The Presentation Of Self In Household Settings[1]

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RÉSUMÉ

L'auteur suggère qu'une recherche sur l'utilisation que les gens font de leur logement devrait être faite du point de vue d'un acteur. Utilisant les statistiques provenant d'une réserve indienne canadienne, l'écrivain démontre que l'approche d'art dramatique peut mettre à découvert au moins trois stratégies pour la présentation de soi dans les montages d'ameublement: préparer le montage pour sa propre projection, contrôle d'accès aux montages, et l'emplacement pour les représentations en faisant les montages qu'ils jugeront opportuns.

INTRODUCTION

Considering that we pass much of our lives in houses, and spend much of our money on them, we know surprisingly little about the use we make of them. This report aims at demonstrating that the dramaturgical approach may profitably be applied to the study of social relations within a house.

Framework and hypotheses

The dramaturgical approach to social relations begins with the notion of a performance by an actor, the performance consisting of personal front (age, sex, clothing, manner) and a setting

[1] This paper was delivered at the annual meeting of the Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association in Toronto, June 6, 1969. The data on which this report is based were collected over a 10 month period at a Canadian reserve. The research was made possible by a joint grant from Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation and the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, and by lesser grants from the Laidlaw Foundation and the Province of Ontario Graduate Fellowship Program.

(props such as furniture) (Goffman 1959:22-24). Both personal front and setting are expressive in that both are viewed as claims made by an actor to a particular self. The concept "impression management" suggests that during a performance an actor manipulates claims — both personal front and setting. He overpresents those claims which project an acceptable self into the interaction and he underpresents others. To date, studies have illuminated the vagaries of personal front (Goffman 1968) more than settings.[2] In this report, we shall begin to see the setting aspect of performances which are tied to houses.

We are interested here in strategies for the presentation of self in household settings. Three fundamental varieties can be derived from the theory of dramaturgy: i) preparation of settings to project claims; ii) control of access to settings; and iii) the location of a performance in a setting where it will be judged appropriate. The first strategy suggests that actors will prepare settings to project claims to a desired self. This is the notion of a stage prepared with scenic props.[3] A householder is viewed as having created a setting. Because of this he is held responsible for the image which it projects. The second strategy suggests that access to a setting will be limited to persons who may appropriately be there. Not so to limit access would mean that the wrong people would be admitted to the wrong setting — one which is associated with a performance inappropriate for them and where they would disrupt legitimate performances already in progress.

[2] The influence of settings, especially physical settings, is poorly understood. While numerous studies have shown that the same people may act differently from one situation to another (Gump *et al.* 1963), they have not separated personal front from setting. What Barker (1968) refers to as a "behaviour setting" is, from a dramaturgical viewpoint, an entire social occasion (Goffman 1963:19). Studies of acoustics (Brodey 1964) deal with personal front rather than setting. Neither is there much contributed by studies of distance and group formation (Festinger *et al.* 1963; Newcomb 1961; Warr 1965), health (Calhoun 1962; Fried 1963; Wilner *et al.* 1962), or the influence of personality on perception (Balint 1955). Relevant work has been done on the ways in which distance and furniture and other spatial arrangements (Hall 1968; Hazard 1962; Osmond 1957; Sommer 1969) are involved in interaction, although these works have not particularly focused on houses.

[3] The notion of the house as a stage is, of course, not new. Seeley *et al.* (1956:49-52) use the allusion to describe socially conscious concerns in Crestwood Heights. While they emphasize stage as part of formal and artificially contrived hospitality, we shall see in this report that staging is at the core of the most commonplace activities.

The third strategy suggests that actors will take pains to be in the right place at the right time. Some performances can be staged in almost any part of a house, as in the case of the angry outburst of an infuriated person. Indeed, a few performances must be staged throughout the house, as with housecleaning. But, there are many performances for which a single proper setting is rigourously defined. To prepare and consume a lovely dinner on a living room floor, to entertain friends around a kitchen table, these are performances which, depending on the occasion, will be judged appropriate, or as blunders, or absurd.

These three strategies for the presentation of self are "derived" from the theory of dramaturgy in the following sense. Unless an actor manipulates props for which he is held responsible, unless he limits access to persons who may appropriately be present, and unless he fulfills the expectation of an activity staged in a setting appropriate to it, then he will not manage impressions sufficiently to stage a performance which projects an acceptable self. These are three prerequisites of successful behaviour by householders.

The three hypotheses to be tested may now be set out: i) for each room of a particular use in a house there will be distinctive features which make claims to a self appropriate to the defined use of the room; ii) doors leading into a house will be put into use so as to limit access to a room which intruders may appropriately enter; and iii) a given activity will be carried out in that room setting judged appropriate for it.

Research Site and Methods

The site of the research was an acculturated Canadian Indian reserve. In June, 1967 the population was 411 people spread among eighty-four households.[4] The reserve is located within commuting distance of a city of some 50,000 inhabitants. About a dozen people from the reserve were steadily employed there in service and secondary industry jobs. Four people worked

[4] "Household" is defined here as a person or group of persons occupying a dwelling. The figure 84 does not include four houses vacant at the time but does include one summer cottage and one tent then in use.

steadily on nearby farms. The remainder worked at various jobs throughout the year such as construction and as temporary help on farms.

A variety of data collection techniques were used, including interviewing, observation and records (physical traces of past housing use reflected in present architecture.)

An effort was made to obtain quantitative data wherever possible. A door-to-door survey was carried out during the writer's first month at the reserve to obtain basic household and housing data, including a floor plan and sketch of every house. With fifty-eight of eighty-four households completed, the writer called a halt. The survey was viewed as an invasion of privacy. After this, data were collected in intensive interviewing with selected informants and through prolonged observation over a 10 month period at the reserve.

PREPARATION OF SETTINGS TO PROJECT CLAIMS

The first hypothesis is that for each room of a particular use there will be distinctive features which make claims to a self appropriate to the defined use of the room. In order to make the problem manageable, the study focused on architectural room design rather than on other aspects of setting such as, for example, furniture types and arrangements (see Hazard 1962).

The first data required were on room types. Informants stated that a house is thought of as containing bedrooms, a living room for relaxation and entertaining guests, and a kitchen for work and where meals are prepared and eaten.[5] Separate dining rooms were completely lacking. Six of eighty-four households had inside toilets while the rest had outhouses. Bedrooms and bathrooms were discarded as suitable topics of investigation because inquiry into them would not have helped rapport. The hypothesis will be tested, then, against data from living rooms and kitchens.

[5] In 27 of the houses occupied in June, 1967 there was a combined living room-kitchen area. Informants stated that a combination room was quite all right for persons living alone. Twelve of the 27 houses were of this sort. In a further five of the 27 there were severe complaints of overcrowding, thus leaving only ten cases where there were no serious complaints.

Another type of data required were the salient design differences between living rooms and kitchens. Informants were asked what changes they would have to make in order to transform their kitchen into a living room and *vice versa*. Invariably, only three points were mentioned — window size, placement of rooms relative to the front of the house, and placement of rooms in an appendage to the main body of the house. Observation, interviewing and floor plans showed the extent to which ideal patterns were actually followed.

Once the facts were known, intensive interviewing was used to bring out the underlying norms.

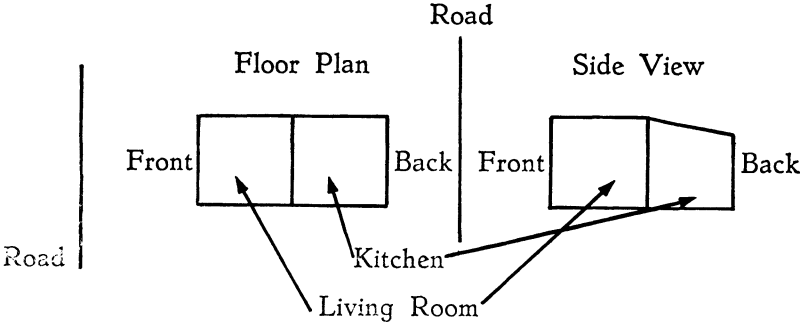
Living rooms

Villagers stated that a living room is meant to be a place for relaxation and especially for entertaining guests. If our hypothesis is correct, its setting will be congruent with this use.

The setting of a living room is as follows. Ordinarily, the room is at the side or front of a house, although it may be at the back to take advantage of a spectacular view. The "front" of a house is the side nearest to the road on which it abuts (Figure 1).

Figure 1

House With Addition — Note Relative Size and Front-Back



The living room window is large. When an addition[6] to a house creates two discernible segments, one is made taller than the other. The taller one is now the main body of the house and the living room is placed in it, not in the appendage to it (Figure 1). These design features are clearly defined. For, as one informant put it, "A living room should look like a living room — not only from the inside, but from the outside too."

The setting serves to project claims to a self appropriate to the use of the living room, especially its entertainment use. Householders explained that the living room should be at the front of the house so that visitors could go there directly from the road. But no one could explain the reasons for picture windows or the placement of the living room in the main body of a house.[7] Seeley *et al.* (1956:50) suggest that picture windows serve the function of ostentatiously displaying furnishings within a house. Emily Post takes a more charitable view. She sees them as the "smiles" of a house which convey an impression of friendship (1930:7). The interpretation offered here is as follows. A large window furthers the guest-entertainment use of a living room. For one thing, it is a sign that the occupants are the sort of people who have such a room. Moreover, this is a public room in the sense that outsiders are to be received there. The large window increases communication with the outside world, even if only in the form of light pouring in through the day or of a translucent glow through curtains drawn in the evening. Finally, it is only just that a room where guests are entertained and the best furniture is on display should be in the main body of the house. This part of a house projects, through its size, a more solid sturdy image for the room than would a less dignified appendage.

It is internal consistency which supports the interpretations given here for window size and the placement of living rooms

[6] Additions abound in this community as a means of adjusting to changing space needs. Of the 86 houses which as of June 1, 1967 were used as year-round residences, or which had once been so used, additions had been made to at least 50.

[7] Many housing norms remained strangely inaccessible to awareness. If an actor follows a clear pattern of window size, room placement and door use, but is unable to explain why he does so, and is even unaware that he does so as in the case of door use, then we are faced with unconscious social behaviour which has a logic undecipherable in term of psycho-dynamics (Sapir 1963).

within the main body of the house. We shall see, in door use and in the situational location of performances, an internal order which reveals a dignity in the living room as a place to entertain guests. Placement of the room at the front of the house so guests could enter there first is, of course, supporting evidence.

There were exceptions to the pattern of living room design. There was no exception to the pattern of living room placement at the front or side-front, except so as to take advantage of a spectacular view. But, only houses built within the last 10 years actually had large living room windows.[8] This suggests that the windows, and perhaps the claim which they represent, are a recent social change. It also shows that setting preparation norms are not hard and fast, but rather can be superceded in some cases by other norms, as is window size by cost of renovation in this case. There was one flagrant exception to the norm of living room placement in the main body of the house. A fastidious housewife wished to maintain a spotless living room and so had it placed away from traffic in a small appendage to the main part of the house. Villagers found the effect jarring. As one informant put it, "If you look at the house you'd think the addition was a kitchen because it's smaller than the main part. But, then you see that big bay window and you know it's a living room. If you're inside the house it's all right. But, if you're outside the house it's not O.K."

Kitchens

Just as a living room projects a single unified self rooted mainly in the entertainment of guests, so does the kitchen project claims appropriate to work and especially the preparation and eat-

[8] At this point it is appropriate to point out that the architectural styles of most reserve houses largely reflect the tastes of village members rather than of outside builders. Of the 86 houses which as of June, 1967 were or had once been used as year-round residences, only 19 had been designed and constructed by outsiders in the employ of the Canadian government. Of these 19 houses, 12 were built between 1890 and 1910. These, and several of the other seven, had in many respects evolved through time according to the dictates of the occupants. This situation may be changing radically, however, with a new Indian Affairs Branch housing program using standardized designs. We may anticipate that these standardized designs will be changed to meet householders' impression management needs.

ing of meals. A kitchen is at the side or back of a house but never at the front (Figure 1). Its windows are small. Where an addition has created distinct segments to a house, the kitchen may be in the smaller appendage to the main body (Figure 1). Even in cases of combined living room-kitchen areas these settings norms still hold. The furniture is arranged to create a kitchen towards the back of the house and a living room towards the front.

Informants could supply the facts but little of the underlying logic. Here, again, we must rely on internal consistency. The kitchen is placed so as to be out of the path of important visitors coming to the front of the house because it would be improper to have them walk first through a work area. Kitchen windows are small to show that this is not a room in which communication with the outside world is emphasized. It would be inappropriate to let outsiders catch a glimpse of the occupants unawares at work or while eating. Audiences are not welcome at these times. Finally, the room may be in a lesser appendage to the main body of the house since nothing is lost by having a less dignified room in a less dignified segment of the dwelling.

CONTROL OF ACCESS TO SETTINGS

The second hypothesis is that doorways leading into a house will be put into use so as to limit access to a room which intruders may appropriately enter.

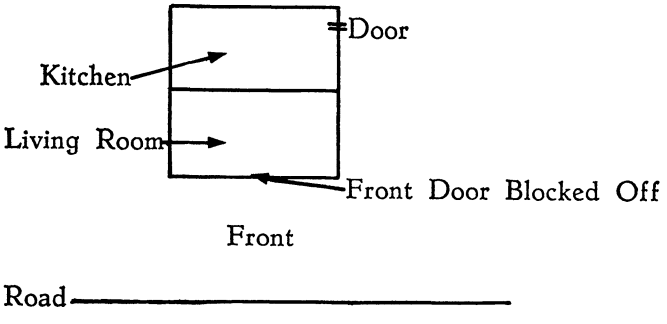
Three types of data were required — positioning, use and standards for doors. The positioning was noted during a visit to a house, and with the help of informants where a visit was not possible. The use of doors and norms behind this use were not easily verbalized and were difficult to obtain. A combination of careful observation and repeated interviewing was required to draw out which door to a given house was used. Norms behind door use were unconscious and were obtained only after weeks of intensive interviewing.

Most of the houses in the community under study have a door at the front which (because of room placement norms) leads into the living room, and a door at the back leading into the kitchen.

During his first days at the reserve the writer, like all strangers to the community, would knock at a front door only to be told, "Go 'round to the back." Typically, the front door is blocked off and the kitchen door is the one that is used. This pattern can be seen in current houses (Figure 2) and in physical traces of past use where changing room uses have produced blocked-off doors. In combined living room-kitchen areas the door in use leads into the kitchen part of the room as set out by furniture arrangements.

Figure 2

Typical Control of Entry



The key here is control of access to valued rooms. The living room is a place where a busy housewife may pause from her work for a cup of tea in the afternoon in a room which provides a contrast, where a husband may relax at the end of the day and perhaps read the evening paper, where family members can watch television after supper, and especially where important visitors may be entertained. Because hallways are usually lacking, the most casual visitor knocking at the front door would see directly inside the living room. Even the heavy traffic of household members would be inappropriate since it is here that the best furniture is kept.

As a result, entry to a house is usually made at the kitchen door. The kitchen is a work room. Less is at stake here for admission to this room does not constitute much recognition by the householder of a visitor's worth. Yet, even here there is a modicum of hospitality involved. As one householder remarked of an Indian Affairs official held in low esteem, "I wouldn't let him in my kitchen."

There are exceptions to the pattern. One type is really not an exception for here the front door leads either into the kitchen or abuts on a staircase. In the second type of exception the door is at the back but leads into the living room which extends the length of the house to the front. Although informants did not state it, there almost seemed to be an antechamber effect here.

Table 1

Number of Households With Doors Leading Into

— Hallway effect (including enclosed verandas and "jogs" around staircases		13
— Kitchen		38
— Living Room		
– High Status	3	
– Given Up	8	
– Door at Back House	3	14
— Unable to Obtain Reliable Data		19
		84

To walk around a house, to turn the slightest jog around a staircase, to step up to a porch, all these things serve to move the visitor from the outer world to a neutral sector from which entry may be made into the privacy of the inside of the house.

The third and fourth exceptions to the doorway pattern focus on prestige. In one type of house where the front door was in

use the occupants were described as having "given up." Informants stated that these people took no care of their house and allowed people to trample indiscriminately through their living room. This was seen as a cause and verification of their low status in the community. One house occupied by an elderly semi-incapacitated gentleman and one very small house occupied by a large family can similarly be interpreted.

Use of the front door meant something completely different in another type of house. Here, informants reported that this use was best construed as a claim to formality and as a means of increasing the importance of the occasion of a visit to the house. These householders, few in number, were thought of as trying to imitate the formal ways of white people. This latter house type was the only one where there was situational front versus back door use according to the status of a visitor and of the occasion for his visit. It was typical here for deliveries from the village store to be made at the back door. Close neighbours could knock at the front or back door, but usually knocked at the front. Others paying a visit invariably knock at the front door because of the expectation that their visit would be treated fairly formally and that they would be entertained in the more formal atmosphere of the living room.

In most houses only the door to the kitchen was used while the door to the living room was blocked off, screened off, kept permanently locked or else put out of commission by a living room chair or sofa placed in front of it. A more common situational door use arose in response to weather extremes. For example, some of the householders described as having "given up" would block off their front door in the cold of winter. Thick mud at the back of a house might bring a front door into full-time use. Thus, during a thaw in late March the back of one house became a sea of mud from the traffic of people entering there and because the family car was usually parked there. The front door to this house had been blocked off but was now brought into use, and the back door used only when necessary, so as to prevent mud being tracked inside. As the thaw continued, the ground by the front door became equally muddy. The front door was now blocked off again and the back door brought back into full-time use.

HOW TO CHOOSE THE RIGHT SETTING FOR THE RIGHT PERFORMANCE

The third hypothesis suggests that a given performance will be staged in a room-setting judged appropriate to it. There is a twist to the hypothesis. The dramaturgical approach sees interaction as a flux of identities shifting as the dictates of simultaneous obligations to a multiplicity of selves (Goffman 1961). A guest, for example, is not only a guest, but also a man or a woman, young or old, of greater or lesser substance, and all this will necessarily be acknowledged during interaction in both personal front and setting. Therefore we must add to the hypothesis the corollary that the activity for which a room is designed will not necessarily be staged in that room. There will be a situational selection of room settings for any given performance.

It will be remembered that the stated uses for living rooms and kitchens are, respectively, relaxation-guest entertainment, and work-food preparation and consumption. Data on actual room use were gathered through observation and especially in intensive interviewing.

Eating

Meals are ordinarily prepared in the kitchen and eaten at the kitchen table. This is not always the case, however. Heat from wood stoves can lead to a different pattern. Of the eighty-four households in June, 1967, sixty-one reported using wood stoves to heat their houses in the winter. That number and many more would have used them for cooking also. But in the summer the heat from a wood stove can become unbearable. The common strategies to avoid the heat are to use a hotplate for summer cooking and a wood stove in the winter. Alternatively, the meal is prepared in the kitchen and eaten elsewhere — in a living room, on a veranda, or outside. In two households the occupants both prepared and ate their meals outside as long as weather permitted. "Smudges" (smoky fires) were lighted to keep insects away while the householders passed the evening chatting, drinking tea and staring at the fire. They were described as "old fashioned

Indians" and were seen as distinct from the small but growing number of outdoor barbecuers on weekends. In fact, the writer met only one person who made no effort to avoid the heat from a wood stove in the summer — an elderly gentleman who lived alone. "I used to eat outside to get away from the heat," he said, "but now I just don't bother any more."

There are a few other occasions when a meal may be eaten in the living room, even though a kitchen is available. This happens, for example, when there are too many guests for the kitchen to hold comfortably, or during a winter cold snap when a kitchen becomes temporarily uninhabitable, or when an older couple whose children have left decide to close off a kitchen addition for the winter because it is "too much bother." Finally, one housewife suggested that the status of the dinner guest was an important consideration. "It's really nicer to eat in the living room," she said. When questioned closely, however, she could not remember the last occasion when this had happened.

Work

Most of a woman's work is done in the kitchen. Meal preparation has already been examined. Many woman sew at home for a nearby factory to earn extra money. While this is usually done in the kitchen, some women prefer to work in the more comfortable surroundings of the living room.

A man usually has a job which takes him outside the house during the day. Heavy manual work at home is done in the kitchen or outside. The writer observed one householder carving wooden tourist items in his living room. A giant pile of wood shavings was beside him on the floor. This was a house whose occupants were described as having "given up." The behaviour is best interpreted as failure to maintain a decent living room. A man doing bookwork such as the reckoning of finances might well choose the living room as a locale more fitting to the importance of the task.

Here, as with the other activities, the rules for the location of work may be bent in another way. Depending on the status of the person and the activity, an actor may simply move to

another locale if the appropriate room is already in use. Similarly, a wife who ordinarily irons in the kitchen may move the ironing board into the living room if she wishes to talk to her husband at the same time. Under the circumstances, the new locale becomes the appropriate setting.

Entertaining

The rule of thumb is that visitors are entertained in the living room. It is not surprising, however, that people of importance less than is appropriate to a living room are entertained in the kitchen. Consider, for example, the following encounter between the writer and a householder who was obviously peeved by the presence of someone asking him to complete a questionnaire. He sat down at the kitchen table and nodded to a seat opposite. His wife, however, said, "No, Harry," and gestured toward the living room. The implication was that she thought her husband was being too insulting in talking to me in the kitchen. She went to the trouble of clearing a place to sit on a work-strewn sofa.

Visitors are as attuned to these proprieties as are hosts. An example here will show this and also how the purpose of the visit is important. It appeared that the more sociable the visit to the writer's residence, the greater the tendency to accept an invitation to step inside and sit on a good chair or chesterfield in the living room. The visitor coming for a loan, however, would hardly ever step inside, even before the purpose of the visit was announced. Can it be that even the selection of a chair is made so that it reflects in its opulence the importance of the occasion for sitting on it?

Not only are the status of the guest and the occasion for his visit important, the prestige of the host may also be an issue. For example, we saw earlier that a few householders used the living room to entertain almost everybody on all occasions. The aim here was to increase the importance of the visit by holding it in an important room. These people were thought of as copying the formal ways of white people.

There are other exceptions to the rule of thumb for entertaining. Thus, householders described as having "given up" often made heavy use of the living room out of disrespect for it. Or

again, privacy may be at stake. If a visitor has come to talk to, for example, the husband, they will go to a room not already in use, perhaps the living room. But if the visitor has come to talk to the family then the factors outlined above would apply. Finally children spend a considerable amount of time in the living room but usually must reserve boisterous play for the out-of-doors.

Leisure

A few leisure activities are limited to a specific area, as is television viewing to the location of the set. Most, however, are fairly mobile, even though the living room is the setting built to accommodate them.

Some people habitually use only a living room or a kitchen, even though both rooms are available. The key here is prestige. As one informant put it, "Everybody has always thought an awful lot of old Jim. It would't seem right to see him sitting in the kitchen." One inveterate kitchen-user affirmed his more humble self-image in this way: "You're more at home in the kitchen. If I go out some place I don't feel right in the living room. But I feel right at home in the kitchen."[9] This man stated that he hardly spent five minutes a week sitting in his living room. When a favourite television program is due to start, one may observe householders of this variety arise from their kitchen chairs and move to the living room to watch the program. When it is over they get up and return to the kitchen.

There is a type of room preference different from above. In a few houses the wife spent almost the entire day in the kitchen and the husband much preferred to relax in the living room. This behaviour had the trappings of a claim of ownership made to a room by a henpecked husband wishing to assert his individuality. Presumably, other emotions such as mutual dislike could produce an avoidance pattern which amounted to the same room use.

A final comment should be made here. There were 17 non-single occupant houses with combined living room-kitchen areas.

[9] We saw earlier that even where a living room is seldom used it is ordinarily retained and valued as a place where important visitors may be entertained, even where such visitors have never yet paid a visit.

As might be expected, people living in these houses tended to make far more use of bedroom space when in search of privacy. In one case the television set was even placed there.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this report has been to demonstrate that the dramaturgical approach can profitably be applied to the study of social relations within a house.

Beginning with the notion of a performance consisting of personal front and setting, three hypotheses were derived which predicted the manipulation of the house as a setting in which to project claims to a desired self. The hypotheses were supported by data from a Canadian Indian reserve.

First Hypothesis

— It was suggested that for each room of a particular use there will be distinctive features which make claims to a self appropriate to the defined use of the room. The facts indicate that living rooms and kitchens are designed so that each projects claims to a unified self appropriate to its use. The living room (entertainment, relaxation) is a more prestigious setting than is the kitchen (meals, work). In window size and room placement the greater dignity of the living room is reflected. While there were exceptions to the signs used to designate rooms, in all cases there were some design differences which reflected the different uses of the two rooms. In short the evidence tends to support the hypothesis.

Second Hypothesis

— This stated that doorways will be put into use so as to channel access into a room which intruders may appropriately enter. All the exceptions to the pattern of kitchen entrance can still be interpreted within the ambit of this hypothesis. Where living room entrance showed high or low prestige this meant that the householders had different definitions of the appropriate use

of a living room. For householders of low prestige there was nothing to lose by indiscriminately allowing access to the living room. For householders of high prestige this was the only room of sufficient stature in which visitors could be suitably welcomed. In effect, then, the evidence supports our hypothesis.

Third Hypothesis

— It was suggested that a given performance will be staged in a room-setting judged appropriate to it, with the corollary that the activity for which a room is designed will not necessarily be staged in that room.

Situational room use takes definable directions. Three broad classes of such claims — body comfort, privacy and prestige — were seen. First, body comfort was important as, for example, in summer temperature control in cooking. Secondly, rooms served to make a performance public (as in moving to a room so as to be with someone) or private (as in selecting a room because another is already in use) by controlling audience and participants. Finally, the selection of a room was determined by the degree of prestige warranted by the occasion. The living room reflected by far the more prestigious atmosphere. Some activities were suitable to only one room. Some actors felt comfortable in only one room according to the degree of humility of their self-image. In the same way, the status of a visitor and the occasion for his visit are important too. And by claiming ownership of a room it is possible for a henpecked husband to assert a dignified degree of independence. In the honouring of these three types of claims — body comfort, privacy and status — we can see some of the main sources of variation in room use which occurs during interaction.

Clearly, although a room may have a specific use, the activity will not necessarily occur there. This situational use is the real core of behaviour in houses. Our hypothesis is substantially supported.

Conclusion

What conslusions may be drawn? The thrust of this report goes well beyond the confines of its supporting substantive data.

We may anticipate that householders, wherever they are found, will make use of clear-cut strategies for the presentation of self in their homes.

i) For each room of a particular use in a house there will be distinctive features which project claims congruent with its defined use. Although we focused on architectural design in this report, we could have obtained similar results from furniture types and arrangements.

ii) Access will be carefully regulated so that persons entering are channelled into settings where their entry will be judged appropriate.

iii) A given activity will be staged in a room setting judged appropriate, with situational proprieties as important determinants. Moreover, while houses have been the focus here, surely these strategies can be found in a variety of settings — whether a business office, a subway station, a windbreak or a compound.

Also by way of conclusion, the writer would like to share his surprise at the moral complexity of the human drama. The actor must master not only setting nuances ranging from window size to room placement, but also the intricacies of selecting the situationally appropriate room — all this when housing forms only one of many sectors of his life.

Finally, no pretense is made that this report has exhausted what can be said. There is much to be learned about behaviour in houses.

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