienna was
comparable with large seaports, catering for international pleasure
seekers, soldiery, dependents of diplomats, officers and sight-seers.
There was reputed venereal disease and considerable depravation yet
Mozart's religious upbringing and family pride restrained him and with
Madame's help he settled into a stable existence and away from
temptation. (Carr, 1983, [2] Keys, 1980 [3])

Of all the significant characteristics embracing Mozart's case, the
ambivalence of his status and the physical blemishes are the most
interesting from a stigma viewpoint. I shall deal with the latter
first. It was not only Mozart's financial situation that Aloysia did
not find attractive. In the reminiscences of a friend (one Irish
Actor-Singer at the Vienna 'Italian' Opera) Mozart was described as a
remarkably small man, very thin and pale, with a profusion of fine fair
hair, of which he was rather vain. Archbishop Colloredo, Mozart's
erstwhile employer, disliked the whole family. They were to him
bumptious people who thought too much of themselves. He disliked
particularly people who were short in stature. So, Mozart, who never
grew tall, irritated him in every way. (Woodford, 1977). [4] As well
as shortness of size, another stigma has more recently come to light.
An Italian Professor (Gianfranco Caviicchioli) discovered from a

painting of Mozart at the age 9 by the German artist Johann Zoffany, at around the mid-18th Century, that the left ear had been painted out. Indeed, there is no picture at all that shows him with both ears. The Professor noted that the ear that had been painted over was much smaller than the right one. Probably Mozart's father was ashamed of his son's deformity and had the artist paint over it. Professor Caviicchioli then got in touch with Professor Robert J. Ruben, the President of the Ear, Nose and Throat Department of the Albert Einstein Medical Faculty of the Yeshiva University in New York, who advised him that for some bizarre reason people who have deformed ears usually also have malformations of the kidneys or ureter. This leads the Italian Professor to conclude that Mozart was not poisoned by the envious rival Antonio Salieri but died of kidney failure. (House, 1987).[5] The riddle of Mozart's death and the circumstances of his burial also requires a little attention, following which the question of occupational ambivalence needs to be focused upon.

The final period of Mozart's life was tragic, to say the least. He was not only involved in an infatuation that led to attempted murder and suicide, but had also to cope with a diseased body, overwork and debts. When a loud exchange of words and screams were heard from Mozart's Mason Lodge Brother Hofdemel's apartment, the door was broken open by a locksmith as neighbours feared a criminal act of violence. The worst was confirmed. Wife Magdalena was lying in a pool of blood, slashed across the face, neck, shoulder and arms. In the next room, which had also to be broken open, there lay Franz Hofdemel with his throat cut and a razor still in his hand. Rumours spreading in the capital about

the tragic end of Mozart's love for Magdalena were never denied, even by herself, for a doctor found her still breathing after the attack and saved her. (Carr, 1983). At that time, Mozart's financial position was catastrophic. He had to beg his friends for money and was in debt right up to his death. Physically, he was also in a very poor state. Plagued all his life with respiratory disease, then smallpox, which left him with pockmarks, he also had a strained heart from rheumatic fever and continual throat infections affecting the kidney. As if that were not enough, he is also said to have suffered a heart attack to which excessive bloodletting contributed, as he slaved to complete the Requiem.

There are many theories as to the cause that ended Mozart's physical life. In 1790, his health took a turn for the worse; he suffered from rheumatic pains once more including headaches and toothache and he was by then only 34 years of age. Some months later, he already had a premonition that his life was coming to an end. One time while walking with wife Constanze in the Vienna Prater Amusement Park he burst into tears, saying that someone had poisoned him with acqua toffana, which in powder form could easily be added to a glass of wine. The symptoms shown by people who have swallowed such a substance (containing arsenic and lead oxide) are those that had been observed in Mozart: vomitting, cramp, nausea, loss of a sensation in hands and feet, and weakness of muscles of the limbs; skin becomes pigmented and shows visicular rash. Doctors might have mistaken this for a military rash or military fever, which was mentioned as the cause of death on the certificate. (Carr, 1983). Was he poisoned? If he was, who did it, the jealous Hofdemel

or the envious Salieri, or someone else? Doctors were confused and

evasive. There was never an autopsy. Over the years, biographers

advanced a variety of theories. Carr speculated that the poisoner

might well have been Hofdemel. Boelza, a Soviet musicologist,

suggested it was Salieri who did the poisoning but there was also a

plot to cover it up, with Mozart's friend and patron Baron van Swieten

having him buried in an unmarked grave to prevent a possible uprising

against the nobility by the Viennese working class, had it been known

that its beloved composer was a victim of intrigue at the Imperial

Court. There is also a Nazi theory that Mozart's death was due to a

Masonic-Jewish conspiracy. This hypothesis originated from General

Ludendorff, a commander of the First World War who early on supported

Hitler. He attributed the deed of poisoning Mozart to the Freemasons

as punishment for writing an anti-Masonic Opera, The Magic Flute. "It

is the Jew who forms the secret of Masonry", Ludendorff wrote in an

article, "and Freemasonry has tried to rob the German people of their

Germanic pride". His wife Mathilde continued the campaign in a book on

"Mozart's Life and Violent Death" after the Nazis gained power,

suggesting that the Masons punished Mozart for revealing secret rituals

and holding pro-German views. (Kupferberg, 1987).[6]

Mozart's stigma did not end with his death, as has been shown. It was

not family but friends who prepared his burial. A waiter from the

Silver Snake tavern dressed Mozart's body in an anonymous black

garment, and the burial itself was not in the cemetery but at a

graveyard on the outskirts of town. Nor was the prior service

conducted in the main body of the St. Stephens Cathedral in Vienna, it

being held in a small vestibule adjoining the catacomb below, where there was hardly room for mourners. The public was not informed and the body ended up in a mass pit, with neither friends nor relatives willing to brave the winter storm to follow the hearse for some two and a half miles from church to cemetery. That, however, is not the view of all chroniclers. More recent scholars checked the meteorological records and found it had been a mild day. This deepens the mystery, as does the disagreement about the precise day of death, and whether or not the Viennese public health requirements of a 48 hour waiting period between certification of death and actual burial had been complied with, if it was the case that he died a day earlier. (Kupferberg, 1987, Carr, 1983).

This then is the story of the flawed Mozart, the unappreciated professional genius, who could use the most vulgar and boisterous language in letters to his paternalistic father and other members of the family. It is a case where the finest musical talent in all Europe could not in his lifetime counter the multiple stigmas that befell him. It is interesting now to glance down on Mozart's ambivalent status profile and acknowledge the contradictions (some intermittent, some lasting) that are clearly in evidence. There is probably no question that Mozart by his genius was a deviant, an informal code-breaker among the inner fraternity of relatively mediocre composers (with a small number of exceptions), a so-called boy-wonder, who engendered the envy, hostility and intrigue of his contemporaries by his display of professional skills and a high degree of competence, which disturbed the order of things and which they could not control. In short, he

constituted a threat.   Nor did he, by his stature and looks, conform to the pleasant, socially-poised stereotype which tended to impress favourably the influential aristocracy at the time, although Court officials knew where to find him if they urgently needed an aria or whole opera produced out of a hat.   Thus, achievement was never his problem.   It was recognition he desired and the disenchantment he felt at the lack of prestige and respect accorded him was not infrequently reflected in the abusive language he used, although his genius managed at times to override his other traits.

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APPENDIX 4

CONTENTS

FORENSIC PATHOLOGISTS' RESPONSES

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APPENDIX 4

CONTENTS (Continued)

APPENDIX 4

This appendix presents in edited form the detailed answers to <u>six</u> key questions addressed to all Forensic Pathologists in England on the Register of Fellows and Members of the British Association in Forensic Medicine in the Year 1986, to which 56% of this (statistical) population has responded. The questions address problems of recruitment to this specialty, coping propensities concerning the gruesome nature of the work and awareness of an incumbent's own mortality, ordeals of cross examination in Court, and the perceived public image of the profession. The responses are presented in numbered paragraphs but with overlaps in the original data excluded.

<u>First Survey Question:</u> WHAT CIRCUMSTANCES SPARKED OFF YOUR
INTEREST IN THIS WORK AND YOUR EVENTUAL
CHOICE TO SPECIALISE IN IT?

(Key points extracted from unstructured responses)

(a) Was already interested in science at school. Did not like school, wanted to do something different; joined the Royal Marines and after discharge from an injury worked in a hospital laboratory. Took A-levels and got into Birmingham Medical School and developed an interest in the forensic side of pathology.

(b) Became involved in forensic pathology as a young Government Medical Officer in Malawi and later Zambia, before training in pathology as a speciality. The initial interest was just to increase my knowledge of medicine in general but after involvement with violent deaths from being eaten by lions, trampled to death by elephants and trials by ordeal, as well as conventional murders, I realised I would never return to being a General Medical Officer.

(c) As a student was fascinated by the exposition of the subject in Dr. Keith Simpson's lectures, but have always been interested in investigative procedures. A chance offer by Dr. Teare at the Royal Marsden to specialise in this field made me give up an assumed career in ordinary pathology.

(d) Chance vacancy at my own medical school drew me into forensic pathology and decided to try it out for a year also because I liked the head of the department. I sat further exams and my career took off from there...

(e) Chance! My first appointment as a trainee pathologist was with a consultant who was also a Home Office forensic pathologist. I accompanied him on many 'call-outs'. Following more study my career took me to Canada where my post as a diagnostic histopathologist was coupled with consultancy in forensic pathology to the Department of Justice.

(f)   My father was a GP and so I was always interested in medicine in
        general.   I had also developed an interest in criminal matters by
        the time I came to medicine myself and decided without a doubt to
        enter the field of forensic medicine.

(g)   As a consultant neuropathologist, I had an interest in and a desire
        to research into head injuries, which necessitated the performance
        of autopsies for the Coroner, who then asked me to undertake cases
        of crime associated with these injuries.

(h)   Interested as a medical student in the diagnostic side of medicine
        and to this end applied for a laboratory position following my house
        appointment.   The chief happened to be a forensic pathologist and
        this sparked off my interest in a practical way.

(i)   Was attracted by a challenge and inspired by the late Dr. W. R. J.
        Evans, a pathologist of outstanding ability, who turned his
        knowledge to forensic medicine.   To deserve this designation, one
        should presumably be a 'proper' forensic pathologist.

(j)   My special interest is morbid anatomy, but I had no choice as no one
        else was available to deal with the forensic side.

(k)   Whilst training as a paediatrician, I took a 6 month breathing space
        in the forensic pathology department and got 'hooked'.   Thereafter,
        following brief spells in general practice and general pathology, I
        changed back to forensic pathology.

(l)   General histopathology attracted me as a student partly for
        intellectual reasons, having found clinical medicine rather
        imprecise.   I also believed when training at the London which is a
        treaching hospital, that histopathology enjoyed a high academic
        status.   Dr. Francis Camps announced in one of his stimulating
        lectures that he would assist newly-qualified graduates who liked to
        take up forensic pathology.

(m)   Was not really interested in forensic pathology, or indeed matters
        medico-legal during the early years of my career.   Like many of my
        contemporaries, I actively shunned this aspect of medicine.   As a
        consultant histopathologist later, I began to carry out a
        significant number of autopsies for Col. K. Treasure, the Coroner
        for Gwent.   This led me to read around the subject of forensic
        pathology to better equip me for this task.   I gradually built up a
        good working relationship with the Coroner and the local police, and
        upon the retirement of the Home Office pathologist for the area was
        approached by the Home Office on the recommendation of the Coroner
        and local police to take on the post.

(n)   After a false start in farming, I became a medical laboratory
        technician, which familiarised me with pathology departments.   My
        interest remained in laboratory medicine after entering medical
        school, but I also attended a guest lecture by Professor Keith
        Simpson, from which I emerged resolutely determined to become a

forensic pathologist. I never considered any alternative
thereafter.

(o) Can't quite put my finger on what sparked off this interest. I felt
during school days that this would provide an interesting and
challenging area in which to work. Wanted to see the subject at
first hand...my eventual choice to specialise in it was largely
dictated by the availability of a post in my region as I had already
become established within the university department.

(p) Born into a family of lawyers. Had always maintained an interest in
forensic medicine. Upon qualifying I had not intended to follow
this specialty but whilst serving in the Army I took command of a
pathological section investigating war crimes. After my service
period joined the first forensic medicine department at London
University and continued in the specialty until retirement.

(q) During my undergraduate training (from 1948), I was fortunate enough
to have a full course in forensic medicine, which gave me an
interest in the subject...at the time of my appointment as
histopathologist, it was not unusual for the police to use the
services of hospital pathologists in cases of suspicious death and I
took part in that service. I have since been included in the Home
Office list.

(r) My original interest in pathology was sparked off by excellent
courses at Cambridge and St. Thomas' hospital. As a trained
histopathologist I became aware of the value of specialist training
in forensic medicine, an area in which histopathologists became
often involved. Have now accepted a job in Brisbane.

(s) I was fascinated by forensic medicine as a medical student and my
external examiner at Edinburgh University was the late Professor Sir
Sidney Smith, who encouraged me to specialise in this field at the
end of the viva voce, stating that I would make a good witness in
Court. Also obtained a distinction in the subject and was awarded a
gold medal for that year.

(t) Although interested in forensic medicine as an undergraduate, my
ambition was to become an obstetrician and gynaecologist. In this
capacity have later performed numerous Coroner's post mortem
examinations and became more and more interested in this field of
medicine. As this work provided greater financial rewards than my
chosen specialty, and having recently married, I opted for
pathology. Subsequent involvement in a controversial case has left
me practising "defence" pathology.

(u) I was born and brought up in a hospital, where my father was the
superintendent. I became interested in morbid anatomy after
(secretly) watching post mortems through an air brick in the
hospital mortuary when I was aged 10. I can honestly say that I
went to medical school to become a doctor in order that I could then
specialise as a forensic pathologist and eventually also get on the

Home Office list. My ambitions were fulfilled through single-minded
endeavour and an enormous amount of luck.

(v)   My interest whilst an undergraduate was first generated by Professor
        Webster in Birmingham. Later as a clinical pathologist it was my
        desire to practice all types of investigative work in medicine. In
        the course of my work in London, I became closely associated with
        Professors Simpson, Camps and Teare and it was the former who
        stimulated me, and wished me to specialise in forensic pathology. I
        also enjoy the thrust of legal questioning and debate.

(w)   My interest dates back to student days and on return from National
        Service was advised by the Dean to enter this branch of medicine.
        This interest was stimulated by my service as a Regimental Medical
        Officer in East Africa when in remote rural areas I was called upon
        by the police to perform autopsies in cases of homicide, including
        exhumations. I became a consultant pathologist in the NHS in a part
        of northern England where it was usual practice for forensic work to
        be done by a panel of health service pathologists.

(x)   Was always interested in pathology as a medical student and forensic
        pathology seemed a rewarding challenge which had considerable
        benefits to the community. I regard it as an essential part of
        being a good morbid anatomist.

(y)   Have always been interested in solving problems, which is
        characteristic of medicine in general, but in pathology one tries to
        get to the bottom of things. Forensic work is an extension of it,
        and when I was invited to take over upon the retirement of a senior
        colleague, I accepted.

(z)   I believe that it was a mixture of interest and challenge, aided and
        abetted by necropsy work as a NHS Consultant Pathologist later on on
        behalf of the Coroner, that I became more and more involved with the
        local constabulary. This mainly because the nearest Home Office
        Pathologist was stationed some distance away in Cardiff.

Second Survey Question: FROM YOUR CONTACTS, KNOWLEDGE AND
                                 EXPERIENCE OF PRACTISING IN FORENSIC
                                 PATHOLOGY, PLEASE EXPLAIN WHAT ARE OR MIGHT
                                 BE THE REASONS WHY YOUNG DOCTORS ARE
                                 RELUCTANT TO SPECIALISE IN YOUR PROFESSION.
                                 (LEADING MEMBERS HAVE EXPRESSED ALARM ABOUT
                                 THIS SITUATION).

                                 (Key points extracted from unstructured
                                 responses)

(a)   Career-wise, the vacancies just no longer exist. University
        departments are closing down or shrinking and the old part-time NHS
        forensic pathologists are not being replaced because hospitals want
        the new pathologists to devote their time to hospital work and not
        run around for the Home Office.

(b)   Undergraduate education in forensic pathology is also dwindling.
        Thus, a medical student is less exposed to the subject. I
        frequently hear of individuals who express an interest, would like
        to become involved, but who are frustrated by the almost total lack
        of a career structure or chance to develop their interests.

(c)   Over and above the lack of posts and prospects, there is also
        financial insecurity. The police and the Home Office appear to be
        mainly concerned with getting criminal investigations done when they
        want it done and preferably on the cheap, leaving forensic
        pathologists to support their own departments and get their
        toxicology done at their own expense, i.e. out of the fees earned
        from doing Coroners autopsies. I get the impression that if
        forensic pathologists were to disappear, the police and the Home
        Office would be quite content for hospital pathologists to do the
        work.

(d)   As to working conditions, there is a lack of variety in the everyday
        work. There is no need to perform a large number of routine Coroner
        cases to gain experience after about 5 years. There is also an
        over-dependence on Coroners for the work. Additionally, there is a
        lack of adequate numbers to spread the work and this shortage means
        that existing personnel are therefore overworked. Also mortuaries
        are not centralised, which means travelling long distances at all
        hours of the day and night as well as large amounts of time spent
        (and sometimes wasted) in Courts and the stress of cross examination
        through having one's opinion challenged by counsel. Not happy to
        perform autopsies when the initial history of the case is scanty and
        unhelpful, and indeed, perform autopsies on mutilated remains and
        decomposed bodies. There is no paid holiday, sick leave or pension
        either.

(e)   As to how the subject is experienced in medical schools, the opinion
        of some is that pathology is badly taught. Most medical students
        consider it a boring subject and this attitude seems to be generated
        by those academic pathologists who teach in a non-dynamic way.
        Students seem to see little relevance to everyday clinical problems,
        so that pathology is just another hurdle to be surmounted before
        reaching the promised land of the clinical ward.

(f)   As a focus on the political background of this profession, forensic
        medicine (including forensic pathology) lies entirely outside the
        NHS, from which it was expressly excluded by the NHS Act in 1946.
        In typical British fashion (one opinion contends) the discipline has
        grown up in a muddled sort of way, taken up by enthusiasts who,
        being for the most part individualists, have made a name for
        themselves but contributed little by way of organisation of the
        service, one notable exception being Francis Camps, who did start
        the British Academy for Forensic Science and procured the Diploma in
        Medical Jurisprudence as a first postgraduate forensic
        qualification.

(g)   In a sense, political implications can also be related to the pay
        structure. Until about 1980, a retained Home Office Pathologist was

paid the same retainer Sir Bernard Spilsbury received in 1932, i.e.
£200 a year for 24 hours a day, 365 days a year cover. Since that
time, the annual retainer has been increased and is now £2,400 per
year. Compare this with my son, a newly-qualified houseman,
complaining about duty of 1 night in 3, and earning £9,000.
Moreover, the conditions under which one works are frequently
appalling. A mistake may mean either a murderer gets off scot free,
or if one mistakes a natural or accidental death for murder, there
is a hugh deployment of police personnel attempting to catch a non-
existent murderer. The responsibility is very great.

(h)   There can be inter and intra-professional conflict also. The work
        is contentious. The hospital pathologist well knows that if he
        gives an opinion, usually made in the comparative warmth and comfort
        of his own mortuary, or his own laboratory, it is unlikely that it
        will be criticised or even looked at. The forensic pathologist,
        trying to make sense of somebody lying in the middle of an exposed
        field at 2 o'clock in the morning, well knows that his every action
        will be surveyed by a defence pathologist and may be the subject of
        criticism in the most public of all places, the witness box. The
        suicide rate is high.

Third Survey Question: THE KIND OF WORK FORENSIC PATHOLOGISTS DO
                                IS OFTEN REFERRED TO AS GRISLY AND
                                POLLUTING. HOW DO YOU COPE WITH THIS
                                ASPECT NOW AND HOW DID THIS AFFECT YOU IN
                                THE EARLIER STAGES OF YOUR CAREER IN THIS
                                FIELD?

                                (Key points extracted from unstructured
                                responses)

(a)   Yes, it can be unpleasant, but there are unpleasant aspects in other
        branches of Medicine. By the time anybody has become interested
        enough to think about a career in forensic medicine (and having
        already gone though at least an undergraduate medical education) he
        is already well aware and mentally attuned and there is little
        problem at this stage. Also familiarity with such work soon
        overrides any delicate sensitivities - one is too busy and too
        involved in getting to the bottom of a problem. However, some cases
        are decidedly more unpleasant than others.

(b)   Neither of these two adjectives (grisly/polluting) has ever occurred
        to me as a description of forensic pathology. Fascinating,
        interesting, occasionally disgusting, when one's sense of smell is
        affronted, but grisly, no. Six years of medical school, including
        one year in front of a corpse-dissecting human anatomy, qualified
        for 2½ years and seeing many deaths, does prepare one.

(c)   After many years working on 'grisly' cases I do not find the scenes
        upsetting or affecting my attitudes to work or life. At first I
        found such scenes difficult to interpret or record, probably because
        I was startled by them and had not acquired the capacity for
        concentration on the work in hand. Over the years I think the

nature of some of the cases has become more horrific and complicated and one feels rather sad at times by such unnecessary violence and mentality of the person responsible. I must admit that following the evening I was called in to the "Wilson" murders, I spent a disturbed night.

(d)   To the lay public this may be true. Personally I have never found it so and feel no different now than at the earlier stages of my career, although admittedly I have only just started! My first day at medical school (aged 17) was spent dissecting a corpse...autopsy work is far easier than that and it is the 'detective' part - trying to find out what's going on - that distracts even from the most decomposed bodies. The job must be done and is still interesting. Some murders are particularly gruesome and unpleasant and most child deaths are sad. However, accepting this, one gets on with the work, the aim being to use one's training to conduct a thorough examination and observe all the abnormalities...I do get irritated when people give me funny looks and think I must be some sort of pervert to enjoy this work, but I certainly do enjoy it and have never considered giving it up because of some of the unpleasant aspects (e.g. child deaths and murders with sexual abuse). In such cases it is even more essential to establish the true facts of the case and I see that as my role in crime detection and prevention.

(e)   I think it is true, and unless one can find and concentrate on other aspects of the work as well to compensate then there must be a negative psychological effect. That is, you have to be conscious of and actually believe in the value of the work you are doing, e.g. helping to ensure something does not happen again, helping to collect organs and tissues for use in the living, helping to provide information for the relatives so that they can come to terms with the death. In a nutshell, you have to be able to relate your work to the welfare of the living, to overcome the effects of working with the dead.

(f)   It is no problem, nor was it ever one. Pathologists are primarily scientists.

(g)   I have always been a fairly insensitive soul - 'shallowness of effect' would describe it! I feel some aspects of the job to be more distressing now than I did 10 years ago - I tend to have sympathy with the accused as well as for the victims. However, someone has to do it - it's like emptying dustbins or cleaning sewers - a necessary social service.

(h)   I am able to depersonalise events easier than many others and have not found this aspect of forensic pathology particularly worrying. However, I am more concerned over the possibility that forensic pathology tends to recruit some individuals who are actually attracted by this side of the work. The glee with which some of my senior colleagues of both, past and present, describe cases I find very disturbing and I do of course worry about the possibility that the same abnormality may exist in me to some extent. Last year I had a remarkable experience when on a London tube train I found

myself opposite a retired general pathology professor of legendary
academic status. He did not recognise me and I listened to him
telling a young trainee pathologist stories about the flamboyance
and academic ignorance of various well-known forensic pathologists
he had met over the many years and when visiting the United States.
He repeatedly made the point about their apparent fascination with
the grisly.

(i)   ...the extreme degrees of man's inhumanity to man prove too much for
      many a medical man, and many pathologists, therefore, shun this
      aspect of work. I think that many of us doing forensic work (myself
      included) find this one of the hardest aspects to face, particularly
      in crimes against children. However, face them we must, to
      establish truth and bring about justice without which the fabric of
      our society would crumble. Many of our colleagues regard us as
      unfeeling, without compassion, even posibly 'morbid' and 'bent' and
      getting a 'kick' out of our job. I have heard this said on some
      occasions (by those who should know better) to some young medical
      people. No wonder they shun the specialty! Most of my colleagues
      in forensic pathology I have come to know well over the past years
      have been found to be most caring, sensitive and deeply interested
      in the truth. Unless the subject is approached with this attitude,
      one will never cope successfully.

(j)   At least overtly no problem, not even at the beginning. I think
      this is due to the process of natural selection, as those who find
      the work offensive either never enter forensic pathology or if they
      do, soon give up. There has been a high drop-out rate in the past,
      partly due to distaste, and this probably accounts for the very few
      women who stick the job, though unsocial hours may be another
      factor. The alleged 'grisly' and odorous aspects are of no
      consequence as the intrinsic interest of the job far outweighs any
      distaste. We are often accused of being 'hard' and 'callous', but
      speaking personally I refute this. One is able to dissociate the
      job in hand from personal feelings, but the latter persist on
      another level: after some 20,000 autopsies I still wonder, when
      slicing a brain, what it was thinking some hours earlier; or when
      death has obviously been agonising, I cannot prevent my active
      imagination from visualising the pain. Also when dealing with
      relatives, my clinical training of sympathy and compassion remains.
      Some former senior colleagues, now all deceased, were, I feel, more
      callous. I detested hearing them speak of the dead as 'lumps of
      meat', the hearse as the 'meat wagon' and the delight with which
      they disgusted some lecture audiences with unnecessarily revolting
      pictures. There are still a few about, but strangely enough, they
      tend not to be of the mainstream of full-time forensic people, but
      rather those on the fringes. I think some of the offensive bravado
      was an over-reaction to the job, a demonstration that they were
      tough enough to be able to take it! One sees the same phenomenon in
      some mortuary attendants and undertakers, who delight in banging
      trays about, shouting and whistling in the mortuary as if to
      emphasise their nonchalance, which is obviously false. I have above
      said 'overtly' the job has no effect on me, but I have discovered
      that other colleagues share with me disturbing dreams, usually of

performing autopsies on own family, when one cannot replace their organs and they are still alive! There must be some subconscious trauma, but in all honesty, in waking hours I have not the slightest qualms or revulsion at the excrable tasks I sometimes have to perform.

(k)   ...when the average persons sees his first surgical operation, serious accident or attends his first autopsy, he often feels a little squeamish...one must assume a detached attitude to these things and any grisliness is largely suggested by the lay press or novel writers! One must not become emotionally involved, which applies of course to all branches of medicine.

(l)   The most important factor in developing an attitude to the more unpleasant aspects of this work is that, from the very beginning, one is presented with a series of choices. Any school child who cannot face the prospect of dissecting a worm, or who hates the sight of blood, is unlikely to choose medicine as a career. Early contact with formalin-fixed anatomy specimens and attendance at post mortem demonstrations will soon reveal if the interest outweighs the unpleasantness. The realisation that one can perform autopsies and remain physically safe by taking appropriate precautions and that no smell (however bad) will actually cause damage, helps in coming to terms with this aspect of the work. Many cases are heart-rending in their implications but it is possible to carry out the functions of the job and still retain a real sense of pity and humanity.

(m)   ...since first as a medical student I have had to cope with dead bodies...provided one has an interest in the work and keeps one's attention, and provided that the mortuary is efficiently run and well cleaned, there is no problem (I remember going into a mortuary and fridge-room in Africa for the first time and found it an appalling experience because there was none of the cleanliness or order which one expects in British Mortuaries).

(n)   In the earlier stages of my career I found it rather disturbing and had gradually to accustom myself to strange situations, considering it a challenge and being determined to make a success of it. I am able to switch off and not ponder over the details of each case after performing the autopsy - not allowing myself to be psychologically affected.

(o)   I am too busy worrying about the scientific problems that these things pose to notice...also you will find that most Forensic Pathologists have a well-developed sense of humour, which is very necessary if one is to preserve even the outward semblance of sanity - the best one can hope for. After 28 years of work in this field I am still saddened by violence done to children and the elderly.

(p)   ...the work is grisly but I cannot describe it as polluting. I have never been able to reconcile myself to decomposed bodies but then have never turned down a challenge of an interesting case. At first in full-time forensic pathology in London I was afraid of the number of decomposed bodies I would come across. Two years later I find

such bodies even more nauseating. Regarding the 'bizarre' murders, including those involving children, I have never had nightmares, but do feel that I may have suffered psychologically as a result. I remember asking Professor Usher how he coped with decomposed bodies. He said he had no trouble at all, except when people near him were vomiting. That made him feel nauseous. All doctors have a duty to humanity and society (think about that!). Rather a body past suffering and an object in detecting the criminal before he can cause such suffering again, than no patient-contact at all. Much of forensic work is routine, yet by being observant we may save lives. Hence a dual or triple purpose is served: detection and prevention of crime, and discovering a possible future threat (or previously undiscovered) disease. Forensic pathology is an adventure of exploration on a intellectual level...It helps people, although in an indirect way. In any branch of clinical medicine there are psychologically threatening elements.

(q)   ...the only true risk of disease at post mortem level is Tuberculosis. Hepatitis B and Aids present no real threat to the pathologist, providing he practices a good technique. The so-called grisly aspect is not noted in one's desire to be completely factual and scientifically correct. But one is thinking all the time of the possible courtroom in 3 to 6 months time. Otherwise one is too busy to be aware of putrefaction and blood – they are simply problems which may hide valuable signs and marks. One always retains a respectful sense of humour which often relieves a distressing situation for persons finding it less easy to cope, e.g. police officers. Having a supporting spouse is very important so that one can return to a secure normal family situation when the investigation is completed.

(r)   ...have never had any difficulty with this aspect and was always interested in anatomical dissection from an early age (perhaps starting with plucking and pulling chickens at 9 years of age at school). At 24 and only one year qualified, I had to examine exhumed corpses, mangled bodies from explosions and tribal warfare, etc. In the same year as medical officer in charge of a famine relief camp, I saw hundreds of people (mostly children) dying from illness and starvation. I cannot remain indifferent to unpleasant events but one very quickly achieves, partly as a result of the investigative and analytical process, an attitude of detachment which normally means one is rarely affected.

(s)   I cannot deny that the cases I have dealt with have had an uplifting and mental impact on me. One, however, suppresses one's mental anguish in an attempt to record the facts accurately and in detail to ensure that the evidence to be presented in Court is as good as possible. It is amazing to find in my work the amount of morbid curiosity the general public have. Earlier in my career the problems were less because one was usually working with an experienced pathologist and it was more relaxed. Now I am almost invariably alone doing a case, and so more aware of my feelings.

Fourth Survey Question:

HAVING FREQUENTLY TO HANDLE DEAD BODIES
DURING THE PROCESS OF EXERCISING YOUR
PROFESSIONAL ROLE, YOU ARE LIKELY TO BE
REMINDED OF YOUR OWN MORTALITY. HOW, IN
PSYCHOLOGICAL TERMS, HAVE YOU LEARNED TO
COPE WITH THIS DILEMMA?

(Key points extracted from unstructured
data)

(a)   Yes, I am reminded of my own mortality and possibly this is one
      reason for choosing the career in the first place - being somewhat
      afraid of death, I suppose, like many people. I thought that
      saturating myself with it, I may be able to understand it better and
      become less afraid of it. This has been successful to a small
      extent though I must confess I am still not too keen on dying
      myself, but that is probably a healthy natural attitude.

(b)   No, I have always kept the two separate without any difficulty
      whatsoever. I am more often reminded of my own mortality when
      looking down the microscope at a surgical pathology specimen of a
      cancer of one sort or another. Inevitably, as one gets older, one
      wonders which of the diseases one sees is going to provide the
      quietus. (Seems Hamlet - "The End, to be or not to be"). I suspect
      it happens to all doctors.

(c)   I don't need to handle dead bodies to be reminded of my own
      mortality. Although I am very interested in physical sports and
      active on some, I am at the same time appalled by the physical state
      of many corpses. (This Professor is 63 years of age). I have no
      dilemma concerning the matter, when your life has finished the body
      is left - for a short time, and that is that. I guess the corpse
      hasn't much to think over.

(d)   My religious upbringing reminded me of my own mortality from a very
      early age...I see no dilemma and there is, therefore, no problem
      with which to cope.

(e)   It never worries me at all! We all die. I do actually believe in
      heaven and God, so I suppose that makes it all seem O.K., although I
      don't talk about it much. Most of the cases I see have died quickly
      and painlessly of heart disease and have reached a reasonable age.
      At my age (30), I expect to live quite a bit longer. Perhaps the
      only caution my job has taught me is to attempt to drive safely and
      not too fast, and use a car instead of a motorcycle. I really don't
      feel that my work has made me worry about my own death or that of
      those close to me. Death, especially of others, does concern us all
      but if anything, my work has reassured me as I find that a dead body
      does not really resemble a living person and so it is easy to be
      clinical and detached...perhaps my attitudes may alter if I lose
      someone dear to me.

(f)   I do not agree with the premise. It is said that in general,
      doctors handle the medical aspects of their own (and that of their

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families) poorly. Yet you would think the opposite to be the case.
In other words, something emotional or psychological, interferes
with the rational. Presumably, the same interference occurs with
pathologists in relation to feelings of mortality – it's something
I've felt more about than I imagine many people do.

(g)   I am a believing Christian. All must die to rise again.

(h)   One becomes detached and believes in one's own immortality. The
      death of a colleague, especially if of similar age, is far more of a
      psychological trauma.

(i)   I am sure I know enough psychology to express my defence
      mechanisms...occasionally one has to rely on the unwilting support
      of non-medical friends, whose appreciation of mortality is often
      just as acute as one's own. This realisation then strengthens the
      resolve that the performance of the job is not dependent on one's
      mortality. Philosophically, as one colleague said on a memorable
      occasion, 'it will all be the same in 100 years'.

(j)   Yes, one learns to do a good job daily as tomorrow may not come.

(k)   A lot of the time I don't (have not learned to cope). I develop a
      glib humour as a protective skin. I smoke too much, drink too much,
      burn the candle at both ends, and do not expect to enjoy (if that's
      the word) a long and happy retirement. More seriously, I do not
      fear death – it's just that some modes of dying are not very nice,
      so I shall try to choose mine in due course.

(l)   The problem is by no means restricted to forensic pathologists. It
      also applies to histopathologists and has, of course, been suggested
      as a factor for the apparently high suicide rate in both groups.
      Although one tries to de-personalise, I suspect that I think more
      about the possibility of death than many people and perhaps unduly
      worry about such possibilities as coronary heart disease. I have
      not learnt how to cope with this dilemma.

(m)   In the immortal words of Gabby Hayes of an early Western film: 'if
      that bullet's gotten your name on it, it's gonna git you'! Many
      groups of people, such as mortuary attendants, undertakers, doctors,
      nurses, staff of hospices, the clergy, etc., deal with the sick, the
      elderly and the dying. I think we are all very aware of our own
      mortality and how slender a thread of life hangs by an occasion...I
      am far too busy with career, family and hobbies to dwell on thoughts
      of death too often...but admit that occasionally it does strike
      home. I carried out a post mortem examination on two children found
      dead on Christmas day (by their parents) at Grandma's house, where
      they had spent the night. The parents had come on Christmas morning
      with presents. These children were much the same age as mine. I
      admit I went to the loo and wept. I see many youngish men of my age
      die as a result of disease, accident, suicide, homicide, and think
      'there for the grace of God...'. But the thought passes and the job
      goes on, I play with the kids, I enjoy my orchids and think of the
      good things that life brings. One day sooner or later, as Gabby

pointed out, I shall go and don't intend to make myself miserable thinking about it...

(n) ...I am a convinced Atheist, believing it ludicrous to think otherwise. Therefore, my own mortality is a matter of complete indifference to me. I am not concerned with death, only the method of my dying. The daily handling of bodies is irrelevant in the context of my own mortality, though I am often concerned in a humanistic way, with the mode of their own demise - mainly in a compassionate curiosity about their fears and despair in the agonal phases. Once they are dead - or even terminally unconscious - I find no further interest in this aspect. To me, a body is merely a machine for transporting sentience, the latter expiring when the machine fails. This is probably why I am interested in brain-stem death and the problems it poses in the determination of whole-body death. To answer your question, as I am indifferent to 'death', as opposed to living and dying, familiarity with corpses is an issue of no consequence to me and as far as I can be aware, I need to make no psychological adjustments for it. My philosophy, actively pursued, is that in our only one short life, we have to cram as much as possible into it. Death is merely an absence of this life.

(o) ...the capacity to become detached from our work (and simply not be reminded of our own mortality in our day-to-day work) is really a pre-requisite for any potential forensic pathologist and this may indeed be one of the factors which limits the number of people interested in the subject.

(p) These matters are common to all those practising medicine. I believe that there is a higher suicide rate among pathologists than it is among other members of the medical profession.

(q) I am unable to remember any particular moment when I accepted the fact of my own death as being an inevitable consequence of being alive. (Is this doctor immortal?). Contemplation of my death is not, however, related to the appearance of dead bodies in the course of my work, and not therefore a dilemma to cope with. At my age (61), I know that the length of my future is limited by simple statistical considerations, but the fact is not depressing and I don't spend much time thinking about it. I suppose that deaths of relatives, friends and colleagues are most likely to make one conscious of the realities.

(r) I think that I can cope with the continual confrontation with death partly by being reconciled with the idea of it and partly by an 'it couldn't happen to me' approach. The kinds of deaths which I find particularly distressing are unnatural deaths in young adults, especially suicides and deaths where injuries are unusually mutilating, e.g. train death and exceptionally unpleasant homicides.

(s) Even before handling dead bodies I was aware of my own mortality - this aspect is part of my religion (Buddhism). So it was nothing new as the religious training in my youth stood me in good stead.

(t)   Ever since my undergraduate days, I have been acutely reminded of my
      own mortality. I do not believe that working in the twilight of the
      undertaker's world has increased my sensibility; more potent, I
      believe, is the increasing loss of one's friends and contemporaries
      which comes with age. I have coped so far - but how?

(u)   I am constantly aware of my own mortality which leads me to smoke
      like a factory chimney. You will note I am divorced, the
      circumstances of which were due to the distressing psychological
      factors of the Kelly case more so than of any other cases I was
      involved in. These factors are discussed in greater detail in
      answer to the next question. Following my previous responses to the
      questions, one learns to live with one's lot. Qualifying in
      forensic medicine often leads to alienation from the rest of
      medicine and there are few forensic pathologists prepared (or
      capable of) stopping at an accident, or removing an appendix, even
      though we are often asked to remember one's basic object in becoming
      a doctor, and it is hard to reconcile this with one's role as a
      forensic pathologist.

(v)   I am well aware of this phenomenon, having frequently observed it in
      other pathologists, Coroner officers, mortuary attendanats, etc. As
      a young man I supposed because the day when I might reasonably be
      expected to have to die was far off, it did not concern me; but as
      the day draws nearer it does occupy my mind more...It depends on
      one's outlook, whether one regards death as the ultimate horror or
      the ultimate triumph.

(w)   By retaining a sense of humour associated with life-style, which
      ensures that I live as long as possible - no smoking, no over-
      eating, low dairy product ingestion, daily exercise, ensuring no
      weight gain - I keep my psyche stable and equable. At heart I am a
      fatalist, so I do not fear death and my contact with death
      reinforces this lack of fear and makes me happy and privileged to be
      alive to be able to investigate the death of someone more
      unfortunate.

(x)   I have now, and have had since my late teens, a very strong
      (Christian) faith by which I am continually sustained (though
      frequently questioning certain events). I believe in resurrection.

Fifth Survey Question: THE EXTREME VULNERABILITY OF THE
                                PROFESSIONAL MEMBER WORKING IN THIS FIELD
                                WHEN GIVING EVIDENCE IN A COURT OF LAW HAS
                                PRESENTED PROBLEMS IN THE PAST (AND INDEED
                                CAN DISCREDIT OPINIONS AND HARM OR DESTROY
                                CAREERS). WHAT IS YOUR VIEW HERE OF THE
                                WAY IN WHICH THE FORENSIC SCIENTIST
                                (PATHOLOGIST) SHOULD DO HIS JOB?

                                (Key points extracted from unstructured
                                data)

Now a selection of experiences which reveal with utmost frankness just why these can in a Court setting be so stressful and damaging to self, and permanently tarnish a doctor's professional reputation even among his peers.

(a)   What one needs is better monitoring of individuals because we practitioners are at the moment isolated and 'one man bands', which is unhealthy. Also, expert witnesses are often used as 'scape goats' by lawyers, when sensational events happen in Court. It is really the lawyers who are conducting the case and should have been prepared for events or should have asked the right questions. If you have rigid rules of evidence which inhibit the expert from giving his full opinion, why then blame the expert?

(b)   The pathologist and the scientist are frequently confused. In my opinion the scientist undoubtedly has the more difficult task. The pathologist says 'this could be the knife', but the scientist adds certainly to the evidence and this seems much more difficult to grasp or to understand from a jury's point of view. A photograph of a stab wound is comprehensible, a complex blood grouping is not. The facts of a case are seldom in dispute between a prosecution and defence pathologist; but the interpretation may be. This should be resolved before the trial to avoid 'trial by ambush', as Professor Usher suffered in the Derbyshire Downs Syndrom trial. Also, there is no doubt that the forensic scientist is much more aware of his fallibility since 'Clift' and there is a case for the subject to be further removed from the police, with as much quality control built into the system as is humanly posible. (The case of Dr. Clift laid bare the vulnerability of the pathologist as no other, as elaborated in Chapter 8, pp.43-46).

(c)   The pathologist should behave as any other witness...this means unbiased truth, based on careful and thorough examination and accurate recording of detail. All original notes should be preserved and taken to Court...he should expound only proven theories and make no unsound scientific observations...he should respond in a similar tone to both prosecution and defence counsels... it is harmful to the profession if two doctors criticise each other in Court and this should only be necessasry if one of them has made a serious error or formed the wrong opinion from which he cannot be moved.

(d)   Polonius said: 'To thine one self be true, and it must follow as the night the day, that thou canst not then be false to any man'. (Hamlet, father of Ophelia, a tedious old devil – Shakespeare). He was right. I have spent the last 20 years telling what I believe to be true – it has from time to time made me unpopular but at least I am respected by others (I think) and preserve my self-respect most of the time. This is the only way to do it – say that which you believe to be true – and don't let either side pressure you into settling for less.

(e)   The stress and damage of Court work is in my view more difficult to cope with than anything relating to the previous question. Despite

many hundreds of Court appearances, I do not think I have ever been discredited to any significant extent. In my view, if an individual is properly trained and intellectually honest and self-examining, the situation should not arise. If the general standard of forensic pathololgy was higher and the practitioners more knowledgeable, room for disagreement would be much smaller than it is at present. The difficultly that does arise is that there are a surprising number of people who are prepared to give an unorthodox opinion in such a way that the Courts cannot distinguish orthodoxy from unorthodoxy. The forensic science staff in a large Home Office laboratory are usually in a better position as they have a more formal training and a built-in 'quality assessment' of opinion. In large departments discussion is possible also. Forensic pathologists are isolated from such professional inter-checking. (Member of the Wasserman Working Party.)

(f) To me giving evidence is one of the most pleasurable aspects of the job. It is the ultimate challenge to one's intellect and wits. I read for the Bar 20 years ago, partly to improve my legal knowledge and partly to meet my courtroom adversaries on more equal terms. I have written extensively on courtroom behaviour and technique for medical witnesses and I am convinced that the expert witness must lay the foundations for his performance in the box many months before, when preparing his statements and written opinions. He must sharply delineate the boundaries of what he is prepared to say and not transgress them with rash statements which he is not prepared to substantiate when giving evidence. He must be prepared to 'put his mouth where his pen was' and come to proof in Court. So many doctors founder by promising the earth at early conferences with counsel and then shying away when faced with the realities of the witness box. My only uncomfortable rides in the past have been when I have unwisely offered expert opinion on matters which were not fully within the realm of my knowledge - this is a recipe for disaster! The older I get, the more often I say 'I don't know'...probably no one else knows either so I don't feel bad about my ignorance. This is easier now. Young doctors who are too embarrassed or ashamed to admit ignorance get into the mire when floundering with lame or untenable answers. (Eminent Professor, member of the Wasserman Working Party.)

(g) I strongly believe that the extreme vulnerability of the professional member in this field is a direct consequence of the adversarial system which applies in courts in this countdry. As long as this system continues, there will always be the problem implicit in this question. Until the system changes significantly, I do not see any ways in which forensic scientists and forensic pathologists need to alter their basic approach to the job. As you will probably have gathered from my earlier comments, I do not believe that the witness box in a Crown Court is the correct place for differences of interpretation and opinion to be debated. However, I see no prospect of change, and I also think that expert witnesses will have to continue to be subjected to the problems inherent in the system. (Another eminent Professor and witness to the Wasserman Inquiry.)

(h)   The scientists who act as experts in a Court are appearing on
        foreign territory...one of the problems is the need to present
        evidence with as much scientific accuracy as possible and at the
        same time make all the points clear to a jury...experts for the
        defence and for the prosecution should consult before a court
        appearance...it is not in the interest of the profession for experts
        to be seen squabbling in open court...when they are merely being
        used as tools by the legal profession...it is sometimes said that
        the process of law and giving evidence is just a game, and if it is
        then it is a very serious one and not an excuse for failing to get
        it right as often as possible...

(i)   The answer is total honesty, I had no previous experience at all in
        giving evidence and saw the forensic pathologist very much as an
        independent witness. But then the inquest into the death of James
        Kelly in Liverpool was soul-destroying for anyone believing in a
        just legal system. Although senior members of the police force
        admitted to me that Kelly had been assaulted to a degree beyond that
        required in the course of duty, counsel for the Police Federation
        and Chief Constable so distorted the evidence that the inquest
        verdict was misadventure. Although I had been advised to have my
        own legal counsel present, I was naive enough to believe that having
        acted scientifically, I had no case to answer. I proved to be a bad
        witness (in part because of considerable bullying by counsel) and
        have now adopted a far more cynical approach to giving evidence in
        court. I find my colleagues very worried about the Alan Clift
        affair and there is a general undercurrent in the profession that
        the forensic pathologist may be placed 'on trial' in the witness box
        in order to win a case for the defence...it is not unusual for
        counsel to ignore facts which are not helpful to their case and
        often do not employ independent experts to oversee the work of the
        prosecution forensic scientist. I feel there is a need for
        liaison...in a recent manslaughter case I found no less than 17
        faults in the evidence. I tried to pass this on but the prosecution
        counsel forbad the person concerned to speak to me and defense
        counsel were not pleased either. As a result, the case was
        dismissed on the second day of the trial. A waste of a lot of tax
        payers' money.

(j)   The question deals with a significant problem. The standard of
        proof or justification for an opinion is very much higher in Courts
        than it is in therapeutic or diagnostic situations between doctor
        and patient, and it is very critically and sometimes rudely tested
        in the courts by counsel. The action of a pathologist at 2 a.m. in
        the middle of the Yorkshire Moors may well be tested by others at
        2 p.m. after a relaxed lunch, wine and a cigar! On occasion, a
        family holiday has been curtailed because the court demands
        attendance.

(k)   The basic difficulty is that in every sphere of scientific activity
        more and more is learned every day. This is as true of pathology as
        of any other science. More papers are written, more journals
        produced and the general histopathologist (which is the type of
        pathologist usually employed in forensic work) cannot possibly be

expected to keep up with the explosion of knowledge, even in his own field. It is then open to the defence to bring in some super specialist who knows a great deal more about a tiny facet of the subject than does the forensic pathologist and who can be kept hidden until the last possible minute before being unleashed by the defence to give his specialised bit of evidence which cannot on the spur of the moment be contradicted (or perhaps even understood) by the forensic pathologist. On the basis of that single bit of evidence, reasonable doubt may be created which gives the accused as a matter of right a 'not guilty' verdict. This happened to me in the trial of Dr. Arthur of Derby for the murder of a mongol child named John Pearson, in 1981. It severely damaged my reputation and worse, upset my family considerably. I felt then (as I feel now) that this was a way of subverting the law.

A short correspondence in the British Medical Journal ensued thereafter and I wrote to the Royal College of Pathologists, The British Association in Forensic Medicine and the Director of Public Prosecutions. A movement then started to alter the law in this respect and secret technical defences were not allowed. When such a case exists and it is valid, the defence should have no fear in subjecting it to the scrutiny of Crown witnesses, themselves experts in the field, who are capable of knowing what the defence is going to say beforehand, similar to the principle of an alibi defence...One of the few good things that I feel I have managed to achieve in my career is in starting the agitation which ultimately led to the production of Section 81 of the Police and Criminal Evidence Act, where in future such scientific defence will have to be declared beforehand. I do not, of course, mean that life must be made permanently easy for the expert witness. He must be called to give satisfactory reasons for his opinions expressed in Court.

I have always taken the view that the position is somewhat like that of a professional boxer. No one wins them all and if you take the money, then you have to be prepared to take the stick that sometimes comes with it. I have always been particularly good at taking the money and therefore have to be uncomplaining about taking the stick. The forensic scientist should be sufficiently well paid so as to ensure that he (or she) will not be tempted, say, into industry for more money. His position should be, as it is at present, independent of the results of the case. (This is yet another distinguished Professor in the field who also served on the Wasserman Working Party, whose report was published in April, 1989)

(1)   It is after all a game for the legal profession and the barristers are no more than actors on a stage...if the preparation is good there is no need to fear cross-examination. It is good to be stressed. It is good to have one's ability (or lack of it) exposed as in a quality assurance programme – much better than the 'living death' of geneal practice, as it is undertaken by most GP's in GB – no risk, no responsibility, no pleasure!

(m)   The problem is that one often does the job at unsocial hours without the benefit of the evidence that is in front of the court. One does

not know what to expect or how injuries have been caused, but one
has to interpret the wounds as best one can in the circumstances.
One is therefore unfortunately not in a position to correlate wounds
to any blows that may be described in court, but must use one's
memory and photographic records. It would be better if the job were
less hurried.

(n)   My views are: have a sound knowledge of the subject. I have had
      the benefit of excellent training under very experienced peers in
      both Sri Lanka and in the UK. (Guy's, London, Leeds, Edinburgh and
      Glasgow Medical Schools - all postgraduate training). I did not
      consider myself an expert in Forensic Pathology until I had 10 to 15
      years experience...as a result, I have absolutely no fear in giving
      evidence...in fact I enjoy it. I have yet to be discredited for an
      opinion I have expressed and hope to maintain this record until I
      retire.

(o)   Court appearance is undoubtedly the most harrowing aspect of the
      Forensic Pathologist's duties. It is a matter of experience, the
      apprehension decreasing with the years. I believe one's anxieties
      can be minimised by (1) having confidence that one's examination,
      particularly of the cadavar, has been thorough and comprehensive;
      (2) being given adequate time by the police to complete the
      investigation; (3) the use of photography. In my early years, I
      was soon made aware that it is impossible not to overlook some
      detail, either of circumstances or body examination and record it at
      the time of the operation. I am now producing my own 35mm colour
      slides, which can be used to aid me in preparing my written report,
      and to refresh my memory before consultation with barrister and
      appearance in court.

Final Survey Question: WHAT FACTORS, IN YOUR OPINION, WILL AFFECT
                                THE IMAGE THE PROFESSION HAS IN THE EYES OF
                                THE PUBLIC? WHAT DO YOU THINK ITS PUBLIC
                                IMAGE IS AT THE PRESENT TIME? (PLEASE GIVE
                                REASONS FOR YOUR OPINION).

                                (Key points extracted from unstructured
                                data)

(a)   My opinion on these areas is affected not only by my professional
      work itself but also by my reading of the press and by the reactions
      to my work in social contacts (e.g. at parties!). The public image
      varies and embodies different facets: (1) 'Oh, how revolting - how
      could you work with dead bodies, doesn't it smell awful, etc.': (2)
      'Is it like Quincy? How interesting - I'd really like to be a
      forensic pathologist': (3) 'Don't you think the pathologists have
      made fools of themselves in the dingo baby case, etc.'. The factors
      which affect the views expressed by an individual depend very much
      on his/her exposure to death through experience of inquests, reading
      detective novels, TV and other media influences, and the way in
      which a particular social environment has affected attitudes towards
      death - parental attitudes, for example.

(b)   The public image of forensic pathology is conditioned by ignorance
        of the job and by such television programmes as Quincy, The Expert,
        etc., which often bear little resemblance to reality. For instance,
        my wife's nursing colleagues have a very bizarre idea of what I do,
        'he goes and pronounces death', 'he cuts up people for the police',
        and very flattering, 'he solves murders'. I think these ideas are
        reflected in the public at large, and so the image varies from a
        'down at the heel mortician' through to omniscient Sherlock Holmes-
        type figure. Forensic pathology will only achieve real status and
        respectability when it is founded on Institutes of Academic Forensic
        Medicine, attracting the best and brightest doctors drawn to the
        speciality for the right reasons...

(c)   I don't think forensic pathology has any particular image in the
        public eye – the old days when Bernard Spilsbury, Keith Simpson and
        Francis Camps were 'household names' have gone. The public is too
        overwhelmed with the tidal wave of media so that, except for passing
        excitement when some gruesome multiple or sex murder comes along,
        they are too concerned with Page 3 of the Sun and the sports news to
        care about pathologists. It is true that some television dramas,
        such as the awful 'Quincy' or the old Marius Goring of the BBC's
        'Expert' series (with which I was associated) raises a passing
        interest; but unless there is some personal scandal in forensic
        science, like the Alan Clift affair, the public give a damn.

        At the present time, the Royal College of Pathologists, in its
        Silver Jubilee year, is spending a small fortune in employing a firm
        of P.R. experts to try to foster its public image in relation to all
        branches of pathology – I think it will be money down the drain, as
        the public attention is totally fickle and evanescent. If the Queen
        or Prince Charles were assassinated and they could not find a decent
        forensic pathologist to help in the investigation, then for a couple
        of days, the public may notice us (as happened in Dallas with JFK),
        but short of that, we are a non-starter in terms of public interest!
        If we (the Pathologists) all dropped dead or went on strike one day,
        then the chaos caused to the police would probably be newsworthy –
        but this will not happen, even though the service is already so
        stretched because of a shortage of experts. There are always
        blacklegs to be found, usually non-forensic pathologists in the
        hospital service. We are our own worst enemies already, as because
        of our good personal relations with the CID, we never let them down
        if at all possible – so in the middle of the night, we crawl out of
        bed and drive 150 miles to a body in a ditch. As long as we
        continue to do this and patch up the ailing system, the
        Establishment will let us, and the public will never know the
        difficulties. (This response from an eminent Professor.)

(d)   ...we rarely, ever, suffer the blanket condemnation that is faced by
        the police...the only factor that I can think of which might affect
        our public image is, what I would consider, the wrong use of defence
        pathology in court. It is of course a valuable part of the legal
        process but has sometimes been misguidedly used by pathologists
        trying too hard to help the defence by generating opinions that they
        would never have held under other circumstances. This sometimes has

the effect of producing unnecessary confusion in the minds of the
jury.

(e) In the future I believe that the public will become aware - as
     present pathologists are - that many of the opinions held and
     conclusions expressed by our predecessors are no longer tenable, and
     that forensic medicine is not an exact science. Such iconoclastic
     denouncements will follow the increased ease of communication and
     result in the blurring of an image which compounds a mixture of owe,
     omni-science and a varying degree of revulsion.

(f) The profession is regarded by some in a poor light. The main
     factors are media coverage. The press and television have recently
     got into a vendetta against wrongful conviction (in their opinion)
     and in several highly critical programmes been casting serious doubt
     on the evidence given in some cases. Often it is of a minor nature
     and had not been brought out in cross-examination. The media are
     giving the impression that we are police pathologists, whereas we
     are appointed to be independent of the police. There needs to be
     more emphasis on our impartiality and that we are professionals
     giving opinions, not stereotyped answers, so that between ourselves
     we must agree to differ over aspects in various cases.

(g) Several recent cases (including that of Alan Clift, the Kelly case
     and others) have given the public an underlying feeling that
     forensic science is not entirely reliable. The image of the
     forensic pathologist is still riding high on the reputations of such
     as Professors Simpson and even Spilsbury. But this has given us in
     turn a reputation of practical infallibility, which cannot be
     sustained. Thus, any mistakes we make, therefore, exaggerate the
     importance of our evidence. To be right in 99% of detail is
     obscured by being wrong in the 1%. There is little room for error
     in the majority of homicide cases; but one well-publicised case
     damages all the others. In the Kelly case Professor Usher was
     forbidden to give his report to the Kelly family, even though he had
     agreed to do so (he acted as agent of the Chief Constable). Much of
     the information he was given by the police was later amended and the
     original statements supressed. In the event, very little of his
     report was allowed to be produced in court (under the title of the
     'Privileged Information Police Act'). Not long after this,
     Professor Usher consulted a colleague on a baby death. The
     colleague was later retained by the defence and his opinion withheld
     from Professor Usher. That evidence destroyed the prosecution's
     case (known as the 'Arthur' case). Poetic justice for those
     Professor Usher seemed to have let down in the Kelly case. The
     reputation of forensic science once again damaged. Just another
     stupidity of the English Legal System.

(h) The factors affecting our image depend on the importance the public
     and the medical profession lay on our work. At this time the
     universities wish to see the back of us; the police accept any
     pathologist they can get hold of; the coroners are most circumspect
     and try to maintain our image. At the moment the public do not know
     much about us and all they need in the courts of doctors leads them

to consider an unflattering image. In London the department will close when I retire. The London Hospital will probably close when Professor Cameron retires. St. Georges has a single pathologist and there will then be only one department left, at Guys. A change of heart by the General Medical Council, i.e. compulsory examinations in the subject in medical schools, would alter the situation overnight and improve the appaling ignorance of medico-legal matters by most doctors. (This view comes from a Professor at a Teaching Hospital).

(i)   Public image is considered reasonable...fortunately forensic pathologists are no longer thought to be imbued with the God-like qualities ascribed to some of their predecessors, i.e. Sir Bernard Spilsbury or the two Glaisters, who held between them the Chair at Glasgow for 70 years. To my mind, the evidence of two experts (one for the prosecution and one for the defence) totally disagreeing about either the facts or their interpretation, is most harmful as it raises the image that one or the other, or perhaps both, is bending his evidence to suit the side he appears for. One of the greatest steps forward that there has been in my 30 years of experience in forensic pathology is the fact that the Home Office will now allow its pathologists in certain circumstances to act for the defence. Prior to this, the police divided pathologists into two great camps - those who were on the Home Office List and were always believed to be extremely honest and very competent, and those not on the List who perforce regularly appeared for the defence - they were always believed to be either incompetent or dishonest. Now it is extremely difficult for the police to believe that I am a highly competent and honest fellow when I act for them and a mendacious idiot when I appear for the defence. I think this is good, just as it is good that barristers have the opportunity in our courts of appearing for both the defence and prosecution. Another great safeguard is the increasing habit of having second post mortems performed. This makes the original operator careful in his work and ensures that any mistakes which he has honestly made are likely to be picked up (perhaps to his slight embarrassment) by the defence. Full cooperation between defence and prosecution experts should always be encouraged. I really think that the general public know so little about forensic pathology and the way it operates that they would hardly have a view on the image. I think, however, that many of the medical professions, particularly 'straight' pathologists, are highly critical of the forensic pathologist for a whole variety of reasons which are not easily set down here. In a way, their opinion of the subject and its practitioners matters more than that of the general public. (These important comments are from yet another Professor in this field).

(j)   ...whilst in general I think the public regards us as highly qualified professionals, performing a necessary public service, people who I meet socially often express a sense of horror and disgust at being told what my work is. That is unfortunate and does have a certain restricting influence on one's social life. More favourable publicity (from good TV such as 'Quincy') will help the

public to appreciate us. Bad publicity and bad conduct by pathologists can only harm the profession's image.

(k) In many ways the public image is fickle and matters less than the image held by colleagues in the medical and legal professions. But to answer the question, the public image is, first of all, confused. Forensic pathologists, police surgeons and forensic scientists, are all lumped together like an interesting stew with good bits and not so good bits. So there is confusion of who is doing what. There is some confusion when the good 'Quincy' image is being tarnished by recent examples of poor forensic science and pathology in the press. Generally though I think the image is positive. The main thing that will affect the future image is when one or more terrible mistakes are made. The chances of this are increasing as the pressures on the decreasing number of forensic pathologists increase. A positive effect would be had if a commitment was made by central government to advance the speciality by setting up service-oriented institutes in London and elsewhere.

(l) A plethora of second, third and fourth autopsies in contentious cases confuses the issue and the public sees a gaggle of 'specialists' who can't agree with each other. Only the first autopsy can give true facts, and if it is not done by a competent forensic pathologist, then those facts are lost forever. Such a case is the one of Helen Smith, which created a bad public image.

APPENDIX 5

CONTENTS

MEASURING STIGMA –
Proposed Methods for Further
Research

References to two measures used by social scientists

Stigma quantification research as used at the
     Addenbrooke Hospital

Occupational stigmatization measured on a
     10-point Continuum Scale

Diagram showing most and least divergence between
     stigma and countering attributes

Venn diagram defining stigmas and showing their
     possible associations with one another

Table showing a simplified unscaled method of
     gross and net occupational prestige

Weighted attribute measure of stigma

Measuring occupational stigmatization by means of
     indicators taking modifications and
     weighting into account

MEASURING STIGMA — Proposed Methods for Further Research

Chapter II (Page 88) poses the question how an abstract concept such as stigma might be systematically identified if not by some kind of measurement. The two methods other social writers have used are <u>either</u> to solicit responses from members of a group (or a sample), who incidentally see themselves as the upholders of what is normal (Ainley et al, 1986), <u>or</u> to assess deviations from a given list of personal traits to determine a (so called) ideal person. Although the whole setting of my thesis purports a qualitative orientation, one feels that possibilities of measuring an abstraction (that is often regarded as unmeasurable) are at least worthy of injecting new thought. With this view, I shall first summarise the recent Addenbrooke study and then present some ideas of my own.


<u>Stigma Quantification Research at Addenbrooke's Hospital (Cambridge).</u>

Current Stigma Quantification Research at this hospital in the Department of Community Medicine (University of Cambridge) by Doctors Davies and Morris deals with public attitudes towards diseases which might be associated with the phenomenon of stigma. This three-part study used a linear scale for the quantification of responses. The first survey in East Anglia aimed purely at an emotional reaction of the respondents. The second asked about the stigmatization of diseases directly, and the third repeated the survey in Bengal and Thailand. The findings revealed an emergence of a rank order of scores for stigma in a histogram of 40 diseases, from piles at the bottom to rabies, alcoholism, drug addiction, schizophrenia and aids as the top five. There were no major differences in the rank order of stigma scores (and no variations with age and sex) in either Bengal or Thailand. It was concluded that cultural differences do not have a major effect on perceptions of stigma. (Davies and Morris, 1989-90).


<u>Occupational Stigmatization measured on a 10-point Continuum Scale.</u>

Stigmatized   Prestigious
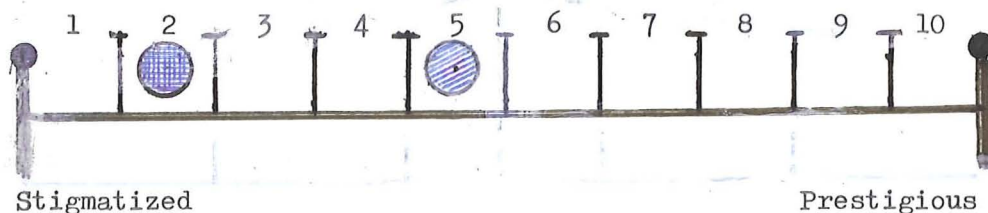
Here occupational stigma is seen as a social process and the scale
marked in accordance with its perceived location for the occupation
concerned. This does not mean that all occupations, regarded as
socially stigmatized, are equally so since there are counteracting and
status-enhancing elements to be found. A pure distinction between
stigmatized and not stigmatized is an obvious simplification and needs
to be further researched. Road sweepers or grave diggers would have to
undergo a considerable role change before either can be categorized as
prestigious. On the other hand, an emphasis by funeral directors on
their role as bereavement counsellors might in time push up their
perception by others to (say) point 6 or 7 on the 10-point continuum
scale. In that situation, their role could be perceived as related
primarily to care for the bereaved rather than the disposal of corpses.
Funeral directors' normal point on the scale might otherwise be on 4 or
5, with road sweepers and grave diggers on 2.

_____

Diagram showing Most and Least Divergence between Stigma and Counter
Attributes.
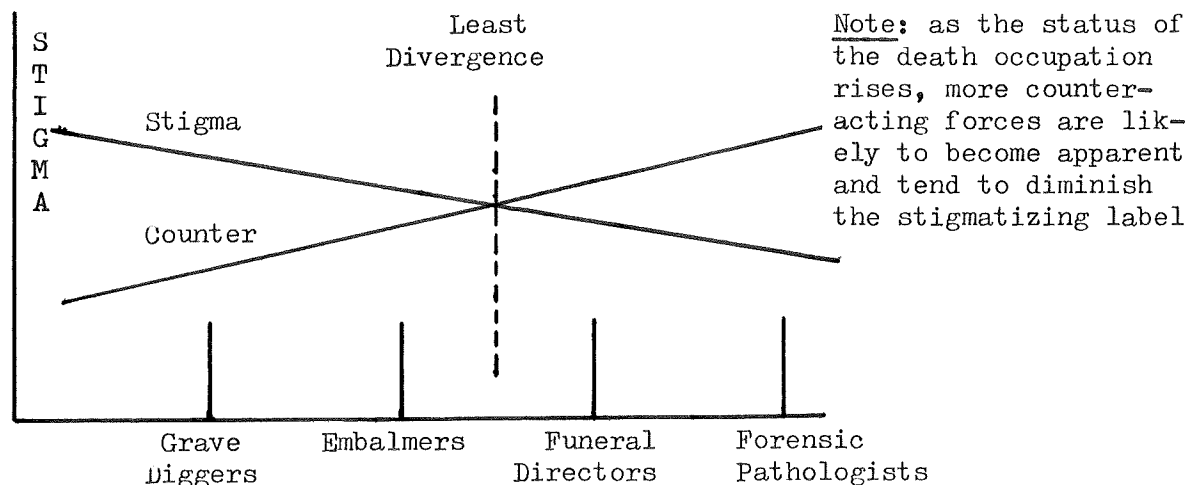
Defined by occupation, manual work such as that performed by grave
diggers, might be classed under 4 or 5 of the Registrar General's
groups, although evidence from interviews has shown that specific
skills are involved in this work. (See Chapter VI). Allowance needs
also to be made if an incumbent does other work, such as gardening, for
which degrees of skills also exist. Resting actors, bakers, polishers,
farm workers, pastry cooks, building operatives, butchers and metal
workers, have been known to drift in and out of grave digging. Of the
four occupations under review, their low class position would rate
grave diggers as the most stigmatized and subject to least
counteracting forces to minimise that stigma. The diagram is intended
to reflect this position. Embalmers and funeral directors are exposed
to lower stigma, with the counter forces tending to balance these out.
Being professionally qualified, forensic pathologists may be seen as
suffering the least stigma and enjoying the benefit of the highest
counteracting forces. This is what this rough-and-ready diagram is

intended to show. Various stigmas and counter forces are capable of definition and possibly measurement.

Venn Diagrams defining Stigmas and showing their possible Association.
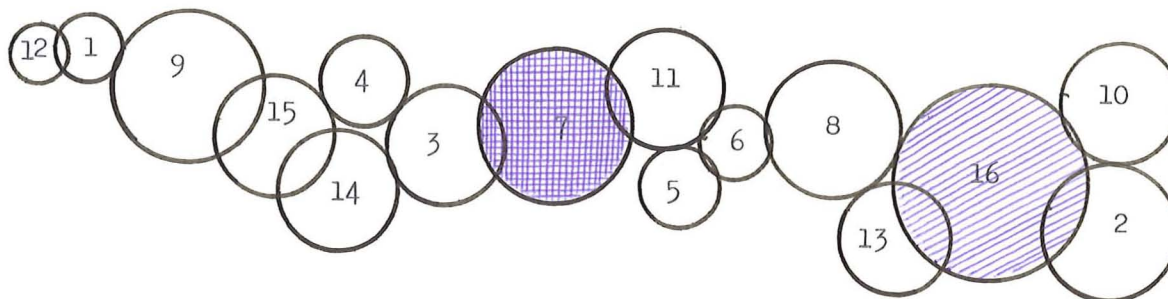
Coding:

1. Situation Stigmas (Confrontation)
2. Mind Stigmas (Affecting the Self)
3. Moral Stigmas (Reputational)
4. Natural Stigmas (Born into Them)
5. Acquired Stigmas (Achieved later)
6. Temporary Stigmas
7. Death Stigmas (Contamination or Fear)
8. Gender Stigmas
9. Race Stigmas
10. Habit Stigmas (Drink)
11. Social Contact Stigmas
12. Pseudo Stigmas (Pretended)
13. Power Stigmas (Control over Others)
14. Needs Stigmas (Deprivation)
15. Multiple Stigmas
16. Work Stigmas (Tasks performed)

Such a menu of stigmas is unwieldly to handle and may require categorisation. These 16 suggested stigmas may be listed under four headings: Conditional, Acquired, Imposed and Residual. A Venn Diagram may show just four categories or the association of all the 16 possibilities, which is likely to be more meaningful. Some circles may be small or large, some may overlap to some degree, and the significant stigmas may be shown in particular shades. In the illustration above, no precise relationships are claimed.

Table showing a Simplified Unscaled Method of Gross and Net
Occupational Prestige.

Occupation	Gross Prestige	Stigma	Net Prestige
Grave Digger	2	-8	-6
Embalmer	5	-5	0
Funeral Director	7	-3	4
Forensic Pathologist	10	-5	5

The values out of 10 are somewhat arbitrary. Net prestige is Gross
Prestige less Stigma. The Grave Digger is left with stigma whilst in
the case of the embalmer the values cancel out. This is a crude way of
measuring in that job characteristics and the image of the occupation
are merged in the term 'stigma'. Values may be obtained from informal
public interviews of how a job is perceived. Over and above job
routines and the occupational image, individuals may at times be viewed
as social types to which a stigma is attached. Such public judgements
based on how an individual presents himself/herself are quite frequent
occurrences in everyday life.

Weighted Attitude Measures of Stigma.

	Moral	Physical	Racial
TOTAL STIGMA =	W_1S_1 +	W_2S_2 +	W_3S_3

where W_1 is the weighting factor for stigma type 1

W_2 is the weighting factor for stigma type 2

W_3 is the weighting factor for stigma type 3

W_{123} values = 1

S_1 is the amount of actual stigma attaching to person
in the category of type 1

S_2 is the amount of actual stigma attaching to person
in the category of type 2

S_3 is the amount of actual stigma attaching to person
in the category of type 3

Moral, Physical and Racial Stigmas are classified as types. The
weighting factors show the importance of one stigma type as compared to
another. Weighting is a measure of the modification to the job by

identified attributes - race, literacy, dirtiness. A scale from 1 to 5 may, for example, determine a funeral director to be an owner of the business, to be a good organiser and grief doctor; the embalmer to emerge as artistic, skilled, at the sharp end of a dead body; the grave digger as semi or unskilled; and the forensic pathologist to perform gruesome work, cutting up bodies. Society may not value certain skills highly simply because it is not known what such skills entail. Hence, there is a biased interference (possibly as subconscious association with death), distorting the status of a job. Grave digging requires certain skills which suggests that these occupational members should be paid more. In this case, society behaves irrationally. There is less ignorance in the case of the forensic pathologist because one cannot argue about the amount of skill possessed by a qualified doctor, nor can such professionals be easily replaced. The stigma here (and the association with death) is more likely to be overlooked, or at least minimised.

Measuring Occupational Stigmatization by Means of Indicators

This method has certain similarities with the method above but introduces a greater sophistication and refinement. Firstly, characteristics are considered which make a job desirable or undesirable. Secondly, there are also characteristics which may justly or unjustly be attributable to individuals because of their membership of a particular occupation or their personal traits. If measures can be assigned to these characteristics, these may serve as indicators of stigmatization. By this experimental method one aims to devise a formula to show that a high measure of any particular indicator signifies a high degree of stigma. Indicators may be subject to weighting by the assignment of a weighting factor (a number), to show their relative importance in relation to stigmatization.

The Formula: (Equation I.)

The stigma for any particular occupation is measured as follows:

$$S = \frac{W_1Y_1 + W_2Y_2 + \ldots\ldots\ldots + W_nY_n}{W_1 + W_2 + W_3 + \ldots\ldots\ldots + W_n}$$

where in general:

Y_i (i=1 to n) is a modified form of the i'th indicator x_i;

W_i (i=1 to n) is the weighting factor of the i'th indicator x_i;

n represents the total number of indicators under consideration

Note: It is desirable that the measure of stigma itself should be a number between zero and one. This is the reason why the denominator $W+W+W+\ldots W_n$ appears in the formula.

Indicators may be taken as raw measures (such as dirt, smell, unreliability, pay, etc) and represented by x_i, x, x,.....x_n. The

<u>first</u> problem with indicators is the use of different ranges of numbers, as demonstrated in the table below:

<u>Raw Indicators of Stigma</u>	<u>Likely Range</u>
Time spent with hands dirty	0 - 42 hours per week
Chemical measurement of smell	0 - 500 particles per mill.
Absenteeism (as reliability measure)	0 - 5 days (or maximum)
Pay at time of measure	0 - £60,000 (arb. max.)

A <u>second</u> problem with raw indicators is that the higher their value, the less they may contribute to the degree of stigma, e.g. pay. The other indicators in the table above will tend to increase the degree of stigma with increased values. As a consequence of these two problems the idea of modified indicators is introduced.

<u>Modified indicators</u> have certain properties:

Property 1.   All modified indicators use the same scale, namely a real number in the range of Zero to One.

Property 2.   The higher the value of a modified indicator, the more it contributes to stigmatization.

<u>Note</u>: When using modified indicators in the formula, a consequence of Property 1 is that weighting factors can be compared more meaningfully.

<u>The Formula for Modified Indicators</u>:   (Equation II)

$$Y_i = \frac{x_i - x_i(min)}{x_i(max) - x_i(min)} \qquad \text{where } i = 1 \text{ to } n$$

Y_i is a modified indicator which lies between Zero and One where:

$x_i(min)$ denotes the valid value of the raw indicator x_i; and

$x_i(max)$ denotes the maximum valid value of the raw indicators x_i.

Discussion: where (as in the case of pay) an indicator decreases stigma if pay is high, an additional step in calculating the modified indicator is needed, if it is to conform to Property 2 above, namely to subtract from the number <u>One</u> the modified indicator value calculated in Equation II. The new result, now conforming to Property 2, is taken as the modified indicator Y_i, to be used in the formula.

There is also a problem with the use of the modified formula which is not catered for. A person earning

(say) £60,000 p.a. is not significantly less stigmatized than a person earning £70,000. On the other hand, differences may be more significant in the lower ranges of pay. Similar problems are bound to exist with other indicators and may require an adjusted formula.

There are also some other considerations qualifying this experiment. One cannot always be certain that all relevant indicators have been taken into account and there will have to be justification for those to be included or excluded. It may also be the case that some indicators are difficult to quantify, that is, to attach a value to. One example in point would be the degree of labour power applied in the preservation of employment and human skill, however minimal. The Liverpool grave digger strike springs to mind in the case of such industrial action. Another question would be how one measures the degree of low image an occupation has in society, if that is taken as an additional indicator of stigmatization.

The general object of this research experiment is to calculate the weighting factors in such a way that the measure of stigmatization is in 'agreement' with what a particular sector of society thinks about stigmatized work (jobs). The weights, where so calculated, will indicate which factors are important in determining the so-called 'undesirability' of any type of job from the point of view of that sector in society.

APPENDIX 6

CONTENTS

ATTEMPTS AT QUALITY CONTROL - Questionnaire to Embalmers who are
members of the British Institute.

Embalming Conditions

Embalming Preparation

Embalming Practice

Hygiene

THE BRITISH INSTITUTE OF EMBALMERS

ATTEMPTS AT QUALITY CONTROL – QUESTIONNAIRE TO EMBALMERS

EMBALMING CONDITIONS

1.   Is there an adequate extractor fan in your embalming room?

2.   Is your embalming room easily cleaned and disinfected?

3.   Is your embalming room big enough to cope with your volume of work?

4.   Could you cope adequately with an infectious case in your embalming room?

5.   Is there adequate lighting in your embalming room?

6.   Do you think that there should be strict standards laid down for the construction of an embalming room?

7.   Do you have a first aid kit including eye wash in the embalming room?

8.   Do you have a wash basin in the embalming room?

9.   Do you have any fresh air vents or opening windows in your embalming room?

10. Do you have a sluice or separate WC for disposal of aspirated material in the embalming room?

EMBALMING PREPARATION

11. Do you usually break down rigor mortis prior to Embalment?

12. Do you usually wash or disinfect the body entirely before Embalming?

13. Do you usually examine the case before deciding your initial injection points?

14. Do you measure accurately the amount of arterial concentrate for each individual case?

15. Do you use the same strength solution for each case?

16. Do you usually cover the genital area in each case?

17. Where possible, do you wait for a frozen case to partially or completely thaw before commencing treatment?

18. Do you routinely satisfy yourself that all documentation has been correctly completed before commencing a case?

19. Do you make any tests for death before starting to embalm?

20. Would you refer to any specialist text books before starting a difficult case?

EMBALMING PRACTICE

21. Do you routinely disinfect aspirated material before flushing away?

22. Can you embalm autopsied cases as efficiently as straight cases?

23. In the event of poor circulation would you trouble to raise a 2nd artery?

24. Do you usually wash and dry the hair or a posted case after treatment?

25. Do you inject enough fluid into a case just to 'hold' until the funeral?

26. Do you clean the finger nails of every case?

27. In an autopsied case would you continue to look for and inject the facial artery if at first you could not locate it?

28. Do you always use cavity fluid for each case?

29. Do you always inject arterial fluid at the same pressure?

30. Do you inject the same amount of fluid into each case?

EMBALMING PRACTICE

31. Do you inject the maximum amount of fluid into each case that it will reasonably accommodate?

32. Do you routinely hypodermically treat the trunk walls in autopsied cases?

33. Do you hypodermically treat areas in a straight case that appear to be inadequately saturated?

34. Do you use embalming powder in the chest cavity of autopsied cases?

35. Do you use sealing powder or formalin cream on incisions?

36. Do you ever knowingly embalm infectious cases without taking proper precautions?

37. Do you often use vein drainage?

38. Do you usually puncture the viscera in autopsied cases before adding cavity fluid?

39. Do you usually use massage cream?

40. Do you usually inject fluid at the same rate of flow?

HYGIENE

41. Do you always wear gloves when embalming?

42. Do you disinfect your instruments after each case?

43. Do you smoke or drink in your embalming room?

44. Do you try to maintain an 'anti fly' environment?

45. Is the floor of your embalming room washed at least once a week?

46. Do you try not to contaminate everyday objects that other people will have to use?

47. Do you have free and full access to a suitable incinerator?

48. Do you always wear proper protective clothing while embalming?

49. Do you launder or wash your own gown regularly?

50. Do you wash your hands after embalming?