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Social Role Valorization (SRV)

The major theme of this issue is Social Role Valorization (SRV). In most issues on other themes, we try to include at least some SRV coverage. Rather than covering a little from all across the board of SRV issues, we will cover fewer areas in greater depth, because this can be very instructive and amusing.

Model coherency (of a service) is one of the most unifying constructs related to SRV, but because of the large amount of material we have, it is one of the topics that we will have to cover some other time.

Deviancy-Making

*SRV is only needed because of the universal human propensity to put some people into devalued/deviant identities, and to inflict what we have called "wounds" on them. We emphasize in our teaching that one reason why the deviancy rate in North America is so high (about 1/3 of the population) is that societally devalued people intensively participate in devaluing each other. For instance, we know some street people who detest the mentally retarded, others who detest the elderly, and many have intense racial hatreds.

*During a debate that compared the amount of SRV and emergency rescue training in human services, Jo Massarelli observed that "more people die of bad values than of obstructed airways" (overheard by Jack Yates).

*A 1986 book, entitled Faces of the Enemy, reviews how different cultures throughout history interpret the identity of people whom they see as adversaries, and how they prepare the minds of their citizens to want to kill them. Among other things, the author studied political cartoons and posters of many nations during various 20th century wars. These images show an amazing degree of universality in consistently interpreting enemies as falling into a small number of stereotypes, such as those of beast or seducer. Unfortunately, some people (e.g., Contemporary Psychology, 3/1989) conclude from this that all we need to do in order to avoid war is to learn to recognize these images for what they are, and as fabrications.

*One of the most stable research findings in psychology is that members of all races have difficulty telling members of other races apart. In other words, in the minds of each racial group, there is something like an attitude that members of any particular other racial group "all look alike." This may have something to do with the way humans learn to distinguish facial features early in their childhood. Those who only have
close and ongoing exposure to significant others of their own racial group may later never learn to become facile in the identification of individuals of other racial groups (e.g., Discover, 2/85).

How much deviancy is in the eyes of the beholder was underlined in a survey by Simmons (quoted in Pearson, 1975) who asked a cross-section of citizens the question "who is deviant." Among the answers were (in addition to the standard drug addicts, prostitutes, homosexuals, etc.): radicals, pacifists, career women, Democrats, reckless drivers, atheists, Christians, priests, suburbanites, the retired, young folks, card players, bearded men, artists, prudes, hippies, straights, girls who wear makeup, the President, conservatives, integrationists, executives, divorcees, smart-alec students, know-it-all professors, modern people and Americans. (Source item supplied by James Knoll)

If there were such a thing as a theme song for deviancy-making, it would certainly have to be "You've Got to be Carefully Taught," from the Rodgers and Hammerstein musical "South Pacific." The words of this instructive song are as follows.

"You've got to be taught to hate and fear,
You've got to be taught from year to year,
It's got to be drummed in your dear little ear.
You've got to be carefully taught.
You've got to be taught to be afraid of people
Whose eyes are oddly made,
And people whose skin is a different shade.
You've got to be carefully taught.
You've got to be taught before it's too late,
Before you are six or seven or eight,
To hate all the people your relatives hate.
You've got to be carefully taught!

Richard Rodgers &
Oscar Hammerstein II;
Williamson Music, Inc.

Deviant status can be passed on through families in a sort of social inheritance. For instance, until relatively recently in our society (and in many others still), poor health, poor diet, and poor access to hygiene contributed massively to poor people not only being in poor health, but also being misshapen in body due to deformities and accidents, and--they tended to smell very bad. They had to perform hard physical labor without much opportunity to cleanse their bodies, they had limited opportunity to wash their clothes, had few clothes to change, and very limited opportunities to dispose of bodily wastes. Their diet and their diseases also often contributed to their offensive bodily odors. These things contributed mightily to the desire of the upper classes to maintain the maximum feasible physical distance between themselves and the lower classes.

The fate of a group of 2-3 million Japanese "untouchables," called eta, or more recently burakumin, which means "hamlet people," is an example both of social inheritance of deviancy, and how totally deviancy can be a mere matter of attribution, in the absence of any deviant characteristics. The eta are physically indistinguishable from the other Japanese, and it is not clear where they came from or how they got into their lowly position, but from time immemorial, they have been relegated to the lowest types of menial work, and have had to live in segregated ghettos (Time, 1 Aug. 83).

Among certain African nations, it is considered to be a sign of extremely bad luck if an infant develops the two front teeth before the others. Such an infant may even be put to death.

Wound-Striking

When one devalues people, one inflicts wounds on them, and in our teaching we have identified 21 common--virtually universal--such wounds.

One wound is to scapegoat, i.e., to attribute bad things to already devalued people. How this can be both pathological and culturally widespread was illustrated during the intelligence testing of a retarded man during the late 1930s in Germany. He was shown the Binet test picture item which shows a young man who bumps over a child because his
gaze was directed upward at a maiden leaning from a window. The retarded man observed, "somebody got thrown down." The examiner asked, "Who did it?" After a pause, the retarded man had an illumination, and enthusiastically replied, "The Jews" (Geyer, 1954/1984, p. 106).

*Amazingly enough, the first national survey of imprisonment of aborigines in Australia was conducted in 1987, and it found that aborigines, making up only 1.3% of the population, were 23 times more likely than other Australians to be jailed. In some regions, 67% of prisoners are aborigines. (Source clipping from Michael Steer)

*In the US, a related finding has been that a person who displays signs of being mentally disordered has at least a 20% greater chance of being arrested (American Psychologist, quoted in UPI, SHJ, 28/6/84).

*It is mostly the lowly members of society who become the subjects of scientific scrutiny. For instance, while "criminals" are endlessly studied, there are only a small handful of studies of scientific fraud, i.e., fraudulent research, false reporting, data fudging, etc. One of the most block-busting studies of these sorts of problems, as well as of data errors in scientific publications, was rejected by some of the major scientific periodicals in the US because they were afraid of libel suits. Only a much edited-down version was finally accepted abroad (Science, 23/1/87).

*In many locales, the police will release to the news media the names of men caught patronizing prostitutes, and the names are then printed in the newspaper. However, when in New York in 1984, an extremely high-class prostitution ring was busted which charged $400 an hour or up to $2000 a night, the authorities refused to reveal the names of past customers (which they had found), because the customers were prominent people from around the country and the world. A police officer called it a "Who's Who" list. This vignette illustrates once more how much more devalued people (including men of the lower classes) are at risk of being multiply deviancy imaged, while privileged people have all sorts of defenses and protections.

*Another wound is that people are wasteful of the time and lives of devalued persons. We call this "life-wasting." For instance, how little special education teachers expect from their pupils was dramatically brought out in a 1985 article (Deneau, 1985). It presented a table showing what reading grade expectancies children with different IQs should meet at different age levels. For instance, it showed a child with an IQ of 70 expected to achieve only at a grade level of 1.6 at age 10, and progressing to no more than grade 2.6 at age 17, being expected to make no progress whatsoever, or even to regress, in some of the years in between. One of the things that this chart showed was that the children were expected to achieve far less than one would have thought possible on the basis of their mental ages alone.

Another example: among the many reasons why societally devalued people may end up unemployed is that they may have been systematically deprived of opportunities, low expectations may have been placed upon them, and they may have been "defined" out of the labor market. Readers should be alert to a new potential detoxification of such developments, particularly during bad economic times, namely the glorification of chronic unemployment, and its incorporation into the service system under the catchy phrase "the avocational alternative." We may soon see avocational counseling, avocational training, assessment for the above, and possibly even professorships and vast university training programs and research projects on the topic.

*Another wound is involuntary material impoverishment. One example that is hard to believe for this age is a 4/85 letter sent by the president and chief executive officer of New Hope, a small institution for the mentally retarded in Indianapolis, to the families of the residents deploring the lack of cleanliness in the facility, and declaring that "many residents have entirely too many personal items in their rooms that impede efficient cleaning. Many of these excess items result in increased clutter and roommate frustrations." He requested that staff and family members work at selecting "the few personal items that are most special to them and remove all others." To facilitate this improvement, a deadline was set and a checklist of permissible possessions was appended. The checklist forbade all boxes, limited knicknacks to three (unless there was a stereo or TV in the room, and in which case there could be none), allowed only one pair of
dress or casual shoes, no more than two personal towels, and so on. This reminded the TIPS editor of the institutional days of the 1960s and earlier, showing how fragile some of our gains are. We can only hope that the relatives of the residents rose up and removed this tyrant who would put us back into the institutional Stone Ages.

According to John Annison, some institutions in Australia require that residents establish and maintain a minimum balance of $2000-3000 in their institutional bank accounts in order to cover their funeral expenses. In many cases, this means that the person has to accumulate this amount from their meager pensions as invalids.

*Devalued people can be likened a bit to a famous comedy routine of the late 1800s in which a Caucasian master tells his Negro servant that he is going to slap him. Looking for a justification, the master accuses the servant of having stolen something, and that he will be slapped for that. He then searches the servant and finds no contraband, but tells the servant that he will get slapped anyway because the master merely thinks that he might have stolen—and eventually, he does slap him. What it comes down to is that the servant looks to the master like somebody who ought to be slapped, and so one searches for a reason to slap him, and if one fails to find one, one slaps him anyway (Towsen, 1976).

**General SRV News**

*Sometimes, even the entire imaging of a service field about its problems can change when SRV is embraced, and its implementation at least attempted. An example is what has happened in regards to the conceptualization of Down Syndrome. It used to be that people with Down Syndrome were seen as not even educable, at best "trainable," and woefully little was ever expected from them and of their lives. Yet in a relatively short period of time—and largely since the field of service to mentally retarded people has become much more oriented to SRV (though much still remains to be done)—the expectations for people with Down Syndrome have risen dramatically, and consequently, so has their performance, such that people with Down Syndrome today commonly learn to read, hold jobs (sometimes independent ones), and live with sometimes relatively little support in normative community environments. This was illustrated by the CBS television news program "West 57th" of 28 January 1989, which contained a very positive segment on people with Down Syndrome. It made the point that because such people tended in the past to be institutionalized, they ended up very handicapped, but that now, since so many of them were being raised at home, they are turning out to be able to do much more than had ever been imagined. Though the words "normalization" and SRV were not used, some of their major implications were nonetheless conveyed, especially placing high expectations on people, and exposing them to normative activities and environments. Two remarkably competent young women with Down Syndrome were shown, one a high school student in an ordinary high school, the other an opera buff who lives in her own apartment. One of the women talked about how hurtful it was to be rejected because of her handicap. Exposure to even short programs like these can have a very positive impact on negative attitudes, particularly if such exposures are cumulative.

One drawback of the program was that it claimed that new technology, and especially computers, were responsible for some of the recent dramatic growth of children with Down Syndrome. While we would not argue that adaptive and attractive (to the user) technology can help a great deal, we would argue that the attitudes that inform the teacher employing the technology are even more important, and would bring many positive results even without the technology.

Interestingly, the program made no mention that such children are some of the main targets of abortion, even though all of the parents shown testified to what a positive experience in their lives their handicapped child was. One mother said that her handicapped daughter was "the best thing that ever happened to me."

*We have been told that in the field of professional recreation with and for handicapped people in Canada, normalization/SRV training has increasingly been required of personnel in leadership positions.

*The Ross Correctional Institution in Chillicothe, Ohio is the first prison we know of that has invoked the normalization principle as a rationale in its physical design— for what it is worth. (Source material from Jack Pealer).
*The good news is that there is reportedly an effort underway to translate the TIPS editor's Normalization text into Chinese--on the Chinese mainland yet. The bad news is that the translation is reportedly being prepared from the Japanese translation of the book.

*Anstey and Gaskin (1985) administered a questionnaire to people working with retarded persons in Australia, asking them to describe normalization. Two-fifths were unable or unwilling to do so. Of those who did respond, about twice as many provided a description closer to the simpler Nirje definition than the more comprehensive Wolfensberger formulation. About 20% of those who gave reasonably accurate renditions were opposed to its implementation.

*Jack Yates attended the 1986 conference of the Association for Severely Handicapped Persons (TASH) and commented that "in 25 hours or so of presentation which I attended, the word "normalization" was used only once. It was in a presentation on "gentle teaching" by John McGee, when he referred to the use of childish materials for adults as being a "normalization sin." The only use of the word, then, at a conference in which many of the presentations would have been inconceivable without the influence of Wolf Wolfensberger over the past 16 years, was a portrayal of the principle as being "old hat," a joke, a rigid and probably outworn set of rules to be mocked as a pseudo-religion.

One session at the conference that attracted over 300 people was on Evaluation and Service Quality in Adult Services. It was designed as the opening of a process in which TASH would develop service quality standards. Eleven senior TASH activists spoke about some of their preliminary plans, then the audience was invited to add their ideas and comments. The panelists and audience spoke for over two hours about the necessity in evaluation of a positive value base, of social integration, of the courage to set high standards, of enabling valued settings and valued people, of community presence and participation, of valued societal roles, of valued social participation, and of citizen advocacy. Yet in two hours, among 300 people, there was not one mention of normalization, Social Role Valorization, PASS or PASSING, or of Wolf Wolfensberger (who developed citizen advocacy). Christine Shane had the courage near the end to speak out to note the omission; we were shocked."

*In 1986, Ed Zigler stated "there is really no articulated theory of normalization." He characterized normalization as "a banner in search of some data. Adherents of the normalization approach wave this banner more for the emotional catharsis it provides than for its usefulness in prescribing particularly appropriate living settings or educational opportunities for retarded individuals." Even more than in years past, he has begun to endorse the continued use of relatively large institutions. His contention is that one simply has to make sure that they are good institutions.

*The 1988 annual report (for the year ending in June 1988) of the Office of the Commissioner for the Aging of the State of South Australia contained the following passage.

The philosophy of normalisation is based on principles of maximising an individual's dignity and responding in as sympathetic and non-stigmatising a way as possible to the needs and dependencies of a vulnerable person.

The Office continues to receive confidential complaints from consumers, relatives, staff and administrators on the effects of the implementation of normalisation on powerless individuals.

The public debate that ensued created some bitterness and polarisation, and was welcomed in the main as being a much needed initiative to begin a rational, objective, public debate on the issues. The very small number of aggrieved professionals who responded, expressed their opposition with great vehemence.
The original misgivings about normalisation which were based on consumer and other complaints and professional doubts have been confirmed as a result of the debate which followed.

The principles espoused under the philosophy, when stripped to their bare essentials, espoused what good and diligent practitioners had been doing in their professional practice for some time. The main criticism hinged, not on bad professional practice, but on what many saw as the imposing on older people, without consultation, the values of those who have little practical experience in aged care, and whose perceptions have been developed by attendance at short and educationally inadequate courses.

The aged care industry breathed a collective sigh of relief, when on 3 May 1988, Mr Staples, the Federal Minister for Aged Care, closed the debate.

*It has been said that people's responses to new concepts, schemes and developments go through three distinct phases.
  1. Disbelief, and therefore often ridicule, and certainly withholding of support, and often even active opposition.
  2. Once it becomes apparent that the idea is valid and works, and the scheme is implemented, the critics announce that there was nothing to it, and that the thing was easy to think of and to put into action.
  3. Not long after this, the former opponents, or those who would have been opponents if only they had been on the scene, announce that someone else had invented the idea, or implemented it first!

This has been exactly our experience in regard to normalization/SRV, not to mention a number of other developments such as Citizen Advocacy. For instance, it is precisely those people who still do not like Citizen Advocacy now who are most apt to claim that it's been done elsewhere by others earlier. This has also happened in regard to a number of community service program concepts which were closely associated with the early evolution and implementation of normalization in North America.

*In French, Social Role Valorization is valorisation du rôle social, or better, valorisation des rôles sociaux. In 1988, one Canadian francophone who had never heard the term expressed approval thereof, thinking that it meant a greater valuing of social workers.

*Something that does not as yet exist but that would be of great usefulness would be a medium-length explanation of SRV aimed at ordinary citizens, and possibly families of handicapped persons. It would have to be written at a newspaper reading level and be full with catchy vignettes that would bring home the relevant principles. Conceivably, somebody could get a grant to support such a project.

Pedagogic Verisimilitude Issues

*Years ago, the TIPS editor coined the term pedagogic verisimilitude to refer to the degree to which a teaching activity and context duplicated the setting and circumstances in which the task to be learned would have to be performed in real life. The less pedagogic verisimilitude exists, the less likely is it that the behavior will be learned, or if learned, transfer to the real-life situation. Yet human services abound with violations of this SRV corollary. In fact, we point out that so much of contemporary human service is really a counterfeit of the real thing, or a make-believe of what is really needed.
*Believe it or not, at the Buffalo Psychiatric Center, there has actually been a "pretend" Nautilus-type exercise program in which the clients are made to pretend that they are using "imaginary equipment." The program is further degraded by giving it the ridiculous name "Geri-Autilus." In contrast to the make-believe experienced by the clients, the instructor, when he is not around clients, is a real instructor for real Nautilus equipment (This Month in Mental Health, 9/88).

*At a 1987 Christmas pageant in an institution for the mentally retarded, residents and staff jointly presented several tableaux. Ironically, one of the tableaux was "a home setting with family," thus recreating a make-believe substitute for the real thing that is lacking in an institution.

*We recently learned of a vignette where a retarded man in a group home for 15 clients asked a guest whether she wanted a cup of tea. When the offer was accepted, he disappeared into the kitchen and failed to return. When the guest finally went into the kitchen herself to see what happened, she discovered that he was making 6 gallons of tea, because that was the only amount that he had ever seen made, or learned to make, in this facility (Staten Island Advance, 29/11/88; source item from Christopher Ringwald).

Other SRV-Relevant Program Practices of Human Services

*A model SRV tradition at an institution. We have observed a remarkably social role-valoring activity over a period of years at the Syracuse Developmental Center, which is an institution for the retarded in Syracuse. For almost 10 years, one of the organizational units (called Team B) has conducted dinner dances for its handicapped members (all adults), the staff on the team, their families and occasionally some friends or guests. These dinner dances take place at community restaurants, hotels, or similarly normative and sometimes even prestigious settings such as country clubs. Typically, a non-handicapped person acts as a special friend or mentor to a handicapped one, being sensitive to his/her needs, such as perhaps cutting up the meat or going to a bathroom. Transportation to the event is also individualized and provided by these mentors or friends. In order to provide an integrative atmosphere, there are always more non-handicapped than handicapped participants. The event begins with a cash bar, sometimes also hors d'oeuvres, and then a dinner which is often sumptuous. After dinner, there are several hours of dancing for which different bands are hired. The cost of the event (which typically ranges around $15 per person) is carried by those who come, with the handicapped members paying out of their (Social Security) allowance. Everyone comes dressed to a T. When one goes to one of these events, one sometimes has a very hard time identifying the retarded members despite the fact that many of them have been characterized as severely or even profoundly retarded and have spent many years, often a lifetime, at several institutions each. Sometimes, little accidents happen, and a person may spill some food or drink on their best clothes, but such incidences are given little notice during the event and are later taken care of by having the clothes cleaned. This tends to decrease anxiety and build confidence. While the atmosphere of these events is rather refined, it is sometimes also outright joyful and exuberant, depending on the mixture of people who happen to be attending, and sometimes on the spirit generated by the band and singers. On most occasions, most people who come have just plain old-fashioned fun. At one such dance, some businessmen who were going by were overheard saying that it looked like an office party that had so much fun that they wished they could join. Unbeknownst to them, some of the participants were profoundly impaired individuals.

The event has proven to be a tremendous motivator for handicapped people to prepare themselves for it, and to purchase and wear well-fitting fashionable attire. Eating behavior that has commonly been poor at the institution is dramatically better at these events, in part because its unacceptability in a public restaurant has raised consciousness of the issue. These events have also been of tremendous utility to the staff whose consciousness has been greatly elevated. For instance, staff members who previously neglected the dentures of clients suddenly staged a run on a dentist office when they got the message that eating without teeth causes negative attention and is not conducive to social integration.

It is seldom that one can point to an institutional program as being a model not only for institutional programs, but for non-institutional ones. However, the Team B dinner-dance tradition unequivocally falls into this category, and dramatically illustrates a number of SRV issues, especially that of role expectations and the conservatism corollary.
An example of intensity of relevant programming for young children with cerebral palsy that integrates a large number of developmental strategies (rather than using a variety of therapies in sequence, as is normative in many clinical fields) has been reported from the Peto Institute in Budapest, Hungary. The technique is somewhat misleadingly called "conductive education," by which is actually meant that a single worker, called the conductor, guides (conducts) the child through complex activities meant to address several problems at once. Amazingly, this approach uses very little technology. Instead, from what we have learned about it, it seems to be highly consistent with SRV and the use of culturally valued analogues. Spectacular successes have been reported. The institute takes four years to train its conductors, but foreigners, who are very impressed by what they see, visit for just a few weeks, and then go home and try to duplicate it—without success (Washington Post Weekly, 29/1/88; source item from Lynn Breedlove).

Two adult residents and one staff member from an institution "somewhere in the US," and as recently as 1986, were driven in a huge school bus (with no one else in it except the driver) to a local family restaurant of a nation-wide chain where the bus and its driver left them. The staff member brought the institution's own rubber table mat, plate and spoons for the residents to use. He himself did not participate in the meal. When one resident tried to imitate other restaurant customers by picking up a fork, the staff person immediately replaced it with a spoon. After the meal, the staff member asked the waitress to wash the institution's plate and spoons so they could take them back with them, then the bus driver showed up again with the bus for the return trip. A jolly good integrative and inconspicuous experience unlikely to attract undue negative attention was supposedly had by all.

We were told that at one recent graduation ceremony for mentally retarded students attending a special segregated secondary school, the entertainment consisted of a band from an elementary school. The students were seated only about 10 feet away from the band, which played so loud that several students had to be escorted from the room because they were so distracted by the noise. To cap off the ceremony, a "roast" of the students was held, which is an event in which an emcee teases and makes fun of the people who are being "roasted." We have never heard of such a practice at any other graduation ceremony, and it certainly both reflects and reinforces an interpretation of the retarded students as objects of ridicule. (Story submitted by Rachel Janney)

A few years ago, five of the residents of a Syracuse group home for mentally retarded adults and two of their staff members took a weekend trip to Toronto. The residents of this group home are all fairly competent capable people, most of whom have lived together for several years. During their 3-day stay in Toronto, they spent a full day at the zoo, and another full day at a big amusement park. The rest of the time was spent on the train, traveling back and forth. When one of the handicapped travellers was asked how those activities were selected, and whether the handicapped people themselves had any part in choosing them, he reported that staff persons had planned the trip after having written away and received brochures from the Toronto equivalent of the Chamber of Commerce on things to do and see in Toronto. Considering the competencies of the individuals involved, one can only see the choice of such activities as an outright degradation of the handicapped travelers. Toronto is a very exciting city, with many things to see, do and explore, any number of which might be interesting and new experiences for handicapped people. While the Toronto zoo and amusement park are no doubt enjoyable, and the zoo may be more impressive than many, these are still suboptimal activities, and so many opportunities would have been more developmental and age-appropriate.

We knew those nuts were really clowns. In summer 1987, the Manhattan Psychiatric Center operated a carnival on Ward's Island, an island in the East River adjacent to NYC that for hundred of years has accommodated a wide range of services to devalued people. The carnival booths were lined up along "streets" named after the better-known streets in Manhattan (a typical psychiatric make-believe), and clowns and human puppets mixed with the crowd of a thousand. (This Month in Mental Health, 8/87)

A most extraordinary evidence for the unconsciousness of the people in the shrink business was uncovered in the 1985 book entitled Wounded Healers, which deals with the craziness found in mental health workers. The authors discovered that psychotherapists reported that when they get depressed, they are benefitted enormously if they find a friend to chat with. No one noticed the irony that they themselves sell their talking
to people and friendship, and claim that this is effective, while in their own case, what they want and benefit from is freely-given friendly relationships. Apparently, people in the shrink business have become so profoundly unconscious that the irony of even this is not being noted.

*Over the years, we have noted that when human service workers habitually apply de-normalized and/or culture-alien practices to their clients—most likely, clients who are societally devalued—then they seem to lose their own sense and judgment as to what is culturally normative. For instance, when workers habitually have clients arise and retire at culturally atypical hours, or serve clients meals (and perhaps eat together with clients) at culturally odd times, then it may become difficult for workers to be conscious that other people in society follow different schedules. Or when male staff bathe and change female clients, and vice versa, staff begin to forget that except where young children and spouses are concerned, people of the opposite sex do not assist each other with the performance of intimate bodily functions in our culture.

Once these types of desensitizations have occurred, then the involved personnel have a very difficult time participating adaptively in the evaluation and/or design of human services so as to be both social role-valorizing and reflective of culturally valued analogues. The following vignette is relevant.

In abnormal environments (such as institutions), the range of culturally alien practices that one can encounter is infinite, and indeed, exceeds even the most fertile imagination. Examples abound, but one that struck us was that in the late 1980s, in a well-funded and relatively small institution for mentally handicapped persons, the luncheon menu has consisted of such combinations of items as: roast beef and oatmeal; and sauerkraut mixed with carrots and pineapple.

Homes and Homes


Shiney doors
gleaming floors
lots of chrome
and it's called
a home.

Neighbors at the door
kids toys on the floor
somebody's on the phone
and it's called home.

Three shifts a day
is the efficient way
meals on time
lights out by nine.

It's mom's turn to drive
carpool days have arrived
supper will be late
just fix your own plate.

The impersonal air
gives a sophisticated flair
we know what's best
on that you can rest.

We share our fears
our laughter and our tears
we can also disagree
cause we are a family
you see.

Expectancies & Social Roles: An Intimate Relationship

*People gain social roles via the expectancies of others, but also have expectancies placed on them that are concordant with the social role they are currently playing.

*In an interesting research study, mothers were matched with other women's newborn babies and asked to try and perform three simple tasks: getting the baby's attention without using toys, selecting suitable playthings from among three alternatives and then using the toy to play with the baby, and eliciting a smile from the baby without toys. All infants were aged 15-19 weeks, and healthy, but half the mothers were told that the
infants were premature, and half were not. College students who viewed the videotapes of the interactions were able to tell which mothers had been told that the children were premature from their reticence and low-expectancy behaviors. Those mothers touched the babies less often, selected simpler toys for them, rated them as less likeable, and interpreted them as smaller, less attractive and finer-featured. The researchers believe that in real life, such expectancies and attitudes can interfere with parental engagement with infants at risk (Research Review, 9/86; source item from Ed Cohle).

*Pygmalion in the Classroom, published in 1968, was a milestone in drawing attention to the powerful effects of role expectancies, particularly by teachers. In 1985, another major text on the topic, Teacher Expectancies, was published. It confirmed that teachers do form expectancies for student outcomes, and that this can be both good news and bad news. On the one hand, these expectancies tend to be relatively accurate, at least as regards student achievement, perhaps because teachers nowadays have had more psychology than in former years, and are more sophisticated about intellectual processes than formerly. On the other hand, teacher expectancies appear to be formed at the beginning of the school year and to be relatively unchangeable. Thus, even if student behavior changed for the better during the year, the initial teacher expectancy may still be operative to the detriment of the student. Also, there is at least some evidence that pupil race, socioeconomic status and physical attractiveness shape teacher expectation. To what degree teacher expectations shape pupil behavior is considered unresolved.

*A very powerful way of demonstrating how environments can set up role expectations is to go through a human service setting while the clients are not there, and to interpret the environmental role messages. Many years ago, the TIPS editor did such a demonstration of a service facility in Alaska. When invited to visit a living unit of which all the residents were out, I requested that I not be told who the residents were, but that I would interpret what the environment said about them. I then gave my host a systematic analysis of the messages contained in the architecture, furnishings, decorations, etc., and while the host was unable to deny what the messages were, the host also became very consternated because, knowing the residents, the host was aware of the fact that the nature of the residents and the nature of the messages were grossly at variance, i.e., the role messages sent an entirely untrue and greatly devaluing message about the residents. It is easy to see that the teaching value of such an exercise is greatly improved if the skilled interpreter has no previous knowledge of the nature of the clients, and thus cannot be accused of bias.

Sources & Construction of Social Roles

*A fascinating study very supportive of SRV theory was conducted by Bates, Morrow, Panscofar, & Sedlak (1984). Two randomly constituted groups of students of education were shown an audio-taped slide presentation of a special education program featuring a young woman with Down Syndrome, with the only difference between the two groups being that to the one group, the woman was shown engaging in age-appropriate, practical, functional and integrated activities, while the other group was shown analogous scenes in which the same kind of activity was degraded in some fashion. For instance, the first group saw the woman talking on a phone at a public telephone booth, reading a menu, telling time on her wristwatch and paying for an item at a store, whereas the second group saw her talking on a toy telephone, reading a picture book, sorting monopoly money, and telling time on a toy clock. When seen engaged in the more social role-valorizing activities, the woman was judged by the students as having a higher IQ, as having a higher future earning capacity, as being much more likely to be able to be integrated in a high school class, and as more likely to be able to live in a more normalized residential arrangement.

*A research study (Baker, 1985) confirmed that social status increases from childhood to adulthood, and peaks around age 30, and then very gradually declines to about age 90. However, once people begin to be identified as "centenarians," their status rises once more a bit. Also, the social status of males and females does not differ until the early 20s, but then that of males becomes and remains higher than that of the females until approximately the 60s. However, in the centenarian category, males once more are accorded higher status than females.
*In 1978, a man from East Germany defected to West Germany rather than continue working for the East German Secret Police. He was prepared for his spying function by being trained to function as if he were blind. It is revealing to note what the characteristics and stigmata of the blind role were perceived to be. The man was trained to make brushes, use braille, use a braille typewriter, and use a guide dog. He was given such a dog, and finally, had to wear dark glasses. The man said that one reason why he defected was that he was sick and tired of playing the blind role, and astonished West German police by confessing that he was not blind at all.

*A German SRV joke. Ed was sentenced to jail. He shows up with a pair of skis on his shoulders. The warden says, "What is the meaning of this? Do you think this prison is a country club?" Ed explains, "No, these were just role props to fool my buddies who showed me off at the railroad station."

The Construction of Positive Social Roles

*The French language newspaper for the Ottawa area in Canada, Le Droit (4 July 88), described the wedding of one of Canada's most famous hockey players of all time, Wayne Gretzky, which was also prominently featured in Time and Newsweek. Among the more than 2000 guests was Joey Moss, a young man with Down Syndrome who had been Gretzky's friend for over 10 years. The article interpreted him as being one of the trainers of the Oilers (the name of the team), and brother of the previous girlfriend of Gretzky, singer Vikki Moss. Without mentioning Moss' handicap, the article embedded his name in sequence with that of a former Oiler great, and the premier of Alberta. The wedding was described as a "Who’s Who du monde du sport et du spectacle." All of this strikingly illustrates the construction of positive social roles for people at risk, and their positive interpretation. (Source item from Jacques Pelletier.)

*In some European cultures, there has long existed the valued social role of the "privatier" (best pronounced as a French word), i.e., a person who is not employed, and does not need to be employed because of independent wealth or some pension. Unfortunately, in American culture, this role designation is not available to unemployed handicapped people.

*Britain has had a social institution much to be praised from an SRV perspective, because it permits people with the weirdest kinds of behaviors to continue in valued life situations and normal jobs. The social institution is simply that of eccentricity which has long been widely practiced in England and remarkably well tolerated in turn. For instance, one man who installs security equipment into banks had his name changed to Robin Hood, goes about in green, and carries a bow and arrow. In North America, he would probably be put on psychoactive drugs if not outright locked up. An American psychologist who studied English eccentrics found that among other characteristics, they are curious, hard to live with, have strange eating and sleeping habits, and are difficult to get along with. One trait that apparently characterizes eccentricity is creativity. In other words, a bit of craziness is translated into eccentricity if it has its creative elements, and/or is perpetrated by a creative person. Males start displaying eccentricity at age 8 or 9, and females at any age (NY Times, 16/6/86; source item from Mike Kendrick).

*In Canada, elderly retired military veterans are employed as so-called "commissionaires" in public places, such as government buildings and airports. They perform functions that are difficult to describe but come close to that of security guards. They are well paid, wear very handsome uniforms, but are unarmed. In order to attain such a position, applicants must first join the Association of Ex-Servicemen. The Corps of Commissionaires was initiated in Britain after the Crimean War in order to give wounded veterans jobs. However, in at least some places, such as the Toronto airport, they are not really given any meaningful functions (as they easily could have been), such as directing the flow of people, or providing information. They are not even necessarily stationed at spots where they could do the most good. In several attempts to get information from them at the Toronto airport, we have never succeeded. In fact, at least once, we got false information. Instead, they primarily stand around in order to represent "Caesar" and remind people of the presence of the forces of law and order (very important in Canada). Today, the Corps probably serves a post-primary production economy function of keeping persons both off the social security rolls and out of the productive labor market. However, the basic concept is consistent with the SRV goal of providing valued roles for persons at risk.
In some churches, particularly where child baptism is not practiced, a religious ceremony may be celebrated that consists of child dedication or child consecration to God and the church (see Neufeldt, 1984). This is a particularly appropriate rite in those instances where the child is handicapped, and it is not clear that he or she will ever be able to make a fully informed adult confession of faith. This gives the handicapped person a standing in the church, and a place of membership even if ordinary adult faith rites, and certain other forms of participation, are not possible or only possible in limited forms. All this may be important considerations in congregations where other adults are held much more strictly responsible for their conduct.

The Bible tells us that God elected the tribe of Levi to serve as priests of the Lord (Numbers 3:5-13, 8:5-22), and the Levites were to be the only one of the 12 tribes of Israel that would not receive any land as its inheritance (Numbers 18:20; 26:62). Presumably, this was done so that the Levites would not be distracted from their priestly duties by things having to do with the acquisition, sale, or maintenance of the land, such as sowing and harvesting it. However, this also rendered the Levites both poor (i.e., landless) and dependent. Because of this, the people were instructed to support the Levites in various ways (e.g., Leviticus 7:28-36; Numbers 18:8-24; Deuteronomy 12:15-19)—much as they were instructed to support the otherwise poor, including of course many handicapped people (Lev. 19:9-10; 25:35-43). One of these ways was to invite these groups to their feasts (Deuteronomy 14:26-28; 12:19; 16:11, 14; 26:12-13), because these groups of people would not be able to provide feasting foods for themselves from their own harvests (Liese, 1922, Vol. 1). On the one hand, this demonstrates how a valued social role can be more important than an otherwise devalued condition, in that being a priestly servant of Yahweh was a highly valued role, and overcame the devaluation that might otherwise attend a person because s/he was poor. At the same time, the injunction to invite the Levites together with all sorts of dependent people to feast with one's family elevated the status of the handicapped and the poor who were not Levites by juxtaposing them as guests with the highly valued Levites.

A blind Negro professor illustrated compellingly how an otherwise conspicuous prosthetic device can be so selected as to minimize stigmatizing the user as handicapped. The professor did not like the white cane used by blind people, and instead carved himself a traditional African staff of the kind worn by elders and other leaders. Carrying such a staff might be considered a bit idiosyncratic, but certainly more enhancing than a white cane.

A very severely cerebrally palsied man could not sign his name, or even steady his hand enough to mark his X on paper. A brilliant social role-valorizing solution was found for him. He acquired an attractive silver signet ring with his initials embossed on it. He then began to carry a certain kind of carbon paper, and when he put the paper over a document and pressed his ring on it, his initials were transferred in red onto the document. Thus, he was no longer reliant on one of his parents to witness his X. The ring was designed to resemble a class ring, and if it draws any attention at all, it is of a positive nature (Charleston Gazette, 14/1/86).

Joseph Rogers, a former mental patient and "paranoid schizophrenic," helped found the National Mental Health Consumers Association, a self-help organization for people who have or had psychiatric problems. In describing his current life—married, working, including consulting, speaking, and traveling—he noted the power of positive expectancies and valued social roles when he said he felt like he was going crazy again, but "Then I remembered that I had to lead a big demonstration in the morning, and I realized I couldn't let all those people down" (Source material from Jordan Hess). In a sense, one can say that he seized a positive role that was about to slip away from him.

What appears to be really good news until we learn otherwise is a decision by the Victoria government in Australia to fund housing cooperatives in which mentally retarded people who live there can be shareholders (co-owners). This would be a little bit like retarded people being co-owners of the group home that they would live in. The arrangement is also similar to the one that was pioneered in Winnipeg a few years ago. Laws in the US are not as suitable to such cooperative arrangements as they are in Canada and certain other countries (Age 21/1/89).
The Construction of Negative Social Roles

*A phenomenal example of a modern "research study" that invoked science to prove that retarded people were not human was a doctoral dissertation by R. H. Wills published in 1973 as a book. The author based his study on 32 "severely retarded" residents of institutions, though their IQs actually ranged into the high 80s, and a number showed quite competent behaviors. After observing these residents, he declared that some of them exhibited behavior "which is uniquely human" and these he called "cultural retardates." Others reportedly lacked such behavior, and he called these "non-cultural retardates," and declared them to lack humanness even though "both...have human bodies and frequently live within the same environment...." The author further maintained that there was no continuity among such individuals and their behaviors, but a clear-cut dichotomy: "There is a cultural threshold." The publisher advertised the book as "an important breakthrough in the behavioral sciences." "A major distinction is discovered among severely retarded adults which appears to parallel the distinction between man and animal."

*Ontario is apparently the only province in Canada where the government sanctions the use of cattle prods with human service clients. Ironically, the "hot-shot" cattle prods that it has been using in an institution for the mentally retarded are manufactured in Savage, Minn. (Entourage, Spring 88).

*A new human service development is for-profit "day care" for elderly people. Much like people today may drop off their children at a day care center on the way to work, this way they would be able to drop off their parents or grandparents. Unfortunately, one major such franchise chain, put in operation by Maurice Thompson who also developed the children's discovery centers chain, is modeled on children's day care, including the same kind of staff, lunch programs, interior designs and insurance coverage (Esquire, 3/88; source item from David Schwartz).

*A tropical bird garden in England charges children's rates for mentally handicapped persons, but requests that such persons be "kept under reasonable control." (CMH Newsletter, Autumn 86)

*A mentally handicapped man was given a female name by his parents at his birth. He is now an adult, and attends an "adult day care center" where he does--rug-hooking, and wears blue knit slippers, much as a woman would.


Role Expectancy Power, by Ray Lemay

*The powerful influence of role expectancies on performance was brought home to me when, in ca. 1977, I was a high school math teacher. Aside from teaching the regular grades, one of my duties was to teach math to three groups of special education students. Two of these groups came to my regular math classroom for their instruction, but I went to the special education department to teach the third group there.

I did not experience any disciplinary problems with the special ed. students who came to my regular classroom. They had been interpreted as emotionally disturbed, but behaved correctly even though no regular students were present at the same time. Other teachers told me that there was a visible change for the better in the behavior of these students as they left the special ed. section and came into the premises of the regular students. Thus, the milieu, its requirements, many of its cues, and the behaviors of the regular students who were encountered in the hallways elicited normative behavior from these special ed. students who, in their own section, were more often than not out of control. On the other hand, it happened quite often that I could not control the group whom I taught in the special ed. department, though there were never more than eight in that group.

The special ed. students could hardly add or subtract. I religiously followed the curriculum designed for special education, but by the end of the semester, they still had learned next to nothing from me.

When the two special ed. groups came to their math period in my classroom close to the end of the school year, my blackboard was filled with problems and solutions that explained and illustrated exponents that I had been teaching a group of regular ninth-
grade students. This, of course, required multiplication skills. As they often did, the
special ed. students asked me to explain what was on the blackboard, and they also pleaded
with me to give them a regular math course. In the past, I had resisted such requests,
saying that it was not their program, and in any event, they did not have the basics to
do the operations required. But this time, given that we were close to the end of the
school year, I decided I'd humour them. So I erased the blackboards, wrote up some simple
exponents, and explained the mechanics of this form of notation. I then gave them a series
of simple exponents to do, for instance, 3 to the 1st power, 3 to the 3rd power, 4 to the
2nd power and so on. To my great surprise, at the end of that very class period, most of
the students had mastered the multiplication called for in these simple exponential nota-
tions. And they could, without difficulty, remember and explain the meaning of the
notations.

The school principal wanted to evaluate my teaching skills, so I decided to invite
her to the next class so that she could view my little miracle. She came, witnessed these
special ed. students who had been known for their incapacity to do simple additions and
subtractions giving a demonstration of their new skills in multiplication. During that
same class, I decided I'd try to teach them to do some simple algebra with one unknown,
with addition, subtraction and multiplication as the operations in the algebraic equations.
In the last 20 minutes of that 40-minute period, the special ed. students had mastered the
complex mechanics of these simple algebraic equations.

There was never any doubt in my mind that the students responded to the status-
enhancing nature of my classroom and my identity as a regular teacher, and that all of
this contributed to their being able to successfully figure out what those impressive
but mysterious notations were. I don't claim that these students ever reached a higher
level of understanding of algebra, but then, I don't think that many of the regular
students ever reached that level of understanding either.

The Relevance & Power of Social Imagery

*Social Imagery is a major SRV issue, and we have mountainous files of vignettes,
of which we can only present a few. First, a few points about the reality of the image
issue.

A bottle that is filled with a poisonous substance is apt to bear a skull-and-cross-
bones warning label. People from earliest childhood on have learned to associate such a
sign with mortal danger, and will therefore refrain from drinking the contents of the
bottle, or even from touching it. In other words, people have learned what the image
represents, and they have learned what an association of that image to some other entity
means. In this case, they have learned to shun whatever the symbol is attached to.

While almost everyone will acknowledge that what we have said above is true, many
of these same persons will not acknowledge that a similar dynamic is at work in the
negative imaging of devalued persons and services to them. Instead, since the late 1960s,
one has been able to hear all sorts of objections, by the thousands, mostly from human
service workers who are in some way themselves associated with, or even responsible for,
much of this kind of negative imaging. In order to show that these objections are mostly
groundless, let us apply them to the skull-and-crossbones example given above.

1. The skull-and-crossbones does not mean anything.
2. The skull-and-crossbones will not even be perceived by the public.
3. The skull-and-crossbones will not be negatively perceived by the public.
4. The skull-and-crossbones will not transfer its meaning to the bottle, let alone
to its contents.
5. The juxtaposition is just a coincidence, but it doesn't mean anything.
6. We didn't mean anything bad by attaching that skull-and-crossbones symbol, so
it can't have any impact other than what we intended.
7. It is only your personal interpretation that the skull-and-crossbones symbol is
negative and signifies death.

The absurdity of these types of excuses becomes particularly obvious when it is
actually a death image that is being attached to people who are at risk of being wished
dead or thought dead by others.
As we repeatedly teach, some images are very commonly juxtaposed in our culture in a fashion that enlarges the deviancy or social devaluation of those to whom they are juxtaposed, even though most people have very little awareness of the fact that these juxtapositions are taking place, or of the frequency of their occurrence. In some instances, the reason why a certain juxtaposition contributes to a negative perception of whatever it is juxtaposed to is because the juxtaposition has very, very deep, though possibly unconscious, historic roots. Some negative image juxtapositions go back literally thousands of years. However, the awareness of what these juxtapositions mean may have been lost over time, even though the meaning of the juxtaposition continues to be conveyed at least unconsciously.

A classical example of the above is found in the rather frequent image juxtaposition of coldness with death. Clearly, people generally do not like death, at least not their own; and while they do like to be relatively cool on hot days, hardly anybody cherishes the thought of being outright cold. Objectively, except at wintertime, a living body is really not drastically warmer than the environment, especially on a hot summer day. But we often speak of dead bodies being cold (even though they are also not much colder than the environment), of coldness being reminiscent of death, and we may even invoke such expressions as "old and cold," implying that elderly people are close to death, not that they have become emotionally cold. It is even doubtful that this expression has its root in the fact that older people's blood circulation tends to decline, which means that they often crave more heat than others, and that they may warm their homes to what other people would view as an overheated condition. The fact is that when we witness such a phenomenon in an elderly person, we are much more apt to associate the person's bodily coldness to death than we do to poor circulation, as we would when a younger person feels cold.

Of all the negative values and images which we hold, why would death and coldness be juxtaposed so commonly? Of course, one obvious answer is that when a warm-blooded organism dies, its body assumes the temperature of its ambient environment, and that environment is usually colder than the initial body temperature, though often not by much. Another connection is that human bodies have commonly been buried in the ground, and the cavity, especially when it is freshly dug, tends to be cooler than the environment above ground, except perhaps in certain climates and at wintertime.

However, the above rationales might not be sufficient to explain the strength of the link between death and coldness in this day and age, when hardly anybody ever has anything to do with dead bodies or underground burial. Particularly in our culture, people attend burial ceremonies much less frequently than they did in former days. Furthermore, the ceremony usually ends with the body still above ground. In technologized societies, the body is apt to be interred by workers, usually with the aid of earth-moving machinery, after all the mourners have left. In fact, bodies are often stored for days prior to their interment, especially in the wintertime. So mourners nowadays may not even be aware of the coldness of the earth into which the body is lowered.

Obviously, our linkage of death and coldness is fed considerably from expressions in the arts, literature, and culturally-embedded verbal idiom. For instance, our songs tell us that "massa's in the cold, cold ground," our poems tell us about the grave being "a cold and lonely place" (Tennyson), etc. Thus, our verbal culture is perpetuating an image juxtaposition that had vastly more experiential reality at an earlier age than it does now.

However, even this history that contained some reasonable juxtapositions of the two images still appears to be insufficient to explain the strength of the link of an unpleasantly connoted coldness with death in people's imagery. By accident, I ran across some material which suggested the juxtaposition of coldness with death that is so prominent in our minds may owe some of its strength to the fact that it has been strongly linked in ritual and explicit language formulation for thousands of years. I discovered that in pre-Christian Roman culture and the early Christian Roman one, passage from life to death was powerfully linked with ceremonies which were often labeled with words that contained the Latin root for cold. These ceremonies were commonly called "refrigeria" which has the same root as "frigidus," the Latin word for cold, and of course our word "refrigerator." F. P. Leverett's Latin Lexicon defines "refrigerium" as "a cooling--hence a mitigation, refreshment, consolation." The Latin refectio also relates to this root. It refers to eating, as in refectorum, the dining room, where one might be served "refreshments." Accordingly, pagans and early Christians used the word to signify the peace and spiritual refreshment that comes at death. In "refrigerium" ceremonies,
friends and family members would gather in the cemetery for a banquet celebration in memory of a deceased loved one. The "refrigerium" also commonly involved alms-giving to the poor, and other acts of piety. However, by the 4th century AD, the ceremonies had so degenerated into occasions of scandalous excesses that two of the early church fathers, St. Augustine and St. Ambrose, warned against Christian involvement in them. Undoubtedly, the perversion of the "refrigerium" celebration precipitated the loss of the positive association between coolness, refreshment, and death, so that what remains today is only the negative image juxtaposition of death and coldness.

While human services commonly deny the relevance of both positive and negative social imagery to their clients, the general public, and especially the imperial powers and the media, know the truth very well, and manipulate it thoroughly. This is exemplified by the following vignettes.

*TV commercials are becoming shorter and shorter, at the same time as their cost goes upper and upper. This also means that ever more care is being taken to design them to be maximally impactful. Seventy-five people may work for 6 months to produce a single 15-second commercial. During the 1950s, commercials lasted 60 seconds, and even at prime time cost only about $15,000 to put on. The 15-second commercial is estimated to cost about $200,000 to put on, on top of the cost of producing it. These and other facts about the incredible expense and care put into the imagery of commercials can be studied in a 10/87 article in the Smithsonian. It puts human service consciousness of imagery to scandalous shame.

*In 1987, the education ministry in Israel decreed that it was no longer permissible in Jewish schools to use Bibles in which the Old and the New Testaments were contained in the same volume or binding. By separating the pre-Christian and Christian portions, an "optical equation" of the two books was to be prevented. To potential critics of this decree, the minister said something to the effect that Christians would not like it much if they found their Bible and the Koran bound together in a single volume (Source item from Dr. Chanan Aharoni). We should note that the rationale for all of this is certainly consistent with the principles associated with SRV and its image transfer issue. By juxtaposing people, or signs and symbols representing them, with certain other things, an equation, often optical, is indeed created that strongly transfers meaning, either for the better or for the worse.

*The address to which the Reagans planned to retire in California was quietly changed from 666 St. Cloud Road to 668, in order to avoid deviancy-imaging the President with the infamous number from the Book of Revelation that stands for the devil, and has been used for 2000 years in association with black magic and the occult (Daily Mail, 30/3/88; source item from Paul Williams).

*The ministers responsible for research of 12 members of the European Economic Community (EEC) launched a science stimulation scheme that unfortunately acronymed down to SICNEES. They thought the acronym so important that they themselves worked around on the name for several months until it came out SCIENCE (Science, 22/4/88).

*The public is also very well aware that certain things, when juxtaposed to each other, do not make any sense, or are weird or ludicrous. However, the very same public may not consider an image-degrading juxtaposition inappropriate as long as the juxtaposition accords with its own perceptions that the entity that is being image-degraded is appropriately image-degraded. This accounts for the common phenomenon of juxtapositions that are devaluing of already devalued people not being perceived as incongruous or ludicrous, even while other kinds of juxtapositions that create dissonance or a feeling of incongruence are greeted with hilarity. An example is a Broom Hilda cartoon where a new store advertises that it will be opening soon "with a bunch of dumb help selling some weird stuff at really strange prices," implying that anyone who would fill the store's vacancy for an advertising copywriter would also be rather weird. But if we had promoted a store in which sandwiches are sold by retarded people who are surrounded by clown imagery, and with a percentage of the profits being devoted to charitable services to the dying, hardly anyone would have perceived an incongruency.

*The TIPS editor was told in late 1988 that enlightened people in human services know that "imagery is now passé." The poor TIPS editor must have been one of the last to learn.
Personal Appearance

*When John Wellman was 17, he was in a hunting accident that blew away part of his face. He had some plastic surgery, and eventually graduated from Yale University Law school. One day he went to court defending a man accused of beating his wife—and the judge began to berate him about his bad behavior. It turned out that the judge thought that Wellman was the defendant, presumably because Wellman "looked like" a person who would beat his wife (Disabled USA, 3/85; source item from Ann O'Connor). This underlines how much people expect certain kinds of people to look a certain way, i.e., how powerful social stereotypes are. Now we have to keep in mind that most social stereotypes have a kernel of truth which, however, got blown way out of proportion and vastly generalized. One of the things that SRV would propose is that people already at risk of being cast into a devalued role give deep thought as to how their appearance or behavior might, on the one hand, counteract this tendency and, on the other hand, not unnecessarily contribute to the kernel of truth of the stereotype.

The face is of particular importance to personal appearance because it is the focus of people's visual attention toward the person. Thus, a facial stigma carries much more weight than some stigma or impairment elsewhere on the body. In fact, one study (op. cit.) found that the further from the face a particular handicap is located, the less stigmatizing it becomes. This finding also supports the SRV corollary that image associations are for real.

One domain in which disfigurement becomes a very heavy handicap is in employment. On the other hand, the one good thing about a stigmatized appearance is that one is remembered better by other people. Therefore, if one has a very positive and outgoing personality, then at least some stigmatized people may actually be in an advantageous position when others try to think of people to promote or include in various things.

*Two new books on personal appearance (Physical Appearance, Stigma and Social Behavior; Mirror, Mirror: The Importance of Looks in Everyday Behavior) bear out SRV theory. There is an overwhelming amount of research that informs us that the aesthetics of one's personal appearance, as perceived by others, exerts a profound and far-reaching effect on how others respond to one, and how they thus impact powerfully upon one's life (e.g., Hatfield & Sprecher, 1986). Among other things, more attractive looking people tend to be socially more skilled than less attractive ones. One major explanation for this finding has been that physically attractive persons are expected to be interpersonally competent, are given more opportunities to interact, and are more often sought out. All these things tend to then actually contribute to a person's social skills. It has also been proposed that avoidance of ugliness, and especially disfigurement, is vastly more important to the way one is perceived than the difference between superior and average appearance. However, it should be emphasized that though this is a reasonable hypothesis, there exists as yet very little research evidence on it.

From another source (The Advocate, 9/87), we learn that psychiatric clients who have a more attractive appearance are apparently receiving better care, and tend to be discharged earlier than those who are less attractive.

Additional evidence comes from a book (Martel & Biller, 1987) devoted to a review of the research on the mental impact on males of low physical stature. The research is rather compelling in indicating that short males do indeed have a distinctive disadvantage vis-a-vis their taller peers. For instance, people tend to perceive short males as weak and wimpy. In turn, it should not be surprising if this has a negative feedback on the minds of short males. We can foresee an insane rush to massive use and abuse of the growth hormones which will supposedly be available in quantity in the near future.

*Neville-Smith (1985) claimed that certain stigmata commonly associated with mental retardation are of a type which are perceived as hostile by others, and therefore induce either fear or counter-aggression. These stigmata include a wooden posture, jerky motions and abrupt or slurred speech. If these assertions are true, they would provide yet an additional rationale as to why much attention should be paid to the social image projection of the personal appearance of people at risk of social devaluation.

*Even in the Netherlands with its enlightened social policies, it was found (Dijkstra, 1982) that persons with a visible handicap were more likely than those with an invisible one to have a lower socio-economic status, underlining yet again that people's response to an impairment depends more on their own interpretations thereof than on the impaired person's limitations.
An approach to bodily development, gymnastics and physical therapy that is heavily based on an ideology congruent with SRV is the one devised by Moshe Feldenkrais. His approach is based more on long traditions of body culture, body awareness, gymnastics, etc., than most approaches associated with the field of physical therapy, and has been applied successfully to people with many kinds of handicaps (osteogenesis imperfecta, arthritis, cerebral palsy, multiple sclerosis, etc.). Feldenkrais has emphasized the use of culturally normative props such as gym equipment, rolled-up cardboard, etc. In his language, the people being worked with are called "pupils" rather than "patients," and "lessons," rather than "treatments," are given by a "teacher." One of the elements of this approach has been a high expectancy for participation and success by the pupil, regardless whether handicapped or not. One of Feldenkrais' most accessible books has been Awareness Through Movement.

There is good news for handicapped children: custom-designed clothing, often hard to find, that helps handicapped children to look neat and attractive is available from: Special Clothes, P. O. Box 4220, Alexandria, VA 22303.

The Images of Service-Related Names

Unfortunately, a band of residents of the Passavant Retirement and Health Center in Zelienople, Penn., are named "The Madhatters"; and furthermore, the Madhatters sometimes entertain residents of many other nursing homes (Beaver County Times, 10/88; source item from A. J. Hildebrand).

In 1987, 4 agencies concerned with services to the developmentally handicapped in the Toledo, Ohio, area co-sponsored a theatre group, also called the Mad Hatters, from Kalamazoo, Michigan, to put on a performance about the "feelings and experiences of people with handicaps." The Mad Hatters have been conducting "educational theatre for the understanding of people with special needs or disabilities" since 1979. We found this vignette almost beyond belief, and urge the relevant agencies in the greater Toledo and Kalamazoo areas to quickly sponsor an SRV workshop. Having once violated a pretty fundamental attitudinal change strategy, one wonders how many other such well-known strategies their performance may be violating. (Source item from Griff Hogan)

In 10/84, we first encountered a new word for a particular type of older person, namely the more affluent ones, and the word is "gruppie," which of course pluralizes to gruppies. Apparently, this is supposed to be the counterpart to yuppies except that we are not sure where the gr comes from at the beginning of the word, though we suspect it was chosen to evoke images of grandparents, gray and maybe grumpy. To us, it sounds like the name of a fish.

The moray eel is big and poisonous. Yet an international organization of handicapped swimmers have called themselves The Moray Wheels (Advance for Respiratory Therapists, 20/2/89; source item from Peter King).

We received a flyer with a large headline saying "F. A. T. City is Coming." We assumed that this referred to some kind of weight reducing regimen, which seemed to be confirmed by the following text: "This nationally acclaimed workshop, featured on the CBS morning program, is designed to sensitize adults to the frustration, anxiety and tension..." (and here we thought that all this still pointed to losing weight until we caught the next words) "...that the learning disabled child experiences daily." The flyer then tells us that over 50,000 people throughout North America have been through the FAT City program. It took us a while to catch on that FAT came from "frustration, anxiety and tension." We consider that a humorous but nevertheless still devaluing image juxtaposition for both fat and "learning disabled" people.

A recreation program for all sorts of handicapped people in the Philadelphia area is called "Outer Limits." (Source item from Ed Cohle)

Old man out? A new government office in Victoria (Australia) is called Office of Intellectual Disability Services, or OIDS.

OID must be in. The New York State Council of Churches has launched a Professionals Treating Sex Offenders Identified as Intellectually Disabled network. Unfortunately, the acronym of this organization is prominently identified as being PTSOIID, which does not exactly conjure up positive associations (source item from David Yeiter).
A number of handicapped groups are very much at risk of being viewed as holy innocents. Thus, the choice of the name "Holy Angels Parish" (NCR, 1 May 87), a parish for deaf people in Los Angeles, sounds rather unfortunate. Also, Holy Innocents' Home Care Service was part of the Catholic diocese of Portland, Maine as recently as 1987. (Source item from Debi Reidy)

People who can't use their hands sometimes can type by having a stick fastened to their heads with a head band, and picking out the letters with the stick. Quite unnecessarily, this has sometimes been referred to as a "unicorn stick."

In 1973, the US federal government created the Alcohol, Drug Abuse and Mental Health Administration. Of course, this intimately juxtaposed, and almost equated, drug abuse, alcoholism and mental disorder with each other. This might be moderately appropriate for drug abuse and alcoholism, but not very nice for people with mental problems.

A new scale has appeared in England in 1987 to assess the "efficacy" of residential services of all types for handicapped people. Unfortunately, its name is LOCO (somewhat incongruously standing for Learning Opportunities Coordination), which means crazy in Spanish, and its logo is a circle split down the middle into two halves which looks a bit schizophrenic to us. (Source item from Peter Wakeford)

One recreation program for retarded people unfortunately serves persons aged 6-21, and has the name SMURF (Saturday Morning Unlimited Recreation and Fun Program). (Source item from Ed Cohle)

In Britain, the Association For All Speech Impaired Children has an acronym, AFASIC, that phonetically sounds like aphasic. We found that hilarious but not particularly image-enhancing. Further, the National Head Injuries Association of Britain calls itself HEADWAY. (Source material from Paul Williams)

An "amputee advocacy organization" in Pa. is named Footloose.

An organization in Florida is called Amputees for Training Education Rehabilitation, or AFTER for short. (Source material from Sandra Bufis.) Apparently, this group did not know that in the international Latin tongue used by medicine until recently (and still during the childhood of the TIPS editor), "after" was the word for the human butt hole.

Some researchers in mental retardation have defined an experimental variable they call "degree of pre-institutional social deprivation" which forms the rather appropriate acronym PISD.

WW II POWs are getting old and incontinent. American Geri Service markets products for incontinent people, and although it also has products for children, it is clearly aimed mostly at adults.

Many employers try to unload employees who are within 10 or 15 years of retirement age. The strategies used are often legal, and are salved with euphemisms such as "reduction in personnel plan," which quite appropriately abbreviates to RIPP, a form of death image attachment (via RIP) to the people who are being RIPPED (Newsweek, 18/4/88).

Elixir is a rather unfortuitous name for an alcoholism and drug prevention program (in Quebec), in part because it sounds ridiculous, much as Hemlock would be a ridiculous name for a suicide prevention program.

A new book aimed at people with a retarded relative is named Autumn Rose--just a bit death-imaged.

The Lazzaro Center in Brighton, MA, founded in 1985, is a Christian ministry for people affected by AIDS. The name was taken from the medieval name for leper hospices named after Lazarus the leper. Unfortunately, this underlines the leper identity of people with AIDS.

It has been pointed out to us that "Section 8" United States Housing and Urban Development Department monies (that subsidize housing for the poor) convey an unfortunate negative image association. Namely, when a person is given a dishonorable discharge from military service, that is also called a "Section 8." This could thus be a way of additionally negatively imaging the poor as unwanted, undesirable, and unfit (submitted by Nathan Gilfenbaum).
*There is a human service agency in Victoria, BC, with the name "Blooming Humans: Services to People With Handicaps," and its logo consists of two flowers. SRV would inform us that this puts handicapped people at risk of being seen as part of the "vegetable" family. (Source information from Rob McInnes)

*At the First European Congress on Normalization in October 1985 in Hamburg, Germany (attended by the TIPS editor), the opening proceedings were punctuated by music--unfortunately--from the "Gurkenlandboys" of one of the chapters of the German parents' association in mental retardation. Gurken means cucumbers or pickles, which certainly goes along with a vegetable image.

*There is a music group in Fort Wayne, Indiana that performs publicly, called the Jesters of St. Francis College. They range in age from 6 to 16--and they are all handicapped. See our comments about clown imagery.

*We ran across a "First City Agency Transport Company for the Handicapped." Something like "First City People Transport Company" would have been a very good name.

*In England, we ran across an Edenfield Nursing Home. One might think that such a name would either be idolatrous (comparing a nursing home to paradise), or death-imaged in interpreting the nursing home as a vestibule to heaven. However, in this case, the name was come by honestly, the facility being located in the town of Edenfield, something PASS/PASSING evaluators would have to take into account.

*An association of parents of retarded persons in Marseille, France is called La Chrysalide, which is the caterpillar ("worm") stage of flying insects (butterflies).

*We have covered less than half of our SRV material on hand, and have to defer the rest--most of it on image issues--to some other time.

Miscellaneous Human Service News

*Many people mistakenly assume that asbestos has been banned. It is true that a 1986 law requires that schools get rid of asbestos insulation, but at the same time, asbestos is still being used in things such as floor tiles, clothing, brake pads, and water pipes. One must assume that asbestos is still being used in order to create and maintain an asbestos removal industry (CC, 1 & 2/89).

*The Canadian government has announced that it will award special grants to provinces that commit themselves to complete phasing out of their institutions for people with mental handicaps. Considering that nothing works anymore in the domain of larger organizations, we should salute the intent, but not become euphoric and equate intentions with accomplishments. What will actually happen remains to be seen. Even if institutions are closed down, we may still be left with community snake pits and large-scale death-making, and that is in fact a very likely prospect.

*People have taken an idea that has been around for 20 years and given it a new name (supported housing) which may very well catapult it into greatly increased popularity (This Month in Mental Health, 2/89). It might even become a mini-craze in mental health.

*Perhaps in order to distract attention from the fact that they are failing to teach pupils reading, writing, arithmetic, history, geography, languages or values, the teachers of the National Education Association voted overwhelmingly in 1988 that schools should provide counseling for students "struggling with their sexual-gender orientation" (AP in SHJ, 7/7/88).

*An article in the 1/89 issue of Exceptional Children reviewed recent US court rulings on the disciplining of handicapped students in the schools. The rulings have been such that school officials have been thrown into confusion and no longer really know what to do when their handicapped students (not to mention the non-handicapped ones) engage in vandalism, assault, insubordination, masturbation or sexual misconduct, smoking or sale of drugs. One thing in particular that is greatly impaired is their ability to deal swiftly with the situation. We put this phenomenon into the category of increasing formalization of society, and that to the point of what we have called mutual disablement where nobody can do anything anymore.
*A notorious lockup for the criminally insane variously imaged either as a prison or a hospital in Melbourne is to be closed--to be replaced by a 20-bed ward that will cost Australian $219,500 per "bed." (Source item from Martha Headey)

*Here is the potential for yet another shrink craze. There is talk about dividing the symptoms of schizophrenia into "positive" and "negative" ones. Positive symptoms are hallucinations, delusions, garbage talk, etc. Negative symptoms are such things as emotional withdrawal and flattened affect. The trouble is that the Bleulers taught already in the early 1900s that what today are called the negative symptoms are the more real, underlying and more permanent signs of schizophrenia, while what are now called the positive symptoms may or may not appear, and if they do appear, may merely mark acute episodes or severe stages. But since people in human services no longer have any historical memory, nobody may know this anymore. Related to all this nonsense is a formulation of a "subjective deficit syndrome" that consists of the symptoms which schizophrenic people see themselves as having, such as social and occupational failures. (This Month in Mental Health, 2/89).

*In 2/89, the New York Times started a new series of articles, entitled "New Calcutta," dealing with the homeless in the US.

*In its unbounded mercy, compassion and wisdom, the US government lifted 4.8 million Americans out of the ranks of poverty on a single day at the beginning of 1989. It accomplished this by redefining income so as to include benefits from Medicare, Medicaid, rent subsidies and food stamps. The true net result of course is to make things even yet harder for the poor who are now no longer eligible for benefits by virtue of having been defined non-poor.

*In 1988, 18,000 health care workers acquired Hepatitis B infections, and 300 died of it (Monthly AIDS Update, 17/2/89).

*There are not many anti-viral drugs in use, but now apparently for the first time, a virus has been found to develop resistance to an anti-viral agent, much as bacteria have evolved resistance against anti-biotics. Resistance has a way of spreading! (Monthly AIDS Update, 17/2/89)

*We delight in reminding subscribers what a bargain TIPS is. A new periodical, Education of the Handicapped, costs $199 a year, and only comes out twice as often as TIPS. Like virtually all competing periodicals, it can be expected to be vastly more boring and less truth-revealing.

Miscellaneous News

*John Annison has drawn our attention to a new device that should have much impact on the physical and social scene, and human services. A tiny electronic tag can be attached to, or embedded in, objects, vehicles, livestock or humans, and can then be read from a distance (currently up to 13 meters) by means of a scanner. Smaller tags are injectable, carry a smaller coding field, and might be used with animals. With humans, a slightly larger device could easily be surgically implanted. The way such things always go in human life, we can anticipate a considerable market for this sort of thing, including its use with humans. After all, this is merely a more sophisticated fashion of coding people as was done by tattooing in Nazi concentration camps. It also reminds us a bit of the "mark of the beast" without which "no one could buy or sell."

*A weekly newsletter, Corporate Crime Reporter, published in DC, documents and analyzes how the corporate world sins in a big way, but in a way that falls largely under the rubric of what we have called legitimate crime. Unfortunately, hardly anyone except corporate criminals can afford the subscription fee. However, the Sierra Club has published a summary of the thrust of this weekly for $25 under the title Corporate Crime and Violence (source information from Michael Kendrick). A review in The Nation said, "There are many, many murders done in these pages: sly, calculating, cold-blooded and often...highly profitable murders." Among the murderous corporations described via case studies of specific large-scale wrongdoings are Ford, Union Carbide, Dow Chemical, Firestone, Eli Lilly, and General Motors. One proposed remedy is the death penalty for corporations that commit premeditated murder, i.e., the withdrawal of
their charters (and presumably the seizure of their assets), prohibiting convicted executives from holding corporate office, and treating criminal executives like criminals. The problem is that in some jurisdictions, these things are already possible but are never done. After all, legitimate crime is—legitimate.

*There can be no doubt that thousands, and perhaps tens of thousands, of people who committed crimes during World War II emigrated to North America. Unfortunately, sometimes all it takes is for somebody to be accused of such crimes to bring forth all sorts of alleged witnesses. An example is Frank Walus who was misidentified in 1978 in a Chicago courtroom by 11 "eye witnesses" as a former Gestapo officer and killer. He was convicted, but new evidence came along that proved his innocence, resulting in a reversal of the verdict a few years later (CC, 1 & 2/89). Memory and passion can scramble minds as to events of 50 years earlier.

*For the first time in a long time, mainstream ecologists in a group have warned that the release of genetically engineered organisms into the environment may not be as harmless as biologists have claimed, and that negative consequences may become apparent only over the long run (Science, 3/3/89).

*France is the first western nation to pass a wide-ranging law that tries to set limits to the encroachment of the biological sciences on human identity and dignity, and to delimit what is permissible in medical technology. Government spokesmen are quite clear that the law is intended to trace "out for medical practitioners the limits of their powers over their fellow humans." The law still allows things that we would consider immoral, such as in vitro fertilization, but even here it sets some sharp limits as to what may be done.

*This is absolutely amazing: one of the big reasons Americans were told that the US needed a powerful poison gas (especially binary gas) research and manufacturing program was because of the vast amount of gas possessed by the evil Russians. No sooner had the Russians announced in 1/89 that they would unilaterally destroy their chemical weapons stock that the US imperial powers immediately said that this was not very significant after all, because most of the Russian chemical weapons were old and obsolete anyway (SHJ, 9 Jan. 89).

*Within a week after a Pan Am flight was blown up over Scotland in 12/88, and even before the victims had been buried, dozens of their relatives had already initiated legal action for financial damages. Even the father of the person who was thought to perhaps unwittingly have brought the bomb aboard was seeking $50 million.

*Virtually every interest group imaginable is managing to declare a special day or a month the "national (whatever it is) day" or "month." Already, there are such things as National Quality Control Month, Computer Learning Month, National Honey Month, National Pizza Month, National Popcorn Month and National Epilepsy Month. There are also National Adoption Week, World Hello Day, and X-Ray Discovery Day, among many others. Many of these movements also elect queens, such as the National Popcorn Queen (SHJ, 10/10/88).

*We have found the closest thing to TIPS in England. It is a column entitled "This England" in the New Statesman. Michael Steer sent us a brochure that compiles 10 years of the column (1979-1988), which comes remarkably close to resembling a TIPS issue.

*Here is another innovation: a US workers' compensation commission ruling said that a judge died of overwork, and awarded his widow $21,000 a year (AP in SHJ, 28/11/88).

*In order to draw unemployment benefits, unemployed people in Syracuse have recently been required to apply for 20 different jobs every week. On the one hand, if one were serious about this, one would run ragged trying to juggle that many applications, provided one were competent in doing it. On the other hand, some people manage it by simply filing senseless applications either for jobs for which they know they are not qualified, or with employers they know are not hiring.

*One would expect Volunteers of America to do voluntary unpaid work, but it turns out that this is not so, and that such "volunteers" get hired to perform various jobs. In New York, they are hired to patrol subway platforms and trains, and to advise the homeless there where they might go (AP, in SHJ, 28/11/88).