COTTAGE SIX

—The Social System of Delinquent
Boys in Residential Treatment

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Foreword

ONE OF THE MOST SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENTS during the past decade among institutions and agencies devoted to the treatment of personality and behavioral disorders has been the increasing emphasis on what is generally referred to as "milieu therapy." This greater concern with the possibilities of treating problematic persons through planned management of the structure and processes of the situations in which they live has resulted in part from the somewhat overdue recognition of the very decided limitations on what can be expected from programs of treatment that depend solely or primarily on clinical procedures directed at the intrapsychic structure and processes of the individual. The new trend is also due in part to the greater capability of the social sciences for specifying the processes by which culture and social structure impinge on the person. This makes possible more adequate conceptualizations by means of which the diagnoses of problematic milieux and their planned restructuring can be given focus and made explicit in terms of desired results.

Unfortunately for clear communication as well as for effective experimental operations and sound evaluations, milieu therapy means many things to many people. It is reasonably safe to assume that the bulk of the programs presently in operation or proposed for financial support that are alleged to be milieu therapy are little more than ad hoc tinkering with a naively perceived "environment" or forlorn attempts to make institutional life fit the model of individual clinical treatment. Too many people are ready to assume that because they are experts in the complexities of the human organism or its intrapsychic dynamics, they are equally perceptive and skilled in conceptualization and analysis of what takes place at interpersonal, organizational, and cultural

levels. Authorities in clinical fields who insist upon sophisticated conceptualizations and methods in their own areas of competence frequently appear quite ready to rely on shoddy and naive thinking and bumbling, if well-intentioned, activity when it comes to dealing with the interactive processes of the institutional community.

Happily, however, this somewhat murky and dismal prospect is illuminated every now and then, and we hope with increasing frequency, by such revealing studies as the one here reported.

There was a fortunate concatenation at Hollymeade[1] of an institution with a long tradition of pioneering and leadership in the residential treatment of disturbed and delinquent children; a current administration with a boldness and resilience that made it worthy of this tradition; a competent and imaginative young sociologist highly motivated to explore the potential contributions of his discipline to theory and practice in fields represented by the institution; and, last but not least, its Cottage 6, inhabited by adolescent boys tough and puzzling enough to be fully worthy of the young sociologist's mettle.

Dr. Howard Polsky, who was under appointment as a Russell Sage Foundation postdoctoral resident, was invited to Hollymeade because of the institution's interest in more effective use of the social sciences in its therapeutic program. He was not long on the campus before he had "zeroed in" on Cottage 6 as an excellent arena for testing potential contributions of sociology to the development of a therapeutic milieu. Dr. Polsky's account of his experience and observations from the time he became an intimate observer in Cottage 6 is an absorbing story, and his analysis is a sobering revelation of the problems that confront any institution that wishes to develop an integrated clinical and therapeutic community program.

This is not the place for an extended discussion of the design, methods, or findings of the study. Suffice it to say here that Dr. Polsky demonstrates beyond cavil that it is possible for at least a significant segment of the resident population of even a first-rate institution like Hollymeade to create, maintain, and transmit a separate deviant subculture that supports values and a so-

[1] Pseudonym.

cial system that are counter to those of the institution itself and in substantial part negate even the most intensive and skillful individual therapeutic efforts. For notwithstanding his intrapsychic characteristics every boy placed in Cottage 6 found it necessary to adopt the values and patterns of the deviant subculture and to function in the role imposed on him by the group without regard to what went on in the rest of the institution, including the clinical therapeutic sessions.

The social system in Cottage 6 appeared not only to be the dominant force in the life of the boys living there but was potent enough to evoke a kind of covert and unwitting support and collaboration from the institution itself. Moreover, the removal of "key" boys did not appear to affect the viability of the cultural patterns in the least. Other boys simply moved into or were put into the vacated roles.

At this point we should parenthetically remind the reader that Cottage 6 does not represent the entire institution by any means. It is the group with the "toughest" reputation, but there are many other groupings with very different characteristics. Some of these groups exhibit less of a gap between institutional or cottage culture and psychotherapeutic experience. Even here, however, a good working hypothesis should be that a sociological analysis comparable to that made of Cottage 6 would reveal different but equally impressive social processes that must be taken into account in any plan to increase the therapeutic milieu potential of the institution.

Different interpretations are possible and, no doubt, will be made of various aspects of this study. But two conclusions appear to this writer to be crystal clear and unavoidable. One is that a sophisticated analysis of the social and cultural processes in a given institution is a basic requirement for any intelligent planning for the development of a therapeutic milieu. This is no job for amateurs. The level of technical knowledge and skill required is fully comparable to that required for understanding the intrapsychic processes.

A second conclusion is that the mere juxtaposition of a social-science-based restructuring of the institutional mileux and a clinical procedure based on one or another of the variants of

psychodynamic theory will not be sufficient for an adequate program. Clinical analysis and treatment directed toward the individual must be conducted with clear knowledge and understanding of what is taking place in the social context; and the strategy of milieu structuring must take fully into account the clinical analyses of the persons involved. These requirements will appear trite to the reader until he reads the study here reported and realizes how wide the gap can be between clinic and social experience even in an institution of the quality and competence of Hollymeade.

It is quite possible that the most important contribution of this study is that it has not only made explicit and cogent the significance of sociological analysis for therapeutic institutions, but has also documented in specific terms the necessity for the intimate intermeshing of psychological and situational treatment, both in theory and in practice. In addition, the study is highly suggestive of promising directions that such an effort at basic integration might well take. It is indeed reassuring to note Dr. Polsky's comment in this book that the staff at Hollymeade is planning experimental programs involving close coordination of clinical and situational intervention.

Only those responsible for the conduct of a residential treatment center can fully appreciate the courage, fortitude, and dedicated hard work required of an entire staff for an institution to assume the burden of disrupting established routines, added costs, and high risks of failure occasioned by experimentation with new approaches to treatment. Nor is it easy for highly trained professional practitioners to restructure their conceptual systems and derivative operating procedures. But knowing the zest for breaking new trails so deeply imbedded in the values of Hollymeade, we may be permitted the confident prediction that once again its traditional venturesomeness will assert itself.

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Preface

OUR RESIDENTIAL TREATMENT CENTER has steered a middle ground of interweaving planned living experience with individual treatment. Hollymeade's clinical team took the leadership for fashioning the therapeutic program. Psychological understanding of disturbed and delinquent children increased. However, the staff was never fully satisfied with its ability to influence or exploit the full potentialities of the social instrument which we knew was at hand.

For the past ten years we have developed the Hollymeade program so that a clinical person is in charge of three cottages, with caseworkers and psychiatrists servicing all the children within that unit. The unit administrator emphasizes therapeutic management of these children.

In line with these developments, the staff felt the greatest need for a systematic study of the social phenomena in the peer group culture as a means of advancing the integration of individual and cottage treatment efforts. It had long been of concern to us that our best therapeutic endeavors were meeting great resistance from the informal peer group culture. Dr. Howard Polsky was invited to make a systematic study in the cottage that represented the greatest challenge to our therapeutic efforts.

Cottage Six represents our most recent effort to break through to a better understanding of the totality of life experience and how this understanding can be utilized to influence personality change among the youngsters. It clarifies the social-scientific concepts by which sociocultural phenomena in our community can be understood and influenced.

Hollymeade is a dynamic and changing culture. It is constantly evolving and even at the time this report went to press the

quality of experience of the youngsters in the cottage reported herein had changed. It now remains for us to continue our study and experimentation to bring the informal social structure of cottage life into the orbit of treatment and design specific strategies for influencing the boys' collective life and goals both for understanding psychosocial processes of illness and for helping the children toward mental health.

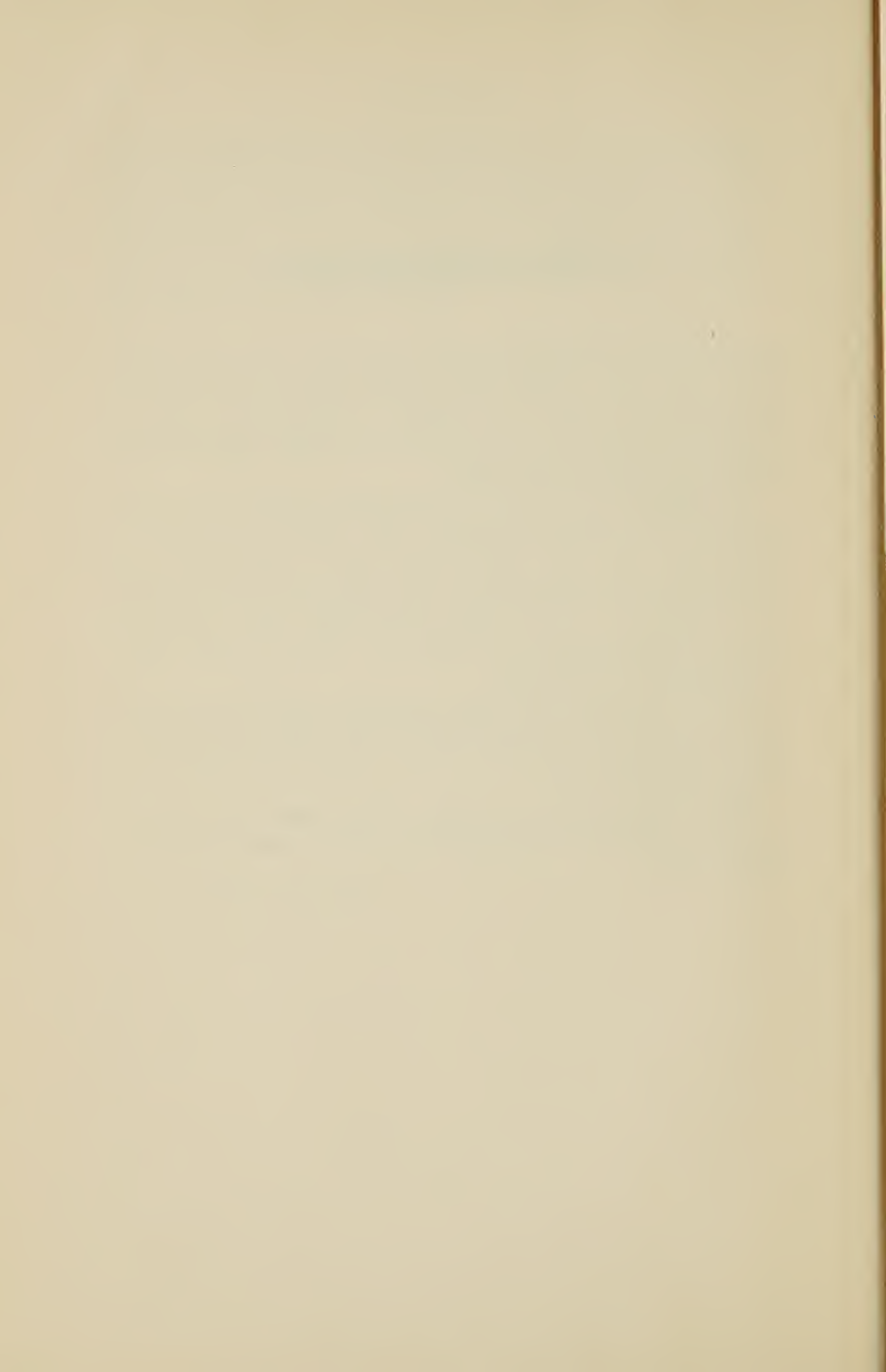JEROME M. GOLDSMITH

Acknowledgments

1. Orientation

A VISITOR TO HOLLYMEADE from the large eastern metropolis thirty miles away would be impressed by notable contrasts. He would see a school, clinic, and cluster of eleven cottages on spacious rolling countryside free from the towering skyscrapers and crowded stoops of his city. His unhindered gaze would roam over the "green and leafy freshness" of the surrounding hills.

Comparisons with his big city are really unfair. More likely would he recall the scene in which Duncan and his train naively come upon Macbeth's estate: "This castle hath a pleasant seat; the air nimbly and sweetly recommends itself unto our gentle senses. . . . The air is delicate."[1]

Hollymeade, of course, is neither a castle nor an estate; it is a home and community for emotionally disturbed delinquent boys and girls. Through the years the staff has strived to create a therapeutic milieu in its peaceful natural environment.

Hollymeade was founded over fifty years ago as a custodial institution for delinquent Jewish boys. It inaugurated the cottage system in the United States with reeducation rather than detention as its goal. A psychologist was introduced in 1917, a psychiatrist in 1926, and a psychiatric caseworker in 1928. But the turning point in its evolution as a residential treatment center occurred in 1934, when it was reorganized as a single institution for boys and girls with a child guidance clinic. Psychological testing, social casework, and psychiatric supervision radically influenced the school's treatment program.

The clinic became the center not only of individual treatment, but of a philosophy of milieu therapy with considerable permis-

[1] *Macbeth*, Act I, Scene VI.

siveness. As would be expected, negative reactions set in against this program, but an equilibrium was eventually reached in which the concept of an *open community* took hold of staff and residents.

Through the years an attempt was made to maintain a judicious balance between the bizarre antics of impulsive children and internal stability. Today, ten to twenty boys and girls attend public high schools in nearby towns. Disciplined older adolescents work off-grounds, which is another indication of the giant strides Hollymeade has taken toward "deinstitutionalizing" its residential community.

It is difficult, indeed, to summarize a history of development that extends over so many years. The observer generalizes at his own risk. It may be safely stated, nonetheless, that the professional staff has devoted more consistent attention to treatment of the individual than to creating positive conditions designed to promote his social and cultural life in the cottage and the institution.

The resident population of Hollymeade averages 195. The boys' ages range from eight to eighteen and the girls, from twelve to eighteen. A few children are admitted after the age of sixteen. The youngsters presented severe management problems in their home communities. According to its *Manual of Policies and Procedures*, Hollymeade serves as a leadership agency and a widely recognized model for the residential treatment of children with emotional disturbances. It admits Jewish children (non-Jewish residents average about 5 to 10 per cent) processed through the Department of Welfare, private agencies, and the courts.

The largest single referral source is the Children's Court, which supplies about 50 per cent of the total admissions. Dependent children are committed through the Department of Welfare; out-of-state and private cases are admitted on a selective basis.

A major criterion for admission is the judgment as to whether or not the child can be treated without commitment to an institution. When children are screened at intake, any feasible non-institutional plan is given preference, such as placement in a residence club or an outpatient clinic treatment program. Be-

cause of this intake policy, Hollymeade harbors many seriously emotionally disturbed children.

To offset this, much deliberation is given to the cottage and the school classes in which the child should be placed. A child may have to wait for what the staff believes to be a suitable opening in a cottage for both his and the school's best interests. Children with severe physical disabilities or with intelligence quotients (I.Q.s) below 75 are not accepted unless testing indicates a higher potential.

A distinctive feature of the landscape at Hollymeade is the eleven cottages strung out on both sides of a green mall. One hundred and forty boys live in three junior, two intermediate, and three senior cottages; 55 girls live in three cottages. Each cottage houses 15 to 20 children and is staffed by a married couple, who are called cottage parents.

The resident children are members of a community that includes an adult staff of 150. In addition to the cottage parents, the staff is comprised of administrators, psychiatrists, caseworkers, and a psychologist; counselors, recreational leaders, and volunteers; teachers and a rabbi; and maintenance crew and custodians.

As a member of the community, the resident ordinarily attends school on the grounds, performs cottage duties, and sees a social worker weekly. School classes, which are stressed at Hollymeade, are different from the typical city school; each youth's program is adapted to what are regarded as his individual needs and may undergo frequent changes during the year. Boys work on the farm and in the kitchen; they study in print, wood, and auto shops; others perform landscape details. Many attend academic classes. Each boy is given a work assignment in the cottage or dining hall and participates in recreational and group activities. He gets to know well the teacher, ground keeper, and shipping clerk, in addition to his social worker and cottage parents.

THE TREATMENT APPROACH

Hollymeade regards itself as a community and expects its high standards to be adhered to by staff and children alike. Although

the staff is aware that its regulations will be manipulated by impulsive youngsters who could not be controlled in the city; and despite the enormous cost in recovering AWOLs (children absent without leave), the institution stoutly upholds an open community without physical barriers.

The nub of the Hollymeade program is individual psychotherapy, with the highest ranking treatment role being occupied by a psychiatrist. Four part-time psychiatrists are employed. The clinical director is a psychiatrist; a dozen social workers are supervised by psychiatrists and experienced psychiatric caseworkers. The institution is under the general direction of a social worker.

The administration stresses the team approach and attempts to interweave planned living experiences with individual therapy. Semi-annual progress meetings for individual residents are attended by social workers, psychiatrists, cottage parents, and school supervisors. A treatment plan is fashioned for every youngster. Numerous seminars afford staff members the opportunity to share ideas and keep abreast of the mental health field.

The emphasis upon treatment of the individual is guided by the conceptual framework of psychoanalytically oriented psychotherapy. Attention is directed toward the irrational-unconscious and sexual-infantile sources of the child's behavior, and the controlled benign reaction to his disturbance (accepting the child but rejecting his pathology). These aspects constitute the basic approach toward shaping the therapeutic milieu: "Individualization" is the "primary process and with it alters the character of the group experiences."[1]

However, despite the emphasis upon psychiatric casework as the chief therapeutic tool at Hollymeade, the value of the environment as a rehabilitative force in the child's growth is constantly affirmed by the staff:

> This process of conditioning an environment in behalf of the individual child constitutes an important element in treatment; but the value of this activity depends not only on the skill of the caseworker, but also on the quality of the total environment and what it has to offer to the children it serves. The concept of the conditioned en-

[1] Agency publication.

vironment takes on fuller meaning when it is conceived as a *consciously planned social structure* offering the fullest opportunity for the growth of an individual for whom it was established.[1]

The critical component of this consciously planned social structure—the cottage—is the empirical focus of this study.

THE HEART OF HOLLYMEADE

Research into the cottage subculture becomes centrally significant in light of this concept of the therapeutic milieu and the staff's realization that the weakest links in the treatment process are the senior cottages. The paradox is the more puzzling when one becomes aware of the paucity of systematic knowledge of cottage life. Therapists[2] view the senior cottages as a holding operation that enables the social workers to develop intensive individual therapeutic relationships with the boys during their eighteen to twenty-four months' stay. Some social workers feel that the cottage culture often inhibits the boys' progress, but this is based only upon hearing disconnected incidents reported in individual interviews.

During the eight months this writer spent observing Cottage 6 he found no lack of examples demonstrating cottage deviancy and conflicts stemming from the boy's cottage peer group, on one hand, and from the social worker and therapeutic milieu on the other. The reader will become aware of patterned intrapeer group strains normally far removed from investigators who do not have intimate first-hand contact with deviant youth groups.

Few dramatic collective outbreaks occurred. Individual and subgroup deviations were pronounced. Many violations recorded in the log, such as "out-of-program," or "seeing girls without permission," are not deviant from a noninstitutional perspective. Rights of the adolescent in the community become transformed into privileges in the institution. Two other factors may be mentioned. Minimum punishment is meted out to boys who violate institutional rules. Moreover, in the permissive atmosphere of

[1] Agency publication.

[2] Social workers at Hollymeade participate in a training program that equips them to function as psychotherapists.

Hollymeade, the tradition is that absences without leave are not hard to manage; so that a runaway is not a feat to brag about.

Since the cottage is the living heart of Hollymeade, the ensuing chapters will tap its beat and pulse, and plumb its vital interrelationships with the community. It may be helpful to pause at this time, however, to examine two sociological concepts that will aid us in understanding cottage life: the primary group and deviant subculture.

THE PRIMARY GROUP CONCEPT

Individual behavior is only partly determined by one's personal history. Except for the extraordinary person, people do not usually surpass the limitations of the culture into which they are born. By and large the societies in which we live are mediated for us through units called primary groups, which are characterized by a high degree of informality. The family is the best example of such a primary group found in every culture.

Primary groups have considerable face-to-face interaction and a considerable degree of ingroup cohesion. These small groups are often more crucial in shaping individual standards than the school, factory, or institution in which they are embedded.

> Where pilfering is practised by an influential section of the workers, those who do not take part will be not only unpopular as nonconformists but even suspect as traitors, with all the unpleasant consequences which this entails.[1]

The individual finds his niche and commits himself to a set of values in primary groups (familial, occupational, ethnic, peer, and neighborhood). His identity is largely shaped by these emotionally charged relationships. Cottage 6 is such a primary group.

The boys in Cottage 6 have some formal responsibilities. Each boy makes his own bed, cleans his room, and assumes some responsibility for cleaning the cottage. Dining-hall duties rotate each month among the boys. A traditional chore at Hollymeade

[1] Mannheim, Hermann, *Group Problems in Crime and Punishment.* Routledge and Paul, London, 1955, p. 24.

is the "wet mop and dry mop"; after each meal several boys can be observed rhythmically swinging their mops across the dining hall.

The boys are not organized, however, like a football squad, nor do they manufacture material goods for which they are judged and rewarded. In the permissive Hollymeade atmosphere mutual peer obligations evolve autonomously out of peer interaction. Are groups characterized by a predominance of informal interaction less influential in shaping individual character than more formally oriented groups? This may not be the case at all. In fact, quite the opposite is often true, as Simmel pointed out:

> Since sociability in its pure form has no ulterior end, no content and result outside itself, it is oriented completely about personalities. . . . *But* precisely because all is oriented about them the personalities must not emphasize themselves too individually. . . .[1]

The primary cottage group is noteworthy for other features that may be enumerated: durability, continuity, extensive range of interaction, intensive contact, and nonsegmental in character.

The peer group is durable, for its members interact over several years despite many internal crises. Continuity prevails, for the same boys are together during this time; the extensive range of interaction quantitatively accounts for a large proportion of the boys' human transactions. Finally, this interaction is nonsegmental; that is, it is not limited to one or two aspects of an individual's life like a factory work group. Rather, it is more diffuse, like a family.

To be sure, small groups undergo complex changes, and evolve in numerous settings. This usual limitation becomes one of the chief advantages of studying primary groups in institutional settings, such as hospitals, prisons, and old-age homes, where the members' lives are drastically circumscribed and observable. Institutional limitations have a definite bearing on the organization and standards of subgroups. Nevertheless, as Caudill and others have shown, small, persistent groups also evolve social

[1] Simmel, Georg, *The Sociology of Sociability*, quoted by David Riesman in *The Lonely Crowd*. Doubleday Anchor Books, Doubleday and Co., Garden City, N.Y., 1950, p. 151.

controls quite independently of institutional authorities and
norms.[1]

Hollymeade's circumscribed setting thus affords us an unusual
stage on which to spotlight a deviant peer group and how it de-
fines various roles for its members. In observing this process we
shall also have an opportunity to explore other questions of con-
ceptual and therapeutic importance. For example: What are the
cultural standards and interpersonal patterns ingrained in a
deviant group? How is it shaped by the milieu in which it is em-
bedded? What is the reciprocal impact of the deviant group upon
its surrounding community?

THE CONCEPT OF DEVIANT SUBCULTURE

A deviant subculture can be defined as persistent collective
behavior and related value system of a circumscribed group that
violates conventional social norms. Thirty years ago a Chicago
group of social scientists undertook the study of the gang as a vital
factor in juvenile delinquency.[2] Their studies are the critical

[1] Caudill, William, F.C. Redlich, H.R. Gilmore, and E.B. Brody, "Social Struc-
ture and Interaction Processes on a Psychiatric Ward," *American Journal of Orthopsy-
chiatry*, vol. 22, April, 1952, pp. 314–334; Devereux, George, "The Social Structure
of a Schizophrenia Ward and Its Therapeutic Fitness," *Journal of Clinical Psycho-
pathology*, vol. 6, October, 1944, pp. 231–265; Rowland, Howard, "Interaction
Processes in a State Mental Hospital," *Psychiatry*, vol. 1, August, 1938, pp. 323–337;
Rowland, Howard, *Segregated Communities and Mental Health*, Publication no. 9,
American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1939, pp. 263–268; Rowland,
Howard, "Friendship Patterns in a State Mental Hospital," *Psychiatry*, vol. 2, August,
1939, pp. 363–373; Weinberg, S. Kirson, "Aspects of the Prison's Social Structure,"
American Journal of Sociology, vol. 47, March, 1942, pp. 717–726; Hayner, Norman S.,
and Ellis Ash, "The Prisoner Community as a Social Group," *American Sociological
Review*, vol. 4, June, 1939, pp. 362–369; Dunham, H. Warren, and S. Kirson
Weinberg, *The Culture of the State Mental Hospital*, Wayne State University Press,
Detroit, 1960; Belknap, Ivan, *Human Problems of a State Mental Hospital*, McGraw-
Hill Book Co., New York, 1956; Bateman, J. Fremont, and H. Warren Dunham,
"The State Mental Hospital as a Specialized Community Experience," *American
Journal of Psychiatry*, vol. 104, December, 1948, pp. 445–448; Stanton, Alfred H.,
and Morris S. Schwartz, *The Mental Hospital:* A Study of Institutional Participation
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John, and Elaine Cumming, "Social Equilibrium and Social Change in the Large
Mental Hospital" in *The Patient and the Mental Hospital*, edited by Milton Greenblatt,
Daniel J. Levinson, and Richard H. Williams, The Free Press, Glencoe, Ill., 1957,
pp. 50–71; Jones, Maxwell, *The Therapeutic Community:* A New Treatment Method
in Psychiatry, Basic Books, New York, 1953.

[2] See especially Shaw, C.R., *The Jack Roller*, University of Chicago Press,
Chicago, 1930; Shaw, C.R., *The Natural History of a Delinquent Career*, University of
Chicago Press, Chicago, 1931; Shaw, C.R., and H.D. McKay, *Juvenile Delinquency
and Urban Areas*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1942; Sutherland, Edwin H.,

point of departure for understanding deviant subcultures. As evidence of what became known as the "cultural transmission" theory, Shaw documents Sidney Blotzman's seduction into the gang. Sidney is alerted to accessible store exits and discovers how to break in surreptitiously. Eventually he graduates from his delinquent peers and neighborhood to ply the whole city. "Sidney's delinquencies occurred as part of the activities of the play groups of which he was a member."[1]

Thus, delinquents learn delinquent techniques from each other and overcome inhibitions about breaking the law by mutual stimulation and reinforcement. Implicit in Thrasher's ecological survey of juvenile gangs, and in Shaw's and Sutherland's studies, are *organized groups* with delinquent and criminal traditions which transmit these patterns to adolescents.

Recent descriptions of the deviant subcultures have stressed one or several of the following features:

1. Norms (values or attitudes)
2. Activities
3. Internal organization
4. Interrelationship with other groups and the community
5. Members' personalities
6. Distinctive style (language, clothes, gesture)

1. Normative Values of the Delinquent Subculture

Albert Cohen has characterized a delinquent subculture as hedonistic, negativistic, and nonutilitarian, a reaction formation of working-class boys to frustrated strivings in a middle-class oriented society.[1] The boys internalize middle-class success standards but reject them *in toto* because of their disadvantaged class position. This accounts for their heavy emphasis on gang

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editor, *The Professional Thief*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1937; Sutherland, Edwin H., *White Collar Crime*, Dryden Press, New York, 1949; Sutherland, Edwin H., and Donald Cressey, *Principles of Criminology*, 6th ed., J.B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia, 1960; Thrasher, Frederic, *The Gang*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1936.

[1] Shaw, C.R., *The Natural History of a Delinquent Career*, p. 41.

[2] Cohen, Albert K., *Delinquent Boys:* The Culture of the Gang. The Free Press, Glencoe, Ill., 1955.

activity that seems to lack any practical utility from the point of view of middle-class values.

Walter Miller stresses the direct influence of a "long-established, distinctively patterned" lower-class tradition upon working-class youth groups.[1] He sees delinquents' "focal concerns" as an "intensified manifestation" of lower-class values (in contrast to middle-class values) which include an emphasis upon toughness, smartness (ability to "con"), excitement of dangerous risks, autonomy (freedom from external constraint and authority), and a permissive attitude toward getting into trouble.

Bloch and Niederhoffer dispute Cohen's ideas of a deviant subculture.[2] Instead of short-run hedonism, nonutilitarianism, and negativism, Bloch and Niederhoffer view the gangs as preparing long-range calculated plans that are meticulously carried out against other gangs and society. They see the build-up of an internal organization that increases the efficiency of stealing and other illegal activities. Like Miller, they hold that lower-class boys' attitudes toward aggression and fighting and getting into trouble stem from their class backgrounds.

2. Activities of the Delinquent Subculture

Several writers differentiate delinquent subcultures according to the deviant "central activities" around which the group is organized.[3] They assert that the criminal subculture "consists of activities of theft, extortion, and other illegal operations"; the "conflict subculture" enjoys violence as a way of gaining status; the third, the "retreatist subculture," has withdrawn from both conventional and illegal channels and stresses the consumption of drugs. Cohen differentiates two further types: the "parent male subculture" emphasizes negativism and nonutilitarianism, and consists of small groups and cliques. The middle-class delinquent group underplays aggression and emphasizes the sophisti-

[1] Miller, Walter B., "Lower Class Culture as a Generating Milieu of Gang Delinquency," *Journal of Social Issues*, vol. 14, no. 3, 1958, pp. 5–19.

[2] Bloch, Herbert, and Arthur Niederhoffer, *The Gang*. Philosophical Library, New York, 1958.

[3] Cloward, Richard A., and Lloyd E. Ohlin, *Delinquency and Opportunity: A Theory of Delinquent Gangs*. The Free Press, Glencoe, Ill., 1960.

cated irresponsible playboy approach to sex, liquor, and auto-mobiles.[1]

The activities of each of these types of delinquent subculture generate specific values, techniques, and cultural styles. The "conflict subculture" emphasizes the instrumental use of violence and stresses aggression as the major value; the criminal subculture, disciplined utilitarian forms of theft, and the division of mankind into smart guys and suckers; the retreatist, participation in illicit consummatory experiences such as drugs and the view of conventional people as "squares."[2]

3. Internal Organization of Delinquent Subculture

Very little systematic research has been done on the complementary positions within the deviant group and the tension that may arise within the peer social order. Lewis Yablonsky was unable to detect a definite group structure in the gangs he observed nor a clear pattern of values.[3] He characterized the structure of the delinquent gang, which he called a "near group," as consisting of diffused role definition, impermanence, minimal consensus of norms, shifting membership, and disturbed dictatorial leadership. A "near group" is midway between a mob and a solidary group.

Other investigators take sharp issue with Yablonsky's view.[4] Although many of the latter see the gang as an impermanent,

[1] Cohen, Albert K., and J.F. Short, Jr., "Research in Delinquent Subcultures," *Journal of Social Issues*, vol. 14, no. 3, 1958, p. 28.

[2] Cloward, Richard A., and Lloyd E. Ohlin, *op. cit.*, pp. 20–27.

[3] Yablonsky, Lewis, "The Delinquent Gang as a Near-Group," *Social Problems*, vol. 7, Fall, 1959, pp. 108–117.

[4] Spaulding, Charles B., "Cliques, Gangs and Networks," *Sociology and Social Research*, vol. 32, July-August, 1948, pp. 928–937; Chambers, Bradford, "The Juvenile Gangs of New York," *American Mercury*, vol. 62, April, 1946, pp. 480–486; Wakefield, Dan, "The Gang That Went Good," *Harper's Magazine*, vol. 216, June, 1958, pp. 36–43; Jones, Stacy V., "The Cougars—Life with a Brooklyn Gang," *Harper's Magazine*, vol. 209, November, 1954, pp. 35–43; Crawford, Paul C., Daniel I. Malamud, and James R. Dumpson, *Working with Teen-Age Gangs*, New York Welfare Council, New York, 1950; Kramer, Dale, and Madeline Karr, *Teen-Age Gangs*, Henry Holt and Co., New York, 1953; Bloch, Herbert, and Arthur Niederhoffer, *op. cit.*; Dumpson, James R., "An Approach to Antisocial Street Gangs" in *The Problem of Delinquency*, edited by Sheldon Glueck, Houghton Mifflin Co., Riverside Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1959; Rogers, Kenneth H., *Street Gangs in Toronto*, Ryerson Press, Toronto, 1945; Furman, Sylvan S., editor, *Reaching the Unreached*, New York City Youth Board, New York, 1952; Myers, C. K., *Light the Dark Streets*, Seabury Press, Greenwich, Conn., 1957.

transitory group phenomenon, they stress the crystallization of the subculture's internal organization. Vertical organization refers to groups of different age-levels that are federated in one large organization.[1] The gang divisions consist of "Tiny Tots, Mighty Mites, Juniors, and Seniors." As one boy proudly announced, "Man, The Enchanters weren't a gang, they were an organization."[2] The structure of the overall gang is maintained by vertical mobility, for youngsters graduate from the Tiny Tims on the bottom all the way to the seniors at the top.[3]

The horizontal structure of the gang has also been detailed. Delany found one group that had twelve distinct officers, including a vice president of war, chief of armament, chief of war intelligence, spokesman, and commander of tactical operations.[4] Many investigators have commented upon the elaboration of distinctive roles within the gang, designated in the current vernacular: war councilor, lineup man (he carries the pistols and initiates the war by "shooting up the rival gangs"), punks, squares, and turkeys (boys "not in the know"), cats and strays (boys without group affiliation), smoothies (nondelinquents), acemen (secondary leaders or top fighters in the gang), chicken, smart money man, citizen, and many more.

Myers has pointed out that the gang varies in its solidarity.[5] In the face of an external threat the boys become closer to one another than ordinarily. Many gangs are autocratically controlled.[6] Cohen believes that it is the conflict-oriented subculture that has the most elaborate organization.[7] Rogers found gangs organized along the lines of an army, with a general, colonel, major, captain, and lieutenant. This group had written surrenders from other gangs in the district.[8]

[1] Dumpson, James R., "An Approach to Antisocial Street Gangs" in Glueck, Sheldon, editor, *op. cit.*, p. 913.

[2] Wakefield, Dan, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

[3] Delany, Lloyd T., "Establishing Relations with Antisocial Groups, and an Analysis of Their Structure," in Glueck, Sheldon, editor, *op. cit.*, p. 921.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 923.

[5] Myers, C. K., *op. cit.*, p. 54.

[6] McCarthy, James E., and Joseph S. Barbaro, "Redirecting Teen-Age Gangs" in Furman, Sylvan S., editor, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

[7] Cohen, Albert K. and J. F. Short, Jr., *op. cit.*, p. 28.

[8] Rogers, Kenneth, *Street Gangs in Toronto*. Ryerson Press, Toronto, 1945, p. 43.

Bloch and Niederhoffer skillfully analyze the functions of four leaders in one gang: the top leader had connections with fences and kept the group together. The tactician "cased" jobs; the diplomat covered up for the gang by bamboozling the police and gaining friends in the community; and a fourth, Blackie, the weakest boy of the four leaders, served as a "butt" for lower-status boys to attack.[1] Spaulding presents an abstract paradigm of clique formations in the gang and their interrelationship.[2]

4. Interrelationships of Delinquent Subculture with Other Groups and the Community

Recent studies have spelled out the community milieux in which the distinctive delinquent subcultures arise and are perpetuated. This orientation focuses upon "the processes by which persons are recruited into criminal learning environments and ultimately inducted into criminal roles."[3] Access to deviant roles is sharply conditioned by class and ethnic background, age, sex, kinship, as well as the illegal opportunity structures available in the neighborhood and community. Wakefield points out that "the Puerto Rican juvenile delinquent can't go on to membership in a Puerto Rican criminal gang of adults because there is none."[4] Thus, available to him are "conflict" and "retreatist" adaptations. Cloward and Ohlin suggest that neighborhoods undergo phases of development that influence deviant subcultural outcomes.[5]

Bloch and Niederhoffer specifically analyze one gang of delinquents in a deteriorating area and show not only the pressures emanating from the gang but also those operating upon policemen in squad cars who "must produce." The gang, the police, and the people in the neighborhood are entangled in a dramatic triangle, each of whom contributes to the delinquent "solution."[6]

[1] Bloch, Herbert, and Arthur Niederhoffer, *op. cit.*, pp. 204–205.

[2] Spaulding, Charles B., *op. cit.*, pp. 928–929.

[3] Cloward, Richard A., "Illegitimate Means, Anomie, and Deviant Behavior," *American Sociological Review*, vol. 24, April, 1959, pp. 164–175.

[4] Wakefield, Dan, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

[5] Cloward, Richard A., and Lloyd E. Ohlin, *op. cit.*, pp. 193ff.

[6] Bloch, Herbert, and Arthur Niederhoffer, *op. cit.*, pp. 193–219.

Sykes and Matza have explored specific "techniques of neutralization," the justifications for deviancy used by delinquents in their relations with adults that render inoperative conventional norms and social controls. Thus, the delinquent maintains: that his acts are due to forces beyond his control ("denial of responsibility"); that his delinquency does not really cause great harm ("denial of injury"); that the victim deserved the treatment he received ("denial of the victim"); that the condemners are unfair or hypocritical ("condemnation of the condemners"); that he is loyal to his peer group ("higher loyalties").[1]

5. Members' Personalities

There is a growing belief that seriously disturbed boys play distinctive roles within the delinquent organization. Several investigators have noted extreme psychotic behavior of gang members.[2] Furman points out that a number of the boys have deep-seated personality problems. Yablonsky believes that members are differentially committed to the organization according to the needs that are fulfilled in their personality makeup.

6. Distinctive Styles of Delinquent Subcultures

The best single study that we have of a deviant subculture is Harold Finestone's description of a group of young Negro addicts.[3] The colorful vocabulary, interpersonal relationships, and dominant activities of the "cats" are vividly portrayed. The "hustle" is any deviant means of making some "bread" which does not require work. A "kick" is any act tabooed by squares that heightens or intensifies the present moment of experience

[1] Sykes, Gresham M., and David Matza, "Techniques of Neutralization: A Theory of Delinquency," *American Sociological Review*, vol. 22, December, 1957, pp. 664–670.

[2] Kramer, Dale, and Madeline Karr, *Teen-Age Gangs*, Henry Holt and Co., New York, 1953; Furman, Sylvan S., editor, *op. cit.*; Yablonsky, Lewis, *op. cit.*; Crawford, Paul C., Daniel I. Malamud, and James R. Dumpson, *op. cit.*

[3] Finestone, Harold, "Cats, Kicks, and Color," *Social Problems*, vol. 5, July, 1957, pp. 3–13. For a related discussion of how the marihuana user experiments with a role in the deviant subculture and overcomes conventional social controls, see Becker, Howard S., "Marihuana Use and Social Control," *Social Problems*, vol. 3, July, 1955, pp. 35–44; and "Becoming a Marihuana User," *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 59, November, 1953, pp. 235–242.

and affords an escape from the dull routine of daily life. We do not have comparable descriptions of internal processes within other deviant subcultures. If it is true, as Wirth indicates, that "a detailed analysis of the cultural personality types in any given area or cultural group shows that they depend upon a set of habits and attitudes in the group for their existence, and are the direct expression of the values of the group,"[1] then we have much work to do to spell out the distinctive configurations of the other types of deviant subcultures.

SUMMARY OF CONTEMPORARY THEORIES OF DELINQUENT SUBCULTURES

Contemporary theories of delinquent subcultures have been constructed from fragmentary data. We have the anomaly of very few intensive first-hand studies of contemporary deviant youth subcultures and extended sophisticated speculation about them at a distance.[2] Each time a new finding is uncovered, the theory is stretched to make it "fit." The discovery that there is not one type of delinquent subculture but a variety, has forced theoreticians to make important revisions in their assumptions.

The studies reviewed briefly above indicate that the investigators reached only the periphery of the delinquent social and cultural organization. Rarely do these investigators experience the processes of interpersonal complementarity and social control that underlie the apparent anarchy of deviant boys. The intensity and extent of actual contact with the delinquent subculture determines to a considerable degree the picture of delinquent func-

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[1] Wirth, Louis, "Some Jewish Types of Personality" in *The Urban Community*, edited by E. W. Burgess, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Ill., 1926, p. 112; quoted by Harold Finestone, *op. cit.*

[2] The best thesis we found for the maintenance of the delinquent subculture is that by John I. Kitsuse and David C. Dietrick, "Delinquent Boys: A Critique," *American Sociological Review*, vol. 24, April, 1959, pp. 164–176: (1) A boy learns the values of the deviant subculture through participation in it. (2) Motivations for participation are varied. (3) The deviant behavior is met by negative sanctions and limited access to status within the middle-class system. (4) The deviant subculture creates similar problems for all participants. (5) Exclusion from status in the middle-class system results in a hostile rejection of its standards and emphasis upon status in the deviant subculture. (6) This reinforces the negativistic norms of the deviant subculture.

tioning with which the investigator ends up.[1] Few researchers are close enough to the actual scene of operations long enough to assess the subculture's content and function in its milieu. Future studies of the delinquent subculture should proceed in two directions: toward more concrete surveys of the types of deviant youth subcultures and more comprehensive analyses of their inner workings and interrelationships with their milieux.

One of the chief weaknesses of the studies reviewed is that in each instance an artificial separation was made of the boys' value orientations and their actual social interaction. Values become relevant, Gerth and Mills have pointed out, "when they justify institutions and/or motivate persons to create or at least to enact roles."[2] The studies reveal a lack of specific information on how the internal organization of the delinquent subculture exerts pressure upon individual members. The distribution of opportunities for specific outcomes of deviant youth behavior in a given area is one critical variable receiving much attention. But we must also ask what opportunities there are *within* the deviant group for its various members. The actual process of socialization of individual members within the deviant primary groups has hardly been touched upon at all. Thus, it is not only the network of legal and illegal opportunities in the community but also the role positions within the internal peer group structure available to the boys that are important for the kind of deviant careers that will emerge. Enormous pressures may be placed upon individual boys not only within the community but within their own social organization as well. In fact, it is the combined pressures that may lead to breakdowns, as Cloward has pointed out in the case of the double failure: "Investigation of the careers of petty criminals who are alcoholics may reveal that after being actively oriented toward criminal careers, they then lose out in the competitive struggle" within that deviant subculture.[3]

[1] For a discussion of how deviant behavior contributes to the development of organizational structures rather than their disruption, see Dentler, Robert A., and Kai T. Erikson, "The Functions of Deviance in Groups," *Social Problems*, vol. 7, Fall, 1959, pp. 98–107.

[2] Gerth, Hans H., and C. Wright Mills, *Character and Social Structure*. Harcourt, Brace and Co., New York, 1953, p. 299.

[3] Cloward, Richard A., "Illegitimate Means, Anomie, and Deviant Behavior," p. 175.

We shall take maximum advantage of our field of operation and analyze the cottage subculture along the six dimensions discussed above. We shall follow a group of deviant boys over a period of many months and examine in detail their relationships in the cottage and in the institutional community. Although Cottage 6 is "boxed in" by the therapeutic milieu, it contains a heavy concentration of disturbed delinquents in dense interaction in one place. Its circumscribed position enables us to study intensively interpersonal processes among deviant youths. Our problem is to analyze the resultants of the interaction of twenty delinquent boys who live closely together. Does an organizational structure emerge; what are its significant characteristics; and how does it "contain" deviant boys?

The conceptualization of delinquency as a deviant youth culture has other important gaps, which the present study hopes to help close. We know too little about the predisposing, precipitating, and perpetuating factors in delinquent group formations. How do delinquents interrelate during anti-social outbreaks, not to mention the "lulls" in between? How is their normal way of life structured and related to anti-social activities and norms?

A more adequate theory of delinquent subculture will be constructed when we have a better understanding of the interrelationship of the members' psychological characteristics, the internal dynamics of deviant organizations, and the role of the deviant subculture in the community. Our study touches on all three dimensions, but focuses primarily upon the institutionalization of statuses and values within the deviant youth subculture.

THE APPROACH TO COTTAGE 6

There are many conceptual roads to Hollymeade. Which is best for the sociologist? His main concern is to locate the strategic social contexts for the population he wants to study. He assumes that some people and experiences are more significant for his subjects than others. A senior boy is more closely related to the senior unit than the junior unit. A boy's own cottage is more important to him than other cottages. A boy's own clique, or the one to which he aspires, is more important than other cliques in his cottage. For the professional staff, particularly the psychiatric

caseworkers, the cottage may not be so important. Overwhelmed by a heavy caseload, aftercare casework in the city, and numerous meetings, the caseworker may surrender the cottage as a significant substructure and exclude it from daily therapeutic attention.

But the study of natural groups in institutional settings is of great interest to the sociologist. Two problems basic to social science research and theory become central in any such study: What is the reciprocal impact of a society and the primary groups it contains? What is the reciprocal impact, in turn, of the primary group and its individual members? With these questions in mind, the investigator is confronted by numerous complex variables. To analyze one neurotic, the psychoanalyst assembles data with the aid of a sophisticated theory that relates conscious to unconscious processes. So must the sociologist construct a frame of reference relating social interaction to underlying structural patterns. His subject is *the interactional process* rather than, as in the case of the psychologist, the psychic interplay of forces within one person.

The sociologist has a firm conviction, based on studies of many subcultures, that common to all collectivities are the following features:[1]

1. Common motives for interaction
2. Differential interaction effects on individuals
3. Rise of a group structure with hierarchical statuses
4. Standardized values that regulate group activities

Tools other than those used in clinical studies of individuals are needed for dissecting the deviant subculture. The methods must yield a meaningful description of personal behavior as related to group behavior, as well as one of subgroup behavior in the larger social matrix. The fish is in the water and the water is in the fish. Most small group theory cannot be utilized precisely because it isolates the fish from the water; it does not dynamically probe the

[1] Sherif, Muzafer, and Carolyn W., *Groups in Harmony and Tension.* Harper and Bros., New York, 1953, p. 192.

interrelationship either of person to group or of the group in
its milieu.

Which point of departure is taken depends upon one's pur-
poses. Life at Hollymeade cannot be visualized as building blocks
that merely touch each other. The boys act and react upon one
another and the staff. Any subgroup may be analyzed—the ad-
ministration, the social worker-youth relationship, the cottage
parents—but only in terms of the overall societal structure. Un-
less the analysis proceeds with a knowledge of how the specific
social segment fits into the community, the results will consist
largely of unrelated fragments of information.

Processes and products of the interaction of members of a
cottage group and of the cottage group and the larger institu-
tional matrix are the major objects of this research. We draw an
imaginary line about the cottage, for it is the focal unit within the
community that will be probed in detail. But in this analysis we
seek to avoid artificial fragmentation. The parts separated for
study must be reassembled into a meaningful whole.

2. Setting

FROM THE TANGLED web of past experience, man spins new ideas that enable him to see himself anew in his world. Walter Lippmann argues persuasively that man does not enter a new situation *tabula rasa*. Commenting on the complexity of life experience, he has remarked, "We have to reconstruct it on a simpler model before we can manage with it."[1]

Participant observation, as will be seen in the chapters that follow, is both complex and subjective. Suffice it to say that every act of perception represents some kind of integration of the subjective orientation of the perceiver and the flow of events in the situation perceived. In order to get around the difficulty of observing everything at once, we establish imaginary boundaries that enable us to observe processes systematically within some framework that makes reality manageable. The reader is again warned that in the boys' concrete social life there is no sharp line separating one setting from another. Their lives crisscross in complex patterns. No one social complex can be adequately analyzed until we have gained some understanding of the others that impinge upon it. While for practical reasons we must study each substructure in some degree isolated from the system of which it is a part, the fact that it is a part of a larger interactive system must be kept constantly in mind as we interpret what is going on.

By way of providing a preliminary orientation for the reader we shall now provide a brief description of certain characteristic attitudes and actions of Cottage 6 which reveal in part how the members see themselves and their relations with the rest of the

[1] Lippmann, Walter, *Public Opinion*. Macmillan Co., New York, 1947, p. 16.

institution. This description will also give some idea of how the institution perceives and relates to Cottage 6.

In addition to serious emotional disturbances, the boys of this cottage come to Hollymeade with values inculcated by families, groups, and communities, which are frequently not assets in the creation of a positive cottage culture. The boys' social attitudes are best revealed in discussions of the "good old days." They characteristically boast and reminisce about robberies, sexual promiscuities, school truancies, drinking and food binges, narcotics, exploitation of peers, and general trouble-making.

THE COTTAGE TRADITION

It is the unwritten law of the outdoorsman that a camping site should be left in better shape than he found it. What did previous residents of the cottage leave behind them? By talking to the boys and staff we secured impressions of the cottage prior to the entrance of the observer. According to Milber,[1] the only member of the cottage staff who could compare the past with the present, the preceding group of boys were "real delinquents." They came from Studs Lonigan's rough and alienated big city pavements.

The cottage parents could not control them. Boys now "second in command," like Kahn, Drake, and Yearwood, were subjected to the whims and taunts of the more powerful boys. In Milber's own words, "There were fights, a boy was beaten up. It was done very fast while the night watchman was out on his rounds. Like Small, when he came in he had to take his initiation. If other boys stepped out of line, they were put back strictly into line. . ."

The cottage counselor believes that intimidation is backed by physical coercion:

Guys like Bimbo and Claw were the enforcers or the knockout men. Bimbo was the leader, the top man; Claw was the hatchet man. These boys held "kangaroo courts."

After Bimbo left, Nelson and Wolf assumed the leadership. They would take a kid, Miller, for example, who was accused of being a

[1] The names of all boys and girls, as well as school personnel, mentioned in this report are fictitious. No reference to any real person, living or dead, is intended and none should be inferred.

rat, into Wolf's room and hold court. "Ratting" is practically an invitation to a death penalty. They made a decision on Miller; Wolf, Red Leon, and Davis, the top men, decided to beat him up. Hammer was called in as the executioner.

In a short story entitled "The Language of Men" Norman Mailer has skillfully depicted the sardonic vernacular of soldiers.[1] The language of Cottage 6 boys, and occasionally staff members, is equally derisive; in addition, it is often exaggerated. But if a true picture of the boys' indigenous social life is to be realized, their "hard" language must be faithfully monitored, because as the boy adopts the language of his peers he is also assuming their ideals.

Milber describes how Cottage 6 was noted for two major accomplishments. The first is "making" girls.

> When I first came into the cottage there was a group of boys who were really girl crazy. They used to get over to Circle Square nightly. The top boys in the cottage always had girls. . . . We always had to watch the boys to see that they didn't get over to the girls' cottages. We also had to see that the girls didn't get into "6." There were two or three boys who were actively chasing girls every other day. Cottage 6 is one of the worst offenders in the school in that respect.

The second is toughness:

> Cottage 6 has always been known as the rough and tough cottage. The cottage has always held this position. The boys think that they have the pick of the girls, and no doubt the other cottages respect their reputation.

The role of aggression is given high place in the cottage legends that are recounted by the boys and given added glamour in each retelling. They are a race of Giants in a land of "small" adults, who back down whenever the sword of aggression and delinquency is unsheathed. The older boys in the cottage have witnessed or heard about heroic acts of defiance of staff that are told and retold to the new boys.

[1] Mailer, Norman, *Advertisements for Myself*. New American Library, New York, 1959.

ADMINISTRATION

The basic decisions governing cottage life stem from the local administration. It is the power that sets into motion substructures such as clinic and school, and policies such as intake and discharge that have their impacts on various aspects of cottage life. The indirect ramifications of the local administration's authority are discussed in a later chapter. We are more concerned here with its direct influence in shaping Cottage 6.

The senior unit supervisor and clinic director share overall cottage-care supervision. The pivotal treatment link is the social worker. His orientation, theoretically and practically, is to the individual boy. Progress meetings are held once or twice a year for each boy by a professional team, including the psychiatrist, psychologist, clinic director, unit supervisor, social worker, school supervisor, and cottage staff.

Hollymeade is geared to admit boys and girls who are not so aggressive that they will physically harm others (or themselves) or cannot be maintained in an open institution; nor can they be so mentally disturbed that they cannot carry on a minimum school program and eat in a common dining hall.

Once the boy or girl is accepted, the next decision made by the administration concerns cottage placement. Boys with similar psychological characteristics and interests are generally placed together in the same cottage. For example, an effeminate, middle-class latent homosexual will not be placed in a cottage of tough boys. Criteria for cottage assignment include: age, degree and nature of delinquency, "toughness," psychiatric diagnosis, intellectuality, and "cottage balance." Thus, in the initial molding of a cottage unit, the administration establishes the ground plan.

The staff occasionally shifts boys from one cottage to another. In this respect Cottage 6 is the "end of the line" for tough boys who cannot be contained in other cottages. This is solid evidence of the consensus of the boys and staff concerning the role of Cottage 6 in the community.

Today, John and Edna Raines (cottage parents), Zack Ambler (unit supervisor), and Morris White (social worker) discussed

Colorado, a transfer from another cottage. Morris said that he was too aggressive for Cottage 4. John thought that Cottage 6 could handle him.

This afternoon, Colorado, the new boy, was sitting at Table IV. The boys shouted, "Hi ya, Colorado." Gary remarked, "This new guy was a real delinquent, but he'll get into line in this cottage."

As we observed the boys, we discovered that a rich, distorted lore disseminates about staff relationships:

QUESTION: What do the boys think of Zack Ambler?

ANSWER: Some like him and some think he's a lot of hot air. A lot of the guys feel that he's not as dumb as he acts. The man has a way of saying, no, no, no, and meaning yes, or giving the impression that he means yes. I think the guys have a lot of respect for him. At one time I thought he was a freeloader.

QUESTION: What do you mean by freeloader?

ANSWER: I thought he was an institutional bum. I thought he was just a yes man. When I came into closer contact with the man I realized that I was wrong.

Thus, the boys in Cottage 6 look at the staff from a power perspective. They profess fluctuating regard for lower-rung officials who "merely" carry out orders. Further, they constantly get around the rules by playing off staff members against each other. Such maneuvers, especially when successful, are known as "slimes."

THE SENIOR UNIT

Of the three senior cottages, Cottage 6 has the reputation of containing the oldest and most unmanageable delinquent boys. It has the fewest "academics," "queers," and "babies." The boys have an epigram about the girls which symbolizes their reputation: "Cottage 5 dreams about girls, Cottage 7 thinks about girls, and Cottage 6 'makes' them."

Each cottage creates a distinctive collective style and self-conception that can best be understood by the way the members compare themselves with others, as in the coed relationships just

noted. Freud shrewdly noted that we jealously compare ourselves to others most nearly like us ("narcissism of small differences").

> The observer overheard a discussion in the cottage about a record that Dumbo-Dumbo, a boy from another cottage, had taken from Cottage 6.
>
> Perry indignantly said, "What the hell's the matter with him, he can't do that to us, even though it is his record." Nate chimed in, "Yeah, yeah, we'll beat his head off if he ever dares try a thing like that again." "Only we," Nate continues, "can go into other people's cottages and get stuff, but they better not come here."

Cottage 6's leadership in the community was not solely negative and destructive. In response to the observer's query, John Raines, the cottage parent, noted that the success of a recent campuswide dance was largely due to Cottage 6. In his words, and he said this proudly, "The dance would have been a dead issue if not for 6."

Nevertheless, Cottage 6 considered itself the toughest on campus and was so regarded by the others. Cottage 6 boys distinguished between Cottages 5 and 7. Drake's comments are typical:

> Anything we said in Cottage 6 we went through with or didn't do at all. Cottage 7? They had a few guys in there who were pretty big guys—they were tough all right. . . . Cottage 5 is just a . . . it's hard to say much about them. . . . They were nothing in plain English. There was nobody there that could halfway compare with 7 or 6. . . . All they do in "5" is watch television and spaceships. They're in another world. In "6" we really have some discussions. Just the other night we were talking about scalping a guy.

The fear of homosexuality and mental illness accentuates Cottage 6's dissociation from Cottage 5 and the juniors. The division of the cottages, in turn, reinforces these fears. Len complained to the observer:

> This place is turning into a mental institution. Before, there were more delinquents and it wasn't so easy around here. You think I would sleep in the same bedroom with one of those "buggy" guys? Not me. I could sleep with a thief or a guy who's done time, but I wouldn't sleep with one of those nuts. . . .

The awareness of Cottage 6 of its reputation in the senior unit is indicated rather strikingly by this excerpt from the writer's log:

Foster was bragging that his cottage (6) could take anybody on, in baseball or any other sport. Milstein, from another cottage, said that he didn't want to bet with Foster on baseball. Foster replied, "You guys want to have a swingout (a big fight between two cottages)? You know I heard that your counselor beat up one of your boys in front of the cottage and no one did a damn thing."

Milstein countered that if he had been around he would have done something. Foster, coming up to Milstein, challenged him, "Yeah, yeah, big talk, big talk. Want to swing out? Shut up or swing out." Milstein backed down. Foster slammed quickly without warning and Milstein retreated. Foster boasted that Cottage 6 had the toughest guys and nobody could do anything about it. The frightened Milstein could do nothing but agree, "No. 6 does have all the big guys now. Hollymeade dumped everyone they can't handle into your cottage."

The examples above help to illustrate the function of the cottage culture in perpetuating the tradition of toughness.

What, in summary, are the values promoted by Cottage 6 in the persistent replenishment of an image as the toughest on the campus? Exaggerated displays of masculinity versus fear of girls and sex, aggression rather than tolerance of differences, hardness rather than tenderness, distrust rather than confidence, being wise and "on the in" rather than "simple" and stupid. The boys have a sixth sense about their values. One interpretation is that the extreme emphasis on the "tough" image is a defense against deep anxieties about themselves and their relations with others. Clearly this points to the necessity for careful study of the interplay between social structure and intrapsychic processes.

THE GIRLS

The girls at Hollymeade are off-bounds for the boys for good reasons. They are mentally disturbed, impulsive, and seductive. The boys believe that coed relationships were never so restricted as they are now. Dances are held once every couple of months. Girls and boys sit separately at athletic games, but mingle during

intermissions, school recesses, and assemblies. A busy grapevine daily carries news between lovers. A boy exploits every opportunity to see his girl and is matched by her in sub rosa maneuvers. In the words of Milber, "The girls would check up to the cottage at night, and the guys would check down to the girls' cottages." To play their "forbidden games" they will meet anywhere they can and indulge in any risk.

The staff are caught on the horns of a dilemma. They know that in adolescence sexual urges are overwhelming and secret trysts strain conventional sublimation; yet, chaperoned social events are the exception rather than the rule.

The tension of adolescence between heightened physiological urges and strict societal taboos is accentuated in an institution. The boys must prove their masculinity by either flaunting conquests or displaying contempt for Hollymeade girls. The girls cannot "win." If they resist the boys they are rejected, and if they yield they are degraded according to the all too familiar double standard.

One result of the staff's ambivalency is the cynical and aggressive attitude of the boys toward the staff's separation policy. One of the boys bitterly complained to the observer after the completion of the new swimming pool that it was not really "coed." This boy told the writer that someone had told him that for the christening boys and girls were to have a coed swim. A group of boys talked about filling the pool with champagne and 100-proof whiskey and drowning somebody in it. Drake said, "Everybody would be blown sky high." The boys roared.

Although, as has been noted, the cottage ideal is to "make" girls, exceptions do occur. Steve Davis went with a girl for over a year and, in his own words, "not for only one thing." The staff believe that marriages are never made at Hollymeade. "Maybe," Steve replied to the observer who repeated this to him one day after he left Hollymeade, "but I am still going with her in the city and she is working and doing well, and I hope to marry her pretty soon." However, such relationships are rare at Hollymeade. One factor that is said to militate against more mature relationships is the boys' fear that they are not sexually

competent. They rationalize that Hollymeade girls are "sluts," "hard," and sneaky "makes."

The following incident illustrates a typical web of coed intrigue. The observer was walking to the lineup with Tippy Fraser, one of the boys in Cottage 6, when the latter told him that he had given his mazuza, a Jewish charm, to Esther. Tippy related how he discovered that the girl was a slut. He was stupid, he said, in giving her the charm in the first place. It developed that Esther shortly afterward told Stan Kranz, another boy in Cottage 6, that Tippy was a "queer." Tippy explained that he had given his mazuza to the girl because he thought he would be able to "get something off her later." But he had really uncovered Esther's "double-cross," in that she accepted the charm and then publicly labeled him a queer.

It is interesting to observe the subtle manner in which the boys' general attitudes toward the girls are supported covertly by cottage staff.

> Milber was annoyed that the back door of the cottage was never locked. "The girls can have a field day in 6," he said, adding that "someone had put a mattress in the boiler room." One of the recreation men who was standing next to Milber quipped, "Well, the boys are getting gentlemanly." Milber's wrath had apparently subsided sufficiently to suggest, "Yeah, chivalry ain't dead in 6."

THE COTTAGE PARENTS

The cottage parents live with the boys. At this point we will briefly indicate their marginal status in the institution. They cannot control the boys without their cooperation, which, in turn, cannot be secured without friendliness; yet if the cottage parents are too friendly, their authority is endangered. They walk a precarious tightrope, avoiding delinquent seduction on one hand, and rejection by the boys on the other. The dynamics of the cottage parents' role in "6," their relationships to the boys, staff status, and personality dispositions are described in Chapter 8.

THE SOCIAL WORKER

The chief direct therapeutic agent at Hollymeade is the social worker, whose role is linked to other staff members in a complex

chain of command. In any institution oriented to individualized treatment, differences inevitably arise between therapists and administrators, who must articulate individual care with the necessities of an orderly institutional program. Hollymeade social workers are aware of collective problems but sometimes become so entangled in an individual case that they unwittingly promote the cause of a boy who is at disruptive odds with institutional routines. The boys incessantly use their awareness of the "power structure" at Hollymeade as a weapon to manipulate the staff. The worker may lose face in the boys' eyes when he is so used and this affects the individual relationship.

The social worker's responsibility for individual therapeutic interviews with twenty boys each week leaves him little time and energy for observing and analyzing the cottage group processes, even if he had the necessary training and skill to do it. All the boys are assigned to social workers, to whom they bring a variety of problems ranging from those concerning a pass or a job, or a class change to a disturbing home-leave incident. Four social workers and one psychiatrist see boys from Cottage 6. The interviews vary in content and intensity because of the "escalator stages" of relationship. One worker concentrates on a boy's sexual or family problems; another, on his adjustment to the school, community, or cottage. The workers have a limited view of cottage life and the roles and aspirations of their charges among their peers. They seldom visit the boys in the cottage. They maintain contact through the cottage parents. Thus, the boys are rarely seen in interaction in a social milieu which they are instrumental in creating.

In the cottage the boys only occasionally discuss their social workers or divulge interview material. This may expose "soft spots" or admit a worker's influence. At times the casework relationship is so important to a boy that he wants to protect it from corruption by peers. But the fact that the boys rarely discuss their social workers may attest to a gap between "casework life" and cottage life. Some boys are greatly influenced by casework, but the extent of positive influence that is carried over and stabilized in cottage life is highly problematic.

THE SCHOOL

Hollymeade has its own school, in which classes are conducted from 9:30 to 11:45 a.m. and from 1 to 4 p.m. The cottages are classified according to their use of the school. The boys' expectations are rooted in a group norm toward school and study. Thus, a boy's placement in Cottage 6 presumptively ascribes him to a low academic, but not a low vocational trade aspirational level. A few of the boys perform exceptionally well in the automobile and print shops. In general, however, Cottage 6 boys think of school as something that is beyond their capacity. Chet Ellins summarized the boys' interest, or rather, lack of interest in the school: "It's something they take like a pill. . . . Gary Drake is interested in school. He wants to be an engineer, if he could go to sleep one night and wake up an engineer the next morning. That's the feeling most of the boys have toward school."

Working-class adolescents from disruptive families continue their revolt against school at Hollymeade. The observer heard frequent discussions on how to avoid school ("slime out"). Boys who have been motivated to learn are frequently discouraged by the cottage atmosphere and give up their interest in school work.

The reciprocal relationship of Cottage 6 and the school is illustrated by the administration's reaction to George Little, an impulsive middle-class youngster, who was motivated to attend high school off-grounds but dropped out after two days. At Hollymeade he continued to be disruptive in school. The unit supervisor's opinion was that George should have been placed in Cottage 5. This is "official" recognition of "6" as a nonacademic cottage.

Some boys may be salvaged for academic work, but they are not so easily rescued from the nonacademic cottage standard, which not only remains but is reinforced by a policy that removes school-oriented youngsters from the cottage. Since Cottage 6 boys are not so exposed to the problem of achievement in school as the boys in other cottages, they must turn elsewhere for achievement and recognition. The importance of the primary peer group as an alternate frame of reference is thereby enhanced.

THE O.D. (CUSTODIAN)

In the open community at Hollymeade, fences are replaced by three "O.D.s" (officers of the day), who see that the residents remain in program. They are not averse to making curt reprimands. In contrast to the social workers, who have the least need to curtail the boys' freedom, and the cottage parents, who temper their authority with empathy, the O.D.s are the most impersonal and authoritarian. Assemblies occur at 9:30 and 11:45 a.m. and at 4 p.m., when everyone is counted. But numerous devices for "sliming out" of program have been devised, the successful execution of which has led to incessant queries and checkups by the combative custodians. A rich lore, transmitted to new arrivals by the older boys in Cottage 6, depicts vividly the hairbreadth escapades in which the O.D.s have been circumvented.

RECREATION

The primary dependence upon psychoanalytic casework has led to a deemphasis of other aspects of milieu therapy. Recreational programs, for example, are limited and undeveloped. Part-time counselors, primarily teachers, have conducted recreational activities for several cottage groups once or twice a month. They attempted to keep the boys occupied. Six boys from Cottage 6 were loosely organized as a group known as "Club 6." About once every two weeks, a teacher took them into town for an early evening movie and soda. By and large almost no use is made of recreational activities as a therapeutic potential.

In this chapter our "camera" has scanned the external setting of Cottage 6, a process that may be likened to the filming of location shots for a motion picture. As we turn to focus our lens on the opening "interior" scene of the cottage, we shall pause to consider in detail the technique of observation that will enable us to describe systematically the complexity of social experience in this group of deviant boys.

3. The Technique of Participant Observation

IN THE VERY RICHNESS of the information yielded by participant observation lies one of its greatest hazards. Although the capture of spontaneous interaction is his aim, the participant observer is confronted with such a complexity of interacting elements that he can very easily lose his bearings. In this study the investigator had to remind himself constantly of the main purpose of the study, namely, to describe the process by which a delinquent subculture emerges, and is perpetuated and transmitted to new members.

The first task was to uncover cottage patterns. At the outset the observer was already familiar with the reputation of Cottage 6 in Hollymeade. It was reasonable to assume that if Cottage 6 was reputed to "make" girls, to be tough and get into trouble, boys in the cottage best representative of these traits would have the highest status. As the observer gradually became aware of significant signposts in the new group setting (a process very similar to a stranger acquainting himself with the geography of a new neighborhood), the cues to look for in the boys' adaptation to these cottage standards gradually emerged.

THE PERCEPTUAL PROCESS: PARSING REALITY

The cottage dining-hall alcove, an area 10 by 15 feet, where the boys assembled daily for three meals, emerged as one critical observational arena. At first the observer saw only an amorphous group of boys eating at various tables. He was unable to distinguish significant clusters. By the third week, however, it could readily be seen that the seating in the dining hall was significantly related to subgroupings in the cottage.

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Social structure and events are analogous to the modern conception of motion and matter. The latter are convertible in a way similar to social structure and enacted events. Social interactions "enter" a structure of relations that influence future interaction. Structure thus refers to patterned relationships. Four clusters sitting at four tables in Cottage 6's alcove were postulated. These tables were numbered I, III, IV, and V. Table II was improvised for several days but after the second week of observation it was fused physically as well as psychologically with Table I.
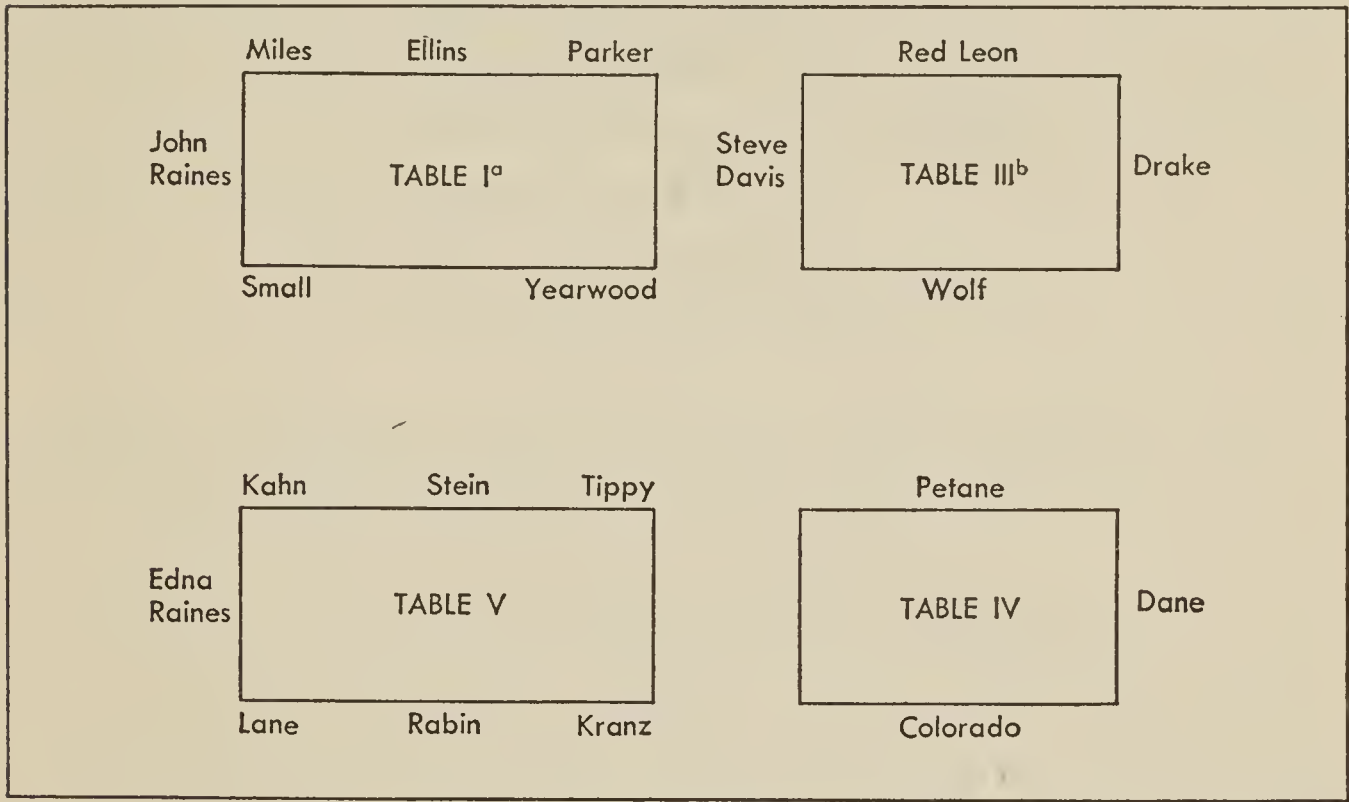
```
                 Miles      Ellins     Parker              Red Leon

    John                                            Steve                          Drake
    Raines          TABLE Iᵃ                        Davis        TABLE IIIᵇ

                 Small              Yearwood                    Wolf



                 Kahn       Stein      Tippy               Petane

    Edna                                                                           Dane
    Raines          TABLE V                                    TABLE IV

                 Lane       Rabin      Kranz                  Colorado
```

DIAGRAM 1. MODEL DINING-HALL SEATING

ᵃ As indicated in the text, Table II was fused physically as well as psychologically with Table I after the second week of the observation period.

ᵇ Artie Parma and George Little sat here when seats were available; otherwise they sat at Table I.

The four tables were spatially separate, increasing the psychological distance between the clusters. Once the observer noted recurrent configurations, he labeled them with the appropriate table numbers, thus establishing the *social contexts* in which future interactions were to be seen. Labeling them enabled him to narrow his focus on socially patterned *gestalten* within and between table clusters that were found repeating themselves.

After the alcove pattern crystallized in the observer's mind, he was careful to note changes in the day-to-day seating arrangement. The first occurred when Artie Parma sat at Table I because III was filled. Concurrently, Jim Parker moved to Table V. At this time the observer wondered whether it was usual practice for Artie to move to I when III was occupied.

After further observation, the writer discerned that Artie's mobility illustrated two features of the status hierarchy: (1) the statuses of the tables or cliques, and (2) individual statuses. It was assumed that Table III was the leadership clique. Concerning the first point, when this table was filled, Artie invariably moved to Table I, not IV, or V. Secondly, Artie's low status at Table III was sharply manifested, for when it was filled, *he* had to look elsewhere for a seat. At Table I, Jim Parker illustrated a parallel status at a lower level. He moved to V, which like IV, had less status than I and III. And the fact that he moved, and not the others, indicated that Jim had less status at I.

The observer centered his attention on the interaction within, as well as between, table groups. To what extent were the seating arrangements in the dining hall reinforced by other settings, such as the boys' bedrooms? One day during the initial period of observation extra eggs were brought to the table. Red Leon and Lenny Wolf sat at the top-status table, III. Lenny brought in the eggs and Leon admonished him, "Room first!" This signified that the eggs should go first to Leon's roommates, then to the other boys at the table.

At this point the reader should be reminded that what our hypothetical camera records is not only dependent on the subject but also upon what is inside the camera. The technical processing of film is similar in many respects to the development of our technique. Most importantly, the film must undergo development in the darkroom before light can be filtered through a negative image to bring out the positive one. Likewise, the observer must be content to endure patiently a complex situation of procedures in the dark, so to speak, before he is permitted the first traces of light's validation of his "hypothesis." Conceptual representations lag behind the painstaking accumulation of bits of interaction.

The process of articulating specific interpersonal transactions into patterns of social interaction is slow; unlike developing film, it cannot be speeded up by the automatic use of fast developers. By the third week, however, the observer had attained a provisional understanding of the boys' social organization.

Thus far skeletal aspects of cottage functioning have been indicated. The typical clusters that formed each day must now be filled in with the content of action processes and sentiment that bind the members into roles and a distinctive cottage structure.

The following incident occurred six weeks after the observer entered Cottage 6. He was impressed with its dramatic detail because it was cogent confirmation of aspects of group functioning about which he had been thinking. It is the first act of a drama which was to be "resolved" a week later.

THE DANE-DAVIS INCIDENT

TIME: Breakfast.

SCENE: Cottage 6 in dining-hall alcove. The top clique is seated at Table III. An inferior subgroup and the observer are at Table IV.

CHARACTERS: Al Dane, a short, heavy-set boy presenting a somewhat dull appearance. Al has a history of aggressive behavior and, emotionally, has a feeling of hopelessness about himself. He is lonely, reticent, and unhappy. A newcomer to the cottage, unfamiliar with its ways, he has been relegated to an inferior subgroup.

Steve Davis, a stocky, sturdily built, curly-haired boy of eighteen. He is a veteran leader in the cottage, an "oldtimer" fully familiar with its social patterns and his dominant role. He is in a surly mood. He had just quit his job. Red Leon, a friend and delinquent co-leader, had recently left to enter the Army. The day before, Davis had a run-in with his girl.

SUPPORTING CAST: Other boys at Tables III and IV.
(The boys are still quite sleepy as they enter the dining hall. They finally settle down at the tables. Al rises from his chair and walks over to Table III.)

AL: (Straightforwardly) Can I have the milk? We need the milk.

STEVE: (Deadpan) Why?

AL: (The others laugh.) Can I have the milk?

STEVE: No!

AL: Are you sure?

STEVE: Yeah, you can have it. Here. . . . (Al tries to take the milk but Steve holds onto it firmly.)

AL: Okay, I'm gonna take it (He reaches for it again.). . . .

STEVE: (With great sport) Yeah? (The boys at Table IV have stopped chattering and are intently watching Al and Steve.)

AL: Yeah!

STEVE: Okay, here. . . . (Al reaches for it again but Steve checks him, holding it back. Al is about to return to his own table.) Here, take it. . . . (Al takes the milk and returns to his own table again.) Don't drink all of it, d'ya hear?

AL: (Pours out a glass of milk for himself. Stretches out his arm with the milk and turns his head to Table III.) Here!

STEVE: (Serious anger) What the hell's the matter with you? God damn it, you bring it back over here! !
(Al quickly rises and returns the milk to Table III.)

STEVE: (To the others at the table) Who the hell does he think he is? Who does he think he is? (Al returns to his own table.)

Analysis of Incident

Table III, which has influence in the kitchen, controls strategic food items. When a boy from Table IV wants something from Table III, he goes there to get it; but when a boy from Table III wants the item from IV, he calls for it, and the item is quickly passed along or taken over. Food is not always transferred in this way, but often enough to establish the pattern. When Al Dane asks for the milk, Davis uses the occasion to befuddle him by withholding it. In the presence of his clique, Davis thus enhances his ascendant role. The superior and inferior subgroups perceive the meaning of the situation while participating in it. Davis' friends join in the amusement he affords them. Dane is made the scapegoat of the episode. He has to confront not only Davis, who is stronger and tougher, but the whole table of the top clique looking derisively at him. The inferior boys at Table IV look on

apprehensively as if they were evaluating the significance of this incident for themselves.

Dane does not wish to approach Davis' table a second time because he is frightened. But he still does not perceive clearly his own status and compounds his blunder by not returning the milk in person. Having humiliated him once, Davis now jumps on Dane and instead of using the erstwhile kidding tone (which carried considerable hostility), he gives direct commands to force Dane into line. The latter quietly and quickly assumes the subordinate role. Dynamically, the Dane-Davis incident fits into the cottage role and clique hierarchy diagramed below.
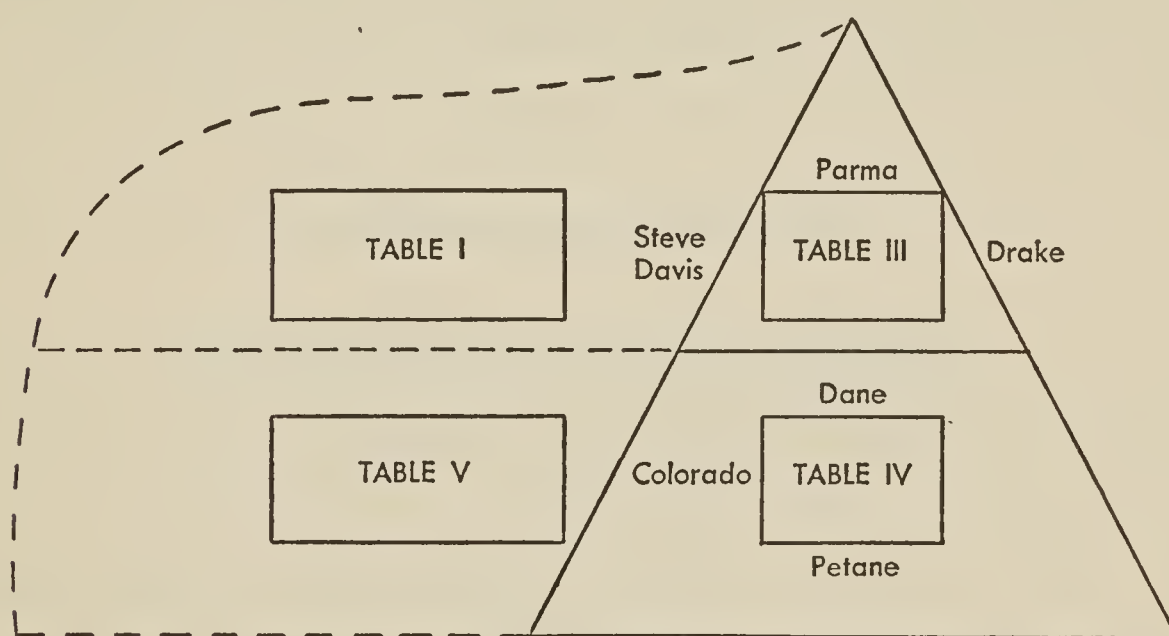
DIAGRAM 2. PECKING ORDER ELABORATED BY DANE-DAVIS INCIDENT

Paradoxically, we often learn more about the cottage social structure through "upsets" of its equilibrium than through meshed interactions. When Al Dane reacts "incorrectly" to the leader in the cottage, the stability of the cottage temporarily seesaws off-balance. The cottage returns to its previous balance when Davis acts to subdue Dane. The latter's slight inadvertent challenge helps to reinforce the underlying implicit social pattern. Dane, therefore, learns his place in the cottage in the very act of temporarily upsetting the balance. Slight deviations actually reinforce the status quo. It could be predicted that Dane's behavior now would rapidly conform with prevailing cottage norms.

In various degrees the meaning of the incident is impressed upon all the participants, including the observer. The fact that it is enacted in the presence of the cottage parents and the observer, for example, indicates to the boys the adults' "sanction" by virtue of lack of interference. The incident has significant objective meaning which transcends each actor's subjective motivation. It serves to demonstrate how the cultural and social organization of the cottage is institutionalized.

All the major dimensions of the primary group discussed in Chapter 1 are involved in this dramatic incident. Bits of action fit into larger frames until a gestalt emerges. According to Alfred North Whitehead, an event is a social phenomenon bounded by space and time but requires the whole universe in order to be itself.[1]

THE DIAGNOSTIC INCIDENT

In brief, a diagnostic incident is to cottage structure as a symptom is to an individual diagnosis. The examination of repetitive transactions among individuals in continuous contact casts light upon the group's latent structure just as an x-ray reveals a skeleton underneath the skin. One interaction by itself is meaningless. It becomes a patterned event through repetition. The observation and conceptualization of the boys' transactions leads to the buildup of their subculture in the mind of the observer. It enables him to define the motivation of the initiator, target, and audience in specific situations.

By sharing the cottage culture, the observer places himself in the role of the "generalized other," and as such is able to empathize with the participators in sequential situations. One must remain sufficiently detached, however, so as not to interpret all slugging and ranking as hostile and aggressive. The example below is illustrative of cottage interaction that is not intentionally aggressive, although from a psychodynamic point of view it may be symptomatic of stored-up hostility:

[1] Whitehead, Alfred North, *Science and the Modern World*. Pelican Mentor Book, New American Library, New York, 1948, p. 74.

Perry and Chuck were playing a game in which they spread their hands flat on the table, hitting the spaces in between with a knife. They tried this a couple of times and Chuck was coming uncomfortably close to chopping Perry's finger off. The latter suddenly removed his hand and Chuck laughed at vanquishing him.

The diagnostic incident combines complicated subprocesses into a meaningful whole. Too often a fetish is made of connecting isolated variables and fabricating unwarranted assumptions about cause and effect. So much of life is so interwoven that effects rapidly become causative antecedents for subsequent transactions. The diagnostic episode highlights the intermeshing of the boys' lives and actualizes the cottage culture as it is molded out of repetitive concrete transactions. The observer's understanding of cottage life initially is patterned after the boys' perception. With conceptualization, however, he gains an understanding that lies beyond most of the boys' level of awareness.

THE DELINQUENCY-ACTION SYNDROME

In light of the foregoing, the concluding acts of the Dane-Davis incident can now be better understood.

TIME: Dinner. A week later.

SCENE: Dining-hall alcove. The spotlight is on Tables V and III.

CHARACTERS: Ray Rabin, a short, handsome, older member of the cottage who has been relegated to an inferior clique. He feels that everyone is threatening him. He bristles with pent-up aggression and has trouble expressing himself.

Artie Parma, an overtly aggressive boy to whom we have already been introduced, in connection with illustrating the status hierarchy in the cottage. He has low status at the leadership table, III.

Observer and other boys at tables.
(Rabin, sitting at Table V, heaps several small packages of dry cereal in his bowl, which he fills with milk. He reaches for the milk and discovers that there is no butter on the table.)

RABIN: (Frustrated) Who's got the butter? (He continues his search.)

OBSERVER: (Noticing his plight) There's plenty of butter at Table III.

RABIN: (Glancing over to Table III, angrily) I wouldn't take any goddam butter from that table! (He continues to eat his cereal.)

OBSERVER: Why not?

RABIN: . . . Just wouldn't, that's all! (He goes back to his cereal. . . . After a short pause, he rises from the table and goes over to Table III. What follows is a playback of the Dane-Davis confrontation, with Rabin and Artie Parma in the new roles.) (After a few minutes, Parma reluctantly gives the butter to Rabin, who then returns to Table V.)

RABIN: (Sitting down) That bastard. . . . !

OBSERVER: What happened?

RABIN: Aw, that bastard, Artie, looks at me like this. . . . (He makes a "dumb face" demonstrating how Artie looked when he finally gave him the butter.)

*   *   *   *

TIME: Minutes later.

SCENE: The same. Table V.

CHARACTERS: Ray Rabin
    Observer, Junior Cottage Boy.
    (A young junior cottage boy approaches the table.)

YOUNG BOY: (To observer) Can I have some butter?

OBSERVER: I think it's up to the guys at the table.

YOUNG BOY: (To the others, in a manner which is "sissified" to Rabin, judging by the way he looks at him.) Can I have some butter?

RABIN: (In an excessively polite tone) No, you can't have the butter. (Pleased, Rabin smiles to himself; then, in a gruffer tone) Get the hell out of here, you queer! (The frightened youngster quickly returns to his own alcove. As Rabin begins to alternately swear and laugh at the boy, he is joined by others at his table.)

ANALYSIS

A "wiser" older member of an inferior clique refuses at first to approach Table III for the butter. Later, when he asks for it, he

mimics the hostility with which a "superior" boy condescends to give him the butter. Here, two other members of Dane's and Davis' subgroups are reenacting a scene they had already witnessed numerous times. The Dane-Davis incident has diffused into the cottage culture. Rabin, in turn, reenacts the pattern in the dominant role to a younger defenseless junior by refusing him the butter which he and no one else wanted. This incident further substantiates the hostile, distrustful character of the cottage and the hierarchical discharge of aggression upon weaker and lower status targets.

What, then, is the underlying delinquent syndrome revealed in these events? Rabin has learned that cottage life is based on power relationships. He assumes that the older boys will attack him and others like himself (Dane, for example) because they are more powerful than he is. His frustration and fears are, in turn, displaced upon inferior boys. His rationalization that they are "queers" (and he fears contamination) justifies his aggression. The constant projection of one's anxieties and frustrations upon others below and above one's status creates vicious circles, which lead to aggression against boys weaker than oneself.

The dilemma of delinquents in this frustration-aggression cycle is based only partially upon subjective distortions. Aggression is the real arbiter of Cottage 6 life. Every aggressive act increases the attacker's prestige and legitimizes future attacks. The "target," on the other hand, must accommodate himself to the institutionalized aggression by adopting one of numerable defense mechanisms, not the least common of which is identification with the aggressor.

CONCLUSION

For the sociologist, the critical observation unit is an interpersonal act in an institutional context. The ordinary incidents used here are vividly remembered by the observer and probably unconsciously assimilated by the boys. They are portents of things to come. An incident is the telescoped dovetailing of memories, present roles, and future expectations in interplay with each other. Each event fits into a larger interpersonal gestalt,

which, when patterned, becomes for the sociologist the social system. He has the double task of understanding the society in which the individual functions and how the boys' transactions are patterned by it.

Participant observation is truly an art, because the total subjective experience of the observer determines the selection and presentation of his data. He carefully weighs his material against the feelings engendered in him by the boys, and unless he understands himself better as a result of his intensive experience, the objectivity for which he is aiming will be lost or greatly reduced.[1]

[1] The account of the observer's subjective reactions to his involvement in Cottage 6 is included in Chapter 7.

4. Deviant Processes

IN THE EARLY SCENES OF A DRAMA, character exposition is presented piecemeal to enable the audience to appreciate more fully the emerging conflicts on stage. Our purpose in this chapter is to illustrate pervasive peer action processes that will prepare the reader for a discussion of the cottage social structure. Five deviant interactive modes by which members learn to conform to prevailing group norms are analyzed: (1) aggression, (2) deviant skills and activities, (3) threat-gestures, (4) ranking, and (5) scapegoating.

Every group must find means for regulating the behavior of its members. Cottage life is controlled chiefly by limiting the standards by which the boys relate to each other. The interpersonal modes mentioned above highlight Cottage 6 standards and chart the social channels through which the boys gain and lose status in the cottage. These discrete action processes, in short, set the stage for and prefigure cottage stratification.

AGGRESSION THE DOMINANT THEME

The basic aggressive pattern in Cottage 6 is illuminated in the following incidents.

Steve Davis and Marty Foster called the boys together in the lounge on a Sunday evening when the cottage parents were off duty. Davis announced that he and Foster had the best room in the cottage. They complained that the room was constantly in a messy condition because some of the boys were throwing cigarette butts and the like around. This, they said, had to stop. No one was to enter the room without permission; Dane, specifically, should stay out.

The ensuing discussion was monopolized by Davis and Foster. They outlined procedures for "covering up" if a boy left the grounds: how many boys should be permitted out-of-bounds at one time, the use of dummies in the bed, and so forth. They asserted that John and Edna were the best cottage parents on-grounds and should be given more support. Foster scheduled cleaning jobs for the steamroom and the alcove; no one person would be "stuck" with the dirtiest job.

Kranz reported that Cottage 5 wanted to take on "6." The discussion moved into high gear and Davis and Foster organized a war council. The boys became deadly serious as they planned a rumble. Davis took a poll. He asked every boy point-blank whether he would fight. Joe Chase declined because he was hurt. The others accepted the challenge.

Then Foster, egged on by Davis, but with both sharing the leadership, decided how the rumble should be incited. Kranz would pick on someone his own size from Cottage 5 at the handball courts. The others would be around and take it from there. A general fight would start. The projected details of the rumble occupied the boys the rest of the evening.

This incident exemplifies the aggression-oriented culture of Cottage 6. Two self-appointed tough leaders, Davis and Foster, exert power through intimidation and physical domination. One impetus for the rumble was an alleged threat from another cottage. But before this challenge was taken up, Foster and Davis made quite clear their annoyance concerning the "smaller fry" in the cottage. This increased the distance between them and the low-status boys.

The use of physical force dominated the discussion about organizing a fight against the other cottage. Those who refused to fight on inadequate grounds were to be ostracized. The situation was serious. The whole group was organized into a war party.

The rumble never came about for three reasons. Cottage 5 had a tough leader whom neither Davis nor Foster relished encountering. Foster and Davis did not want to jeopardize their departure, which was imminent. Finally, the unit supervisor learned about the impending skirmish, called the boys from both cottages to-

gether on the volley ball court, and discussed the problem in detail. This action nipped the fight in the bud. The boys' projected schedule of cottage duties was never followed up, but all except Davis' and Foster's closest friends did stay out of the bedroom.

However, when the cottage is not fighting another group, there is no moratorium on internal aggression. The task now is to catalogue the interpersonal processes that produce intracottage stratification.

Ultimate authority in the delinquent world rests upon tough boys dominating inferior boys by physical force. Steve Davis described how he assumed the mantle of power from one of the outgoing leaders: "Mike Claw was rough; he thought he could take the world on. I never really bothered with him, but I knew that some day I'd fight him. When I finally did, he didn't like the idea of being beaten because he thought he could take on the whole world."

Steve Davis is a stocky, sturdily built, curly-haired boy of average intelligence. He had been sent to Hollymeade because he was ungovernable at home, stayed out at night, drank, and was truant from school. The psychiatric report suggests that Steve had tremendous striving for status, which covered up enormous insecurity. To consolidate his top-status position, Davis periodically beat up someone in the cottage. He administered "shellackings" to Petane, Little, Dane, Rabin, and others. Petane "got his" in the boiler room one evening shortly after the observer entered the cottage.

One unsettling aspect of violence is its suddenness and irrationality. The term the boys use, and appropriately, is "swing out." Davis was eating in the hall when Jim came up from the shower in the basement with a towel wrapped around his midwaist. Davis leveled a hard blow against Jim's arm. Jim, dropping everything he was carrying, started to cry because he had been painfully hurt and the attack was so unexpected. Davis flexed his muscle and told him not to "monkey around" when he was there. Jim had done nothing to provoke this attack.

Power is its own excuse for being. The leader delegated to himself undisputed right to attack others physically on any

pretext. Might was right. Davis explained to the observer during an interview, "I never looked for fights but sometimes when I was depressed and had to pick on someone to find something to do, I just did start a fight over nothing. Over the smallest thing sometimes."

Davis' aggression colored much of the cottage atmosphere. He was unskilled socially and took refuge behind a threatening facade. George Little, for example, wanted desperately to join the top coterie in the cottage but was frustrated by Steve Davis, who disliked him intensely. One of the cottage counselors described the several beatings Little had received from Davis. The counselor explained that Little was a "bushboy"; that is, he did errands for leaders and often took the consequences when things went wrong in the cottage. He carried messages to the girls. He was made the butt of everything.

Marty Foster, another aggressive leader, continually looked for human punching bags. Newcomers and isolates were especially vulnerable. Leaders and ambitious middle-status members establish their perch in the cottage by physically humbling those unable to defend themselves. The pattern became clear. One of the leaders would swing out at a boy who "punked out" (was afraid to strike back), and his lieutenants would carry on. The counselor described an incident in these words: "Foster swung out at Werner and hit him hard in the stomach. Werner, of course, couldn't do anything about it. George Little came up and slammed him. He was followed by Drake and Parker. Werner swore at Little but didn't want to get into a fight with him. In all of their eyes Werner was a punk."

No attempt is made here to prove that Foster and Davis are characterized by aggressive personalities. Their individual case histories more than testify to that. What we are attempting to demonstrate is how their aggressive patterns diffused through the cottage and shaped its culture. We are accustomed to oversimplified forms of violence on television and movie screens: the inevitable victory of the white-shirted, clean-shaven "good guy" who invariably outdraws the black-clothed, heavily whiskered "bad man." Occasionally, a "good guy" is ensnared by a "bad

gang," loses his "goodness," and is eliminated in the final footage of the film according to the Hollywood code. However, in adolescent peer groups in which physical aggression is the *ideal* norm, the initiator and target are rigidly bound together in a complementary unity in which the attacker is seldom defeated.

Violence, in the cottage picture, is a great *un*equalizer. The tough members in the cottage revealed their physical, hence, individual superiority over weak boys in daily transactions. Violence is a direct, uncomplicated, pervasive, and economical form of social control. It creates enormous distances between members in the same cottage. Subordinate members in the leadership clique compulsively feared falling out of favor with Davis, Foster, or Red Leon. As a way of life, violence consists of periodical demonstrations of physical domination over weak members until the latter unequivocally are relegated to the lowest rungs of the status ladder.

DEVIANT ACTIVITIES AS A FORM OF SOCIAL CONTROL

Brute force alone seldom controls a situation for very long. Brains are required in addition to muscles. The manner in which the two are intertwined and work together is illustrated below.

After Chet Ellins had been transferred from Cottage 7 to Cottage 6, gambling increased in the latter, but was never carried on to the extent there that it had been in Cottage 7 before Chet's departure. During an interview the observer inquired where Chet and the others gambled. Chet replied that they gambled in the basement and in their rooms. In the lounge they masked the gambling (which the cottage parent was fully aware of). Chet went on to say that when he entered Cottage 6, he was befriended by Red Leon and, hence, was automatically accepted by the group. The interview continues.

QUESTION: Was Leon the real leader in Cottage 6 when . . . ?

ANSWER: Leon was the leader, Steve the muscles.

QUESTION: The two worked together?

ANSWER: Well, I don't mean that Steve would go around hitting kids. The idea is that the kids knew Steve would break them in half, and they wouldn't antagonize him. . . .

QUESTION: I understand. . . .

ANSWER: And the fact that Steve would do almost anything for Leon meant that the kids couldn't antagonize Leon. Leon could sit in a card game and be losing money and be let off because the kids were afraid to collect from him.

QUESTION: Did you ever see a case where Steve or Leon actually used force in order to back up the other? Or was just the threat of it enough to . . . ?

ANSWER: Just the threat of it. Well, in my case I never had to really use force. I mean I used force on a personal disagreement, but as far as to collect anything, or to make my words stand, the fact that I was ready and able to back up my word at any time was enough. They knew it was there.

After the boys became accustomed to the observer's presence and realized that he was not there to "squeal" on them, he was let in on a variety of illegal activities that were methods of exploitation.

On one occasion the observer was watching Rip Green, a young, frail-looking, but tough new boy in the cottage playing two-handed poker with Foster. Dane was also present. Foster claimed that he had a flush, but declined to show Rip his cards. However, Rip turned them over quickly before Foster had a chance to shuffle them again. There was no flush. Foster's eyes betrayed the deception, but he said that he was only kidding.

John Raines summoned the boys to go to the dining hall and Foster suggested that they play "for double or nothing" by choosing the highest card from the deck. At first Rip refused, but Foster bullied him into playing, whereupon Foster performed a neat trick. He divided the cards into a number of piles, leaving one pile to the side. Foster told Rip to pick a card. Then Foster carefully selected a card, a King, and won. Rip objected violently to Foster's cut. Foster flared up, howling, "What are ya, chicken? You wanted that card, didn't you?" He then picked up the deck and threw it in Rip's face.

Rip became frightened and said, "Okay, I didn't say that I wasn't going to pay you." (They were playing for cigarettes, of which Foster had 350). Foster stormed back, "You guys are all

chicken. You saw what happened, so you don't owe me anything at all. Just forget about it!" He waved his arm in a denigrating gesture and got up. The observer quietly told Rip not to tussle with Foster. The scene became hushed. Later, Dane, one of the bystanders, sarcastically referred to the incident as the "Foster cut" and winked at Rip. A card game had been transformed into a game of power and manipulation. Rip learned an important lesson from Foster.

THREAT GESTURES

Another weapon in the armory of social control, closely related to but short of actual violence, is the use of "threat gestures." Examples include: playing loud music at night when someone wants to sleep, poking a weaker boy incessantly and teasingly, threatening verbal commands and denigrating gestures. This kind of social control was widespread in the cottage. Gesture intimidation was used widely by nonverbal tough leaders, by veterans upon newcomers, and by moody, aggressive boys. It kept the "scapegoated" in place and other inferior boys in check. It enhanced the aggressor's importance.

Many of Davis' actions contained an implied threat of force. In Chapter 3 the reader learned how Steve immobilized Al Dane in the cottage by shaming him in front of the others in the dining hall. The harassment of Rabin led him to keep his distance from the older boys' table when he wanted to borrow the butter. In the following example, a new boy reveals how an older boy, Gary Drake, harassed and discouraged him from playing football.

The new boy, Brent Strange, shortly after his arrival, told the observer that he thought the cottage was all right but complained that a couple of the boys made life miserable for the rest. He said that Drake, who bore a grudge against him, was always poking him. Strange said that he wanted to try out for the fullback position on the football team. But every time Drake saw Strange he made fun of him, especially before the girls. (Drake also played fullback.) Strange mimicked Drake's taunts, "Hey, there goes the fullback. You going out for football?" Strange told

the observer that Drake bossed him around so much on the field that he became disgusted and decided not to go out for the sport at all. Strange continued in the interview, "It was the same way in the cottage, he kept picking on me and calling names. You get a little scared. The boys are talking about a 'lump up' (a form of beating) but I can take it."

Perry Yearwood's (and the cottage's) aversion to Werner is dramatized in the following incident. Werner asked Perry for a "drag." Perry sarcastically told him to wait; he would give Werner a drag when he felt like it. Later Perry took his cigarette stub and threw it at Werner, who picked it up off the floor. When he stooped, Werner became the "butt."

RANKING

A prevalent interpersonal process is ranking: verbal, invidious distinctions based on values important to the group. The term is borrowed from the lingo of juvenile delinquents and specifically refers to insulting another by profaning his mother in public: to be "ranked" is permitting another to say, "Your mother is a subway and you can get in for fifteen cents," or "Your mother is like a subway—you can get in for nothing by getting under the turnstile."

A boy who is ranked out has the choice of defending his integrity or assuming an inferior status to the challenger. Ranking fixes antagonistic positions among three or more persons by placing one member in the target position. It offers release of tension for the ranker, but is a festering source of frustration and anxiety for the ranked. One is ranked until he capitulates or is accepted by the group. Acceptance in the ingroup is often followed by a shift out of the ranked position. Perry Yearwood once told the observer: "You bring a cool girl to the dance and we won't rank you any more around here." When the observer asked for clarification, Perry replied, "Everybody gets ranked. You rank people until they're rankable" (until a person succumbs).

Ranking prevails at all levels of society, but is especially cruel among institutionalized residents because of its relation to gaining and losing status. In Hassler's absorbing book of his "time" in

prison there is a description of a "game" the men played called "playing the dozens."[1] The participants made each other angry by hurling obscene and insulting epithets not only at their opponent but anyone for whom he had regard: mother, sisters, wife, or children. The first one to lose his temper lost the game. Quite frequently both players lost their tempers and actual fights were not uncommon; a few were fatal.

In a society based upon force, leaders are always emphasizing their superiority and disparaging low-status members' weakness. In ranking, what is emphasized overtly is the weakness that the victim really has, is rumored to possess, or frequently has foisted upon him. In Cottage 6 the word "queer" denoted passivity, weakness (physical, mental, emotional), and especially sexual impotency and perversion. The boys' fears concerning sex made it an extremely fertile field for debasement.

Chuck Small was particularly vulnerable to ranking. It was during the first month of the writer's observation period that Ronny Miles turned to Chet Ellins at the dining-hall table and said, "There's something wrong with Chuck. You know, our room has something that no other room has." Chuck fidgeted nervously in his chair. Then Perry chimed in, "Actually Chuck doesn't mind whether the guys know, but he doesn't like it when the administration knows about it." Several minutes later Perry Yearwood told Chuck that he wouldn't be able to enter the Army with his kind of record. Ronny knowingly agreed, "That record's got everything." Chuck remained reticent. Near the end of the meal, Ronny completed the attack by announcing, "Any time you want a good 'blow.' . . ." This remark was addressed to everybody, but especially to the observer.

During the months that followed, Ronny continued to "ride" Chuck about his alleged homosexuality. One morning Ronny kidded Chuck about committing sodomy with a dog. Another time Ronny, who was reading *Life*, said to Chuck, "It says here that Chuck Small 'goosed' Bob Hope." Chuck was quiet as the others continued to eat.

[1] Hassler, Alfred, *Diary of a Self-Made Convict*. Henry Regnery Co., Chicago, 1954, pp. 126–127.

One day the boys were waiting for Ronny to return from a visit to his social worker. When he appeared, they wanted to know what had gone on during the visit but Ronny did not divulge much. Chuck Small made the comment that he did not think Ronny talked to the worker very long. Ronny quickly retorted that he had talked to the social worker but that Chuck would probably have done something with his mouth other than talk.

Chuck Small could not extricate himself from this incessant ranking. His protests incited more baiting; his silence was acknowledgment of the boys' "right." Ronny and Perry felt superior when they succeeded in portraying Chuck as a "queer."

SCAPEGOATING

All of the foregoing processes come to a head in scapegoating. The target generally is a new boy who has entered the cottage alone and is unacquainted with anyone there. He is not strong or tough, and is younger than the others. A smart-alecky attitude, effeminate characteristics, lack of courage, and inability to perceive or follow minimum cottage routines contribute to the selection of the scapegoat.

Scapegoating, a daily occurrence, is the warp and woof of the cottage social structure. When the group is functioning smoothly with the scapegoat meekly accepting his role, few repercussions are felt throughout the cottage or institution. In the examples below, Chase accepted the "punk" role; Rip Green fought it and was admired for his action.

When Chase, a meek little fellow, entered Cottage 6, a transition was under way there, with Foster, Miles, and Davis developing into the top boys. The latter had devised a "coolie" system, wherein the weaker boys washed clothes and did other chores. Chase was subjected to these tasks. The counselor tried to intervene, but Chase told him that he was washing his own clothes. The counselor recognized Foster's shirts and threw them out of the washbowl onto the floor. Later he tried to get Foster to discontinue this exploitation.

Rip, another new boy, came into the cottage shortly after Chase, and Foster and Davis tried also to make him do their laundry. Rip resisted more successfully and performed chores only when absolutely forced to. Chase, on the other hand, over-accommodated himself and was the launderer until he went AWOL for six months.

The boy who is made a scapegoat and shows his fears experiences an extended rough period. The more fear he shows, the more he will be scapegoated. Turning to adult figures can be disastrous.

Tippy Fraser joined the cottage after Chase and Rip. How much of his scapegoating was due to his personality or to the boys' reception of a newcomer snowballing out of hand is difficult to discern. What is important is an understanding of the *scapegoat process:* (1) What was there about Tippy that led the boys to make a scapegoat of him? (2) What attitudes did the cottage have toward him? (3) What pressures did the boys exert upon this "deviant?"

1. Tippy

To begin with, Tippy showed a "relaxed and deviant" attitude, which greatly annoyed John and Edna, the cottage parents. Tippy indifferently shrugged his shoulders every time he was caught out of place and assumed a blasé mien. Edna remarked to the observer that Tippy was "slimy," that is he always shirked his responsibilities.

Tippy had grandiose ideas. His "sneaky" actions irked the boys and he was not accepted as an ingroup member. He was known as "a wise guy." The observer noticed that a pear had disappeared from his place at dinner. Tippy had taken it. The observer said, "Are you pulling this childish stuff? I thought you were too big for that." Tippy then replaced the pear. When he laughed sheepishly, Edna and the other boys at the table looked at him with disgust.

Tippy made a practice of picking on boys who arrived after him. Joe Ward's pants were stolen the morning following his arrival. Joe found them in Tippy's locker. Tippy challenged Joe

later during the Friday evening service. Joe declined at first but, since Tippy persisted, he stood up in front of everybody and told Tippy that he was not going to take any "crap" from him. After that, Tippy desisted from "conning" Joe.

2. The Cottage Image of Tippy

A crystallizing cottage image of Tippy as a "trouble maker" and his inability to remain in a conformist "punk" role made it impossible for him to continue to live there. Tippy tried to avoid responsibilities by going to the infirmary all the time. John, the cottage parent, thought he was a weakling: "Tippy couldn't take it, so he frequently played sick. Drake slapped him around the other day and Jim Parker also cuffed him." Another of Tippy's weaknesses was reporting others to the O.D. The older boys thought he was "fresh."

John said that Tippy had come into the cottage with a chip on his shoulder. He tried to outrank everybody because his family was in the drug business. John said that "there was bound to be retaliation against a boy who tries to outrank boys poorer than he. In his own way, Tippy tried to outrank and outsmart them in different procedures around the grounds. The first thing you know, he got pushed around. He never became adjusted, there was always a weak sign in the boy."

The image that the cottage parents had formed of Tippy was mirrored by the boys and other staff: a "crybaby," "mama's boy," "slimy," "punk," and weakling.

An adequate analysis of the scapegoating process requires reconstructing as much of the total picture as possible, with emphasis on the essential ingredients. Noted thus far were Tippy's traits and his role in the cottage. The interaction between Tippy and cottage peers put the finishing "touches" on the negative image.

3. Interaction Between Tippy and Cottage

As Tippy's personality traits were exposed, social pressure mounted. Tippy was relegated to the lowest status table, V. Al Dane, the butt of the diagnostic event discussed in Chapter 3,

ranked Tippy and placed him outside the pale of the lowest status subgroup in Cottage 6. Tippy asked Dane for the mustard. The latter replied, "Don't you know better than that? Can't you ask for it in a decent way?" Tippy asked how he should ask. Dane replied, "Well, may I have the butter, may I have the mustard, or would you please pass the mustard?" The other boys gloatingly took note of the situation. Tippy did not get his mustard.

Violence against Tippy was stepped up. Threat gestures were unsparingly employed. Ranking Tippy was the daily sport. Stories spread about Tippy being a "queer." The boys showed their distaste for him in every conceivable way.

Tippy retreated to the observer as one of his few safety islands. He stayed close to him when he was physically attacked by the others. The observer befriended him, but was not a strong enough countervailing force to offset the constant threats and attacks. Eventually Tippy was so harassed and threatened that he had to leave the cottage.

John related to the observer his discussion with Zack Ambler, the unit supervisor, about transferring Tippy. John said this would be worse for him and his reputation: "If he became known as the boy who was pushed out of 6 for being a weakling, the other cottages would also mistreat him." John remarked that Tippy seemed to be changing some and was doing a little more work; but Tippy had come in with the wrong attitude and it was too late for him to change.

Tippy was transferred to another cottage. He did not remain long there either (boys from Cottage 6 continued to chase him), and after a series of runaways and scrapes he was sent to a mental hospital. The implications of the scapegoat role for the cottage social structure will be developed in further detail in the chapters that follow.

CONCLUSION

The participant observer in the cottage is exposed to a ceaseless web of interaction. His task is to discern the main patterns and their interconnections. The boys not only act defensively, but are also on the offensive, shaping situations and themselves in

accordance with past and prevailing group values. To be sure, individual intrapsychic dynamics contribute to each boy's role in the cottage social order. Here, however, the focus is upon the processes of interpersonal exchanges and their impact upon individuals.

Whatever the individual motives for behavior are, they should not be confused with the objectification of interpersonal transactions in the group and their function of molding the boys' social and cultural organization. Targets, after all, must learn how to defend themselves according to the boys' institutionalized methods. The examples of destructive interpersonal processes presented in this chapter represent important aspects of cottage pathology. As they are repeatedly enacted they are conserved by the group in statuses and values.

In this chapter we have exposed the building blocks of the cottage social organization. Our next task is to reconstruct the house the boys built in Cottage 6.

5. The Cottage Social Structure

OUT OF THE ACTORS' INTERACTION on the stage, mutual expectations and concerns arise. Patterns emerge that come alive in the performance of the social roles fostered by the action of the entire company. The full implications of the confrontations within and between the main and supporting actors gradually unfold before the audience.

Cottage 6 boys as a rule interact more among themselves than with other cottages. And within the cottage, subgroup members have higher rates of internal confrontation than with the rest of the cottage. Carrying this progression farther, it follows that within a subgroup, clique members have higher interaction rates than nonclique members. Thus, at different levels the boys regard themselves as varying units of solidarity, who possess shared interests, attitudes, and activities that separate them from outsiders.

In this chapter we extend our examination of patterned social relations: subgroup, clique, and role formations; consensus of intra-cottage stratification; and, finally, the emergent social structure.

THE FORMATION OF SUBGROUPS AND CLIQUES

Subgroups and cliques are established in the cottage by boys in relatively close contact. Cliques are usually composed of roommates. One clique consisted of Red Leon, Steve Davis, and Lenny Wolf; Perry Yearwood, Chuck Small, and Ronny Miles made up another. Chet Ellins once remarked, "Two or three boys in a bedroom usually make up a group and decide they are going to raise hell, so they go around and stir up the other rooms."

Bedroom and dining-hall clusters reinforce one another, as indicated in Diagram 3.

If the observer repeatedly sees boys clustered together, he postulates that such configurations are relatively stable. Behavior is regularized by comprehension of what one's intimates have done, are doing, and are likely to do. The tables are labeled according to salient group and intergroup characteristics similar to cottage differentiation in Chapter 2. Table III dominates the cottage; I is a middle group; IV and V represent the lowest strata. Tables III and I appear to be more cohesive than the low subgroups, IV and V, where there was likely to be shifting between them.

Bedroom:	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
	Red Leon	Drake	Small	Ellins	Petane	Kahn	Lane
	Davis	Little	Miles	Parker	Stein	Dane	
	Wolf	Parma	Yearwood	Kranz	Rabin	Colorado	

Dining-Hall Table:	I		III		IV		V
	Ellins ⎫ D		Davis ⎫		Kahn ⎫		Stein ⎫ E
	Parker ⎭		Red Leon ⎬ A		Dane ⎬ F		Rabin ⎭
			Wolf ⎭		Colorado ⎭		
	Miles ⎫		Drake ⎫		Petane E		Kranz D
	Yearwood ⎬ C		Parma ⎬ B				Lane G
	Small ⎭		Little ⎭				

DIAGRAM 3. BEDROOM AND DINING-HALL CLUSTERS

Boys in the same cliques participate in similar activities. One evening the observer was struck by subgroup differences at a dance. Attending were most of the boys from Tables III and I. Remaining in the cottage watching television were almost all the boys from IV and V (including new arrivals). At the dance, Rabin, a low-status boy, was isolated from the other Cottage 6 boys. He sat alone in the corner, depressed, watching his cottage-mates dance with their girls.

Continued observation of interaction results in quick and sure definition of the main subgroups but the subtle relations within them, the clique differentiation, takes longer. Some boys, too, are

in transition from one clique to another or are temporarily disaffected from their clique.

Once formed, however, cliques are consolidated by intensity of contact and the exclusion of outclique boys. This is variously manifested. In the food line Red Leon hit Rick Kahn and was joined by Artie, Drake, and Little, who also slugged him. Rick fled. In another instance, the boys at Table III looked over at Table I and burst into infectious laughter. The joke seemed to be a secret that Perry tried to unlock, but Table III refused to give him the key.

Tables III and I, however, generally stuck together and harassed outsiders. Throughout one evening, Steve Davis hit Rick Kahn continually with a short leather strap. The latter implored Steve to cut it out, and although Kahn became quite angry, Steve continued to badger him. Later, Colorado tussled with Davis and backed down. Foster came in and began teasing and harassing both Kahn and Colorado, punching them sometimes quite hard. Of course, Foster never tangled with Davis or vice versa.

The social barrier between Tables IV and V, on the one hand, and Tables III and I on the other, is relatively impenetrable. When a boy from IV or V approached Table III or I, he took a calculated risk. Table III especially permitted no nonsense from boys sitting at these tables and in a crude way kept them in their place.

The following type of incident occurred hundreds of times. Petane went over to Table III and asked for the sugar. Davis simply pushed it a little; he did not pick it up and give it to Petane, which would have been the convenient and courteous gesture; he just touched it, implying that he gave Petane permission to borrow the sugar.

This relationship is in sharp contrast to the semi-permeable boundary between Tables III and I. Once when Davis was fooling with Miles, the latter told him that he acted just like a three-year-old. Davis curtly said, "What did you say? Take that back." Miles playfully countered, "OK, you act just like a twenty-five-year-old [after a pause] baby." Davis and Miles continued to exchange friendly taps.

High-status boys arrange birthday and going-away parties for members of their clique. They collect money from all the boys in the cottage and selected staff. Low-status boys' birthdays, on the contrary, are often ignored by friends and staff. After the boys leave Hollymeade, clique contact is maintained by correspondence and trysts in the city.

Status differences were crystallized to the extent that Rick Kahn's bedroom was ignominiously known as the "punk room." A new boy moves out of this room as soon as he can. It is uninvitingly and sparsely furnished and has a transitory unwanted character like its inhabitants.

CONSENSUS ON COTTAGE CLIQUES AND STATUSES

Social organization refers to human action insofar as the actor takes into account the actions of others. The boys in Cottage 6 achieved a stable consensus concerning their positions in the social system. Once the cliques and roles are differentiated, group consensus help to freeze the status quo, as indicated by Steve Davis:

QUESTION: Did you, Red Leon, and Wolf always share the same room?

ANSWER: No. When I first came in, I roomed with two other boys. Then I started buddying around with Leon and finally moved into the end room. In there was me, Red Leon, and Wolf. Then it was the big room.

QUESTION: What do you mean by the big room?

ANSWER: What I mean by the big room is, we were about the only guys around the cottage who were considered big around the campus—me, Leon, and Lenny Wolf. All the kids considered us the toughest, me and Red Leon especially. But we never really looked for trouble.

Low-status members are equally aware of the cottage dichotomy. Len Stein told the observer that the cottage was broken down into two groups; the so-called *big crowd* and a *small crowd*. Davis' and Small's rooms contained the big crowd. When asked about Drake, Stein said that Drake, Parma, and Little were in the big crowd too. In the small crowd were Rick, Colorado, and Al Dane. Stein, Rabin, and Petane also fell into the small crowd.

A clever boy like Chet Ellins can specify differences (or roles) within the cliques. Kahn, Colorado, Petane, Werner, Stein, Rabin, and Dane were "bushboys" in Chet's words, "guys that go out and do the bigger guys' bidding because they just want to live . . . they want to become part of the group, but they're not even close enough to it yet . . . the shoe shiners and sox washers." Chet tabbed Werner as the most disliked boy because "he came up as a wise guy and everybody realizes he is just a punk. He feels he's getting accepted into the group, but I don't really think so." The interview continues:

QUESTION: Which guys clique together, Rabin and Petane, or Rick Kahn and Al Dane?

ANSWER: Just the way you named it off. Rabin and Petane are in a clique because they were in Cottage 5 together, living with each other. That's their private clique. Kahn and Dane were roommates, so they're together. But in Kahn's case he would drop Dane very quickly if he could get into one of the other groups. But since he can't, he's Dane's best friend, and I think it works both ways.

The boys' social positions were recognized by the cottage staff. Bill Milber, veteran cottage counselor, confirmed Chet's statement that Petane, Rabin, Kahn, Dane, and Chase were "practically unnoticed by the top bunch of fellows . . . just outsiders." On the other hand, Ellins and Miles "came from a cottage [7] where they were top dogs and took the same position in 6. Miles was popular, gay, jolly, and a bully who kept the little fellows in line. Chet Ellins was quiet, the man behind the scenes."

Milber filled in the cottage picture: "There were boys in the middle range (Lane, Kranz, Parker) who were not at the top but they were not treated as bushboys either. Lane, for example, was popular. He was never in the cottage. He worked on the farm and as he passed the girls' cottages, he delivered lots of notes from them to the guys in the cottage."

Milber noted that some of the bushboys were strange, thus corroborating the boys' judgments: "Rick Kahn was a peculiar person. He had nasty ways, bullying the new boys who came in."

In turn, he was bullied by the older ones, doing the dirty work for them. Not until the older boys left, did Rick assume any position of importance. But even then, he was rather unsociable and kept pretty much to himself—a "punk" to the very end.

Thus, the observer's growing familiarity with the cottage was sustained by the consensus of boys and cottage attendant staff. The clear recognition of the status structure is an important factor for pressuring boys to adjust to it. If one is viewed as a "punk," he must adapt to this cottage (and usually institutional) definition or take the consequences of defying it. The same is true of the dominant leaders. In order to live up to their reputation they frequently gave demonstrations of their authority.

This omnipresent delineation in the members' minds of sub-groups and cliques (and roles) contributes to the perpetuation of the cottage subculture. The reaction of old residents to new-comers is reflected in Foster's comment: "This cottage isn't like it used to be. Now they have a bunch of babies and queers." New boys who serve as sitting ducks for the other boys, await their turn to become metamorphosed into preying hawks for boys arriving after them. After all, persistent identification with the aggressor can lead under favorable circumstances to autonomous aggres-sion.

COTTAGE CLIQUES AND ROLES

Assumption of a cottage role depends partially upon a boy's background and personality. The most important factor deter-mining role assumption is the network of roles available to the boy from which he must select. Role behavior within the cottage is schematized below according to patterned transactions within and between the cliques, the most intense subgroup unit: (a) toughs (leadership), (b) "con-artists," (c) quiet types, (d) bush-boys (or punks), and (e) scapegoats. Each of these roles can be seen to contribute to a complementary system of selves made relatively fixed through continued interaction. Their coordi-nated functioning in the daily life of Cottage 6 surrounds these disturbed delinquents with a well nigh irresistible social system.

a. The Leadership Clique: Toughs

Every group creates a unique style. A delinquent group ranges from a casual collaboration of a hundred youngsters to a tightly knit structure. The function of leadership is to maintain the status quo. In order to maintain this equilibrium, the leader inculcates new members with group standards, delegates work and play "tasks," and eliminates or isolates unfit members. The group attacks, and defends itself from rival groups; resolves internal conflicts; and accommodates itself to the requirements of its milieu.

In the personality, the governing ego assumes responsibility for the integration of individual roles and the actualization of plans. In his studies of group psychology, Freud noted that a group is united because its members project their superegos onto the leader.[1] The aggression pattern in Cottage 6 is maintained primarily by the leaders and diffused throughout the cottage. A sociological perspective of authoritarianism, however, must go beyond the analysis of individual egos to a delineation of social positions institutionalized by the boys' cumulative interaction.

The present cottage leadership inherited an aggressive tradition. According to Milber, who had entered the cottage as a counselor several years previously, former cottage parents were concerned mainly with control: "An old Irishman, who was very strong and strict, actually kept the cottage on an even keel." There had been no cottage parents in Cottage 6 for a short period prior to Milber's arrival. During this interim, the boys themselves had taken over, led by Red Leon, Wolf, Steve Davis, the "elder boys of the cottage—the top echelon" to use Milber's phrase.

A transitional period occurs when the older boys are departing and new boys are gaining control. This shifting of leadership results in a series of dramatic challenges and fights. After the dust has settled, the role of leadership is taken over by the upwardly mobile boys. The reader will recall how Steve Davis wrested the leadership power from Mike Claw (see page 57). The observer asked Davis what occurred after he "took over" and he replied,

[1] See Freud, Sigmund, *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego*, International Psychoanalytic Library, London, 1922; and Redl, Fritz, "Group Emotion and Leadership" in *Small Groups*, edited by Paul Hare, E. F. Borgatta, and R. F. Bales, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York, 1955.

"There were other guys who would fight me, but I never really had a fight with anybody else. I mean there is nobody I can think of who would fight me."

An example of a smooth ascendancy to power was the arrival of Foster, an established tough, in Cottage 7. Even before entering Cottage 6 he was close to the top group there. A leader in "7," he was a bullying, unstable boy, skillful in athletics and gambling. Red Leon had just left Hollymeade. Since Foster was close to the leadership in "6," Steve Davis and Wolf, he was accepted automatically. The boys had looked forward to his coming in, and when he arrived, he went into Steve's room. According to Chet Ellins, "He sort of took over Red Leon's position, not as leader actually, but as Steve's and Wolf's roommate."

The boys were acutely sensitive about leadership status. Artie Parma said that Werner might try to take over, and some of the boys planned to talk to Werner before they left the cottage. "Talk to Werner" is a euphemism for putting Werner in his subservient place. The other person Artie mentioned was Colorado because "he was acting up lately."

In initiating, organizing, and controlling group action, the leaders set the cottage tone. If Steve Davis deigned to cooperate with the cottage parents, the others fell in line. At dinner one evening, John Raines prompted the boys to turn in their dishes and silverware. None of the boys at any of the tables moved because Davis was still drinking his coffee. Then Davis finished his coffee and slowly rose from the table. Only then did the rest of the boys follow suit, moving slowly away from the table. After telling John, "I guess everyone was waiting for me to finish my coffee," Davis brought his chair to the center of the dining room as was the custom, but at a snail's pace. The other boys figuratively and literally followed in his footsteps.

Steve Davis "supervised" the boys in the cottage. While he was watching television one evening after a party, he asked if anyone was cleaning up the mess. Someone told Davis that it was Rick's turn to clean up. Steve, not taking his eyes off television, yelled, "Okay, let's get it all cleaned up!" Steve's authority was never *directly* challenged.

Indirect limitations to the leader's control were evident, however, when he asserted his dominance over several boys. For example, Steve was watching the Goldbergs on television one evening, and some of the others wanted to see the Whirly Birds. When Davis got up to get a rag to clean the set, someone tried to change the channel. Davis became angry and told him to leave the channel as it was. Later, Davis hit Parker, who suggested that they switch programs. Chet Ellins then suggested that they all look at something else. Davis remained adamant, but later he and the boys tacitly compromised by seeing the Black Swan.

The leader, too, has the highest status with the staff. Steve Davis was influential in the dining hall. The "toughs" were recognized throughout Hollymeade. Some of the adults, including Milber, had worked out an accommodating approach toward them. Adults seldom interfered with internal aggression.

This example demonstrates how the leadership was able to structure internal activities of the cottage. The boys from Tables IV and V wanted to play baseball with Cottage 5. There was little response from Tables I and III, so the idea fizzled out. Fifteen minutes later the idea was renewed. This time most of the boys from Table III, notably Foster, spoke up for it. The alcove resounded with enthusiasm and the boys played ball after supper.

The leaders received numerous material and psychic rewards. They moved around more freely on the campus than others. At the end of his stay, Davis was eating breakfast with the girls in their cottage. When discovered, this caused much consternation at Hollymeade, because it indicated the extent to which some boys were able to manipulate rigid rules.

The cottage leadership can be viewed somewhat as a solar system with Davis, Wolf, and Red Leon (later replaced by Foster) as the sun and the first perimeter of satellites—Parma, Drake, and Little—revolving around them; and the rest of the cottage around all six.

Positions are based on ability to fulfill clique standards. Artie Parma, George Little, and Gary Drake, who occupied the same room, were all subservient to Steve Davis and Red Leon. The three were frequently found in Davis' room, rarely the reverse.

George Little, the most insecure of the satellite trio, was a volatile, anxious boy brimming with hostility. His obsequious currying of favor contributed to his low prestige. Davis thought Little "was just a nudge in the cottage, and everybody had to get used to him. Sometimes guys just blew up and hit him a few times." Davis tolerated Little because Red Leon used him as a bushboy and protected him. When Red Leon left Hollymeade, Davis banished Little from Table III. Little's anxiety rose markedly, and he became much more difficult to handle.

Followers like Artie Parma, Gary Drake, and George Little were mainly on the defensive in the leadership group. Once Artie knocked Red Leon's spoon off the table by mistake. Red curtly ordered him to pick it up. Artie appeared to the observer overly contrite and apologetic for a member of the same subgroup.

Artie was Davis' personal valet. The two were inseparable; Steve gave the orders, and Art jumped to carry them out. Drake, the third of the subsidiary triumvirate, went out of his way to take risks in order to become part of the group. For example, if the boys wanted beer, Drake would go into town for it. So that the top boys would not think of him as a scrounger, he would offer to lend his jacket, which he had not even worn himself since it came from the dry cleaner.

Overt aggression became less frequent after the leaders had consolidated their position. They increased their distance from newcomers. "As the younger and new boys came in from other cottages, things grew worse," Davis complained. "We—Red Leon, Wolf, and I—stayed pretty much to ourselves. There were no fights, no kangaroo courts, and no more riots. In the beginning everything is fights, and after time goes on, things start slowing down. You fight less and think about leaving Hollymeade and taking care of yourself."

Steve Davis' "slowing down" (as evidenced by the absence of major rumbles or kangaroo courts) did not preclude his continued control over the cottage. The delinquent leader does not need to establish his dominance every moment. He exudes aggression; it is implicit in every gesture. Past aggression results in the expectation, more effective than action, that if the occasion

arose, Davis could conquer any opponent. Contrariwise, the "punk" in the cottage need not be humbled every day to be "status-bound."

The group "gives" to the leader his sense of power and prestige. What does the leader give to the group? Frequently more material goods than he receives. The leaders are adept at securing food, odds and ends, and cigarettes; the last named are a scarce commodity at Hollymeade. Steve Davis worked off-grounds and always had cigarettes, which he doled out to his friends. But more important, the leaders give security to the weaker boys in the sense of not oppressing them every moment. They "permit" them to exist.

The delinquent leader sets the tone of the cottage. Steve Davis claimed, "If they leave me alone, I will leave them alone." The hitch is that he constantly rationalized his aggression by projecting onto others his insecurities and inadequacies. *They* always wanted to attack *him*, so he literally beat them to the punch. A breach of a group standard sets in motion controls that swing the offender back to the standard and also keeps it alive in the minds of the other group members.

Red Leon usually provoked Davis into anti-social activities. After Leon left Hollymeade, Davis maintained his position with waning violence. Davis eventually was permitted to work off-grounds. He "went steady" with a Hollymeade girl and participated less in anti-social activities. During his last months at Hollymeade, he had a stabilizing influence upon the cottage. Periodically, top-clique boys, sparked by Steve Davis, were inspired to repair the cottage. However, this urge lasted only a couple of days and did not serve to increase the boys' collective sense of self-esteem.

b. "Con-Artists"

Several characteristics of the "con-artists" differentiated them from the rest of the Cottage 6 boys. In addition to expert ranking and pride in conniving, they were boastful about their athletic prowess and sexual exploits. Chuck Small, Perry Yearwood, and Ronny Miles occupied the same bedroom. The reader recalls

that Chuck was mercilessly ranked out by the other two (see pages 63 to 64). Chet Ellins was close to this group. Jim Parker, a depressed and introverted boy, was in the clique, but not of it. He was literally and figuratively a "quiet type."

The playful, witty, uninhibited interactions of the con-artists made them fun to be with at times. At a fire drill, the usual kidding went on about the uselessness of the exercise. One of the boys suggested that they find matches and start a fire. Chet elaborated on the idea. Edna said she should not be standing outside because of her cold. Ronny countered, "Why don't you stay inside and burn?" During a meal Ronny turned around and pointed to the horse tattooed on his arm. He said he was going to make some clouds so that the horse would look as though it were taking off. He wanted something fantastic on his arm. Chet said at this point, "Why don't you put your face on it?"

This clique gambled extensively. No one trusted the other; each told the observer privately that the other would "stick a knife" in him if his back were turned. The "con-men" had fashioned a small conniving subsociety in which each stoutly believed that his best friends were incorrigible double-crossers. Of all the cliques, the one made up of con-men is the most manipulative and exploitative. They believe in grasping what they can and in deceiving anyone who stands in their way.

The most stable boy in this group was Ellins, who became much less closely associated with the others during the last months of his stay at Hollymeade. He participated less in gambling and excursions to the girls' cottages. Previously he had been one of the leading instigators of deviant activities at the institution.

Chuck Small, who never reformed at Hollymeade, was quite another con-artist. Among adults he projected an image of wanting to change. This picture, however, was inconsistent with the role he played in the cottage; he never ceased stealing and "conning" money and services from peers and lower-echelon staff. His role changed only at the end of his stay when he became a tough guy in addition to being a con-man. Miles and Yearwood also bullied, manipulated, and ranked young, weak boys like Rabin until they departed.

c. "Quiet Types"

According to Steve Davis, "quiet types" are boys who mind their p's and q's, and neither join up with tough guys nor accept a bushboy status. Frequently they are institutionalized boys who have learned to fade into the setting by keeping their emotional distance and cooperating with the boys at the top.

Nate Lane and Stan Kranz experienced inordinate rejection in their lives. Their childhood was spent in foster homes and institutions. Neither of the boys could maintain social relationships. Both were placed on the farm at Hollymeade and because of the odd hours their work-schedule demanded they were excluded from many cottage activities. Their isolation led them to depend heavily upon each other.

Most of the boys found Nate Lane personable but they saw little of him. After a hard day's work he was tired and went to bed upon his return to the cottage. Lane led "just an existence" according to Chet. Stan Kranz, too, was described by his peers as "just another guy, an easy boy to get along with, but who could be antagonizing or obnoxious when he tried to be a part of the group."

Stan and Nate were inseparable, maintaining a relationship which was marked by small acts of affection. Despite their apparent close relationship, the observer was surprised to learn that Kranz regarded Chet Ellins as his best friend. He said that Chet slept in his bedroom and made good sense when he talked. The observer inquired about Nate, and Stan said, "He's okay, but he's all mixed up and does crazy things. A lot of things that Nate does are just to make people sorry for him." These two long-time institutionalized boys effectively maintained extreme emotional distance from their cottage peers as well as staff.

d. The Bushboys

The low-status cliques are characterized by childish regressive behavior. They are a pale imitation of the tough boys farther up in the hierarchy. Preoccupied with their low status, they over-react to anyone's getting something "on them." They ranked each other incessantly. This group manifested the least solidarity;

they bickered constantly and displayed blatant hostility among themselves. Petane, Ricky, and Rabin quarreled over the most trivial matters, be it Chinese sauce at the table (spilling it on the other's plate) or possession of a rubber band.

The interactions between members of the lower half of the hierarchy are qualitatively different from those of the "toughs" and "con-artists" in the upper half. Low-status boys' anger was turned inward and was displayed in eccentric behavior, partly because the boys lacked objects in the cottage upon whom to displace it. Note the group's bizarre, self-and-other directed punitiveness:

> Lane poured huge amounts of ketchup in his coffee and soup, as well as on his food. . . . For almost an hour Petey banged the wall hard with his strap and fist. . . . At breakfast Rabin ate fifteen pieces of toast, looking to Nate for confirmation. . . . At Table IV Petey and Colorado flipped forks at each other during the meal. . . .

The way in which social position and personality intersect is illustrated in the case of Rabin. After the second year, he became bitterly resentful of his bushboy status in the cottage. He showed paranoid tendencies and overreacted to innocuous situations. As he said, "You just can't trust anybody. If I do anything for someone, I still get bawled out. I get blamed for everything." Once John looked into his room and innocently asked if he was going to clean it up. Rabin walked out muttering to himself, "I'm just a lazy guy, that's all, I'm just lazy."

His mounting anger so unsettled him that he isolated himself from almost everyone in the cottage. During dinner one night Edna asked Rabin why he did not play baseball. Rabin's reply was that he did not like "to get into arguments with the guys around here." While most bushboys manage to ascend from this status, Rabin and Kahn became more firmly bound to it.

e. The Scapegoat

Scapegoating has already been touched upon in the previous chapter. Some of its subtleties may now be elaborated. In the authoritarian social structure there is always one target below to be pecked at, except at the very bottom. In the cottage this

rock-bottom target is younger than the other boys, a lone arrival who has difficulty gaining allies.

Colorado was pressured at first by Davis. But not long after Colorado had entered the cottage, he adapted to its bullying ideology and tested his new-found strength on a "green" arrival. How Colorado bullied Strange has been already illustrated. Rick Kahn, a bushboy of long standing, constantly ranked, bullied, and harassed Joe Chase when he first arrived. As a result Joe went AWOL for eight months.

New boys identify first with the lowest status members. They automatically become "punks" unless they have unusual physical strength, courage, or intelligence. A new boy will sleep in the "punk room," eat at Table IV or V, and participate with his low-status clique members in school and recreational activities. The frequent interaction with low-status members consolidates the new boy's position as a member of an inferior clique.

A new boy should be prepared physically, socially, and emotionally to be isolated from the others for weeks and even months. What will happen afterward depends in part on his background. If he is of middle-class origin, nonverbal, and effeminate, he may be subjected to prolonged testing and ranking. Depending upon his reactions to this ribbing, he may become further isolated from peers in circular fashion until he is overwhelmed by physical coercion, fear, or anxiety. A case in point was Mavis, a new boy admitted to Hollymeade because of participation in delinquency of a sexual nature. The boys called him "queer" from the outset. He was estranged from the others in the cottage during his whole stay at Hollymeade.

A new boy who gains the reputation of being a "punk" will be ranked out not only by top-status boys but by those lower down as well. Sometimes leaders who see middle-status boys oppressing new boys will step in and stop it. The leaders feel, in these cases, that middle-status boys sometimes ascribe to themselves prerogatives that belong only to the "big men."

As the reader is aware, Werner was an example par excellence of a scapegoat. Petey, a low-status, nonverbal, anti-social, ex-

tremely introverted boy, confronted Werner shortly after the latter's arrival. Petey, Rabin, and Meller had succeeded in placing a tack under Werner's seat in the classroom. Werner jumped and angrily yelled, "What the hell's wrong with you comedians?" Petey laughed, Rabin smiled, and Meller bellowed uproariously. Werner looked across the room at Petey, saying, "You try that again and I'll beat your head in." But Werner did not dare move toward Petey, who laughed, while Rabin smiled. Werner was only a "punk."

Scapegoats at the bottom of the pecking order hate their exploiters, their clique "friends," and themselves. They are caught in the most vicious circle at Hollymeade; as catchall targets, it is impossible for them to escape the constant pervasive exploitation of the overbearing toughs and manipulative "con-artists," and they are even prey to bushboys.

As top leaders move out of the cottage, its rigid social structure loosens, and the boys have an opportunity to experiment with new roles. Chuck Small was continually ranked and insulted by Perry Yearwood and Ronny Miles, but when these boys and Davis left Hollymeade, Chuck was able to assume a position of aggressive superiority in the cottage.

Scapegoats, such as Rick Kahn on the other hand, are unable to modify their roles despite the length of time spent in the institution. Here, personality factors are important. Kahn, diagnosed as a borderline schizophrenic, was too obnoxious and unpredictable to become acceptable to the others. He was used (unwittingly, of course) to indoctrinate new boys entering the cottage. Kahn made life so miserable for new boys that they always left his room as soon as a bed was available elsewhere.

THE DELINQUENT SOCIAL SYSTEM

Every social system is stratified in terms of the power and prestige distributed among its members. The recruitment for positions and their consolidation vary with the character of the group and its developmental stages. The criteria that distinguish the superior and inferior strata depend upon the core standards of the group. The durability of Cottage 6's delinquent social struc-

ture is supported by sanctions of violence and manipulation that are most efficiently employed by the top-clique boys, but pervade the whole cottage.

It is our fundamental assumption that the deviant interaction described in the foregoing pages is a reflection not only of individual pathology but also of the structure and processes of the group in which the behavior was enacted. The deviant processes described in detail in Chapter 4 are shown in this chapter to become institutionalized into different roles in the social structure. Just like the individual, the group has a history. Into its evolving network of complementary positions each boy is inducted.

This is where we part company with those who regard psychopathology as dysfunctional to the social system in which it is enacted. The functional approach to deviancy detailed in this chapter views deviant behavior as a crucial component in the equilibrium of cottage social organization.

The big man and the con-artist, on the one hand, the scapegoat and the queer, on the other, constitute the extremes of the cottage role system continuum of peer group behavior in the cottage. Both of these ends of the continuum, as well as those in intermediate positions, are interdependent and define the emotional, intellectual, and social range of cottage life. The social equilibrium built around delinquent or deviant patterns may obtain for long periods until the system in turn gives rise to behavior that is dysfunctional for the group and ends in the breakdown and elimination of boys whose behavior cannot be contained by the deviant cottage system. The way in which this cottage equilibrium is articulated with Hollymeade is detailed in Chapter 10.

It is worth noting in passing that the distribution of power roles in other cottages is somewhat different from the pattern in Cottage 6. In some groups the tough boys, the "power" or the "big men," maintain absolute hegemony and assign the con-artists subsidiary positions. This was the case in Cottage 6. In other cottages, however, the gamblers and con-artists unite with the tough leaders (sometimes individuals combine con-artistry

and toughness to rule over the punks or bushboys). Muscles and brains unite to ensure a steady flow of psychic and material services upward.

The power pattern of Cottage 7 seemed to be a clear instance of the foregoing description. Its structure, which is vividly portrayed by Chet Ellins (who lived there for most of his stay in Hollymeade), can be appreciated in light of our growing knowledge of Cottage 6's social organization:

QUESTION: Who ran the cottage when you first came into "7"?

ANSWER: (After naming a few boys) But you see a cottage is never actually run by one guy. One guy has brains, the other guy has muscles, but always four or five, or three guys are the power in the group. They might not be the roughest guys, but they are the power. What they want to do mostly is what the group does, and a lot of smart guys don't actually want to become the leader. They prefer to be the guy in the back; they want to be the power of the group. The cottage guys clique up and hang around together. And these groups, you know, are your power.

QUESTION: When did you become a power in "7"? I know you did, because it was one of the reasons they changed you. Right?

ANSWER: Well, that's true. But I came into power in a different way from a lot of the other kids. I like to gamble, and I'm good at it. And through the fact that you can win, well, then you have money. That automatically makes the group come to you at one point or another.

QUESTION: Is that right?

ANSWER: Guys are going AWOL; they got to come to you to get money. They try to get you to like them. And in order to get you to like them, when you make a suggestion, they follow it because there's no reason to antagonize the hand that's feeding you. So that's how I came into power: guys owed me money, so guys were afraid to get me mad because they'd have to pay. I had my strong arm boys that were willing to collect for me. .. . .

QUESTION: Like whom?

ANSWER: Like Foster, and Simon, like myself. You see, I mean I wasn't. . . . The whole point is that I never had to use them. I'd collect my own debts, but yet everybody knew that these

guys would help me collect my debts if it ever came to something like that and it never did.

QUESTION: Well, then, were you the three guys who were the top guys up there?

ANSWER: Yes.

Cottage 6 can be visualized as a diamond-shaped social system that persists as leaders depart and middle-status and low-status boys rise in the hierarchy. Every stratum combines a cluster of privileges and duties. The translation of each subgroup's and clique's norms into concrete action is seen as the functioning of the diverse roles in the cottage.

		Number of Boys
Steve Davis Red Leon Lenny Wolf	Top Clique "The Power"	3
Artie Parma Gary Drake George Little	Top Clique Associates	3
Chet Ellins Ronny Miles Perry Yearwood Chuck Small	Con-artists	4
		"BIG CROWD"
	Quiet Types	"SMALL CROWD"
Jim Parker Nate Lane Stan Kranz	Isolates and Dyads	
Petey Petane Rick Kahn Ray Rabin Joe Chase Brent Strange Al Dane	Bushboys	9
Tippy Fraser Harry Werner	Scapegoat "Queer" "Rat"	1
		20

DIAGRAM 4. A DIAMOND-SHAPED SOCIAL SYSTEM

SUMMARY

The focalization of power in a few hands at the top of the social hierarchy is the heart of Cottage 6's social system. Tough-

ness summarily gives status, and, together with manipulation, becomes the chief competence for gaining prestige. At their various stations in the social hierarchy the boys are sensitized and preoccupied with their rating because it controls so much of their behavior in the cottage.

Statuses are rigidly fixed and each boy is treated in accordance with the status assigned to him by the social system of the cottage. Social distance is greatest between subgroups and cliques; least among the members of a clique. Within each clique there are pecking orders, miniature reproductions of the cottage social organization. Drake, a high-status "punk," had more in common with Strange and Werner, low-status punks, than with members of his own clique. Dane, on the other hand, as we shall shortly see, had more in common with the big men at the top.

The chief way a boy changes his status is by challenging a higher-status boy to a fight. The outcomes of these encounters are firmly impressed in the boys' memories and drastically change the challenger's status and horizons in the cottage.

The omnipresence of the strong-weak continuum institutionalized in statuses and the lack of alternative identifications exaggerate the toughness norm. Internal aggression in a primary group creates an intense need for aggressors to rationalize their behavior. While exploiting their targets, they cite their queerness, sneakiness, and grubbiness, which justify further aggression until the stereotypes are fixed at both ends.

The drastic restrictions for achieving status within the cottage lead to exaggerated conformity with the peer group standards. These rigid patterns sharply limit the possibilities of personality experimentation and social change. A powerful reference group is thus created and interposed between the child and the staff, and challenges that staff's practices, values, and aspirations.

6. Social Change

In recording the social processes in Cottage 6 at Hollymeade, the camera has now run uninterruptedly for approximately eight months. The observer noted changes induced by turnover, upward mobility, and role modification. To get some idea of the processes of social change, the cottage structure must be analyzed at two different points in time. Since observation could not be extended another eight months for comparison, we decided to "slow down the camera" in the fall with the beginning of a new school term and observe the boys intensively for several days soon after a cottage turnover. The observer concluded his extensive participation in cottage life shortly thereafter.

This brief but concentrated observation can be contrasted with what was seen during the longer period. Attention to cottage change not only increases our understanding of peer interpersonal processes but also tests our assumptions about the social organization of the cottage.

CLOSEUP: COTTAGE 6 IN TRANSITION[1]

The reader may recall how diagnostic events in the cottage dining alcove proved to be useful for understanding peer group organization. For this reason and for comparability of setting, we thought it advisable to focus our second series of observations in the alcove. Each of six periods during three days' observation in the fall averaged fifteen minutes. The observer rotated among the four tables in the 10 by 15 foot alcove where the boys assembled

[1] For a more extended discussion of the methodology used in this section see Polsky, Howard W., and Martin Kohn, "A Pilot Study of Delinquent Group Processes." Paper read at the August, 1958, meeting of the American Sociological Association. Mimeographed.

three times a day. Immediately after each meal the observer returned to his office to tape-record in detail what he had seen and heard.

Before an incident is scored, its overall motif is related to sub-interactions contributing to the gestalt. The procedure of a series of peer exchanges becoming a psychological whole in the observer's mind during recording is analogous to the integration of individual frames into an ongoing scene when they are projected onto the screen. The observer follows the reactions of target, witnesses, and initiator until the incident has run its course. An incident takes form and becomes meaningful largely as it is seen in relation to roles that have been noted in prior interaction.

Each episode has a spatiotemporal unity. Its internal parts are interconnected in a pattern. Events following it are related to it and frequently exhibit a basic modal character. (The numerous examples of the scapegoating of Werner during the six meals illustrate what is meant here.) An event is a unit of interaction which adds up to more than the mere sum of its individual parts. It is a construction based on the concept of complementarity of social roles, and enables us to bring order into the multitude of discrete interactions in which the boys are engaged.

Our primary purpose was not to describe in detail the entire interactional field. We were interested chiefly in checking on the persistence of those processes that had characterized so much of cottage life during the previous observational period: the impugning, denying, negating, and disregarding of the addressee's integrity. Rather than measuring hostility in the cottage quantitatively, we have demonstrated how much of cottage life becomes circumscribed by aggression and acrimony through patterned interaction. Boys fade in and out like shadows in the night. Structured processes are more tenacious; while their outward manifestations change, their underlying core of organization does not.

Before an event is categorized as *hostile*, the specific subinteractions which comprise it are weighed. In perceiving a pattern in a negative transaction, the observer's accumulated insights into cottage life serve as the frame of reference for the critical judgment. Harmless horseplay is distinguished from invidious under-

mining, "kidding" from pointed "ranking," friendly jabs from all-out slugging.

A factor that placed many of the boys' interactions in the hostile category was the leaders' autocratic control. This term is defined by Bales as follows: "Autocratic control: includes attempts to control, regulate, govern, direct, or supervise in a manner which the observer interprets as arbitrary or autocratic, in which freedom of choice or consent for the other person is either greatly limited or nonexistent, with the implication that the other has no right to protest or modify the demand but is expected to follow the directive immediately without argument."[1] In one incident, for example, Chuck Small remarked that there were only three bottles of milk in the alcove and asked why there were not more. Glancing at another alcove, he peremptorily ordered Mavis to get him a bottle. Without questioning, Mavis immediately retrieved the milk for Small. Mavis was placidly eating his meal when Small issued the command. Since Small was dictating to Mavis, the interaction was categorized as hostile. These accumulated interactions between Small and Mavis illustrate the process of induction and complementary role behavior.

Our present story unfolds during a turnover in Cottage 6. During the six periods of close scrutiny, totaling ninety minutes, 43 major hostile events, comprising 110 aggressive subinteractions, were enacted. During the course of eight months, some of the boys had altered roles somewhat, others had left Hollymeade, and newcomers had been admitted to the cottage. The key point here, however, is that the boys were filling roles that had been built up in the cottage over a long period and that stemmed from a continuing cultural heritage. These roles were "awaiting" them—all that was needed was interaction to give them idiosyncratic flavoring.

THE INTERACTION FIELD

The statuses of the boys in the cottage were listed according to dining-hall and bedroom clusters and length of time at Holly-

[1] Bales, Robert F., *Interaction Process Analysis*. Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., Reading, Mass., 1951, p. 193.

meade. Table III retained the leadership clique in this transitional period. The seating plan presented as Diagram 5 can be compared with the one before the cottage turnover (see Diagram 1, page 45).
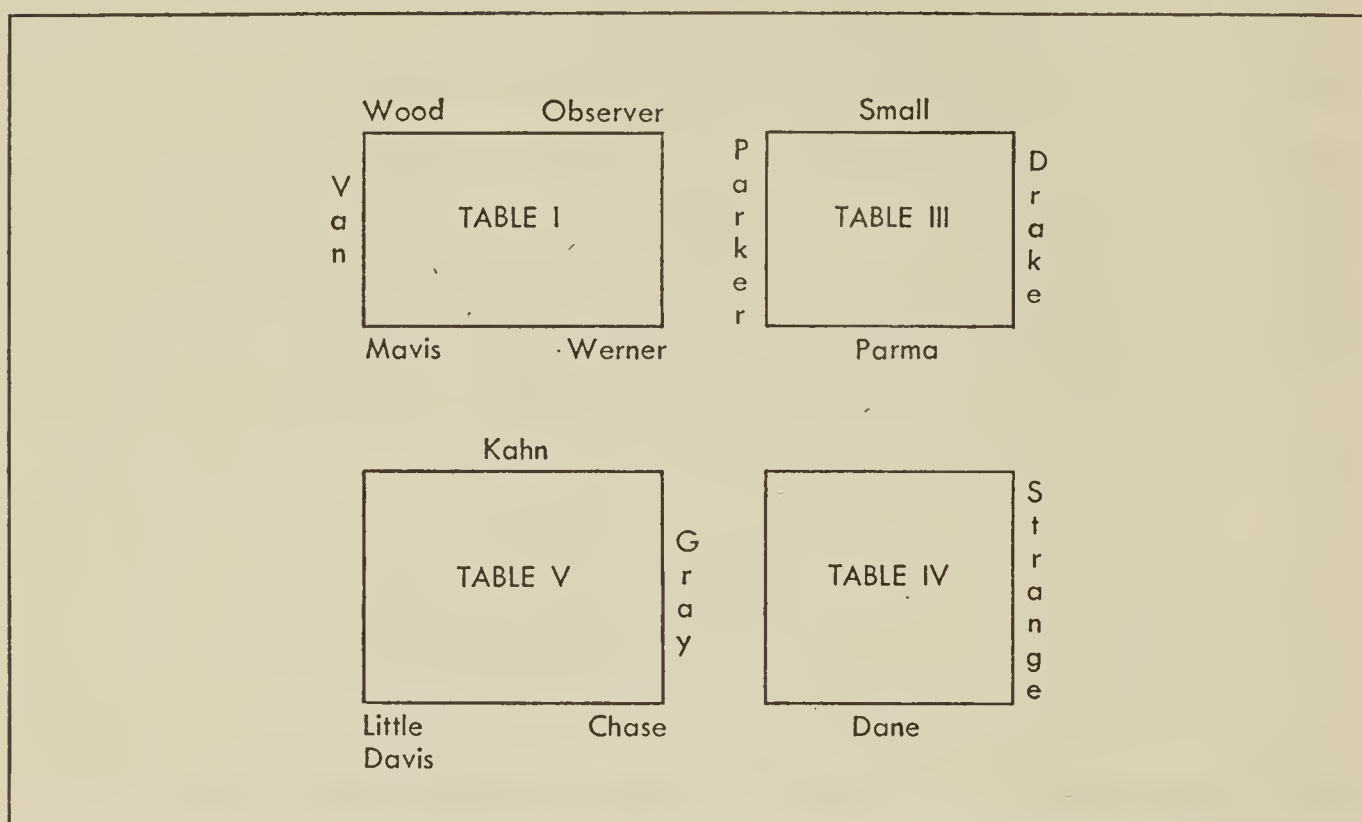
DIAGRAM 5. SEATING PLAN IN DINING-HALL ALCOVE AFTER
COTTAGE TURNOVER

The four boys at Table III head the status hierarchy; four new boys and Rick Kahn were placed at the bottom, and the others in the middle status.

Since observer selectivity is inevitable, it should be made explicit before proceeding. While cooperative and "neutral" activities were noted, this chapter highlights the *negative* processes. The seating arrangement shown in Diagram 5 was especially conducive to negative incidents between Table I and Table III during the three-day observation period. As can be surmised from this seating chart, Werner was in a vulnerable position *vis-à-vis* Table III. Chuck Small was his prime nemesis. Repeatedly he brushed Werner threateningly, and Werner always withdrew. In appeasement, Werner asked the boys at Table III if they wanted his pizza. Small made a sarcastic, obscene remark, whereupon his cohorts at Table III burst into laughter. Werner

smiled strangely. Before the meal began, Werner had been sitting in Parma's chair at Table III. Parma grabbed him from behind and rudely shoved him out.

The top boys' hostility against Werner was direct, naked, status-deflating, with explicit physical threat. Picking up Small's offensive, Parma, Drake, and Parker had a hand in baiting Werner. Parker whipped around and hit Werner with a table knife. Werner said, "What the hell do you want from me?" and withdrew. What, indeed, did they want from him? Werner was attacked partially because of his attempts to join the top clique while he was regarded by them as a "punk." He would not fight when they arbitrarily imposed their wills upon him. But he could not accept a conception of himself as a punk.

Another incident elaborates this basic theme, namely, Werner's inability to defend his integrity according to the critical tough-ness norm, on one hand, and his intense need to belong to this high-status group, on the other. Werner asked Parker for the butter, but the latter said he could not reach it. Small sat down and Werner asked him for it. Parker passed it slowly and teas-ingly behind his own back. Just as Werner reached for it, Small remarked that he had not used it yet. Parker reached quickly around, snatching the butter just as Werner was about to use it, and returned it to Small. After another deliberate delay it was finally passed to Werner. But Werner assumed an air of mock indignation and would not use it.

As compensation for his frustrating experiences with the top clique, Werner exploited others. He attacked safe targets: new, inadequate boys, the observer, and Van, a new counselor. At Table I, Wood asked for the sugar. Werner's reply was curt: "You can't have it, get it yourself!" Wood did. A boy from another cottage approached Mavis. Werner told the youngster to "get the hell out of the alcove!" The lad obliged and Mavis with-drew. Whether Werner mocked low-status boys and the observer for stupidity (Werner mimicked Mavis' speech impediment, the observer's stare annoyed Werner) or ranked them (Mavis was a "queer"), his displacement of anger could not keep up with the unrelenting scapegoating from Table III.

In sharp contrast to Werner, Al Dane, another middle-status boy, daringly challenged Drake, now a top leader, in an incident that will be developed later. While Dane refused to be pushed around any longer by Drake, he currently manifested little outward aggression toward the other boys. Instead, he used the observer as a backboard for his pent-up anxiety. He adopted Strange as a satellite, much as Steve Davis had been the axis around which Parma had revolved, and assumed a paternal role toward him.

It soon became apparent that the cottage social system was as deeply entrenched in an aggressive-manipulative value system as ever. An invisible but controlling status line was being stretched across the cottage, dividing it into two classes: the aggressors and the exploited. One of the main reasons so much of the cottage structure was revealed in so short a time span was that the boys were in an active period of establishing new roles in the old "muscles and brains" hierarchy. Peer social controls soon to become implicit were now flagrantly exercised. Werner and Dane are perhaps the most dramatic examples. How they and the rest of the cottage mesh into an evolving complementary pattern is described below.

DIRECTIONS IN THE RESTRUCTURING OF THE COTTAGE

1. The largest number of aggressive initiations and the smallest number of targets are among the high-status boys: Small, Parker, Parma, and Drake. Conversely, the lowest-status group (Kahn, Chase, Wood, Strange, Mavis, the observer, and Van) are the most frequent targets and present the lowest number of aggressive initiations. Between these two extremes on an isolated perch is Werner, who is the most frequent target of high-status boys and also the instigator of a sizable number of antagonistic actions against low-status boys. The hostility of the top leadership toward Van, the new counselor, is clearly manifested, as is Small's unquestioned control over low-status boys like Mavis. The leaders manifest the most solidarity; Chuck Small chiefly promotes ingroup solidarity, but is also the most aggressive toward outclique

boys; Parker, Drake, and Parma follow Small's pattern toward the lower-status boys.

2. Al Dane's hostility toward the observer is a reflection of his anxiety about moving up in the social hierarchy. The stages of his social mobility are recounted in full later. The middle-status members have no enduring solidarity with each other. Little Davis, Steve's younger brother, maintains a steady stream of invective directed toward members of his own clique, lower-status boys, and especially new arrivals. In the cottage lounge during one of the three days of observation, Little Davis took out a cigarette and seemed to be at a loss for a match, although he didn't say so. Strange leaped up with his lighter and asked Davis if he wanted a light. Davis refused it and then said, "What are you trying to do, be a bushboy?" Strange protested; Davis laughed and turned his back on him.

3. Although the observer focused attention upon interclique transactions (partly because they were so dramatic and attracted everyone's attention) rather than interactions within each of the strata, nevertheless the aggression of veteran low-status boys (for example, Kahn) against new boys (for example, Strange) is also clearly revealed. Low-status targets—Chase, Wood, Strange, and Mavis—were passive, withdrawn, and fearful. Wood and Mavis, lacking protectors, gravitated toward the observer and Van. By becoming friendly with Van, who was intensely disliked by the older boys, Mavis further isolated himself in the cottage. Of the new boys, only Gray "coolly" adapted to the older boys' control. He was destined for "big things" with the departure of the current leadership. Like Al Dane before him, Gray resisted intimidation and was alert to asserting himself. He was, indeed, playing it "cool" now, neither asserting his aggressiveness, which was soon to blossom, nor serving as a target.

4. The initiation and direction of hostile acts proved to be an accurate basis for scaling the pecking order of the strata. Stratum I (Small, Parker, Parma, and Drake) initiated almost half of the total number of aggressive acts; Stratum II (Werner, Davis, Gray, and Dane) because of Werner, almost the other half. (The others are grouped in Stratum III.) Examination of the targets

reveals the picture in a somewhat different light. Stratum I has
the fewest targets; Stratum II (because of Werner) and Stra-
tum III, the most. Thus, the ideal pecking order is as follows:
I pecks II and III, and, II pecks III.

5. Highlighting the present cottage functioning and a strong
portent for the future are the disequilibrating incidents, such as
Dane's challenge to Drake. Another salient characteristic is
Werner's scapegoating role. Refusing to fight his tormentors, he
intimidates low-status boys with vitriolic ranking. He is the
pivotal figure for perpetuating the delinquent action syndrome
described in Chapter 3. Schematizing the concrete transactions
discussed above, the positions of the boys in the cottage can be
represented as in Diagram 6.
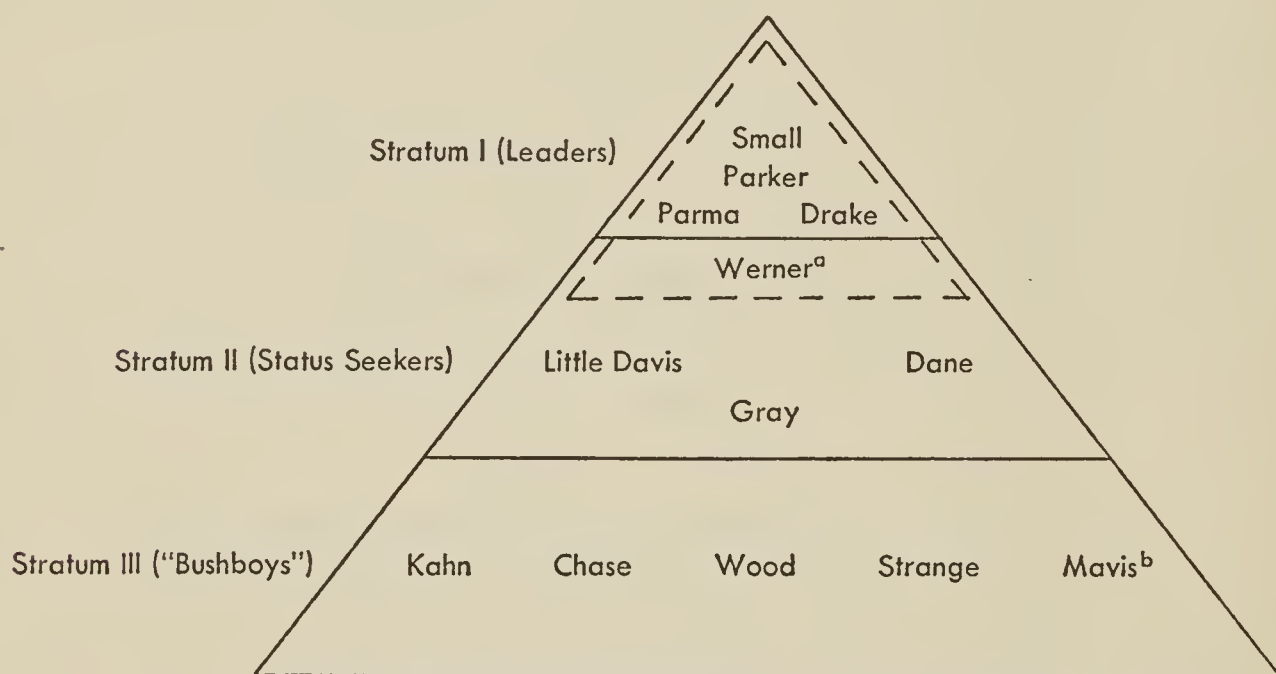
DIAGRAM 6. COTTAGE STRUCTURE DURING SECOND OBSERVATION PERIOD

[a] Werner's position is ambiguous; he vacillated between being tolerated and
scapegoated by Stratum I boys.

[b] During this period of observation Mavis was the "cottage queer," the scapegoat.

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN PERSPECTIVE

The results of the two observation periods of cottage life before
and after a cottage turnover can now be placed in proper per-
spective. To do this we shall compare the boys' social organiza-
tion during eight months of observation when Steve Davis, Red

Leon, and Wolf controlled the cottage with that which appeared after the emergence of a new leadership, the rise to middle status by Al Dane, the intense scapegoating of Werner, and the installation of a new set of bushboys.

To assess cottage change and continuity we might examine *individual* developmental profiles, or explore subgroup or *clique* developmental profiles. However, the comparative analysis of both individual and group profiles will reveal the best picture of cottage social change. Cottage change and continuity is further illustrated by a detailed analysis of Al Dane, a "successful" career in the cottage social structure. As we shall see, his social mobility in the cottage points up the double interchange that is operative in the continuity-change continuum. The impact of role change upon Al and his adaptation to a leadership role in the peer group are essential contributions to perpetuating the authoritarian social structure.

INDIVIDUAL DEVELOPMENTAL PROFILES:
OLD ROLES, NEW PERSONNEL

Chuck Small

At first booted about by everyone, Chuck Small later became the special target of prolonged ranking by Ronny Miles and Perry Yearwood. Chuck's reaction was to outdo the others in defying adults and manipulating weaker boys. A Johnny-come-lately figure, he joined skirmishes after the others dared to initiate them (such as baiting the observer). When Perry Yearwood was caught red-handed stealing butter from another alcove, Chuck took up the challenge to re-steal the butter.

Chuck gained an ascendant position when Steve Davis, Red Leon, Miles, and Yearwood left Hollymeade. Once in the leadership, Chuck reacted to real and imaginary challenges with hysterical outbreaks. As a leader, Chuck was dictatorial and demanding. He ranked Werner heartlessly, pushed him to fight, and then mercilessly derided him for "punking out." Toward the cottage scapegoat, Mavis, for example, he vacillated from indifference to gross aggression.

Jim Parker

Jim demonstrates a career line somewhat different from Chuck Small's. Upon arrival Jim was also tested by the toughest boys on-grounds, but he fought back. He fought Ronny Miles, Steve Davis, and Cugman (from another cottage). Although Parker was handily defeated by Davis, he was able to give a good account of himself. He became a genuine tough guy.

After Parker proved his ability to fight, he won the respect of his compeers, for even though he was beaten several times, he never "punked out." Jim was extremely withdrawn and shy with girls. He was never quite accepted by the con-artists, with whom he ate; yet he never was a bushboy.

Jim surged to the top when the old leadership departed. Together with Small, Drake, and Parma, he became the "power" in the cottage. He did not, however, flaunt his new-found status, as Davis had once done and Small was now doing. Quite the opposite was true. He protected weaker boys. After Jim became one of the top men the boys in his room were never in danger of being beaten up. Several new boys who thought Parker was weak because of his small size tried him out, much to their misfortune. However, he was never a bully.

Gary Drake

Gary illustrates another variation of the cottage career line. When he entered the cottage, he was regarded as a "punk." He was frequently morose and depressed. He attempted in vain to hang onto the leadership tails of Davis and Red Leon, but was always on the fringe of the "big men." According to Chet Ellins, "The boys detected the yellow streak in him immediately." He was a good musician but was personally very unpopular.

With Steve Davis gone, Drake saw his chance to assume a position of importance in the cottage. But a high-status punk's reputation is as constraining as that of a low-status punk. Boys who recognized Drake for what he really was, spread tales of his cowardice. Ellins accurately described his role: "Drake was the small fish at the big-shot table. If a fourth boy wanted to sit

there, Drake was the one who was shoved aside, the fifth wheel."
Ellins' diagnosis was prophetic indeed, as we shall soon discover.

Artie Parma

Steve Davis' personal valet, Artie, suffered a great loss of
prestige when he was severely beaten in a fight by a Cottage 5
boy. He temporarily lost grace in his master's eyes, but slowly
won his way back into Davis' circle when he continued to per-
form his and Leon's bidding. Parma also saw his chance to move
up when Davis left and now became Small's shadow. Together,
the four—Small, Parker, Parma, and Drake—dominated the
cottage.

The number-one target for these top leaders' scapegoating was
Werner. A manipulator *par excellence*, Werner ingratiated himself
into the company of these leaders, who confronted him daily with
his cowardice. This transition period was especially difficult for
Werner, who turned viciously upon younger, less able boys in the
social hierarchy.

Several low-status boys remained in the same status (although
their roles changed somewhat) to which they had been assigned
upon arrival. Rick Kahn is an outstanding example. He was
never liked much because he bullied new and defenseless boys.
(Only top-status tough guys had this prerogative.) He himself
accepted a great deal of punishment from the older boys. The
cottage parents did not notice any change in his status: "I don't
think there was much change in him from the time he came to the
day he left, except as the older boys moved out; he was not
bothered too much by those on top. . . ."

Among the new group, Little Davis (Steve's brother), Chase,
and Green (occasionally joined by Kahn and Werner) consti-
tuted a self-contained, though somewhat unstable, subunit.
Little Davis gained the upper berth in the group through bluster-
ing aggressiveness, but his would-be dominant role was continu-
ally checked by the united efforts and endless bickering of the
others in the clique. Since these are new boys, we obviously can-
not compare their present status with the period before the cot-

tage turnover. Mavis was the isolate and universal cottage scapegoat.

CLIQUE PROFILES: STRUCTURAL CHANGE

One danger of conceptualizing gross changes is that intermediate phases are blurred. Although cliques are constantly dissolving and reforming, the two large divisions of the cottage structure—the "big" and "small crowds"—remain quite stable. Within each of the two large subgroups relationships are more fluid, but not less authoritarian. Thus proceeds the unending battle of old and new generations. When the leaders leave, middle-status boys want to rule as their predecessors did. Fights and standoffs result. Low-status boys are defined as "queers," "rats," "grubs," and "punks." The "quiet types" pursue isolated paths. As soon as control is secured, the overt fighting dies down and an implicit consensus of social control emerges. The bedroom and table changes reflect the new status structure.

During both periods of observation the leaders sat at Table III. Small and Parker, who showed the most mobility, moved from Table I to III during the second period. Drake and Parma retained their positions at Table III and in the cottage hierarchy. Parker subsequently moved into the same bedroom with Drake and Parma.

During the transitional period in the cottage, Al Dane and Strange consolidated their relationship, the latter becoming the former's satellite. But shortly after the observation period in October, Dane moved to Table III when Drake and Parma moved out; Strange remained at Table IV.

Kahn's continued low-status position is symbolized by his lack of movement in the alcove and bedroom. Werner attempted to captivate Small by obsequious ingratiation, but was rebuffed by all the boys at Table III. Only when Small, Werner's chief nemesis, moved out, did Werner become more "acceptable" to the power table. Thus, the table and bedroom arrangements accurately reflected social change in the cottage.

The top clique was now composed of the boys who had been in the cottage for over a year. They purposely separated themselves

from the others; this they accomplished by eating together at the same table and refusing to other boys access to this table, and also by "floating" around together on the campus. Drake and Parma, for example, sporadically worked together picking fruit on a nearby farm; after work, they secluded themselves in their "therapy room" in the cottage. John and Edna, the cottage parents, continued to follow the pattern of deferring to the top boys.

The camaraderie of the ruling group was manifested in pride in a clean room, equipped with the best furniture on the campus. Artie picked up a hi-fi set, which further set them apart as exclusive. We must remember also that high-status boys have better relations not only with cottage parents but with outsiders who "count."

The others, sensing the exclusiveness of this clique, formed their own ingroup, thereby segregating themselves and contributing to cottage cleavages. The groups lower down on the hierarchical ladder took longer to crystallize, since the boys had to become better acquainted with one another.

Although Little Davis adopted the aggressive posture of his older brother, he was not accepted by the top clique because of his immaturity. He fraternized irregularly with Werner, whose con-artistry delighted him. Rick Kahn, the "punk" whom boys disliked sharing a bedroom with, was still an isolate and regarded as "queer" and undesirable by the cottage. The newest boys—Wood, Strange, and Mavis—gravitated toward Dane and Gray who were a notch above them in status and who did not harry them. Dane is isolated from the top clique at the moment, but because of his fighting prowess is destined for a leadership role.

In fact, it is Al Dane's story that best illustrates the evolution of social change in the cottage, for it not only traces a successful career, his movement up the social ladder, but highlights the values underlying cottage stratification. The Dane-Davis incident (described on pages 47 to 48) showed how Al was humbled upon his arrival in the cottage by Steve Davis. Now we must flash back to pick up the important strands of his life before coming to Hollymeade and then follow his progress in Cottage 6. Al's

adaptation to the cottage can be thought of as the manifestation of role patterns learned in previous authoritarian primary groups before he came to Hollymeade.

AL DANE: SCENARIO OF A "SUCCESSFUL" CAREER

Two major themes run through Al Dane's life like haunting melodies. He has an unshakable belief that he will turn out to be "bad," which is augmented by a deep-rooted fear of being considered "crazy." To look at Al, it would be difficult for one to distinguish him from most average-sized, dull though not distorted appearing, heavy-set adolescents. Except for a noticeable squint (he refused to wear glasses), his medical history is negative. He is a strong boy, but inside the recesses of his mind there is the notion that Al Dane is a lifeless puppet at the mercy of powerful external forces beyond his control.

At home Al had been very much at the mercy of his parents—a Jewish mother and a Catholic father who was an alcoholic. Al is the fourth of eight children of parents diagnosed as "psychopathic personalities." Assaults on the mother by the father alternated with frequent separations. During these stormy interludes, three of the children were removed by the Children's Court.

Al vividly recalls the events leading up to his entering Hollymeade. His father, who had been drinking heavily, stabbed his mother with an icepick and chased the boy out of the house. While his mother lay in a hospital bed for three months, his father sat in prison.

Al soon found himself on an institutional trek. In foster and children's homes, he was detached from both peers and adults. Only mildly interested in girls and athletics, he spent most of his time watching television—a preoccupation he maintained also in Cottage 6.

Al became more and more confused about religion, and his increasingly negative self-concept and poor vision contributed to his inadequacy in school (his I.Q. was 104). Inarticulate, unable to read or write, he compensated for the deficiency by lashing out at teachers and peers in school.

At the Children's Home, where Al regarded himself as the head of the family, he beat up his younger siblings when their behavior did not meet with his approval. He gradually assumed the stereotyped appearance of the delinquent: tight dungarees, "D.A." haircut, and a wide garrison belt, which he used in gang fights. He seriously hurt a boy with this belt on one occasion. Al was finally committed to the Court for stealing. Hollymeade was next.

Al had solved his problems through aggression. His case-worker, who remembers Al's first day on campus, described him as a boy with "no feeling of selfness. He feels so little about himself that he must keep his guard up at all times. If he can act strong enough, no one will bother him."

Al's Cottage Life: First Stage

When Al Dane first entered Cottage 6, he was relegated to the lowest stratum, the "punk room." Forced into a submissive role, Al bottled the rage he could not express openly. Precisely because he showed anger when harassed, he continued to be teased and intimidated. As the reader recalls, Al resisted the pressure from the older boys. Steve Davis fortified his own ascendant role by frequently humbling Al. Al's downgrading reinforced Davis' dominance. But Al was soon to learn the score.

Al's Cottage Life: Second Stage

Al's period of transition was marked by overt aggression within and between cliques. About two months after his arrival, subtle changes began to take place. One day Gary Drake approached Table IV, where Al was sitting, apparently minding his own business. Gary scowled at Al: "When you take this damn mayonnaise, be sure to bring it back, see?" Al literally could not see, as his back was turned to Gary; the latter continued his harangue. Al did not bother to turn around, said nothing, and stared stolidly at his food. When Gary finished his tirade, he found himself in an awkward position; Al refused to turn around. Gary stood for several moments in a threatening mood, glowering at Al, and then slowly retreated to his own table.

Drake was acting upon an accepted norm—the tough boy bosses a weak boy—by ordering him to return Table III articles. But in contrast to a similar experience with Steve Davis several months before, Drake did not merely snap his fingers for the bowl but had to go to the table himself to retrieve it. Dane was thus modifying his subservient role and challenging Drake's hegemony.

Within this event, the two boys' roles are changing so subtly that the import of the interchange must be expanded. Al Dane's status is far below Drake's, but Al's *attitude* toward his own role has assumed marked change. By not cringing in the face of threat and unqualifiedly affirming Drake's leadership, Al is not only moving up to a position midway between the top and bottom cliques, but the other boys in the cottage, fully aware of what is happening, are giving tacit approval to the drama and its message.

This event contributes importantly to the participants' evolving roles. Drake is a scared leader. Previously, by attaching himself to Davis, he was a member of the top clique, but also a "punk." Drake's prior behavior dogs him in his attempt to change his leadership role. In threatening Dane, a young isolated newcomer, his bullying tactics were backfiring. Dane, in the meantime, had been asserting his physical prowess and the implied challenge to Drake enhanced the image he was slowly projecting.

A boy's upward mobility does not proceed in an orderly way, but in a zigzag fashion. Dane, for example, would not challenge Parker, another tough leader, to a fight. Dane and Parker found themselves in a bitter argument one evening when the latter tried to sneak in front of Dane in the food line. After they had pushed each other around for a while, Dane finally retreated to the end of the line.

But Al Dane was becoming more confident about whom he could challenge. He became a *starker* (Jewish word for "tough guy"). During one hysterical outbreak, he swung at Milber, the counselor, a powerfully built fellow. He picked up a chair to heave at the two-hundred-pounder, but the latter plowed into

Dane. The observer separated them and calmed them down. Milber was panting. He wanted to "beat the hell out of him."

After "successfully" challenging a tough adult, Al was preparing for his most dramatic move. He was ready to go beyond "taking away cigarettes from little kids."

THE DANE-DRAKE INCIDENT

TIME: Dinner.

SCENE: The Dining Hall. Cottage 6 boys are lined up along the serving rail, waiting for the other cottages to fill their trays. Parma is at the head of the line and Al Dane behind him. Drake enters and tries to skip in front of Dane, behind Artie Parma.

DRAKE: (Stepping in front of Dane) I'm in back of Artie!

DANE: (Pushing him away with his body) I am.

DRAKE: Damn it, who do you think you are? (He pushes at Dane, but Al stands firm.) Get out of here—!

DANE: (Not budging) Don't try to sneak in.

DRAKE: I don't have to sneak in. I'm just walking in. Remember what you're doing, because I don't dig this. (He continues glowering at Dane.)

(The other boys observe the standoff with mounting interest. No one interferes. Drake and Dane stand firm for a few minutes, poised, feeling each other out. Drake threatens to do something but decides not to and finally steps behind Dane, together with Parker and Small, both of whom are tightlipped.)

In the face of Drake's support by his clique, Dane had taken his chances. The boys were able to perceive this standoff as a general challenge to Drake's status; his position was weakened while Dane's status was enhanced.

Dane subsequently maintained that he was not going to push anybody around, and he did not want anybody to push him around. This position is rationalized by some tough guys when they enter the first ranks. Dane did not know at this time whether Drake could rally support to avenge his downgrading.

In this period of conflict, Al Dane became intensely involved with cottage life and correspondingly less interested in the remedial reading program that had been carefully worked out for

him. Although a nonverbal boy who had strong feelings about his inadequacy in school, Al turned away from school as he gained a higher status among his peers.

Al's Cottage Life: Third Stage

Clues about cottage change abound just before a set of old residents depart. Milber was asked by the observer to predict what would happen, now that Small and Parker were leaving. He felt that Al Dane was a strong boy who would boss others around.

As soon as Dane had sufficiently developed his position as a top status member, he relaxed somewhat. His interactions reflected more ease and self-confidence. One day the observer accidentally pushed against him and immediately apologized. Dane said, "Well, there you are again, monkeying around." The observer became a little angry and told Dane that he did not mean to push him. Dane quieted down. Then Dane told Wood that if he cared to, he could punch him (Wood) in the stomach and ordered him to walk ahead.

Dane confided to the observer that Hollymeade was becoming a place just for infants. Referring to the new boys, and pointing to his head, he said, "They're simple. Take a look at the boys in the cottage." The observer asked Dane to enlarge on his statement. Dane replied, "Tippy and this new guy up ahead, Wood. There is nothing to them, they're just simple."

Dane's meteoric rise in the cottage hierarchy took place six months after the episode described in Chapter 3, when as a new arrival he had been intimidated by Davis and his cohorts. The dynamics of the following interchange are similar to the original Davis-Dane incident. But now Dane is the initiator and Werner the target.

During the end of the meal, John assigned boys to take left-overs back to the cottage. John picked up a plate and told Al Dane to take it back. He handed it to Al, who immediately turned around and told Werner that he was supposed to carry it. Werner resisted, "No, you're supposed to, damn it, I'm not supposed to take it!" Al persisted and this time a little more strongly,

"Damn it, you take it, Werner. You're supposed to do it." When Werner resisted again, Dane came closer and pushed the plate into Werner's stomach. Werner took the plate and walked out in a huff. Dane looked at the observer and cottage parents, who were watching the scene, and gloatingly smiled.

Al Dane had arrived. He used many types of situations to intimidate smaller, weaker members in the cottage. Dane was now at the top of the cottage hierarchy and could arbitrarily impose his will on others. Tracing his changing role in the cottage furthers our understanding of the persistence of its authoritarian social structure. His career from a green recruit to cottage leader is duplicated in aggressive cultures everywhere.

Before Al was "shipped" from Hollymeade, the senior unit supervisor told the observer that Al was getting out of hand. He had chased a boy from Elmwood and beaten him in the presence of Cottage 6 boys; according to the supervisor, the latter were now strutting around with chests high, daring to take on everybody. Al was now not only strong enough to defend himself against others, but was in the position to harass anyone he pleased. Soon after this achievement he had to be returned to the city because of his bad influence on the cottage.

SUMMARY

From the day Al Dane first set foot in the cottage, he could not help perceiving survival in aggressive terms. He saw himself at the bottom of a pecking order and bitterly resented his subservient role. He consequently arranged his career according to the established cottage model.

Each boy adapts to the authoritarian and manipulative society awaiting him in the cottage and by doing so perpetuates it. Each boy acquires values and a life style that conforms to some degree to the dominant norms of his peer group. His self-image is dependent upon his compeers' esteem, which, in turn, is predicated on the dominant values of the group. These norms and how they conflict with staff values will be developed in later chapters.

Cottage social change is dramatic. Early in the fall when new boys are arriving *en masse*, the old boys quickly enroll them in

proper complementary statuses. After a transitional period of settling down, the status hierarchy becomes fixed and interpersonal transactions are carried on with a minimum of disruption. Effective internal controls mesh with a homeostatic relationship between cottage and community. (See Chapters 7, 8, and 9, where this theme is developed in detail.) Lacking experience with nonauthoritarian social techniques, the boys are incapable of developing a more constructive participant pattern in the cottage. Old boys undergoing attitude and behavioral change in casework or classroom become neutral or withdraw from cottage peers instead of taking over the roles of leadership. We can truly say for the cottage, "the evil that men do lives after them, the good is oft interred with their bones."

Suffice to say here that in Cottage 6 a boy's self-image is articulated with the demands of the cottage social system, no matter what particular bent his intrapsychic makeup is. Learning to operate within the values and structure of the cottage enables one to survive but at a great cost to the development of behavior and values the institution desires for its residents.

7. The Participant Observer in a Deviant Subculture

Just as the director of a film invariably involves himself in the throes of his drama, so the participant observer ineluctably becomes an essential part of his *mise en scène*. Cottage social life was not viewed through a one-way shutter. The observer's field of observation was not only external; it included a wide range of subjective experiences. Since the observer lived in the cottage, he absorbed the anxieties cribbed and cabined under its roof and groped in the dark just like any newcomer. He had to withstand testing, physical encounters, and delinquent seduction before becoming a bona fide member of the cottage.

The film director cannot remain long behind the camera before he is in front of his actors offering advice and injecting his own personality onto the screen through his players. The final product may reflect the varying range of the director's participation from Hitchcock's foot flickering on the screen for a split second to Kazan's sure-hand subtly suffusing every moment of dramatic action. To what degree did the observer become enmeshed with the life of Cottage 6?

EARLY TRIALS

The observer's initiation began a few days after his arrival when he walked into Steve Davis' room and was welcomed by Ronnie Miles', "He's here," uttered in mysterious *sotto voce*. Perry Yearwood was lecturing about "blasting." Chet Ellins wanted to know if the observer knew how to blast. Ronnie said, to be a regular guy one had to blast; this was part of the scene. The rite gathered momentum:

PERRY: By blasting with us we got something on you.

RONNIE: The cottage could take you on if you told on us. Lenny [Wolf] and I could take you on if you told on us.

LENNY: Why is it that every time you want to do something you have to drag me into it?

RONNIE: OK, then you can do it yourself, you take him on yourself.

The rest of the ceremony was quite serious. The con-artists, Perry Yearwood, Chuck Small, and Ronnie Miles, dominated the proceeding while the new boys looked on with fascination and apprehension. Ronnie took out rolled paper with tobacco in it. He let Chet Ellins have a "drag," then Perry, who exclaimed, "Ahhh, this is really good stuff."

The tension mounted as Ronnie pulled out a switch knife and told the observer to take a drag. When the observer told Ronnie to put the knife away, he countered, "Take it or I'll throw this knife at you. I'll count to thirty." The observer laughed off the threat by saying he wouldn't do "a damned thing" by force.

Ronnie put the knife away, but Perry continued to seduce the observer into taking a drag. The observer eventually puffed on the cigarette as Perry had done. "Well," said Perry, "now we see that you're a good guy." The ordeal was consummated. Ronnie extended his hand and the observer took it in good spirit, but could not help wondering how often this stunt was attempted.

It must be made explicitly clear that no evidence was found that narcotics had ever been used at Hollymeade. The initiation described above was an imaginary rite which the observer became aware of shortly after its inception and played along with. The affair was solemn and threatening.

The initiation rite points up two significant features of the boys' subculture. First, the boys tried to terrorize a newcomer by having him perform an illegal, alleged habit-inducing act. This was accomplished by alternate threats and cajoling. A second significant feature is the boys' concern with "getting something on" the candidate which would then oblige him to put loyalty to the cottage above the institution. It is difficult to tell how much of this mock play is performed seriously for some newcomers.

As noted in Chapter 3, what the participant observer sees is influenced by what he is seeking and by his emotional investment. Too much control of his reactions is obtrusive and false since he is neither a potted plant nor an initiator of activity. Once involved, however, the observer varies his set. By anticipating his mood and the cottage atmosphere, he regulates his observations and recordings: when in good spirits and alert, he is more analytical; at other times he forgoes detailed observations and interacts with greater spontaneity.

During the early period the observer ran a gauntlet of Hiawathan trials, which were compounded by his eagerness to observe everything. His own background fell considerably short of the boys' emotional and material deprivation. Many mistakes, "rushing" the boys, for example, had to be overcome at a later period. At times the observer was too distant and bent on understanding "group dynamics" at the expense of the human factor. He belatedly attended to developing rapport and was subjected to undue testing. The boys were only too acutely conscious of a six foot, six inch functionless adult in their midst. The ambiguity of the role eventually led to the boys' finding pigeonholes:

> Rick wanted to know if the observer was a newspaper man. . . . The observer said he was just observing and Red Leon said, "That's a damned easy job." . . . Rider, the senior school unit supervisor, overheard the boys from "6" talking about the observer being a professional stool pigeon. . . . Perry and the observer were talking to one of the girls. She wanted to know who the observer was and Perry said, "We're going to write a book about me."

The older boys sometimes referred to the observer as "Doctor," and exchanged knowing glances, intimating that *they* knew why he was there. The observer shifted his role during the fourth week. He was not merely interested in learning about Hollymeade but "became" a sociologist. This was of little help because no sociologist had been employed by Hollymeade previously.

During the first stages of contact, the presence of the observer markedly influenced the boys' interaction. They whispered or left the room altogether when discussing private affairs. This rarely occurred after the first month.

The chief and most difficult aspect of the participant observer's role to which the boys had to adjust was his lack of authority. Homans' assertion that rapport among persons without an authority increases with increased participation in activities was borne out after a rocky beginning.[1] At first the observer's mere presence was regarded as interference. The boys were unaccustomed to an adult without a treatment or custodial role, as Chet Ellins pointed out:

> At first when you came in, the guys made an effort to bring you into the group, but you were still a staff member and considered obnoxious. They would ask what the big guy was doing here all the time and why he had to eat and sleep with us all the time. They thought they didn't have any privacy any more because you were around every minute of the day. Privacy is really something you don't have at Hollymeade, and the little you have, you try to preserve. They felt you were invading the little privacy they did have and disliked you for it. Then you stopped doing that for a while and slowly you were accepted into the group.

TESTING THE OBSERVER

The observer "legitimized" delinquency, so to speak, by his noninterference. One has to decide how he is going to act and be consistent. As soon as the boys realized that the observer did not report them and had no intention of reporting them, they tolerated him, but not before subjecting him to a long period of testing. All newcomers, boys and staff, undergo similar trials.

What ranking and intimidation did the observer undergo to survive in this milieu? Many wrongly view deviancy solely as illegal activity. Within the deviant subculture are many activities and interactions which could not be prosecuted by a court of law. The loss of dignity and security in a tightly knit group causes enormous anxiety. There is also a court of human decency. Few days passed during the first months without ranking.

Ranking was initiated by the con-artists led by Perry. He once reeled off an imposing list: "Baldy," "Ape," "Animal." Wolf

[1] Homans, George C., *The Human Group.* Harcourt, Brace and Co., New York, 1950, p. 112.

interjected with "Nudge" and Stan volunteered "Homeless." Mel Foster offered "Creeping Crud" but it was rejected by the observer as "too mushy." Then Perry said, "Well, why don't we just call you . . . [an obscenity], and everybody laughed. The rest of the boys continued ranking. Finally in desperation, Perry said, "Everything we suggest you veto, so I'll tell you what. We'll just call you 'Animal,'" and he motioned the others aside as a jury rendering judgment on a serious case.

Several of the boys persisted in ranking the observer long after he had been accepted. Colorado, for example, thought he gained prestige among his classmates in his derision. In Ferris' machine shop one afternoon, Little Davis (Steve Davis' brother) asked somewhat belligerently what the observer was doing on-grounds. Colorado responded, "Oh, he has big lips and he didn't get them from sucking soda bottles." During the ensuing diatribe Colorado attempted to arouse the other boys in the class.

A second source of ranking was the social frustration which middle-status and low-status boys experienced daily and displaced upon safe targets. The hostility displayed toward one another, especially across cliques, is staggering. The observer was a handy and available nonretributive object upon whom to displace repressed anger. Boys humiliated by their peers in the observer's presence were ashamed and tried to nullify the observer's importance by ranking him. For example, Kahn, who was being kidded by some boys, swore at the observer, called him "low-life" and some unprintable names. The observer told Kahn: "You know, what you're calling me has really little to do with me. It's a reflection on your own character." This quieted Kahn (the observer was getting back at him). Dane once kicked Werner's leg, laughed, and swore at him. Werner pushed Dane away and made an obscene gesture at the observer. Werner also tried to nullify the observer's perception of his humiliation by ranking him.

Five who ranked the observer incessantly—Rick Kahn, George Little, Parker, Werner, and Colorado—were at various times made scapegoats by the leading cliques in the cottage with whom they wanted to be identified. These severely rejected boys gained satisfaction by venting their stored up hostility upon the observer.

Occasionally tactlessness by the observer led to ranking. At the table Werner told Kranz to get some bread for him, too. When Kranz returned, he stuffed the bread into Werner's face. Werner angrily said that Kranz was a "punk" and the observer asked him why. At this, Werner hit the ceiling: "Why, what the hell do you want to know for? You're just a nosey nose." George Little and Steve Davis laughed.

Ranking was often playful and indicative of ingroup membership. The observer walked into the dining hall and was greeted by Chuck Small yelling, "There's that man again." Perry remarked, "Yeah, the beast from outer space." By the third month most of the serious ranking of the observer had become a thing of the past.

PHYSICAL ENCOUNTERS

The observer is sensitized to issues that cause him anxiety. As he came in contact with the boys' physical aggression, he was anxious about sudden attack by a group (boys punched each other in the stomach right after a meal) and harming an attacker. The boys were continually poking each other and the observer was eventually drawn into the procedure.

One day Foster pushed the observer and goaded him into boxing. Foster hit harder and finally hit the observer in the stomach. This hurt a bit and the observer returned Foster's punches with equal intensity. Foster, who was hurt, became angry but he kept his distance. Meanwhile Chuck Small and Gary Drake very typically came up from behind to attack the observer.

Physical encounters focused about Foster, a campuswide delinquent leader. Mel, who bristled with aggression, was incessantly pushing and threatening other boys, who tried to stay clear of him. Boxing is alternately serious and playful, and one learns to distinguish its two sides. Foster and the observer sparred frequently and gradually grew to like each other.

Physical attacks are countered by sharply putting the provoker in his place. On the way to lineup Werner tried to prick the observer's arm with a knife. Werner withdrew when the observer pushed him away hard. Werner managed to swear at

the observer but did not approach him again. Colorado also hit the observer, who then chased him. Colorado slipped on a rock, and the observer nearly stepped on the boy's head inadvertently, but managed to sidestep him. Colorado, not satisfied, grabbed the observer's leg and pulled him down. The observer then threw Colorado on the ground, placing his knee in the boy's abdomen, and pinned him down. After a couple of minutes Colorado was freed.

A general rule in participant observation is minimum interference in the cottage life style. The observer tried to check on whom he tended to favor. He knew he acted differently toward top-status and low-status boys. Intuitively he realized that to survive in the cottage he would have to be accepted by the leaders. The observer therefore never challenged the leaders' right to dominate the "babies." He was never a threat to the leadership clique and fulfilled their reasonable requests. An implicit mutual understanding of their command prevailed; the observer automatically paid due respect to Red Leon's and Davis' positions of authority.

The observer preferred the con-men—Miles, Yearwood, Ellins, and Small—because they were athletic, verbal, witty, and less crudely aggressive than the top clique. The records show that the observer ate with them more frequently than with other boys. He tended to be more uncomfortable with nonverbal, institutionalized boys and deliberately had to overcome his tendency to pay less attention to low-status, introverted boys.

DELINQUENT SEDUCTION

The active participation cited in the events recorded above was the exception rather than the rule. The boys eventually accepted the participant observer as an adult who would not inform on delinquent activities or be engaged as an accessory. This position was frequently interpreted:

PERRY: I thought you were supposed to be one of the boys?

OBSERVER: That's right.

PERRY: Well, why did you ask John (cottage parent) where Ronnie was? If he had gone AWOL, John would have called the O.D.s.

OBSERVER: I didn't think Ronnie had gone AWOL and, besides, John would have known it by now because he had been in Miles' room a couple of times.

PERRY: You still shouldn't have spilled the beans. (At this point Chuck Small agreed.)

The observer was on guard against three areas of entanglement: (a) involvement in delinquency, (b) observance of delinquency, and (c) interpersonal patterns of aggression and hostility.

In regard to the first point, for example, the observer refused to abet gambling. Once the observer was playing Black Jack with Foster. When the observer scored over 21 in one game, Foster suddenly said, "You owe me a quarter." The observer said that he would not play for money, to which Foster replied that he would play for a dime and then lowered the stakes to a nickel.

The observer insisted that he was at Hollymeade only to see how it was run, that he was not going to tell anybody else what the boys were doing because he was not paid by Hollymeade. At the same time, the observer made it crystal clear that he was not going to gamble. Foster laughed, "You mean, be a juvenile delinquent?"

Decisions about observing delinquency are illustrated in Ronnie Miles' out-of-place maneuver. Perry wanted to know who had informed on him. The observer said that he had known about Ronnie's AWOL but had not told anyone. Later the disbelieving Miles retorted, "You probably squealed, you got such a big nose. You're just homeless." In another instance, prior to parking his car, the observer noticed Gary Drake wandering around. He was out of the cottage without authorization, perhaps on a foray to the girls' cottages, but the observer did not report him.

Staying clear of interpersonal patterns of aggression and hostility was more difficult for the observer, who at first was severely harassed. The continuous attempts by the boys to "pull" bellig-

erent acts he found very wearing. As viciousness seeped in, he discovered that he was not merely a casual observer but a contributor to the omnipresent hostility in the cottage. The recording of the following incident introduced a new dimension to the observer's role. He transcribed the incident initially as follows:

> During lineup, Rick Kahn stole behind the observer and attempted to "pull a hot foot on him." The observer told Rick that he wouldn't try to do it if he were he; the observer had a habit of kicking back sometimes when he saw someone bending down behind him.

The observer underwent a painful metamorphosis in recording the event. At first he could not set it down on paper as it actually happened. He was ashamed of his reaction to Rick. Second thoughts, however, induced him to re-record it accurately:

> At lineup Rick sneaked up behind the observer to give him a "hot foot." The observer said he had a funny habit of kicking his foot back and knocking somebody in the head. Someone asked, "What if you don't see him," and the observer replied, "Well, in that case I'll just kick him in the. . . ."

Whatever preconceived notions the observer held about neutral observation became invalid. The aggressive society could not be withstood by detached observation. Without *active opposition* to the boys' subculture, one could not maintain his sense of integrity:

> But when we in our viciousness grow hard—
> O misery on't!—the wise gods seel our eyes;
> In our own filth—drop our clear judgments; make us
> Adore our errors; laugh at us while we strut
> To our confusion.[1]

The observer came to the conclusion that a neutral stance is impossible in a delinquent society. The critical error is for anyone in this situation to act too much like the boys. One does not need to adopt their language, dress, and mode of interaction. The more the observer tried to close the gap by adopting their way of life, the more he complicated the situation. Cottage life was

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[1] *Antony and Cleopatra*, Act III, Scene XI.

radically different from what the observer was accustomed to; imitating the boys resulted in their provoking him until he was forced to assert his integrity or become a silent accomplice. If the observer's goal was to be unobtrusive, it could have been more effectively achieved by maintaining adult standards than by "adopting" the boys' behavior and attitudes.

This came out clearly in ranking. At first the observer not only defended himself by ranking back, but indulged in a bit of unprovoked ranking at the boys' expense. As soon as the observer realized what he was doing, he knew that to defend himself in this culture he had to uphold a clear image of who he was and what he stood for. The boys had to adapt also to the observer; it was not a one-way situation. The incident related above was a significant turning point from passive to active assertion of the observer's personal dignity. Each observer relearns Whyte's lesson:

> I also had to learn that the field worker cannot afford to think only of learning to live with others in the field. He has to continue living with himself. If the participant observer finds himself engaging in behavior that he has learned to think of as immoral, then he is likely to begin to wonder what sort of person he is after all. Unless the field worker can carry with him a reasonably consistent picture of himself, he is likely to run into difficulties.[1]

A ROUNDED ROLE WITH DIVERSE FUNCTIONS

The danger in discussing only the difficulties with the boys is that the reader's impression of the observer's role is distorted. Actually, after the first month, serious conflict persisted with only five of the boys, and the observer fitted in fairly well: he filled in at cards, drove to the village for supplies and food, lent money, and became a confidant.

Low-status boys solicited his help. Tippy, who was undergoing severe scapegoating, for example, asked the observer what he should do. The latter told him to fight an older boy, because even if he took a beating his reputation would be the better for it.

On the basketball court one day, the observer was playing with Parker, who grabbed the ball and said, "Look, I got it away from

[1] Whyte, William Foote, *Street Corner Society*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1955, p. 317.

you." The observer remarked, "I wasn't trying to get the ball because I knew it was your chance to go." Parker did not reply; but, later, turns did become established, and Parker threw the ball to the observer when it was his turn.

Gradually, the observer's role changed from a threatening stranger, thrown suddenly into the cottage, to an accepted professional adult who listened sympathetically to gripes. The steps leading from rejection of the observer to acceptance can be retraced in the following selected incidents.

(1) In the first stage the boys seldom answered freely. Suspicion was paramount.

> The observer asked Jim who the boy was with Petey. Jim replied cautiously, "Sam, what do you want to know everything for?" The observer said he was curious and Jim rejoined, "Curiosity killed the cat." The observer asked, "Why?" and Chet Ellins, butting in, said, "Because it stuck its damn nose in places where it didn't belong." The observer said he thought he belonged but evidently the others did not agree.

(2) In the next transitional stage, the observer is tolerated.

> One of the girls said, "Hey, look, there's that guy, you'd better not say anything because he'll put it in his book." Then the other girls turned around and laughed. Artie Parma said, "Oh, he's okay, you don't have to mind him."

(3) Eventually the observer becomes an "inside-outsider."

> The bedroom was crowded. Chet Ellins approached the observer in the hall, "Come in." The observer said, "Someone really welcomes me?" Chuck Small said, "Any time you want to come in it's okay."

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> Before he left Hollymeade, Miles sought out the observer and asked him if he would miss him. The observer suggested that Miles might miss the observer as well. This hit the mark.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE OBSERVER'S EXPERIENCE

Living with the boys and adopting their point of view led the observer to identify with their complaints. He empathized with the boys' boredom during the long winter evenings. He became

dissatisfied with monotonous, bland food. He shared their ennui as they nightly watched television, wandered aimlessly about, and ranked one another.

Control by force and aggression is associated with totalitarian societies. In the cottage microcosm the observer experienced an unfamiliar way of life in which the democratic idea was absent. At first he adopted a role of neutral bystander. Later he concentrated on maintaining his integrity within this subculture. He was faced with the conflicts of any newcomer. The observer survived because his feet were squarely planted in the firm soil of another society. Unfortunately, the boys cannot so easily escape the rocky deviant subculture they create.

Affective involvement is an important tool for understanding the pervasive control of the peer society. Through retrospection and discussion with colleagues, the observer came to realize the subtle accommodation to delinquent attitudes and behavior. The observer's seduction was very likely due to his eagerness to become accepted by the cottage. It was necessary temporarily to modify one's values and place himself in the boys' cultural and psychological "shoes" in order to grasp the frame of reference by which they perceive each other and the world. When he was with the boys, the observer was more "delinquent-prone" than when away from them. He found himself actually assimilating their values and behavior, a vivid demonstration of the impact of the culture upon shaping personality.

With benefit of hindsight, the mistakes made in introducing the observer to the boys became clear. The explanation of the observer's role was not credible to them. They were unconvinced that the observer wanted to learn from the inside how an institution like Hollymeade operated. No one really understood the role of a sociologist; the nonutilitarian character of his role bothered the boys and the observer. Whatever the explanation of his presence is, however, the crucial factor is the observer's daily conduct.

Living among the boys enabled him to experience their range of relationships and values. To understand the meaning behind gestures and verbalizations, one must know these boys as they

become involved with each other over a period. Like every group, they have stylized conventions that are interlinked with emotional feeling. The subtle nuances that distinguish playful poking from hostile slapping are obvious to the inside-outsider.

Perhaps the chief lesson to be learned from this experience is that one must be ever vigilant about being himself in the midst of role assumption. But since one's self is socially conditioned, there is an equally important lesson: the human animal is not only conditioned by his past; he is also wonderfully adept at learning new patterns that fit him into the fabric of new situations.

The boys' favorite expression is: "How do you rate?" The insecure delinquent's rating among his peers determines much of his career at Hollymeade; likewise, the observer *was* concerned about his status in the cottage. He learned finally that he could withstand the boys' controls only by drawing persistently upon resources in his inner and outer "cultures," both many miles removed from Cottage 6.

8. Cottage Parents

THE ADULTS in close contact continuously with the boys are the two cottage parents and the counselors. Some cottage parents who enter institutional life have a background of economic failure. In the transition from middle to old age, they are in search of security; they are attracted to children and want to be useful. A few combine genuine interest with great skill. Hollymeade has invested money and time to secure competent cottage parents. The great demands of the job, relatively low pay, and social isolation, however, have made it difficult to hire and retain well-qualified persons.

The marginal man concept is the best clue to the cottage parents' role because they share the therapeutic culture as members of the treatment team, yet they are blocked from full participation. Their nonprofessional status is best described in Caudill's term "blocked mobility."[1] Cottage parents do not rise or descend in the staff hierarchy. Like the aide in the hospital, the cottage parent "is in a position where he occupies a diffuse role, where almost any sort of demand can be legitimately made upon him, and where he will try to mediate the request under a wide variety of circumstances."[2]

The analogue of the cottage parent's role in the world at large is the foreman. He must fulfill institutional rules and regulations and evolve a workable relationship with his charges. He can move toward primary identification with the boys against the

[1] Caudill, William, *The Psychiatric Hospital as a Small Society.* Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1958, p. 7.

[2] Hyde, Robert W., and Richard H. Williams, "What Is Therapy and Who Does It?" in *The Patient and the Mental Hospital*, edited by Milton Greenblatt, Daniel Levinson, and Richard H. Williams. The Free Press, Glencoe, Ill., 1957, p. 182.

administration or vice versa. Cottage parents are constantly
thrown off balance by pressures from both ends of the seesaw. A
new cottage parent in Cottage 7 frantically reported one day that
his whole cottage was out of control. Mel Foster was responsible
for the situation. Unless the boy was removed from the cottage,
he said, he and his wife would pack up. Foster was placed in the
infirmary for the night.

Cottage parents are very much concerned with the adminis-
tration's evaluation of their cottage, which is based largely on the
cottage parents' ability to maintain order. John Raines felt that
cottage parents are not given enough guidance, authority, or
supplies to enable them to fulfill their role:

> The first thing I decided to do was to figure out how things operated.
> I studied the administration setup carefully. It takes a long time to
> learn; you practically have to learn the ropes by yourself. Very few
> seem to be willing to teach you properly. You have to go through a
> whole rigmarole to get anything done. There's no end of red tape,
> and you lose a lot of time running around. When the boys need
> clothing, for instance, it takes months and months to get a few things
> for them.

The cottage parents' role provides valuable insight into the
accommodation patterns that emerge between delinquent groups
and adults. Personal stability is contingent upon an individual's
security in his primary group. The push to identify with the boys
is strong because of the density of interaction and the parents'
isolation from the professional staff.

THE RAINES

An adequate formulation of role adaptation relates the inter-
play of social pressures to personality. The role the cottage parent
adopts is predicated upon his history and prior value orientation.

John and Edna Raines are of a working-class background and
lived in impoverished neighborhoods in New York City. John
failed in his career (a country club which he managed went
bankrupt and he could not find a comparable job) and ration-

alized the "tough situation on the outside" of Hollymeade. His beliefs resembled the boys'. Edna dutifully followed John in the management of the cottage. The out-of-context attitudes below were recorded after extensive interaction with the boys, but probably were part of John's value orientation before coming to Hollymeade.

> When there are four or five who defy you, you have to give them more attention, cultivate them, and use them, turn them against each other, and you find that they gradually become weaker.

> One of the psychological tricks that I used was the kitchen operation. If the boys did not cooperate I barred them from the kitchen.

> They knew I wouldn't stand for violence, and if it came to a showdown I would beat one or two of them myself.

John was predisposed to the parent role which he eventually adopted. The purpose of this chapter is to detail the *process* of parent role articulation with the deviant subculture.

THE PROCESS OF ACCOMMODATION

Since John and Edna Raines and the observer arrived together at Cottage 6, the observer was able to note the stages of accommodation. The mutual adaptation of cottage parents and boys is depicted in three phases: (1) reconnoitering: exploration and testing of each other's strengths; (2) temporization: tentative adjustment with great ambivalence; (3) "taking over" by cottage parents: formalization of relationships. Within each of these phases, the cottage parent by trial and error is augmenting his control over the cottage.

As the cottage parent develops techniques for stabilizing the cottage, the boys assess their ability to dominate the situation. The cottage is in danger of disequilibrium by too rigid or too loose control by the parents. If they do not exert authority at the critical junctures, they may lose control altogether. The dilemma unhappily lies in losing control or exploiting the boys' delinquent techniques for controlling them.

FIRST STAGE: RECONNOITERING AND TESTING

The cottage parent[1] must prove himself. First contacts are awkward and exploratory. Additionally, the cottage parents must develop a *modus vivendi* with the administration, which is taxing, during the first months. John and Edna Raines had more difficulty than typical newcomers because the parents who preceded them had lost control of the boys. The Raines learned the "institutional ropes" in an emergency. Said John:

> When I first got to the cottage, the filth was indescribable. I knew right away there had been parental neglect. It was evident in the utter lack of cleanliness and any form of decent living. There was nobody the boys could follow; there was no model. There was no 50–50 acceptance of responsibility. I knew there was going to be a fight. The boys were going to see if I could take it.

John was chary. Despite extensive supervision by the senior unit supervisor, he felt he had to make it on his own. The moment John entered the cottage he was beset with difficulties. His guide was Red Leon, whom he considered dirty and the quiet type: "I was brought up with this type, and I could smell him out. I was doing all the talking, and he was giving me silent treatment."

John recounted what he considered his first mistake. When he addressed the boys as children, Red Leon stared very coldly at him. "Then I said 'boys' and changed that to 'men' but it was against my gut." He felt his error was compounded when he asked the boys if they preferred to call their cottage parents "Mr. and Mrs. Raines" or "John and Edna." "I knew right away that I built up a terrific offensive against me. I lost their respect by saying Mr. and Mrs. Raines, because we were supposed to take the place of their mothers and fathers. I was going to use the gentleman respect angle, such as officers in the service or some big shot coming in and taking over, and this kind of attitude was reflected in the boys."

[1] The male cottage parent, John Raines, in Cottage 6 was the instrumental authority: he set the routines and punished offenders, while his wife Edna used affection (and threat of its withdrawal) as the primary technique for adjusting to the boys. John set the tone for the couple and cottage.

The incident described on page 76 (and repeated in various forms), in which Steve Davis defiantly refused, with the others following suit, to leave the dining-hall alcove at John's insistent beckoning, occurred shortly after he and Edna came to the cottage. It not only reflected the testing to which incoming cottage parents are subjected, but also the peer social structure: Steve Davis was the undisputed leader; and since John was a neophyte challenging his hegemony, it was incumbent upon Steve to "put him in his place."

MIDDLE STAGE OF TRANSITION

During the middle, developmental stage, the Raines underwent extensive acculturation. At first they were concerned mainly with regulating a clean cottage, but in the second phase they actually confronted the boys. John and Edna responded differentially to the cottage members, reflecting the latters' social substrata, and built an ideological rationale for their actions. Concomitantly, an alliance was made with the delinquent leadership.

John's pact with the boys can be summarized best in his words: "What went on here was no one else's business." Vigorous application of this internal policy eventually led to his control over the boys. To effect this control he slowly became ensnared by the net of group delinquency himself. He "covered" for the boys, confining to the cottage certain infractions of rules laid down by the administration. "Any rule is made to be broken," John told the observer. "Take smoking upstairs, for example," he confided, "which I overlook. I know when I was in the service, we practically burned down the whole barracks because there was no smoking after ten o'clock. So what happened? The men smoked under the sheets, in closets, any place there were serious fire hazards. In the cottage, you have some chance when they smoke in the open, but when they do it in hiding, you're liable to run into a lot of trouble."

How did the cottage parents evaluate the boys? The following three factors constituted their yardstick: (1) the maintenance of orderly cottage routines; (2) the boys' status system, and (3)

their illnesses. The "punk," the "slime," the "con-man," and the sick were either "deviant" or "carried out a routine."

John knew the battle was on in earnest after several nights in the cottage. The boys were watching his conduct to determine what kind of pressure he would exert during the morning procedures. He went upstairs to wake them, but most of the boys turned over and went to sleep again. After a couple of them gave him a difficult time, he became angry and threw Chuck Small out of his bed. John considered Chuck "lacking in guts" and lazy—"big and loud, but weak."

On the other hand, Gary Drake, whom he also had a tough time awakening in the morning, was an example of sheer defiance. "I always had to tell Drake off. I told him to change his ways or there would be trouble. He knew I was on his neck all the time."

He evaluated Petane as a defiant type also, one whom he had to pressure continuously. John put Rabin in the same category but called attention to his "sickness." "He was always throwing things out the window and flourishing knives. Stan Kranz was also one for having a knife."

The cottage parents adopted the boys' attitudes toward one another. Petane pounded away at the piano one night, prompting Edna to say, "Gee, do we have to listen to that racket?" The observer was surprised to see Petey venturing to play the piano. John's comment was, "He won't amount to anything because he's a real bum."

The observer and John were discussing forthcoming progress meetings concerning Jim Parker and Rick Kahn. John sized up the pair as follows: "Jim was okay, he took responsibilities. Rick was a slob, you couldn't talk to him. His pictures were abstract and crazy, but Rick thought they were masterpieces."

Edna thought there were only a couple of really decent boys in the cottage. She mentioned Chet Ellins and Steve Davis (who, she said, "had his moods"). Edna did not think any of the boys would amount to very much. She remarked that Nate Lane was not worth five cents.

The cottage parents' attitudes led the boys to respond in like manner. Top leaders appreciated the preferential regard and

helped them enforce order. Steve Davis remarked, "The only time guys had to be put in line was when they really stepped out of it, when they got fresh to the cottage parents, which I never liked because I had a lot of respect for them and they had respect for me, Red Leon, and a few other guys."

New and low-status boys resented the differential treatment, but were powerless to turn elsewhere. A new boy, Strange, confirmed the younger boys' feelings about favoritism: "Well, you take this scratch-raking. Why is it that all the young guys got to do it? They should have a system where the old boys also have to do some work. All of us should work equally but, instead, the cottage parents always call us to do the dirty jobs."

Adults isolated with a group of organized delinquents for twenty-four hours must develop an ideology to withstand the constant manipulation. Lacking other significant reference groups to relate to, they are submerged by the boys' untrustworthiness:

> When Chuck Small asked John about the mail, the latter replied that there were no letters for him. Chuck said, "Are you sure?" and John answered, "Yeah, I looked through it quickly, but I don't think I saw your name on any of the letters." Chuck insisted that he had a letter. This ruffled John, and he briefed through the letters again. "You see, you don't have anything."

> Then Chuck announced, "I have to go to my social worker." John asked, "You got a pass?" Small replied that he did, but John wanted to see it. "Oh," said Chuck, "you don't believe me." John retorted, "Well, you didn't believe me when I told you no mail, so now I don't believe you. Tit for tat." Chuck finally showed his pass to John.

Edna's role differed from John's. She induced the boys to be clean and to perform cottage routines by extending affection and threatening its withdrawal. Occasionally she prepared special parties and dinners for the boys. She was particularly effective with the younger dependent boys, who alternately curried favor with her by doing what she wanted and then rebelling. Edna viewed the boys' untrustworthiness as personal affronts. As soon as the boys revolted against her babying, she withdrew.

As an illustration, Edna whispered to the observer one evening that she and Rabin were "on the outs" now because he wasn't supposed to nail his curtain in front of the door. She had told him to take it down, or she would. Rabin became angry and stopped talking to Edna, who said she would not stand for this. She knew now why the boys couldn't get along with him. Edna had tried to wake Rabin in the morning and this increased his wrath. "Rabin is such a baby, I don't know what's going to happen to him," she continued in a soft voice. Hearing John return, she stopped talking about the incident altogether.

During the middle stage, the cottage parent identifies strongly with his boys against unwarranted intervention or lack of co-operation from other staff. John considered himself "hep." He knew where every boy was every minute of the day, checking each off on his omnipresent clipboard, to the point where social workers referred to him as the "first sergeant." The boys rarely slipped out of the cottage when John and Edna were on duty, making up for their lost time on weekends when less vigilant counselors were in charge.

John's resulting conflict between his loyalty to the boys and to the administration can be illustrated by this incident. Gary Drake and Ronnie Miles suddenly appeared from the cellar one evening and John reprimanded them, "Where the hell were you guys?" They said they were outside by the cottage, but John did not believe them. "Like hell you were!" He scolded them for being out of the cottage and telephoned the "O.D.," informing him that the boys were back. He then talked to them outside. After a while he returned with the boys and said, "I had to call the O.D. What the hell do you want me to do? You weren't supposed to be out." Gary said, "Yeah, that's your job. That's OK . . . that's what you have to do."

John's marginal position is revealed by his need to justify his duty to the boys. He charts a precarious middle course between the Scylla and Charybdis of his two-front role: he must report any deviant behavior to the administration, but he must also maintain rapport with the boys, reacting to them rather than they to him. Thus, in response to the boys' mounting pressure,

the cottage parents erected an ideological defense which rationalized their behavior. Edna believed that the boys would never change. "What they have in them is really embedded. [She actually used this word]. The boys still don't trust us. They don't swear as much as they used to, and they're not so disobedient as they were before, but still you can't trust them, no matter what you do for them."

A foretaste of the third stage occurred during several successive mornings when John turned over the beds of several high status punks who were defying him. (Each clique contained dominant and passive boys; passive boys in the top cliques are high-placed punks.) This complementarity, within and between cliques, is critical for cottage stability. John knew this and used it to his advantage.

THIRD STAGE: "TAKING OVER"

In the final stage John consolidated his control, which did not consist solely in the use of force and psychological manipulation. On the contrary, John and Edna extended themselves to become "parents" and provided many extras. John, nevertheless, had to "take over" and in a way that meshed with the boys' authoritarian organization.

From the beginning, John's and Edna's attitude toward the leaders was qualitatively different from their attitude toward low-status boys. John was solicitous of Steve Davis because he needed his cooperation in order to control the cottage. To get his aid, he secured special home leaves and privileges for Davis and other leaders. The tone of the following incident is indicative. Davis stormed into the Raines' apartment and delivered an ultimatum: unless he got off for the weekend, which he needed for special reasons, he would leave on his own accord. John attempted to soothe him, "Well, I talked to Ambler, and he said nobody can go off-grounds." Davis was not appeased but John did not challenge his repeated threat to go AWOL. John again tried to mollify him by promising him the following weekend and the weekend after that. Steve, who was still not satisfied, stormed out of the room saying he would pack his belongings and leave on his own.

In the "taking over" phase, John adopted the boys' language and prevailing peer-group standards. He referred to Colorado, Petane, Rabin, Kahn, and Small as boys with a very low mentality who had a hard time making their efforts count. "There is always present what we call your 'chicken type,' 'bush type,' . . . a lack of concentration in them."

But the key factor in the evolving parent-boy relationship was cottage loyalty. John had always stressed the cottage "team" approach and now it was no longer one-way giving. The boys owed them something too. Individually and as a group, the boys had to hew to the line of cottage conformity. Charging into the lounge, John yelled at Perry furiously: "What the hell's the matter with you? Why the hell didn't you clean off your table? You know you're not different or better than anybody else around here. I'm sick and tired of your sloppiness and you'd better shape up!"

The boys were visibly shaken as he addressed them in the lounge later. "Damn it, when you see some food that's left over on the tables and it's still good, why in the hell don't you bring it back to the cottage? You think Edna and me are slaves, that we have to lug all this food back for you guys? That food isn't for us, it's for you guys. You want everything done for you; well, Edna and me aren't going to do it any more. We're not your beasts of burden, and only have to think about what the hell's good for you guys. You guys can do a little thinking on your own!"

The boys evidently had done some thinking and John did even more. As soon as he won control, he instituted formal regulations.

JOHN: Boy, these fellows are going to get a surprise when they walk into the cottage.

OBSERVER: How come?

JOHN: Well, I put a slip on the bulletin board to tell them what they owe me up to now. From now on, strict accounting, and that goes for everything.

The preoccupation with power, control, and weakness, making deals, loyalty and squealing, conformity and defiance is the hall-

mark of an authoritarian organization. Within the setting of a generally permissive institution we have the anomaly of a power-laden, distrusting, "threat-oriented" Cottage 6 interior. The cottage parent is not concerned with therapy but with internal stability and avoidance of administrative censure. A *montage* of alternating aggressive and apathetic scenes fade in and out, producing a serious drama. The players portray their roles to the hilt. The near-indifferent attitude of the parents toward intra-cottage aggression results in only perfunctory condemnation.

After three weeks in the cottage, John became aware of the "kangaroo court," to which he was introduced while serving with the Armed Forces. "You always know when there is going to be excitement in the cottage, because the boys will keep you in conversation while violence is going on elsewhere."

John recounted that he went downstairs once or twice when there was a meeting and told Davis, Wolf, Little, and a few more that he would not stand for any more "kangarooing."

> Sometimes the boys helped me by making others come around to my way of thinking. One time the boys were getting fed up with Petane, his relaxed attitude, his defiance; so they took him down one night. Usually when these things happened I was off duty. They knew I hated any type of violence and I hated kangarooing. More-over, they knew I wouldn't stand for it and if it came to it, I would beat up one or two of them myself. But to be very honest, I never hit a boy. I could tell them off and threaten them.

John returned to the subject of the kangaroo courts:

> You find out that when some of the boys pull a kangaroo on some of the others like Petane, there is usually a reason for it: neglect and not doing something for the cottage, or they might want something from him like clothing or money.

What was John's attitude about kangarooing and other forms of aggression?

> I always got an "I don't know" when I asked what was going on. But to be fair and honest about it, I personally like boys of that type, because to me it's apparent that they won't rat or snitch. The

strength of this country lays in people not to rat, and to me it was strength there.

Thus, the theme of aggression with all its authoritarian overtones is structurally configurated in the cottage. Under its roof the cottage parents join the older boys in scapegoating the defenseless low-status boys—the sneaks, punks, and the sick. The latter "deserve" the beating because of *their* provocativeness and "unfitness." The unwritten compact of cottage parents and toughs make it unbearable for the "deviants" because they are blamed for everything.

Tippy, as the reader will recall (see pages 65 to 67), was the number one scapegoat in the cottage. In the light of John's attitude, as stated above, it is not surprising that he was suspicious of Tippy, for he was always seen with the O.D. "Tippy was a hard boy to get to do his routines and he never became adjusted. There's a natural instinct of retaliation toward a boy who tries to outrank other boys."

Despite vexing internal problems like physical attacks against Tippy, collective outbursts sharply declined. The administrative staff regarded the Raines as maintaining an exceptionally orderly cottage.

John and Edna were pragmatists, and as such, tried to fashion a homelike atmosphere. Their backgrounds were culturally similar to the boys'. It was difficult to stabilize twenty aggressive boys on a practical day-to-day basis. They separated the sheep from the wolves; those who "played ball" received more affection, recognition, and, tangibly, food. Double-crossers, squealers, and the sick were excluded from the inner circle.

Presiding over this "round table," John did not relish sharing his authority. Boys like Artie Parma quickly responded, "John," when asked who was going to take over the cottage after Davis left. John's grip on Cottage 6's reins tightened gradually, never to be relinquished. And as John became the boss, the placing of limitations became his preoccupation. If there were any cottage "explosions" they occurred on his two free days. One such weekend Milber reported as "wild." The boys were all over the

campus. Stan Kranz was found at the girls' cottages and Werner had gone to the city.

In fact, most AWOLs occurred on the Raines' days off, Sunday and Monday.

	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Total
Number	9	11	4	2	1	0	5	32
Per cent	28	34	13	6	3	0	16	100

Interestingly, John complained every Tuesday morning that he had to put the cottage together all over again.

CONCLUSION

Cottage parents reinforced the delinquent subculture by manipulating the boys' social hierarchy, wooing the leadership, and dominating weak members. They wanted a cooperative "family" atmosphere but the boys' untrustworthy behavior led to a tentative attitude until John took over. Control supersedes all else.

The Raines, the cottage's "superego," spent more time with the boys than any other adult, for their living quarters were in the cottage. Their influence over the boys was pervasive, but the boys also enormously influenced them. Moreover, the isolation of the cottage contributed to in-cottage loyalty. A *quid pro quo* relationship prevailed.

In contrast to the sophisticated psychodynamic approach of the professional staff, John and Edna adhered to the "school of hard knocks." For example, John felt a runaway was not a bad thing, especially when the boy did not actually go home; that is, he would behave much better at Hollymeade after aimlessly wandering around in the city, cold and hungry.

The tragic consequence of the cottage parent's position, the nonprofessional marginal man in the institutional status hierarchy, is his subjection to the delinquent subculture and his corresponding lack of incentive to combat its established organization. The cottage parents, as well as the boys, perceived themselves as a vulnerable fortress in a threatening environment. Be-

cause of the affinity of his own values with the boys', John rarely interfered in their destructive interpersonal relationships. As long as no one really was hurt, as long as the deviant activity did not upset the order of cottage life and disrupt the placid surface picture of a quiet, well-run "home," John was immune to the content of intracottage aggression, ranking, and scapegoating. But internal aggression nevertheless continually spilled over, for cottage and institutional standards must eventually clash. Conflict and change are the stuff of any drama.

The cottage parent's personality predispositions, his isolation from the professional staff, and the intense interaction with twenty disturbed delinquents results in a role adaptation which alienates him from the relevant professional structures and philosophy of the treatment institution. Lacking an alternative status reference group, the cottage parent becomes dependent upon, and conforming to, the boys' delinquent orientation and eventually adjusts to it by taking over and utilizing modified delinquent techniques. The extreme concern with cottage loyalty and the violent condemnation of "ratting" cement the cottage parent to the boys' subculture and perpetuate a vicious circle which insulates the cottage from the rest of the therapeutic milieu.

Underlying John's orientation is accommodation to the basic delinquent system with a surface modification of its crude manifestations. For example, when he discovered that some of the boys were "dumb at cards," he made sure that they never sat with the sharpshooters.

The participant observer and the cottage parents were not the only ones seduced by the boys' delinquent values and practices. The delinquent subculture is deeply embedded in the vitals of the institution. To demonstrate how intricately cottage and institution are intertwined is the task of the next chapter.

9. Double Standard Complementarity

THE BELIEF THAT HOLLYMEADE is a unified therapeutic milieu is a cultural fiction that contributes to the disparity between the cottage peer group and staff values. The staff and cottage subcultures are, in fact, quite insulated from each other. Approximately 55 professional staff members, including social workers, psychiatrists, and teachers, leave Hollymeade for the day between four and five o'clock. The resultant lopsided staff-resident ratio during evenings and weekends contributes to stabilizing the pecking order in the cottage. Little attention is given to what goes on in Cottage 6 until repeated incidents of social deviancy burst into social disruptions for which there is not some ready solution that can be handled in the cottage. It is only when the two worlds of staff and residents collide in a runaway or blatant delinquency that the cottage becomes a focal concern to the administration.

We have already shown how the cottage parents accommodate themselves to the boys' delinquent transactions in jockeying for more control and in utilizing those manipulative techniques which the staff want to change in the boys. The observer adjusted to the boys' negative transactions by withdrawing psychologically and emotionally from cottage life. Other forces in the institutional community support the deviant peer subculture either passively or in a more positive manner. These forces deserve our careful attention because of their substantial contribution to the continued vitality of the deviant cottage subculture.

The paradoxes entangled in the double but complementary standards emerge at Hollymeade in a twilight period when professional staff values imparted to the boys are beginning to

vaporize and attendant staff pressures to increase. As a result of omnipresent pressure from within the peer group to conform and the absence of effective staff intervention, the boys are caught in a peer social system of aggressive and manipulative roles that are complemented by roles of submission, ingratiation, and flight. The professional staff who have the enthusiasm, understanding, and authority to aid the boys in becoming oriented to more positive values, fade from the picture with the setting sun. The situation is comparable to one in which the competent ringside trainer forsakes his battle-weary pugilist when the latter needs him most.

The attendant staff are constantly pressured by the boys to exploit the peer organization. Milber, the counselor in Cottage 6, confirms what we learned from John and Edna Raines in the previous chapter, that cottage parents and counselors use their knowledge of the power pyramid to reinforce the status quo.

> In the cottage, the senior boy in the room is usually the boss. Of course, many of the boys take pride in their room, and it is a blow to their pride to have to take in a boy who is beaten up by others. So some of the boys always have someone under their wing to protect. . . .
>
> This idea of protection is very important. Many times weak boys were put in with Claw because the staff knew that during the night other boys would not come into his room. No matter how powerful Davis was, for example, he would not be able to cross Claw. Often weak boys were put under this protection.
>
> Colorado bullied one boy, Strange, in particular. It got so bad that I transferred him to another room, but not soon enough. He went AWOL. When he returned, I was instrumental in moving him from Colorado's room into Dane's. I placed Strange in Dane's room because I knew that Dane would be able to protect him.

The cottage staff thus learn to adjust to peer group patterns and strengthen them by supporting a status hierarchy based upon delinquent values and skills. Because social workers and other professional staff lack day-to-day responsibilities for the cottage *per se*, they are less accommodating than the cottage parents and counselor. By their segmental contact with cottage life, they can avoid dealing with the delinquent social patterns; but the prob-

lem will not disappear by ignoring it. The fact is that the adult
staff fit into the fabric of the deviant peer subculture and in
varying degrees contribute to its potency.

In order to discuss further in a systematic way the patterns of
accommodation that spring up between "cultures," between
staff and residents, we shall draw a distinction between "deviancy" as we have used that term so far and "disruption."

DEVIANCY AND SOCIAL DISRUPTION:[1]
DEFINITIONS AND CONSEQUENCES

"Deviancy" is a violation of staff standards that does not unduly disturb the cottage or the equilibrium between it and the
rest of the institution. In the cottage there are many opportunities
to engage in what would be regarded by the professional staff as
unacceptable behavior. Every day in hundreds of interactions
the boys control each other by denigrating pressures underpinned
by coercion, scapegoating, and ranking. The cottage absorbs
these processes of social control without becoming disorganized.
The adolescent's extreme dependency on his peer group, moreover, intensifies the strain for him within the cottage. Boys who
cannot fight their tormentors find outside targets upon whom to
vent their frustration. Rabin cruelly attacked animals on the
farm; Colorado and Werner manipulated junior boys like
marionettes; Petane pounded his fists against the walls; others
"acted out" with the caseworkers. Newcomers, frequently forced
into a scapegoat role, are the "permissible targets" of ridicule and
aggression by the entire cottage. No small part of the pathological
overhead of institutional placement is the residents' control of one
another.

Viewed from the administrative and observer's vantage point,
the examples cited above may cause considerable strain for individuals and subgroups in the cottage but they do not unduly upset
cottage or institutional rhythms. These incidents are weathered
by the cottage as a sturdy ship weathers an ordinary storm.

[1] This approach is patterned after the distinction made by Cohen between social
disorganization and deviancy. See Cohen, Albert K., "The Study of Social Disorganization and Deviant Behavior" in *Sociology Today*, edited by Robert K. Merton,
Leonard Broom, and Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., Basic Books, New York, 1959,
chap. 21.

When the ship springs a leak, however, its structure becomes endangered; this can be likened to a "social disruption." When normal cottage or community functions are in jeopardy, the disruption is quickly brought to the attention of the entire staff, who in turn, frequently with the boys' help, take immediate steps to restore order. A mass runaway, knifing, liquor party, rumble, gross group defiance are disruptions that threaten the cottage or institutional structure.

In the face of such disruptions the institution does not stand idly by; persistent provokers may be discharged; boys are sent home temporarily; others are shifted from one class, job, and cottage to another; professional staff and other personnel changes are made; deprivations are administered; new programs are initiated. These steps block further disorganization, but, as we shall see shortly, they frequently reinforce the underlying deviant status quo. Social disruptions are the outgrowth of cumulative deviancies that strain to the breaking point the accommodation between conflicting, but complementary, peer and staff standards.

Deviancy and Cottage Equilibrium

Professional management of individual and collective deviancy is inconsistent and ranges from indifference to expulsion of the offenders. For example, Coogman, the activities teacher, took several boys off-grounds to a restaurant. Foster and Small "copped" the tip left by Coogman, who was aware of the theft but chose to ignore the incident. He felt that the boys would not only deny it but would make a scene about their "integrity." The matter was dropped.

This intentional eye-closing may be contrasted with the reaction to the following incident. Ronny Miles maintained that he went into Cooper's (a top administrative official) office and said, "Listen, you *schmuck*, I want to get out of here! Ship me!" Cooper told Ronny that he acted tough but was really "small potatoes." Ronny was sent home but in two weeks he returned because (according to him) he had more fun at Hollymeade.

When we turn from individual to cottage deviancy, staff accommodation assumes a key role in its maintenance. In the ex-

tract below, Milber is not only insightfully articulating the importance of deviancy in maintaining cottage equilibrium, but is also suggesting that he himself did little to put an end to such processes; the professional staff's defense is ignorance of these cottage rhythms.

> As long as the new boys seemed to do what was expected of them and stayed in line, there was little trouble. Parker, Dane, and Chase had a rough time when they first came. Chase and Parker were forced to do the laundry for the boys (Dane was not), but after a period Parker was relieved of that chore because of his boxing skill. He later became one of the better-liked boys in the cottage. Chase ran away because he couldn't take it and is still out. [He was AWOL for six months.] What I'm trying to say is that there was a period of indoctrination during which all the boys were initiated.

It is difficult, indeed, to resist the peer code of conduct which compels most of the boys to be with or against the group, especially when the "power" boys have the implicit support of cottage staff.

The boys' and staff's reception of the newcomer contrasts the two standards: the professional staff take deliberate pains to orient the boy to his new setting and allay his fears. But unless the deviant social structure of the cottage is totally reoriented, the newcomer will quickly fall in with the demands of that system while the staff remain largely oblivious to what is happening. Commenting on his induction into the peer culture, Chet Ellins, remarked: "My second day at Hollymeade I took an AWOL. When I came back all my clothes were gone. I saw guys bigger and smaller than me wearing my clothes. I got the stuff as best I could, even if it meant using my fists. It was another test [like ratting], but I became accepted and that's the whole point. . . ."

Social Disruption

Whereas deviancy is a violation of institutional expectations that does not unduly upset the cottage balance (like stealing a tip or clothing, or smoking in one's room), a social disruption significantly disturbs the orderly flow of events bounded by Hollymeade rules.

The disruptive incident described below by one of the boys left a deep impression on all the boys and many of the staff. The implications of Rabin's violent attack on a member of the "big crowd" are explored in the paragraphs that follow Little Davis' description in the context of the riddle: how do two diametrically opposed standards—the staff's and residents'—persist in the same institution?

The Rabin Assault

You know in the cottage there are certain rules, little rules, and everybody has to do what "they" [the leadership] say. In the lounge the first one can play the piano or do something else, like putting on the television. Rabin turned on the set.

Well, Yearwood turned around and told him to turn the television off, but Rabin didn't. Then Perry [Yearwood] said, "Well, if you don't turn it off, I'll do it myself," and walked over to do it. Rabin said, "Well, mother . . . , if you touch this, I'll kill you!" Yearwood bent to turn it off. Rabin grabbed a glass ashtray, crashed it upon Perry's head, and stunned him.

Rabin bashed him with one blow after another until blood spurted. He picked up a chair to continue the assault. Parker appeared, grabbed Rabin from behind, and kept him away from Yearwood. Then Steve Davis rushed in and knocked Rabin across the room and tore into him. He beat the hell out of him. Rabin was sent to a state mental hospital.

Yearwood had always been Rabin's nemesis. According to Milber, "Perry bullied Rabin and made him a special butt for jokes and ranking." Others complained that Rabin "can get under anybody's skin." Eventually most of the big boys left him alone.

Rabin not only *felt* persecuted and isolated, he *was*. In the school Coogman reported that "the first year he was a 'darling,' a little boy who knew his place. Then he became a *starker*, a tough, independent loner, who didn't let anybody mess with him." Rabin was rejected by the staff. He projected his hostile feelings upon everyone until he was trapped in a dark and lonely cave.

Rabin's assault was interpreted as a threat to the big crowd with whom Yearwood was identified. Steve Davis assumed the roles of judge, prosecutor, and policeman in one swoop. In the equilibrium between the cottage and Hollymeade, a definite set of expectations had become institutionalized. Steve Davis had beaten up boys previously, which was "accepted" by the staff as well as peers.

When a boy like Rabin strikes out, however, the entire wrath of the cottage descends upon him. Rabin's attack occurred after months of relentless persecution by Yearwood and others. Furthermore, he struck with such blind fury, precisely because he did not have group support to attack a high-status boy. The reaction to this attack points up the organizational balance between cottage and institution. Steve Davis took it upon himself to beat up Rabin without, of course, staff authorization. The staff removed Rabin to a mental hospital. Steve Davis' attack on Rabin went unnoticed. It was "justifiable."

Rabin could not survive at Hollymeade after this wanton assault. Comparisons with Tippy's fate (see pages 65 to 67) contribute further insight into the cottage-institutional balance. Tippy was beaten up half a dozen times before he was "shipped." What is the difference between the attack upon Tippy and that of Rabin upon Yearwood, who had never desisted from ranking him?

The answer lies in the boys' and staff's normative expectations of cottage life. Toughs keep low-status boys in tow. The institution supports the boys' social system by removing boys who threaten that cottage equilibrium. Rabin's sudden attack upset the intracottage balance. Hollymeade recognized this and removed the threat. The attack upon Tippy, on the other hand, resulted in the target's being shipped; the attacker stayed.

Cottage cohesion thus can be characterized as the boys' interacting day to day without undue disruptive overt conflict. Activities and relationships are predictable, even though based upon distrust, manipulation, and aggression. A wide range of patterned relationships can be maintained by coercion, and the threat of a few individuals over many is by and large effective in

an authoritarian structure. Breaks in the peer social system are patched up so as to enforce the status quo.[1]

Rabin's paranoia was an important but by no means the only factor contributing to this outbreak. The boys' values, their roles in the cottage social structure, and the cottage-institutional balance are other decisive factors. Rabin's furious attack upon Yearwood was logical and keenly perceptive. Yearwood, a "con-artist," was basically a coward, who had achieved high status in the cottage because he had "connections" with the top clique; moreover, he was excellent at ranking and manipulation, adept in athletics, and verbally facile. Rabin thought he could overcome his tormentor in a physical encounter. Rabin was shrewd enough not to attack a member of the "inner circle" of the top clique because he knew the counterattack by them would be swift and drastic. His calculations went awry, however, when he misjudged the support Yearwood received from Davis and the top clique.

The institution's failure with Rabin after three years was now complete, for it encompassed both staff and peers. Rabin's three social workers could not establish an effective treatment relationship. The expulsion, based upon psychodynamics alone, had the unintended consequence of shielding understanding of the larger interpersonal field where deviancy and outbreaks are lock-stitched. Deviancy and disruption are lighted by a common spark: the highly combustible elements in the cottage cannot always be kept under control, that is, in equilibrium.

Social disruptions occur not only in the cottage but in the institution and outside community as well. Social and geographical settings often converge on the institutional map. In the early chapters our camera panoramically explored Cottage 6 in the Hollymeade community. It is now possible to "reshoot" earlier scenes with expanded knowledge of cottage social structure and deviant processes. Having focused on a cottage disruption, we now widen our lens to examine the interaction between cottage and school in light of deviancy and disruption.

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[1] Administrators are now more aware of these "traps" and evaluate disruptions more carefully.

COTTAGE AND SCHOOL

Much constructive work is accomplished in the classroom, but our focus here, as throughout the study, is on deviant social processes. The dedicated teachers at Hollymeade find the boys' paucity of interest in school extremely trying. They partially accommodate themselves to the boys' social structure, as in the printing shop where Foster, a delinquent leader in the cottage and institution, was appointed class monitor.

At the beginning of the fall term, Steve Davis, Red Leon, George Little, and Chuck Small (high-status boys) were all interested in school. Their interest soon dissipated, however, and their discontent spread to others. Steve Davis, ashamed of not having gone beyond the fourth grade, felt stupid, helpless, and powerless in the classroom. His indifference to school influenced the other boys. Their capricious attitude toward school is epitomized by Chuck Small's statement: "Coogman's got crazy ideas. Once in a while he would have the guys go out to build stuff in mud that came up to your knees."

The observer followed the boys in their school setting. A few —Wood, Parker, and Mel Foster—performed consistently well; most of the others, very poorly. A day's observation in the orderly, disciplined printing class revealed Jim Parker bent over his bench, concentrating on his task; Rabin was also busy setting type. Foster wanted to show Matt Stein (the instructor) his work, but the latter said, "I'm not talking to you until you put your apron on." The majority of boys in Cottage 6, however, are unmotivated, as Chet Ellins pointed out: "Besides Lenny Wolf, I don't think there's really anybody else who studies in Cottage 6— it's something they take like a pill." The boys spent many hours in class recounting delinquent experiences on and off campus. One day four boys sat under a tree all afternoon because they had been ordered to leave the class. Many boys did not let a school day pass without one "slime" or another. From deviant acts like "sliming out" of school it is only a short step to disrupting an entire classroom.

We know Perry Yearwood as a con-artist par excellence. Most of the teachers, including Matt Stein, found it impossible to work

with him. For example, every time Stein scheduled a program for Perry, he would weasel out of it. He suffered no pangs of conscience in quitting a printing job in a nearby town after four weeks, thereby jeopardizing a good referral for other boys. Perry's success in disrupting a new teacher's class described in the incident below is not merely the success story of a psychopath. Viewed in the context of the boys' anti-academic standards, it is another example of the interrelationship of deviancy and disruption.

> Powers (the carpentry instructor) told Meller to pick up all the tools. Meller turned to Perry: "Would this mean that I'm out of the union?" Perry replied, "It certainly would; we'll give you back your dues and you're no longer a member of our union."
>
> Powers told the boys what they had to do. Meller picked up some tools. Another boy said he wouldn't clean up because he still wanted to be in the union. Perry persisted in a steady barrage: "Look, Powers, we don't mind cleaning up, but we don't think it should be a penalty. The juniors made the dirt and they should clean it up. Why should we?" Powers responded, "Yes, it wasn't a general cleanup. This was definitely a penalty."
>
> Powers argued with the boys about following Perry and asked whether they had any minds of their own. Dane volunteered, "Oh, that's some more of that cheap psychology." Perry talked steadily about not cleaning up other persons' dirt.
>
> Meller decided that he wasn't going to clean up. He asked Perry if he could rejoin the union: "What is it when you have your nose out on strike?" The boys said they didn't know. Meller: "Well, that's a picket," and everybody laughed.
>
> Perry became very excited about a picket: "We're going to march up and down and we're going to get signs." Someone fetched a piece of paper and stuck it on a big stick. Perry took the paper and wrote in large blocked letters: "WE'RE ON STRIKE!"
>
> Meller and Perry began singing, which Powers' curt "Cut that out" could not abate. "Well, we're just going to sit here till June, fellows, unless you get this place cleaned up." The boys quieted down, but did not clean up.
>
> Perry approached Powers: "Look, you're only a general teacher— you're just starting here . . . you're not a regular teacher. We'll go over and talk to Kraft [the principal]." Powers replied, "No, you

just sit right down there." After some more discussion Powers returned to his list and called out the names for the various jobs. The boys did not budge.

After a while, Perry stood up and said, "Come on, you guys, let's get out of here and talk to Kraft." He moved toward the door but Powers blocked it so no one could leave. Meller said: "Well, I'll tell you what we'll do. Let's go out the window." He began opening up the windows in the back as the boys scampered to them. Powers, unable to contain his anger, shouted: "All right, you guys, I want all of you to sit right here on this bench!" Checking them, he continued gruffly, "Sit down and let's stay down." The boys detected the wrath in his voice and obeyed him.

But Perry continued talking and Powers slapped him, not hard, but firmly on the face. Perry reddened, "OK, I'll stop talking." Powers took control, "OK, shut up." Perry talked a bit more but finally petered out and remained quiet.

Powers told the boys, "Now I want you to sit there and keep your mouths shut until you're talked to." The deadlock was maintained for some time. Powers said they would not be able to go out for recess unless they cleaned up. They just sat there glaring at each other. . . .

The observer felt it best to leave at this time.

The classroom disruption can be understood only in the perspective of normative deviant processes in the school. Much of the lack of motivation on the part of Cottage 6 toward school stems from its peer group culture. Individual negativism toward school is monitored by the entire cottage. The disorganization of the woodwork class was corrected but the boys' opposition to school was only strengthened by this disruptive event. Moreover, it fed Yearwood's pride in his conning power.

COTTAGE AND COMMUNITY: A RUNAWAY

A social disruption highlights the meshing of the boys' personalities, values, and social structure. The factors triggering a runaway are many. After briefly presenting a description of an AWOL, we will retrace the social pressures that helped precipitate it. Below is Petane's report of the AWOL to the "O.D."

Me and Colorado left the school last night, went down the hill, and seen a car ahead by a house with a lawn. A man came over in a car

and bawled us out for being on his property. We tried some more cars around there but couldn't get them started.

We had to run. Colorado seen a cop's car making a U-turn. We went up through the hill and wound up in the cemetery. We tried to steal another car but this man came out and chased us around the block.

When we found a place to sleep we got hungry and cold, so we went back to the housing project we had passed. We went downstairs to a laundry room and found some rolls in an icebox and two cans of beer. We also took a sheet with us.

Colorado spotted a cop so we decided to duck behind the stores and came out near the railroad station. A police officer came along and picked us up and drove us back to Hollymeade this morning.

Elsewhere we have shown the circumstances surrounding Colorado's entrance in Cottage 6. Unmanageable in an intermediate cottage, the staff believed he could be controlled in "6." He had been a leader in Cottage 13. In "6" he was looked down upon by the top clique and consequently found his niche among low-status boys. Milber reported: "He associated with Petane and Rabin. In the beginning he was unpopular. He was never a leader, but after a while he began to bully the newer boys."

Petane, his erstwhile runaway companion, was a nonverbal, introverted isolate who contained his aggression by drawing bloody daggers, sabre-toothed tigers, and other fearsome jungle denizens which he hung up on his bedroom walls. Petane was beaten up by Davis and others numerous times. He was also "close" to Rabin, who later became estranged from him. Petane was intensely disliked, degraded, and ostracized not only by his peers but by the cottage parents as well. He saw his social worker infrequently; when the two did meet, they said very little to each other.

Colorado was equally disliked at first. He and Petane at one time slept in the same bedroom and worked together in the storeroom. In the bleak, hostile world in Cottage 6, they found some comfort in their limited relationship. Their desperation and irrationality make sense if we can visualize the runaway as a reaction to an inhospitable and threatening peer milieu. The two "united"

because they were isolated from both adults and peers; their way out was literally to leave the "field."

The AWOL coincides with an especially frustrating and isolating stage of peer interaction for Colorado. A leader in Cottage 13, it was difficult for him suddenly to accept an inferior status in Cottage 6. Later he was accepted by the toughs. He was becoming a dominant aggressive leader in Cottage 6 when he was finally "shipped" from Hollymeade.

The vicious circle in which Petane was caught began when he first entered the cottage, was abetted by Colorado, and completed by the administration. Of the three examples of disruption discussed in this chapter, the staff are most apprehensive about boys who commit delinquencies in the nearby community; consequently the reaction to this kind of social disruption is severe. After three years at Hollymeade and as many in psychotherapy before he entered the institution, Petane was released with a poor diagnosis; no aftercare program was planned for him.

The boys comprising these examples and the others in the cottage are exposed to a double standard. The aggressive, manipulating pecking order in the cottage stands in marked contrast to the standards to which the boys are exposed in classroom and clinic. In each of the examples the source of delinquent behavior is primarily in the cottage—in the boys' culture and social practice—and, secondarily, in Hollymeade's interaction with that subculture. The ambivalent boy finds oppositional solidarity to the staff in his peer group; but in his very conformity to cottage standards lies the omnipresent difficulty of making the transition to staff values.

THE DOUBLE STANDARD COMPLEMENTARITY THESIS

In conclusion we can summarize the thesis developed in this chapter as follows:

1. Out of the boys' interaction in the cottage is constructed an authoritarian social structure and cultural heritage based upon aggression and manipulation.

2. The Hollymeade staff do not basically alter that culture but learn to accommodate to it.

3. Because of the staff's inability to combat the authoritarian structure, the boys feel abandoned to it.

4. Staff ambivalence is resolved by (a) official denouncement of destructive interpersonal relationships, (b) partial acceptance of the deviant subculture as beyond staff control, and (c) periodic cleanups when the cottage is disrupted.

5. Disruptions arise out of deviancy and contribute to it accordingly as it is resolved by the peer group and staff.

6. The deviant subculture persists because of the short-range purpose of collective control, which enables the staff with available resources to contain aggressive boys in the institutional setting.

The delinquent subculture arises among the boys because of the gap between the cottage unit and the rest of the institution; it persists because the issue of control takes precedence over abstract therapeutic norms based upon individual psychodynamic theory and practice.

After the emergence of the delinquent subculture in the cottage there follows surprising acceptance of its inevitability by both groups. Like adolescents the world over, the boys in Cottage 6 experiment with roles and values that are integrated into a youth culture. Delinquent boys want to be free from adult controls as do all adolescents. Because of their histories and staff accommodation, they evolve a social organization built upon force and manipulation.

A pseudo-environment is thus constructed between two social systems in a common interactional field. Through this No Man's Land individual boys "filtrate" and undergo change, but the two systems are extraordinarily *independent* of each other, yet *complementary*. In the family the child is not exposed to a father plus a mother, but to their interaction, their "family culture." In the institution the youngster is barred from extensive interaction with the professional staff culture, yet he is expected to achieve the latter's goals. In the cottage hard-pressed cottage parents and counselors are outnumbered by the youths. Many boys improve in spite of the negative peer culture; others fail because of it. We must now take a closer look at the interaction between the cottage culture and the therapeutic milieu, Hollymeade's main rehabilitative tool.

10. Cottage Culture and Therapeutic Milieu

IN THE PREVIOUS CHAPTER we specified the ways in which the administrative and cottage staff dealt with the boys' deviancy and social disruptions. We demonstrated that complementarity implies some insularity of the peer and staff groups from each other. In this chapter we ask the further question: Do the boys accommodate to staff values as do the staff to the cottage culture?

The professional staff, who in many ways are closest to individual boys, are paradoxically the farthest removed from the cottage subculture. Social workers—the chief therapeutic agents at Hollymeade—interview boys individually in their offices and participate very little in cottage life. The influence of the Hollymeade teaching staff is largely limited to the classrooms. But, as we shall see, the staff are not only isolated from the boys in the functioning of the institution; they are also remote from the boys in terms of cultural backgrounds and values.

Thus far, we have emphasized the peer social system and the boys' interlocking roles within it. The boys present themselves to us not only in the act of living, however, but also in the act of thinking about how they live. Consequently, we must introduce the concepts of culture and value orientation in order to illuminate further the relationship between professional staff and cottage. In contrast to lower animals, the distinctive feature of man is his capacity to generalize about his environment. Man can no more desist from "abstracting" from his experiences than salmon can stop swimming upstream to spawn. He is the symbol-bearing animal that reacts not merely instinctively to his environment but also in a mediating matrix of meaning which we call culture.

Role, the reader will recall, is the fundamental unit of the peer social system and refers to patterned action largely tailored by the boys' positions with reference to each other. Culture cuts across these stratified positions and enables the group members to interact within a common framework of meanings; it can therefore be defined as the configuration of attitudes shared by group members and transmitted to newcomers. Whatever his role, each boy is a carrier of the total cottage culture.

Just as the cottage social structure is built on the framework of roles, so its cultural structure is composed of value orientations about significant aspects of human existence: attitudes toward time, human relations, work, sex, Cottage 6, Hollymeade, and so forth. Thus, a value orientation is a pattern of ideas in the actor's mind about the world that "propels" him toward relating to his environment in one way rather than another. The totality of a group's value orientations constitutes its culture. The social workers come into contact essentially with the derivatives of cottage social practice—the boys' attitudes toward each other, Hollymeade, work, and school.

A general statement about the relationships between the boys' social roles and their values is that the latter are the residue of the boys' past and present social experience.[1] As each boy becomes a full-fledged member of the cottage, he adopts an idiosyncratic version of the cottage value system. He finds his niche among his peers by assuming a social role and is at once differentiated from his peers and very much interdependent upon them, for in their reflection he gains what is referred to by Erikson as an "identity."[2]

[1] Homans, George C., *Social Behavior:* Its Elementary Forms. Harcourt, Brace and World, New York, 1961, pp. 47, 117:
". . . Values are precipitates of the past histories of men, including the past histories of their species, their societies, and their groups . . . the more similar the past histories of two men, the more similar their values are apt to be." (p. 47)
". . . What is happening now will be past experience in just a moment, and besides bringing old values to new groups, men acquire new values within them. What they have once done for the sake of something else, they come to do, for all we can tell, for its own sake." (p. 117)

[2] Defined by Erikson as the "conception of oneself that one has gradually created and that one perceives as one's role and reflection in others." Erikson, Erik H., in *New Perspectives for Research on Juvenile Delinquency*, edited by Helen L. Witmer and Ruth Kotinsky, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1956, p. 4.

The boys bring their attitudes and predispositions to act in favored ways with them into Cottage 6, where they are reinforced, modified, or changed. Their outlook is a mixture of past experiences and what they learn from each other and the staff. The professional staff also have a peculiar way of looking at the world about them. Before comparing the peer group's and professional staff's value systems, a word about their respective backgrounds is in order.

Nineteen of the total group of 28 boys (whose I.Q.s were generally average) had school difficulties from an early age. Twelve boys were of mixed religious parentage; 21 had one parent (10, both parents) with a history of mental illness or antisocial behavior. Eight boys were of lower-middle class origin and 20, working class, or *lumpenproletariat*. Many of the boys came from disorganized homes, four of them having spent long periods in institutions. For the majority of boys, gang or delinquent associates became a significant substitute primary group for their families. Twenty boys were referred through the Court on petition of delinquency (over half for stealing). Nine were described as "ungovernable." Other offenses included possession of a zip gun, cashing a bad check, gang fighting, vandalism, assault, and sexual deviancy. Several were victims of extreme neglect.

When we turn to the clinic and school staffs, as would be expected, the background picture changes drastically. The composite picture below is derived from extensive informal contact with professional staff, who for the most part stem from intact Jewish homes; their parents have risen from working to middle-class status. Staff members work after hours, usually in a professional capacity, or continue their education in order to obtain a higher degree. They are destined for supervisory roles or private psychotherapeutic practice. In general, they are energetic and ambitious, engaged in paying off the mortgage on a new home in the suburbs near Hollymeade, performing part-time work, and increasing their income and status opportunities with additional education. Needless to say, they come to Hollymeade with a sincere desire to help their fellow man or they would not have chosen to work in the social welfare field.

A COMPARISON OF PEER GROUP AND STAFF VALUE ORIENTATIONS

A serious shortcoming in studies of deviant value systems is that the standards from which delinquents are diverging are seldom made explicit. We have found Florence Kluckhohn's scheme useful for classifying and contrasting the values of American-Jewish middle-class professionals at Hollymeade and the working-class delinquents in Cottage 6. Her assumptions are substantially the following:

1. A limited number of common human problems exist which all groups must solve.

2. The variability of solutions is neither limitless nor random but within an *a priori* range.

3. There is always a rank ordering or preferred sequence of value orientations for each culture rather than a single emphasis.[1]

It is important to note that although a group may emphasize one solution to a common human problem, the others are not absent from its profile. The key insight is that differences in emphases in outlook between two cultures in close contact may accentuate conflict between the two groups. Five modalities regulating Man's relations to his world are said to be universal for all cultures. These are: (1) Man's relationship to other men, (2) human activity, (3) time focus, (4) Man's relation to nature and supernature, and (5) Man's view of human nature. We have found this classification to be useful for our comparative analysis because the paradigm of value selections has been made general enough to subsume alternative orientations of groups with differing life experiences.

First, what is the boys' orientation toward their relationship to others? We have demonstrated how the boys' aggressive-manipulative actions are organized into a hierarchical structure.

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[1] Kluckhohn, Florence R., "Dominant and Variant Value Orientations" in *Personality in Nature, Society, and Culture*, edited by Clyde Kluckhohn and Henry A. Murray, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York, 1953, pp. 342–357. See also Kluckhohn, Florence R., "Dominant and Substitute Profiles of Cultural Orientations: Their Significance for the Analysis of Social Stratification," *Social Forces*, vol. 28, May, 1950, pp. 376–393; and Kluckhohn, Florence R., "Variations in the Basic Values of Family Systems," *Social Casework*, vol. 39, February-March, 1958, pp. 63–72.

Classification of Value Orientations

Innate Human Nature	Evil	Neutral: Mixture of Good and Evil	Good
	Mutable-Immutable	Mutable-Immutable	Mutable-Immutable
Man's Relation to Nature and Supernature	Subjugation to Nature	Harmony with Nature	Mastery over Nature
Time Focus	Past	Present	Future
Modality of Human Activity	Being	Being-in-Becoming	Doing
Modality of Man's Relationship to Other Men	Lineal	Collateral	Individualistic

Note—Since each of the orientations is considered to be independently variable, the arrangement in columns of sets of orientations is only the accidental result of this particular diagram. Any of the orientations may be switched to any one of the three columns.[1]

"That's my boy, that's my bushboy!" exclaimed Little Davis while Wood, another newcomer, did his bidding. Steve Davis viewed Petane as a "lower member of the cottage." Rabin was evaluated as "sick . . . sneaky . . . a misfit." Among the boys, this lineal outlook is a primary value orientation; individualism, second ("every guy is out for himself"); and, the collateral, third.

The boys' attitudes toward human activity and time are related in that there is little connection between daily activity and future goals. For the most part the boys live in the present. They cannot sustain activities for long-range individual or collective goals. The issue they complained most about is boredom, which in their judgment is Hollymeade's responsibility to relieve. According to Steve Davis, boredom was the cause of many fights, AWOLs, "checking over to see the girls," and general trouble-making. The main activities in the cottage include watching television, playing cards, "chewing the fat," ranking, gambling, and milling around. Mass media—movies, television, radio,

[1] Spiegel, John P., "Some Cultural Aspects of Transference and Counter-Transference" in *Individual and Familial Dynamics*, edited by Jules H. Masserman. Grune and Stratton, Inc., New York, 1959, p. 162. This classification scheme was presented as Table 1 in Spiegel's article.

rock 'n' roll records, comics, magazines, and racy pocket books—
saturate the cottage atmosphere and lighten heavy time.

The boys' view of human nature is neatly summed up in
Perry Yearwood's aphorism, "everyone is rankable." The boys
will "pull" everything they know of to fulfill that prophecy.
According to Ellins, "Any guy at any time can turn on you . . .
he may stick up for you one minute and the next, rap you in the
mouth."

Many of the boys privately interviewed before departing de-
clared their distrust of cottage peers. For example, Miles and
Yearwood were inseparable. They slept in the same bedroom for
over a year, ate at the same table, and participated in sports,
cards, ranking, conning, and so on. Yet before he left Miles told
the observer: "Perry is OK, but sometimes a little hard to get
along with; he's a baby in many things. But one thing—you just
can't trust him."

This strong element of distrust is diffused throughout the entire
social structure. Rick Kahn volunteered to do Artie Parma's
kitchen duties one day and Artie said he would repay him later.
Replied Rick: "Don't hand me that cheap psychology stuff, I'll
do it for you." The reader will recall Edna's remark that the
boys' evil is "embedded" in them. The cottage parents and the
observer had to come to grips with an ideology that has as its
cornerstone Man's evil immutability.

This orientation of Man's innate nature as corrupt and im-
mutable is coupled with the boys' feeling of subjugation-to-the-
world. The resident gradually but ineluctably becomes de-
pendent upon routines and clings to them tenaciously. Regula-
tions at first resented become familiar and comfortable. The boys
assume that the institution should provide for them, since they
are shepherded everywhere and guided by hand through the
simplest routines. The minute-by-minute accounting results in a
manifold variety of counter-techniques for "sliming out" of
responsibilities.

The delinquent believes he is on the "short end"; he has been
singled out for punishment. He cannot beat the system because
it is rigged against him; others do not give him a chance. This

defeatist orientation lies behind Miles' comment: "At least if I do some delinquency, they will have me for something."

One could argue that intensive aggression in the cottage is not subjugation to the world but mastery by tough boys over it. We think not. Basically the outlook toward the world at large is one of a threatening, forbidding place that does not want them. Family, school, and community rejections are deeply resented and form an important part of the boys' distrustful and defeatist posture.

While the boys' orientation to the group favors authoritarianism, middle-class Jewish professionals stress individualism. Conflict between the caseworkers and administration often stems from the former's feelings that their integrity is being transgressed. Individualism is highly valued in social workers' families and is related to the parents' desire to have their children compete successfully with school peers.

The staff's extreme individualistic, achievement, and future-directed value orientations contribute to their assumption that the boys naturally will have similar orientations. Perhaps these contrasting orientations lay behind the retarded recreational program at Hollymeade; that is, priority was given to each boy's individual progress rather than to the development of a collateral cultural life in the cottage.

There is little doubt that middle-class Americans have a strong mastery-over-nature orientation. The basic orientation of the staff is activistic; they are slowly but surely accumulating possessions and are optimistic about their future. Consequently their view of Man is not quite so dark or inflexible as the boys' outlook. Like most middle-class Americans, contemporary Jews have shed the Biblical notion of themselves as omnisinning, suffering people. They clearly continue the rabbinical view of Man as perfectable. The rationalizations that are employed for boys who do not become better, however, are sometimes cast in terms of inability to change basic human nature developed early in childhood.

We now see that individual boys are confronted with two divergent cultural realities that are anchored in two quite differ-

ent worlds of social activity. These cultural differences in *emphasis* between the two groups can be summarized as follows:

Orientation	Peer Group	Staff
Relation to group	Lineal	Individualistic
Temporal focus	Present (contemporaneous)	Future
Innate human nature	Corruptible, manipulable, immutable	Mixed good and evil, mutable
Relation to world	Subjugation by external situation	Mastery over external situation
Human activity	Being, living day to day	Doing, achieving goals

Thus, the cottage culture's primary emphasis is *authoritarian*, *contemporaneous*, *malevolent*, and *defeatist*. It does not consist exclusively of these orientations but is intermixed with group loyalty, regard for the future, short-run achievements, and acceptance of adults. Nor is the staff exclusively achievement-minded, individualistic, and benign. What is important is that the "grating" of the two value outlooks is interpreted by the staff as evidence of the boys' deviation: impulsivity, negativism, defiance, lack of motivation and involvement, disregard for rules, indifference, aggression, inflexibility, self-destructive behavior, suspicion, hostility, passivity, infantilism, and provocative behavior.

That the boys do manifest the tendencies described above is borne out by the documentary evidence presented in this study. We are suggesting in addition, however, that such labeling is related to a description of boys in revolt against alien values projected for them by the staff, which they are not culturally prepared to internalize and have little opportunity to put into daily cottage practice. Typically, each boy's ambivalence and confusion about opposing value systems are intensified at Hollymeade because of the two radically contrasting social systems in which the boys function. In one breath Steve Davis could say: "Here's the way I got my future planned. All I want is a wife and kids, a good steady job, a home of my own, and no trouble." All of this is ominously qualified in the next breath: "If

a guy keeps nudging me real bad and I can't take him over with my hands, I'll do it with something else."

The grating of the two cultural patterns is revealed in the case of Perry Yearwood. Throughout this study we have characterized him as one of Hollymeade's leading con-boys. While he was viciously ranking Rabin and manipulating peers and adults all over the campus, his caseworker, with whom he had a strong relationship, summarized his progress as follows:

> Gradually he has grown up. He has established good relationships with cottage parents, whose suggestions he goes along with. He was able to become interested in programs and work for increasingly long periods of time. In treatment he became more serious and responsible in his participation. . . .

This excerpt points up the contrast between the staff and peer value systems. The worker not only indicates what she considers Perry's progress to be, but reveals the goals and values she hopes he has internalized. Partially unaware of his dominant role in the cottage (for example, his part in the Rabin assault and the classroom disruption discussed in the previous chapter) and his contrary value system, she has selectively attended to behavior which manifests progress in their circumscribed relationship. In the cottage Perry persisted in his highly provocative and manipulative behavior until the day he left Hollymeade.

COTTAGE CULTURE AND PSYCHOPATHOLOGY

It is not our intention to minimize the treatment role of caseworkers at Hollymeade. This writer has treated boys on an individual basis. We are suggesting, however, that psychotherapy would benefit greatly from a deeper understanding of the peer culture and the resistances that emerge from the boys' collective social practice. Social scientists, on the other hand, must be aware that psychopathology is tied not only to the boys' social roles and cultural backgrounds but to their developmental histories as well.

In the field of culture and personality, the highest virtue is to be specific, or all the old bromides about their integration will soon crop up. To make a useful, dynamic, individual diagnosis,

the pattern of needs, fears, and defenses built upon the boys' libidinal organization must be made explicit. We can, for example, take the case of Red Leon.[1]

Leon's origins are obscure. An adopted child, his psychotic mother made an extreme "hothouse" attachment to him. A highly charged oedipal relationship evolved that became traumatically intense with the death of his father. Leon's probable awareness that he was adopted gave him more oedipal permission than would have been the case if his adoptive mother were his biological mother. Also, her oedipal bonds were strong because she knew he was not really her son. She protected herself by indulging in psychotic delusions. For example, when an argument arose between them she would cry: "Don't you think I have made sacrifices for you? Don't you realize my feelings for you? You're a product of my own body!"

Leon was desperately in need of emotional separation from his mother; he reacted counterphobically to castration fears by creating a facade of toughness. As a defense against intense entanglement with his adoptive mother and as a reaction to his fear of weakness and virtual castration, then, it was "necessary" for him to affiliate with an aggressive gang.

But Leon also had middle-class aspirations deriving from the social status of his family. He had some desire for school achievement. These values, however, ran counter to his neurotic need to be affiliated with the gang and to assume a facade of toughness. This latter counterphobic posture served two purposes: (1) he could deny the castration fear by acting tough and smart rather than being afraid and defenseless; (2) he could transfer his home base to the gang, thereby gaining the needed emotional separation from his mother.

In the cottage Leon showed little ambivalence about his place in the pecking order. He attached himself to Steve Davis and used him as the muscular representative of the neurotic aspect of himself. He ranked, manipulated, and harshly exploited weaker boys, especially George Little, in whom he recognized kindred inner turmoil. He frequently spoke to his worker about reform-

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[1] The writer is indebted to Irwin Berman for the following diagnosis of Red Leon.

ing, but all of this discussion was negated by the pull of the value system in the cottage and his dominant role in its peer social structure. After experimenting with the school program for a brief period, Red Leon, according to his case record, "reverted to his former delinquent activities." Upon discharge from Holly-meade, he joined a paratroop division of the United States Army.

Brief as this discussion is, it articulates deviant group properties with Leon's developmental pattern of fears and conflicts. Steve Davis and Red Leon each derived gratification from having his pathological needs reinforced by the other. Hollymeade is presently conducting research into the complementarity of deviant peer value systems and social organization with individual boys' pathology.[1]

COTTAGE CULTURE AND CLINIC

The values that the clinical staff imparts to the boys are continuously tested in the cottage. A boy may spend a few hours a week in the social worker's office but he lives in the cottage. What impact does the treatment of individual boys have on the cottage culture?

Values promoted by the professional staff often mean something quite different for boys who live and think in a radically different social structure. Boys who try to change find themselves caught in a web of relationships that presuppose counter norms. Cottage leaders frequently verbalize democratic or *laissez faire* principles. The toughest boys claimed that "they never looked for trouble." As Steve Davis remarked, "The only time we'd fight was when trouble came to us." But peer leaders, as has been pointed out, are the chief purveyors of the manipulative-aggressive orientation in the cottage. How is this contradiction resolved?

The verbalized democratic ethos becomes something quite different when analyzed in the context of the peer social culture.

[1] Polsky, Howard, Irving Karp, Irwin Berman, and Thelma Gordon, "Toward a General Theory of Residential Research and Treatment: Conceptualizing and Observing Individual, Social, and Cultural Processes." Paper read at Eastern Regional Conference, Child Welfare League of America, April 20–22, 1961, New York.

Steve Davis had this to say about Rick Kahn: "When he first came up, he was a bushboy . . . but he used to do a lot of that [run errands, wash clothes, and so forth] for me and we got along." "Getting along" consists in conforming to the delinquent leaders' expectations for the continued existence of bushboy and tough guy. Rick, in turn, imitated Davis and similarly exploited newcomers. Aggressive-manipulative values are thus perpetuated by the peer social structure. The complex demands and issues of collective functioning in the cottage often negate the ambitious individual programs tailored by the staff for their charges.

One consequence, discussed in the previous chapter, resulting from the split of individual and social therapy is the creation of the intermediate role of the cottage attendant staff. As we have seen, this staff, far from challenging the deviant peer culture, make major adaptations to it. Two other major consequences are now to be discussed. These are the problems of (1) individual adaptations to the two value systems in the context of the cottage social system, and (2) cottage succession.

INDIVIDUAL ADAPTATIONS AND COTTAGE INTERACTION

Crisscrossing the boys' roles in the cottage with their dominant value commitments *vis-à-vis* staff and peers results in several socialization types which can be viewed along a continuum.

At the most isolated end from staff values and relationships are the punks, bushboys, queers, and scapegoats. At the bottom of the pecking order, but predominantly oriented toward cottage standards, they feel rejected by both peers and staff. Rabin, Petane, Kahn, Kranz, Tippy, Mavis, and Werner (for much of his stay) fall into this category. They are the *double failures*.[1]

At the next level are the *socialized delinquents*, very much at home with delinquent standards and actively engaged in promoting them in the cottage. We know Red Leon as one. Colorado, Chuck Small, George Little, Miles, Yearwood, and Parma are others in this category. Staff standards influenced them minimally.

[1] Cloward, Richard A., "Illegitimate Means, Anomie and Deviant Behavior," *American Sociological Review*, vol. 24, April, 1959, p. 175.

Somewhat more influenced by the staff are those boys with strong allegiance to both peer and staff values, of whom Drake, and, later, Werner are good examples. They undergo considerable conflict and fluctuation between the two groups. These are *temporizing delinquents*. Yearwood, Miles, and Red Leon at different stages in their careers also answered this description.

Even more influenced by the staff are the boys who are active in the peer group and have not abandoned its value orientations, but who have also developed meaningful relationships with staff members and growing commitment to their values. Foster, Steve Davis, and Parker are examples of *part-time delinquents* who share the values of both groups.

Finally, there are boys who appear to have become *resocialized* at Hollymeade. Ellins, Stein, and Wolf actively rejected many peer group values and at the end of their stay appeared to have internalized staff norms more completely than the others.

In general, however, the boys' uneven progression in individual treatment vitiates the cumulative therapeutic impact of the caseworkers upon the cottage culture. The professional staff's values do not constitute a sufficiently strong countervailing force to overcome the negative values promoted by the cottage social system.

After Red Leon had reacted negatively to his social worker's plan to engage him in a school program, he swayed Davis and other clique members toward a delinquent orientation. Volatile, manipulative, and bright, Leon had deeper internal conflict about delinquency than the others in the cottage. He never ceased exploiting fellow clique members and low-status boys. As long as he was in the cottage, the possibility of evolving a stable nondelinquent orientation was minimal. Davis, in turn, acted as Red Leon's "muscle man."

After Red Leon left Hollymeade, however, Davis formed a closer attachment with his social worker and exerted a more constructive influence in the cottage and institution. To be sure, Davis brooked no opposition and was violent in settling the slightest challenge, yet he was not manipulative or especially exploitative. Within the cottage he retained tight, autocratic control, but he never encouraged rebellion against the staff as had Red Leon.

The leader's lieutenants were equally influenced by changing cottage roles and individual adaptations. Gary Drake and George Little never wavered in their allegiance to Red Leon and his manipulation. The three were constantly quarreling and conjuring up anti-Hollymeade activities. After Leon left, Little became more isolated and frantic because of Davis' threats. One temporary consequence was more interest in his relationship with his social worker. He began to attend school, but when Drake and the others discouraged him, he gave it up altogether with a strong reaction against academic activities and values.

Miles, Yearwood, and Small so ranked and manipulated one another that attachment to constructive institutional norms became problematic. Small was the butt, but after rising rapidly in the pecking order, he swaggered around as Steve Davis had earlier. Miles and Yearwood gained too much secondary gratification in the cottage to abandon their conning activities.

Ellins sensibly counseled Parker (they occupied the same bedroom), with the result that when the latter became one of the dominant leaders in the cottage, he was less aggressive than he might have been. Parker developed meaningful ties to the institution, primarily through his social worker, and as a tough leader was not so exploitative as most boys in that role. Ellins' acceptance of his worker's values did not diffuse to the others despite his high status because he assumed a passive role in the cottage and increased his distance from the others. We observed that boys who adopt staff values become individualistic rather than collateral in their orientation to the cottage. They move away from peers and withdraw into themselves.

Kranz and Lane supported each other in their bizarre behavior. Attempts to gain recognition by queer antics only served to isolate them from peers and staff. Each would have regressed farther without his comrade's support but possibly each would have made some progress if he could have established a relationship with a healthier boy in the cottage.

The collective denigration by the "big crowd" of low-status boys prevented effective solidarity among the latter and largely disoriented them from establishing effective ties to staff members and their values. The "small crowd" keenly felt their oppression

and partially displaced their pent-up hostility by mutual ex-
ploitation and ceaseless petty harassment. By ingratiation
(Strange, Chase, Parma, Drake, and Little), or challenge (Dane
and Gray), or isolation (Tippy, Werner, Rabin, Kahn, and
Mavis), they adapted to the struggle of survival in the cottage.

The central problem in every institutional setting is the incor-
poration of staff values into the residents' daily lives. The delin-
quent is treatable when he can discern, identify with, and be-
come emotionally committed to staff standards. We see no
automatic transmutation into cottage life of the values which the
boys are exposed to in the social workers' offices. There is many
a slip between clinic and cottage, and at no time is the lag more
prominent than with a cottage turnover.

THE PROBLEM OF COTTAGE SUCCESSION

Since there is in the cottage a constant intake of new delin-
quents, the old residents are faced with keeping the newcomers
in their place by utilizing deviant techniques.

One important difference between family and cottage life is
the yearly rhythmic "exits and entrances" of cottage residents. In
addition to the fluctuating individual adaptations, the general
stage of interaction in which the cottage is proceeding is of great
importance to individual and subgroup orientations. An influx of
new members threatens the emerging leadership, which is "over-
determined" to maintain their status and eager to enroll new
boys into subservient statuses. Thus, newcomers are presented
with a model of deviant social control. Some boys are forced to
leave the field altogether, Chase and Tippy, for example; but
newcomers who hold out and learn the ropes become the
guardians of the cottage culture for the next "generation." The
"big crowd" and "small crowd" are reconstituted with a new
repertoire of actors.

With the cottage turnover, Dane followed Davis in assuming a
dominant tough boy's role in the cottage. Werner became the
cottage butt (as Small had been to Yearwood and Miles), which
led to his jockeying for position by exploiting psychopathic

talents. Gray followed the aggressive pattern established by Colorado and Dane before him, but with more finesse. Gray evaded the more invidious aspects of the bushboy status and rose rapidly in the pecking order after the older boys left. Mavis, the "cottage queer" and another example of a double failure, was isolated both in the cottage and in the institution. Residents undergoing favorable change in casework or the classroom often become neutral and withdraw from their peers rather than develop into positive leaders.

Thus, the seeds of negativism, defeatism, and authoritarianism are implanted among those left behind. The fact that many long-term residents "change their colors" prior to leaving Hollymeade does not obliterate their manipulative stronghold upon the cottage structure. Memory is deep and selective. The new leaders do not recall Steve Davis' off-grounds job or his talk about marriage and home, but rather his aggressive domination of the cottage. "The evil that men do lives after them" also holds true for delinquent boys. Thus, while the newcomers are trying to learn new values from the staff, the deviant values embedded in the cottage social structure and social control mechanisms sabotage their efforts.[1]

CONCLUSION

Separating individual therapy from cottage life makes it possible for errors to arise in setting goals that have little realistic basis in the boys' social practice and that can be misapplied in the cottage in destructive ways.

Conversely, important therapeutic possibilities in the cottage are missed because of the distance of the therapists from the cottage and lack of motivation to develop social intervention techniques in conjunction with psychotherapy.

The psychotherapist's position at Hollymeade is unique. He can accept deviancy provisionally in order to help the resident overcome his illness eventually. He represents alternative stand-

[1] Highfields has built into its treatment program a technique for meeting this crucial problem of turnover in resident care. See McCorkle, Lloyd W., Albert Elias, and F. Lovell Bixby, *The Highfields Story*, Henry Holt and Co., New York, 1958.

ards to the peer group toward which the resident is to strive. The resident, however, knows that the worker is largely ignorant of his daily behavior in the cottage. This dichotomy contributes to the boys' bifurcation of behavior and attitudes inside and outside the worker's office. The social workers are not in a position to diagnose the deviant cycles engendered in the cottage and between it and the institution.

In the short walk from the clinic office to the cottage, the boy passes from one society to another. Unless the social worker is more keenly aware of the impact of the cottage culture and the specific role of his charge in it, serious errors can be made. George Little, who was pulled by his social worker on one side to attend school, and by Red Leon from the other, not to attend, rejected school altogether. Rabin was encouraged to assert himself and was removed from a junior cottage for attacking the cottage parents and defenseless younger boys. Ellins was encouraged to attend school, but adapted instead to the academic barrenness in the cottage. Steve Davis could not read or write, but talked incessantly about becoming an engineer. Small, the unregenerate con-man, wanted to become a detective. This wide gap between expectation and realistic possibilities for achievement can result in a reaction against all staff goals and values.

A comparison of the boys' and staff's values sensitizes us to the goals we are establishing for the residents. Who is to say that the stimulation proffered by the danger and excitement of a contemporaneous orientation is less desirable than disciplined individual achievement? Is the attitude of subjugation to an evil world that cannot change realistic? To be oriented largely in the present may simply be due to a cultural emphasis which differs from that of the middle class. In all probability extreme allegiance to the authoritarian, malevolent, defeatist, and contemporaneous orientations will make it difficult for a boy to adjust to work and social patterns in middle-class organization-society. Systematic tracing of the conditions under which a boy selects one group of values rather than another and measurement of their internalization—that is, their *performance*—are crucial problems for future research.

Our analysis thus far has amply demonstrated that whatever impact Hollymeade has upon individual boys, as a whole the boys are mightily influenced by the patterns of social interaction into which they enter day after day. These social patterns, in turn, are part of a complex social system of roles, norms, values, and methods of control; any effort to rehabilitate youngsters will be sharply conditioned by these social systems—subgroup, clique, cottage, unit, and institution. The extent to which these systems operate in the direction of the boys' deterioration or cure, the extent to which they can change, the extent to which we really want to change them—these are important issues, in addition to the pathology of the individual.[1]

But in any general theory of residential treatment, the personality cannot be a "given." The clinician plays a key role in diagnosis and treatment, for the deviant subculture is a partial expression of the boys' psychopathology. The clinician's knowledge and perspective, however, are necessary but not sufficient for a joint individual and social treatment approach in the residential community.

Now that we have presented our cultural and social-structural analysis of a group of deviant boys, we may rightly ask if it sheds any light upon the theory of deviant subcultures. This question and the implications of this study for a unified, concurrent program of individual and social treatment are considered in the final chapter.

[1] Sykes, Gresham M., *The Society of Captives:* A Study of a Maximum Security Prison. Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J., 1958, p. 134.

11. New Perspectives on Subcultural Deviancy and Treatment

A LAST CHAPTER, like the last act in a drama, regathers the subject material for a summation and justification of the author's hypothesis. Speculative answers to questions raised by the venture vie with fresh queries about further research. A last glimpse, like the parting of good friends, looks forward as well as back.

Before embarking on the treatment implications of this study, it might prove useful to review the territory covered. From the very outset we have been concerned with the boys' actual behavior. The writer remained backstage in Cottage 6 for eight months, observing alternately from the wings and center of the stage deviant social patterns. It was not long before he realized how important the boys were to each other and to himself as critical objects of orientation.

In the cottage each boy gains status through interaction with his peers. The underlying mechanisms of social control—violence, scapegoating, ranking, and manipulation—are patterned into roles which intermesh in a stable pecking order. The boys' deviant values are sustained by cottage relations. Peer orientations, which grow out of, and support, the pyramidal order and which diverge significantly from the values of the middle-class professional staff, have been described as *contemporaneous, authoritarian, defeatist*, and *malevolent*. Peer social exchange and expectations are institutionalized and taught to new members as the "law" of Cottage 6.

Deviancy persists within the cottage both because of the boys' manipulative-aggressive code and the gratification that the "big man" and the "con-man" derive from the exploitation of weaker

members. The boys' pecking order mediates the individual members' and cottage value systems; those orientations in the boys' hierarchy of values that are more organically related to their aggressive and exploitative roles in the cottage take precedence over, and come into sharp conflict with, the values promoted by the professional staff.

Our sociological perspective uncovered this informal but effective peer social organization embedded within the Hollymeade community. The inquiry was not directed toward identifying the boys' attributes that qualified them for the diverse roles in the cottage, but rather toward revealing the peer social structure itself "awaiting" incoming residents.

In setting the goal of residential treatment as the reintegration of the resident into the community, we must not forget that both sides of the transaction are important: individual resident and community. Whatever the boys' psychopathology, they must relate to social patterns made appropriate for them by the peer culture; individual boys who adjust to the cottage are in effect conforming to a deviant society in which destructive values and social patterns have been raised to a virtue and by which status can be achieved.

In focusing upon the boys' oppressive social system, however, there may be some danger of underestimating the diffusion of constructive staff values among the boys. Although residents may not easily translate staff values into their peer organization, this does not mean that they are uninfluenced by staff. Not all boys are fully absorbed by the peer organization; their values and social relations can be thought of as interdependent yet independently variable. This means that individual boys may be undergoing positive changes in their attitudes while participating fully in the negative social system in the cottage.

How can this be? The answer lies in the character of the peer social structure. The cottage organization entraps the boys in a network of social exchange from which it is difficult to escape. The "power" and the scapegoat, the ranker and the ranked, the con-man and his victim, all form an intense complementarity based not only upon an ongoing cultural heritage and staff ac-

commodation, but upon the boys' psychopathology as well. On arrival the individual youngster is confronted with an imposing cottage society and tradition. In adapting to his home-away-from-home, his life process becomes a segment of the total social pattern in the cottage and gives coherence and continuity to negative value patterns.

The cottage system is not a self-sustaining island, of course, but powerfully dependent upon the institution. It fulfills a function similar to that of the gang structure in the city:

> When a society does not make adequate preparation, formal or otherwise, for the induction of its adolescents to the adult status, equivalent forms of behavior rise spontaneously among adolescents themselves, reinforced by their own group structure, which seemingly provides the same psychological content and function as the more formalized rituals found in other societies. This the gang structure appears to do in American society.[1]

While the professional staff are preoccupied with changing individual boys' values and personality structures, the cottage social organization subverts their efforts. A stable pattern of accommodation emerges between the cottage staff and boys, on one hand, and, on the other, between the professional and non-professional child care staff. These systems cooperate implicitly to sustain the boys' organization in the cottage. The tough aggressive peer leader in the community covertly receives recognition not only from the cottage staff but from the removed professional group as well. Thus, Steve Davis received the highest award Hollymeade confers upon any youngster for meritorious community service. But Steve Davis also retained tight autocratic control of the cottage until the day he left. Thus, the tough leader effectively segregates his social practice in the cottage and the institution.

Contrariwise, the low-status "bush" or "queer" is rejected not only in the cottage but also by the entire community. A "problem" in the cottage, he becomes a problem for the community as

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[1] Bloch, Herbert, and Arthur Niederhoffer, *The Gang*. Philosophical Library, New York, 1958, p. 17.

well. Tippy, Rabin, and Rick Kahn are prototypes of double failures both in the cottage and in the institution. This is not to say that the staff fall in completely with the boys' orientations and systems of social relations, but widespread accommodation to the negative aspects of the peer culture does persist in the institution.

Not all the cottages on the Hollymeade campus share the same cultural and structural mold as Cottage 6. The middle-class academic and passive youngsters in Cottage 5, for example, are more identified with staff value-orientations than the Cottage 6 boys. Cottages 5 and 6 are closely interrelated by an intake policy in which tough, aggressive, nonacademic youngsters are funneled into Cottage 6 and steered away from "5." The staff's accommodation to, and inability to change, the authoritarian structure in Cottage 6, which they have helped to foster by the intake policy, results in the boys' feelings of abandonment to it. Periodic reforms do not suppress permanently the oppressive peer social structure that weathers each crisis.

Thus, the deviant subculture persists in the institution because of the short-range need of collective control. The institution deploys unskilled personnel to the boys' daily living situation and social workers and psychiatrists to individual treatment sessions. Modeled after classical psychoanalysis, the chief treatment unit is the individual youngster. The decline in community focus at Hollymeade can also be related to the general decline of community feeling among middle-class professionals everywhere. It is hoped that as each boy is treated, he will contribute to the therapeutic milieu in the cottage and institution. The specific peer relations and staff accommodation that inhibit the translation of individual treatment into constructive cottage social practices have been fully presented in the previous chapters and need not be repeated here.

The main purpose of this study has been to present a sociocultural analysis of collective adolescent deviancy within an institutional setting. The reader will recall that in the first chapter several theories of deviant subcultures were presented. In this final chapter we compare our findings with those of other studies

so that our work can be related to the cumulative construction of a more adequate theory of delinquent subcultures.

THE LATENT GAP IN DEVIANT SUBCULTURE THEORY

We have emphasized in our analysis the specific scheme of social relations among the toughest boys at Hollymeade. If the human animal is to so great an extent a product of his social environment, then the social organism which the boys create and adapt to is as important as any social system external to it. The internal social structure, to be sure, is a product of values generated in the boys' families, neighborhoods, and communities. But once the boys create an organization within the institution, it becomes a fundamental cause of the emergence, internalization, and maintenance of deviant values.

When we turn to deviant subculture theory, however, a curious latent gap is revealed. Each theorist alludes to the social structure of the deviant subculture, but then promptly forgets about integrating it into his theory. Two reasons for the social structure of delinquent boys not being systematically related to the boys' deviant value system are: (1) investigators for the most part stress the relationship between the deviant subculture and the external cultural and social system: working-class, middle-class, or community milieu; and (2) the total workings of delinquent boys' internal social systems have never been thoroughly and systematically analyzed.

But we pointedly ask again: why is it that the feature of deviant subculture that impressed this participant observer the most, namely, the social impact of the boys' own structured relations, is so understressed in theory? Why the gap and why is so much of the present study focused on this issue?

The answer lies in the relationship of the observer to the deviant collectivity. This observer was immersed in the cottage, and not unlike any peer newcomer, had to evolve a *modus vivendi* for surviving in the peer culture. He was concerned not only with the boys' attitudes but their concrete social relations with him. He was forced to address his attention to the boys' evolving rela-

tions and his relationship to them; this very practical considera-
tion was turned into a theoretical issue of first importance. Those
theoreticians more removed from the boys' actual scenes of opera-
tions are in contact with the derivatives of the boys' social prac-
tice—their attitudes and values—rather than the impact of their
actual interpersonal relations.

Any individual—staff or adolescent—who becomes intimately
related to the boys is confronted with their social structure and
much of his emotional life becomes centered about the problem
of his position in the group; all the group members are just as
preoccupied with their statuses. This raises in sharp relief the ex-
tent to which previous investigators have penetrated the social
structure of the deviant collectivity and have understood its
crucial role in the delinquent subculture. The perspective
changes radically for the observer who interviews the boys indi-
vidually or sporadically observes delinquent acts as against the
observer who must become part and parcel of the boys' collective
daily living existence.[1]

The peer social structure provides the stability for deviant
patterns of aggression, manipulation, and exploitation and an
appropriate negative value system. This internal system of peer
relations together with accommodating staff members promote
and maintain deviancy in the institution. New boys are inducted
into a structure of social relations that propel them into deviancy.

Staff and peer systems must be seen in a transactional perspec-
tive; each has its own internal system of relations in addition to
interacting with the other. The subcultural solution of delinquent
boys is not simply a reflection of the community milieu. To be
sure, the community affects the overall content of peer cultures
and their distinctive social structures, but the internal social
system which the boys evolve has an impact upon the Holly-
meade staff. What is in interaction here is not simply two di-
vergent value systems. This is not a sufficient factor in the per-
sistence of collective deviancy simply because values are not
enacted in a social vacuum.

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[1] A comparable experience has been reported to the author by Irving Karp, who
has spent considerable time in the cottages at Hollymeade as a participant observer.

At Hollymeade we have found the peer social system to be the critical intervening factor in the persistence of the deviant ideology. Inductees to the peer social organization do not have to solve anew problems in a process that has been called a "conversation of gestures"; rather, they are initiated into the social structure by the old residents. Older adolescents vie with the staff as the major socializing influence in the cottages at Hollymeade. The general literature leads us to believe that much of the same process goes on in the neighborhoods of large cities. Out of the structured peer exchange and its interaction with adults in the community evolves a cultural structure of justificatory beliefs and values by which the internal structure of peer social relations is further stabilized. The community adapts to the peer social organization as does the latter to the community in a continuous process of interaction.

NEW PERSPECTIVES FOR RESIDENTIAL TREATMENT

This study sharply points up the specific need to overhaul the residents' living situation. If the goal of therapy is reintegration of the individual into a rational cooperative human community, then we must concentrate on the social relationships in which the resident is integrated as well as individual psychopathology. Is not this the real meaning of *residential* treatment? Can therapy be divorced from the boys' daily life?

The induction of a new treatment perspective into an organization entails three interdependent processes. The *ideational*, *organizational*, and *dynamic* dimensions of social change are adumbrated in the following queries:

What is the new perspective and its relation to the present treatment philosophy; what ills is it designed to cure; and what are its goals?

What structural changes in the table of organization must take place in order to carry out the new approach?

What are the dynamics of confrontation between the new perspective and organizational structure, and pathology to be modified?

SOCIAL DIAGNOSIS AND TREATMENT

It is our hypothesis that the residents' social organization sustains the negative anti-social attitudes and disordered emotional reactions with which the boys entered Hollymeade. The sociological perspective outlined here should be viewed as a complementary framework to the psychoanalytic orientation. Adherents of both viewpoints agree that wherever the balance of causes for the maintenance of the boys' pathology may lie, the process of becoming well entails participation in productive and cooperative social relations.

Although our major effort has been to detail the sources of pathology *within* the cottage social organization, we want to make clear that we do not view pathology as "residing" exclusively in this sphere of the boys' collective life space. Our preoccupation must be seen in the perspective of the total institutional process. In fact, in an investigation already under way, we are seeking to relate our sociological findings to other disciplines and to other areas of the boys' functioning, including a dynamic clinical assessment of the boys' personality systems.[1] We want to interconnect our findings with those of other scientists, perhaps deepen their perspective, and certainly continue our research into group pathology.

Thus, we do not view delinquency as lodged in the individual, cottage, or senior division but in all of these interdependent systems nested within each other and in transaction with the community. Viewing cottage life in this institutional perspective does not divest us of the responsibility of asserting where more emphasis should be placed in the treatment process.

It is our contention that all the therapeutic talk and insight in the world are not sufficient to change any youngster unless he changes his social practice. Inner growth does not come about in a social vacuum, but through the boys' behavior in the world about them. And the boys' social life experiences are powerfully

[1] Polsky, Howard W., Irving Karp, Irwin Berman, and Thelma Gordon, "Toward a General Theory of Residential Treatment: Conceptualizing and Observing Individual, Social, and Cultural Processes." Paper read at Eastern Regional Conference, Child Welfare League of America, April 20–22, 1961, New York.

dependent on the sociocultural milieu which they and the staff create in the cottage. We view personality growth as largely dependent upon the aggregate quality of the boys' and staff's social relations: the values and roles the cottage culture makes available to the resident members. Not everyone will be equally influenced by living in a more rational and cooperative peer culture, but it is difficult for us to see how anyone will be entirely unaffected.

The specific scheme Hollymeade is now projecting is to change the basic unit of treatment from the individual boy to the entire cottage and "move" the clinic into it. This changes the emphasis of treatment from rehabilitating individual youngsters to treating the cottage culture, and the individual within the social life process of all his peers. Does this violate the principle of individualization of treatment? On the contrary, it should increase the efficacy of psychotherapy because it will now mean treating the individual in his total living experience in the cottage and institution. Instead of caseworkers indiscriminately interviewing for forty-five minutes each week twenty boys, a clinical procedure could be devised that would be more selective, intensive, and integrated with the career of the boys in the cottage and institution.

In the institutional setting, however, it is not sufficient to plan for the individual alone. The formulation of cottage goals is a difficult but essential task facing the cottage clinical team. What collective goals should be set for the boys? In the areas of shared experiences, conflict should have a realistic rather than an irrational content. Empathic tolerance of differences and democratic sharing of responsibility and authority are important goals. Any significant trends toward domination, isolation, and regression should be modified.

Emotionally disturbed delinquents have little conviction about the meaning of their lives in the larger scheme of relationships of which they are a part.[1] The lack of identification with positive institutional and cottage ideals leads to a stultifying nihilistic approach to life. Often peer group loyalty and solidarity are

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[1] See Erik H. Erikson's discussion in *New Perspectives for Research on Juvenile Delinquency*, edited by Helen L. Witmer and Ruth Kotinsky, Children's Bureau Publication 356, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1956, pp. 1–23.

based on anti-social exploits and a negative orientation to the staff and its ideals.

The translation of personal insecurities into public issues, resolving them constructively in the group and yet retaining individual responsibility, is a dilemma not unique to Hollymeade boys; it is one that faces adolescents in all strata of our society. In short, the staff must help to motivate the boys toward goals, democratically pursued, which are realistic and meaningful: develop skills and positive attitudes toward work, overcome fears toward girls and sex, learn the meaning of cooperation, discover the joy of play, form a realistic orientation toward their families and cultivate a sense of personal identity. However utopian these ideals may sound, it is important for the staff to be clear about the goals each cottage should strive for.

ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE

How can this expanded focus from viewing pathology as residing in the intrapsychic recesses of the individual to conceptualizing the sociocultural matrices in which the individual functions be put into practice? As already indicated, an interdisciplinary team is now engaged at Hollymeade in analyzing how the boys' psychic predispositions articulate with the cottage culture and social structure. The theoretical integration of individual and social diagnoses and treatment is now being advanced by investigators like Erikson, Bateson, Jackson, Spiegel, and Ackerman. However, institutions will have to formulate the specifics of this new perspective as they put it into practice.

Planned social therapy can be secured at Hollymeade, however, only by making the organizational changes that will ensure the continuance of diagnosis and treatment of sociocultural pathology as well as psychopathology. The attendant staff's limited training, their isolation from the professionals, and the dense interaction with an organized deviant group result in roles that estrange them from the clinic and its philosophy. The clinicians, who are removed from daily intercourse with cottage life, have only very vague notions of their charges' functioning in this

setting and little interest in the planning of cottage routines, programs, and treatment. To maximize milieu therapy, the cottage professional and nonprofessional staff will have to work together beyond mere accommodation to the deviant social system to a point where they penetrate and change it. How can this orientation and method of working be aided by the staff's organization?

One course that Hollymeade has under consideration is placing a professional social worker in the cottage as its "director," who would bring together into one team the entire staff—professional and nonprofessional—to plan cottage and individual treatment. Individual boys and cottage life become an integrated concern for all staff members attached to the boys. In this scheme the social worker is intimately related to the cottage so that he can understand the boys in their natural habitat; and, in turn, he helps to educate the other team members in the psychodynamics of the boys.

Under consideration is another plan whereby a clinical group worker, who would also reside in the cottage, would work side by side with the cottage parents and relate psychodynamic findings to a diagnosis of the cottage situation. He would develop a program of social therapy with the cottage staff for influencing the peer culture in a desired direction.

A third plan being contemplated is the fusing of the three senior cottages, architecturally and psychologically, into three wings of one structure and placing the director and social workers in the "center" of cottage life, so to speak, to work with nonprofessionals in order to develop a detailed plan for social and individual therapy.

All these programs are designed to increase the importance of the boys' living situation and make it the "battleground" for a joint individual and sociocultural treatment assault. The real test of the seriousness of interest in introducing a new diagnostic and treatment perspective into the institution is reorganization that will ensure sufficient status and motivation of competent personnel to carry out cottagewide objectives in conjunction with individual treatment plans.

THE DYNAMICS OF CONFRONTATION

Our sociological perspective stresses the transactional character of human behavior. The reciprocity of human beings shaping their environment and simultaneously being shaped by it has been succinctly stated by Mowrer:

> . . . We exert our *effects* upon the world about us, and it is through conditioning that the world *affects* us. The normal person is in more or less continuous interaction with his environment, modifying it, being *effective*, but being in turn modified by it, *affected*.[1]

This is true not only of healthy but of sick people as well. If a youngster exploits the social order in which he finds himself and staff or peers accommodate to him, the social order itself becomes exploitative and frames the responses of all members. The infusion of new values and roles into the cottage culture mirrors the process we are now discussing of introducing a new perspective and structural change into the staff's table of organization. The overall goal is to move the boys into an orbit of collaboration in which (1) they can alone and with the staff constructively raise issues about their relations, work, school, recreation, girls, family; and (2) they can evolve social practices and an organization that can carry out the fruits of democratic discussion. When these criteria are met, the group can become a source of rational authority, new roles can develop, and productive values can form the bases of the group's activities.

But the core of the problem, how to change social systems, remains unanswered; how can boys with long histories of conflict in their basic interpersonal relations create a democratic, rational, and cooperative social order? How are aggressive, manipulative, and defeatist predispositions to be squared with the drastic limitations imposed by institutional living?

The inevitable conflict between institutional life and the boys' frustrated desires could become the generator for change, depending upon the philosophy which the staff impart in managing these situations. The peer culture issues which the cottage staff

[1] Mowrer, Orval, "Learning Theory and the Neurotic Paradox" in *Learning Theory and Personality Dynamics*. Ronald Press Co., New York, 1950, chap. 18, p. 521.

choose for treatment and the therapeutic management of such issues can become the social method by which the boys will manage their own internal relations.

Max Otto has formulated a method of resolving differences within and between small group systems which he calls "realistic idealism." The distinguishing marks of his method are the following:

> (1) An honest attempt to appreciate as fully as possible the conflicting aims as they appear to the protagonists. (2) The intuition of a new aim through which the underlying purposes at issue can be achieved although a specific form of those purposes is surrendered. (3) The embodiment of the new aim in a practical program.[1]

Through such a method immature adolescents may very well learn how to compromise, give and take rationally, and convert frustration into productive assets. Challenging the boys to resolve their problems through cooperation, helping them create a methodology for solution, and maintaining adult standards in the process are the crux of the cottage team's approach. We view re-motivation as constant confrontation with constructive alternatives and opportunities for their accomplishment.

We must be prepared to accept the principle, however, that a change in group practices may not by itself significantly change all boys with severe psychopathology. A "punk" who is also a paranoid may need individual treatment beyond the revamping of cottage standards and changing his role in the structure. The individual constitutes a "system" analogous to the peer society that lies embedded in the institutional community. How to integrate milieu therapy with individual treatment is one of the important goals which this transactional perspective has to conceptualize.

This discussion of a new social treatment perspective is manifestly incomplete and raises, perhaps, more questions than it resolves. But the overall logic of the approach should be clear. Vicious circles abound among the sick and those who live with them; we have suggested a procedure for breaking them by hav-

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[1] Otto, Max, *Science and the Moral Life*. Mentor Book, New American Library of World Literature, New York, 1949, p. 67.

ing the staff clarify for themselves how they want to relate to the boys and how the latter should to each other. Needless to say, this rational approach cannot succeed in the absence of genuine regard of the staff for their charges; it presumes such love, and implies that love, in the absence of rational give and take, that is, a cooperative social organization, turns into quite the opposite.

LOOKING BACKWARD AND FORWARD

The final footage of our study is almost unreeled. The description of a social experience in which one has been deeply involved with other human beings and has thought about for several years suddenly becomes an imposing responsibility, for it offers to total strangers a world of experience which they can share and evaluate.

Institutionalized adolescents are probably socialized more by their peers than any other young people in American society. Living together twenty-four hours a day, they have little respite from one another. When one boy is "acting out" against another, he is fulfilling needs traceable to his unique pathological history. But his outburst is publicly enacted and, together with peer spectators, he is institutionalizing a subculture—a world-within-a-world. He may be reducing intrapsychic tensions, but he is also setting in motion social and cultural processes to which he will also have to adapt. The dominating factor in the interactions between Chuck Small and Harry Werner of Hollymeade's Cottage 6, for example, was the former's deflation of the latter's status. In numberless transactions, Small was enacting aggressive impulses against an anxious middle-status psychopathic "punk." The punk's integrity was publicly shattered; the attacker's prestige was based on negative, anti-social values; and both precisely complemented each other's psychopathology.

But the articulation of two-person pathology is not the central point here. For this entire relationship is enacted in a cultural matrix. The acting out of Small and the withdrawal of Werner are segments of a group culture that influence other boys. Other peers' positions and values are affected by what is occurring between these two actors. Small's cohorts not only join in the intimi-

dation of Werner but consolidate their position by bullying other inferior members. Boys' positions at and below Werner's status are being fixed. These interpersonal processes are integrated into a manipulative-aggressive social structure. The cottage family does not become a sound emotional base from which the boys can develop relationships on new levels of maturity. On the contrary, the cottage system of relations becomes a major source of resistance to any attempt to change deviant orientations.

The fundamental task of the residential treatment center is not only to rehabilitate individual youngsters but to create a therapeutic youth culture; the latter mediates institutional values and exerts a profound influence upon each boy. Hollymeade needs—and other treatment centers should be mindful of this also—to train residential therapists to focus upon and develop the therapeutic milieu. Newcomers must adapt to a positive culture in the cottage about which the staff have gained cumulative knowledge as a result of experimentation with similar boys over the years. Boys leave; the cottage culture remains. Those boys endangering a nondeviant integration in the cottage should be handled more intensively in the cottage and in casework interviews, or perhaps they should be managed in separate settings. These are not insuperable problems if the staff are clear about the standards and social structure they desire the boys to adapt to while residents of Hollymeade.

To this end, we have suggested a complementary theoretical framework for diagnosing and treating socially and emotionally deprived boys, which is based upon our findings that the maintenance of their illness lies not solely in personalities but their collective social practice and peer culture.

. . . The true sorrow of humanity consists in this: not that the mind of man fails; but that the course and demands of action and of life so rarely correspond with the dignity and intensity of human desires; and hence, that which is slow to languish is too easily turned aside and abused.[1]

[1] Wordsworth, William, "Concerning the Relations of Great Britain, Spain and Portugal . . . Specifically as Affected by the Convention of Cintra" in *The Prose Works of William Wordsworth*, edited by Alexander B. Grosart. Edward Moxon, Son, and Co., London, 1876, vol. 1, p. 169.

Epilogue: Post-Hollymeade Adjustment

THE 28 BOYS IN COTTAGE 6 during the participant-observation study were at Hollymeade for varying lengths of time: 6, more than thirty months; 15, twenty to twenty-eight months; 6, fifteen to nineteen months; and one, approximately four months. In the summer of 1961 a follow-up survey was made by a Hollymeade social worker, Mr. Donald Tillman, assisted by Mrs. Frances Falk, a volunteer. What they found may prove of interest to the reader as an indication of the boys' gross community adjustment. With the exception of one, all the boys were discharged between February, 1957, and August, 1959, so that at least a two-year period had elapsed between discharge and follow-up.

Interviews were conducted with eight boys and the families of eight others. Prison authorities supplied information on four boys; the Army, on five; and out-of-town agencies, on five. In some cases, the boys' social workers kept us informed on their progress.

"Community-adjustment," the criterion for differentiating the boys, is defined here primarily in negative terms. Thus, a boy was considered "adjusted" to the community if at the time of the follow-up he was not in prison, a correctional institution, or a mental hospital; and if he had joined the Army, he was considered adjusted if not reported AWOL or dishonorably discharged. For the most part, the community-adjusted boys were gainfully employed or attending school, and had evolved a fairly stable family arrangement with either their parents or wives.

George Little is not included in the findings since we were unable to find anyone who had been in contact with him. Year-wood was intensively interviewed by the observer. He ran a

gambling game and skirted the rackets underworld, but was never apprehended. He is not included in the group reported on below.

COMMUNITY-ADJUSTED AND DEVIANT OUTCOMES BY COTTAGE STATUS

Status	Boys	Number of deviants	Total
High	Drake, Steve Davis, Ellins, Wolf, Little[a], Parma, Red Leon, Foster	0	7
Middle-mobile	Little Davis, Parker, Small[b], Miles, Yearwood[a]	1	4
Middle-static	Kranz[b], Lane, Stein, Werner[b]	2	4
Low-mobile	Colorado[b], Gray[b], Strange[b], Dane	3	4
Low-static	Chase, Kahn, Tippy[b], Mavis, Petane[b], Rabin[b], Wood	3	7
	Total	9	26

The five deviant boys in low-static and middle-static groups were hospitalized or reinstitutionalized. The other deviants in mobile categories were in jail.

[a] Excluded from the follow-up survey.

[b] Deviant.

We do not know the extent of unofficial deviancy of the remaining 26 boys about whom we have only general knowledge. Seventeen fall into the community-adjusted group and nine into the deviant group. Of the latter, four were in jail and five in mental hospitals; one had been returned to Hollymeade and one was AWOL from the Army. (Two had been both in jail and in a mental hospital.)

The seventeen who were "adjusted" maintained themselves in the community. For these boys, there were periods of unemployment and difficulties finding and maintaining a job, but they were fairly consistently employed. Chase, Kahn, Ellins, Stein, Red Leon, and Miles were or had been in the military service. Wood worked at different jobs in the printing industry. Nate Lane, who was engaged in metalwork and carpentry, shifted jobs every six months. Al Dane secured a job as a baker in a hospital near his home. Lenny Wolf first worked in a department store, then entered an agricultural school. Drake worked as a salesman, laborer, and painter. Foster worked in a printing shop, and Parma and Steve Davis were construction workers. Steve Davis'

brother, Little Davis, was an apprentice plumber, and Mavis a stockroom clerk in an Atlantic and Pacific store. Al Parker traveled around the country for a year and a half after dropping out of school but was able to maintain himself. Those who had returned to school but were unsuccessful include Stein, Parker, and Drake. Steve Davis, Lane, Drake, Stein, Foster, and Red Leon had married.

On the whole, the community-adjusted group returned to their family of orientation, either living at home or near it. They had been unable to maintain themselves as family members prior to entering Hollymeade but apparently succeeded after discharge. Of course, at the time of follow-up they were two or three years older and were wage-earners. Contacts with nonfamily groups and institutions and jobs were at a minimum.

Of the nine in the deviant group six were in jail: Strange, Petane, Small, Tippy, Kranz, and Colorado. The last named was apprehended with two other boys in the act of robbing a house and was sent to a state reformatory for three years. Strange had been sentenced to Elmira for a maximum of five years for third-degree armed robbery. The charge against Petane and Kranz was auto larceny. Small had been found guilty of possessing narcotics (he was also reported to be a male prostitute). Tippy had been sentenced to a three-year term for assault. Gray was reported as being AWOL from the Army.

The survey indicates that the families of both groups had pathological characteristics; however, the seventeen community-adjusted boys were able to maintain themselves in the familial environment after discharge. No doubt, securing and holding down a job played an important role here.

This report does not in any way assess the intrapsychic adjustment of either the deviant or nondeviant boys. However, severely disturbed boys who were extensively scapegoated—five of the "double failures," Tippy, Petane, Rabin, Kranz, and Werner—had been committed to mental institutions. No attempt, however, based on this small sample, is made to relate the social experience at Hollymeade to community adjustment. This epilogue merely highlights the direction taken by the boys two years after discharge.

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