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**D'Amato, John Joseph**

"WE COOL, THA'S WHY": A STUDY OF PERSONHOOD AND PLACE IN A  
CLASS OF HAWAIIAN SECOND GRADERS

*University of Hawaii*

PH.D. 1986

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"WE COOL, THA'S WHY": A STUDY OF PERSONHOOD  
AND PLACE IN A CLASS OF HAWAIIAN  
SECOND GRADERS

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE  
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OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY  
IN ANTHROPOLOGY  
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By

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Lastly, I doubt that this dissertation would have been produced without the aid of Kristina Inn. Nothing could make up for the hundreds of hours spent going over the same material, but it is to her and the children of the second grade that I dedicate this work.

## ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the phenomenon of "acting" in Hawaiian primary school classrooms. "Acting" refers to a beginning-of-the-schoolyear test which Hawaiian schoolchildren make of teachers. The dissertation takes the position that beginning-of-the-year tests of teachers are related to the political premises of schooling. It argues that whether a teacher succeeds in school tests depends upon whether she presents herself in ways consistent with her students' values and whether she attempts to institute a classroom routine consistent with the structure and dynamics of her students' peer relationships.

The work relates the phenomenon of "acting" to the organization of interaction in Hawaiian social networks and to Hawaiian children's socialization to those networks. It argues that the rite of passage to which Hawaiian children subject teachers is a version of the rite of passage which they themselves have experienced in acquiring the status of culturally worthy individuals.

The work also relates the phenomenon of "acting" to Hawaiian schoolchildren's peer group structures. It argues that Hawaiian children's values and social dynamics are no less problematic for the children than they are for teachers. It argues further that the structures of relationship created by Hawaiian children at school both promote certain social dynamics and render those dynamics controllable.

Lastly, the dissertation takes the position that classroom social structures which enable teachers to manage instruction with Hawaiian children also create and render controllable social dynamics consistent with the children's values.

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CHAPTER 1  
INTRODUCTION

Among the many concerns of human beings is that of holding a place in society. Holding a place in society does not involve simply acquiring an occupation, credential, or some other title, or becoming a member of some social group or category. Social statuses are easy things to come by; in fact, they are quite unavoidable. Holding a place in society instead means counting for something in the circle of people that one knows. It means being accepted by others and enjoying a certain measure of affection and respect from them owing to one's qualities as a human being, that is to say, owing to one's personal capacity to act in socially valued ways.

Place does not come easily. It is not given freely, and it is never secure. Even place in a family can be lost, or never won, and for most of us, the measure of our place in society changes frequently and often quite dramatically, our "name," "face," "reputation," and the like now bringing us enormous pleasures, now some of the sharpest of pangs. Place in society is both something that must be won and something that can only be given. It must be won by means of actions framed in terms of and comparing favorably with certain shared notions of how people ought to behave, of what people ought to be like. These notions amount to a collective idea of personhood, of the characteristics of worthy members of society, and are constitutive of the

individual member's perception of the environing social world. They are at the root of the individual's understanding of what others are like and of what he or she must be like, or seem to be like, in order to gain a place among them (cf. Bendix 1970; Goffman 1961, 1968).

But a person's claims to social worthiness have no reality until and unless they are recognized and accepted by others. It is the reaction of others that finally determines whether a person has a place in society or not, and here a primary consideration is the impact that an individual's claims have upon those of others for they, too, have places in society to create and to protect. There is thus a political as well as performative side to gaining a place in society and a double significance to notions of personhood. Gaining a place in society requires not only that a person claim a valued identity and back up that claim by means of action, but also that the person adapt his or her claims to those of others, sustaining, even boosting or defending their claims, and above all acting with them to defend the legitimacy of the grounds on which claims to worthy identities are made. Congruently, notions of personhood have not only an individual significance, as ideals that people may try to live up to simply for the sake of trying to live up to them, but also a social significance, as frameworks used by people in working out place among themselves: in making claims and counterclaims, judgments and determinations in an inherently risky, uncertain, and dynamic process of adjusting to one another, newcomers, outsiders, and changing circumstances. In our efforts to count for something in society, we fashion ourselves in

terms of the models defining personhood among us and trade expressions of who we are with our fellows in the hope of being accorded a place among them.

This work is about issues of personhood and place among the teachers and especially the children of an experimental elementary school. Fieldwork at this school began in September of 1979. By this time, the school had already achieved its goal of developing a reading curriculum effective with Hawaiian children. Within a week of the beginning of fieldwork, however, a spectacularly unsuccessful lesson occurred in the second grade classroom. It turned out that this lesson was symbolic of the classroom interactional problems that the school had had to surmount in developing an effective reading curriculum, and representative, too, of problems that teachers were continuing to encounter both in taking on classrooms of Hawaiian children for the first time and in establishing relationships with new classes of children. The first question raised by this lesson was simply, why? What was responsible for the problems that had developed between the teacher and the children? Secondly, how had the school solved these problems in its successful reading curriculum, and why did the school's solutions work? Thirdly, why did some version of these problems nevertheless persist, particularly in beginning-of-the-schoolyear interactions between the teachers and the children? Answers to these questions were sought in two ways: by studying the context of Hawaiian children's behavior, both at school and at home; and by studying the institutional context of teachers' actions. Four years of research were spent on these lines of inquiry, two at the school itself and two

in a middle to low income primarily Hawaiian community. The school-based research focused upon the cohort of children involved in the original failed lesson and upon the teachers of these children. The community-based research focused upon one Hawaiian household and relationships among household members, their kin and friends.

As inquiry progressed, the ideas of personhood and place began to assume more and more importance for they were involved at all levels of the phenomena being studied. Systematic differences between the teachers' and the children's notions of personhood and ways of organizing place were at the root of the more severe problems they were experiencing with one another in adjusting to the framework of the classroom and in organizing activities within it. That these problems had the potential for developing into sustained conflicts, had largely to do with the teachers' and children's unquestioned commitment to establishing and maintaining credible identities within their respective peer groups. This interest drove situations for the teachers and children, keeping them locked in conflict even when, for both, the experience was extremely punitive. This same interest, however, also played a role in solving the teachers' and children's conflicts. Schools bring together people who are strangers to one another, expecting them to become intimates of one another in the classroom. The teachers and children were ultimately less concerned with remaining locked in conflict than they were with finding a game of classroom identity that they could all play. The teachers' and children's efforts at establishing credible identities with one another and with their peers thus had implications not only for processes of

conflict but for ones of rapprochement. Indeed, the grand enterprise of educational research and development at the school was in many ways riding upon the humble shoulders of the teachers' and children's interest of being worthy players of their roles in the dramas of the classroom, the playground, the staff lounge.

The purpose of this work is to report the ethnographic and analytic findings of the inquiry process set in motion in 1979 by the classroom riot in the second grade. In effect, the purpose of the work is to tell the story of educational research and development at the experimental school by means of interpreting the experiences of one cohort of children and their teachers from the perspective of the ideas of personhood and place. The dissertation will begin by introducing the school that was the site of the research and by recounting the lesson that prompted the research. A framework will be established for thinking about the lesson, and the contexts of meaning underlying the lesson will then be examined. The dissertation will conclude with an account of the process through which the second graders arrived at productive relationships in the following schoolyear with their third grade teachers. Throughout the dissertation, the preference of this author will be to stay as close as possible to the flow of face-to-face interaction. Most of the assumptions and conclusions of this work will be familiar to anyone acquainted with the ethnography of minority education. The distinctiveness of the work lies in its focus upon one class of children over a two-year period, in its emphasis upon the dynamics of interaction, and in its ethnographic as well as analytic interest in everyday school scenes and events. In many ways, the

interpretations and analyses presented in this dissertation are no more than narrative devices for supporting a retelling of those schoolday events which so captivated this ethnographer during the time that it was his pleasure to be connected with Ka Na'i Pono School, its doings, and its people.

PART I: ELLEN'S SOCIAL STUDIES LESSON

CHAPTER 2  
SCHOOLDAYS

Ka Na'i Pono Elementary School is a four classroom, kindergarten through third grade school operated as an educational laboratory by KEEP, the Kamehameha Early Education Program.<sup>1</sup> KEEP was established in 1971 by the Bishop Estate, a trust created in the late 19th century for the education of Hawaiian children. One of the richest private educational trusts in the nation, the primary purpose of the Bishop Estate is to fund the Kamehameha School, an elite private school for Hawaiian boys and girls of elementary through high school ages. KEEP was established in response to the fact that low income Hawaiian children in public schools score so poorly on standardized achievement tests of reading. Scores below the thirtieth percentile are common through the third grade and may drop below the twentieth percentile by the fifth grade (Klein 1980). The founding purpose of KEEP was to develop a reading curriculum, usable in public schools, that would enable Hawaiian children who had average IQs and were from low income families to reach national norm levels on standardized tests. To that end, a staff of educators and researchers of diverse backgrounds was assembled, and Ka Na'i Pono School was constructed. Each year, KEEP solicits applications to the school from parents whose income consists

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<sup>1</sup>The ethnographic present in this work are the years, 1979 to 1981.



wholly or partly in public assistance, and whose children would otherwise be entering kindergarten in public schools in the generally low income, urban neighborhood environing the school. Twenty to twenty-five kindergarten children are recruited in this way. Except in a few cases, these children are all part-Hawaiian. Applications are also solicited from parents of children who are not granted admission to Kamehameha School. In all, thirty kindergarten children are accepted each year, the makeup of the class designed to provide a strong test for the teaching system being developed for "educationally at risk" Hawaiian children (Klein 1981). Replacement of departing students occurs very rarely so that the size of each class is diminished by one or two students a year through kindergarten, first, second, and third grades. There are usually between 105 and 110 children enrolled at the school.

Despite the unusual purposes and personnel of Ka Na'i Pono School, the rhythms of the school for the teachers and children are much like those of any school anywhere. For the teachers and children, school means the schoolday first of all, for the schoolday is the longest continuous period of time during which they are required to be present at the school. The schoolday starts at 8:00 A.M., but the teachers and children begin to arrive thirty to forty-five minutes before that. One of the strongest and most stable images of the schoolday is the sight of the teachers and children getting ready to start the day. The teachers are a brisk bustle of activity in the morning, smiling the 'have a nice day,' 'happy face' smiles of the stickers with which they sometimes reward the children, but slipping a little edge of authority

into their faces and otherwise all business as they set about preparing for class. The children are mainly a chaos of shouted greetings, conversation, and laughter. Here and there are dark faces, hinting at sleepiness or some trouble brought to school, and often there is angry talk and occasionally a scuffle over something that has happened on the bus. But it is the greetings of the children that set the tone of their arrival. Hawaiians as a rule attach great significance to greetings. A robust greeting stands for a vigorous social personality and a healthy relationship. A greeting from which warmth has been withheld is a sign that one does not care for another's company and is therefore a snub. Each morning, most of the children greet one another with exuberance, each friend a 'best' friend who has been sorely missed.

Once school gets underway formally at 8:00 A.M., it rolls on steadily till 2:30 P.M. For the children, this stretch of time is an unbroken flow of involuntary activities organized and supervised by adults. Except for the naps of the kindergartners and first graders, school holds no periods of inactivity for the children or of freedom from the supervision of adults. Lunch, recess, and periods of transition in the classroom, however, do provide some release from the framework of the lesson for a class as do the bathroom and sickroom for individual children. For the teachers, the schoolday is a workday consisting primarily in a flow of activities with the children that they "go into" and "come out of." At Ka Na'i Pono, a team teaching system is used. Two teachers are assigned to a class for the entire year, one to teach reading, the other to teach the "content areas"--

math, science, and other topics. Sometimes a subject like Hawaiiana or music is taught by a specialist or "special." Each of the regular teachers is usually in the classroom for two and a half hours at a time, spending most of the rest of the day preparing for the next day, attending meetings, participating in research, or talking about schoolday events. The teachers also sometimes handle recess, lunch, and bus duty, but these responsibilities circulate mainly among the teacher aides, some of the clerks, and other staff, who also do emergency substitute teacher duty. While direct participation in the flow of events with the children is formally limited in these ways to the teachers and their supporting cast, all of the adults have the opportunity to watch the classrooms from an observation deck. It is not at all uncommon to find two or three people on the observation deck, looking into the classrooms and commenting on what they see.

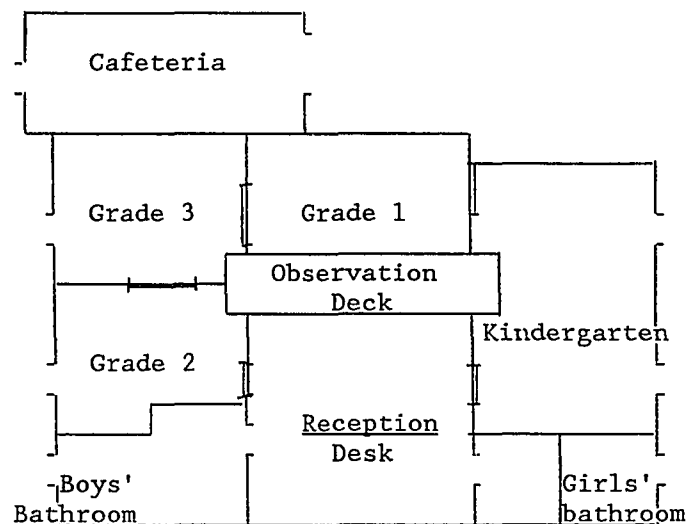


Figure 1

The Main Ka Na'i Pono School Building

The schoolday of Ka Na'i Pono, like the workday of any institution, is a molar unit of time defined by the school itself. Schooldays combine to form "schoolweeks," "schoolterms," and "schoolyears;" and the schoolday is further broken down into a daily schedule of reading lessons, math and other content areas lessons, and nonacademic events like lunch and recess. These activities, in turn, are defined either through the curricula used by the teachers or through administrative action in the case of the nonacademic events. Reading lessons have received the most formalization. The reading portion of the day, also called "centers" by the teachers and children, is conducted in a small group format. It consists in an introductory period, during which the teacher describes some of the work to be done, and six twenty-minute reading periods or "centers." The word, "center," also refers to locations in the classroom--usually clusters of tables--at which learning tasks are performed. During a center period, the teacher works on a story or some other material with a reading group of three to seven children at Center 1, the center for direct instruction, while the rest of the children work independently at the other learning centers in the classroom. At the end of a center period, the children move to the next center on the basis of individual schedules carried by them in folders. While math, science, and other lessons are not nearly so formalized, they, too, involve some well-defined work routines. Together, the school's definitions of time and of activities amount to a model, and in some ways an extremely detailed model, of what the schoolday is supposed to look like.

The experience of the schoolday for the teachers and children, however, is very different from the model of the schoolday. As Goffman (1959) or Garfinkel (1967) might suggest, the teachers and the children are very much in the position of actors in an improvisational theater troupe. Each morning they address the day knowing that they have a show to put on, a drama called "the schoolday" to perform. The model of the schoolday gives them a sense of script, of what they are supposed to do during the day, of what the day is supposed to look like, but none of their parts is written. They launch into the schoolday blind, knowing what is supposed to happen next but never sure what will, and including in the things they say and do, things they need to say and do in order to make features of the schoolday happen. "Better clean up, center's almost over," a teacher will say, looking ahead to alert the children to the fact that the twenty minute timer is about to ring and to prepare them for center change, the next feature of the show. "You not at Center 1," one child will say to another who is out of place after a center change. Using the schoolday agenda, the teachers and children work their way through the performance every day, recreating the typical features of schoolday settings as they go along.

The features of the schoolday are not recreated merely for the sake of recreating the schoolday agenda, however, for the teachers and children possess interests beyond those with which that agenda endows teacher and student types. The children are not only students but Brent, and Toby, and April. Each knows who is a friend and who an enemy, each has ideas of self to advance by means of performances, and

each knows the standards used by the peers in framing and evaluating performances. Imbedded in a network of relationships with many other children, two teachers, and some other adults as well, each child wants to make a good showing as a person and knows what will count and what will not. The teachers, too, are imbedded in networks of relationships and also have ideas of themselves to portray in their interactions. Their peer group also has a code that is used in framing and evaluating performances, and recognition is no less important for the teachers than it is for the children. For the sake of winning acceptance and respect from children and peers, to say nothing of insuring their careers, the teachers, too, want to give performances reflecting creditably upon themselves as individual human beings. During the schoolday, then, the teachers and children play to multiple audiences for multiple ends. The schoolday schedule does not make for a drama that stands on its own but rather provides many scenarios used by teachers and children in acting upon concerns basic to them as social beings.

Always as a schoolday progresses, it acquires a certain emotional feel and storyline. Teachers will say that they are having a "good day" or a "bad day," or that the class is, or that some child in the class is, and in explanation give a summary of how things have gone so far. Sometimes suspense and uncertainty are almost palpable as events build or seem to build towards one or another climax in the affairs of the children and teachers. The mood of a day will persist or change, and eventually the schoolday as a whole will turn out to have been good or bad, to have involved a "terrible morning" and a "super afternoon,"

or to have been a "pretty hard" day for some child but a "pretty good" one for the class as a whole. The children use terms similar to those of the teachers and will also call a day "good" or "junk" and be able to give an account of the storyline as it is developing or as it has played itself out. By day's end, the schoolday has become a personal experience for the children and teachers alike, a pool of time that has built up in each of them over the course of the day and upon which each now floats, usually tired, sometimes content, sometimes unhappy.

When the teachers and children smile their smiles and call out their greetings in the morning, then, they are stepping into their parts in the schoolday drama, trying to be the people they think they have to be to make it successfully through the day. The smiles say, "Here I am, a consummately professional teacher in control of herself and the situation," and the greetings, "Eh, try look, brah! I ready! I ready!" Behind the smiles and the greetings, the teachers and children know what is supposed to happen during the day, what can happen, and what they want to happen. At least as much as anything else, each wants simply to do a creditable performance, to have in his or her own way so ungrand a thing as a "good day." What is actually going to happen during a day, however, is always finally anybody's guess.

In the 1979 to 1980 schoolyear, with no class was the schoolday more uncertain than with the second grade. Ellen Thayer, a student teacher, was assigned to this class. In an early encounter between Ellen and the second graders there would unfold the sorts of problems

which, year after year, have made schooldays bad and education difficult for Hawaiian children and their teachers. It was just these problems which KEEP had been established to remedy.



## CHAPTER 3

## ELLEN'S SOCIAL STUDIES LESSON

But a common language is not enough to make a common speech community.

Dell Hymes 1972:liv

For the first semester of the 1979-1980 schoolyear, the regular teachers for the second grade were Kawai Akau, the reading teacher, and Lily Wong, the content areas teacher. Ellen Thayer was assigned to assist these teachers.

All of the children at Ka Na'i Pono were said to be "great testers" of teachers, but the unanimous opinion was that the second graders were the greatest testers at the school that year and among the greatest of any year. They were mostly very likable, warm, and affectionate children, particularly when one dealt with them a few at a time outside the classroom. In the classroom, however, they could and had thrown chairs and other things at one another in the course of boisterous mutinies and had shown themselves capable of the appropriate use of very strong language, not only with classmates but also with teachers.

Irene and Lois, the children's first grade teachers, had had major difficulties with the class despite the fact that both were highly seasoned and well-qualified teachers. Irene had already had three years' experience in teaching Hawaiian children at Ka Na'i Pono when

she was assigned to the class. Looking back on the experience, she said that:

In most classes you have a rough point at the beginning of the year. You have to get them managed and organized, and then though you get to the point where you feel like, oh, everything is really nice and flying and the kids are behaving well and everything. But I remember Lois and I would talk about these kids after school from the beginning of school to the end of school. I remember in April we were talking about them and we kind of laughed and we said, God, it just never ends, does it, with these kids. So it's just with that class I remember that uh one of my biggest memories was that it just never settled down so that I felt real confident and comfortable.

For Lois, the experience had been much more unsettling. For ten years in a mainland American city, this teacher had taught an "inner city" population of children. She had then come to Hawai'i, teaching half a year at a public school serving mainly a middle class district before going to work at Ka Na'i Pono. At Ka Na'i Pono, Lois was initially assigned as the reading teacher for the first grade. In view of her experience, it was felt that through consultation with Irene and full-time reading consultants, Lois would soon be able to master KEEP's reading program. Master it she did, but not that year. After a brief honeymoon, the children had made her life miserable.

I taught for three days in the morning. The first two days were fine, the kids were just really good. The third day, Jamie, Manuia, Toby, and somebody else, those four began to show signs of not cooperating at all. You know, I'd-I'd ask them to do something and they'd just sit down and refuse to do it. That was the third day. Okay, then Helen, Patty and Irene [Helen and Patty were reading consultants] began consulting heavily at that point. And I tried two more days of it, and it-each day it got progressively worse. And I mean it was just to the point where to me it was just totally intolerable and I think to anybody watching it was too. I mean, they wouldn't cooperate, they wouldn't do anything I asked them to do. And so what we did was . . . or what they [the administration] did was to say, okay, Irene is going to

go in and take the morning now. She will take the reading. And then uh Helen became my consultant and I was switched to the afternoon. So by the second week I was in the afternoon teaching instead of the morning.

By the second week I was a basket case. Literally. Partly because I had never experienced failure in the classroom. The other part was in the consulting process. . . . Unbeknownst [to the consultants] and unwittingly they stripped all the confidence I had. I mean they really did in-in-in the way they approached the whole thing. I just, I thought, you know, well I, you know, I couldn't do anything. You know, I was-I was a complete failure, I couldn't do anything. And of course that took me a long time to come back, and of course the worse the kids were the more failure I felt so the worse I figured I was as a teacher, you know, I mean it was compounded. So there is that factor involved. And I think the kids sensed . . . they could sense if you were in control or not. And when the subs came in, and I watched what happened, I mean they knew exactly who was in control, and like with subs-hehhehheh, it was them and they knew it. If the sub didn't act in certain ways then they knew they were in control. And I acted like I didn't know what I was doing, and so they figured they were in control, and they were to a certain extent till I got my act together. [. . .]

I'd go home in tears every day. It would be a good day if I didn't cry hehheh. Oh yeah I'd cry. In class I used to get big tears in my eyes just from frustration. And uh at 2:30 when they left I-I could see-feel myself just physically shaking . . . . As a teacher I had to work to like the group as a whole because at that point I hated every one of them hehhehheh I mean . . . there were many times like I told you that I used to go into the bathroom and vomit before I walked into the classroom. . . . I was so uptight about that group. I mean I've never ever ever had a group like it . . . . They were an interesting group and I really grew to appreciate them. But they had-there were so many inter conflicts that it-it-it controlled their life lots of times, you know . . . Who did this and who did that, I mean, that was more important than-than the education and the reading and that. The social interplays took far more precedence. [. . .]

There was . . . constant inter fighting . . . . From the playground in there could be five fights within two minutes and you just didn't have enough hands, you know, to take care of them all. . . . There was so much antagonism at times that you couldn't get past that to do any teaching at all. . . . I had never seen children fight so much so violently. [. . .]

I'd say by March I felt like, you know, like I really had everything under control so that the last few months of school ran smoothly. However there was always a tentative-ness about it. Like you knew they had the potential to erupt.

During the first three weeks of the new schoolyear, Ellen did not attempt to handle the class on her own. But Ellen's contract was to run out in December, and by the fourth week it was felt that it was time for Ellen to try her hand at running a lesson. Accordingly, Ellen planned a two-day lesson in social studies to span Thursday and Friday afternoons. Her goals for the Thursday lesson were clear. She would introduce "communication" as the topic for the day and follow this up with teaching the children the meaning of the term: sending a message, receiving a message, and understanding a message. Her means for doing this were also clear. She would use a "grab bag" containing items to stimulate discussion; she would place the children in hypothetical situations in order to demonstrate and prompt the children to think about different means of communicating messages; and to insure that the children's interest remained high, she would involve them in an answering contest, the boys against the girls.

That was what was supposed to happen. What did happen was something else entirely as a videotape of the lesson shows. In an organized and systematic way, characteristic of the response of these and other children at the school to teachers with whom they have not yet established rapport, the second graders began to explore Ellen's capacity to control the class. The teachers call this phenomenon "testing." The children themselves call it "acting," while their parents refer to it as "acting up." There are fifteen other examples of the phenomenon available to me on videotape; additionally, I have witnessed another four dozen lessons in which the phenomenon occurred.

On this day, the phenomenon began in the way it always does--with the children setting a playful, joking mood.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>In the analysis that follows, transcript excerpts will occasionally be used. Their use will be kept to a minimum since they are rather confusing things to look at and are tedious to work through. But some use of excerpts will be unavoidable, and an explanation is therefore in order on how to interpret them.

In an attempt to preserve the flow of talk in the lesson, the transcript has been organized in terms of "strips" (a use which basically accords with Goffman's (1974) use of the term). A strip is all of the talk done in a five-second period. If all of the strips of a transcript were joined end-to-end, one would have a written version of some of the information contained on a strip of audiotape or videotape. Here is the first strip of the lesson:

---

:00	:05
	Claradine?
Science	Science
ROOOOO	
I know what that	
	Ahhhhhhhhhhhh

---

Each strip is organized in terms of lines in order to introduce separation among speakers. The top line is always reserved for the teacher's comments. The second line is reserved for talk done by a child to the teacher, but additional lines may also be used for this purpose where more than one child responds. The lines below the second line are otherwise used according to the temporal order of the children's comments. Thus, this first strip begins with a child saying the word, "Science." The child is trying to read the words Ellen has written on the blackboard. Overlapping that child's speech, another child barks, "ROOOOO." Overlapping the bark, a third child says, "I know what that." The teacher then calls on Claradine, whose hand is up, and Claradine responds with her idea about what the teacher has written, saying, "Science." Meanwhile, a fourth child has said, "Ahhhhhhhhhhhh."

Perhaps the easiest way to read a strip is to scan the teacher and student response lines, and then to glance at the other things said by the children, picking these up in their temporal order. Clearly, however, it is difficult if not impossible to understand what the talk of the teacher and children means without some idea of other setting features. These will occasionally be indicated in the excerpts themselves and will otherwise be described in the text.

Setting a playful mood: the first eleven minutes

Ellen wrote the words, "Social Studies," on the blackboard and turned to face the class. The children were seated at tables arranged singly or in pairs around the classroom. The children used these tables both as the locations of their assigned "homeroom seats" and as learning centers through which they circulated on individual schedules and at twenty-minute intervals during the schoolday's two hour language arts period. Since Ellen was going to teach the class as a group, the children sat at their homeroom seats. Those who sat in chairs facing away from the blackboard were expected to turn in order to be able to see Ellen. She stood at the front of the room.

---

Reference to comments will be made in terms of strip and line numbers. A strip's number is simply the time at which it begins, represented with a period instead of a colon. Thus, the number of the first strip of the lesson is 0.00 (i.e., this strip begins with the 00:00:00 second of the lesson.) If it were necessary to direct the reader's attention to the barking done by the child in this strip, he would be instructed to look at line 4, strip 0.00.

During the lesson, a child will talk to other children for more than five seconds. In order to preserve the sense of a child's comments as talk done by one speaker, the line on which a child begins to speak will ordinarily be the line on which he continues to speak in subsequent strips until he is finished speaking. The main concern, however, is to make the transcript as readable as possible by suggesting as many relationships as possible among the comments that the children make to one another and to the teacher. In the interest of serving this goal, it will be necessary occasionally to break some of the rules.

Very often, it will be possible to get an idea of the length of a pause by comparing a speaker's utterance to the time line at the top of a strip and to other comments. Ideally, of course, an inch of strip would represent some unit of time and no guessing would be involved. Unfortunately, the technology for a precise representation of conversation is not available at KEEP. Where it is necessary to indicate the length of a pause, the symbols, "/" and "/-" are used. "/" represents a full second plus or minus a quarter second; "/-" represents a half second plus or minus a quarter second. The symbol ":" is used to indicate a break in the voice. Underlining signifies a sing-song or in some other way unusual vocal pattern.

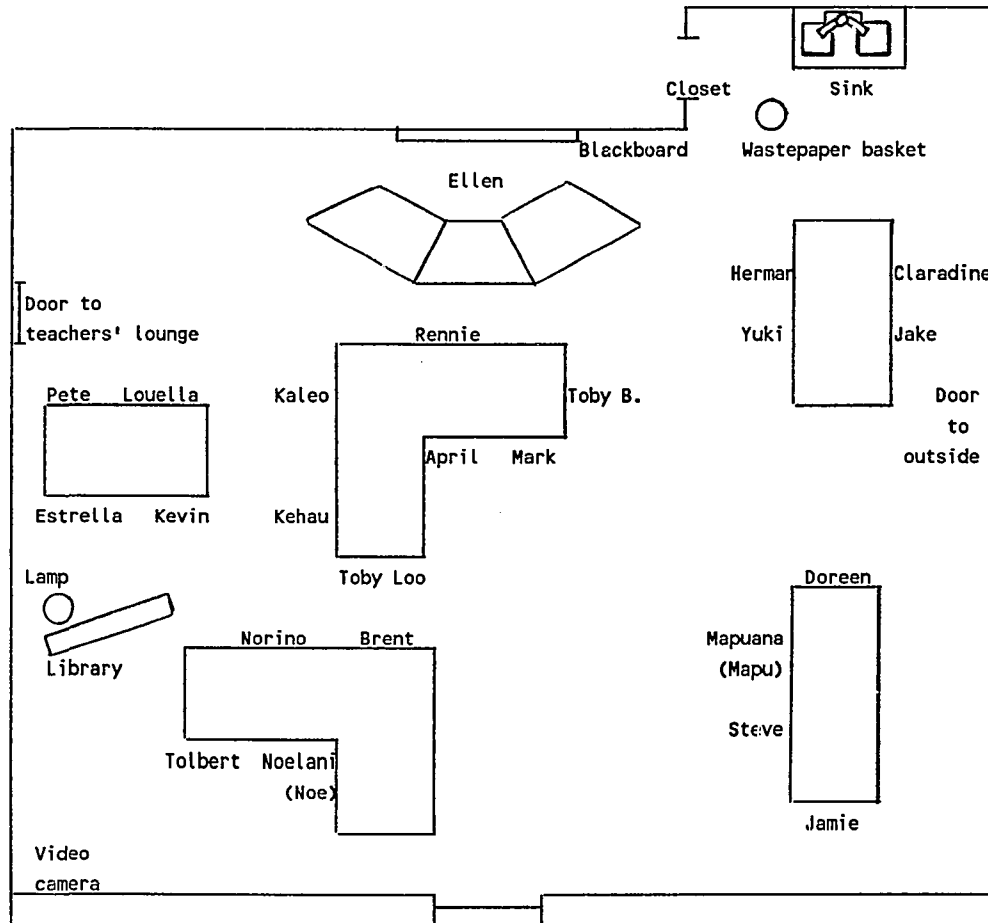


Figure 2

The Second Grade Classroom on the Day of the Social Studies Lesson

The children talked among themselves at their tables, but many had watched Ellen write "Social Studies" on the blackboard, and a few had read the words in a low voice. Speaking in a low voice herself so as not yet to demand attention from the rest of the class, Ellen recognized Claradine, whose hand was up. "Science," offered Claradine. Ellen shook her head approvingly at Claradine's attempt to read the words on the blackboard, smiled, and addressed the class:

---

:05 \_\_\_\_\_ :10

Hohh. Claradine was already up with her hand before I even asked any

BN (Background noise)-----

---

:15

questions/Could I have everyone's eyes right up here?

Shhh

S0cial SCIENCE

social science  
STUDIES

ROO ROOROROROROO

BN-----

---

science

social STUDIES

ROOROO ROOROROROO

BN-----

---



The barking (ROOROO) of strip 0.15 is an example of a phenomenon that always occurs at the beginning of lessons like this one. That phenomenon is simply noisemaking. The significance of noisemaking is that it adds to the general hubbub and cues the children in to one another's mood. Other examples include rapping a pencil on a table, using the furniture to produce sounds, saying words without any apparent significance, numbers, for example, and making verbal sound effects like "BANG," "BOOM," and "WHOOSH." The evidence that noisemaking is a form of "acting" includes the facts that the children themselves say that it is; that it often but by no means always is timed to occur when the teacher's attention is elsewhere, ceasing when the teacher notices the noise or turns her attention towards it; and that a child making this sort of noise often scans his classmates for their approval, smiling or giggling with them about it. Ellen watched and listened as a number of children disputed about the words she had written, some calling out "social studies," others, "social science." Using her chalk as a pointer, Ellen turned to the blackboard and indicated the beginning of the word, "Social." She then turned back to the class to ask the children to read the words in unison. The action of looking from the class to the blackboard and back again took about one and three quarter seconds to complete--not much time, but time enough for Herran to do a disappearing act.

---



---

:20

---



---

Could we read this all together? So: Social Studies.  
SO: CIAL STU: DIES (many)  
Not

social STUaies

YEEAAWWWWWWWW

ROORROORROO

(sound of coin bouncing on

BN-----

---

:25

---

We

HERMAN GET IN HERE  
table)-----  
BN-----

---

Claradine yelled "GET IN HERE" at Herman because he was standing in the doorway to the large walk-in closet near his desk, hiding from the teacher and smiling at those classmates he could see. Herman had darted into the closet when Ellen made her turn to the blackboard. In less than half a second after Ellen began turning, Herman began moving out of his chair. By the time Ellen turned back to the class, he was already behind her line of sight and nearing the doorway to the closet. He had entered it, turned around, and peeked out so that his classmates could see him. He had been standing in the closet for seven seconds when Claradine finally noticed him.

Herman's action is representative of one kind of action that the teachers have prominently in mind with the label, "testing," and the children with their idea of "acting." This action is characteristic of

initial events in the first phase of "testing the teacher" or of "acting." In other lessons, actions equivalent to Herman's include tossing items across the room, doing a slide into a place in a group assembled on the floor, playing tag in the classroom behind the teacher's back, bouncing the recess ball during a lesson, and so on. These kinds of actions are limited in number only by the children's creativity in discovering or devising new deviations from the teacher's largely undefined notion of what a classroom ought to look like. Some of the key features of these actions are that they all do represent departures from the way things are supposed to be, that they are all conspicuous, and that they usually begin occurring when the teacher's attention is elsewhere so that she encounters such actions as fais accomplis. The second point needs to be stressed for while accomplishing a disturbance of classroom order is an element of this sort of action, getting away with it unnoticed is not. In fact, the opposite is the case. Thus, the children will toss an eraser around from table to table until one of them is finally caught at it, or a child may smile and wait, as Herman did, for someone to notice what he or she has done. Hawaiians call behaving in this way being kolohe or "rascal" and laugh ruefully about it. The pattern of interaction initiated by a child's acting in this way includes notice of the child by his or her peers or by the teacher; restoration of classroom order, an often effortful and emotionally arousing task for the teacher; and some laughter, kidding, or teasing directed by the rest of the class at the child, the teacher, or the situation. The more comical or

outrageous the child's behavior has been, the greater is the laughter from classmates.

With the attention of the class focused upon him, Herman returned to his seat, a wide grin on his face, one acclamatory, "Haha Herrrmann," in the background.

Claradine's own behavior represents another sort of "acting" that begins early in lessons like this. This behavior does not represent a direct violation of classroom order but involves the exploitation of legitimate interactional turns. It is a kind of interactional play testing the limits not of what one may do in the classroom but of when and how one may do things, e.g., the volume, tone, and vocal patterns one may use in oral actions. Often during lessons, children attempt to control the behavior of their classmates; where their initiatives in this regard are constructive, teachers welcome, encourage, and exploit them. But Claradine's shouting at Herman brought the lesson to a complete stop and was in itself an addition to the general hubbub and uncertainty surrounding the teacher's control. Owing to its playful delivery, Claradine's initiative was supportive of Ellen in formal appearance but subversive in substance.

The opportunity for children to make legitimate initiatives and to play with these initiatives, however, is limited by the teacher-led format of lessons. Children have many more opportunities to respond to teachers than to make initiatives, and Hawaiian children's play with legitimate interactional turns occurs much more commonly in response slots. Indeed, their play with responses to teachers constitutes the

form of "acting" most commonly encountered by teachers. Mehan (1979) has proposed that teacher-led instruction is characterized by an initiative-reply-evaluation sequence begun and ended by the teacher; Ellen was trying to institute a question-answer-evaluation variant of this pattern in her own social studies lesson. Over the course of her lesson, she asked the children sixty-one questions; twenty-eight of these questions received one or more playful answers. Examples of Hawaiian children's play with response turns include long, loud, warbled and otherwise vocally modified responses, phonetic alteration of syllables for comic effect--e.g., the pronunciation of "community" as "communitenee"--, and tumultuous cheering, shouting, and other demonstrations when the opportunity arises to show enthusiasm--e.g., when the teacher produces a visual aid. In general, the children's play with both legitimate responses and initiatives features the exaggerated, almost burlesqued kinds of mischievous reactions which Hawaiians associate with "acting" as a way of teasing authority figures. Classroom interaction following children's play with interactional turns often involves some form of desist from the teacher and laughter or giggling shared by the children among themselves. Frequently, however, a desist does not occur. The fact that the children's play with legitimate interactional turns combines appropriate content with an inappropriate delivery makes this form of "acting" difficult for new teachers to comprehend let alone react to. A warbled "yes" in response to a yes or no question is still a "yes." When a new teacher receives this sort of response or hears a Claradine shout at a classmate about that classmate's behavior, the teacher knows

that something is wrong but often cannot say what it is or find a way of reacting to it.

Related to play with the delivery of actions is structural play with turn boundaries and other features of the timing of actions. In playing with a turn boundary, for example, a child may sustain a response like applause well beyond the boundary of its slot. Claradine and other children did this many times in Ellen's lesson, sometimes completely overlapping the next interactional turn. A pause may also become an object of play as shown by April during Ellen's next comments to the class.

"Thankyou, Herman, for going and sitting down," Ellen said against a background hum of conversation. "That's much better. As soon as I have all eyes up here, and I can see that everybody's really ready and waiting, we can see the next topic we're going to cover in social studies. See if you can sound it out along with me as I write it.  
Pete and Kevin [continues below]

---

0:55

1:00

---

Estrella/their all got their eyesss right up here  
so:cial stu:dies so:cial

---

studies

---

Ellen marked the pause, which lasted for about a second, with a rising intonation on the word, "right." As soon as Ellen hit the pause, April jumped into it with a rapid, clipped, and chant-like



claims to having performed well in the word reading exercise. Not only did Ellen get no volunteers to tell the meaning of the word; she had lost eye contact with virtually everyone in the class.

---

2:10

---

What does that lonngggg funny sounding word mean?  
 See I know what that word but nobody in this classroom know 'em. This  
 BN-----

---

:15

---

One at a time with your hands raised please. (Scans  
 whole classroom. Everybody  
 BN-----

---

the class) Oh man Hunh  
 went try but I not in this classroom. Wow brah you mother stay there  
 BN-----

---

Not right there.  
 right now. Yeah.  
 BN-----

---

A couple of children did have their hands up, but when Ellen called on them, they had no answers and withdrew their hands. For a full twenty-seven seconds after first asking for hands raised, Ellen stood watching the children and waiting for some response from them,



apparently at a loss for what to do next in the face of this complete loss of their attention.

While Ellen looked at the class, shook her head, and said, "Oh, man," a dispute occurred among April, Mark, and Yuki. This dispute is representative of a phenomenon of prime importance in the stages through which a class passes as it goes out of control. April, the girl who came up with the correct reading of "communication," boasted to Mark about the fact that she had been the only person in the whole class able to read the word. She concluded her boast with the remark, "but I not in this classroom," perhaps suggesting superiority to the other children. Mark, a tablemate, responded with the untrue assertion that April's mother was in the teachers' lounge adjoining the classroom and into which the children could see through a glass window set in the door. Mark's remark was probably a rejection both of April's boast and of her claim of not being a member of the class, and a warning to her not to lie in either connection. There was in any case a disputatious interaction, marked by April's use of the word, "Not" (Boggs 1978b), in her comment, "Not right there," and Mark's rejoinder, "Yeah." Yuki, a girl at a nearby table, had also participated in this dispute concerning April's boast. As April made the boast about being the only person in the class to recognize the word, "communication," Yuki looked at her, shook her head, and said, "Not."

About thirteen seconds later a teasing interaction occurred between Toby Loo and Brent. Brent found a small piece of paper on the floor and tossed it at Toby Loo, who sat at the table nearest his chair. Toby Loo picked up the paper and tossed it back. Brent picked it up

again and this time launched it into Toby Loo's face from close range, eliciting a "Sto:op" from Toby.

The dispute among Mark, April, and Yuki, and the paper throwing between Brent and Toby Loo, are among the first instances of a steady undercurrent of peer teasing and disputing occurring throughout the lesson. The microphone used in creating the videotape of this lesson was worn by Ellen, and the camera was normally able to pick up the actions of only the ten to twelve children nearest the blackboard of the twenty-three present that day. Nevertheless, there is evidence on the videotape of at least sixty episodes of interaction of this variety fairly evenly spread over the course of the thirty minute lesson. This almost certainly underestimates the level of teasing and disputing that occurred during the lesson. In another videotaped lesson in which more of the children can be heard and seen, peer interaction of this sort occurs at the rate of three episodes per minute, a figure still too low but much more representative of the level of peer teasing and disputing that probably occurred in this lesson. Many of these interactions also begin in a joking way. The initial exchange of the wad of paper between Toby Loo and Brent, for example, was done with smiles. But these interactions all have the potential for escalating and widening rapidly. In this lesson as in other lessons of this sort, it is peer teasing and disputing that immediately precede the teacher's first loss of control.

Nor is peer contention only a sidetrack to the lesson. Children may vie over the answer turn itself, each child attempting to participate in the discussion by repeating answers already given or by



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---

:25

---



---

Kehau knows how how to make them come out of the bag. She's  
 Quiet  
 QUIET(many)  
 (Herman gets under table where he stays till 3:33 displaying a car key  
 BN-----

---



---

waiting quietly with her head down.

Sssuuuuu!

So? You (inaudible)

to Jake)

Unhuh

Ssuu!

---



---

Where you (inaudible)

I no more

Onetwothreefour Onetwothreefour

Ssu!

---



---

As Garfinkel (1967) and his associates have long shown, the organization found in interaction is always an accomplished organization. Interactional structure exists because people make it happen. Turn-taking, relevant reaction, openings, closings, and all the other organized features of interaction are produced through the work that people do in using their knowledge of interaction to recognize what is happening and what is coming up next in the way of interactional slots and actions appropriate to them. It is clear from the transcript of this lesson and from the videotape itself that the children are quite familiar with a fill-in-the-blank, question-answer, recitational

pattern of instruction. As Au (1980) and others have shown (Boggs 1972), a cultural feature distinguishing these children in their use of these and other instructional patterns are their joint and otherwise multi-person responses to the tasks that the teacher sets them. This sort of coordinated group response is also visible in another connection. After Ellen announced the grab bag, the children cheered long and loud, with at least one child doing a fanfare and another baring his chest, Superman style. It is interesting to note, moreover, that one child began his cheer a bit early and held it a little to let his classmates catch up (the "YEEUH" part of the "YEEUHYAAYYYYYYYYY," line 2, strip 3:10). He and the others then launched into a full-group cheer in which the children blended their voices together, built upon one another's volume, and did a little joint warbling of the "a" sound in "YAY." The play that the children do with the limits of acceptable vocal production, in other words, also appears to be a coordinated effort, requiring the children to monitor one another and to produce speech and other behavior in synchrony. That they are able to do this indicates that the children possess shared knowledge not only of recitational and similar patterns, but also, as indeed they claim, of ones for "acting," and that they are able to conduct a jointly managed search of the teacher's talk, not only for response slots in which to insert answers to questions, missing syllables, and the like, but also for places in which to "act." From the conclusion of the preceding excerpt, as the children began to hush one another and restrain their interaction, it is also clear that quiet and acceptance of the

teacher's directions can itself be a coordinated group response, in this case in order to induce Ellen to open up the grab bag.

With one exception, the children quickly became quiet after Ellen announced that she would not disclose the contents of the grab bag until the rest of the children were behaving like Kehau, who was "waiting quietly with her head down." "Head down" refers to a prescribed waiting position. In this position, the arms are folded flat on the table with the head resting on top of the arms. The children are taught this position in kindergarten but experiment with it right away, trying out different positions in order to see how close the head has to be to the table in order to count as being "down." By second grade, most of the children have perfected a pyramidal technique in which the elbows rest on the table but the forearms are bent upwards with the hands cupped under one another or grasping the opposite forearm at a point towards the wrist. The head, resting on top of the hands, completes the apex of the pyramid. Most teachers usually accept this position from second and third graders as a heads down position so long as the children are quiet. Indeed, many teachers accept simply sitting quietly as a heads down position from second and third grade boys.

A few of the girls and some of the boys did not have their heads down all the way, or down at all, but they were quiet. April, however, decided that this was not good enough. Seated at a table commanding the center of the room, she now took it upon herself to indict the boys she deemed responsible for the waiting that the class was having to do. "Pete the one ("Shutup"); Toby B. is the one; they all is the one," she

called out, pointing to boys whose heads were not down completely. Ellen tried to praise other children over April's voice, but April was undaunted. April's initiative resembles Claradine's earlier shout at Herman but verges beyond playing at assisting the teacher and into playing with the teacher role. The appropriation of the teacher's authority role, to be sure, is also a standard feature of the "testing" or "acting" process, particularly when played out with substitute teachers who are unfamiliar with the particular procedures of particular classrooms. One young man told me, "Whenever had substitutes, we used to act up, give 'em the gas, talk when we wasn't supposed to. We loved substitutes, especially the young ones, cause they didn't know the rules the teacher set down."

Presently April put her head down, and the room was suitably quiet. To the accompaniment of the irrepressible April's anticipatory "Oo:oo:oo:oo," Ellen withdrew the first article from the grab bag, the past Sunday's copy of TV Week, a supplement to the Sunday newspaper. April took one look at it and gleefully exclaimed, "AHHHH JUNK!"

Relevant but contending answers tumbled out of the other children. "Newspapers," "TV Guide," "TV WEEK," "She say TV WEEK," "60 Minutes," and other identifications were called out by them. Swamped by the response, Ellen announced that she would make a list on the board and that, "If you're really waiting quietly and Miss Thayer can hear what your word is, it's going to go up on the board for everyone to see." In fact, however, Ellen took only a few words, Norino's identification of 60 Minutes as the program featured on the cover of the magazine and the same girl's observation that 60 Minutes represented "something you

can see on the TV." Ellen wrote this observation on the board, but in the seven seconds that her back was turned, one boy attempted to attract the attention of another in order to toss him something, a minor dispute occurred over the ownership of a pencil, and five seconds of pencil rapping sounded at another table. These little events began and ended in no time at all, similar if not identical to hundreds that a teacher may catch wind of during the course of a single day, many of them timed, as these were, to occur when her back is turned. In themselves representing very little, together they can amount to a constant and competing subtext to the lesson, undermining the teacher's confidence in her control of a class and her trust in her students.<sup>2</sup>

Turning from the blackboard, Ellen scanned the room for six seconds, taking in the little things that were happening. She then announced that "there're going to be three different special games we're gonna try today if I see that everybody is ready to try them." The dispute over the pencil ended, and Ellen thanked Pete, adding, "that's really good helping your table over there."

The first "game" turned out to be a hypothetical situation in which Ellen involved Brent, a principal in one of the other little things that had just happened.

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<sup>2</sup> One former teacher of this group had a dream about teaching the class (Au et al. 1981). In the dream, she wore a harness, and the harness was attached to ropes and pulleys ringing the classroom. By means of manipulating these ropes and pulleys, she was able to maneuver herself around the classroom without ever having to turn her back to the class.





whether she had been "sending some kind of message." Ellen repeated the eye contact gesture with Doreen, but held the contact for not quite three seconds this time. Doreen was a very large, very strong girl who considered herself the best fighter and strongest child in the class. Very few boys in the class would dispute her claims since almost all who had had been made to regret it, deeply so in most cases. This was the child, after all, who in the following year would show her affection for the third grade teacher by picking her up and carrying her around the room. There was only a little laughter and teasing this time, and presently Ellen got the answer she was looking for, namely, that communication involved sending a message. Having returned to her station at the front of the room, Ellen wrote "sending a message" on the blackboard beneath the word, "communication."

One of the first responses Ellen had gotten to her questions following the eye contact with Doreen, however, had come from Doreen herself. "I no like," she had said. This sentence can mean a variety of things, to include, "I don't like that," meant monitorily.

Ellen now set up another hypothetical situation involving Brent in order to make the point that communication also involves receiving a message. "But wonder if Brent was turned around just like that," she said. "He didn't see me looking at him. He didn't see me at all . . . What would happen to the message that was sent?" One of the children chuckled at Ellen's having caught Brent not paying attention; another offered the idea that the message would go "away." Ellen re-phrased the question: "Would Brent receive that message?" Many of the children answered, "Yeah," but were outnumbered by those answering, "NOOOO,"

encouraging Ellen to conclude that communication "would be sending and receiving a message." Ellen turned to the blackboard again to write, "receiving a message."

A number of interactions had occurred simultaneously with the lesson-talk that had been going on and continued to develop while Ellen's back was turned. Twice Toby Loo had told April to stay on her own table. Her table abutted his. Since she sat in the corner where the two tables met, it was easy for her to slide from her table to his. Toby Loo found this highly offensive. April herself, however, was far more interested in the video camera than in the tables. It was craning around to make faces at the camera which in fact had caused one of her first violations of Toby Loo's sovereign borders.

The lesson was being videotaped by means of a camera suspended from a fixed position in the corner of the ceiling. The camera was capable of moving to scan the room, and a small red light glowed when it was in operation. April had caught sight of the fact that the camera was operating. Mugging for the camera, she also alerted her tablemates to the fact that it was tracking Ellen. But Mark denied that the camera was on and moving. He was evidently still reacting to April's claims about being the best reader in the class and was in the mood to dispute anything she might say. This led into a general dispute about whether the camera was on, was moving, and could move. The dispute began when Ellen turned to write "receiving a message" on the blackboard and was still going on when she finished.

At another table, Doreen had taken something from Jamie, a tablemate. He had protested with a loud, "AW:MAHH," and Noelani had

intervened by calling Doreen's name. Doreen had returned the article. The background noise in general had picked up, particularly during this second time that Ellen's back was turned. Herman was playing with the plastic wastebasket near his desk, using it to produce a loud thumping sound; Brent was rapping his pencil on his table; and occasionally another child made a lip flapping, "Brummm," sound. Snatches of other conversations could be heard.

Turning back to the class in the middle of all of this, Ellen made an "Ohhhh" sound and gave a barely perceptible shake of her head to the right and back to the front again. By the time her head had travelled to the right, Brent had stopped his pencil rapping, apparently having been watching Ellen and having ready made interpretations at hand for both the movement of her head and its significance for him. Toby Loo, sitting between Brent and Ellen, squealed with laughter.

Ellen launched into the next activity. Overtalking the noise in the classroom, she said, "EYEE am going to try whoever is ready and waiting and really helping their team/I am going to try sending out a message to you and we'll see if you receive that message." Ellen did not get to the message right away, however, for she had worked herself out to her left, and looking down, was treated to the spectacle of two boys, Herman and Jake, involved in an act of physical exertion of some sort on the floor beneath their table. What they were doing was a tug-of-war over a car key belonging to Herman, although this never became clear to Ellen. Herman, who sat opposite Jake, had lost the key to him. Jake had then given Herman the opportunity to win it back by letting him try to pull it out of his hand. The two boys in fact had

been fooling around under the table with the key and other things for the past seven minutes. Ellen puzzled over the scene for three seconds. "Get car key,"<sup>3</sup> explained Yuki, a tablemate of the boys. Not registering the explanation, Ellen asked Herman to "please sit up and get ready," and thanked Jake when he also did so. Rarely in the lesson did Ellen use more than such very mild language with the children. Jake, the much larger boy, indeed, the tallest boy in the class, maintained control of the key.

The episode with the key is perhaps the clearest example of the general lack of restraint with which the children were beginning to behave. Seeing children behave in this way can be a very confusing experience, particularly if one knows that in other situations the children can be quite well-behaved as indeed these second graders usually were with their morning teacher. When a class begins to "act" or to "test," "you can just see," said one teacher, "that all the rules are off." The statement cannot be taken literally, of course, but there is a certain ring of truth to it. For while the children were staying within the bounds of many of the rules, e.g., for the most part staying at their own tables, for the most part keeping their own talk at a volume below Ellen's lesson-talk, and for the most part sticking to the question-answer-evaluation format of Ellen's lesson, one could also see from the things that they were doing within the rules that they were following the letter of the law and blithely violating its spirit. April's mugging for the camera, Jake's and Herman's contest over the

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<sup>3</sup> "They have a car key."

key, and other things that had happened were kinds of actions normally reserved for the playground or similar situations. Many other examples of play in the classroom were to occur shortly.

Withdrawing from the grab bag a large piece of paper on which she had written, "Stand up. Turn around. Sit down," and several other messages, Ellen again announced that she would "send out a special message," and nominated Noelani to receive it. Herman, meanwhile, had raised his hand to tell Ellen that Jake had his car key, but Jake merely said, "So?" in response to the threat implied in Herman's hand raising. Jake said this just as Ellen got to the word "receive" in the utterance, "Noelani looks ready to receive that message," and Ellen stumbled over the word. Glancing towards Herman and Jake, she continued with some words about cooperation "so that your classmates can hear the message that's sent." As she spoke, Jamie summoned Brent, voicing Brent's name in the sort of rushed and plosive whisper that the children use when they want to convey a sense of excitement and urgency about some news or possession. Brent got up from his seat to race around to an empty chair on the other side of his table in order to be near Jamie. Brent had been doing this sort of seat switching throughout the lesson. But Lily Wong, the content areas teacher, was in the classroom now to lend Ellen a hand, and she dropped Brent in his tracks with a short and authoritative, "SI'DOWN."

Ellen showed the message to Noelani, who performed the action once, and then again for "those who weren't watching." Other children read and repeated the message as Noelani performed it despite Ellen's reminder that "we're watching to see if communication is happening."

Meanwhile, Herman was making one more attempt to retake his key. While Ellen was turned away monitoring Noelani's performance and generating a discussion after it concluded, Herman lunged across the table and grabbed a piece of the key. His strength was no match for Jake's, though, and for eight seconds Jake held him off easily. But then Jake saw that Lily Wong was headed for his table, and he released the key. Ellen was still not aware of what was happening. Lily reached the table, confiscated the key from Herman, and held out her hand towards Jake. He shrugged, then opened his hands, and turned his crossed arms out to show that he was concealing nothing. It was at this point that Ellen took in the interaction for the first time, making a soft, "Unh," sound.

In the aftermath of Noelani's performance for Ellen, April did a command performance for the camera. For thirty-six seconds, she smiled at it, made faces at it, sang for it, and even turned her eyelid inside out for it. The children around her also performed for the camera, but in less burlesqued ways, or watched April run through her routines. From time to time, Mark used his pencil as a drumstick on the bottom of his table, but Lily confiscated this from him as she returned from her interaction with Jake and Herman to a post at the rear of the classroom.

Ellen selected a new item from the grab bag, a picture, and moved back into the arena, holding the face of the picture towards her chest to hide it from view. So ended the first eleven minutes of Ellen's lesson.

It would be incorrect to say that the mood in the classroom at this point was one of open conflict. On the contrary, the visible mood was one of playfulness, of an almost carnival-like gaiety. The children were enjoying themselves as they always do at the outset of lessons like this. They were deriving more than a little pleasure from their own performances, the performances of others, and the fooling around of the group as a whole. The "acting" of the children, however, was simultaneously creating strong undertones of tension in the classroom, both between the children and Ellen and within the children's own relationships with one another.

The contrast between the foreground playfulness and background tension building in Ellen's lesson is inherent in the meaning of "acting." As is the case with any of the ideas at the heart of a culture, "acting" is a complex and subtle phenomenon not given to precise definition. But in Hawaiian social networks, the idea of "acting" always carries two connotations. The first is that of the challenge. "Acting" may always be understood as some form of challenge mounted face-to-face by one individual against another. The challenge may be the playful and approved one of joking and teasing, or it may represent the serious one of an attempt by an individual to dominate peers or to defy legitimate authority. The second connotation carried by "acting" is that of pretense. "Acting" may also always be understood as some form of pretense, that is to say, as some kind of difference between outer behavior and inner reality. In the case of playful "acting," this difference is interpreted as the attitude of kidding. When a child jokes or teases, it is taken for granted that the child is



withholding information, exaggerating an event or situation, playing with commonsense knowledge, or otherwise manipulating expectations for the sake of drawing funny caricatures and getting laughs. In the case of serious challenges, the difference between inner and outer states is not so much interpreted from as ascribed to behavior. This difference is defined as the attitude of pretension. When a child defies authority or attempts to dominate a peer, it is assumed that the child is trying to be more than he or she "really" is.

Owing to the combination in the idea of "acting" of diverse forms of challenge on the one hand and the idea of pretense on the other, it is often not at all clear whether an instance of playful "acting" is meant playfully, whether an instance of serious "acting" is meant seriously, or whether a piece of behavior is an instance of "acting" at all. This ambiguity inherent in "acting" serves very useful purposes in the exploration and negotiation of issues of power and authority in relationships. Adults make imputations of "acting" to the behavior of children as a way of asserting authority over children and of controlling children's behavior. When adults use the desist, "No act," they both put down a perceived challenge and belittle that challenge. It is not so much rebelliousness and defiance that adults threaten to punish by saying, "No act," as the mimicking of rebelliousness and defiance. It is as though the adults are saying that children's "real" capacities are such that they lack the competence to mount credible challenges to adult authority. Conversely, when children hear the desist, "No act," from adults, they know that they have been given both a stern warning and a way out. To resist this definition of their behavior or to

continue that line of behavior, is to invite adult disapproval, often expressed physically. To reveal the behavior to have been a pretense "all along," however, is to get out of the situation without further cost. For their part, children actively manipulate the ambiguities of "acting" in exploring the contours of their relationships with adults. By nudging more or less playfully at adult rules and adult sensibilities while holding in immediate reserve the option of re-framing their behavior as pretense, children are able to map the limits of adult authority and to minimize the risk of running seriously afoul of that authority. They find out what the rules of the adults are, which of these rules the adults are willing to defend, and how far the adults will go in defending the rules. At the same time, the children say things about themselves. They show adults which rules will be resisted and how deep resistance will run. They create rights for themselves in their relationships with adults, and adults, conversely, take pride in their children for doing this. In Hawaiian social networks, authority relationships between adults and children are strong ones, but they are also the source of much necessary play and negotiation.

In Ellen's lesson, the forms of mischievousness and playful challenge associated with the children's pattern of "acting" had been interacting with the question-answer-evaluation format of the lesson. Ellen, from her perspective, had been trying to teach an entertaining and thought-provoking lesson. The children, from theirs, had been transforming Ellen's lesson into a game. They had created violations of classroom expectations so flagrant that these violations could not

be taken as serious attempts to oppose the teacher. They had established a steady stream of peer interaction which was tangential to the flow of the lesson and which thus had the effect of mocking that flow. Primarily, however, they had done their "acting" within the question-answer-evaluation format of the lesson itself. By playing with response turns and the legitimate initiatives available to them, the children had often done performances legal in form but mischievous in intent, thus toying with the lesson by means of their very participation in it. It was as though the children together had been playing a joke on Ellen with part of the joke being that she did not understand what the children were doing or why. The children had been using the rules and the teacher herself as a kind of straightman, the gags coming from what they were doing to the rules. Ellen would turn ever so briefly, and a Herman would do a "now you see me, now you don't" disappearing act. With her grab bag, Ellen would give the children a chance to show pleasure, and they would respond with raucous and tumultuous cheers and shouts. She would make a request for an earnest answer to a serious question, and the children would form themselves into teams to do contentious cheers of "no" and "yes" or would simply vanish into their own peer interactions. The video camera would try to keep an eye on the children--as far as they were concerned, this was the real reason for the cameras, the adults' explanations to the contrary notwithstanding--, and the children would invent method after method of mocking it. In these and other ways, the children had been poking fun at rules in general and at the teacher in particular. Behind all of this provocative play, the children were

finding out about Ellen, about whether and how she would defend the rules, about how long it would take her simply to understand the irony of their behavior and to respond to what they were doing. The element of suspense, too, was present behind the playful challenges being mounted by the children. Themselves quite well aware of what was going on, the children were also quite well aware of where their playful "acting" might lead.

Not long after this lesson, I took a ride on the schoolbus that drops the children off in the afternoon. I sat towards the rear of the bus behind Kaleo, one of the second graders. The children were behaving in much the way they do when "acting" in lessons. They were making large, caricatured gestures in reacting to one another and to the bouncing of the bus, doing a lot of teasing, laughing loudly at one another's performances, and in general making a lot of noise. Kaleo turned to me smiling and said, "Watch, pretty soon he gonna stop the bus, scream at us." Within a few moments, the bus driver did indeed stop the bus and scold the children. After the bus started up again, the children laughed among themselves at the situation, and Kaleo turned to me again, laughing and saying, "See, I told you!"

For a teacher in a situation like Ellen's, the behavior of the children is anything but humorous. She is, after all, the butt of the laughter. She sees, but does not understand, and does not wish to believe that she sees, the element of challenge in the children's behavior. For her, the behavior of the children seems cruel, unwarranted, and unfathomable if she has not experienced it before, and often merely familiar if she has. What she sees and hears in the

classroom are too many things happening too quickly to do much about. In a blink of the eye, Brent has switched seats and is smiling up at her, Toby and April have locked horns in a territorial dispute, Jamie is out of his chair looking through a partition into the third grade class and now is also summoning Brent to take a peek, someone somewhere has started up his Buddy Rich impression with his pencil again, Doreen and Mapu have broken into giggles over who knows what, and half a dozen children are clamoring to be heard at the same time, some of their responses becoming, of a sudden, play, and bringing on a new spate of giggling and histrionics. If it were one or two children that the teacher were dealing with, she might easily be able to bring things in hand, but it is not. It is a collective social process that the teacher must cope with, and one in which very few of the children give her constructive assistance in bringing the class under control despite the fact that none of the children do what they do, initially at least, because they dislike the teacher. On the contrary, children are often very fond of teachers that they have put through situations like this. Indeed, in other circumstances, teasing, poking fun, and breaking the rules can all be means for Hawaiian children of communicating affection to adults.

As lessons like Ellen's progress, the teacher becomes increasingly frightened, hurt, and angry. The teacher is an adult and a professional, and assumes she is due respect on both counts. When the children "act," she treats it as a reflection upon herself, and she knows that it is in this way that her fellow teachers and the school administration will view the situation. The emotions stirred up by the

process of "acting" begin to show in the teacher's actions. There begin to occur in lessons like Ellen's gestures that are exceedingly ambiguous as to intent. Were Ellen's eye contacts with Brent and Doreen, for example, supposed to instruct or to punish? Did the brevity of Ellen's eye contact with Doreen mean that a brief eye contact was all that was required to get the instructional point across, or did it mean that the teacher had more than met her match? What of Ellen's subsequent use of Brent in another unflattering hypothetical situation and of Brent's subsequent pencil rapping? Were these events unconnected, or was there a reasonable development of intent behind them? Early on in lessons like Ellen's, these questions may be answered in any number of ways. As such situations progress, some teacher actions become more clearly punitive and to have more clearly reciprocal effects upon the children.

So far in Ellen's own lesson, escalation is only an inference one might draw from classroom events. There are hints that the lesson Ellen had set out to teach was becoming re-defined as a power struggle between herself and the children. But this struggle had not yet been openly defined. What had been accomplished is that the children had jointly and successfully initiated the pattern of "acting." Through their peer interaction and playful initiatives and responses, the children had both established a context and acted within that context. By means of their behavior, in other words, the children had not only "acted" but had tested out "acting" as their definition of the situation. At least twenty-nine episodes of "acting" with the teacher had occurred, along with twenty episodes of peer teasing and disputing.

At a level of almost five events of some sort per minute, a lot had been happening. Ellen herself had responded to the children with some form of management talk at a rate of about three instances per minute. By contrast, management talk occurs at a rate of only about one instance per four to six minutes in well-functioning reading lessons. Not always does the "acting" situation take hold; in this case, however, it had.

Important changes were now about to occur in the children's "acting," the element of challenge in their behavior becoming more and more open and more and more direct. Rather than keeping peer interactions at a level below Ellen's lesson-talk, the children were about to allow personal disputes to intrude into the lesson-talk airwave itself. Rather than continuing to play with legitimate responses and initiatives within the question-answer-evaluation format of Ellen's lesson, the children were about to challenge that format directly. They were about to make some highly critical evaluations of Ellen and to use questions and other initiatives in attempting to control or to block the flow of the lesson. Very soon, a sharp exchange among a few of the children would arrest the attention of the entire class for a time and would have ramifying effects within the children's peer interactions; other children would express some open frustration with the lesson and criticism of the teacher, their teasing of Ellen losing its humor as their teasing of one another already had; and the contest that Ellen would soon introduce would stir up ill-feelings among the children, structure their conflicts, and provide the boys with a basis and a reason for being disruptive within the

lesson-talk airwave itself. Eleven minutes further into the lesson, many interactions would build and climax simultaneously, and Ellen would lose control of the situation.

### Escalation

As Ellen passed Toby B.'s table, he tried to lift a corner of the picture she was hiding against her chest. Ellen walked the picture out of his grasp, and turning, told the class, "When all eyes are right up here, we're gonna see what message you receive from this picture." Four children called out, "I like see 'em," and presently, starting with those to her right, Ellen displayed the picture to the children. It depicted a black girl on roller skates in the process of falling down. One by one the children laughed a little at the scene. But when Toby Loo saw it, he exclaimed, "THAT THAT's APRIL hunhunhun." With this comment from Toby Loo, a round of peer teasing and disputing had been initiated for the first time within the lesson-talk airwave; and it was here that the encounter developed. "That's Toby, fall down," April immediately retorted. Toby B. also sat at April's table and perhaps thought that she was talking about him instead of Toby Loo. In any case, Toby B. took great exception to April's comment. "THERE'S YOU," he yelled out in by far the loudest voice anyone had yet used. There was a moment of stillness after Toby B.'s shout, and the eyes of the children all swung to the confrontation between Toby B. and April. Even Jamie paused in his ethological studies of the third grade.

Ellen strode quickly to the front of the room. April, smiling mischievously, but speaking in a very low voice, used an insult to



counter Toby B.'s assertion that it was she who was the girl falling down in the picture. The insult is not intelligible. It begins with the words, "You get," and ends in a mumble. She might have said, "You get the fag clothes." Precisely what she said, at any rate, is unimportant. Toby B. at once took to his feet, his fists balled, as Kehaulani laughed appreciately at April's insult. By now, however, Ellen had reached the front of the room and had turned in the direction of Toby B. Lily Wong was also somewhere nearby. Toby B. held his pose for a moment as if waiting to see whether April would stand to fight him, and then he sat down.

Ellen reframed the task of seeing "what message you receive from this picture" into a contest between the boys and the girls in which "we're gonna see how many different messages the boys and the girls can come up with for this picture." She turned to the blackboard to erase it and to write "Boys" and "Girls" on it. Her intent was to give the boys and the girls points for each acceptable answer.

Yuki had very long black hair which the other girls of the class enjoyed stroking and arranging. While Ellen worked on the blackboard, Yuki stared at April. There was no love lost between the two. "That that's you," April finally said, responding to the stare. "That's you because you no more," Yuki replied, holding out her long tresses.<sup>4</sup> The reference was again to the picture. April was a part-black and part-Hawaiian child. Like the girl in the picture, she had short and kinky hair. April did not respond to Yuki, but Toby Loo at once

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<sup>4</sup>"That's you because you don't have much hair."

elaborated Yuki's idea. "April BA:ald. Yeah? Yeah Toby? April BALD. April's BALD."

"Yeah," Toby B. responded. "You get. More than me. I get."<sup>5</sup> Toby B.'s implication that April didn't "get" remained unspoken, however, because Kaleo cut in at this point. Kaleo, who had recently returned from taking a reading test and who sat at Toby Loo's table, had observed the entire episode between April, the Tobys, and Yuki. "Tobe!" he interjected, as Ellen turned from the board, "put your head down!" Toby B. did put his head down, but before Ellen had finished choosing Mapuana to give the first reaction to the picture, he was up again, saying, "Watch," to Kaleo, and holding his forelock straight up to show off its length.

"Mapuana is ready and waiting so I can hear her give our message. What message do you think the picture is telling?"

"Don't watch him," April said to Kaleo.

Mapuana earned two points for the girls' team by observing that she had used her eyes to receive the message that the little girl had fallen. There were cheers, applause from Claradine, and a victory salute from April following this coup. Claradine's applause lasted for five seconds, beginning before Ellen's turn was over and ending well after Ellen's next turn began.

Ellen called on Toby B., holding the picture up for the rest of the class to see as he responded with his own reaction to the picture. Kaleo, a part-black, part-Hawaiian child himself, studied the picture.

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<sup>5</sup>"You have hair. Even more than I do. I have hair."

Then, breaking into a broad smile, he turned, looked at April, giggled, and pointed his finger at her. She smiled back. But a few seconds later, as Ellen was passing the response turn to Claradine, April said quietly, "That's you, looks like."

"YOU," Kaleo shot back. "You," April again said mildly. Toby B. entered the dispute but this time on the basis of the lines Ellen had drawn in framing the lesson as a contest between the boys and the girls. "Boo girls, boo girls, boo girls," he said. "Oogoo boys," April responded, and the two did some reciprocal name calling.

By now their conversation had completely overlapped Claradine's response. Ellen set about paraphrasing Claradine's idea and got the first bit of open uncooperativeness she was to receive. "Claradine had a really super idea that I'd like to share with the rest, whosever ready and waiting."

"I not ready," Pete sang out. Before reiterating Claradine's idea, Ellen tried to soothe Pete by saying that she knew he also had some "super ideas."

The hypothetical situation that Ellen now acted out excited a lot of comment and laughter from the children. "What would you think if I threw down the chalk," said Ellen, throwing down the chalk and breaking it, "and I went over to Kaleo, and I looked at him with my eyes? What would you think?" Having registered clearly only the "YOU" which Kaleo had finally shouted at April, Ellen was unaware that initially Kaleo had been trying to help her control the behavior of Toby B. Ellen's stern eye contact with Kaleo is an example of how badly a child's

behavior may be misread in lessons in which the entire class is simmering.

The rest of the children were impressed mainly by the fact that Ellen had broken the chalk. "Ah LAA, ah LAA," or "Ah LAA, you broke the chalk," they repeated again and again, laughing. "Ah la" is a pidgin expression used to mark the occurrence of an accident. It is thus something like the expression, "Uh-ohhh," but has rather different connotations and uses. Children often use it among themselves to mock inept doings and sometimes also to relish or otherwise underline the likely consequences of transgressions, namely, punishment.<sup>6</sup>

"How would you think I felt inside?" Ellen asked and got a number of simultaneous and energetic responses from the boys. "Real red and really mad!" "You're for real!" "You feel all red inside!" She asked whether she had used any words and got a long, loud, "N0000000." But when she asked whether she had used any pictures and as an example held up the picture of the girl falling down, the children let out a loud, raucous, "YAHHANHANHANHANHAN," because she was holding the picture upside down. The children's expression was a combination of laughter and the expression, "Yah han." "Yah han" is used mainly by children to mark a setback to an opponent and to tease him or her about it.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> "Ah la" is almost certainly related to certain Hawaiian loanwords which Reinecke and Tsuzaki (1968:91) define as follows: "ahana, ahahana, ahana kokole, ahana kohole, ahanakole, ahanagole, ahanagogole, ahahanakole, hanakokole, hanagogole, ahanka; /ahana, ahahana/; interj. Look out! You'll catch it! A warning to naughty children, mostly confined to childish speech. It is sometimes used in a derisive rhyme."

<sup>7</sup> See above.

"WHAT DID I USE," Ellen said, overtalking the children and trying to get some response from them on the nonverbal means of communication she had used in conveying the emotion of anger. "One at a time, hands up for points on the board." But the noise was still heavy--Herman's "BOOOOOM bloooshh" mushroom cloud of an explosion a notable piece of it--, and Ellen put her fingers in her ears. The noise subsided long enough for Doreen to answer a question about what the teacher had used in communicating. The girls were awarded a point for Doreen's answer, making the score three to two in their favor and prompting April to chant, "Ah boys, beating boys." Ellen pointed to her face asking whether she had used it in communicating, and gave the answer turn to Norino. But the noise had become so heavy that she could not hear Norino's response. Simultaneously with Norino's answer, which was not audible, one boy had chanted, "Yay-BOO for the girls' team;" another had called out, "Pete! Pete!"; Toby B. had ordered Rennie to "Go over there, go over there," because she was too close to his end of the table; and Herman had stood up at his table to do a five second dance routine complete with sound effects and a sock in the head. Ellen gave the girls one and then two points for the noise and commotion the boys were making, drawing some cheers, laughter, applause, and a "YahHANYahHANYahHAN" from the girls. Toby B. had not given up his efforts to get Rennie moved, and when he slapped her on the arm, the girls were awarded another point. Yet a fourth point was added to the girls' score when Herman, who had also cheered with the girls, now added a bark and a victory salute to the general confusion. This brought out more applause and cheering from the girls, Herman himself

reacting to the situation with a wide grin as he cocked his cap sideways on his head. One boy laughed at Herman, but others criticized him and Toby B. "Ah, ToBEE," and "See, now Herman," they said. Toby B. himself joined in the criticism of Herman, the smallest boy in the class, saying, "Herman, you made the most points." When the dust settled, the score was seven to two in the girls' favor.

The girl who applauded during the awarding of points was Claradine. She began applauding with the first award of the two points to the girls and continued to applaud for the next nine seconds. Jake, who sat next to her, joined her in applauding four seconds after she began. The two smiled at each other and watched Ellen as they applauded. But when Ellen's attention first turned to Toby B., her arm made a movement in the direction of Claradine and Jake, and Claradine at once checked her applause. Jake continued to applaud, however, and teased Claradine with a smile for stopping. Claradine then said, "Stop it," and slapped him playfully. They both laughed. Mild sexual play like this is also a recurrent feature of the "acting" process. In the space of the next twenty-seven seconds, Claradine clapped twice more for a total of thirteen seconds, Jake joining her again on the second occasion. Their applause and playful enjoyment of one another's company were an important ingredient in a critical situation which developed a few minutes later.

Ellen's next hypothetical situation caused an explosion of laughter and distracted the attention of the children from the boys-versus-girls contest. Pete was the quintessence of second grade chic. He sometimes wore knee high disco socks to school, the socks stitched through and

through with gold and silver metallic threads. He had a Saturday Night Fever disco routine worked out with which he sometimes favored the cafeteria crowd, and at recess he would occasionally talk mysteriously about going "downtown with the boys." Some of the girls in this class, many in the first grade, and even a few in kindergarten had crushes on him, and it was Pete upon whom Ellen now focused a display of affection to show another but now positive example of nonverbal communication.

She beckoned Pete; he sauntered towards her, and then beyond her, all the while twirling a string around an index finger. Ellen was still talking, setting up the situation, and she began to walk after Pete. "Pete walked in the room the first thing in the morning. Over here please/And I went, 'It's been so long since I've been here,'" she said, trying to catch up to Pete. "Run," one of the children said to Pete, but Ellen caught up with him, and hugged and held him. At once the classroom rocked with laughter.

The children laughed very hard for six seconds, Toby Loo and Jake falling out of their chairs for emphasis. They continued laughing for seven more seconds and remained highly animated throughout Ellen's question and answer follow-up. Nine of the children volunteered responses, far more than had in any previous exercise. Even April raised her hand, waited her turn, and offered a relevant response. In fact, at the end of the discussion, there was quiet in the room, and the children's attention was focused upon Ellen and the grab bag for almost the first time since the lesson had begun.

Beneath this quiet, however, a change in the children's perception of Ellen may have been nearing completion. Two of the responses Ellen

had received during the question and answer follow-up had been joking ones. Among the voices responding to her question about the means she had used in communicating with Pete had been Doreen's. "Your FISTS!" Doreen had proclaimed, grinning broadly, "Your FISTS!" Ellen had ignored Doreen, calling on Jake instead. Jake had had his hand up for the first and last time during the lesson. "You love 'em," Jake had said, laughing and sliding halfway out of his seat for emphasis. Other children had laughed, too. During the repair work that Ellen had done on Jake's remark--changing the word "love" to "like," among other things--, Pete's voice had sung out with the countertease, "You too Ja:ake." Pete, Jake, and Doreen were the dominant children in the class, physically, and they were not allies but rivals. Pete's becoming miffed at Jake, Doreen, and the situation in general is indicative of the upsetting effects that the lesson was coming to have upon the children. Owing to these effects, it is perhaps the case that the children were beginning to perceive Ellen less as a figure of fun and more as a person who intentionally or unintentionally was using the lesson to cause them pain. Something of the sort, at any rate, seems suggested by what happened next in the lesson.

Looking into the grab bag, Ellen said, "Let's see what else is in the grab bag if everyone can get ready and wait." Brent interrupted her at about the word "ready," however, saying, "Thas not one" and then pausing. When Ellen finished her utterance, Brent completed his: "grab bag." Simultaneously, Pete had begun to speak: "That ain't one grab bag, no more toys." "Yeah," said Toby Loo, picking up the theme,



"no more toys, no more toys." Less than half a minute had passed since Pete had been teased by Jake.

Brent, Pete, and Toby Loo were availing themselves of an interactional option that is always an informal feature, and sometimes a formal one, of the question-answer-evaluation pattern of teacher-led instruction. This option is that of evaluating the teacher and her tools. The boys' criticism of Ellen is not the first she received. Very early in the lesson, April had criticized Ellen with the reaction, "AHHHH JUNK!" to the copy of TV Week which Ellen had taken from the grab bag. The boys' criticism, however, is the first that was framed as an open challenge to Ellen. April had voiced her criticism during a response turn which Ellen herself had created by displaying the copy of TV Week. Ellen had been able to ignore April's derision by focusing upon other children's comments. But the boys' criticism could not be ignored in this way. They were not responding to Ellen but initiating interaction with her. They were creating a response slot for Ellen to fill.

"Let's see," said Ellen, rising to the challenge, and five seconds later she fished out a radio. "WOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOO," the children chorused for four seconds. Four of them then got down to disputing ownership rights to the radio, each claiming, "Thas MINE," one of them adding, "I seen 'em first."

"Put 'em on!" Pete called out. Jamie summoned Brent again, Toby Loo and April battled over territory again, but anon the room quieted down a little. Displaying the radio, Ellen called on Doreen to identify it.

Before Doreen could answer, however, Pete got out of his chair to confront one of the children near him, and a girl yelled out, "PETE SIT DOWN." During Doreen's response, Herman picked up the cry, yelling, "PETE SIT DOWN," at the top of his lungs. From across the room, Pete yelled back, "Shutup, shutup, pain in the ass." A lot of other conversation started up, much of it concerned with the radio, some speakers wondering if it were broken, others deciding that at second look they didn't like it afterall.

Ellen tried to involve Pete in the lesson. Doreen had claimed that the object was a radio. Pete disputed this, holding that it was a stereo, but most of the other children opted volubly for a third possibility, that it was a clock radio. The issue of what the object was still not settled, Ellen tried to move the discussion back on point by asking a question about how a radio might "communicate with you." Since Toby Loo had his hand up, she called on him.

"How come that clock not working," Toby Loo wanted to know and immediately offered his own opinion: "Broken."

"Is it a clock, or is it a dial to get different stations?" Ellen asked. Many of the children responded that it was a dial, but Toby Loo insisted that whatever it was, it was broken. Ellen again asserted that the radio was not broken, and Pete replied, "Then turn 'em on, turn'em on." When Ellen did not, demonstrating the operation of the dial to Toby Loo instead, Pete too insisted that the radio was broken.

Ellen ignored the boys and re-phrased the question about how radios might communicate with people. When she got a number of simultaneous and competing answers, Ellen said she would call on "a boy or a girl

with their hand up, they can get points for their team." Again she got a number of simultaneous answers and also a question from Pete, which she ignored, about how many points she was going to give. At last she called on Mark. Eventually, the boys were awarded a point for Mark's answer, but this made the score only three to seven, leaving the boys at a large disadvantage. "Wow, you see," said Brent, underlining the inequity. "Oh, now the girls get more points," complained Pete.

Over the course of the next half minute, Ellen awarded the boys two more points, one for Toby B.'s answer that "the MAN" received messages from the radio, one for the answer from Toby Loo and others that they themselves could receive messages from radios by using their ears. Toby Loo initially raised his hand not to give an answer, however, but to tell on April. April had been playing with boundaries again, seeing what sort of encroachment was necessary to get a rise out of Toby Loo. "Look at April," had in fact been Toby Loo's first response when Ellen called on him, the lesson quite out of his mind.

Since the twelfth minute of the lesson, teasing and disputing in general had increased. Over the first twelve minutes, teasing and disputing had occurred at a rate of about two episodes per minute. For the past nine minutes, however, it had been occurring at a rate of about three episodes per minute. Indeed, almost every child in the class had established at least one teasing and disputing relationship with tablemates or children nearby. Most of these relationships were

long standing ones. Others, like the one that was about to develop between Jake and Toby B., had gotten set up by circumstances peculiar to this particular lesson and to the flow it had taken on. Teasing and disputing had been flaring up here and there around the classroom, now enveloping these two or three children, now those, now dying down, now spreading, the networks of children involved overlapping and very fluid, the classroom at times a noisy shimmer of laughter, teasing, and disputing. The last time this had occurred in the lesson was when Ellen had penalized the boys. As Ellen put away the radio and gathered herself to get on with the next exercise, the room shimmered again, but this time the shimmer took on focus.

#### Climax

At 21:33 of the lesson, Ellen awarded the boys their fifth point, replaced the chalk, put the radio down on the table, took up a position to the left of the table, and at 21:46 of the lesson waited for the children to give her their attention. But it was already too late. What had happened among the children in the camera's field of vision is as follows.

At 21:33 of the lesson, Pete and Kaleo disputed loudly over whether Kaleo had a microphone or not, Kaleo claiming that he did have one, Pete saying, "Not, you no more." Rennie, sitting across from Kaleo, was using her hands like aviator's goggles and was surveying the room. April was playing a slap game with Kehaulani on Toby Loo's table, trying to slap Kehaulani's hand on the table before she pulled it away.

At 21:36 Toby Loo called out, "LOOK AT APRIL." At 21:37, Claradine began to clap again since Ellen had just awarded the boys a point and since Claradine clapped whenever that slot was available, even if it meant applauding for the boys. She had clapped only four times, however, before Toby B. looked in her direction and started overlapping her. She stopped almost at once and said to him, "So? Girls get the most."

"SO?" he countered at 21:42, very loudly, "NO TEASE." Overlapping Toby B.'s words, Brent loudly disparaged Ellen's radio from the rear of the classroom. "THAT RADIO DON'T EVEN WORK. BROKEN." Claradine now got back at Toby B., teasing him. "Oh, hot you, yeah?" she said at 21:45. "No tease," he responded. The situation between April and Toby Loo heated up again, another shout of "BROKEN" came from Brent, and now Jake stepped into the trouble between Toby B. and Claradine, taking up Claradine's banner. "Hot you, yeah," he said, teasing Toby B. and also giving him a warning. But Toby B. did not have time to heed the warning because before Jake was finished talking, Toby had begun to chant, "Boo for the girls, boo for the girls," the first chant coming at 21:48+, a little over fifteen seconds after Ellen had given the boys a point.

Toby B. began to smile and to count time in the air with his arm. By the third repetition, at 21:51+ he had been joined by half a dozen boys in the classroom. For the next 34 seconds, the boys chanted at the tops of their lungs, their voices soon swelled by those of half a dozen girls doing a counterchant of "BOO FOR THE BOYS" and "YAY FOR THE GIRLS." Together, the children in fact did only one chant, in a three

beat time, the only differences in their chants being whether they shouted "BOYS" or "GIRLS," "BOO" or "YAY."

Not all of the children joined in the chanting. Although he smiled about the situation, Kaleo put his fingers in his ears and at one point said, "Boo for everybody." Mark, sitting next to Toby Loo, also did not join in. At about the middle of the chant, he stood up and yelled, "SHUDDUP," to the class in general. Jake also was not chanting. Directly after Mark's shout, he leaned in the direction of Toby B. and Mark and said, "You shut your fucking ass." Ellen's eyes traveled from Mark to Jake and registered what Jake's mouth had said. Then Ellen spoke Lily's name in the way people do when they are about to laugh, perhaps in response to the unreality of the situation. At 22:18+ Ellen began to speak to the class again, and by the time she was finished the chant had dissipated, leaving mainly the settling of a few personal scores in its wake. But the children also did some direct teasing of Ellen. Most of the children were in high spirits now, smiling and giggling.

"As soon as the rest of the class is really waiting, we can pull something else from the grab bag," Ellen said, interrupting the chant. "Somebody else?" Doreen joked. "And boo for the BOYS," April said, trying to get in the last word. "Shaddap," said Jake. "And boo for April," Toby Loo countered, all smiles. A few other words were exchanged, and Ellen pressed on, saying, "Thankyou Toby Loo for stopping all that talking so we can go on." Mimicking her words and the cadence of her voice, Toby B. said, "He not doing all that dokking." Evidently, Toby B. wanted the credit that was due him.

Jake leaned towards Toby B. and soundlessly mimicked Toby B.'s own performance. Jake had not been smiling when the chant ended. While Ellen continued to praise children for stopping the chant and their reciprocal insults, Toby B. looked at Jake without saying anything. "Yeah I like fight," Jake responded. Toby B. turned away but then looked back. "Cocky," Jake responded. Toby B. looked away again, but Claradine clapped four times, and he looked back. "Cocky," Jake said again. Toby B. turned away yet again. Toby B. was one of the fighters of the class, but he was also one of the smallest boys. "Hunh?" Jake said to his back, but Toby did not respond. Herman aimed his finger at Toby B. and said, "Ping." Jake twice did Bronx cheers at Toby, but Toby would not turn to look anymore.

At 22:57 of the lesson, Ellen announced the next activity. It had been almost a minute and half since the lesson had last been the topic of conversation. The class had eight more minutes to run, and Ellen had only three more objectives to accomplish.

Ellen had gotten the idea across that communication involved sending and receiving a message, but now she wanted the children to see that it also involved understanding a message. Accordingly, she asked a "special five point question" and set up another hypothetical situation. "What if you sent a message, someone received it, they heard it, but they didn't understand it. Would that still be communication?"

"NO," said a child. Two others disputed this: "YESSSS," they said. Ellen repeated the question. "If you sent it and received it, but the person didn't understand it."

April and Toby Loo, however, were back to their frontier wars, and Toby Loo commanded April to "Watch on your own side," during Ellen's turn. In the answer turn, he told Ellen to "Tell her to watch on her own side." His voice was all but drowned out, though, by a loud, three second, "NOOOO," from the children.

"Look she crying," someone said of Ellen.

Ellen reset the situation using Kehau as an example. Some of the children, notably Kaleo, did their best to follow the situation and to present Ellen with an answer that would please her. If Kehau were given a sixth grade spelling assignment to do, but she couldn't do it because it was too hard, would that be communicating?

The background noise had begun to pick up, and Ellen got another loud response from the children, a three second "NOOOO" which Tolbert warbled into an "OYS" at the end. "Shutup," a girl said.

One of the three remaining objectives completed, Ellen tried to review the territory that had already been covered. But Toby B. asked, "What else in there," and he and Mark got into a discussion of what the grab bag contained. As the review of receiving, sending, and understanding a message progressed, Herman started cheering, "Yay for the girls, yay for the boys, yay for the girls, yay for me." Rennie did a Bronx cheer at him, and Brent told her to "cross your knees," bringing on some laughter from some of the boys near him. Ellen concluded the review and told the children that she was going to choose someone to follow a "super long message," the second task that remained.

"Why?" said Toby B. as she passed his table. She was again holding the large piece of paper with messages written on it, and Toby B. tried



to pull it out of her hand as she passed. In Hawaiian peer groups, "Why?" is a fighting word. Paradigmatically, it is used following any comment hearable as a command or as criticism to mean, "What are you going to do about it?" The disrespect that Toby B. was showing Ellen, and that also came from some of the other children was a recent development in the lesson. After Ellen passed, Toby B. held his hand in the air as most of the rest of the children were doing.

The children were also doing other things in the quiet that preceded Ellen's award of the chance to receive the written message. Doreen and Jamie disputed over the possession of an empty chair at their table. As Brent held his hand up, Norino, giggling, pulled at some of the curls on the back of his head. "Stop it," he said, slapping at her hand behind his head. Doreen saw what he had done, though, and now made a face in mock anger, swelled up her chest, cocked her head, and pointed her index finger at him for four seconds. It was all "acting," though, because she was barely able to contain her laughter. Nonetheless, Brent offered her an explanation, saying, "Pinching." Brent had experienced Doreen's real anger in the past.

Presently, Ellen chose Brent to receive the message. With considerable help from Kaleo and Pete and despite some unintentional misdirection, Brent did go to the library, a bookcase in the corner of the room, turn on the lamp there, turn it off, and sit down. He held his arms out acknowledging the quite imaginary acclaim of his classmates, and said, "Five points, five points, five points." In fact, however, the score still stood at seven to five as Ellen had not awarded either side any points since the chanting.

Ellen announced that she had one more message to "end our communication for today." As she surveyed the room, deliberating over her choice, the children were very quiet, their heads mostly all the way down, a few whispering, "Pick me, pick me." As soon as Ellen called on Rennie, however, the room began to shimmer with activity again.

There was a cheer, some applause, and Pete at once wanted to know, "What gonna happen if Rennie no do 'em?" Brent repeated Pete's question. Ellen did not respond, saying, "Let's see if everyone can be quiet and help." But Doreen said, "She gotta pick one nudda girl," and her interaction with Brent turned into some teasing and disputing.

In the mounting confusion, April seized both the moment and one of Kehau's slippers. Toby Loo, naturally, sounded the alarm: "APRIL GET KEHAU'S SLIPPAH." While April's table, Toby Loo's table, and the children nearby buzzed with cries of "APRIL," "GIVE 'EM BACK," and "RENNIE, STEAL 'EM," Ellen praised the children who were staying in their seats and not getting involved. The slipper matter still not resolved, Ellen said, "Get ready, Rennie, it's a lonnggg one."

"NO IT AIN'T" said Pete. "Lonnggg one," somebody said, mockingly.

Ellen disclosed the message, and four readings of it commenced. The readings overlapped but were not synchronized, and one of them swelled to include the voices of three or four girls. Toby Loo at the same time was still volubly commanding April to return the slipper, and now Jamie slipped his voice into the congested airwaves, shouting two quick insults at April. But during the second insult, some of the

voices reading dropped into a pause, and Ellen caught both the insult and its maker.

"Jamie, you can leave the room," she said. "No," he said, shaking his head, "stay heah."

"Then you knock it off," Ellen warned him. Jamie's "No, stay heah," was in fact the only refusal to follow an instruction that Ellen received during the lesson.

Rennie still had not read the message, and it was becoming apparent that she was unable to. One of the boys started laughing and applauding, and one of the girls said, "You guys get less points."

"Are you ready, Rennie?" Ellen asked. "This is your message." Off and on for the next eight seconds, the boys teased and taunted Rennie and the girls in general, a loud four second "ANHHANHANHAN," their central response. "I know how, I know that one," Pete said. But Ellen was determined to help Rennie through the exercise. Rennie, afterall, had tried to help with quieting Herman and controlling April.

Ellen herself demonstrated the instructions written on the paper: she went to the sink, washed her hands, dried them, and sat down. In doing so, however, Ellen herself became co-opted by the conflict between the girls and the boys. The co-opting of the teacher by a conflict occurring among the children is the last development that occurs in the phenomenon of classes that go out of control. Typically, the conflict involves only a few children, and as it escalates becomes the affair of only two. When it reaches the climax of fighting, as the interaction between Jake and Toby B. might have climaxed in this way, the teacher steps in to stop the conflict. But she is then either seen

as taking, or in fact does take the side of one child in the conflict, with the result that the anger of the other child becomes focused upon her. In Ellen's case, the boys felt that she was taking the side of the girls with the result that they focused their displeasure upon her.

As Ellen went about performing the actions written on the paper, Brent said, "I wish no more teacher in this class." Pete asked, "What the number of the points?" wondering how many points the girls were going to get out of Rennie's performance since it was now clear that she would be able to do the action after all. Many other children repeated the written instructions as Ellen performed each action. Concluding the action, Ellen said, "Let's see if we can all watch Rennie do this." But Pete interjected, "Come on, come on, let one boy do 'em, you only let the girls, that's why." When Ellen ignored him, he said, "If she doesn't, it--the boys next you know."

Rennie began to perform the actions Ellen had done, and Pete along with Brent, Mark, Toby Loo, and Toby B. voiced their displeasure. "Cause you give 'em that, that's why."

"Yeah, she give 'em da clue."

"Bleee. Bleee," said Jake, doing a lip flapping Bronx cheer.

"Give 'em da clue, that's why."

Rennie concluded the action, sat down, and immediately many of the boys broke into a long, "BOOOO." The "Boo" had no cadence this time. It was just a long loud lowing sound that was periodically renewed as some or all of the boys took in air. It lasted for about thirty-five seconds.

In the background, Pete had begun disputing with some of the girls near him. "We already get one point, yahhan," one of the girls said. "Fuck you, fuck you," Pete came back angrily. "So what, you guys lost the game," another girl retorted. "Miss Thayer help you get 'em," Pete said. "We win, we win, the girls winner," April teased. "Boys the best," Pete shot back.

Through all the booing and disputing, Ellen continued to try to make instructional points, drafting Brent to answer one last question about communication. "So we were able to communicate without what Brent?///  
Without words." About fifteen seconds later, the booing and disputing still going on, Lily took the reins from an Ellen glad to be rid of them. "Oh, man, I'm ready to," she said, trailing off. She sagged into a chair at the rear of the room.

Lily, who herself had not yet established rapport with the children but who had earned a certain amount of respect from them owing to her no nonsense style, briskly set about re-establishing order. In seven seconds, she said, "Kay, if everyone can be quiet and I don't hear any noise we'll get out to play but if one person opens their mouth you know the deal the whole class stays in and writes." The booing stopped somewhere in the middle of her utterance, but twice a child had said, "Hoo!" perhaps in response to the rapidity with which she was speaking and the irritation that the speed conveyed.

"Ahh, no like," said Jake in a plaintive yet teasing way, flagrantly violating the rule Lily had just enunciated. Lily met the challenge head on: "Did I hear a word, Jake? The whole class needs to

stay in and write because of you." Jake shook his head. "Okay, starting now don't let me hear anybody open their mouth or we all stay in."

It was at this point that Herman chose to open his mouth to do some lip flapping. "O-h, m-y g-o-o-d-n-e-s-s," said Lily, drawing out her words in a way that befitted their significance.

Immediately the hapless Herman drew a withering fire of criticism and threat from the very children who earlier had laughed at his antics. A group shout of, "OhhhHERMANHERMANHERMAN," rocked the classroom for four seconds, and was at once followed by some sharp individual blasts.

"SEE HERMAN!"

"DON'T WORRY I GONNA LICK YOU OUTSIDE!"

"ME TOO HERMAN!"

"ME TOO!"

"ME TOO!"

"HERMAN!"

"DON'T WORRY I GONNA KICK YOUR ASS!"

The children, in short, were not amused. Lily saved Herman from their collective wrath by giving him one last chance to agree to "keep [his] mouth closed." Herman, needless to say, agreed, and anon, the class went out. So ended Ellen's lesson.

## CHAPTER 4

## THE CONTEXTS OF ELLEN'S LESSON

Strictly speaking, the definition of the situation is a process. It is the process in which the individual explores the behavior possibilities of a situation, marking out particularly the limitations which the situation imposes upon his behavior, with the final result that the individual forms an attitude toward the situation, or, more exactly, in the situation. [. . .] From the fact that situations may be defined in different ways and by different groups arises a conflict of definitions of situations, and we may see the whole process of personal and group conflict which centers about the school as a conflict of contradictory definitions of situations. The fundamental problem of school discipline may be stated as the struggle of students and teachers to establish their own definitions of situations in the life of the school.

Willard Waller 1961 [1932]:292, 297.

Ellen lingered for a time in the shambles of her lesson. Elsewhere, the principal and others who had watched from the observation deck were also content to let matters rest. Part of the meaning of an event like Ellen's lesson is that it is not an event complete in itself. It fixes attention upon a horizon of performance needs and possibilities that must soon be addressed. Talk offering reassurance and advice would have to happen between Ellen, the principal, and others knowledgeable about the classroom. But no one was immediately ready to face the things that needed to be done. There was no possibility, of course, of turning this day into a good one.

Over the remaining few months of her employment, Ellen would come to some working understandings with the children, and special friendships would develop between herself and a few of them. But good days would be scarce. Ellen would affect a harsh and stern attitude with the children, and would crack the whip, or try to, at the slightest provocation. This "witch" performance, as Ellen herself termed it, is the characteristic reaction of teachers to experiences like the one Ellen had been through. The performance would trouble Ellen for in her own mind it did not represent the "real" Ellen. While more effective than the "nice" persona she had adopted in her social studies lesson, it also would not insure peace in the classroom. There would be classroom fights among the children and continued struggling by Ellen to make lessons happen. When December finally arrived, Ellen would be glad to be free of her student teaching obligation, and a year later would remember her time at KEEP as one of the most trying and unremittingly unpleasant periods of her life. As Ellen's experience in her social studies lesson is the rule rather than the exception for teachers new to Hawaiian children, so is the fact that she never felt confident in her role as a teacher with the second graders. Teachers at KEEP almost always recall their first year with Hawaiian children as an exceedingly difficult one and say that they never did feel fully in control of their first class. It may be that a teacher needs a full year's experience in order to learn about the children. It may also be that once a teacher loses control of a class, as almost all teachers new to Hawaiian children do, she can never fully regain control of that class.



Ellen's lesson is important because what happened in it is symbolic of the experience public schools and Hawaiian children have had with one another for decades and illustrative, too, of the problems invited by a research and development institution like KEEP when it proposes to improve the education of cultural minority children. One of the main roots of Hawaiian schoolchildren's poor performance on standardized achievement tests is classroom interactional problems which begin with lessons like Ellen's. These problems impede, if they do not preclude, the educational progress of the children. When KEEP hired teachers, recruited children, and put them together, its first accomplishment was to recreate these very problems within the walls of its own school. Moreover, while the classroom routine developed at KEEP has solved the problems well enough for the teachers and children to have good days together and for the children to score near national norm levels on standardized achievement tests, the problems have not been eliminated. After a brief honeymoon period at the beginning of the year, these problems develop in classrooms run both by veterans of KEEP and by teachers new to Hawaiian children; in the case of new teachers, the problems recur throughout the year. The question raised by these facts is, why? Why do Hawaiian children behave as they do in lessons like Ellen's? Why is "acting" characteristic of early encounters between them and their teachers?

For the past ten to twenty years, most ethnographers of minority education have addressed this sort of question by focusing upon teacher behavior. For these ethnographers, the problem in lessons like Ellen's is not the behavior of the children. The problem is the teacher's

instructional practices or, more precisely, the cultural differences between the teacher's instructional practices and the interactional practices of minority children. The children behave as they do because the teacher is behaving as she is.

This cultural difference or cultural conflict position is based upon one of the strongest impressions born of watching lessons like Ellen's, that of seeing two different worlds. The teacher interacts with the children on the basis of public forms available to everyone in the scene--the words people speak, movements they make, and so on--, but these public appearances seem to have vastly different meanings for the teacher and the children. On the one hand, the teacher becomes deeply confused and demoralized by the failure of events to link together in ways that she understands. It is not simply a case of the children doing the unexpected or the unusual in response to her actions. It is rather a case of the children doing things that lack relevant connection to the things that she herself has done. When the teacher asks a question, for example, she expects raised hands and eventually a single response. She hopes to excite and stimulate the children and is prepared for the possibility that she may bore or frustrate them. But she is not prepared for an immediate, collective, and tumultuously satirical response. Among the children, on the other hand, a mood of playful dramatic irony initially reigns. It is as though they have found themselves interacting with someone so deficient in basic social awareness that her perceptions and actions seem comical. The children understand the teacher's words, but these words do not have the significance for the children that the teacher intends

them to have. The children ignore the teacher, deride her, even bait her, and sometimes become unaccountably offended by her. Indeed, their lack of understanding of her often seems as deep as hers of them. The source of these kinds of problems between teachers and children would not seem to be that the children are socially abnormal nor that the teacher is lacking in expertise. It would rather seem the case that the teacher's and the children's methods of interpreting and participating in interaction are profoundly different from one another.

The conclusion to which this view of lessons like Ellen's has led is that a method of teaching is not simply a more or less effective bit of instructional technique but is instead a culturally specific method of communicating, of perceiving and organizing relationships and situations. From this perspective, when classrooms fail, it is not so much that teaching has failed, or that learning has failed, as that communication and interaction have failed. Conversely, when classrooms succeed, they must be succeeding in part because the culture of the classroom is compatible with the culture of the children. These views appear again and again in a wealth of studies focusing upon the rules of interaction followed and upheld by teachers and the conflict or compatibility between these rules and the norms of interaction of minority children. Philips, in her particularly influential study of participant structures or "ways of arranging verbal interaction" (1972:377), points out structural differences between the ways in which native American children and the ways in which Anglo teachers and children participate in interaction. Boggs (1972) shows a difference between the meaning of questions to teachers and the meaning of

questions to Hawaiian children, an analytic approach Heath (1982) also explores in connection with black children. Conflicts or compatibilities between teacher norms and child norms of interaction are pointed out in different ways in many other studies: in Dumont's (1972) interpretation of the "mask of silence" of Sioux children; in John's (1972) account of the education of Navajo children; in the analysis by Erickson and Mohatt (1982) of participation structures in two classrooms of Odawa children; and centrally at KEEP in work by Au (1980) and Jordan (1981, 1983). If one were to apply this approach to Ellen's lesson, then one might compare the teaching methods used in that lesson to ones used in lessons conducted successfully with Hawaiian children. The troubles associated with the one set of teaching methods would be attributed to cultural conflict between the teacher and the children, the interactional smoothness associated with the other, to cultural compatibility.

The cultural difference approach is intuitively reasonable and represents a great improvement over earlier deficit theories of minority children's poor school performance. It has also been an extremely productive approach. The ethnographers cited above have produced remarkable data on the systematicity of human behavior and have shown that changes in teacher behavior can have profound effects upon minority classrooms, yielding much improved social relationships and student achievement. Nevertheless, the cultural difference approach is unsatisfying in major respects and has been criticized, explicitly or implicitly, by Burton (1978), Ogbu (1982), Kleinfeld (1983), and even proponents like Erickson (1985) and Schensul (1985).

Most critics of the cultural difference position would argue that the approach is not wrong but rather that it takes far too narrow a view of interaction. From its inception, the cultural difference position has tended to be classroom-focused, lesson-focused, teacher-focused, and norm-focused. These foci reflect the position's normative conceptualization of the classroom and its commitment to changing teacher behavior. Each of these foci, however, obscures a context necessary to making sense of interactions between teachers and children.

As Burton (1978) points out, the focus upon teachers means that children are rarely studied in their own terms. Despite the importance attached to the idea of cultural differences between minority schoolchildren and their teachers, attention almost invariably concentrates upon teachers and their behavior. When the children are addressed, they tend to be viewed from the distant scenes of their home experiences and the distant perspective of generalizations about sociocultural principles. But as McDermott (1974) observes, and Waller (1961 [1932]) before him, children are not passive participants in classroom events. They are actively engaged in defining situations in the classroom. They define situations, moreover, with reference to and in order to serve purposes within their ongoing relationships with one another at school. It seems obvious that an interpretation of an event like Ellen's lesson must take into account the children's perspective on the classroom and their agenda in it. As every teacher knows, the behavior of schoolchildren towards teachers--particularly in situations of conflict--has as much to do with the children's relationships with peers as it does with their relationships with teachers.

The lesson-focus of the cultural difference approach obscures another essential context, that of the process of relationship formation between teachers and children. An event like Ellen's lesson does not repeat in the same way again and again. Children and teachers change over the course of their interactions with one another, each side learning about the other and building up records of experience with the other. Cultural conflict is unfolding in lessons like Ellen's, but these lessons are themselves unfolding within a process of relationship formation. From the perspective of this process, what one sees in a lesson like Ellen's is not simply the potential features of interaction between teachers and Hawaiian children but the potential features of a particular phase of relationship formation. In not attending to the process of relationship formation as a context of interpretation, the cultural difference position tends to confound or misrepresent the different sorts of conflict that can occur in the classroom. On the assumption that the events of Ellen's lesson represent cultural conflict, for example, one would not expect to see "acting" in classrooms run by experienced teachers using culturally compatible methods of instruction; at KEEP, however, one does. Each year at KEEP, teachers must go through a difficult month with their students, whatever the teachers' level of experience and whether or not they are using KEEP's socially and educationally successful reading curriculum. Rather than signifying cultural conflict, "acting" would appear to represent a characteristic element of the initial phase of relationship formation between teachers and Hawaiian children. Indeed, some functionally equivalent event appears to be a universal feature of

relationship formation between children and teachers (cf. Waller 1961). Beynon and Atkinson (1984), for example, discovered that boys at a school in South Wales engaged in playful courses of disruptive behavior which the boys referred to as "mucking about." "Mucking about" occurred particularly at the beginning of the schoolyear and represented a means of exploring relationships with peers and teachers in order "to know where you stand" (Beynon and Atkinson 1984:261).

The classroom-focus of the cultural difference approach obscures a context integral to the process of relationship formation between teachers and children, namely, that of the school. Schools do more than provide teachers and children with rooms for staging encounters between differing sets of interactional practices. Schools are institutions having their own agendas, values, and priorities. These facts structure the process of relationship formation between teachers and children, both at its inception and throughout its development. In what a teacher does and does not do in the classroom, one sees not only her norms of behavior but the constraints worked upon her by the values and priorities of her school. Not to attend to this fact is to lose contact with an important source of variability among minority classrooms and with a whole range of issues having to do with cultural change in classrooms. Schools share similar goals and assumptions about relationships between adults and children, but as Wolcott (1971) observes, all schools do not interpret this agenda of schooling in the same way. The differences among schools in their interpretations of the agenda of schooling can produce differences among classrooms so great as to render school to school similarities almost trivial.

It is the cultural difference position's analytic focus upon norms of interaction, however, that represents its central problem. The position's narrowness of scope, here, constricts its views of the contexts of classroom events, commits it to a static and somewhat mechanical image of interaction, and blinds it to one of the most important and salient features of interaction, its dynamism. The inherent weakness of the position's normative conceptualization of interaction is especially well-reflected in the poorness of fit between its model of classroom conflict and the course of events in lessons like Ellen's. From the cultural difference position's viewpoint, conflict in minority classrooms is to be treated as an artifact of cultural difference. The teacher follows rules that are inconsistent with those of the children, and conflict between the teacher and the children, or some other trouble, ensues. It is clear, however, that this view has only limited relevance to Ellen's lesson. In the first place, the problem in Ellen's lesson is not so much that the children misunderstand or cannot understand Ellen and her agenda. The problem is rather that the children have an agenda of their own. This is apparent from the timing of events in Ellen's lesson. Herman's disappearing act, April's bravura performances, and the histrionic and burlesqued group responses of the children all date from the lesson's earliest moments. Ellen needed to do nothing to elicit these responses from the children; they were ready to respond to her in this way. Rather than growing from successive acts of misexpression and misinterpretation, conflict between Ellen and the children begins with the fact that she and they have brought conflicting agendas to their



encounter: she, her question-answer-evaluation pattern of instruction, the children, their agenda of "acting" with its playful and mischievous forms of challenge. What happens once the lesson gets underway, secondly, is only very poorly understood from the perspective of norms. There is a coherent meaning to Ellen's lesson; from beginning to end, the events of the lesson make sense. But the flow of events in the lesson is determined by neither Ellen's agenda nor the children's. It emerges instead from a dynamic interplay between the two. As Ellen attempts to pursue her agenda of teaching, the children pursue their agenda of "acting." The first pattern of interaction to emerge is a playful, joking version of the question-answer-evaluation pattern of teacher led instruction. As the lesson progresses, three related developments unfold. First, the provocative quality of the children's behavior begins to have effects upon Ellen; these effects show up in Ellen's treatment of the children and, reciprocally, in their treatment of her. Second, some of Ellen's teaching situations have unintended and quite dramatic effects upon the children, arousing them to heightened opposition. Third, the children's own teasing and disputing with one another escalate. Owing to these developments, the behavior of the children towards Ellen shifts from indirect to open challenge. The patterns of the lesson come to include not only playful versions of question-answer-evaluation sequences but also question-question, question-command, and question-evaluation sequences through which the children attempt to control the flow of the lesson or simply bring the lesson to a halt. In pursuing their respective agendas, in sum, Ellen and the children create a flow of interaction which is coherent,

systematic, and organized but which is often under no one's control and which involves many shifts of mood and direction for all participants. Ellen's lesson, consequently, is not well-described either as the chaos of no norms or as the step-by-step following out of norms, whether of teaching by Ellen or of "acting" by the children. The lesson is better construed as an emergent process of interaction, reflecting the agendas of both teacher and children but obeying a sequential logic of dynamism in social relationships rather than the sequential logic of plans, of rules for accomplishing certain definite ends in interaction. Admirably suited to making the point that teachers and minority school-children bring different conceptions of interaction to the classroom, the cultural difference position is not well-suited to clarifying what happens once they get there.

To point to contexts overlooked or poorly represented by the cultural difference position, is not to say that cultural conflict in classrooms does not exist. One has only to observe the profound bewilderment of a teacher like Ellen to appreciate this. Nor is it to deny the very important conclusion that a method of teaching is necessarily a method of interacting. It is instead to say that this conclusion needs to be pushed beyond the limitations that the ethnography of minority education has imposed upon itself. Whether classrooms are working poorly or well, the interactions of teachers and children are full of movement and change. In order to describe and analyze the flow of these interactions, one needs to go beyond the question of norms, of how things get done in interaction, and address the question of dynamism, of how one thing leads to another. The issue

of dynamism, furthermore, needs to be considered within the context of the relationships that teachers and children are actually trying to negotiate in schools, not in one of generalizations about social principles. The normative viewpoint of the cultural difference position does help to satisfy the interest of finding differences in interactional practice between teachers and minority children and differences in teaching practice between smooth and troubled classrooms. But a normative viewpoint does little to illumine the meaning of the interactional practices found. As Sacks (1975) argues, to shed light on the significance of the practices, one must first see them in the way that the people who use them do: as techniques for managing those problems of interactional dynamism associated with specific contexts of relationships. Teachers and children know the classroom as a risky and consequential theater of interaction, not simply as a collective following out of rules. It is a theater in which they know their own moods to be tied to the actions of others and in which they take action in view of the consequences for their emotions, relationships, reputations, indeed, their futures that routinely lie ahead in situations. The dynamism of the classroom, in other words, is a practical problem for the teachers and children alike and one which both teachers and children attempt to solve by means of the things they do. To unlock the meaning of these things, one needs a sense of the social contexts enveloping the teachers and children and of the purposes which they are trying to serve within these contexts; one needs, in short, a sense of the interactional problems which the teachers and children face.

There is a second impression, no less strong than that of cultural difference, which also develops from watching lessons like Ellen's and which provides a way of getting at these contexts, purposes, and problems. This impression is of the politics of classroom life so obvious throughout Ellen's lesson. Ellen's second graders and the members of every group have their own visions of what people should be like, their own version of face-to-face politics, their own power structures, and their own means for dealing with challenges to face and tribe. These are facts of life within networks, and they are associated with some powerfully dynamic processes of interaction. The processes have to do with matters of prestige and power, with all of the work that people have to do to get into groups and once in, to sustain relationships necessarily characterized by contention as well as by cooperation. They have to do with the tactics of face-to-face gamesmanship, with the sorts of risks that people are willing to take and, indeed, must take in their relationships, with how people use rules about turn-taking and the rest of their commonsense knowledge of society to arrange interaction in ways that say things about their rights, relationships, and identities, about who they are. They have to do with strategies of group organization, with the hierarchies, cliques, factions, and other structures that people create to serve their common interests of allying against outsiders and of mobilizing the support of other insiders in defending identity claims and group membership rights. Negotiating the processes of peer group life successfully is of critical importance to children. To succeed in handling these processes is to hold a place among friends; to fail is

to be relegated to the margins of the brotherhood and sisterhood of the worthy. For teachers no less than for children is the classroom a political arena. They have their own conceptions of personhood, their own structures of relationships, and are constrained by and must succeed in terms of the values and processes of their own tribe. For them, too, success means a place in the peer group, and failure, the hell of bad days.

Recently, the idea of classroom politics has led a number of ethnographers to begin to formulate a social process model of the classroom as an alternative to the cultural difference model. The outlines of a social process model have begun to take shape in the works of McDermott (1974), Borman (1978), Sieber (1979), Edelsky, Draper, and Smith (1983) and other American ethnographers and in those of Furlong (1984), Beynon and Atkinson (1984), and other British ethnographers. Nowhere, however, has a social process model of the classroom been more fully and self-consciously articulated than it was fifty years ago in Waller's (1961 [1932]) neglected classic.

Waller conceptualizes schools as networks of adults and children aligned in opposition to each other. Through negotiating the politics of schooling with peers and with members of the opposite side, adults and children develop distinct subcultures in schools and jointly contribute to the creation of classroom routines. These methods of organizing classroom time and activity reflect the distinctive interests of the adults and the children and also represent accommodations made by each side to the interests of the other (Waller 1961: 6-13, 103-119, 293-316, 355-372). Waller's view of the process through

which adults and children articulate their respective subcultures and develop some form of accommodation to one another was not framed with the idea of cultural conflict uppermost in mind. Waller's characterization of social process in the classroom, however, may be developed in such a way as to encompass the idea of cultural conflict, yielding an understanding of minority classrooms and of lessons like Ellen's both more general and more concrete than that afforded by the cultural difference approach. One eventually arrives at the same conclusion reached by the cultural difference approach--that if minority classrooms are to change, then teachers' methods of instruction must change. One arrives at this conclusion, however, by treating the idea of cultural conflict as a special case of a more enduring and more general political opposition between teachers and children.

Two elements of Waller's analysis of classroom politics are especially important to re-orienting the study of minority classrooms and to understanding beginning-of-the-year interaction between teachers and children. First, Waller argues that some test of teacher authority is generated by the institution of schooling itself. Schools in the United States are in the first place state institutions. They are regulated by law, and children, by law, are required to attend them. They are usually not total institutions in the way that Goffman (1962) has defined the term, but during the schoolday, they operate as though they were. They assume responsibility for sheltering, feeding, and otherwise seeing to the physical and emotional well-being of children; and they take control over children's lives, giving them things they are supposed to do, places they are supposed to be, and ways they are

supposed to act with teachers and also with one another. Fundamental to the classroom encounter between teachers and children is thus a socially mandated fact of institutional politics. Baldly put, this fact is that the teachers are supposed to get the children to do things. Whatever the homelife culture of the children of a class, and whether they actually do share a homelife culture, this fact alone will always provide the basis for an opposition between the children and their teachers and justification enough for some form of struggle. In the classroom, teachers are supposed to wield power, and children are supposed to yield it. One question for the children is always that of why they should. One problem for teachers is always that of answering this question in terms that make sense to the children (Waller 1961:292-316). Is the teacher worthy of her role? What personal right does the teacher have to the formal position of authority she holds?

A second point made by Waller is that the test of teacher authority by children is always to some extent a group process. Indeed, it always has a group derivation and group implications. The fact that teachers are supposed to be tested by children makes the testing of teachers a test for children themselves. To participate in testing a teacher, is to assert a claim to being a worthy member of the children's peer group. Concerns with issues of peer membership and status thus have the effect of locking children in to some test of teacher authority (Waller 1961:355-372).

The classroom routine is the concrete manifestation of the politics of schooling, and it is at the level of the mechanics of the classroom routine that the issue of classroom power is first raised and joined.

The effort which must be made by the teacher to establish a classroom routine presupposes a legitimate imbalance of power between teachers and children. Children challenge this presupposition by challenging the routine, making moves within it and around it functionally equivalent to those made initially by the second graders in their social studies lesson with Ellen. As did Ellen, the teacher soon responds to these moves for she experiences them as an immediate and personal challenge to her identity as a teacher; they represent for her a test of her capacity to implement and defend a certain structure of activity and thus a test of her right to be the classroom leader.

Once the issue of classroom power is joined, it must be resolved, but it may be resolved poorly or well. On the one hand, the children may become willing participants in the classroom, and the teachers, willing instructors of the children; on the other, the teachers and children may become adversaries of one another, and the classroom an unwelcome experience for everyone. How the issue of classroom power is resolved, depends, in part, upon how the teacher replies to the test of the children. Through her presentation of self, the teacher may defuse the situation or cause it to escalate. Two preconditions for successful teacher-student relationships must already be fulfilled within the classroom, however, if the teacher's behavior is even to have the potential for leading to a productive resolution of the issue of classroom power. A classroom will fail if the teacher fails the children's test and is rejected as a leader, but it has no chance to succeed unless these preconditions are fulfilled.



The first precondition is that the children be willing, ultimately, to drop their challenge of the teacher and to participate voluntarily in some form of classroom life. Ogbu (1982) and Wolcott (1974) raise the possibility that this may not be so for some minority children. Children always show some resistance to teachers, but Ogbu and Wolcott have a much more complete and enduring form of resistance in mind. They envision children for whom rejection of the classroom is a racial or ethnic duty.

Ogbu (1982), who develops by far the more complete version of the argument, draws a distinction between "primary" and "secondary cultural discontinuities." Primary cultural discontinuities have their origin in cultural differences between societies and include the contrasts between indigenes and agents of culture contact, and immigrants and members of host societies. As shown by the school success of some native and some immigrant children, Ogbu argues that primary cultural discontinuities are not necessarily an obstacle to schooling. "Secondary cultural discontinuities," however, are obstacles to schooling. These cultural differences develop within societies. They are structural in origin, "oppositional" (Ogbu 1985) in content, and arise whenever a minority group is subjected to continuing political and economic domination. They represent an adaptation to "caste-like" socio-political status and include both interactional methods of announcing defiance to that status and an attitude of disbelief and cynicism about the social mobility functions of schools and other institutions. From Ogbu's perspective, the classroom behavior of children of "caste-like" minorities does not originate within the

classroom but instead is a manifestation of group-based rejection of public institutions. These children are unwilling in principle to participate in classrooms and will remain so for at least as long as the structure of the wider society is defined as it is. Secondary cultural discontinuities may also be self-perpetuating. Schools and similar institutions may continue to lack credibility long after the laws, mores, and opportunity structure of a society have changed.

Wolcott (1974) makes similar points. He focuses upon indigenous peoples who have been forced to accept both loss of sovereignty and limited political and economic opportunities within an alien society. Acculturation in these circumstances is by definition "antagonistic." Wolcott uses a prisoners of war metaphor to convey the meaning of "antagonistic acculturation" for indigenous minority children faced with the requirement of attending school. Their peoples having been defeated in historical and ongoing senses by the dominant group of the wider society, indigenous minority children may view their teachers as captors to whom the showing of friendliness, even civility, may represent a further and more completely personal defeat. From Wolcott's perspective, too, the problems of classrooms serving such children are structural in origin; these problems are not generated within the face-to-face interactions of the children and their teachers but merely find expression there. It is again futile to expect willing classroom participation from these children and pointless to look into the classrooms serving them for the reasons for their troubles.

The structuralist position of Ogbu and Wolcott makes sense of some matters not well understood from the cultural difference vantage--for

example, the exceptional record of achievement in American schools by some immigrant children. The structuralist position is also well-suited to interpreting the classroom behavior of older minority children who believe, and are probably justified in believing, that high school diplomas and the like will avail very little. Neither Ogbu nor Wolcott, however, separates the issue of minority children's resistance to institutionalized racism from the issue of children's resistance to adults in general. In a sense, all children undergo "antagonistic acculturation" and are members of a "caste-like" minority for all children are subject to constraint by adults in the classroom and elsewhere, and most, if not all children, manifest some sign of resistance to this constraint. Rather than one of kind, the attitudinal difference between children of "caste-like" minorities and those of other ethnic groups is probably better understood as one of degree. Ogbu's and Wolcott's observations, in other words, may have more to do with the variables affecting the intensity of children's challenges to teachers than with an absolute commitment on the part of some minority children to resisting schools.

A better approach to making sense of the influence of socio-structural variables upon the negotiation of classroom order may lie in considering the different bases available to children for justifying to themselves their acts of participating in the classroom and accepting its constraints. There appear to be at least two different but not mutually exclusive types of justification available to children for accepting the classroom. One is a situational justification. Children may participate voluntarily in the classroom owing to the rewards

derived from the process of schooling itself. Contra Wolcott and Ogbu, this author would argue that some situational justification for accepting the classroom is available to all children--that is to say, that there is always some way for adults to arrange classroom interaction so that children will find it intrinsically rewarding. This author would also argue that all children seek a situational justification for participating in the classroom and that any satisfactory resolution of the issue of classroom power entails the definition of classroom processes which children find intrinsically attractive. A second type of justification for participating in the classroom is an ideological one. Children may commit themselves to the classroom owing to a belief in the idea that some necessary good will accrue to them from successful participation in school. This good may be access to a career or other opportunity; it may be approval within the kin group; or it may be simply the personal satisfaction to be derived from living up to ethnic or other ideals. As Ogbu and Wolcott argue, however, an ideological justification for participating in the classroom is not available to all children; the availability of this justification appears tied to socio-structural and other variables. This fact suggests certain hypotheses, consistent with the literature, concerning the intensity of children's challenges of teacher authority. When an ideological justification for school participation is available to children, they appear to be relatively tolerant of constraint and other discomfort in the classroom. Owing to the good that they seek from school, the test of teachers made by these children tends to be relatively mild; they have too much to lose in mounting a strong test

and losing the approval of teachers. Children of "caste-like" minorities and low-income children generally (cf. Rohlen 1983: 30, 97, 205) have limited access to ideological justifications for accepting school. These children do not necessarily reject the classroom in principle but do evaluate classrooms on a case by case basis, accepting some, rejecting others. Their test of teacher authority tends to be relatively intense because it is primarily and sometimes solely the teacher herself who is able to provide the children with a reason for accepting the constraints of school and making the best of the situation. In many ways, these children are more honest in their reactions to school than other children. The fact that they expect little from school frees them to expose the real emotions and attitudes generated in them by their experience of the process of schooling.

The expectations associated with Ogbu's secondary cultural discontinuities hypothesis and Wolcott's prisoners-of-war metaphor, in any case, do not fit the second graders and other children of Ka Na'i Pono School very well. The Hawaiians have nearly as much right as any ethnic group to claim a history of oppression and an ongoing experience of circumscribed political and economic opportunities; twenty of the twenty-five second graders themselves were from families receiving welfare, and many of them lived in public housing. Since the behavior of the second graders towards Ellen was quite confrontational in the later stages of her lesson, one would seem to have a prima facie case for "antagonistic acculturation" or "oppositional" culture. But despite all of this, the very children who gave Ellen such a hard time could also be consistently well-behaved in the classroom, quite

affectionate towards their teachers, and sufficiently productive in their schoolwork to reach national norms on tests of reading achievement. The children of Ka Na'i Pono School--all average, if that, in their intellectual abilities and all living in circumstances which daily taught them of the relative political and economic disadvantage of being Hawaiian--were not so cynical that they could simply go on the attack and stay on the attack. They began the year with a formal attitude of opposition to teachers. But they needed real interactional events in order to justify to themselves the project of launching a continuing struggle with a teacher. Perhaps Hawaiian children are exceptions to Ogbu's and Wolcott's rules. But perhaps Ogbu and Wolcott underestimate the capacity of human beings and of institutions to transcend even the most adverse of circumstances. Nevertheless, it must be granted as a theoretical possibility that children may reject the classroom in principle and that if they do this, then by definition there is no version of classroom life in which they will voluntarily participate. The teacher has no chance to pass the children's test of her, only a chance to fail it.

If children are willing to participate in classrooms, then whether the issue of classroom power is resolved satisfactorily depends upon whether children are willing to participate in that particular classroom routine which the teacher is attempting to establish. This in turn depends upon whether the group politics of the teacher's classroom routine are compatible with the group politics of the children's own peer relationships. In the ethnography of minority education, the issue of cultural compatibility is usually not formulated in this way.

It is typically formulated as a need for a correspondence between teacher and child norms of verbal and nonverbal action. In fact, however, a correspondence in norms of behavior is only one aspect of the accommodation that must hold or be achieved between the teacher's classroom routine and the children's own social organization.

When a teacher institutes a classroom routine, she is not only defining her relationship with the children but introducing a thoroughgoing organization into the children's own relationships with one another. A classroom routine accomplishes this in many ways: in how the teacher organizes the children as an audience to the performances of peers; in the teacher's expectations about how the children are to behave as an audience and how they are to build upon the performances of others; in the way the teacher organizes the children over tasks and evaluates their classroom work; and in the ranking systems and other distinctions in academic ability that she introduces among them and in the jobs, class offices, and other honors that she passes out to them. In these and other ways, a classroom routine has implications for all aspects of children's peer relationships; it represents an alternative system of peer group politics complete with its own values, structures, and internal dynamics. Conversely, when children engage in interaction with the teacher, they are exploring not only their relationship with that teacher but also their own relationships with one another. By means of their behavior with the teacher, they test, affirm, or challenge the inner contours of their own peer social organization. Owing to this group dimension of the children's behavior and to the group implications of the teacher's classroom routine, success in the

classroom lies less in compatibility between the teacher's and children's norms of action than in compatibility between the teacher's and children's conceptions of groups and their politics. In the classroom, the teacher is not faced with individuals who happen to have imported certain patterns of behavior from their homelives; it is a group in the process of organizing itself that she faces, and it is with that group and its politics that she must come to terms. The fruitlessness of teacher struggles to change the behavior of children in minority classrooms probably stems less from the degree to which the children are constrained by their socialization experiences than the degree to which they are constrained by their peer group and the need to behave in ways that accord with its premises.

If the group politics of the teacher's classroom routine are not incompatible with the group politics of the children's peer relationships, then the teacher's problem does become the face-to-face interactional one of proving to the children that she is worthy of the position she commands as leader of the class. By acquitting herself well in a rite of personhood that the children themselves define, the teacher must provide the children with a rationale justifying acceptance of her authority in the classroom. With such a rationale, each child can justify to the others his or her acts of compliance with the teacher's classroom routine; without such a rationale, each child is placed in the difficult position of having to lose face among peers each time that the teacher's authority is accepted at face value. If the teacher does display qualities and interactional capacities which are respected and valued by the children, then the teacher and the



children have the possibility of arriving at mutually satisfactory classroom arrangements (Waller 1961:311-316). The process through which emergent patterns of interaction become routinized as a jointly satisfactory culture of classroom activity is never without its ups and downs; conflict, negotiation, and compromise are required in order for the teacher and the children to arrive at a classroom routine which recognizes and satisfies their respective interests. Neither is it the case that an established classroom routine always unfolds smoothly. The premise of unequal power between teachers and children is always a source of tension in the classroom, and classroom interaction retains its emergent character, however well-established and well-agreed upon the routine. But neither children nor teachers expect more of classroom life than a modus operandi that gives them a basis for coping with the politics of their situation most of the time and a reason for forgiving each other the rest.

If the group politics of the teacher's classroom routine are not compatible with the group politics of the children's peer organization, however, then the teacher's problems run much deeper than the question of her capacity to mount teacherly performances. The teacher is in effect requiring the children collectively to abandon their own ideas of social organization and to adopt an alternative system, the politics of which they have not been taught to manage, the features of which they may well find odious, and the imposition of which they are extremely likely to resent and resist. In making this demand of the children, the teacher may inspire in them that level of unity and coordinated action which group members seem to attain only when they

possess a shared and clearly defined enemy. An alternative but not mutually exclusive possibility is that the teacher may cause the children to lose control of the dynamics of their peer interactions and to turn on each other, their attempts at participating in the teacher's form of social organization upsetting their own. A likely correlate of both possibilities is that the teacher will come to play the role of a foil for the children in the status games which they play against one another. The teacher, in any case, is not likely to win the children's willing and consistent support no matter how she comports herself. So long as there is a skewed relationship between the group politics of the teacher's routine and the group politics of the children's relationships, the conditions do not exist for a jointly satisfactory resolution of the question of classroom power.

Open conflict between teachers and children, whatever its source, is always a temporary state. Neither community members nor the school establishment will long tolerate classrooms in turmoil. What happens after the emergence of classroom conflict, however, depends as much upon what goes on outside the classroom as upon what goes on inside it. Indeed, it is always the case that the adult context embracing the classroom influences social process within it.

For generations, a society of adults beyond schools has been defining the goals and methods of education and establishing ways of evaluating the process. Through the attempt to put this societal tradition to work, each school develops its own tradition, consisting of a body of lore, a certain philosophy, and its own versions of the desirable, the acceptable, and the tolerable in classroom life. The

tradition arrived at by a school reflects the experiences teachers at the school have had with children from the community being served and thus the scope of the problems that have been encountered in classrooms. It also reflects the sense that a school has been able to make of classroom events and thus the resources available to a school for self-analysis and self-evaluation. Like the peer organization of schoolchildren, a school's adult tradition is a collective property which constrains behavior. The tradition is used to foreshadow and to explain classroom events, thus constraining adults' understanding of what is going on in classrooms. It is a source of precedents for what classrooms should look and sound like and of prescriptions for achieving these results, thus constraining adults' notions of where to take classroom social process and of how to get it there. These functions of a school's tradition are, of course, enforceable. A principal has the right to require a teacher to meet the performance standards of her peers and to talk about the classroom in ways that make sense, that is to say, in ways that accord with the school's tradition. In indirect fashions and as a matter of group pride, other teachers also have the right to require a teacher to meet their standards of performance. Perhaps the most powerful force acting for conformity to a school's tradition is the pressure placed by a teacher upon herself. To win acceptance and respect from peers, a teacher knows that she must show herself able to do what they do in classrooms.

As schools' student populations and resources for self-analysis and self-evaluation vary, so do both the problems teachers have encountered in negotiating issues of power with children and the viewpoints schools

have adopted on the settling of these issues. At all schools, classroom instruction entails political accommodation between teachers and children, and at all schools, political accommodation entails cultural accommodation. At some schools, teachers and children do not need to work at cultural accommodation; at others, cultural accommodation must be achieved through changes in the adult subculture of teaching. Where such change is required in order to ameliorate open conflict, it always occurs, but it may occur in two quite different ways. The choice is between transcending conflict or making it tolerable. In some schools, cultural conflict may yield to a culture of work and sociability, teachers and children together hammering out systems of face-to-face politics that they can all live with, six and a half hours a day, five days a week, without becoming totally alienated from one another. In other schools, cultural conflict may develop into a culture of conflict, teachers and children retreating to their separate adult and child worlds behind classroom facades which satisfy the formal requirement for co-existence but at the expense of teaching and learning. In these different institutional contexts, a teacher in Ellen's situation finds herself following correspondingly different paths.

In the one context, she re-discovers the logic of accommodating the children's system of interaction. Through her own experiences with the children, she re-lives the events and the problems which her predecessors have grappled with on their way to re-working classroom routines. Bits of success and bits of failure with the children eventually assemble themselves into new understandings of children, children's peer relationships, and teacher-child relationships.

This work of understanding is constrained by the tradition at the teacher's school of accommodating the children's system of interaction and by the teacher's own observations of peers' success at doing this in the classroom. The teacher is invited by peers and superiors to see, and does begin to see, both the effects of her classroom routine upon the children and how she might change this routine better to suit the children. All the while, the teacher is fully engaged in a dialectic of power with the children. Success at teaching them does not come overnight. But eventually the teacher learns how to establish those classroom conditions which will allow the emergence of sequences of interaction socially and emotionally satisfactory to both herself and the children and efficacious in helping them to learn.

Where cultural conflict has yielded to a culture of conflict, however, a teacher like Ellen re-discovers the logic of self-defense. The process through which the teacher learns this logic is identical to the process through which she learns the logic of accommodation; only the end result is different. Again, the teacher re-lives the events and the problems her predecessors have grappled with on their way to re-working classroom routines. Again, bits of success and bits of failure with the children assemble themselves into new understandings of children, children's peer relationships, and teacher-child relationships. Now, however, the teacher's work of understanding is constrained by the tradition of conflict at her school and by the teacher's own observations of peers' success in managing adversarial relationships with children. The teacher learns what is wrong with the children, why they behave so abominably, why they refuse to learn and

to be decent to one another. She learns why it is that she will never really succeed in teaching these children and what she must do to keep conflict with them from escalating. She is invited by peers and superiors to see, and does begin to see, both the relationship between her classroom routine and the behavior of the children and how she might change the one better to suit the other. All the while, she remains fully engaged in a dialectic of power with the children, and again, success at doing battle with them does not come overnight. But eventually she learns how to establish those classroom conditions which allow the emergence, not of productive relationships, but of a cold war. She finds herself guarding the same adult fortifications and staring out at the same child fortifications that have traditionally separated the young and the old at her school.

This model of social process in the classroom is not intended to represent much more than a broadly drawn characterization. The relationships between the adult and child contexts of schools are too many, too complex, and too reflexive to be reduced to any simple formula. The model, however, does bring to light certain critical and often neglected facts about classroom social processes. These are:

- that the power relationship between teachers and children necessarily places them at odds with one another;
- that teachers and children fight out the issue of classroom power at the level of classroom routines;
- that a jointly satisfactory resolution of this fight entails adult conceptions of classroom social organization which

accord with children's conceptions of their own peer organization;

- and that the development of such adult conceptions of classroom organization in schools serving minority populations in turn entails the commitment and resources necessary to placing the ordinary peer interactions of adults at schools at the service of constructing traditions of rapprochement with children.

The model presented also leads to different conclusions about the meaning of lessons like Ellen's.

The cultural difference position attributes lessons like Ellen's to teacher behavior, viewing the contributions of children to such lessons as almost a non-issue. From a social process perspective on minority classrooms, however, there is no single answer to the question of why lessons like Ellen's happen but instead a set of related answers having to do equally with teachers and children. What happens in lessons like Ellen's has to do first with the political premises of schooling and with the challenge of the teacher by the children which is always generated by these premises. It has to do with the children's distinctive version of this challenge and thus with the distinctive ideals of personhood and ways of establishing relationships learned by the children in their homelives. It has to do with how the teacher responds to the children's challenge and with the appropriateness of the personal qualities and interactional capacities which she displays to the children as warrants of her worthiness. It has to do with the children's peer organization at school and with the function of

challenges to teachers within this context. It has to do with the features of the routine which the teacher tries to establish in the classroom and with the relationship between the politics of this routine and the politics of the children's peer relationships. It has to do with the politics of the teacher's own peer relationships, with the priorities, philosophies, and traditions which constrain her classroom behavior and the course of her relationships with children. It has to do, in short, with the different ways in which the teacher's and children's social contexts affect and are affected by the living flow of their joint exploration of the politics of the classroom.

Ellen did not know this, but the children she faced on the day of her social studies lesson were a thoroughly organized group. Position in the group turned on being able to display "toughness" and certain other valued qualities. Shows of being "tough" and of these other valued qualities are not identical to the process of "acting," but they are very closely related; in a sense, a child proves the possession of these qualities by means of showing a capacity to deal with "acting" from others. The second graders' "acting" with Ellen was indeed a test, a rite of passage that every teacher working with Hawaiian children must go through. It was a test to see whether Ellen measured up in terms of their standards, the same frameworks that they were using with one another, a test to see whether as a group they could accept and respect her as a leader. They tested Ellen in the way that they did, not because they were mean, but because they were caught up in their own system of distinctively Hawaiian values and peer relationships, the workings of which require that teachers be tested



through "acting." The children worked themselves into conflict over the course of Ellen's lesson, not because they were inherently disposed to be conflictual with teachers, but because in the structural context of Ellen's lesson there was no way for them not to find their way to conflict. On the very morning of Ellen's social studies lesson, these same children were as well-behaved with their reading teacher as children should ever be with adults. She had passed the children's test, and her way of doing things did not create problems for them.

The remainder of this work will look at Ellen's lesson from the perspective of the cultural contexts relevant to understanding that lesson. It will focus upon "acting" and its meaning within the children's social sphere; it will focus upon the contributions of teachers to defusing the phenomenon or causing it to escalate; and it will also touch upon the implications of "acting" within the teachers' social sphere. The objective of the work will be to create ethnographic answers to the questions of what happened in Ellen's lesson and of what teachers may do to cope successfully with "acting." In a loose fashion, the work will follow the model of Bateson's work, Naven (1965 [1936]). It will attempt to illumine an institution, and the workings of that institution, by tracing out the roots and implications of a single interactional event.

The emphasis in this work, however, will be placed upon understanding the second graders. Indeed, this work is intended as much as a contribution to the field of child anthropology as it is to that of educational anthropology. The next chapter, Chapter 5, is an account of Hawaiian children's interactional style and the interactional

processes to which this style gives rise. The intent of this chapter is to give meaning to Hawaiian children's conflicts and other social processes by relating these phenomena to the context of the children's ideals of personhood, forms of self-presentation, and assumptions about relationships. Chapter 5 concludes by also relating the phenomenon of "acting" to this context. Chapter 6 moves from describing Hawaiian children's values and social processes to the issues of why and how the children learn to behave as they do. This chapter is about the organization of interaction in the children's homelives and about the demands entailed by this form of organization; the chapter concludes by locating the precedent for "acting" in Hawaiian infants' and toddlers' socialization to the interactional demands of their world. In effect, Chapter 6 will provide a distant look at the phenomenon of classroom "acting" by focusing upon the general constraints worked by homelife values and socialization experiences upon Hawaiian children's behavior. The next three chapters will provide the perspectives necessary to moving the interpretation of classroom "acting" into the situation which Ellen faced at the time of her lesson. Chapters 7 and 8 describe the peer group structure created by the second grade boys and girls. These chapters treat the second graders' peer group structure both as a system which constrained the children to behave in certain ways and as a system which enabled the children to deal with the consequences of behaving in these ways. The chapters focus especially upon the children's socio-structural methods of coping with emergent peer conflicts and of minimizing the likelihood of the emergence of peer conflict. The intent here is to establish the organizational

preconditions required by the children for the successful management of interaction. Throughout these four chapters on the culture of the second graders, a primary intent will be to show that Hawaiian schoolchildren are neither completely in control of their interactions nor incapable of exercising control over their interactions but rather that they live somewhere between order and chaos. Out of necessity but also through choice, these children, like all people, take risks in their interactions. Their style of interaction and their organizational structures represent both ways of taking risks and ways of living with the risks that must be taken.

Chapter 9 begins the transition back to the classroom. This chapter interprets the behavior of the second graders in Ellen's lesson both from the perspective of the effects worked by the children's social context upon that lesson and from that of the effects worked by the lesson upon the children's values, peer group structures, and social dynamics. Chapter 10 draws general conclusions from the events of Ellen's lesson; it contrasts the conception of social organization and social dynamics implicit in the structure of lessons like Ellen's with the concrete realities of the second graders' own conception of social organization and social dynamics. Chapter 10 will also detail the adaptation made at KEEP to Hawaiian schoolchildren's culture and will suggest the institutional culture that has enabled this adaptation to occur. Chapter 11 will conclude this work's examination of classroom "acting" by looking at teachers and children together again--this time at the beginning of the second graders' third grade year.

PART II: A BAND OF CHILDREN

## CHAPTER 5

## WE COOL, THA'S WHY

"One time I hear the sergeant give this guy orientation. He point out the window. 'See them brown people down there,' he tell the guy. 'Them's Hawaiians. Don't fuck with them or they'll kick your ass.' Don't fuck with them or they'll kick your ass!" the speaker repeated, laughing again, and shaking his head ruefully. "What they must thought of us! What they must thought of us!"

A Hawaiian man in his forties who was once a member of an all Hawaiian National Guard unit in training on the Mainland.

An observer's impressions of a band of people are based upon what he sees the people do, often notwithstanding what he has been invited to see them do by interpreters of their culture and by the members of the band themselves. Not surprisingly, the new teachers' impressions of the children are mainly of the aggressiveness they can show with one another and with adults. These teachers are familiar with the friendly, cooperative, conflict avoiding stereotype of the Hawaiians, and have seen some of the basis for this stereotype in their own interactions with the children. But these teachers have also had lessons like Ellen's. Most of them are a little frightened and confused by the children. And all are wary of what seems to be the children's capacity to explode. Veteran teachers acknowledge the children's aggressiveness but emphasize the positive aspects of their

interactions and the management techniques that may resolve or forestall problems. In having been with the children for a year or more, these teachers know more about them, like them, and have grown to appreciate an interacting style that has as much to commend it as any other style of interaction.

The children themselves do not use the word, "aggressive," in talking about behavior. They use the word, "wild," in referring to rogue behavior. But the everyday scenes that teachers characterize by talking about the aggressiveness of the children, the children themselves sum up by speaking of the "toughness" of peers. "He tough," or, "She can handle," the children will say in praising peers who acquit themselves well in conflictual situations. By being tough or being able to handle, the children mean not being afraid to fight in confrontations and also not being afraid to challenge others' claims to social superiority. The idea of being tough figures in three primary ways in the children's relationships: as an ideal of bravery and an attribute that all individuals ought to have; as one way of measuring relative status and thus as something that some individuals may have more of than others; and as a partial means to social ends, an essential element of an overall method of self-presentations through which the friendship and regard of peers is won. It is important to keep the idea of being tough in context. That idea is a theme in the children's interactions; it is also that theme which the teachers find most difficult to understand and to cope with. But it is only one theme. Of equal significance are two other themes; of greatest import is the manner in which the primary themes of the children's

self-presentations fit together to yield a coherent approach to interaction. This discussion of the children's interactional values will begin with the idea of being tough, but that idea is only part of the message that the children try to communicate about themselves.

#### Being tough as the ideal of being courageous

In living up to the ideal of being tough during confrontations, the children are capable of displaying a remarkable degree of courage. The clearest extended example of this courage in confrontations with teachers occurred in some experiences of Nalani, a child younger than the second graders.

In late April of Nalani's first grade year, Nalani had three bad days in a row. The entire year, in fact, had been a bad one for Nalani as she was not very popular with her classmates and often struggled with her teachers. By April, the months of troubled relationships had made Nalani difficult to manage and had worn the patience of her teachers very thin.

An event early in the month presaged Nalani's three bad days. The children were slated to go on a fieldtrip. As was customary, the children were expected to pair up for the fieldtrip. They were allowed to choose their own partners. Nalani's partner was always the same girl, a small child who also had relatively little position in the class. Unbeknownst to Nalani, however, and, as it turned out, at the instigation of some other girls in the class, her usual partner had decided to be the partner of another child. Discovering this turn of events only as the children began their preparations to leave, Nalani

flew into a rage. She knocked her partner to the floor and then began wrecking the classroom, pulling chairs and even bookcases to the floor. The content areas teacher was unable to control Nalani. The teacher sent the other children out to the playground and left the room herself in order to collect the principal. In the empty classroom, Nalani calmed down. Three classmates soon ventured back inside. Despite the jealousy and clumsy physicality Nalani could exhibit with those she claimed as friends, some of Nalani's classmates had affection for her. Two of the three children played a board game on the floor with Nalani while they waited for their teacher and the principal to reappear; the third child tried to undo the damage Nalani had done, righting chairs, putting books, pencils, and crayons back into their proper places, but leaving a vestige of the disorder here and there. This was a nice touch of diplomacy for the adults' first demand when they returned would be that Nalani clean up the mess. Presently, the adults re-appeared, and after a brief struggle to get Nalani to put some crayons away, they left with her for the principal's office.

For two weeks, things simmered. There were some incidents on the bus, a skirmish or two on the playground, and a few classroom problems, but nothing really serious. It was not until testing week that Nalani's three bad days happened. The first came two days before the children were scheduled to take their standardized achievement tests.

There was a problem on the bus in the morning, and then when school started up, Nalani did not do a proper performance of the morning pledge of allegiance. Her reading teacher kept her in at lunchtime, telling her she would not be released for lunch until she did an



acceptable version of the performance. Getting this performance out of her took about ten minutes and involved a lot of compromise, ambiguity, and negotiation, Nalani now sort of standing, now sort of half-standing, sort of raising her hand to her chest, sort of letting it hang. Eventually she was released. The short play period that the children were permitted after lunch had almost run its course when Nalani emerged from the cafeteria. Teased by some of her classmates about having been kept inside, Nalani retaliated by fighting three of them, the last fight occurring as the children were lining up to go back into the classroom for their afternoon lessons.

The practice after lunch in the first grade was for the children to sit in lines by their classroom door (one line for boys, one for girls) and wait for "line captains" (one for the boys, one for the girls) to call their names. Only when one's name was called could one re-enter the classroom. Theoretically, the order in which the names were called was a merit order, the children sitting the "nicest" (with legs and arms crossed, not looking around, not talking) going first. In practice, of course, the children were called in order of classroom popularity. For Nalani, this re-entry ritual usually amounted to a reminder of the low esteem in which her classmates held her, and on this day, she refused to return to the classroom when at last her name was called. She lay down instead. The line captain summoned the teacher, there was a brief verbal skirmish, Nalani being warned that she would have to make up every minute she wasted by sitting with her head down, and finally Nalani went inside.

The afternoon period involved a lot of fooling around for Nalani-- talking, teasing, not doing the work that was supposed to be done. This was particularly true at listening center. There, the children were supposed to listen to an audiotape and do a worksheet exercise, but she and her partner at the center, a boy of like mind, made a game of the worksheet instead. Towards the end of the day, when the worksheets were collected and the teachers had taken a look at them, Nalani and her partner were told that they would have to re-do the worksheet. Nalani objected strenuously to this, and when her teachers were adamant, went from blackboard to blackboard around the room, leaving chalk trailers behind her. Her teachers ignored her.

At the end of the day, the children sat in a formation on the floor in front of Center 1 to receive the completed assignments, notices to parents, and other sorts of things that teachers pass out at the end of schooldays. The children were beginning to form up when the episode of marking on the blackboards began, and presently Nalani joined the group. One by one, the children were given the things that the content areas teacher had to give them, then left for the buses. Finally, only Nalani and her partner from the listening center were left. The latter was given some homework to take the place of the worksheet he had botched. The content areas teacher then turned to the reading teacher. "Should I add some work for Nalani?" she asked at a little after 2:27 P.M. "Yeah, I think Nalani took us five minutes," the reading teacher replied, "so she needs to sit/with the clock with her head down/

especially for writing on the chalkboard here and there//." <sup>1</sup> In the pause she was making, the reading teacher turned to look at Nalani. Nalani was sitting on the floor, looking straight ahead, not at her teachers. At 2:27:47, the reading teacher said, "Come sit with your head down please, Nalani." There was no response. Nalani did not even turn to look at her teacher. At 2:27:53, the reading teacher said, "'Kay, I'll set it-set it as soon as her head's down."

"Oh," said the content areas teacher, realizing that the matter was being left in her hands. "You need to come and put your head down before I can start the clock Nalani." Eight seconds of silence elapsed. "'Kay your clock cannot start the five minutes until you come and put your head down." Six seconds of silence elapsed. "'Kay you're sitting so perfectly there Nalani, but you need to follow directions." Again there was no response; Nalani did not make eye contact with her teacher, did not recognize her gesture in any way.

A little over a minute passed with no sound, no movement from Nalani. She lived on the windward side of the island, about thirty minutes away from the school. The bus drivers liked to leave promptly at 2:30, and if Nalani missed her bus, her mother or grandfather would have to make the drive in to pick her up. Given the circumstances, this would almost certainly mean punishment. Yet she refused to yield in this confrontation with her teachers.

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<sup>1</sup>As before "/" represents a pause of one second plus or minus a quarter second.

At 2:29:30, the reading teacher returned to the classroom and said, "Nalani, I have talked to the/busdriver/ The buses/when the bus comes someone will come here/to get you and if you/if you have your head down and if your five minutes are up you'll be able to go on the bus/ If-if you haven't made up your five minutes then you'll miss-we'll tell the bus to go/and we'll have to call your grandfather or someone to come and get you/ So you decide what you're gonna do. You've been sitting nicely for a long time/ Ever since you've been-quit writing on the board you went back to that/rug and sat nicely while things were handed out/ Come and sit with your head down/for the five minutes that you have to make up/ 'Kay / You may set the clock when you come to the table."

It was now 2:30:19. Letting Nalani set the clock herself was a small concession, but it got no response. Nalani still had not looked at her teachers, still had not moved or made any sounds. The content areas teacher sat at Center 1, checking over worksheets. The reading teacher retired to the back of the room to do the same.

Two more minutes passed, very slowly. Nalani almost dropped off to sleep, but the door separating first grade from kindergarten slid open, grinding in its tracks, and its sound aroused her. Perhaps caught off-guard, she looked in the direction of the door, the first movement to which one might give a name that she had made in five minute. Another content areas teacher stood in the doorway and directed a question to the teacher seated behind Center 1. It was Center 1 that Nalani was supposed to go to wait out her five minutes. The two content areas teachers talked about some papers, and forty seconds later, the first

grade content areas teacher left the room so that she could continue her conversation with her colleague in the kindergarten room.

Nalani watched the two leave. After a few seconds she glanced back at the reading teacher. A few seconds later, at 2:33:14, five and a half minutes after she had first been told to sit at Center 1 with her head down, Nalani went to Center 1 and picked up the timer. She drew the timer towards her across the table so that it produced a scraping sound. On her way back to the rug, she looked at the reading teacher perhaps to see whether she were taking in the performance. The reading teacher responded by saying, "You have to sit at the table." Nalani, however, continued on her way back to her place on the rug and sat there instead. Five times over the next forty seconds, the reading teacher encouraged her to sit at Center 1, "or the bus will leave without you."

"Already left," Nalani finally replied. "No your bus has not. The first bus has," the teacher said. "The second will be in a couple of minutes if you don't hurry." It was only at this point, at nearly 2:34, over six minutes after the episode began, that Nalani sat at the Center 1 table.

The matter of the listening center worksheet, however, remained. On the following day, when she was required to re-do the lesson, Nalani again exploded. The teacher pulled her out of the classroom and struggled physically with her a bit before taking her to the principal's office. Later that day an agreement was worked out between the teacher, the principal, the school counselor, and the child's mother. If the teacher asked Nalani to do something and she refused,

the teacher would wait three minutes and then write Nalani's name on the board and put a check beside her name. The teacher would repeat the instruction. If after three minutes Nalani had not complied with it, the teacher would make another check beside Nalani's name, and then continue the process of repeating the instruction and waiting. Each check stood for some sort of sanction; the fifth check meant suspension. On the next day, Nalani was suspended.

It happened during testing. Nalani had been required to take the standardized achievement test at Center 1, next to the teacher, while the other children worked at their homeroom seats. When the reading teacher got up to do something, Nalani shifted over to the teacher's chair. A child watching said, "Look Nalani," complaining to the teacher about what Nalani had done. He smiled when the teacher told Nalani to shift back to her own chair. Nalani got angry at the child, saying, "You told on me," and at her teacher, too. She sat on the rug, refusing to take the test, and the teacher then began the process of making checks beside her name. For fifteen minutes, the child and the teacher watched each other and the specter of suspension loom larger and larger until finally, it was upon them. Nalani was sent home for the rest of the day.

Something of a truce held between Nalani and the reading teacher for the final month of the year. The truce seemed to have as much to do with a change in perception on the part of the teacher as with one on the part of the child. Without buckling under, Nalani had absorbed every sanction that the teacher had at her disposal, from denial of recess and other goods, through isolation and scenes that had come

close to corporal punishment, to suspension. Perhaps most impressive of all was the child's capacity simply to wait out a scene, letting the stakes in a confrontation rise higher and higher. On the day of Nalani's suspension, her teacher talked about the situation with a number of other people regretting events and wondering if there were something she were doing or not doing that was contributing to them. There were no more serious confrontations between Nalani and her teachers over the balance of the year. Occasionally a ripple of events looked as if it might lead to another problem. But the countdown of minutes and checks was never re-commenced. The next suspension could have meant expulsion and perhaps it was clear to her teacher that Nalani would be willing to go even that far in a contest of wills.

The courage that the children exhibit with their teachers is just as prominent in their relationships with one another. Pete, Jake, and Doreen were the strongest children in the second grade and also among the bravest. These three would stand up to any other child in the class, but unlike most of the other children of the class, they would also stand up to each other. In February, Doreen gashed the sole of her foot on some glass. It was a bad cut, very deep and long. To protect the cut, her foot was heavily bandaged, and she also had to use crutches. Soon after she injured the foot, she was sitting against the wall on the cement apron that lay just beyond the cafeteria and on which four hopscotch patterns had been painted. Doreen was watching a lunchtime hopscotch game between Yuki and Noe. Hopscotch was not a popular game among the second graders, but nine members of the class had been denied recess that day so the more popular games did not have

enough players to get off the ground. I was also watching Yuki and Noe play hopscotch.

Pete ventured by, watched for a moment, and said, "I the best, you know."

"Not," retorted Yuki. "He cheats."

"Shut you Japaneese mouth," Pete said, and he shoved her.

Doreen was sitting within arm's reach of Pete. She swung at his leg and then struggled to her feet. She stumbled and there was some laughter from the children who had lost recess and who were sitting close enough to the scene to follow what was happening. Doreen finally got herself positioned in front of Pete, and at a slight angle to him, "made her body big." "Making one's body big" involves inflating the lungs so that the chest puffs out, throwing the shoulders forward slightly, and balling the fists so that the muscles of the arms and shoulders bunch, looking or seeming to look larger than they normally do. To make one's body big is to issue a challenge. The one issuing the challenge will stand with the right or left shoulder planted in the middle of the chest of the other, who will also make his body big. The challenger will then bump the shoulder into the other's chest and lean forward, forcing the other either to stand his ground by returning the pressure or to give way.

Doreen's injury made the situation a little awkward for her, but she was angry, and there was no lack of determination in her eyes. She bumped her shoulder into Pete's chest. Pete was smiling a little and seemed to be making light of the situation. He had taken Doreen on in the past and himself had a quick temper. Although there could be no



doubt about the seriousness of the situation for Doreen, perhaps it was difficult for Pete to take Doreen seriously because of her injury. On the other hand, stumbling on a hurt foot or not, Doreen was formidable. Perhaps Pete was gambling that by making light of Doreen's challenge, he could duck it. The children's confrontations often had the look and feel of poker games.

"Like slaps?" he said, smiling and mocking Doreen. Doreen banged her shoulder into Pete's chest again, harder than she had before. Pete's smile faded, he banged back, and the two began leaning into each other in earnest. At once the playground supervisor intervened, separating the children and making them sit apart to "cool off." The confrontation dissolved into a distant and short-lived exchange of a few words. Doreen might not have won a fight with Pete that day, but her performance had shown that her injury had done nothing to her mettle. A peer who threw his weight around in her vicinity had better be ready to back up his implicit claim to dominance for she would certainly call upon him to do so.

Performances like Nalani's and Doreen's impress one with the depth of the commitment made by children to values that adults seem much more ready to compromise. 'What makes you think you're any better than me' is the determined-to-be-reckoned-with attitude that underlies many of the children's responses to one another and to adults. The children do have a dominance hierarchy and can be intimidated by others or sufficiently demoralized for other reasons not to fight back when bullied or harassed. But their ideal is indomitability, and in confrontations they do their best to live up to it.

Mark expressed the ideal in a class meeting with Ellen. Ellen had stimulated a discussion on classroom problems and had been told by Mark that problems stemmed from people who "made trouble." "Making trouble" is the label used by the children to cover all of the ways in which one child can try to upset the claims of another child. When a person tries to dominate someone else, teases him, insults him, tries to get him in trouble, takes sides against him, gossips ("talks stink") about him, interferes in his doings, or in some other way mounts a challenge to his position or claims, that is "making trouble." "He made trouble to me" is the charge most often heard when the children argue their cases to the teachers during disputes, and "making trouble" is always the cause that the children cite in general discussions on the reasons for classroom "problems." Ellen asked Mark how it made him feel inside when a person "makes trouble to you." Half rising out of his chair, Mark said, "You come all RED inside. You like BEEF!" The same ideal about how challenges ought to be met was expressed by a Hawaiian man in his fifties in talking about confrontations he had had. "I just come furious inside," he said. "I cannot hold back. I just urrrurrurr," he said, growling.

Even when afraid of a teacher or peer, a child will stand his ground, or try to, if the situation seems defined as a dominance contest. In recounting her own school experiences, one young Hawaiian woman told of an encounter she had had in intermediate school with one of the "bathroom girls." The young woman said that she had been tough in school, too, but had stayed away from the "really radical" crowd, the bathroom girls. One year, in the course of the sort of gossip that

may prefigure a fight (cf. Goodwin 1980), she heard that one of the bathroom girls was "talking stink" about her. Late for class one day, the young woman was hurrying down a hall when the bathroom girl appeared in front of her. She froze. The bathroom girl told her to go around, that is to say, to retrace her steps and take an entirely different route to her class. The young woman said that she was afraid of the girl, too afraid to fight her, but explained that she could not just "run away." "Shame, yeah?" she said. Instead, she stood her ground, neither advancing nor retreating, and crying a little, until the bathroom girl finally let her go by.

Something very similar to this happened in the children's third grade year. Noe was liked by everyone in the class. Kaleo and Doreen, in particular, were very fond of her. Seating assignments in math were much looser than they were in reading, and typically both Kaleo and Doreen tried to sit next to Noe and to engage her in conversation. They also sought her out on the playground. At recess one day, Doreen and Noe were playing tetherball with a number of other children. Kaleo appeared on the playground towards the end of recess, spotted Noe, and strode angrily to the tetherball post. "Eh, Noe, you oofing all the boys, yeah? You oofing all the boys!" "Oofing" is a sexual allusion; what Kaleo meant by what he was saying was that Noe was flirting with all of the boys.

Smiling, Mark restrained Kaleo in a playful way. Though he was angry, Kaleo was also smiling as he taunted Noe. Noe tried to ignore the situation, but then began to cry. She did not sob, look at the ground, or cover her face. She just stood there, her fists clenched,

staring straight ahead into space, tears streaming down her face. A child standing behind her tried to pull her away, but Noe angrily threw an elbow backwards to warn the child off. For about five minutes, Noe stood in the tetherball line, crying and refusing to quit the scene. The tetherball line moved around her, but the children had all become stimulated by the scene. They were "acting" with one another in the way that they will in the classroom, now trying to say something soothing to Noe or to calm down Kaleo, now laughing among themselves, teasing, tickling, and playfully wrestling with one another. On a couple of occasions, Kaleo tried to make amends to Noe. He would say, "SAH-REE" ("sorry") in an exasperated kind of way, and also, "I never do nothing, only teasing." Noe, however, would not respond to him. Moreover, Kaleo continued to act in a "too good," egoistic way, renewing his teasing of Noe and also teasing other children in the line. Finally, Doreen said something to him that was not audible. "This school never need you," Kaleo replied, walking towards her. "Shutup," she shot back, and then Kaleo lunged at her, driving her out of the tetherball line.

Kaleo was only of average size, which made him quite small compared to Doreen, who outweighed him by thirty pounds. She immediately went after him, her fists at her side, but balled. Kaleo faced her with his fists raised, but kept backing up, prudently adopting the pose, at least, of a counterpuncher. Doreen just kept striding forward. The two made a large circle around the lower part of the playground until finally Kaleo backed into a bush, and the playground supervisor 'restrained' Doreen.

Noe was still crying and had begun to sob. The children's third grade teacher and the principal came out and met with the three children in the cafeteria. The fact that a problem had occurred among these three children was surprising since they were normally friends and among the best behaved children in the class. Noe would not talk about the situation with her teacher, and details from the other two were few as both seemed a little embarrassed by the situation. Assured that whatever it was was over, the teacher and the principal allowed the children to return to class.

What happened next is interesting. For the next two class periods, Noe and Kaleo were at the same centers. In fact, they were the only two children at those centers. They sat apart at first, Noe still sobbing and hiccupping. Towards the end of the first center and during the second, however, Kaleo began to make a few tentative overtures to her, stealing looks at her face, then at her worksheet, catching her eye and giving her a smile, and finally saying something to her about the work. She responded, Kaleo added something else a few moments later, and by the end of the second center the two were still subdued but talking more or less freely again. The problem between the two was thus resolved without ever having been addressed directly. Kaleo did not make an apology to Noe, nor did Noe forgive him in so many words. Instead, Kaleo tried out gestures that the two normally made with each other, the fact that he did so signalling remorse and a desire to be friends, the fact that Noe reciprocated signalling acceptance of his friendship (cf. Boggs 1978a). Letting actions speak for feelings in this way is typical of problem-solving in Hawaiian culture. After a

dispute or confrontation, disputants avoid one another in order to "cool off," and let the matter pass. The one at fault then attempts to resume the relationship, the theory being that if he or she is forgiven by the other in the other's "heart," there should be little need for formal apology. Since formal apology and similar rituals inevitably carry a little punitiveness, a demand for one may well be taken as a means for continuing rather than resolving a dispute and as a sign that the trouble is not yet finished in the "heart." Correlatively, since an apology entails the idea that an injury has been successfully inflicted upon another, the fact of being presented with one may well be found somewhat insulting. Indeed, the attempt to resolve problems directly through overt discussion, apology, and other means, often only makes them worse. Hawaiians are proud and sensitive people, not only in confrontations, but also in their aftermath, and usually rely upon subtlety in making and seeking amends.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Traditional Hawaiian culture is said to have provided for the practice of ho'opono'ono, a problem-solving group meeting typically involving all the members of an 'ohana and led by an elder family member or ritual specialist not directly involved in the problem (Pukui, Haertig, and Lee 1972:60-70). A practice of modern Hawaiian families that seems related to this--though these families are sometimes not aware of traditional practice--is family meetings at which family members voice their feelings about some state of affairs in order to "clear the air." No doubt, this practice often succeeds in resolving problems. I have been told by many Hawaiians, however, that family meetings often do not work. Their opinion is that problems that require this sort of resolution are problems that have no solution and furthermore that the traditional pressures on family members to solve their problems no longer exist. The families usually no longer own and jointly work taro fields, farms, and similar resources, and members have the option of living far apart from one another. When families do own economic resources in common, moreover, modern laws having to do with individual inheritance and the like place additional pressure on relationships.

Relative toughness and processes of rivalry

The children's commitment to demonstrating courage is directly related to their beliefs and theories about social relationships. The children believe that a person should not accept dominance from peers, an attitude that Howard (1974:27) interprets as Hawaiian "egalitarianism" and Boggs (1978a:78) as "equalitarianism." But the children also believe that acceptance and good treatment by others is each person's own responsibility to achieve. Each person must carve out his or her own social niche on the basis of his or her own social merits. When a child like Nalani feels that she is in a contest of wills with a teacher or when one like Doreen sees that a peer is trying to show dominance within her sphere of interaction, the child's options begin and very nearly end with responding in kind. By standing up directly to challenges, the children try to show that they cannot be pushed around and try to discourage further attempts at dominance. From a group perspective, their determined-to-be-reckoned-with attitude represents their method of instituting and maintaining order among themselves. The children do not rely upon abstract rules about how people should treat one another nor upon the offices of adults in

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Among adults, words are sometimes necessary to solve problems, usually because too many words, too many actions, and too much time have given problems too concrete an existence. But when problems are addressed directly, the kinds of actions taken in doing so bear little resemblance to "negotiation," "compromise," "discussion of issues," and other processes used in arbitration. Instead, there is a great outpouring of emotion. There are many tears and embraces, much protestation of love and regret, and happiness that relationships are good again. The process begins with the assumption that the problem is over, not on the premise that the problem will be resolved by means of the process.

regulating peer relationships. Rather than giving up the regulation of their relationships to powers outside their peer group, the children try to make social order grow from within, by means of their own very concrete efforts to command the respect of peers. They use the idea that a person is not supposed to accept dominance from others in organizing their interpretations of the significance of peers' actions; and they try to respond to challenges with counter-challenges on the theory that a reputation for meeting force with force deters people from making trouble.

In practice, however, things do not work out so straightforwardly as that. While it is true that a child who does nothing to resist dominance merely becomes a target for abuse, and while it is also true that reciprocal displays of toughness do lead to mutual respect, it is not the case that relationships among the children are static ones. Their interactions are instead characterized by recurrent conflicts. There are a number of reasons for this.

First, in the effort to maintain peers' respect, each child attempts to create and to sustain conditions of balance, of interactional parity with other children. In consequence, any action from one child--and particularly any action suggestive of toughness--is likely to call forth immediate balancing moves from other children. There is therefore always the possibility that interaction may escalate to conflict.

Second, the children's ideal of not backing down from trouble tends to endow the idea of conflict with special social significance and to push the children's balancing acts towards conflict. It is not good



enough for the children simply to claim to be tough. Boasting and swaggering are only "mouth-talk" until push comes to shove. The children have to prove the claim, and prove it by participating in confrontations with classmates. Relative toughness, moreover, is used by the children as a key measure of relative status. The rule that one is not supposed to accept dominance from others does not mean that one is supposed to reject dominance over others. On the contrary, the existence of the rule means that special social distinction is gained by those who succeed in confrontations and in the situations that are metaphors for confrontations. Where a child is in the social hierarchy of the class is largely a function of the people over whom the child can demonstrate dominance and with whom the child can show parity. The children's value of being tough thus not only defines a style of handling challenges, but establishes the confrontation as one of the primary rituals through which reputation is established and maintained. Owing to the fact that the children have to test themselves against each other in order to be socially successful, whether an action is an instance of making trouble or of responding to it is often largely a matter of perspective. For example, when Yuki disputed Pete's boast about being the best at hopscotch, who was making trouble for whom? Pete for Yuki in making the boast, or Yuki for Pete in disputing it? Was Doreen's intervention a case of trouble being made by her for Pete or a response to trouble made for her and her playmates by Pete's boast and shove of Yuki? Each of these actions, of course, is an example both of responding to trouble and of making it, one child's attempts to show an ability to "handle" always making trouble for the next child.

The importance for the children of participating in confrontations leads, in turn, to a heightened awareness of and responsiveness to the status implications of events. The children do not begin interaction by being belligerent; they do not set out to push one another around. They approach interaction instead with a manner suggesting that the issue of their toughness has already been settled. But it is so necessary for the children to show a willingness to participate in confrontations and confrontations hold so much potential meaning for them that they are likely to interpret as confrontations any situations that can be so interpreted. Thus, actions much less assertive than Pete's boast about hopscotch may bring forth large responses even from children like Yuki, who was by no means one of the tough children of the class. Sensitized to the political potential of interaction by living in a world in which being tough is a hallmark of character and a key measure of the person, the children are quick to interpret situations as attempts at dominance, quick to take offense at such attempts, and conversely, quick to create challenges and to work the meaning of situations in a way that gives them some advantage over others.

It is in the nature of the case, finally, that issues of dominance and parity among the children are not settled once and for all but instead are regularly opened anew. Many of the routine workings of school are easily interpretable by the children in confrontational terms and thus have the effect of regularly setting them in opposition to one another. Accidents, misunderstandings, recess contests, joking, directives from teachers, directives from peers, contention over scarce opportunities like being line captain, scarce goods like kickballs and

answer turns, in short, the sorts of events of which the schoolday is full may well be viewed in confrontational terms by the children. Often there are no clear winners and losers in the children's confrontations, and where there are, the losers are rarely disposed not to fight back in some way at some time. On the other hand, success does not last. Each new test that comes along represents a fresh challenge which must be freshly answered. The children's commitment to being tough, in sum, does end up creating social order among them, moreover, a form of social order in which everyone is kept at about the same level. But it does so by means of the processes of rivalry, a kind of interactional crucible in which relationships and claims to merit are continually undergoing definition as if for the first time.

There are three principal forms of rivalrous encounter among the children. The paradigmatic one is the confrontation. What happens once children are set in opposition to each other by the workings of the classroom, the playground, their histories with one another, or their own claims-making depends upon the assumptions about relative toughness that the children decide to test. A confrontation may begin and develop as a dominance ritual in which one child is unceremoniously belittled by the unreciprocated threats and insults of another. Thus, a Doreen, who invariably interpreted the tetherball rules in a way that accorded with her interests, would cock her head at a Tolbert and say to him as he tried to declare her the loser in a game, "Touch me, and I gonna kick your ass." Or a Pete, who had heard a half-whispered gibe in a line moving through the cafeteria, would announce, "Whoever wen' say that, I know how to make you cry." On the other hand, a

confrontation may begin and develop as a standoff, the children sometimes ending up exchanging blow for blow but more commonly keeping to a trade of mock for mock, threat for threat, and insult for insult with the wariness of equals. Thus, a Brent and a Melody would meet in a doorway going in opposite directions, and immediately the question of who would yield to whom would form between them. The question would never receive a clear answer, however, as bump would be exchanged for bump, and threatening look for threatening look in a rocky passage of their conflicting claims to dominance. The children's confrontations do not always end as they begin for a dominance ritual may turn into a standoff as putdowns are in fact reciprocated, and a standoff may turn into a dominance ritual as a child thinks better of a challenge issued or accepted and flees the scene. How long the children sustain a confrontation and how far they take it depend upon the children and the circumstances of their encounter, among the most important of which is the size of the audience attending the situation.

Of all the second graders, Pete restrained himself the least in responding to peers who made trouble. Pete's great rival in the class was Jake. Jake's "good friend" was Tolbert. Athletics is one of the frameworks in which the children mark out relative status, and towards the end of the year, the children played tetherball in a physical education period. Tolbert played Jake, lost, and returned to the line. Jake lost to the next player--Jake was actually not very good at athletics--, and eventually Pete played, won, won again, and then played Tolbert. Theirs was the last game of the period. Pete lost. As the children lined up to return to class, Tolbert and Jake relished

a victory that they had in a sense shared. "I winners, looks like," Jake said. "Yeah," agreed Tolbert, "You win me, I win Pete . . ."

They drew this conclusion within earshot of Pete and looked back at him to see its effect upon him. The effect was immediate. Pete stormed up the line towards Tolbert, pushing children out of the way, and accidentally knocking down Freddie, who cried. Pete lunged at Tolbert, missed, and then when Brent laughed at the miss, Pete tackled him instead, landing on top of both Brent and Kevin, another innocent bystander. "Sorry, anh?" Pete said to Kevin as he went after Brent again. The children's teacher, Mrs. Akau, who had been leading the line of children to the classroom, came back and made Pete sit against the wall to "cool off." Jake and Tolbert, smiling, again said something about having beaten Pete at tetherball. "How come you never challenge me, then?" Pete demanded of Tolbert. "Fucker!" he yelled at him. "Come on, come on," Pete dared Jake, as the line of children began moving back to the classroom. When he himself returned to the classroom, Pete banged the door shut and then surveyed his classmates for some sign of trouble from them. Except when Mrs. Akau had intervened, Pete had not been able not to go after his antagonists in some way. The implication that he had been and could continue to be bested in tetherball by the likes of Jake could not be allowed to stand unchallenged. Neither, however, was that implication overturned. It was not Jake or even Tolbert that Pete had tackled, but Brent. It is true that Pete had dared Jake to fight him. But Pete himself had not dared simply to attack Jake. The outcome of the encounter was thus not

a clear victory for anyone but instead a reassertion of the standoff in claims between Jake and Pete.

Dominance rituals, too, can easily develop beyond a simple threat or insult. On one occasion, Mark and Tolbert raced each other for the first place in the cafeteria line. Tolbert lost, but then at the tables he began teasing Mark, calling him "chicken legs." The insult was a sexual one, meant to belittle Mark's malehood. Mark stood up at his table, which was adjacent to Tolbert's, and made his body big. Not impressed, Tolbert smiled and repeated the insult. He did not bother to stand up. Mark slugged him on the back, but Tolbert only laughed a little more as the punch had not hurt him in the slightest, further belittling Mark. The cafeteria supervisor intervened, making Mark sit down. Failing to produce any effect whatever upon Tolbert had been too much for Mark, and he was crying a little. For Tolbert, besting Mark with his teasing was as good as proving that he could beat him in a fight. Indeed, by having used mere words to make Mark cry, Tolbert had inflicted a much more complete defeat upon him.

The children maintain stories about their more dramatic confrontations, and particularly their fights, as a kind of oral history of their class. The second graders could tell long and detailed stories about confrontations from their first grade and even kindergarten years. Stories about who has backed down from whom or stood up to whom, together with the children's direct observations of these facts during the day, provide them with strong and shared notions of dominance and parity within their peer group. Conversely, the children's notions of dominance and parity structure their decisions about whether

and how to engage in particular confrontations. The children's ideas about relative status, however, do not determine these decisions. That a child has backed down from some peer in the past, does not mean that the child will forego challenging that peer in the future. Sometimes these challenges appear to grow from acute anger, from misplaced and momentary optimism about how things will turn out, or from the tyranny of others' expectations. There are challenges which a child cannot decline to make or to accept, however certain the child's defeat. Most often, however, these challenges seem to occur simply for the sake of an exciting diversion, a kind of tweaking of the nose of authority done just for the fun of taking a risk and of getting somebody riled up. It is further the case that no one is immune from becoming the butt of derision in status leveling encounters, the second principal type of rivalrous encounter among the children.

In status leveling encounters, a child's claims to social superiority or even minimal social competence may be swept away by gusts of laughter or teasing at evidence of the child's ineptness. This ineptness--what the children call "making ass"--may be exposed by the situation or by a child's own performances. Being caught ("busted") by the teacher, clumsy or otherwise fumbling doings, backing down in confrontations, losing in recess games, getting answers wrong, and similar events all provide a child's peers with the opportunity to initiate status leveling encounters. To respond with pain or anger to the derision of peers is to play into their hands and to bring on more teasing and laughter from them. The preferred response is to find some

way of turning the teasing and laughter around in order to be taken seriously again.

One day in the cafeteria, for example, Brent tripped while carrying his tray and came down hard on the cement floor, injuring both his elbow and his pride. Children at his table at once broke into laughter at the sight of him sprawled on the floor and his food spilled out of his tray. Brent seemed to cry first at the pain, and then at the fact that he was crying and others were laughing. He sat on the floor by the wall, not ready to return to his table and unable to bring his crying in hand. Classmates continued to tease him. He was then told to sit outside "to catch his breath." He continued crying until the supervisor gave him one of the recess balls to hold. Displaying his possession through the door to the children at his table, and playing catch with the ball, Brent smiled broadly again, evidently having more than evened the score in his own mind. Those inside seemed to think so, too, for they vigorously protested Brent's possession of the ball and his teasing to the well-meaning but hapless cafeteria supervisor.

It is rare, however, for a child to succeed in transforming a status leveling encounter into something else. The opposition in these situations is typically not just one child, but a group of children. Owing to the group dimension of the situation, a child usually becomes angry and flails about ineffectually or simply suffers through peers' ridicule, the encounter a frustrating one in either case. The children's status leveling encounters do not give rise to the same wealth of stories as their confrontations. The cumulative effect of these encounters is more a symbolic one. Everyone knows that



however mighty a child, that child can be as inept as anyone else and is as helpless before the dynamics of the group as everyone else.

The third type of rivalrous encounter among the children is by far the most common. This form of rivalry consists of sequence after sequence of playful contests of will, skill, strength, and courage. In these contests, questions of dominance and parity lie in the background of interaction but may quickly break through to the fore. In the classroom, the second graders would vie with one another for little advantages: for the seat at the teacher's right at Center 1 in order to be the one to pass out the books; for the seat near the tape recorder at the listening center in order to be the one to control the volume and to get the "choice" headset; for the last position or the first position in a line just to be the last or first one out of the room; and so on. The children would invent games, too, and vie with one another on this basis. One week, it would be who could flip an eraser into the air and catch it on the back of the hand. Another, it would be "hand-popping," a child pointing the right index finger at a peer, placing the left hand in the right armpit, and then slapping the right arm against the body so that it produced a flatulent sound, presumably directed out of the gun finger at the other child. Another week it would be a finger snapping contest, another, a contest to see who could break a pencil with a one finger karate chop, or do the highest kung fu kicks, and so on. The children even contended with one another over milk cartons. A picture of a president of the United States was on one panel of each carton, and the children all tried to get the ones with the picture of George Washington. The children explained that they

wanted those cartons because he was the first president. "He the bes'!" Kaleo said. Recess, of course, provided the second graders with many opportunities for contests, and these were often carried into the classroom. For a while, they boys played "slap muscle" when they could get away with it, the object being to see if anyone would yield in a game to trading slugs on the arm. Another time, arm wrestling on the center tables was favored by the boys and some of the girls. During the heyday of arm wrestling, Pete, Jake, and Yuki were together at a center. Jake challenged Pete to arm wrestle, placing his own elbow on the table and his arm up. "No like," Pete said, indicating that he did not want to do it. When Jake's attention was drawn to a noise, his arm still up in the air, Pete slipped his hand into Jake's, slamming Jake's arm down, and laughing with pleasure at his trick. The teachers put an end to some of the children's contests. Others, the children themselves let pass, perhaps as mastery of a game stopped being a challenge, perhaps as a game became mastered by everyone so that mastery no longer conferred any special distinction. Begun playfully, the children's contests did not always remain playful. Some irritation or frustration might break through, some tease might be meant or taken a bit too sharply, and suddenly the children's background curiosity about relative talents and abilities would shift into belittling teases, threats, or insults and thence, perhaps, into fighting.

#### Being tough and being friendly

By means of their confrontations, status levelling encounters, and playful contests, which together occur by the hundreds daily, the

children of a class interpret their free time and the workings of the school in terms of their own system of face-to-face politics. From an adult perspective, a cafeteria line may be no more than an expedient people moving device and milk cartons with presidents' pictures on them no more than an expedient teaching device; but from the children's perspective, these organized states of affairs and every other organized state of affairs presented them at school constitute frameworks in which to work out questions of relative status. The children create and re-create their own status structures as schooldays proceed, some children carving out positions above others, but all of the children held in check directly by rivals and indirectly by status leveling encounters. Apart from the children's beliefs and values, the sheer volume and roughness of their face-to-face political maneuvers may seem merely chaotic. Indeed, Boggs (1978a) seems to interpret Hawaiian children's social dynamics in this way. Within the context of the children's beliefs and values, however, their face-to-face maneuvers make sense as aspects of the processes and politics of rivalry.

There is more to being tough than showing dominance of or parity with others, however, and there is certainly much more to the children's relationships than this single notion. A more complete idea of the children's interactions may be gained from considering the uses to which the children put teasing and other forms of repartee. The children are extremely versatile and sophisticated in their use of repartee, employing it in the least to the most friendly of contexts.

The ultimate risk taken by the children in their confrontations is not getting into a fight and losing, but getting into a fight and looking foolish. Being beaten up is one thing; being laughed at because one is so ineffectual is quite another. In any case, repartee often takes the place of fighting in confrontations. It represents a kind of verbal dueling. The repartee may result in a fight, but the real loser of the confrontation is the first child who cannot find a rejoinder and loses his or her composure; it is the child who ends up looking foolish. Of all the second graders, Kaleo was most accomplished at verbal dueling. In a confrontation one day between himself and a third grade boy much larger than he, the third grader lost his temper and lashed out at Kaleo with an insult. "Black ass," he spat, trying to make use of the fact that Kaleo was half-black. Smiling coldly, Kaleo immediately retorted, "Not! Only dark." The third grade boy had not expected a response, did not have a reply to it, and stumbled over his words, nothing coherent coming out of him. The other boys laughed appreciatively at the fact that Kaleo had made him stumble, and the larger boy quit the scene of confrontation. Hours later, the boys were still dwelling upon the incident, repeating Kaleo's retort and laughing appreciatively. The issue, here, was not so much whether Kaleo or the third grade boy was physically dominant. The third grade boy clearly was. The issue was rather a matter of who had the better control of his emotions, of his own fear, pain, and anger, of who could think better on his feet. In this context, being tough meant having poise. While the children always talk as though

fighting is the ultimate test of who is tougher than whom, it is poise rather than brawn that commands their respect.

A concern with showing poise also surfaces in the children's use of teasing to play with the dominance implications of situations or to shear situations of their dominance implications. On one occasion, for example, a boy was walking to the cafeteria when a girl looked up at him from the sidewalk. "Eh! No step my gecko!" she commanded, dramatically shielding a baby gecko from the boy's advance as if he were about to crush it. "'Smy pet!" she added, teasing the boy. "Tha's your pet?" the boy asked. "Kiss 'em, then," he retorted, continuing on his way. Here, the boy had simply used one of the best known formulas of teasing to respond to the girl's playful bossiness with some playful cockiness of his own. On another occasion, two kindergarten children were working at a table and getting their papers entangled. "Eh! Watch your paper!" the boy said. "No call me Eh! I not one Eh!" the girl retorted as they got their papers separated. By means of having ready responses like these, the children do not show themselves equal or superior to peers so much as they show themselves equal to the problem of managing the quick paced flow of situations in which relative dominance is routinely an issue.

The situations considered so far are ones structurally equivalent to confrontations. The difference is that the situations are more playful, at least more gamelike, and in this sense more friendly. The children also use teasing in doing playful rivalry. Indeed, teasing is one of the main ways in which Hawaiian children play at rivalry. Teasing in this context retains an element of challenge but is done

primarily as a means of having "good fun." It is a kind of game that the children play to entertain each other. The liberties that the children will take with others and allow others to take with them in this kind of teasing are suggestive of the strength of friendship that also develops in the crucible of rivalry. Jamie, for example, was missing his right hand and his right foot owing to a birth defect. One day after recess, he was, as usual, one of the last children to line up. Noe was sitting with her arm inside her T-shirt so that only her elbow protruded through the sleeve of the shirt. She was smiling at Jamie as he approached her, and then it dawned on him that she was teasing him, that the elbow was meant to resemble his own handless right arm. "She teasing!" he exclaimed. "Look, she teasing!" he said, laughing, and wanting someone to share in his delight that Noe thought enough of him to have thought up this tease. In the right circumstances, some children were perfectly capable of making Jamie's handicaps the basis of punitive teasing. But from Noe, the teasing stood for acceptance and friendship, invoking the idea of a relationship strong enough that there was little that could not be made the basis for kidding and shared laughter.

A preschool interaction between a boy and a girl affords another very clear example of teasing as a form of shared entertainment. The two children, both four years old, were sitting opposite one another on the floor of their classroom. They were supposed to be putting a puzzle together, but the girl had turned the situation into a game of hiding pieces of the puzzle from the boy. One piece of the puzzle was

still missing, and the boy thought he knew where it might be. "Try get up, try get up," he said to the girl. "Try get up," he repeated. "I not deaf, you know," the girl finally retorted. This girl was very cute, and the boy quite fond of her. He smiled at her, and there was a brief pause in their interaction. Then the boy began again. "Try get up," he said, quite slowly and without insistence. He was making it obvious that he was deferring to her pride. Smiling widely, the girl now undertook to defend the hidden puzzle piece with insouciance. Leaning backwards, as luxuriantly as her thirty pound frame would permit, she announced in a teasing lilt, "I no like. I like relax."

Teasing is also used by the children to help peers through losses of face. Teasing used in this way bears a superficial resemblance to the derision that occurs in confrontations and status leveling encounters but is wholly different in its intent and outcome. Once, for example, Herman "made ass" in much the way he did at the end of Ellen's social studies lesson. The children had picked teams indoors for a game of kickball that was to be played outdoors. They had their heads down and were being extra quiet so that the teacher would release them to play. Herman, always one of the last children picked for teams, again had his key out and again drew attention to himself by making a noise--he dropped the key onto his table. The teacher responded to the racket of metal key bouncing on formica tabletop by releasing the other team first. Even though no one could play until both teams were outside, Herman's teammates treated him to a harsh chorus of threats and insults. Finally, the rest of the children were released, and the room emptied of all but two people: Kaleo and Herman, who was sitting

dejectedly at his table. Grinning, Kaleo went over to him, pointing a finger at him and giggling through his teeth. He was teasing Herman about the key and his treatment by his peers as a way of cheering him up. It was as though Kaleo were taking himself behind the front of being tough to giggle at the reality of Herman's ineptitude and to remind him that being tough was only a game they all played. After a moment, Herman stood up. Kaleo, still grinning and giggling, put his arm around the smaller boy's shoulders, and the two boys went out to get back into the flow of things. Though teasing is a major item in the children's arsenal of techniques for holding their own among peers, teasing in this sort of situation has only supportive aims. It communicates affection, disclosing sensitivity to a peer in a way consistent with the children's value of being tough. Rather than catering to a peer's dejection, it encourages the peer to take neither self nor situation too seriously, lessening the sting and reality of the children's group dynamics with joking about the silliness of things.

Apparent from the ways in which the children use teasing is that they value both a range of self-presentations and a certain quality of performance. The range of self-presentations valued by the children may be conceptualized as a continuum of behavior stretching between two complementary but contrasting themes. At one end of this continuum lies the paradigmatic expression of being tough, that of fighting back physically. The ideal of courageousness behind this form of self-presentation may be characterized more generally as an ideal of personal autonomy, of showing that one is equal to whatever challenges the world has to offer. As one moves away from this end of the



continuum, the theme of being tough remains integral to the children's self-presentations, but it begins to recede to the background of their interactions. The children express the idea of being tough in metaphorical ways, and the foreground of their interactions takes on a more gamelike and eventually more playful and friendly quality. The increasingly friendly and affectionate quality of the children's interactions signifies the emergence of the second major theme of their self-presentations. The children usually term this theme that of being nice. It may be characterized more generally as an ideal of social solidarity, of showing unqualified affection and warmth for others. The themes of toughness and solidarity are in balance with one another in the playful contests which absorb so much of the children's time. Indeed, it is through placing smiles and laughter conspicuously in the foreground of situations that the children are able to sustain contention with one another in playful ways. Beyond this midpoint of the continuum of the children's self-presentations lie stronger expressions of solidarity. These include gestures of support like that given Herman by Kaleo and extend ultimately into gifts of affection equivalent in strength to the children's assertions of toughness through fighting.

Affectionateness is pervasive in the behavior of Hawaiian children. It is readily observable in the children's behavior with both peers and teachers and is most apparent in their nonverbal behavior. As a line of children passes by, a child may stop to hug, even kiss, a teacher. Children cutomarily lounge against a teacher as she reads to them and often finger hair and clothing. In the middle of discussing a story, a

child may abruptly announce, "I like you, you're nice." As children even as old as third grade age leave school, someone may call out, "Love you," to an adult. Love notes on written assignments are common. Among the children themselves, one sees affectionateness in the trades of clothing and other personal property that they do during the day, in the enthusiasm of their greetings, in their easy physical intimacy with one another; always, one sees it in the smiles that they wear and present to one another at the onset of interaction. In the fact that Hawaiian children show affection to one another and to their teachers, they are not unusual; all children do. But in the strength of their displays, their readiness to do them, and the purposes served by them, Hawaiian children are quite distinctive.

Just how distinctive they are comes out clearly in some letters written by the second grade children to a classmate who had moved away. In face-to-face interactions with classmates, the children are usually concerned to combine affectionateness and toughness in their self-presentations. In letter writing, however, the other is at a distance, and perhaps for this reason, the children's letters contain expressions of affection not masked by an equivalent concern for showing toughness.

Toby B., it will be recalled, was one of the children who was most difficult in Ellen's lesson. It was he who tried to pull a poster out of Ellen's hand, he who began and led the boo for the girls chant. While he had some friends among the boys, he also had some enemies; few of the girls had much regard for him. In the summer between second and third grade years, Toby B. moved to another of the Hawaiian Islands.

At the beginning of the next school year, he wrote a letter to Noe, Noe brought it to school, and the teacher, ever alert as teachers are to the instructional possibilities of situations, organized a return letter writing session. Though Toby B. was not very well-liked by many of the children, their letters to him are full of very strong expressions of affection, often mixed in with the most mundane of matters.

Mapu writes that,

I want you to come back to KEEP  
I MISS you I hope you come back I love  
you, we have thether [tether] ball at KEEP School,  
we have hard work we do / and x

She then goes on to list all the names of the children in the class. She concludes with a picture showing a girl and a boy between two trees under smiling clouds, a smiling sun, and the legend, "I love you." From this letter, it might seem that Toby B. and Mapu were boyfriend and girlfriend, but this was not the case. It is instead an affectionate and sentimental social form that Mapu is writing to. Writing to the same social form, Louella says this

How are you I hope you will come back  
and I hope the baby [Toby B.'s new sister] is well and  
I hope it will be a girl or a boy but  
most of all I miss you and we had  
the Cook Idnd [Island] Daces [Dancers] toDay and  
I hope your mom and dad are  
happy but most of all I reay reay reay [really]  
miss you

Love Louella and my  
mom

Norino closes her letter by saying, "we all love you and care for you," while Estrella bravely assures him that "the hole class likes you."

Tolbert tells him that "I like your name. I like you the best." Jake and Jamie both tell him that they miss him and hope he will return, while Freddie says that "I like you very very very very very much and we are going to have a christmas play." That the boys, too, are writing to a social form is especially clear from the letters of Brent, Kaleo, and Pete. The boys mentioned above were among Toby B.'s friends; these three boys were his greatest rivals. Brent says that,

I wish you will come  
 bake and stay with us  
 and play kick ball and  
 play shanbattal [sham battle] with us  
 and play kick kick with us  
 We have not forgotin you

Kaleo hopes, "You can visit us," and, not to be outdone by Tolbert, signs his letter, "from your best friend Kaleo." Pete's letter is the most remarkable of them all. Despite the fact that Pete was such a fighter and Toby B. one of the children he often fought, he goes on for three pages, exuding friendship and apparently trying to entice Toby B. to return to the school. At times, Pete almost sounds injured that Toby B. moved away.

How are you feeling in Maui?  
 are you haveing fun ther  
 when are you comeing to Hawaii  
 I hope you are haveing fun  
 becuse we are haveing real good  
 fun here in Hawaii. becuse we  
 are going to do grease for  
 chirsmas are you going to come  
 and wach us or are you going to  
 stay ther in Maui. but still are  
 you never comeing to Hawaii?  
 and boy you should see what  
 kind of moveis ther are in  
 Hawaii we can see Xandu [Xanadu] and  
 grease, Somky and the Bint [Smokey and the Bandit], and

empire strikes back, and that  
 one call Lady in red, rocky II,  
 the fog, superman, malau [Malabu] high,  
 and boy did you see the moveeies  
 at Sunset divein it was cup of  
 gold and cup of honey at the  
 moveise it was a funny moveies  
 the name was candyman, and  
 markie going nuts [an aside about a classroom event]. and you  
 shuld see Saterday night fever  
 it is so bad you no the lady  
 her going take off her clotes  
 man it is so bad you are going  
 to like see the moveise  
 at kam [shopping center] the name is I will  
 tell you what the name is  
 but you are going to be sorry  
 it is foxy girl we made it for  
 you but you are not here  
 and you should not [have] gone to  
 maui we are haveing so good  
 fun that we think you  
 was with us in KEEP  
 i hope someday you will  
 be comeing back to Hawaii  
 we are doing very good  
 here in hawaii and you  
 should see we have 4 [teachers]  
 ther names are mrs I mrs  
 Lee miss L and a nice  
 Hawaii lady. 1 day I hope  
 you can [come] back in hawaii and  
 we are the Bogie [Boogie] Phantoms  
 they Pete, Kaleo, Mark, and the  
 boss is Brent.<sup>3</sup> now can  
 you come back to Hawaii?

WE NEED YOU  
 WITH US

your firend  
 Pete

These letters show what the children know about the politics of  
 initiating contact with a peer. It is useful to think of the

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<sup>3</sup> A reference to Pete's "gang," which is discussed elsewhere.

expressions of affection contained by these letters as captions for the smiles and other nonverbal signs of affection with which Hawaiian children begin face-to-face interaction. Both the children's letters and their smiles say, "You are a part of the group. The group likes you. I like you." The reason that expressions of solidarity are so relevant to the opening and continued conduct of interaction is that conflict is such a strong possibility among the children. In placing the theme of solidarity in the foreground of their communications to one another, the children say, "You are on my side." They do this, and do it so strongly and so clearly, because to leave any doubt on this score is to say, "You are not on my side." It is to say, "I don't like you, the group doesn't like you, you are not part of the group." It is, in short, to make trouble and to beg a fight. Displays of affection are a pleasurable accompaniment to peer interaction for all children; for Hawaiian children, however, these displays have an essential political significance. They form a touchstone without which interaction may quickly dissolve into confrontation. In the context of the children's value of being tough, the absence of a smile from a classmate does not signify abstraction, indifference, or mere coolness; it signifies hostility. It represents a challenge. For Hawaiian children, foreground displays of affection are the necessary complement to background assertions of toughness. Together, the themes of autonomy and solidarity represent the children's face-to-face political strategy for managing peer relationships peaceably and independently of external authority. The challenge of interaction for the children is

to play with these themes of self-presentation in a way that gives them both friendship and prestige; it is to use teasing and similar social forms both to extend solidarity and to suggest some distinctive personal merit.

There is also an idealistic significance, however, to the children's expressions of solidarity. If together the ideas of autonomy and solidarity make a political whole, so, too, together do these ideas make an idealistic whole. In many of the children's letters, as in much of their face-to-face interaction, expressions of solidarity appear to have only a political meaning. The children are writing to a form and no more. They are able to say things like, "I love you," in such offhand ways because the expression of affection is so customary with them. Other letters, however, reveal an idealistic conception of the peer group and altruistic attitudes towards peers that are in fact held by all of the children. The images presented to Toby B. by the children in their letters--of the whole class liking him, of the children's having so much fun that they think he is still with them, so much fun was he, of everyone caring for him and loving him--are invocations of the ideal; they are expressions of peer group society as each child would like to have it. Defined equally by the ideals of autonomy and solidarity, the peer group envisioned by the children is one of courageous, strong-willed, and prideful equals, under no one else's control, in need of no one else's intervention, and so able to give themselves completely to one another and to the group in acts of caring, helpfulness, and loyalty free from compulsion and self-interest. As all ideals are, the children's ideals are subject to

manipulation; they can mask, and are regularly made to mask, realities having directly to do with self-interest and compulsion. But in the children's letters, as in their face-to-face interaction, there is often an innocent authenticity both to their courageousness and to their affectionateness. No one forces Mapu to draw her pictures of the absent Toby B. restored to her company; no one prompts Brent to reassure Toby that he has not been forgotten; and no one requires Pete to evoke the image of a peer group that suffers for Toby B.'s want. The children do these things because it gives them pleasure to think of their peer group as a good and necessary locus of identity.

We cool, tha's why

This chapter has tried to make sense of the children's "aggressiveness" by relating it to the values of autonomy and solidarity and to the necessary political and idealistic complementarities between these values. The notions of autonomy and solidarity, however, leave unarticulated a third element of the children's self-presentations. This element is also an ideal, but not a substantive ideal in the way that courageousness and caring are; it is an ideal of performance. It is how the children communicate their messages of autonomy and solidarity. Though more fugitive than those themes, the way in which the children do their performances is the single most general and potent feature of their behavior for it applies to the whole range of their actions. Whether the children are fighting, joking, or giving affection to one another, their manner of performing



is a constant. Long after the schoolday has ended, it is this quality of their behavior that lingers as the truest symbol of the children.

The children's performance ideal has to do with a certain robustness of action and personality, with the verve and vivacity that have been prominent in all of the stories told thus far about the children. Once on a fieldtrip, Brent gave a name to this aspect of the children's behavior. He had slipped my wallet out of my backpocket, and all smiles, had run away with it. I held out my hand, and he brought the wallet back, laughing, and still teasing me with it. "Why do you guys do stuff like that?" I asked him, smiling myself at his mischievousness. "I don't know," he said. Then he shrugged and explained, "We cool, tha's why."

For the children, identity is a canvas, the things they wear, say, and do, their paints. They use broad, sweeping strokes, and bright, rich colors to produce images their peers will admire, the richer and more vibrant an image, the better. The children are tough and affectionate, and have to be. But it is the flourish that they try to impart to all of their doings that brings these themes to life and makes them effective. The children do not simply show toughness, demonstrate playfulness, express affection. They come up with lurid and devastating insults, ingenious teases, words and actions that can go straight to the heart. Beneath the robustness of the children's self-presentations lies the same socio-structural logic associated with the themes of their self-presentations. As the children must win the respect of peers on their own and engender peers' trust and affection on their own, so, too, on their own must they fulfill the most

fundamental of all interactional requirements: that of attracting others' notice. Whether the children succeed in this depends upon their individual capacities to entertain, to amuse, to engage and sustain others' interest. To succeed, the children must project a certain aura, show a certain panache, be attractive social partners in their own rights as social personalities. They must be charismatic; even more than courageous, even more than affectionate, they must be, as Brent said, "cool."

Viewed from the perspective of a charismatic portrayal of self, the essentials of self-presentation among the children include, but go beyond, the ideas of being tough and affectionate. What is needed is a hint of dangerousness of manner, a kind of monitory, "Can handle," air; a wit quick enough to find humor in situations and telling replies to teasing and boasting; physical attractiveness, strength and coordination; and a certain interactional sparkle: a laugh that comes easily, eyes and a face that can shine with a warmly affectionate, often mischievous, and always lively delight in social give and take. Each child embellishes upon these themes as the child's talents and resources permit. There are possessions that can heighten the power of a child's presence through their connection to adult and other fantasy worlds. There were Pete's disco socks, the cut-off T-shirts that the boys all liked, and the combs with mother-of-pearl patina that the girls would flourish in their hair. There was contraband like stray car keys and Jake's ancient and crumbling firecracker; and there were fine or special things like the embroidered cloth slippers and designer

jeans that a few of the girls owned, the magazines and decals about hotrods and racers that boys brought in, and even the Superhero underwear that Tolbert favored until some of the boys began teasing him about it. It is doings more than things that make for charismatic performances, however, and it is in these that each of the second grade children showed a special individual style and flair. There was Pete with his strut and disco performances, regaling the children with knowing stories about the "Hotel Street boys," a mythical group of teenagers, but at the same time betraying his eagerness for his peers' friendship in the nicknames he was forever inventing for them. There was Kaleo with his very sharp and quick wit, refusing to take Pete or much else very seriously, but often there to help his friends in his own way when no one else was. There was Jamie, an imp of a boy, a genius at inventing new problems for teachers, but also a child determined to hold his own among his peers despite his considerable physical handicaps. There was Jake with his dark and vaguely menacing monologues, and Tolbert, the class clown, with his 'look at me, I'm doing something crazy again' routines. These, together with his physical charms made him extremely cute as far as most of the girls were concerned and thus a thorn in the side for most of the boys. There was Doreen, personifying more than any other child in the class an absolutely indomitable will, but maintaining enough distance from the performance in her own mind to be able to peek out around it and laugh about it. There was April, buoyantly unpredictable, and Claradine, playfully bossy. There were Estrella, Mapu, Melody, and

Norino, "titas," one would call them in pidgin, girls who alternated a kind of verbal brassiness and sassiness with a coy flirtatiousness. There was Noe, "good fun" owing to her athleticism and sense of humor, but also a rare child, idolized by the others and capable of displaying a depth of affection and concern for them that was quite remarkable. From the stars of the class to its lesser lights, the children were each distinctive in some way. Each made a very strong and immediate impression, enhanced rather than masked by the performances of peers. As the children's value of being tough led to a high level of confrontations among them, so too, did their interest in being "cool" lead to rivalry of a different sort, one of joking, teasing, and histrionic and burlesqued performances that filled their interactions with theater.

The idea that Hawaiian schoolchildren attempt charismatic portrayals of self is supported by others' observations of Hawaiian culture, of Hawaiian children, and of these children in particular. In contrasting the relative significance to Hawaiians of a person's abstract social credentials and a person's own inner capacities in face-to-face interaction, Gallimore and Howard (1968:12) write,

What a man does for a living, or what kind of house or car he owns is less important than his ability to be a good friend, to be congenial, to joke with others, laugh at his own foibles, and accept hospitality as graciously as he extends it. If he has a special status, it will be known by friends and needs no continuing emphasis; the special qualities of an individual can be appreciated by others without display or lavish acknowledgement. Indeed, a person with special status must be particularly willing to be the center of gentle teasing.

Of their impressions of Hawaiian styles of self-presentation and of the value placed on social relationships by Hawaiians, Gallimore, Boggs, and Jordan (1974:45) write:

People greet one another with enthusiasm, often with car horns or an embrace. A casual encounter is likely to develop into an afternoon or evening together, especially during the weekend. If this visiting occurs at home or near a snack stand, food and drink very likely will be offered or exchanged. People seem to enjoy talking to one another, usually about previous shared experiences or friends . . . .

A colleague who worked both with Hawaiian children at Ka Na'i Pono and with same age, primarily middle class, primarily mainland children at another school, was struck by differences between the two populations. Those at Ka Na'i Pono were "alive," he said; they had at once engaged him in playfully curious interaction, wanting to know his name and what he was doing, wanting him to know their names and involving him in their doings. At the other school, there was not this immediate engagement of him in interaction. Most of the children kept their distance and maintained a certain reserve around him. Two even avoided him. In comparing the children of the second grade at Ka Na'i Pono to a near age class of middle class children, a teacher who had taught both groups said that there were more "headaches" with the former and less fun with the latter--"they don't have the personalities, you know, that make them stand out."

An image useful as a metaphor for the children's style of self-presentation is that of a smile that also shows teeth. Smiling is how the children invite interaction. It is how they show affection and acceptance, how they sustain trust in relationships, how they encourage

teasing, joking, "talking story," and other forms of good fun. It is how they express solidarity in the foreground of their interactions. Showing teeth is how the children invite respect from peers. It is how they apply boundaries to the identity claims of others, warning them that they face someone able to "handle," someone equal to any of the performances that others might do. It is how the children express autonomy in the background of their interactions. Both the smile and the teeth are essential to the children. Without the teeth, the children suggest weakness; without the smile, they give offense.

The response that the children try to achieve by means of the liveliness of the combination is perhaps best appreciated from the perspective of adult culture. Among adults in Hawaiian social networks, social relationships are supposed to take precedence over most other values, and visiting is a favorite activity. How one is received in visits, as in all encounters, depends largely upon one's social gifts. The ideal is to be greeted warmly and heartily, to be welcomed with food and spirits and be told how much one has been missed, to joke, tease, "talk story," sing funny and sentimental songs, and above all to laugh with one's hosts. It is finally to have them resist one's departure, urging one back to the picnic table that is a fixture in Hawaiian carports, and threatening to flatten one's tires if one tries to leave. It is this sort of reaction from others that the children are trying to achieve in their often brash and swaggering but nonetheless appealing ways. A "good day" for the children means receiving from their peers a version of the fruits that are born of

charisma in the adult world. It means having welcome in peer gatherings.

### Conclusion

The line of thinking that has been behind this chapter is that particular forms of social structure are associated with specific ideals of personhood and specific forms of social dynamism. The picture of the second graders that has emerged is one of a band of children attempting to manage their relationships on their own. The children approach peers with actions suggesting solidarity, hinting at autonomy, and expressing personal charisma. How things develop among the children depends largely upon their juggling of these messages. Interaction may be held at the level of joking and teasing; it may gather into a feeling of community through sharing of stories, trading of possessions, and expressions of support and caring; or it may swing into tests of worthiness and status, escalating from playful rivalry to confrontations. Inevitably, the children spend much of their time absorbed with rivalry. The children's commitment to maintaining balance with peers--balance in play, balance in fighting, balance in affection--tends to bind them all together in group-wide social processes. The commitment to maintaining parity means that one individual's performances have implications for the definition of others' identities and are always likely to call forth appropriate replies. No schoolday passes that does not witness the ebullient rivalrousness of the children, a kind of constant jockeying for

advantage and regard through which everyone is kept in sight, if not of everyone else, then at least of someone else in the class.<sup>4</sup>

There is a clear correspondence between this conception of interactional process among the children and their "acting" in lessons like Ellen's. Examples of teasing and joking, playful contests, status leveling encounters, and putdowns and standoffs abound in Ellen's lesson. More importantly, the progression of events in that lesson was a group process which matches that progression of events towards confrontation which may occur in the children's peer relationships. The early minutes of Ellen's lesson show the children at their playfully rivalrous and charismatic best. As the lesson progresses, tests of worthiness and status rise to the foreground of interaction, culminating eventually in confrontations among the children and between Ellen and the children. Ellen's problem--the problem of each teacher who works with Hawaiian children--is figuring out how to cope with their playful rivalrousness and to keep this group process from escalating to insult and to conflict.

Hawaiian children themselves explicitly recognize the parallels between the behavior that they do with teachers in lessons like Ellen's and their own behavior with one another. During the account of Ellen's lesson, it was noted that the term, "acting," refers to two sorts of child actions towards adults: to the playful challenge represented in

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<sup>4</sup>See Boggs (1978a, 1985) for a contrasting interpretation of social dynamics among Hawaiian schoolchildren.



teasing and joking and to the serious challenge represented in acts of defiance. The term, "acting," however, is also used within the context of peer interaction. It is used, moreover, to refer to equivalent if not identical types of action: to the playful challenge of teasing and joking and to the serious challenge of attempts at dominance. To both sorts of actions from peers, children may respond by saying, "No act." "No act" in response to perceived challenges is monitory; it warns of confrontation should behavior not change. With playful teasing, "No act" is complimentary; while it carries a hint of connection to confrontation, and in this sense can be monitory, it is always delivered with good humor and constitutes applause for a good performance. In the way that Hawaiian children use labels for behavior, there is thus a perceived structural similarity between their behavior with one another and their behavior with teachers; there is also a perceived equivalence between playful teasing and challenges as forms of behavior.

The roots of the terminological equivalence between challenges and teasing and of the structural similarities between Hawaiian children's behavior with teachers and their behavior with peers, lie in the children's early socialization experiences with adults. It is by means of these experiences that children are first taught the rudiments of the interactional patterns that will be so essential to their success with peers. Through their socialization, children learn how to do challenges and teasing, to call both forms of behavior, "acting," and to think of these different forms of "acting" as contrasting means of accomplishing similar self-presentational goals. In a sense, the children's behavior with both teachers and peers represents a playback

of lessons learned early about how to make and to deny claims to worthy social identities.

The next chapter will explore the homelife origins of the children's social ideals, attitudes, and general approach to interaction. The main questions to be addressed are two: why do the children need to learn to behave as they do, and how do they learn what they need to know to participate effectively in their social world? Why and how do the children learn to "act"? One purpose of this chapter will be to establish the early precedent for the "acting" that the children do with their teachers and to explore further the themes of the children's interactions with one another. A more general purpose of the chapter will be to provide an idea of the social arrangements that produce rivalry as a characteristic social dynamic and of the differences between these sorts of social arrangements and those productive of the social dynamic of competition. Subsequent chapters will turn to one of the more subtle aspects of the children's peer relationships, that of how they cope with the dynamism associated with their values.

CHAPTER 6  
GROWING UP HAWAIIAN: AUTONOMY AND SOLIDARITY  
IN A GENERATIONAL SYSTEM OF INTERACTION

Locating the Hawaiian social world

"So many different kinds of people on this street.  
There, Filipino, there, Samoan, there, Hawaiian, there Haole."  
"This Hawai'i. Where you been?"

A Hawaiian man in his fifties pointing out the obvious.

The ideals of self-presentation Hawaiian children try to live up to at school reflect interactional requirements in the children's homelives and their socialization to those requirements. It is a deep context that must be established in order to ground a discussion of Hawaiian schoolchildren's homelives and socialization experiences, however, for it would no longer seem possible to speak of a distinctively Hawaiian social world. Such is the depth and breadth of the changes that have swept through Hawaiian social networks over the past two centuries. This four-part tour of the homelife referents of Hawaiian children's interactional style will begin with a section on the historical background and composition of the Hawaiian social world.

Historical and demographic background

"When the missionary came, they had the Bible and we had the land. Now we got the Bible, and they got the land."

A Hawaiian Christian in her forties.

The West arrived in the Hawaiian Islands in 1776 in the form of Captain Cook and his sailors; a century long process of depopulation ensued. From an estimated total of 250,000 people in 1776, Hawaiian numbers fell to 51,531 by 1872 (Nordyke 1977:134), and over the course of this century, indigenous Hawaiian religious, economic, and political institutions were destroyed. These were years of transition in Hawai'i; old systems were being cleared away but not yet replaced by new ones of comparable scale. For the Hawaiians, these appear to have been years of demoralization; so much of their population, so much of their society was withering before them (Daws 1974:1-206).

In 1876, the Hawaiian kingdom signed a trade reciprocity treaty with the United States, which lifted tariffs on Hawaiian agricultural products; there ensued an immediate boom in the nascent sugar industry and a century long process of rapid population expansion, primarily through immigration. To run expanding and newly organized sugar plantations, a Caucasian middle class of administrators was brought to Hawai'i from the United States mainland and from northern European countries, and hundreds of thousands of workers were recruited from Portugal, China, Japan, and eventually, the Philippines (Fuchs 1961:3-39). Sugar production vaulted from about 26 million pounds in 1876, to 216 million in 1886, 444 million in 1896, and 747 million in 1906, a bad year for sugar (Thrum 1912:29). Immigration and economic growth, in turn, set in motion processes of change which have shaped and continue to affect the modern characteristics of Hawai'i and the Hawaiians.

The first of these processes was a demographic one. Owing to the huge and overwhelmingly male influx of workers that accompanied the growth of the plantations, the Hawaiian proportion of Hawai'i's total population plummeted, and Hawaiian women began to mate increasingly with non-Hawaiian men. In 1872, the 49,044 "pure" Hawaiians and 2,487 part-Hawaiians together accounted for 90.6% of Hawai'i's total population. In 1884, eight years after the Reciprocity Treaty, they accounted for only 50.6% of the population. By 1930, part-Hawaiians had overtaken "pure" Hawaiians in numbers, and together they accounted for only 13.8% of a population that had grown to over 368,000 people (Nordyke 1977:134). The plantation economy began to wane after the Second World War, but immigration and interracial marriage have continued unabated. For the past two to three decades, immigration to Hawai'i has been promoted directly by the easing of U.S. immigration laws and indirectly by a burgeoning tourist business. Recent immigrants have come from Asia and the Pacific, but most have come from the U.S. mainland. During the 1970s, net migration accounted for about four-tenths of the state's total population growth (State of Hawai'i 1982a:50), and rates of marriage to non-Hawaiians for both men and women of Hawaiian ancestry were at about the fifty percent level (Wittermans 1981:152).

A second process of change, accelerated if not inaugurated by the plantation era, was a political one. Owing to the rise of a robust, Caucasian controlled economy on islands proximate to the United States, Hawai'i soon began to lose its autonomy as a nation, and the Hawaiians, theirs as a people. In 1893, power was seized from the Hawaiian

monarch, Queen Lili'uokalani, and control of Hawai'i was assumed by an oligarchy of families that controlled the plantations. Operating under the title of the Republic of Hawai'i, the oligarchy sought annexation by the United States, and in 1898, achieved this aim. Both before and after annexation, the Caucasian elite appeared to offer the Hawaiians a share in political power and in the prosperity of the plantations in return for their political support. In fact, however, the economic conditions of the Hawaiians continued to slide under the oligarchy. By and large, Hawaiians chose to make their livelihoods outside the plantation system and its harsh conditions, and Hawaiians held no direct political power. A piece written in 1894 to justify the revolt against Queen Lili'uokalani and the establishment of an oligarchical Republic gives a clear idea of the attitudes towards Hawaiians which reigned throughout the plantation era. It also discloses the single strongest socio-political difference within plantation era social structure--that between the Caucasians and everyone else. Wrote this observer of Hawaiian politics,

The chief obstacle in the way of democratic representative institutions in the Sandwich Islands lies in the fact that the great mass of the laboring population is unfit for any share in the responsible political life of the community. Thousands of Chinese and Japanese coolies are at work upon the sugar plantations, and the element of extremely ignorant Portuguese laborers is a large one. Furthermore, many of the native Hawaiians themselves are wholly unequal to any intelligent use of the ballot. The greatest care has been taken by the framers of the new Constitution to fix such limitations upon the exercise of the elective franchise as shall make it reasonably certain that Hawaii will be ruled by its responsible and intelligent classes (Thrum 1894:48).

Rule Hawai'i, the plantation elite did throughout the 1898 to 1959 period during which Hawai'i was a U.S. Territory. The granting of

statehood to Hawai'i in 1959, however, coincided with the emergence of a middle class composed mainly of descendants of immigrants who had moved away from the hard life of the plantations. These well-educated and economically successful children of plantation workers turned the tables on the Caucasian elite of Hawai'i. Since 1959, Hawaiian politics have been controlled by multiracial coalitions of politicians representing Hawai'i's multiracial middle classes (Fuchs 1961:308-363). As Hawaiians stood outside the economy of the plantation era, so do they remain largely at the margins of today's socio-political system. There continues to be no effective political voice representing Hawaiian interests.

A third process of change accompanying the rise of the plantations was a cultural one. Owing to the attempts of the Hawaiians, the immigrants, and particularly their descendants to adjust to one another and to American society, a process of cultural pidginization and creolization began to take shape. This process was channeled by Hawai'i's social structure and advanced most forcefully by children, being driven by their interest of not appearing strange and different from peers (cf. Glick 1980:343; Okamura 1982:222). The ultimate outcomes of this process were shared life experiences, shared linguistic and other customs, some sharing of racial ancestry, and consequently, a sense of shared identity among Hawai'i's new generations of non-white and 'mixed' natives. Born in Hawai'i, not in the lands of their parents, during an age in which Hawai'i was culturally and racially diverse, not almost exclusively the domain of Hawaiians, Americans, but darker than and at a political disadvantage

to Caucasians, the descendants of the immigrants and of twentieth century Hawaiians represented a novel social category; like one another in their circumstances, they were unlike people anywhere else in the world. Their sense of shared identity was eventually given concrete expression in the ideas of "local people" and "local culture." These ideas also have modern referents, however, for they have been articulated as symbols of solidarity only recently, in part in response to the continuing flow of immigrants to Hawai'i, in part as a function of post-Statehood political rhetoric. In its most general sense, "local people" refers to all non-white and 'mixed' natives of Hawai'i. The label evokes the idea of a group of people whose historical origins are diverse but who are of the state by reason of birth and who are more like one another culturally and in terms of life experiences than they are like their ancestors, the modern citizens of their ancestral homes, and the people of the United States mainland. The idea of "local people" has an ongoing relevance in Hawai'i. It continues to articulate cultural and other differences between non-white immigrants to Hawai'i and their own Hawai'i-born descendants.

The sum effects upon the Hawaiians of the past two hundred years are best read from demographic data. According to State of Hawai'i (1982b:36) estimates, the resident population of Hawai'i in 1980 was 930,271. Only 175,453 people or about 19% of the population possessed at least partial Hawaiian ancestry. Of these people, it is estimated that only 9,366 were "pure" Hawaiian. The rest were part-Hawaiian, accounting for about two-thirds of the state's racially 'mixed' residents. According to the categories used in state censuses, the



five other major racial subpopulations were the Caucasians, the Japanese, the Filipinos, 'mixed' race people of non-Hawaiian ancestry, and the Chinese, accounting for about 25%, 24%, 11%, 9%, and 5% of the state's population, respectively.

Within this polyracial population, Hawaiians do not represent an isolated subpopulation. About 10% of the Hawaiians live on Hawaiian homestead lands (State of Hawai'i 1981:8). These were established by an Act of Congress in 1920 to provide inexpensive land and houses to individuals of at least half Hawaiian ancestry. Two to three hundred Hawaiians live on the island of Ni'ihau, which is privately owned and exclusively a Hawaiian domain, and other small numbers live in predominantly Hawaiian communities in remote areas of the state. The vast majority of the Hawaiians, however, live in polyethnic communities, and all Hawaiians must participate in such communities. In 1980, nearly 80% of the Hawaiians were living in census tracts in which Hawaiians were outnumbered by the members of at least one other ethnic group. So it was for the other subpopulations of the state. Nearly a third of the Caucasians, half the Japanese, and three-fourths of the Filipinos were living in census tracts in which their numbers were smaller than those of some other ethnic group (State of Hawai'i 1982b:16-25).

The income of the Hawaiians is generally low. A 1975 survey of 20,000 Hawaiian families found that 13% of the families were at or below poverty levels; another 4% were within \$1000 annual income of poverty levels (Alu Like 1975a:79-80; Alu Like 1975b:81). Life expectancy among Hawaiians is relatively short, drug abuse relatively high, and Hawaiian representation on welfare rolls and in prisons

disproportionate to Hawaiian numbers. Many of the customs of the Hawaiians, lastly, are not features of a specifically Hawaiian culture, but are instead features of the Hawaiian Islands' culture that is shared by Hawaiians with the Japanese, Filipino, Chinese, Portuguese<sup>1</sup> and other "local" people who are now natives of the state. The Hawaiian population, in sum, is relatively impoverished, relatively dispersed, not readily distinguishable in cultural terms from other ethnic populations, and most of its members are more non-Hawaiian in racial ancestry than they are Hawaiian.

#### Dispersed ethnic villages

Against this demographic and historical background, talk about a Hawaiian social world in other than a social class sense should inspire only deep skepticism. And yet, as an empirical fact, that world is there. It environs Hawaiian households in the form of social networks which are distinctively Hawaiian in both their membership and organization of interaction. Howard (1974) and Gallimore, Boggs, and Jordan (1974) found such networks in their studies of a Hawaiian homesteads community. Linnekin (1983) found them in her study of a remote taro growing community. Not as widely known (cf. Linnekin 1983) is the fact that such networks can also be found in the middle to low income polyethnic communities in which Ka Na'i Pono schoolchildren and most Hawaiians live. In such communities, too, Hawaiian households

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<sup>1</sup>In Hawai'i, Portuguese are not counted as Haole (Caucasian).

maintain social networks distinctively Hawaiian in both their membership and organization of interaction.

The data to be outlined here on Hawaiian social networks in low income polyethnic communities come from two sources: from forty-one interviews with parents of Hawaiian schoolchildren, including ten with parents of the Ka Na'i Pono second graders; and from a one-year's case study of the social relationships of a low income part-Hawaiian household located in a middle to low income polyethnic suburb. This household was headed by a woman named Lovey and a man named Henry, both part-Hawaiian and both middle-aged. In addition to the one-year study of the social relationships of members of their household, two years were spent in periodic social involvement with Henry, Lovey, their kin, and friends. The same conclusions emerged from the interviews, the one-year case study of the household of Henry and Lovey, and the two additional years of association with Henry and Lovey. Most Hawaiian households maintain four social networks: one is a network of neighbors; one is a friendship network of peers; and a third is a kinship network. The household itself represents the fourth. It is within the Hawaiians' kinship, friendship, and household networks that one finds the Hawaiian social world.

#### Neighbors and friends

The size and activity of neighborhood networks vary widely. These variables are most closely related to spatial considerations. Hawaiians avoid contact with strangers, but cultivate friendly interactions with people accompanying friends or kinsmen, neighbors

living closeby, and other strangers with whom face-to-face contact is unavoidable. The largest and most active neighborhood networks are to be found in suburban neighborhoods. The lightly trafficked streets and the contiguous yards and carports of these localities place people in easy and unavoidable communication with one another. The large spaces between houses in rural areas and the separation between neighbors built into the structure of apartment buildings, on the other hand, militate against incidental contacts among neighbors and their development of very large and active residential networks. Some sort of neighborhood network, however, is almost always found for members of Hawaiian households and especially for elementary school age children. In polyethnic communities, these networks share the characteristic of having an ethnically diverse membership. The household of Henry and Lovey, for example, maintained a neighborhood network of eleven contiguous households to the left and right and across the street from their own. Thirty-seven of the individuals who lived in these eleven households participated in the network; twenty were adults over thirty years of age, eight were people between the ages of seventeen and thirty, and nine were children. In addition, twenty-seven individuals who were frequent overnight or longer visitors to the eleven households also participated in the network; of these, two were adults, fifteen young adults, and ten children. Among these sixty-four people, there were Hawaiians, but also Caucasians, Filipinos, Samoans, Chinese, and various 'mixtures'; some of these people were natives of the state, others long-time residents, yet others only very recent immigrants. Even tourists who were relatives of people living on the street found

their way into face-to-face contact with Henry, Lovey, and members of their household. Neighborhood networks like this are loci of cultural change, particularly between first generation natives of the state and their immigrant parents. The children of this street were already more like one another culturally than were their parents. Among the children, ethnic differences did not symbolize the depth of difference in life experience, language, and other customs that such differences often signaled among adults.

The ethnic picture in friendship networks is quite different from this. The friendship networks of members of Hawaiian households are composed of peers known from workplaces, schools, churches, previous neighborhoods and through kin, friends, and social events like luaus, feasts celebrating events in the life cycle. These networks also range widely in their size and activity varying most closely with the age of a household and the ages of household members. Friendship networks, however, share the characteristic of having an exclusively or nearly exclusively Hawaiian membership. Henry and Lovey were visited by thirty-nine adult friends during the course of the one-year study period. Twenty-six of these adults made three or more visits; fourteen made six or more visits. With four exceptions, the visitors were all part-Hawaiian in racial ancestry. The exceptions were local husbands of Hawaiian women and a local friend of a friend. The point extends to the younger members of the household as well. The more than three dozen young adult friends who visited the young adult children of Henry and Lovey and the handful who visited their two elementary school age boys were all local and almost all Hawaiian.

There is typically a difference in intimacy, furthermore, between Hawaiians' relationships with friends and their relationships with neighbors. With neighbors, Hawaiians share the interest of having a peaceful and pleasant residential environment. Consciously downplaying ethnic and other differences among themselves, Hawaiians and their neighbors extend the signs of friendship to one another, interpreting the idea of friendship within the context of their own values and their ideas of others' values. For Hawaiians in middle to low income neighborhoods, this means at least passing the time in talk and other diversions with neighbors, and can easily extend to a wide number of exchange activities. Hawaiians and their neighbors, like Lovey, Henry and theirs, may provide help to one another ranging from sharing childcare, watching one another's homes, and trading other favors to loaning food and foodstamps to one another when money is low. A neighbor with a car may help people get to and from stores and medical clinics, and one with a telephone may allow others the use of it in dealing with state agencies and in contacting relatives. Neighbors may make gifts of appliances to one another to include even television sets, electric fans, and refrigerators, and may participate in cycles of exchange like baby showers and Tupperware parties. But despite the range of activities which may link neighbors, Hawaiians and their neighbors also work to keep neighborhood relationships from becoming too close, too intense, and too fraught with the possibility of disruption. Neighbors usually come and go; while the relationship is there the object is to keep it untroubled and, if possible, of mutual benefit. With friends, on the other hand, Hawaiians share personal

histories often going back years, even decades, and they know their friends within the context of their friends' kinship networks. Of the thirty-seven adults to visit Henry and Lovey, for example, thirty-one were members of one or another of six sets of kinsmen. Hawaiians also share cultural understandings with friends including knowledge of how to talk story, to sing, to joke and tease, and to support one another in the Hawaiian way. While neighbors usually provide more in the way of routine help than friends, it is to friends more than to neighbors that Hawaiians turn for help in times of crisis. Friends share a racial and political history as well, and an appreciation of "the resentment," as one Hawaiian woman put it, that "is buried deep inside." With neighbors, too, Hawaiians laugh and "talk story"; but with friends they also cry and fight. With neighbors, friendliness may deepen, but it begins as a social form; with friends, intimacy can be a deep source of material and emotional support, of shared pleasures and shared drama.

#### Kin and the household

Kinship networks are normally those most involved in the life of Hawaiian households, kin representing the most frequent and most numerous visitors. Of the forty-one parents surveyed in interviews, only six did not report living within three miles of kin. Eighteen families lived within three miles of kin of the female head of family; four lived within three miles of the male head of family; and thirteen lived within three miles of both sorts of kin. Thirty-seven of the forty-one households reported socializing more with kin than with

non-kin, these being kin of the female head of household in twenty-three cases and kin of the male in ten. Four families reported socializing equally frequently with both sorts of kin.

The household of Henry and Lovey was also located within three miles of kin, these being either young adult children of Henry and Lovey or kin of Lovey. During the one-year study period, fifty-five kinsmen visited the home of Henry and Lovey. Nine were children of Henry and Lovey from previous relationships; nine were mates or affines of their children; and seven were children's children. Of the remaining thirty kinsmen, twenty-eight were kin of Lovey, two of Henry. With the exception of six mates and affines, these people were all part-Hawaiian in racial ancestry.

The customary rights of kin in Hawaiian households are rather different from those of friends and neighbors. In Hawaiian households, the yard and carport, where these are present, are treated as extensions of the home, and are the proper locale for hosting most friends and neighbors. The interior of the house is treated as the domain of "the family," that is to say, of household members and their kin, not as one to which friends and neighbors have customary access. Unrelated individuals tend to be cautious in their handling of the difference. Visitors will announce themselves, for example, by hailing household members from the sidewalk or the margin of the carport; they do not advance to the front door, usually left open, to knock and perchance to see inside. Male visitors, similarly, will often not use the bathroom of a home for urination. They will instead seek out a private corner in the backyard, again in order to respect the privacy of "the family."



There is a neat set of politics involved in these and other observances of the domain of "the family." In order to show welcome, household members minimize boundaries between themselves and others; in order to show respect, however, friends and neighbors observe such boundaries and are expected to observe them. Kinsmen, on the other hand, are by definition part of "the family." They, too, are shy about entering and using the homes of kin with whom they have not kept up frequent contact and are also expected not to "take advantage," but as a matter of form they are urged by household members to make themselves at home.

Kinsmen also have special rights of visitation. The visits of friends are typically unannounced. Friends will pick a time to visit at which household members will be likely to be free and well disposed towards socializing. Unannounced visits like this may span a morning or an afternoon and reach into the evening. Kinsmen, too, make unannounced visits. In their case, however, the visits may be for overnight periods which can well lengthen into stays of days or weeks.

The fourth network of Hawaiian households, that of the household itself, includes both permanent and temporary members, the distinction between the two often an ambiguous one. A nuclear family is usually the basis of a household, but households may include as permanent members other kin and also unrelated individuals who are treated as though they were kin. Indeed, neighborhood, friendship, and kinship networks may all contribute to the permanent membership of a household. The household of Henry and Lovey, for example, included their two elementary school age sons, Lovey's young adult son from a previous relationship, and Uncle Bibi. The young adult son was a relatively

recent addition to their household. Brought up by relatives of Lovey, he had only been living with Henry and Lovey for a few years. Uncle Bibi was a single Filipino man, somewhat older than Henry and Lovey, and not related to either of them. He was a casualty of the imbalanced sex ratio of the plantation era and had lived with Henry and Lovey for over ten year. An Uncle Bibi--who may be Filipino, Hawaiian, Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, sometimes even northern European--is frequently found in older Hawaiian households, taken in, his friends say, because they feel sorry that he has no family of his own. Uncle Bibi had begun his association with Henry and Lovey as a neighbor.

Temporary members of Hawaiian households are usually kin but again may be friends and neighbors treated as though they were kin. Most of the nine young adult children Henry and Lovey had had from previous relationships visited and stayed with them during the study period. These people were almost always accompanied by their children, if they had had children, and sometimes by mates. The young adult children of Henry and Lovey, moreover, had friends of similar age. At the cusp of jural adulthood, many of these people were in the process of establishing families of their own and were encountering some difficulties in their relationships with their own parents and other kin. Some of the temporary visitors to the household of Henry and Lovey were young adult friends of their children, put up, and treated terminologically like sons and daughters while their relationships with their own kin sorted themselves out. Lovey had numerous off-island relatives; many of these also stayed with Henry and Lovey during their visits to Lovey's island of residence. Sometimes these people visited

just for the sake of diversion; sometimes they traveled from their homes for medical or other reasons. A nephew (ZS) of Lovey, for example, arrived unannounced one day with his wife; she needed medical tests. Within a few days, the couple was joined by their four children, aged eight, six, five, and two. They stayed for a few weeks, moved out for a time to stay with other relatives, and then returned to stay for a few more weeks. In providing temporary quarters to her nephew and his family, Lovey was fulfilling both general and specific obligations to kinsmen. One is supposed to help kin in need--they are family--, and this man's mother, furthermore, had helped to raise one of Lovey's own sons when she was in need. Even some neighbors, who unexpectedly lost their lease, were put up for a time by Henry and Lovey. Altogether, forty-four individuals were overnight or longer visitors to the home of Henry and Lovey during the one-year study period. With few exceptions, these people were part-Hawaiian in racial ancestry. Both the average and median length of stay of the visitors was in excess of three weeks. For more than three weeks out of every month, then, the household of Henry and Lovey was swelled by the addition of three to four visitors. Lovey once remarked that, "If you help people, you get blessings." Even by Hawaiian standards, Lovey was well blessed.

#### Ethnic villages

These data on Hawaiian neighborhood, friendship, kinship, and household networks are not intended to be definitive. The Hawaiian population is too diverse and social circumstances in Hawai'i too

complex to be subsumed under any single description. The data instead are intended to suggest some of the contours of everyday life for Hawaiians and to point to the location of the Hawaiian social world within these contours. For all Hawaiians, the frameworks of the workplace, the store, the school, and especially the neighborhood street constitute one area of everyday life. These frameworks represent a public world, one that is shared by Hawaiians with members of other ethnic groups and in which they and these others have developed a "local culture," the unique American subculture of the Hawaiian Islands. Most if not all Hawaiians also participate in friendship, kinship, and household networks. For many Hawaiians, these networks represent a private, Hawaiian world, a kind of dispersed but very active ethnic village, open mainly to kin, other ethnic insiders, and individuals who have married into it. This world is full of its own news and dramas, gathers in its own places on beaches, in parks, and in members' households, and follows its own rhythms of interaction. When Hawaiians who participate in this world raise children, they have in mind not only the public institutions of Hawaiian Islands' society but Hawaiian social networks as well. They try to teach children to play appropriate roles within these networks, and the networks themselves impose behavioral requirements upon children. In largely tacit ways, they require children to fit in, to behave in ways that accord with the organization of interaction in the social world that pre-exists them.

It is not possible to say how many people participate in Hawaiian social networks; there is no count. Most families headed by part-Hawaiian couples or by single part-Hawaiian parents probably do.

Many families headed by part-Hawaiian women and non-Hawaiian men and some families headed by part-Hawaiian men and non-Hawaiian women also do. It is possible to say with certainty, however, that the sort of picture drawn by Linnekin (1983) of the Hawaiian population vastly oversimplifies the situation. Linnekin examines "the Hawaiian ethnic identity" from the perspective of tradition, which she defines as "conscious models of past lifeways" (p. 241). She writes as though one may speak only of two sorts of Hawaiians: those whose families have for generations resided in remote rural areas and who continue to "live [their] traditions" (pp. 243, 248), and those who live in urban or suburban areas, who have for generations been separated from the land, and who with their canoeing clubs, hula groups, and other Hawaiiana networks "imitate tradition" rather than "live" it (pp. 244-246). The problem with Linnekin's perspective is that she takes a good point too far on too little data. Ethnic identity rests not only upon conscious models of past lifeways; it is grounded much more strongly in largely unconscious models of ongoing social networks and in the parts one has to play and ideals one has to hold to succeed within these networks. It is not only Hawaiians "living tradition" in remote rural areas and ones "imitating tradition" in Hawaiiana networks that one finds in Hawai'i. One also finds people like Lovey, Henry, and the Ka Na'i Pono schoolchildren, and their little villages of kin and friends. To speak of a distinctively Hawaiian social world in urban and suburban Hawai'i is to speak of the friendship, kinship, and household networks of people like these, and of how individuals must behave in order to fit into their world.

Interactional structure in the Hawaiian social world

Apparent from the discussion so far is that expressions of solidarity are as involved in Hawaiian homelife as Hawaiian school life. The Hawaiian social world is a heavily peopled and very active one. During the course of a year, two hundred people may pass back and forth through the interactional sphere of a large household like Lovey's. The idea of "the family" is a strong one in networks like those of Lovey and her household, and kin are ever present. But kinship constructs are not used solely to denote genealogical relationships. They are also used quite freely as metaphors for solidarity. The ideal is for all people known to a household to be made to feel as though they were family. The assertion, "we [are] all like family," is one often heard in gatherings of friends and is meant to express and to suggest a mood of community among them. This attitude of warm friendliness towards known individuals extends to the behavior of Hawaiians in public places. To drive in a Hawaiian community is to keep one eye upon yards, sidewalks, and the passengers of other cars in order to be ready to receive and to extend waves and shouts of greeting. "Just like one parade, yeah," a young man said one day while driving down a road. "Always waving at everybody!" Represented in the Hawaiians' use of kinship metaphors with friends, in their willingness to offer help and hospitality to others, and in their readiness and seemingly inexhaustible capacity for interaction, are homelife counterparts to the strong expressions of solidarity which Hawaiian children are capable of giving to one another at school.

While not apparent from the discussion so far, expressions of autonomy are also as fully involved in Hawaiian homelife as Hawaiian school life. In homelife, too, the theme of toughness plays within the theme of solidarity in people's interactions and in their presentations of self. That Lovey so freely welcomed so many guests into her home, does not mean that the welcome lasted. Problems almost always developed between guests and Lovey or other permanent members of her household, and these problems, often highly dramatic affairs, regularly forced the departure of visitors. Similarly, that the ideas of helping, building a feeling of community, and other themes of solidarity run through the interactions of Hawaiians with friends and neighbors, does not mean that absent from these interactions are conflict and the very sorts of concerns with relative status that so absorb Ka Na'i Pono schoolchildren. Autonomy and solidarity are equally the themes of Hawaiian interaction in all settings, not just in schools, not just among children.

That these are the themes of self-presentation in Hawaiian social networks, has to do with the organization of face-to-face interaction in those networks. The Hawaiian organization of face-to-face interaction is best construed as a generational one. A very strong notion of authority obtains between older and younger generations. For this and other reasons, members of different generations operate relatively autonomously of one another in their interactions, adults associating with adults, teenagers with teenagers, children with children. Howard (1974) and Gallimore, Boggs, and Jordan (1974) use the term, "peer orientation," to capture this fact. Interactional

autonomy between generations, in turn, poses individuals with certain specific problems of fitting in, of "making it" within the system. The Hawaiian method of self-presentation represents a strategy for solving these problems; it is how the game of face-to-face interaction is played given the Hawaiian rules of the game.

The remainder of this chapter will clarify and explore this socio-structural perspective on the themes of Hawaiian interaction and self-presentations. Accounts will be given, first, of the generational structure of Hawaiian interaction, second, of the implications of this structure of self-management and self-presentation in peer interaction, and third, of how Hawaiian children learn to play the game of peer interaction through their early socialization experiences.

#### Different corners

The generational skeleton of Hawaiian interaction may be traced in many public or formal settings. If one visits movie theaters frequented by Hawaiians, one does not find many people sitting in nuclear family arrangements. Instead, children sit with siblings, cousins, and friends in the front half of the theater while adults and young adults sit with their friends in the back half along with infants and young toddlers. Hawaiian churches are often based in homes rather than sacred structures reserved for worship; the core of such churches consists in members of one kinship network. These congregations have a two and sometimes three tier interactional organization. Children of early teenage and younger age attend Sunday school, usually run by a



pre-adult relative, and adults hold their own services separately from children. At luaus, adult kinsmen and friends sit together on the long rows of picnic tables that are the characteristic furniture of these outdoors events. Just beyond the canvas awnings sheltering the luaus, children at once gather to play in near age groupings. They are not left at home nor required to stay within parents' gaze. The evening meal in Hawaiian homes is arranged in many ways; a sit-down family affair at a dining table is rarely, if ever, one of them. One young woman said that, "That was only TV." People are supposed to eat in order of age, infants, toddlers, and schoolage children first, and then adults. One person whose family did organize dinner in this way said that "we got the kids out of the way first so we could relax and enjoy ourselves." Generational eating arrangements are definitely more an ideal reserved for formal and public occasions than an everyday reality. There is considerably more fending for oneself in Hawaiian households than has thus far been reported in the ethnographic literature. But it is important to note the ingredients of the ideal dining arrangement and of the other situations so far mentioned. These ingredients include two affirmations of unity: one of a group of kin and friends as a whole, the other of like-age people within the group. Within Hawaiian social occasions, different generational strata represent separate spheres of interaction.

Generational thinking is also apparent in the Hawaiians' redefinition of the Eskimo kin terms used in the United States. In Hawaiian social networks, "auntie" means woman of parents' generation. All known adult women are usually called, "Auntie," by children.

"Uncle," similarly, means man of parents' generation. Hawaiian children's use of these kin terms thus does not imply a distinction between parents' siblings and all other adults of their generation, but instead affirms the unity of all known members of parents' generation, that is to say, of all adults. Virtual siblings of parents, furthermore, possess rights and responsibilities which muddy the distinction between "mother" and "auntie," "father" and "uncle." Children even less than a year in age may be left in the care of an auntie or a grandmother for periods of time that may range from days to weeks and even months. Through the "hanai" practice--the Hawaiian custom of fosterage--, primary responsibility for a child may pass completely into the hands of an auntie or a grandmother or may be shared, more or less successfully, with such a relative. This is particularly true in the case of a woman's first-born daughter. Exceedingly commonplace is the practice of leaving an infant or toddler with an auntie while errands are run or allowing an auntie to take a child around to visit other households. While a child is in the care of an auntie or other relative, that relative is empowered to do those things that the mother would do were she with the child. These things include seeing to the child's safety, feeding the child, and also disciplining the child if need be. For Hawaiian children, in short, adult female relatives may closely resemble mothers in their rights and responsibilities. Both terminologically and behaviorally, members of parents' generation share a certain equivalence as adults; as a rule, the closer the genealogical relationship to parents, the closer is this equivalence.

The kin terms used with peers express social equivalence among the members of this generation as well. "Brah"--an abbreviation of "brother"--is very widely used as a term of reference for both male and female peers. It stresses solidarity from the perspective of another's cultural worthiness, usually suggesting that the other is a worthy partner in interaction. The term may also be used monitorily, provocatively, or in the form of a left-handed compliment to frame the other as a worthy adversary in interaction. "Cuz" or "cousin" has rather special affective connotations reflecting the fact that Hawaiian children are so regularly in the company of cousins and so often reared with them. Though "brah" implies the closer genealogical relationship, it is the term "cousin" that probably implies the more intimate social relationship. To refer to a peer as a "cousin," is to say that the peer is a friend; "favorite cousin" means "best friend." However used, the terms, "brah" and "cousin," assert solidarity among the members of a generation and a social difference between these people and members of older generations. True to the generational logic of Hawaiians' use of Eskimo kin terms, a member of an older generation is not called, "cousin," even when this term describes the actual genealogical relationship.

Another evidence of the generational organization of Hawaiian interaction is the practice of not allowing children to participate in adults' conversations. It is true that parents will talk in the third person about pre-teenage children to visiting adults, usually when the children are themselves present to hear the talk. "She good, you know, she help me," a mother may say of a ten-year-old daughter and then go

on to enumerate the kinds of things the daughter does while both she and daughter beam at a visitor. Since Hawaiian parents tend not to praise their children directly for fear of spoiling them, this kind of talk to other adults is one of parents' primary means of explicitly praising their children. But even when being talked about and there to hear the talk, children are not invited into conversations among adults and do not participate directly in those interactions. The attention of visitors is not claimed by children nor focused upon them by parents, and visitors are not required to treat children as if they were equal partners in an unfolding interaction. Face-to-face contact with children is not sustained, and they neither supply nor are requested to supply topics for talk. The rule is that peers should interact with peers--adults with adults, children with children. In adult gatherings, children are not regarded as appropriate conversationalists for adults. This attitude is expressed in the following responses made by Ka Na'i Pono parents to the question of whether they believed it proper for children to participate in adults' conversations:

No. Nope. Because to me it's none of their business.  
[. . .] It doesn't pertain to them. I always tell 'em,  
"Don't maha'oe [be nose]."

Not all the time, no. . . .I believe adults also should have time for themselves just like these kids have time for themselves.

No. If it's [the gathering's] for the grownups, the child shouldn't be there.

No. I don't like that. I just want them to stay in their own corner. They don't belong there in the first place. I tell Lori, "Don't come around when people come to the house." If children come, they just can go play. You know, mind your own business, but no hang around adults.

No. Because my niece was brought up with a lot of adults around. She didn't have her sister with her or her cousins. And she's [. . .] acting more mature than her age. You know. And it's good in a way that they do, so they know what's going on, but . . . I guess I . . . no. I don't want them to. No.

I don't like it. And I don't even like them to be around. 'Cause the language . . . the gossip. Pat is all ears to all of it. And she puts in her two cents. And when I send her away, she gets all mad.

One consequence of this view on who should interact with whom is that in multigenerational settings a number of conversations may unfold simultaneously but separately, some of these involving children, others, adults. It is in this way that a generational skeleton of interaction is characteristically encountered in Hawaiian social occasions. A particularly clear example of the multilayering of situations occurred among an assemblage of people at Lovey's home one afternoon. Lovey's house had a carport that measured about 20 feet by 15 feet. The carport had a roof but no walls. Adjoining the carport was a small frontyard. Three interactions organized along generational lines occurred simultaneously in the small space encompassed by Lovey's yard and carport. In the frontyard, five to six children were playing; in the front half of the carport, three teenage boys were working on a car and teasing and flirting with three teenage girls putting up laundry; in the back half of the carport, Henry and Lovey sat at a table talking story with three friends of their generation. Although all of these people were well within sight and sound of one another, the interactions of the adults, teenagers, and children developed in separate flows.

Henry and Lovey needed to do a little boundary work to keep the adults' interaction separate from the children's. When adults gather to begin an interaction, it is extremely common for them to shoo children away with words like, "Go play over there, you guys," or "You gotta shove for sit at this table." The nine and ten-year-old sons of Henry and Lovey had been playing in the yard with a pair of neighboring brothers and a younger cousin when this particular interaction began, but every now and then the two boys would venture over to the adults' table to sample the food that had been set out for the adults' enjoyment. The children were chased away whenever they seemed to be listening in on the adults' very lively conversation or when they had been around it long enough to follow its drift. They were also chased away whenever their interest in the food seemed to have less to do with eating it than with boasting to each other about how much they had "scored." Hawaiian parents do not tell their children what to eat or when they have eaten enough, but they become extremely vexed if their children waste food and warn them if they appear to be tending in that direction. The tone that Lovey and Henry used in shooing their sons away ranged from a kind of put-upon exasperation to beleaguered indulgence. "Oh, you guys," Lovey would complain. "Give me heart attack," Henry would say, clutching his chest and swaying at the table. Sometimes he would hold his fist in the air and say, "See this? To the moon!" The boys would laugh at his performances, sometimes completing his lines for him, and run away. These were routines he and they knew well. The warnings that Henry and Lovey used with their boys could grow stronger and might be acted upon if the boys were not responsive.

With both teenagers and children younger than preschool age, this sometimes occurs. But children of the ages of these two boys seldom require stronger parental action. Beyond the occasional sorties of the boys and the responses of Henry and Lovey to them, there were no face-to-face interactions between the adults at the table and the children.

The interactional separation between the teenagers and the adults was particularly striking. It was more ritualistic than that between the children and the adults and was more clearly an artifact of social orientation. The voices of the children did not carry well since the children were out in the open and also at some distance from the adults. The teenagers, however, were barely ten feet away and under the same roof. One of the boys, a fictive nephew of Lovey, did most of the work on the car, and would pass the adults' table regularly on his way to and from the tools. The two girls doing most of the work with the laundry also passed the adults' table frequently. But there was virtually no interaction between the teenagers and the adults at the table. The teenagers did not talk to the adults and would not make eye contact with them as they worked or passed by.

The adults reciprocated the avoidance behavior of the teenagers but with differences that disclosed their authority within the setting. The adults would casually observe the doings of the teenagers from time to time, usually during lulls in their own interactions. They would also occasionally make a remark about one or another of the teenagers, and particularly Lovey's fictive nephew. The remarks were all positive ones. "He good, you know," Lovey announced at one point--"mechanic."

"I admire how he work," one of the visitors said a couple of times. But these and other remarks were neither heard nor intended as overtures for interaction. Lovey's nephew merely continued doing his work and avoiding contact with the adults when he passed by them to get to the tools. That the comments were phrased in the third person about people present in the scene and that there was no response to the comments defines the interactional distance that the adults and the teenagers maintained between themselves. Everyone could hear almost everything being said in the carport, but the adults and teenagers behaved as though their interactions were in separate worlds.

Only on one occasion was the distance between the adults and the teenagers bridged. The youngest teenage boy and girl had been teasing each other as young boyfriends and girlfriends will. The cement floor of the carport was wet and slick from the washing that the car had been receiving after the repair work was finished; a thin stream of water was still coming from the hose that had been used. The girl picked up the hose, sprayed her boyfriend, and ran down the side of the house. The boy chased her. They ran all the way around the house, but when they re-entered the carport from the opposite direction, they both slipped on the wet cement floor, fell, and slid against an empty chair in a corner of the carport. The adults looked over at the two, and Lovey made a clucking sound with her tongue. The teenagers took in the studiously restrained character of the adults' disapproval, looked at each other and laughed, and then rejoined their peers. Attention to the scene broke, and the interactions of the adults and teenagers returned to their separate flows.



Exposed in this and other bits of interaction that did occur across generational lines and implicit in the separation that otherwise existed among the doings of the adults, teenagers, and children is the strong notion of authority that is an underpinning of the Hawaiian generational system. It was the right of the adults to shoo the children away from their scene of interaction; it was also their right to express disapproval of the teenagers' doings if these were untoward or disturbed their own. It was the adults' right, in other words, to be left alone by both the children and the teenagers. By the same token, however, it was the right of the teenagers and the children to be left alone by the adults. So long as they did not intrude into the adults' doings, their own doings were their own affair. The notion of generational authority exemplified in events like those of Lovey's carport is thus not one that binds people of different generations together in a single interactional flow. Rather than giving adults control over the behavior of children in the context of shared interaction, this notion has the effect of separating adult and child arenas of interaction. It turns the members of different generations inwards towards interaction with peers.

#### What's good for one

Within the kin group and particularly within the household, a generational skeleton of affairs is observable in children's experiences of joint responsibility, joint rewards, and joint punishments. These experiences teach children about adult authority, about the separation of adult and child spheres, and about the identity

that children share as children with siblings, cousins, and other peers.

The practice of joint responsibility among children has clear relationships to the facts of life in a generationally organized interactional system. Adults tend not to be in face-to-face interaction with children, and consequently are often not available to ensure children's safety and the fulfillment of other needs. In order to discharge these responsibilities, adults take two steps: they make certain strict rules about the things that children can and cannot do; and they require children to be responsible for one another. Thus, parents may define the boundaries of the domain that children may play in, set the times at which they may and may not play, and also establish certain prohibitions for young children--not crossing a busy highway, for example. Released into this structure of rules, children are held jointly responsible for following the rules and for taking care of one another. If a child goes out of the legal domain for playing, for example, an older child is to bring the younger one back in, or if all else fails, to inform a parent or other adult. The other side of this coin is that all the children of a set may be punished if the well-being of one is neglected or if someone is allowed to misbehave. As the children all tend to be together, it is assumed that they have each played some role in whatever goes wrong among them. One mother recounted an incident in which the two younger of her three daughters were playing with a ball and broke a light fixture. All three of her daughters got spanked, the two younger ones because they

broke the light, the oldest one "for not watching the two younger ones." Another mother explained the practice of joint responsibility in this way:

If I gonna hit one, I gonna hit all. [. . .] They all together so . . . no sense I hit one and then the other ones gonna laugh. Gonna make 'em all sink together. Lick one, they all sink together. That way nobody can tease each other.

A third mother expanded on this idea of children all sinking or swimming together:

Before I come home or before my husband come home, they all have to be bathed. If when we come home and they're not bathed or somebody's outside playing, they all three of them get spankings. Noe because she's the oldest. The one that went out because she went outside. And the other one because they didn't watch. Because they're all responsible for each other. Just like if one gets, they share. Or they all don't have. What's good for one, is good for the other two, too.

An example of joint responsibility in practice occurred one evening when four of one man's six children returned home from playing outside and disappeared into the rooms of the house. Missing were two daughters, Tara, aged ten, and Sweetheart, aged four, the youngest child in the family. Sitting in the livingroom, the father had watched the children come in and had noticed that Sweetheart was missing. "Where Sweetheart?" he asked a five-year-old daughter. This daughter produced a small smile but did not otherwise react. Her father's tone had been stern. "You know where the ice cream stay," the father said, trying to shame the child by suggesting that she was more interested in her stomach than in her sister's well-being. "Where Sweetheart?" he repeated to an eight-year-old son. Again no answer, and again a critical remark. Hawaiians term critical remarks like the father's, "grumbling." Finally, a twelve-year-old, the man's oldest daughter,

called out from a hallway that "she stay with Auntie Jenny." Auntie Jenny was an unrelated and childless woman in her thirties who lived up the street. She often sat outside in the cool of the early evening to visit with children and neighbors. The twelve-year-old added that Sweetheart's older sister Tara "stay with her," probably more to prove to her father that she was on top of the situation than to reassure him about Sweetheart. The father remained miffed, however, not so much because Sweetheart was still outside as because the children had not stayed together and had not all been able to say where Sweetheart was. Sweetheart and Tara soon returned home, nightfall usually signaling curfew for children of elementary school age. Grumbling a little at them as well, the father announced that there would be ice cream for no one that night.

While all the children of a household share responsibility for one another, the burden of this responsibility is borne most heavily by the older children and particularly the oldest daughter. Infants are closely attended by adults. They are bathed and their diapers are changed very frequently, often simply to make the infants feel more comfortable, not because either they or their diapers are dirty (Gallimore, Boggs, and Jordan 1974:110). This is not to say that older children do not play a hand early on in taking care of younger ones. Girls as young as four or five may be taught how to change and feed infants by their mothers and aunties, and boys, too, often become involved in infant caretaking. It is instead to say that generational separation is not clearly evident for at least the first six to nine months of a child's life. As a baby begins to move about autonomously,

however, close involvement with parents and other adults becomes increasingly problematic. Toddlers and even crawlers get into things and soon begin to receive punishment for upsetting adult frameworks. As a child shows and is encouraged to show more interest in the company of peers, supervision becomes transferred to older siblings or cousins. Already on the scene, these children know how the system works. They are expected to become facilitators of a toddler's entry into the peer group, and the oldest among them--even when only five or six years old themselves--are held closely accountable for "watching" the younger children.

For example, a household was being visited by a wide variety of kin, all relatives of the female head of household. These relatives included an uncle (MB), an auntie (MBW), and also a younger sister. Both the female head of household and her younger sister had two children. Those of the sister were a daughter, Leilani, who was in kindergarten, and a son, Kalani, who was twelve months old. Leilani was playing with two young cousins on the livingroom floor. The visiting uncle and auntie along with some other adults were also in the livingroom waiting to go out. Leilani's mother was upstairs dressing, and her one-year-old brother had just disappeared down a hallway. Anon, Leilani's mother could be heard coming down the stairs, but instead of turning into the livingroom, she turned down the hallway that her son had just ventured into. There was the sound of a sharp slap. Kalani cried a little, and his mother said, "See?" It turned out that the baby had gone into the visiting uncle's room and was investigating his luggage. The "See?" was meant to underline for

Kalani the consequences of getting into adults' things. In the livingroom, the visiting uncle now began to speak to Leilani. "Why you no watch brother?" he asked her. He was scolding Leilani but was not speaking with anger; his tone was one of quiet authority. There was no response from Leilani. "He stay this side," the uncle continued, "and Mommy stay upstairs dressing or something." Again there was no response from Leilani. The scene was a powerful one. Everyone present was attending the interaction between Leilani and her uncle. "Watch your brother," the uncle finally counseled, softening his voice and breaking the quiet that had descended upon the room. It is illustrative of adults' orientation to children in a generational system that none of the adults had gotten up to go see what was happening with the baby, none apologized to the mother for not keeping up with the baby, and none made alibis for the baby in an effort to get him off the hook. Instead, watching the baby was treated as a sibling responsibility that Leilani needed to learn to discharge and that her adult relatives had the right to teach.

Especially responsible for the behavior of younger children, older siblings also learn that they are expected to exercise special authority over them. Another example involving the same two children a few months later: in his mother's home, Kalani knocked a photograph off the table. Both Kalani's mother and sister were within a few feet of him. Rather than handling the situation herself, however, the mother told her daughter, "Pick that up and slap him." A bit hesitantly, Leilani did these things, learning that she had rights over her brother commensurate with her responsibility for him. Her mother was teaching

her to be a kind of surrogate figure of authority, showing her how to respond when her brother got into things.

A final incident involving these two children shows the ultimate development in relationships between older and younger children. Given special rights and responsibilities, an older child becomes culpable for a younger one's misbehavior. The children were now about six and a half and two, and the scene was an auntie's (MMZD) house. The auntie was lying on a couch enjoying herself as she talked story with two peers. It was a rainy day. Leilani, Kalani, and a seven-year-old male cousin were sitting on a rug just in front of the auntie. Leilani was making an envelope with paper and glue; her cousin was coloring; her brother was playing with some loose sheets of paper but then went to get the glue that Leilani had been using. She did not notice him taking it. As he sat down, the auntie tapped Leilani on the leg and said, "Watch your brother. Take that away from him." She indicated the glue. Less than a minute later, Kalani had retrieved the glue unobserved and was squeezing it out over the rug, watching the stream of glue collect on the floor. "Hey, Kalani!" the auntie said to the boy. Then turning to his sister, she said, "Oh, Leilani, I should spank you." It was Leilani, rather than the auntie, who took the glue from Kalani and cleaned up the mess. At this point, Leilani did not need to be told to attend to the glue. Though the auntie was as close to Kalani as Leilani, indeed closer, it was regarded as the responsibility of the sister to watch the boy and her fault that he was allowed to spill the glue.

In little household incidents like these are disclosed the beginnings of some of the ramifications of a generational organization of interaction. Children are held collectively responsible for one another by adults, but older children are held most accountable since they are supposed to be more knowledgeable about social situations and the rules of behavior. This difference in accountability lays the basis for a process of role differentiation within the sibling group and often results in the creation of a focal sibling group role. Eventually one of the older children, usually but not always a girl and usually but not always the oldest girl, may become a kind of intermediary between her own and her parents' generation. Gallimore, Boggs, and Jordan (1974:78) have termed this child the "sibling group supervisor." Hawaiian adults themselves have a number of labels for this child. Sometimes they call her the "witch" or the "general" in order to stress, in a joking way, the authority role she takes on within the sibling group. This child plays a nurturant as well as an authority role, however, seeing to it that younger children eat, are bathed, and are looked after at school. When this aspect of the child's role is emphasized, a mother may refer to this child as her "right hand." The term, "right hand," also underlines the support that the child gives to her and to other adults in watching children and insuring that household chores are accomplished. Alternatively, parents may say of this child simply that she "helps" the family. This idea of "helping," and its extension into the idea of a "helper," seems to capture the essence of the role better than other descriptors. The child who plays the role helps both the people of her own generation



and those of her parents' generation, representing her brothers, sisters, and cousins to adults, and adults and their agendas to children. It is a complex and usually lifelong role that the helper plays for she becomes almost as much of a mother as she is a sibling to her brothers and sisters and almost as much of a sibling as she is a child to her own parents. "Sometimes I think she the second mother," one man said of his wife one evening. Over the previous year, this woman, only in her twenties herself, had provided temporary lodging to two brothers, three sisters, and the children of the latter; a third brother had spent the entire year with her. She had also hosted her mother, her father, and an uncle, an auntie, and a niece (MB, MBW, MBD). As in this woman's case, the practice of a first born daughter's becoming the hanai daughter of her own grandmother (MM) may dovetail with the helper phenomenon, formalizing some of the ambiguities of the role. Behind the complexity of the helper role, the process of role differentiation within the sibling group, and the collective responsibility experienced by Hawaiian children, however, lies a simple fact and one basic to a generational organization of interaction: adults are often structurally unavailable to tend to children. Like Leilani's auntie that day on the couch, they are immersed in their own interactions with peers. They keep an eye on young children, but for closer supervision they rely upon children to look after one another.

Hawaiian protocols for giving goods to children follow and reinforce the logic of a generational system of interaction. Rewards are not made contingent upon individual behavior; Hawaiian parents generally do not attempt to create a weekly allowance system in which a

child earns money in return for doing household chores or for performing well in school. To the extent that rewards are contingent they are contingent upon group behavior. For example, Hawaiian parents expect certain household chores to be accomplished by their children. Sometimes parents try to assign and to schedule chores, but this effort almost always breaks down since the assignments and schedules are usually haphazardly enforced and haphazardly followed. Instead, children work out among themselves who will customarily do what, and rewards like going to the movies or to the beach are withheld from the entire group when things begin not to get done. Most often, however, rewards are not made contingent upon behavior. Rather than as payment for services rendered, the flow of money and treats to children takes the form of indulgence; rather than to individual children, goods flow to the entire sibling group with each sibling, theoretically at least, sharing equally in the flow. "If one gets, they all get," Hawaiian parents say, and Hawaiian children come to regard this rule as a moral imperative. Thus, to give a good to one Hawaiian child is immediately to beg the question, "Where mine's?," from a sibling, cousin, or other peer. That good things flow to children in the form of indulgence, has a number of symbolic effects, the first being that of underscoring the power of adults. Whether children get treats, money, and other goods, depends more upon the "mood" of parents than upon the actions of children. Correlatively, to participate as a child in a reward system like this one is to learn more about the art of cajolery, of supplication, of flattery, and of other forms of winning favor from the

powerful than about that of bartering and of negotiating contracts with quasi-equals. Secondly, this sort of reward system emphasizes the solidarity of the family as a whole. Household jobs and intrafamilial relationships are not monetized; a child does not do jobs within the household in expectation of being paid for the work. A child is supposed to do household work instead out of concern for fellow household members and the collective well-being. Certainly, children seem to do household work more often in response to parental grumbling than social ideals. But work done for the household good and without any clear connection to rewards also engenders that certain sense of pleasure and self-satisfaction that comes from placing group interests above one's own. For children beyond the age of six or seven, and particularly for the first born children of a family, doing household work can be a self-fulfilling means of expressing sentiment for parents and siblings. Lastly, that unconditional rewards are given equally to the members of a sibling group, emphasizes the solidarity of the children's generation. Giving children rewards contingent upon their behavior as individuals teaches them competition, among other things, and knowing how to compete, among other things, enables people to rise in interactional hierarchies. But this type of rewards system can also cut like a knife through children's peer relationships. It induces envy and resentment when one child does not receive as much as a sibling because he or she has not "earned" it, and it disposes children to argue against one another in courts held by their parents. Unconditional rewards shared equally by siblings do little to teach

children about competition, but this system does affirm children's unity as peers. When the choice is adults or peers, the loyalty of Hawaiian children is usually with the latter, not the former. They fight each other; but they do not compete against each other to make points with adults.

The need to "handle": the implications for self-presentation and self-management of generationally organized interaction

Explicit or implicit in the aspects of Hawaiian everyday life summarized above is the fact that face-to-face interaction across generational lines is limited. On the one hand, the notion of authority between generations is often too strong to support sustained face-to-face interaction. Rather than giving parents control over children in the context of shared interaction, the Hawaiian notion of generational hierarchy more often acts to free up adults for interaction with peers. On the other hand, genealogical and other distinctions within a generational stratum are not well developed. The minimalization of distinctions within generations makes peers highly accessible for interaction, and it is with these that the attention of individuals tends to lie. It is as though barriers to face-to-face interaction were erected in the one direction and kept from being established in the other. Peer orientation is not absolute and by no means overrides the unity of the family. A boy of ten lounging against his father's chest while both watch television; a mother laughing as she casts a light shower from a garden hose over a naked toddler

thundering joyfully past her; another mother's smile of quiet pleasure over a three-year-old's complete absorption in "helping" her sweep the floor--these, too, are images of Hawaiian interaction. In general, however, the rules of Hawaiian social networks act strongly to encourage interaction among peers and to discourage it across generational lines. Peer interaction is not a kind of structural leftover in the Hawaiian system of interaction; it is where the system lives.

The Hawaiian generational organization of interaction, in turn, holds deep and systematic implications for individuals' social relationships and self-management. As Gallimore, Boggs, and Jordan (1974) have shown in their study of Hawaiian households, the Hawaiian organization of interaction makes for very close ties among children who are near age kin. The children's experience of helping and "watching" one another, of working together, and of sharing equally in the pains and pleasures of being children establish lifelong attitudes which dispose Hawaiians to seek the support and company of brothers, sisters, and even cousins as often as, if not more often than, that of parents and other elders. This orientation towards near age kin extends to other peers. The help, cooperation, and sensitivity Hawaiian schoolchildren can show to one another at school are based, in part, upon the attitudes to same generation kin learned through joint rewards, punishments, and responsibility within Hawaiian households. But the generational skeleton of Hawaiian interaction harbors another sort of implication for children's orientation to peers and to

experience in general; this implication illumines other aspects of the children's behavior and also provides its own slant on the theme of solidarity in their interactions.

That adults' face-to-face involvement with children is limited by the generational system, means not only that peers tend to interact with peers; it also means that adults cannot and know they should not lead children, step-by-step, through the world that envelops them. "Autonomy" is a poor term to describe the complex of attitudes, competencies, and ideals that generationally organized interaction requires adults to require of children. The Hawaiian ideas of "handling," "standing on your own," and "fighting your own battles" do better justice to the ideals of personhood involved. To prepare children for peer interaction, and acting themselves in terms of the values of the system, adults limit, and know they must limit, the dependency of children upon them. They strongly avoid behavior that looks like a "babying" of children. They do not and know they should not take care of children's needs for them; they do not and know they should not respond with comforting to children's experience of everyday pains; and they do not and know they should not intervene in children's peer relationships and particularly in their conflicts. In these and other ways, they know that children must stand on their own. While children are directed to and do seek the help of older children, even this form of dependency is limited. Though weaker by far, authority relationships between older and younger children are modeled upon those between older and younger generations; and older children also curtail

dependency in younger ones. These relationships, too, operate in ways that require autonomy of individuals. What autonomy means at this level of abstraction is much more than being tough. It has to do instead with the broader requirement of fitting into well-peopled social contexts in a self-sufficient way. It means being willing to try to handle on one's own the full range of one's needs, emotions, and peer relationships while in the midst of the large cast of characters associated with the everyday life of Hawaiian households. It means relying upon oneself to satisfy physical wants, to cope with pain, and to resolve one's problems with peers. Hawaiian adults know that the structure of Hawaiian interaction requires these things of people, and they very pointedly require them of children so that the children will learn how to fit into the Hawaiian social world.

"You don't need anybody do for you"

The operation of kitchens in Hawaiian households exemplifies the autonomy that is required and taught by the Hawaiian system of interaction in the area of satisfying needs. Anyone who can, may go into the refrigerator, and whatever is there is fair game. It is a kind of commons. Mothers and other adults do not regulate the flow of food out of the refrigerator; parents do not tell their children, "Stay out of there," or "Don't eat that, it'll spoil your dinner." Children instead are expected and shown how to prepare and search for food for themselves. Toddlers are soon instructed to fetch their own bottles from the refrigerator, an older child often directed to help them

through the first go-rounds. Three- and even two-year-olds venture into the refrigerator or kitchen cabinets for fruit, juice, and other foods that require no preparation. Four- and five-year-olds can make sandwiches or fix cereal for themselves. Nine- and ten-year-olds know how to fry eggs and spam and boil water for saimin. When children are hungry, they do not just say so; they get something to eat. The organization of meals, too, is based upon the premise that individuals are autonomous. It is simply taken for granted that people operate on different schedules, possess different tastes, and are capable of fending for themselves. Except on formal occasions--birthday parties, for example--, families are not assembled to eat as groups at dinner time, and tables are not set. Food is prepared and left on the stove or a counter. Children are called in but are often not in a rush to get home. People eat as they are ready to eat, getting out the plates and other utensils they will need, and helping themselves. A child's balking at eating something is usually met with a shrug. People are thought to be willful and human nature largely fixed. "Cannot force 'em," one mother said of a son and his dislike of vegetables. The end of dinner is not clearly defined. It is usually some individual's job to do the dishes, and they are done after enough have accumulated. But leftovers are not put away until much later. Someone may not have eaten yet, and people may get hungry again. People are also not obliged to eat what has been prepared. They usually do and are reluctant to offend a dinner's maker; but sometimes they avoid eating until others have finished and then prepare something else for themselves. On weekends, breakfast is sometimes made an event.



A person will cook rice and enough bacon, spam, or Portuguese sausage for everyone. Most often, however, eggs will only be set out by the stove; they will not be cooked. People will eat as they rise and are inclined to, adults and teenage children frying eggs for the younger ones. During the week, breakfast is more a case of everyone for himself or herself, with first and second graders getting their own fruit, making their own cereal, or helping themselves to the previous evening's leftovers as they are expected and have been taught to do.

Behavioral autonomy is also quite apparent in other aspects of children's management of their needs. They choose clothes for themselves in the morning and get off to school on their own. Older children help younger ones, but even by the age of seven or eight a child may be catching city buses to and from school on his or her own. This training, too, begins very early. Another of the instructions toddlers very soon receive, for example, is to fetch and to arrange their own pillows and blankets at naptime. This instruction belongs to a set of directions through which adults begin to lead nine- to eleven-month-olds into managing their own persons and situations. Even before this, parents are socializing children to the idea of being accountable for managing themselves. At four or five months of age, children may be scolded for being "lolos" and not "watching" if they spill food on themselves and their clean clothes. The use of "lolo" or "dummy" in this sort of context is typical of Hawaiian usage. In Hawaiian social networks, being "dumb" does not mean being slow at academic subjects so much as not having the commonsense required to deal with everyday situations.

The rationale parents most often give in accounting for why they teach their children to make food and otherwise care for themselves is that parents "won't always be there." One mother said, "When Anna [age eight] grumbles, 'How come I gotta do this and that,' I tell her, 'If I die tomorrow, then what? You going wait for somebody serve you? You don't need anybody do for you, you can do for yourself.'" Another said, "To me they have to learn to be independent and try take care of themselves. If anything happen to me, then . . . I kinda expect them or want them [sons aged nine and six] to be able to handle by themselves." This concern with tomorrow is probably a metaphor for a concern with today; in many ways, the parents are already not there. They are there as providers; they are there as rule-makers and teachers of their interactional system; and they are there to check whether their children are doing the things they need to do to take care of themselves. But they are not there to do these things for their children. In a generational system, the duty of the parent is not so much to do for children as it is to equip children with the means of doing for themselves. Levy (1973) writes of "shared privacy" in his ethnography of the Tahitians, and this phrase also suggests the contrast between communality and autonomy in Hawaiian social networks. An event like dinner is a collective one, but it is also one that members of a household bring off in their own ways. In teaching the idea of looking after oneself and not expecting to be looked after by adults, Hawaiian parents are acquainting their children with the facts of life in a generationally organized system; they are instructing their children on how to participate in groups over which no one has

sustained, face-to-face control. One mother, who had taught a six-year-old daughter how to use the stove, said, "Most parents don't let 'em because they scared the child going burn, right? But then, if you baby them too much, they never learn." Already skilled in looking after themselves by elementary school age, Hawaiian children are extremely reluctant to allow others to do for them things they feel competent to do for themselves. They regard this sort of help as a putdown of them, a babying of them, and are very likely to reject it.

"Anyways, Hawaiians 'sposed to be tough, yeah?"

Particularly striking, and particularly important to understanding Hawaiian schoolchildren's courage, are adult expectations of child autonomy in the management of pain. In hierarchical organizations of face-to-face interaction--the stereotypical middle class Anglo family, for example--, displays of pain are supposed to be treated with sympathy, solicitousness, and remedial attention. This responsiveness of the social context to displays of pain is based upon the premise that people, and particularly children, are easily traumatized, relatively vulnerable creatures, who need and are due help from others in dealing with pain. Conversely, the premise that people are vulnerable to pain legitimizes both the control of people by a hierarchically arranged social context and the dependency of people upon such contexts; it establishes a need for people to be protected from pain and their right to being taken care of when they experience it. In hierarchical systems of interaction, both adults and children have a vested interest in the idea of the vulnerability of people to pain.

Provided with a morality for their control of children, parents are justified in intervening in children's behavior whenever it can be construed as potentially hazardous; provided with a morality for dependency upon parents, children are justified in seeking their protection against danger and comfort from them when pain has been felt. It is almost as though children are justified in blaming parents for the pain that they do experience. In generational systems of interaction, however, the ideological need is not to legitimate parental control of children but rather the interactional separation of one generation from the next. The socialization need is not to train children to accept interactional hierarchy but to teach them not to be afraid of pain; it is mastery of fear that children will need in order to accept and to manage the rivalry that will be part of their lives with peers. The idea of personhood that corresponds to these needs is not that people are vulnerable to pain and in need of protection from it and comfort for it; it is rather that worthy people can "handle": that they can manage their own situations without exposing themselves to injury, that they can endure injury without showing pain.

The politics of adult response to risky child behavior exemplifies the contrast between hierarchical and generational organizations of interaction. Hawaiian parents usually do not say, "Don't do that, you're going to hurt yourself," and then wait to see that the child obeys; more often they say, "You watch, you going hurt yourself," and then wait to see if the child does. When the child does, the inclination is to scold the child for not "watching"; it is not to

offer sympathy. "Good for you," parents will say, meaning, "You deserve it." The following responses by parents to the question of how they would respond to a child who had suffered a minor hurt while playing illustrate the adult attitudes towards children's pain that accord with generationally organized interaction. The meaning of "minor" was not defined for the parents. One mother said, "It's her fault," and her husband agreed, amplifying the point in this way:

I must've told her not to do it, so . . . it's just too bad . . . you know. Got to be reasonable, not when she . . . she go break her arm or something like that. You cannot scold her or anything. You just gotta take her to the doctor. Other than that, if they get hurt and it's not serious, you gotta scold. You gotta tell 'em, "I told you. See what happened?"

A mother said,

It all depends on how hurt they are . . . but if like . . . like I say he loves to jump ramps and stuff [on his bike]. If I see him doing something that he's gonna get hurt and I tell him about it [. . .] and he gets hurt . . . I don't fuss over him. Of course I tell him, "Come here," and I check him and stuff, you know. And if it's not that serious and, you know, but it's hurting and . . . I just let him go. I tell him, "I told you so."

Other mothers:

I don't respond. That's the breaks. Live and learn. It's not going to be the first and it won't be the last. [. . .] I was taught not to get excited. Even when he broke his leg [at age two], I just took him to the doctor.

I'm not one to get overboard or obnoxious. [. . .] It would be something like, "Are you dying?"

"No."

"Then why you crying? It's just a little cut."

A lot of time they respond to you being upset. [I would tell him] "You're all right. Get up, dust off."

I say, "Hurts, huh? Anh, you'll be all right. It's okay." You know. I never go and cuddle them right off. I have to check it over. And I let them . . . if they need the comfort,

they'll come to me. And they'll say, "Mommy, hold me," you know. But I don't like to . . . I guess it's, "baby" them. I don't like that. I tell 'em, "Stand up again. You'll be all right." And they'll do it. They'll stand up, smile, and just continue on.

I would get mad and tell her, "Why you go play over there and get hurt?"

I check the hurt, but . . . not so much . . . TLC or whatever.

If it's not too bad, anh . . . no big deal. If she wants to complain about it, I'll . . . I'll listen, but there's usually not much I can do. [. . .] "Don't worry. It'll get better."

The duty of the parent in the Hawaiian system of interaction is not to control the environment and the child's use of it in such a way that danger is eliminated; it is not to protect the child in the sense of being a shield between the child and the world. The duty instead is to warn the child about danger; it is again to equip the child with the means of "handling" the world and its situations. When pain is experienced by children, it is not the obligation of the parent to console. It is the parent's obligation to strengthen the child by showing that the social context is not manipulable through appeals to sympathy; it is to require that the child develop the capacity to deal with pain without depending upon others.

In order to teach children to "handle" pain, Hawaiian parents do not allow their own behavior to make their children afraid of pain. They avoid becoming excited by their children's mishaps; they do not rush at babies, snatching them up from floors when they have fallen or away from couches and other dangerous perches. A child's experience of pain or danger is not treated as an opportunity to live out the heroic

drama of the adult as defender of the child. Instead, such events are minimized.

For example, an eight-month-old, awkward and uncertain in his balance, had been standing with the aid of a table but then fell and cried. His four-year-old cousin (MZD) moved towards him, but the baby's mother, who was sitting closeby, stopped her with a curt, "Let him go." Then she bent over very low so that her face was near his, smiled very broadly at him, made her eyes light up, and said, "No more blood. . . . No more blood." As she spoke to the baby she rocked her head, first to one side, then to the other. The baby was now lying on his stomach. As he watched his mother move her head, smile, and speak to him, he himself began to smile. The two passed the smile and more talk of "no more blood, no more blood" back and forth for a few moments; then the mother stood the baby up again. Expressions like, "no more blood," are a motif in adults' reactions to the mishaps of young children. By means of such expressions, adults try to help children towards control of the fear that accompanies the experience of pain. At the same time, they are teaching children not to expect comforting when they cry over pain. Reassurance about the transience of pain is there; acceptance of dependency is not.

When young children do succeed in handling pain, adults are quick to praise them. Another pre-toddler, for example, was being led through walking by an auntie, a girl of fourteen. The auntie was providing fingers for the boy to hang from as he took a few steps. The scene was out of doors on a brick platform that was set into the yard.

Suddenly, the boy fell backwards, coming down soundly on his rump on the hard bricks, his weight and the slope then carrying him over onto his back and head. But the boy did not react. His auntie hauled him to his feet. As he hung from her fingers again, she looked at his back and head for signs of injury and said, "Eh, you tough, yeah Isaac? You tough!" As was this auntie, adults are concerned when children have accidents. But as did this auntie, they tend to embed that concern in praise and other routines which reward and do not co-opt children's efforts at showing autonomy. Another example of the same thing: during the evening of a beach outing, a three-year-old climbed onto a wooden box in order to look for food on a relatively high table. The box turned under her, and she crashed down upon it. The adults were about ten feet away. "The box okay, Kristal?" the girl's grandmother asked. "Yes," came the girl's voice after a moment. "Good," said the grandmother, smiling now and winking at the other adults about adult tricks, "that's the main thing." The grandmother had asked the question about the box to see whether Kristal could answer it; that Kristal was able to say that the box was okay meant that she was okay, too. This grandmother had been concerned about her granddaughter, but if she had felt the urge to rush to her, she had curbed it. It was important to her that her own behavior not co-opt her granddaughter's control of herself.

Adults, however, are not prepared to yield on the requirement that children be autonomous in the management of pain. While supportive and encouraging of children's early attempts to handle pain, they will not



accept sustained displays of suffering from children. In particular, they will not accept crying from an older child in situations which the child should have learned to handle or needs to learn to handle. On one occasion, for example, a four-year-old ran into her house, tripped on the edge of the rug, fell down, and began to cry. "Shut up, Leilani," her mother at once said in the high rising tones that amount to a threat of punishment. "Shut up," she repeated, yet more emphatically, angry at her daughter for crying. "Oh, Lani, what went happen? What went happen?" the girl's grandmother (MM) now asked in a gentle lilt as she came in from the kitchen. "Crybaby, tha's why," the mother said harshly. "Crybaby," she continued, trying to shame the child for crying. Leilani's grandmother helped her to her feet and sat on a couch with her. In her own way, she too began to work to turn off Leilani's crying. "Shhhh," she said, as she held and rocked her. "Shhhh," she said again. "Quit it, Leilani," she said a little while later, still gently, and then Leilani did begin to swallow the crying. Less than thirty seconds had passed since her grandmother had helped her from the floor. Grandmother and mother had responded in different ways to Leilani, but one of their messages to her was the same: in public, one is permitted only very limited displays of suffering.

Adults respond in similar ways to pain that has purely emotional origins, again requiring that children limit displays of suffering. Hawaiians empathize strongly with and seek ways of supporting people who are trying to cope with hard times. But they have little patience

with what seems to them to be attempts to attract pity. For example, a husband and wife were planning to go into town for a medical appointment. Their children could not go with them; they were to be left at the home the couple was visiting. One of the couple's children--a six-year-old daughter--had thought that she would be accompanying her parents to town. When she found out that she could not go, she began to cry; when her parents drove away, she lost control of her crying. The auntie (FMZD) who was to be the primary caretaker of this girl and her siblings ignored the girl's crying for a few moments. Then she said, "'Nuff, [enough], Malia." The crying continued. Soon the auntie again said, "'Nuff." More crying. "Shut that mouth," the auntie now said. Still more crying. "Shut that mouth or you going to your room," the auntie said. "You hear, Malia?" When Malia was still crying a few moments later, the auntie said, "'Kay, then," picked Malia up to a crescendo of crying, and carried her off to her room. There Malia stayed until she had slept and was composed again. What the auntie was telling Malia by means of her responses to her, was that there would be no pity for her from the adult social context. She was telling her to accept the reality of things that could not be changed. If there were pain in those things, that pain would have to be accepted without self-pity and without seeking the pity of others. Just how reluctant Hawaiians are to oblige what seem to be others' requests for pity came out very clearly in a telephone conversation between two young men. The one had had a falling out with his girlfriend and had tried to commit suicide with drugs. He then made a telephone call from the

hospital to the other, his best friend. The friend had already had news of the suicide attempt. His first words were not ones of solicitousness, sympathy, or pity. In no uncertain terms, he condemned the suicide attempt. "The next time you like suicide yourself, brah, come tell me," he said. "I give you one rope for watch you act stupid." Throughout the conversation, he maintained this uncompromising attitude towards the suicide attempt. At one point, he asked a rhetorical and caustic question about the other's motivation to attempt suicide: "Why?" he asked. "You like us guys feel more sorry for you?" Later, he rejected the other's account of his motivation for the suicide attempt. "You only doing it for yourself, brah," he said. "You ain't doing it for her." Neither would he accept the "sick person in the hospital" stereotype as one that applied legitimately to his friend: "You stay in the hospital, now, you think that's good fun. I know, I know. I went through that already." By means of these critical but trenchant observations, he simply refused to cooperate with the script that his friend was trying to write himself into. He would not respond to his friend with pity, he would not agree that there was any justification for what his friend had attempted. He was concerned for his friend; this was also apparent in the conversation. But he would not show this concern through pity. At one point, he spoke of a relationship of his own that had ended, one to a woman with whom he had had a child. "I still love her, brah, but I cannot help that. If she like go, she like go." Time and again, he told his friend to, "Let 'em [her] go, let 'em go," trying to show his friend,

too, the need to accept and to learn to live with things that cannot be changed.

Adults' limited tolerance of children's displays of pain carries over to a third area, that of discipline. In hierarchical systems of face-to-face interaction, if an act of discipline has moved a child to tears, it is typically the parent who initiates rapprochement with the child. That events sequence in this way, reflects the political strategy and moral understandings of hierarchically organized interaction. Manifest differences in power between adults and children need to be kept small so that face-to-face interactional control will continue to be accepted; punishment that causes a child to cry is almost by definition excessive. When such punishment does occur, it is often the parent who feels the need to act next in order to relieve his or her own guilt and to restore the covenant of quasi-equality in interaction. In generational systems, on the other hand, a strong definition of adult authority is an accepted aspect of relationships with children. Much teaching of the rules of social behavior to children proceeds through their exposure to harsh consequences, and adults feel little compunction about swatting children for misbehavior. Rather than as abuse, corporal punishment--within reason--is viewed as a sign of concern and thus of love for a child. A parent who allows a child to "make any kind" is a parent who does not love the child enough to shape the child's inherently willful and "rascal" nature. When a child cries because of discipline, parents try not to allow themselves to be moved; sometimes they punish a child for crying too much. The following responses of parents to the question of whether children

should be allowed to cry when they are being punished are illustrative of these attitudes toward discipline and the pain that may accompany it:

Yeah. [. . .] If my kids cry, it doesn't bother me. I let 'em cry. I tell 'em, "Whose fault?"

"Mine."

"Well . . ." Only when they fall down, my son cry, "Get up! Don't cry." But if it's something like you know, they hurt, you know, like they know they wrong, they cry, then I let 'em go. But when they come tell me, I say, "Whose fault?" And they say, "My fault."

"Well then. Don't cry to me."

Yeah . . . as long as she does it quietly and not in a rampage. I don't want them throwing their fits is what I mean. If they do, then that's when I throw my rampage.

Main thing is that they know why [they're being punished]. If they know why, then I tell 'em, "Don't cry. You can sit there and cry all night, and it won't bother me."

Yeah. They no more feelings if they don't cry. Usually the father tells 'em to go in their room to cry and when they ready, come out and apologize.

If they punished, no sense they cry. Janie is like that. My son is like that, too. Jason. He cry. I get mad when they cry. Just like they 'um trying get pity. I . . . I don't pity.

If they're getting spanking, they're gonna cry. But if they getting scolding and already they crying, I tell 'em, "You better not be crying 'cause you got no reason to cry." Sounds cold, but . . . I don't care too much [if they cry] . . . you know, 'cause I have to stick to my ground too, you know. I feel bad that they have to cry like that. I wish they would think about it more than cry about it, but . . . wouldn't bother me too much.

The processual complement to this orientation towards discipline and pain inflicted during discipline are interactional sequences which begin with a child receiving punishment, often in the form of a swat, after breaking a known rule or ignoring a specific warning, and which end with the child, rather than the adult, initiating rapprochement.

Between the beginning and end of such a sequence, there is usually an expression of pain from the child, modulated so as not to invite more punishment, and a period of interactional separation between the child and the adult; initially, there may also be some conflict between child and adult over the issue of punishment. These sequences of interaction, however, tend to be completed very quickly. Children know that resistance, large expressions of pain, and sulking are likely to bring on more punishment; on the other hand, once punishment has been administered and misbehavior has ceased, the anger of adults evaporates. Typically, they are at once ready to accept children's overtures at rapprochement. For all adults' tough talk and tough actions, they delight in their children's displays of affection; they take no pleasure in and see no point to dwelling upon the events that have led up to a punishment. They know what those events were, the children do, and they feel no need to rehash the sequence in order to justify to children actions that are already a well-established piece of adult-child relationships. Their interest is in moving interaction forward again; as soon as children are ready for rapprochement, so are they. For example, a woman was sitting on the concrete base of a railing with her three-year-old daughter. The daughter fell backwards through the railing, and the mother gave her a slap on the leg. The slap was an automatic, almost offhand measure that punished the daughter for not "watching." The little girl cried, but more in protest than in pain. Rather than in a stream, her crying came out in a spurt, winding down in the way that a friction toy does. Because she cried, however, the little girl was slapped again. A heightened

version of the same sort of cry came from her, and she grabbed angrily at the purse lying between herself and her mother. Her mother pushed the purse back down to its original position and gave the girl another slap. As she cried for the third time, she again reached out for the purse, but her gesture wound down in the way that her cry did. Instead of picking up the purse, she only placed her hand upon it; this time, there was no swat. Her mother continued to sit looking forward as she had for almost the entire episode. There was a space of a few seconds while the little girl patted the purse, straightened it, and said something to it. Then she stood up to face her mother. She put her arms around her mother's neck, hugged her head, and kissed her. She was smiling. Her mother, also smiling, wrapped her arms around her daughter and returned the kiss. They held the pose for a few moments, the mother's large face framed by her daughter's small head and little shoulder. Less than a minute had passed since the episode began.

Another episode, virtually identical in structure: at an office party, a local Asian teenager was playing with a two-year-old Hawaiian child. There were about ten adults at the gathering and only the one child. The Asian teenager was behaving in terms of her own ideas of adult-child relationships, laughing and encouraging the little boy's antics. The boy's parents and auntie (MZ) were present; with the frown that Hawaiians call stink-eye, they attempted to warn the toddler that he was being disruptive with his running and the noise of his play. Finally, the boy ran through some potato chips. His auntie rose and carried him out of view of the others. The sound of a sharp slap was heard, and then crying from the boy. The auntie came back into view

and reseated herself. Shortly, the boy reappeared, went to his auntie rather than to the Asian teenager who was beckoning him, and sat in her lap; she folded her arms around him. Less than two minutes had passed since the auntie first stood up. Quasi-equality between parents and children in interaction is associated with milder punishments than those meted out by Hawaiian adults, but this organization of relationships also creates a space where wounds can fester. There is the child's sense of hurt, anger, and betrayal at having been treated badly by someone who pretends to be an equal; there is the parent's confusion over the variance between his or her own behavior and the parental ideals of reasoning and being patient with children. Punishment of Hawaiian children tends to be speedy and direct, but so does healing. Perhaps for the reason that punishment does not overturn covenants of quasi-equality, it is not such a threat to relationships.

There are other ways in which Hawaiian children encounter pain, but the lesson taught them about pain remains the same: that they are accountable for preventing it on their own and for handling it on their own. The kind of person that this makes for is one capable of showing remarkable tolerance of pain, little inclination towards self-pity, and little tolerance of self-pity in or of pity from others. These characteristics of self-management and self-presentation have been reported for members of other Polynesian cultures. So striking did Levy find Tahitians' management of pain that he wonders whether Tahitians experience pain differently from Westerners. As evidence that they do, he cites an incident in which a boy received a compound fracture from a fall from a tree. While waiting to be taken to a



clinic, and enduring teasing from adults about the accident, the boy exposed little suffering (1973:309). A similar display of tolerance for pain occurred in the course of my own community fieldwork. A woman in her forties slipped and fell on her arm. Her husband wrapped the arm in an elastic bandage, but it became quite swollen. About ten days after the accident, the arm was still badly swollen and had become very discolored. I made what seemed to me an innocent observation--that she really ought to go see a doctor. "Don't pity me. Don't ever pity me," she said, drawing out her words for emphasis. "I not hopeless. I can handle. Anyways," she continued, brightening, "Hawaiians 'sposed to be tough, yeah?" About a month and a half after the accident, her husband finally persuaded her to go to a doctor; x-rays showed that she had broken her arm. Nor is it only adults who are capable of this sort of tolerance of pain. A woman, sitting in a car and holding a fourteen-month-old nephew (ZSS) on her lap, shut the car door, and the baby began to cry. She had shut the door on his fingers. She opened the door, began to rub the baby's fingers, and said, "I'm sorry, shh, shh, I'm sorry." Within a very few seconds--well under ten--, the baby stopped crying, and she stopped rubbing. In fact, the baby probably had not experienced much pain since his fingers were small and the door jamb well padded. Nevertheless, it was arresting that the episode was completely over so very quickly. Events like these do suggest that Polynesians have a high tolerance of pain. Part of the reason for this is probably that they become somewhat inured to it; even before the age of one, a Hawaiian child can receive a slap on the arm sufficient to redden the skin without showing a reaction to it other than a hand

flap, a frown, a brief run, or a brief rub. Indeed, Hawaiian parents and other relatives will sometimes proudly report of a toddler that, "You lick him, and he no cry. He no cry. Try lick him." Another part of the reason for Hawaiians' tolerance of pain, however, is probably the different understanding of it that comes from having to cope with it autonomously. Pain hurts; that much seems biologically given. But what the hurt means, does not. This seems socially given. From the earliest moments of childhood, people are taught to look at pain from the perspective of the reactions and ideals of those around them. Pain may not hurt any more or any less from social network to social network, but people appear to learn to interpret the sensation in ways as different as their rules for organizing face-to-face encounters.

"No let 'em step on you"

The ideals of being autonomous in managing situations and in handling pain are related to Hawaiian schoolchildren's idea of being tough in peer relationships. Being tough entails being competent at doing things (not being a "baby") and being tolerant of pain (not being a "crybaby"). Conversely, the demonstration of these capacities helps to create a reputation for being a fighter; it suggests the image of someone capable of handling all sorts of situations including that of conflict. There is a direct tie-in, however, between the generational structure of Hawaiian interaction and the themes of toughness and solidarity in Hawaiian children's presentations of self. This strategy for managing peer relationships reflects the social autonomy required

of children in their peer relationships and particularly in their peer conflicts.

The strong notion of authority that separates the interactions of older and younger generations prevents Hawaiian parents, morally and situationally, from playing much of a direct role in their children's peer relationships. Intervention in the peer relationships of older children is usually not feasible since the children's scene of interaction is typically at a distance from that of adults. With both older and younger children, however, intervention is unseemly. The relationships of children with one another are regarded as their own affair, and it is felt to be inappropriate for adults to interfere in these matters. As a rule, children are expected to exercise autonomy in choosing their friends; parents do not tell their children who they can and cannot play with, and they do little in the way of setting up friendships between their children and those of their own friends. By the same token, however, children are expected to stand on their own in the management of conflict. Parents do not step in to resolve peer conflicts for children; neither do they extend sympathy to children having problems with peers. The same strong notion of authority that turns people inwards towards interaction with peers keeps them there in moments of conflict.

The parents interviewed spoke directly and with clarity to the issue of child autonomy in peer relationships. One of the Ka Na'i Pono second grade mothers represented the views of almost all of the rest in her response to the question of whether she made rules on the friends her daughter could have:

No, I think she, you know, freedom of choice hehhehheh. But I told her, but I warn her though, if she goes around with rowdy kids and they fight her, I tell her, you know, that's her choice. She gotta learn how to defend herself. That's the only thing.

This mother frowns on fighting, but she is not saying that fighting is "immature," "negative," that parents should teach their children not to fight and console them when they do. These notions are those of hierarchically organized systems of face-to-face interaction in which individuals are required to surrender means of violence to institutions and institutional figures of authority, to be responsive to authority figures and their version of the institutional agenda over the course of face-to-face interaction, and to seek the just resolution of disputes through institutional procedures always mediated, in principle, if not in fact, by institutional representatives. The message of this mother's words is quite different. Reflecting the moral code of a generational system of interaction, she is saying that her daughter must make her way with her peers on her own, that there is no appeal to adults, that she will neither console nor protect her daughter if she fights with peers. Rather than negatively, knowing how to fight and fighting back are viewed positively; rather than positively, appealing to adult figures of authority is viewed negatively.

Other parents amplified this perspective on children's conflicts in their responses to the question of what they would advise a child to do if a peer were "making trouble." One mother said this:

I always told her, I said, "You know you right, you fight. But if you wrong, you shut your mouth." You know. "But if somebody going throw the first blow, you no stand there like one dummy. You throw back."

The father of another Ka Na'i Pono girl said, "Punch 'em!" His wife quickly amended his comment but worked herself around to the same advice:

I'd go over there and say, "Stop it," or "you folks wanna get hurt? Pam is a very strong girl now." [She is joking about the fact that any child who fought with Pam would be likely to get hurt by her.] But usually if they . . . if somebody hits her, I tell her, "Don't just stand there." I say, "Hit 'em back."

From another mother, this declaration:

I tell my sons, don't make trouble. Unless trouble comes to them.

This mother's views were particularly clear:

If they wrong, well . . . but if they know they right, just stand up. Fight for your rights. . . . Like my son Jerry. Came home yesterday, tell me, "Mommy, my face swollen?" I said, "Yeah, little bit. Why?" He got into one fight with a boy and . . . they live by us--[inaudible] boy. But he made trouble. 'As Why I told Jerry Boy, "You stand and fight for your right. He make trouble with you, then you lick 'em. No come home and cry to me because you come home cry to me, you going get lickin'. You old enough to take care yourself. Fight."

This mother explained that children have to fight in situations like her son's,

'Cause if you gonna act scared, they gonna come after you. They gonna stay, you know, make trouble with you. So the best way for do is give 'em lickin'.

A father who seemed torn between expressing his own values and speaking to the presumed values of his non-Hawaiian interviewer said that he would give this advice to his son if someone were making trouble:

Just tell him, tell the other guy no make trouble. Uh, you know, you no like . . . you think you doing it right and, you know, he shouldn't be futzing around. If they keep it up, punch 'em. I mean, not punch 'em, but if he . . . you know I tell him not to [inaudible]. You tell him, you know, that not

suppose to be making trouble, this kind [of] stuff. And I tell him to hit first. I tell him, you know, because he shouldn't be pushing you around. Use your mouth first.

A mother also a bit concerned about the sound of her words said this:

Well, this gonna be wrong, but I would . . . would tell them that like Freddie [her son], like this incident that he had. "Freddie, who started it?" He said he didn't, they did. Then . . . oh, especially when he comes [home], get some kids like, like 'um, they try to beat him up. I always tell Freddie, "If they go and beat you up, you hit 'em back. You try to fight it." [. . .] I mean, I don't want to tell him for hit back when people hit, but I don't want him to just stand there and look like one dummy that the person gonna take advantage and you know . . . beat him up. So, I don't know, that's why I want, I want him to hit back. Just to, for to defend himself.

One mother upheld the need for children to stand up for themselves but did draw the line at fighting. Nevertheless, she expressed pride about a situation in which a daughter had fought:

[I would tell her to] stand up for herself [if a peer were making trouble]. Unless it was [inaudible] physical, you know, punching, and it's something I could stop. She's not like that. She would hardly fight, unless she's really to the end, you know. . . . She had one time when she had a fight with this [inaudible], when she actually fought. I felt proud of her, you know. I don't like her to fight always, but just to think that she could, you know, stand up for herself. I told her, "You know, Sherry, that's real good. Just don't do it again," hahaha.

Most of the parents, however, simply took for granted the idea that children will have fights with peers and will have to handle these fights on their own. The world that the parents were concerned to detail is one in which a child must create and defend his or her own position within the peer group. "If . . . the girl making trouble for Cindy," said one mother, "and Cindy cannot stand up for her rights, [. . .] whose fault is it? Cindy's." Neither in this mother's comments nor in those of most Hawaiian parents does one hear the idea that it is the responsibility of parents, teachers, and other adults to

keep the peace among children. The Hawaiian world does not work this way, and parents know it. They know that it is to the politics of maintaining parity with putative equals that they must socialize their children, not to those of maintaining and improving position in interactional hierarchies. They know that their children must commit themselves to defining their identities among peers, that they must make their own justice within their peer groups, and that they must be prepared by adults for this sort of world. In the context of children's peer relationships, the obligation of the parent is again not to do for the child but to require and to equip the child to do for himself or herself. As one mother said,

They rather you go in there and you know . . . pull . . . get the toy back for them and all that. They're not learning anything, you know. They're depending too much on you. And that's not . . . I always tell 'em, "Look, I'm never, I'm not going to be around forever. I'm not going to be able to fight your battle, so you gotta do it yourself."

Even when parents' hearts are not in their advice, they know that they must deny their children recourse to adults in handling peer conflicts. Children must establish their rights in peer relationships by themselves and through whatever means are required; adults cannot do this for them. In detailing the advice she would give her children about peer conflicts, one mother told the following story:

He didn't start the trouble, now, David didn't start the trouble. This boy who started the trouble went start hitting him. David will not hit the kid back. He will not hit the boy. He'll come home, run home tell me, you know. He'll come running home crying. And I get mad at that. I do not want him to come home crying to me because . . . see, I'm a little afraid that maybe he'll grow up to be one of those . . . hehheh, you know [. . .]. You know, you gotta think of that.

Face it, that's reality. The kid might grow up like that one day. So I tell him, "Why you crying?" He said, "The boy went beat me." And I said, "Who went start the trouble?"

"The boy." I said, "So, what? When he hit you, you went home crying?"

"Yeah." I just tell him, "What? You mahu [male trans-sexual]? You one girl?"

"No." I said, "Well, you always going run home somebody hit you?"

"No."

"Well, you gotta shape . . . you gotta shape up, David. You not a girl. You one boy. You gotta start fighting for your own rights. Don't run home always crying to me 'cause I'm not always going to be there for you."

Now . . . he's getting to that point where he try and hit back. He tries to hit the person back. He doesn't really want to, you know, but . . . I guess he feels he has to because . . . maybe the way I put it to him. . . "You gotta stand up for your own rights. No let 'em step on you. No let 'em pick on you." And he's like that. A lot of people do pick on him. He's not a troublemaker. I'd say he's one of those nice boys. Not a troublemaker. Sometimes I wish he would, you know, hehheh.

As this mother is well-aware, the ways of the world do not change even for a seven-year-old who is a nice boy. Adults do not always refrain from intervening in children's peer conflicts, and when they do stay out of the picture, it is not only to teach a certain ideal of behavior. Nonetheless, there is a kind of terrible simplicity to peer interaction in a generationally organized system. Isolated from appeal to adults, each child must shoulder responsibility for his or her own peer relationships, and each child knows this. Rather than forbidden to fight, children are required to show the courage to fight back. In consequence, fighting becomes a kind of ultimate test for children of a peer's identity as a socially worthy being. Hawaiian children do not always fight, but the potential for fighting is always there. When that potential is acted upon through challenges to status claims or



group membership rights, there is no place for a child to go. There is little to do but to fight. As one mother said,

If you try to walk away where I grew up [. . .], if you try to walk away from a fight, you can, okay, but there's . . . it's not gonna stop there. It's gonna be like a everyday thing. 'Kay, and the more you walk away, they're gonna think you're scared of them and they're going constantly pick on you till finally it ends up in a fight. But usually when I was growing up, you have to fight. I mean you can walk away and then you're going to get somebody in the back of you keep pushing through the hall and you walk to the next class and . . . it's the routine. I don't know, it was . . . I know when I was growing up, it was kinda hard to walk away from a fight. You can, but then they're going to keep after you.

The fact that Hawaiian children are supposed to manage peer relationships, to include the potential for fighting, on their own is one of the circumstances most responsible for the shape of the children's socialization and for the logic of their interactional style. In generationally organized interaction, fighting among children is not usually evidence of a lack of social skills. On the contrary, fighting is a social skill. Children must be ready to do this, know how to do it, and know when to do it in order to succeed among their peers. Fighting back, or more precisely, the threat of fighting back, is an indispensable element of face-to-face politics for children. Being tough is a form of social competence which children require and which adults know that children must be taught if they are to meet the demands of their social networks.

Equipping children with the means of handling peer relationships on their own, however, does not end with teaching them to be tough. Because children need to be ready to fight to defend their rights, adults teach them to be tough. But because children may well have to

fight when they have problems with peers, adults also teach them to avoid creating problems. On the one hand, they teach children that they must fight; on the other, they teach children how to show affection and how to joke and tease with peers so that they will be able to establish trust and mutual respect without having to fight. They teach children how to stand up for themselves when challenged, but they also teach them how to sheath the theme of autonomy within the theme of solidarity in order to avoid creating challenges. As discussed previously, Hawaiian children's displays of affection and their teasing, joking, and other means of playing at aggression do not have solely a political meaning; these activities are also enjoyed in their own right. But one element of the meaning of shows of solidarity, not only among children, but also among adults, is the fact that the relevant contrast to them is fighting (cf. Boggs 1985). Part of the reason that Hawaiians are as concerned as they are to exchange voluble and warm greetings with one another, to welcome and extend hospitality to friends, and to do all of the other things associated with the stereotype of the gregarious Hawaiian, is that not to do these things is to cause affront. Displays of solidarity are as strong as they are because the potential for creating affront and for fighting is as strong as it is. As one mother said she advised her daughter,

"You goin' say something [to peers], no need yell. Talk soft." Because sometimes yelling can get you lickin' too. I mean [. . .] if you don't know how to talk soft, well, might as well no talk. Just lick.

If one cannot be nice to peers, in other words, be ready to fight because that is what one will provoke them to do. Showing teeth but

framing those teeth first with a smile, is not only a matter of stylistic preference for Hawaiian children and Hawaiian adults as well; it is how social order is created, maintained, and also toyed with when not imposed from above but built from within, when violence is not controlled by figures of authority but remains within the scope of what may well unfold in face-to-face interaction, when it is not contexts of hierarchy and competition in which individuals must find their places but ones of parity and rivalry with peers. It is how one plays the game of face-to-face interaction when that game is generationally organized.

#### The socio-structural context of aggression

The preceding chapter described the range of forms taken by Hawaiian children's self-presentations and analyzed this range of behavior in terms of the values of autonomy and solidarity. The chapter concluded by raising two questions about these values. The first had to do with the socio-structural context of the values, with the nature of the social arrangements which require Hawaiian children to present themselves in the way that they do. The second question had to do with the socialization of Hawaiian children, with how they learn the values and forms of self-presentation appropriate to Hawaiian social structure. Thus far, the present chapter has attempted to address the issue of the socio-structural context of Hawaiian children's values. The first section has shown the sense in which it remains possible to speak of a Hawaiian social world; the second has described the organization of interaction in that world; and the third has given an

account of some of the implications of that interactional organization for ideals of self-presentation. The aim of the discussion has been to show that the values of autonomy and solidarity refer to whole complexes of attitudes and orientations which are logically related to one another and to the structure of Hawaiian interaction. Behind the displays of toughness and affection which teachers see in the classroom, lies a comprehensive philosophy on social relationships and the self; beyond the classroom, lie the distinctive social arrangements which teach this philosophy. To require Hawaiian children to change their outlook on social relationships, is to require them to change their lives, their histories, and the social arrangements to which they return each day.

Over the course of the chapter, many contrasts and ironies have been noted between the play of autonomy and solidarity in Hawaiian social networks and that of dependence and independence in Anglo social networks. It is worthwhile to look at one more before turning to the question of how Hawaiian children learn the Hawaiian style of self-presentation. In the hierarchically organized contexts of Anglo interaction, much of the potential for fighting is removed. Fighting is supposed to be surrendered as a behavioral option; it is punished as anti-social behavior, and people are usually there to put a stop to it. That these things are so, however, does not mean that people are therefore gentle with one another and sensitive to one another's emotions in face-to-face contexts. On the contrary, the fact that fighting is neither approved nor a very real potential frees people to be quite aggressive with one another in verbal ways. There are few, if any,

consequences for being frank and assertive about one's wishes vis-a-vis those of others, about one's opinions of others, and about one's opinions of oneself compared to others. Frankness, assertiveness, and self-promotion are cultural values. Practicing these values is how one is supposed to get ahead; it is part of the competition among individuals that keeps the system moving. By contrast, a generational structure of interaction does not require people to surrender the potential of fighting. The fact that this is so, however, does not mean that people are characteristically aggressive with one another. On the contrary, the reverse is true. Because individuals are themselves accountable for controlling violence in face-to-face relationships, they are careful about doing those things that look aggressive and insensitive. They avoid doing these things unless they are willing, and wish to show that they are willing, to push situations to conflict. For people accustomed to the moral values of hierarchically organized interaction, Hawaiian parents' words about discipline, pain, children's relationships, and the like, may seem harsh, even cruel. The fact that fighting is such a real potential in Hawaiian peer groups may seem uncivilized. For Hawaiians, however, it is the interactional practices associated with competitive relationships that may seem harsh, cruel, and uncivilized. For them, the mystery is how people can and why anyone should want to be so frank and assertive, that is to say, so insensitive and aggressive, in face-to-face interaction. If they were to behave in this way with one another, they would find themselves in constant battle, and they would defeat their chances for enjoying the pleasures that playful rivalry and the feeling

of community can afford. For them, it is the dynamic of competition which shows an absence of concern for others and, paradoxically, ultimately a lack of spirit.

#### Learning how to "act"

The values and interactional competencies needed by Hawaiian children to manage their peer relationships on their own are taught simultaneously to the children throughout their early socialization. The children are taught how to express solidarity, how to express autonomy, and how to combine the two through specific interactional sequences involving them with parents and other adults, and siblings and other children. At different times in the children's socialization, however, different lessons dominate their interactions with others. In this sense, one may speak of phases in the children's socialization, periods of time devoted mainly to the teaching of one or another aspect of the Hawaiian style. These phases of socialization are related primarily to transformations in the children's relationships with parents and other adults, and the phases are linked to one another. Each phase builds upon the preceding phase and prepares the foundation for the next. Much more important than the lessons taught Hawaiian children in specific interactional sequences are the lessons they learn from the sweep of their socialization as a whole.

The first three phases are crucial in the development of the children's social orientation; one may think of these phases as the process through which the children learn how to "act." In the second phase of their socialization, Hawaiian children experience the

authority of adults more and more strongly and a general lack of pity for children's troubles more and more pointedly. They receive peremptory punishment for misbehavior and are eventually brought to the point of challenging adult authority. Adults call these challenges which they themselves have generated, "acting," and respond to them with strong warnings and strong punishment. During this time, children also begin to have to stand on their own in their relationships with peers. One may think of this phase of the children's socialization as the time during which they learn how to show teeth. It is here that they learn to "act" in the sense of mounting direct and serious challenges to adults and to peers; it is here that they learn how to fight. The next phase of the children's socialization involves their discovery of an acceptable reply to adult authority and of nonphysical means of holding their own with peers. This behavior, too, is called "acting" by adults, but it is not punished, initially, at least. On the contrary, it is approved. The discovery that the children make is of how to play at aggression through teasing, joking, and repartee. One may think of this phase of the children's socialization as the time in which they learn to show teeth by means of a smile. It is here that the children learn how to "act" in the sense of mounting playful challenges to adults and to peers. The first phase of the children's socialization lays the foundation for these later developments. It is here that the children are first taught the art of the smile.

Learning to express solidarity: infants' center stage experience

Infancy for Hawaiian children--roughly, the first seven to nine months of their lives--is mostly a time of conspicuous attention and indulgence. Babies are center stage. As Gallimore, Boggs, and Jordan (1974:107, 109), write,

When an infant is present, he is likely to occupy a central role in almost any group. At large social gatherings such as luaus, babies are often passed around among the women who take turns holding and playing with them, the older women having priority. Adult [. . .] men and even adolescent boys were also often observed amusing themselves with an infant, and when a woman was playing with a baby, any male in the vicinity was likely to be as occupied and entertained by the child as she was. Even for a "tough" high school boy, the care of an infant could be an acceptable, gratifying task.

Howard (1974:40) echoes these observations on the indulgence and attention received by Hawaiian infants:

During infancy, youngsters are tended to very closely. Much of their waking time is passed in someone's arms, being cuddled, played with, and talked to. At family gatherings, it is common practice for an infant to be passed from one to another; holding a baby is perceived as a privilege rather than a responsibility, so that age takes preference. Usually it is the older women who monopolize a child, although over a period of time almost everyone--even teenage boys who may like to come on "tough" at times--is apt to be given an opportunity to indulge in fondling, cooing at, and pacifying an infant. Although men, on the average, spend less time holding and cuddling an infant, the pleasure they display when they do appears no less intense than the delight shown by women.

Howard (1974) and Gallimore, Boggs, and Jordan (1974) are writing primarily from the perspective of infants' treatment in social occasions linking the household with the external world. Within the daily life of the household, the image of an infant spending its day in people's arms is not altogether appropriate. On couches or punees, on blankets on the floor, and in other locales in the household, infants



are "left out" for extended periods of time, the supervision of them switching back and forth from mothers to aunts, older children, and other individuals as people go about their business within the household. Among adults, these switches in primary caretaking responsibility are usually tacit; between adults and children, they may be accomplished by means of an adult's direction to, "Watch him." Furthermore, it is possible to question whether it is stimulating infants through talk and play that people are most concerned with or simply enjoying the dependency of infants through holding them, cuddling them, regarding them, helping to take care of their needs, and taking pride in them within the social network. In general, however, the point about the centrality of infants and the pleasure shown in them is unassailable. The faces presented to Hawaiian infants glow with pleasure, with happiness in the child for no other reason than that the child is there. Adults delight in the performances of infants, but an infant needs to do no performances to elicit expressions of love from adults. They give their love to infants quite unconditionally, neither looking into infants' behavior for signs of competence to tie their expressions of warmth to nor embedding their appreciation of infants in maturational talk about how well development is proceeding (cf. Howard 1974:41). This center stage experience of so many faces smiling with so much pleasure lays the foundation both for children's competence at expressing solidarity in interaction and for their confidence as entertainers. From the smiles given them, Hawaiian infants learn to smile back, to produce signs of warmth and affection at the onset of contact with others. The scope of this presentation is

elaborated as infants gain in age. Among the first social acts that Hawaiian babies are directed to perform is to, "kiss Auntie" and "kiss Uncle." Among the first formulaic utterances they are prompted to speak are, "Love you." By the time Hawaiian children begin to toddle, they are accomplished charmers, the light of affection in their faces reflecting the warmth that has been focused upon them in their social networks.

It is probably through the center stage experience that Hawaiian children also begin to acquire the Hawaiian appetite for interaction. Individuals socialized to the interactional culture of other social networks may learn features of the Hawaiian style of self-presentation and may copy these, after a fashion, in their own presentations of self. The Hawaiian capacity for interaction, however, is not something easily learned; it is perhaps not learnable except by infants. For a non-Hawaiian ethnographer, gaining access to situations of everyday life in Hawaiian social networks is not much of a problem; finding ways of limiting one's commitments to interaction, of coping emotionally with the normal interactional demands of Hawaiian social networks, however, is. For Anglos, generally, time by oneself is a requirement for emotional balance. Being by oneself is viewed in a restorative and also recreational sense; it can sometimes be lonely, but it is also fun and necessary to one's sense of self. For Hawaiians, generally, interaction is a requirement for emotional balance, and it, too, is viewed in restorative and recreational senses. As one young woman said about going home after work, "When I get home and nobody's there, I feel so bad I just go to my room and close the door." While interactional

demands can sometimes be burdensome, Hawaiians say that interaction keeps them young and that without it, life would be boring. Being by oneself, on the other hand, is generally viewed in negative terms. If a person is alone, it is usually assumed that the person is sick, depressed, or lonely, and in any case in need of company. The construction of Hawaiians' attitudes towards and capacity for interaction probably requires the sort of experience received by Hawaiian infants: that of being at the center of such pleased attention so often from so many people. For Hawaiian infants, everyday household life involves not only a parent or two and a sibling or two, but a large and often noisy cast of adults and of siblings, cousins, and other children, all of whom are regularly sources of nurturance, comfort, and affection.

Infancy, however, is not solely a time of indulgence. While the socialization emphasis is upon showing affection and stimulating its expression in infants, other themes of Hawaiian self-presentation are being taught as well. The dependency of infants is a source of pleasure for Hawaiians, but dependency is not as fully elaborated as it might be. Hawaiian women, for example, usually do not prolong breast feeding. On the contrary, within two weeks a child may be nursing partially at a bottle. Within a month, a mother may be talking about weaning and may begin to feed a child soft foods like poi. Within two months, a child may be weaned, this shift in the infant's source of nurturance presaging the autonomy demands that will soon be made upon the child in the area of the management of needs. There is also a concern about spoiling a child through indulgence, and there is peer

pressure to limit indulgence. The mother of a two-month-old, for example, was once criticized by a sister for carrying her infant too much; later, she claimed it was her sister who was spoiling her son, not she. Infants' crying, too, is usually minimized. Adults attend to it, but they do not make a big event of it. Owing partially to the medical advice they have been given, adults will sometimes allow an infant to cry for a time so that the infant's lungs will better develop. During early infancy, one also begins to see indications of the autonomy in peer relationships that parents wish and will teach their children to achieve. A mother of a three-month-old, for example, may squeeze her infant's arms, laugh, and say, "I like him come rough so he can beat up everybody."

In later infancy, the importance to adults of teaching autonomy begins to show through more clearly. It is at this time that adults begin to teach children not to expect pity as a response to suffering. An auntie (MZ), for example, was holding an eight-month-old child whose mother was away. The auntie was not well known to the child--he was actually being watched by a third auntie--, and he began to cry. She walked him to the door of the house and in a mild tone of voice said, "No more Mommy. No more Mommy." The words she spoke meant that there was no use to cry since Mommy was away, the tone of her voice that there was no reason to. Adults also begin to demand and to teach autonomy in the management of needs and person. For example, a mother was attempting to show a nine-month-old infant how to eat a popsicle. He was sitting in her lap. She formed his hand around the popsicle stick and then let go. The boy continued to hold the popsicle by the

stick but brought his free hand up to grasp the popsicle itself. His mother took his hand, pushed it down, held it briefly, and then let go. The hand went back up to the popsicle. She pushed his hand down again, but when she released it, he brought it to the popsicle again. The entire cycle happened two or three times. When she let go of his hand for the last time, it made the beginnings of an effort to get back to the popsicle but then the boy himself lowered his hand. This mother later explained that her baby also knew how to hold his own bottle and grasp other things for himself but that sometimes he was "lazy."

Interpretations of misbehavior and punishments for misbehavior also begin in infancy, becoming more frequent in later infancy as children begin to crawl and eventually to toddle. Infants most often find themselves in trouble for "touching" adult things. The characteristic adult reactions to touching include warnings, usually consisting in calling out a child's name and making "stink eye," and swats on the hand, generally followed by the admonition, "No touch." These punishments and admonitions give rise to the first instances of child behavior labeled "acting" by adults. For example, an infant may touch an item with one hand, have the hand slapped, touch it with the other hand, have that hand slapped, and go back to touching it with the first hand. Adults may attempt to cut short the game-like quality of confrontation in this sort of sequence with the warning, "No act." The idea of "acting" as a challenge to adults is also elaborated in later infancy to cover a rather different form of disrespect. Infants may be shy with strange adults or ones who have not visited recently and not do the greetings expected of them. In apologizing for their infants,

parents may smile and say, "He only acting." The idea here is to soften the disappointment which it is assumed that an adult will feel when not treated to a display of affection from an infant. Both of these early uses of the term, "acting," involve subtle interactional tactics. As discussed previously, to label an action, "acting," is to say both that the action is offensive and that it is not taken at face-value. In calling disrespectful behavior from children, "acting," adults are denying that children really have the capacity to threaten their authority or rights as adults. Framing confrontational behavior from children as a kind of put-on, is thus a kind of putdown of the children. That disrespect is interpreted in this way, moreover, always leaves children an out. At any point in a confrontational sequence, children can remove what Schutz calls the accent of reality from their behavior, revealing it to have been a pretense 'all along.'

Alternatively, adults may do this for them as when a parent uses the explanation, "He only acting," to excuse the shyness of an infant.

The beginnings of how a child is taught to put autonomy and solidarity together in self-presentations are also found in infancy. Laughter and teasing are simply human behavioral capacities; but they are developed, elaborated, and emphasized differently in different interactional networks. The people around Hawaiian infants laugh frequently, both in the course of their own interactions and in appreciation of the infants. Through this exposure to laughter, infants are accustomed to accept laughter from others as customary, an attitude requisite for infants' eventual participation in teasing. With peers, children will have to accept reciprocations of teasing as a primary

structure of interaction. People also begin to tease infants about their appearance and behavior, introducing them to the form and to its place in interactional sequences well before the children have begun to speak.

If infancy should not be thought solely a time of indulgence, however, neither should the other things that happen in infancy be allowed to obscure the fact that indulgence is far and away its most prominent feature. Adults can easily spend hours lying on the floor beside infants, simply following their movements, trading looks with them, and watching them react to things. Hours, too, are spent bathing, dressing, and otherwise tending to infants. In consequence, Hawaiian infants are immaculate. As Gallimore, Boggs, and Jordan (1974:110) write,

Infants were fed whenever hungry or upset and their diapers were changed very frequently--often while they were still dry. One mother explained that she changed "dry" diapers because of "sweat." At one point during the field work, an informal diaper count was taken. The number used came to about 24 per day for one baby. When the infant's sleeping time was subtracted this indicated at least one change every 30 minutes.

Among Hawaiians, there is no hint of the attitude that children become interesting only after they begin to speak. On the contrary, as Howard (1974:41) points out, it is the stage of infancy that adults usually enjoy most in children. The pleasure derived from caring for and indulging infants is so intense that one of the distinct anxieties of young Hawaiian mothers is that some older relative will attempt to take an infant away in a hanai relationship.

Learning to be tough: tots' rude awakening

Against the background of the indulgence that is the overriding theme of infancy, the experiences that come next in a child's socialization represent a decisive and dramatic change. Adults grow distant. They begin to respond with irritation to and otherwise to discourage children's expressions of dependency. As Inn (personal communication) notes, the immaculate Hawaiian infant is succeeded by the urchin of the yard and carport. Interpretations of misbehavior and "whacking" as a response to it become frequent. The attention of visitors no longer flows to infants, and infants stop being displayed within the social network. Of the phase of socialization following infancy, Gallimore, Boggs, and Jordan (1974:118, 119, 120) write that,

[. . .] infants are indulged by both adults and older children and a frequent focus of positive parental attention, but they experience fairly dramatic changes as they leave infancy. As they learn to walk and talk, and as other infants displace them from the "baby" position in the household, they begin to experience quite different demands and expectations. They seem to be recategorized and their status shifted from "baby" to "child," with an accompanying change in associated roles. The "shift" usually occurs around the age of two [. . .]

An infant that cries and fusses until picked up, fed, changed, and so on, is acceptable; a whining, clinging, demanding toddler is not. While babies live in the midst of an adult world, indeed, often at its very center, children are expected to function in a separate sphere that only overlaps with that of adults at the peripheries. To a large extent, they are not to intrude into adult activities except on invitation [. . .] Commands to "go out," "go play," "go sistah," and "stop crying," and swats and threats of swats were all frequently observed.

While these authors hint at a socio-structural explanation for changes in socialization after infancy, they interpret adults' demands for autonomy in children and adults' transfer of caretaking duties to



siblings and cousins primarily in terms of household ecology. Thus, they write that Hawaiian adults' demands that children be autonomous "reflect . . . a concern with reducing the burdens of routine caretaking" (1974:123). Of the use of other children in child caretaking and socialization, they write that, "the busy . . . mother can achieve relief from the burdens of child care . . . by redirecting some of [the child's] overtures to others" (1974:123).

Howard (1974:40, 42), also emphasizing the change in parental behavior after infancy, writes that,

We were impressed by the apparent discontinuity between the indulgence of infants and the rather harsh treatment accorded children after they become mobile (beginning at about age two or three). [. . .] As children become increasingly mobile and verbal, parental indulgence begins to give way to irritation and a lack of tolerance for insistent demands. The birth of a subsequent child is generally sufficient to create a marked shift in this direction, but even though no new infants are born (or adopted) into a household, a distinct change in parental behavior is noticeable as a child matures.

Howard (1974:42) explains this change in socio-structural terms, relating it to adults' concern with protecting their authority as adults:

. . . the change in parental response is related to an overriding concern for rank and authority within the family. Thus, as long as children are passively dependent, their signals for attention are perceived as an expression of infantile need--as cues to be acted upon by nurturant adults. However, as children become increasingly mobile and verbal, and acquire the capacity for making more insistent and aggressive demands, their attention-seeking behavior is apt to be seen as an attempt to intrude and control. It is therefore an assault on the privileges of rank, for only the senior-ranking individual in an interaction has a right to make demands. By responding harshly parents are therefore socializing their children to respect the privileges of rank. Once the point of change has been reached, children are no longer the indulged center of attention they were as infants.

They are removed to the fringes of the adult world, and much of the attention they receive is in the form of demands, ("Go get me a glass of water") or admonishments ("Stop bothering me").

About the phenomenon of the shift in socialization emphasis, one can only agree with Howard (1974) and with Gallimore, Boggs, and Jordan (1974). There is room, however, for alternative views about the timing of the shift and the reasons for it. It is difficult to accept the notion that it is only in order to reduce routine caretaking needs that adults bring about the shift. Rather than too much to do, many Hawaiian mothers probably do not have enough to do; the stress of boredom is a bigger problem for most than that of work. It is also difficult to accept the notion that the behavior of Hawaiian adults towards toddlers is simply the reflex of threatened authority. Hawaiian parents can become irritated with children for not accepting adult authority and can act simply out of this irritation. But they also have certain clearcut goals for their children's socialization. The shift in their behavior towards children occurs partly out of adults' concern to teach children the attitudes and competencies they will need to succeed in Hawaiian social networks. Adults may also be offended in the abstract by the things children do, irritated not by some action directed at them in particular but rather by evidence of a child's unwillingness to attempt to live up to valued ideals of personhood. Furthermore, the shift in adult behavior is not intelligible solely as a phenomenon occurring within the parent-child relationship. Both parents and their children have relationships with other adults and other children, all of which operate in ways to bring about a shift

in parental behavior. Lastly, and as Boggs (1985:55) also argues, the shift has the potential for beginning much earlier than when a child is two or three years old. One may surmise this from the preceding quotations themselves. Howard (1974) and Gallimore, Boggs, and Jordan (1974) date the shift at about two or three and note that it is related to the developments of walking and talking in children. But by two, a child has already been walking for at least a year and has also been competent at understanding much speech, if not at producing it, for more than a year. Instead of marking the beginning of the shift, Howard (1974) and Gallimore, Boggs, and Jordan (1974) seem to be pointing to a time towards the end of it. The shift that they note is in fact a phase of socialization covering a period of about three years during which a child is no longer an infant and not yet a child but instead a tot. They date the shift at a relatively late point perhaps for the reason that problems in relationships between adults and children may become particularly intense and dramatic at this time; problems are also pronounced at the beginning of this phase of socialization.

From the perspective being here developed on how children learn to participate in generationally organized interaction, changes in adult behavior after infancy represent a shift in emphasis away from the teaching of solidarity to children and towards the teaching of autonomy. By means of reactions made to children and sequences of interaction initiated with them, adults begin to teach children of the generational organization of Hawaiian interaction and of the behavioral autonomy that is required of them. Primary adult caretakers begin, and

are pressured by other adults to begin, to curtail dependency in children, to transfer child caretaking duties to older children, to move children towards associating with peers, and to require children to "handle" their relationships and other aspects of their experience on their own. In these ways, adults begin to construct the next piece of the orientation that children will need in order to fit into Hawaiian social networks. In the realm of needs and the management of self, children must begin to "do for themselves" and to endure pain; in the realm of interaction, children must begin to be tough.

Rather than at two or three years, the shift in adult behavior has the potential for beginning at nine or ten months; that a shift in adult behavior towards a child has occurred is probably clear in most cases at or within a few months of the time that a child turns one. The developmental signs of physiological autonomy--crawling, toddling, responsiveness to language and other interactional codes--have a special socio-structural significance in Hawaiian social contexts. Through independent movement and comprehension of interactional structure, children grow able to intrude into adults' interactions and, in general, to get into things. Children discover that most of the world, particularly the interior of houses, is organized explicitly for adults, and that children's investigations of things adult regularly result in slapped hands. Their presence within adult frameworks of interaction increasingly problematic, toddlers begin, and are encouraged by adults to begin, to show more and more interest in the company of siblings, cousins, and other peers, and their largely out of doors world. Older children begin to be instructed to watch

younger ones, and adults also begin to shame children for dependent behaviors such as nursing from a bottle or crying. Owing to these and other implications of and responses to maturational developments, toddlers begin to withdraw from adult scenes of interaction, to involve themselves in peers' doings, and to modify their behavior away from actions identified as those of "babies" and "crybabies." Progress in the re-orientation of a child towards other children and away from adults begins to be evident during a child's second year of life. By the time a child is fourteen or fifteen months old, it is not unusual for the child to play in the yard or carport with other children out of direct contact with adults. A child as young as four or five may do the "watching" while a mother or auntie occasionally monitors the situation from a door or a window.

None of what is required in achieving this re-orientation comes easily. Both primary adult caretakers and their children may be placed under pressure by their social networks to bring about change. For example, three babies of three sisters were among the people present at one gathering. The oldest of the babies, a boy, was fifteen months old; the two other babies, both girls, were aged eleven and nine months. The boy and the older of the two girls were playing in a wading pool that had been set up for them. The mother of the boy was sitting in front of the pool with the nine-month-old. This baby was crying intermittently but disconsolately, unhappy at having been placed on the ground among her two cousins. They had jostled her on their way into the wading pool, and their play was occasionally splashing water onto her. "What'sa matter? What'sa matter?" her auntie would ask her

as she tried to get the baby interested in her cousins and the wading pool. "Only water," she sometimes said. Once, the auntie said, "Cry how you like," very mildly to the nine-month-old's tears. Finally, the mother of the baby came over to get her. "No, Justine," her sister said, "let 'em go." But Justine picked up her nine-month-old. As she did, her sister said, disapprovingly, "She always carry 'em, tha's why. Spoil 'em." This baby was young, too young to begin to practice the autonomy that her auntie expected of her; that the expectation was there and that the auntie acted upon it, however, is indicative of the pressures placed by Hawaiian social networks upon both children as they enter the age of tothood and their primary adult caretakers.

Once adult caretakers commit themselves to a shift in behavior, the curtailment of dependency that is present even in later infancy accelerates, and the lines between adult and child interaction become increasingly clearly and strongly imposed. The images that now dominate adult-child interaction are extremely difficult to associate with parents' earlier indulgence of infants. One sees things like this: --a twelve-month-old going back and forth between his mother and a Christmas tree, fetching icicles to present as gifts to her. Each time he brings an icicle, he is slapped on the arm. The skin of his arm gradually turns red, but he does not cry. The reason that the child is being punished is so that he will learn not to "touch." --A fourteen-month-old holding his arms out to his seated mother in a request to be held, and having his arms slapped away. The boy had approached his mother after he had given up trying to retrieve his bottle from a visitor, who, unknowingly, had sat in front of it.

Now as the boy slumps to the floor, crying in frustration, his mother reaches down to pinch him in order to punish his tears; a moment later, she informs the visitor about the source of the problem, apparently having known about the bottle all along. --A twelve-month-old competing unsuccessfully for one of half a dozen balloons that older children are playing with on a couch and a stairway. He almost gets his hands on one balloon, but it is snatched away at the last moment by another of the children. He slumps to the floor and puts his head to the rug, showing an almost adult appreciation for the mood of dejection. The boy's auntie, who has been following his efforts, smiles and laughs a little about the scene, continuing to watch it as if from the distance that separates viewer from television or movie screen. The reason that the balloons are present in the house is that it is the boy's birthday. It is images like these that ethnographers have in mind when they speak of the "shift" (Gallimore, Boggs, and Jordan 1974:118) in adult behavior and "the rather harsh treatment accorded children after they become mobile" (Howard 1974:42).

Adults, however, are not attempting to break the spirit of children by means of these things that they do and do not do. Even as adults punish tots' upsets of the generational order of things, they are likely to laugh at imaginative infractions of the rules and to speak with pride and fondness, if also exasperation, of "rascal" and "naughty" children. In this way, adults encourage children to show spirit. Furthermore, rather than viewing punishments of children as actions that may damage children's spirit, adults tend to view these measures as necessary to the channeling of that spirit. It is as

though the children are thought to have too much spirit, as if punishment were necessary to reining in a little of the innate willfulness and mischievousness that will soon begin to show. Parental actions and beliefs, moreover, turn out to be self-fulfilling because children's spirit, in fact, does not break as a consequence of the shift in adult behavior. The opposite is true; the shift appears to toughen the children. Physical punishment becomes less effective with them, the more that they become used to it. They begin to have less fear of breaking the rules and appear to begin to break the rules in part as a challenge to adult authority, doing again and again an action they have learned will land them in trouble. By the time they are one and a half to two years old, the children have become, as Hawaiians say, "hardhead"--aware of the rules, but willing to break them anyway. Another attitude towards misbehavior also begins to show up among children. From the fact that adults punish misbehavior but reward the idea of mischievousness, children learn that breaking the rules is not necessarily bad in adults' eyes; they appear to begin to break the rules in part to amuse adults, to seduce them with mischievousness. The response of the children to the peremptory punishments, rejection of dependency, and other features of the shift in adults' behavior is, in sum, to begin to "act" with adults in both provocative and playful ways. Present in talk even to toddlers and pre-toddlers, comments like, "No act," "Stop acting," and "I not playing with you," become a staple in adults' conversation with two- and three-year-olds. If adults can often seem harsh with toddlers, they just as often seem beleaguered by older tots.



Tots' entry into interaction with changing casts of siblings, cousins, and other children is associated with its own hardships, mixed messages, and behavioral requirements and adjustments. The rule about a child's standing on his or her own with peers is potentially in force from the time that a child is one year old. Owing to this, tots discover that in many ways they have to fight their way into the peer group. Whether they get the balloon or whatever other good is available, depends mainly upon their own, as yet rather unsophisticated, and largely nonverbal, actions. As they move into peer interaction, children learn the mechanics of fighting primarily from doing it with siblings and particularly with cousins. Adults, however, may also play a direct role in teaching tots to stand on their own with peers. Adults and particularly young adult males may teach children the forms of fighting, a teenage uncle initiating a trade of punches with a toddler, for example, to show him how to pose. An uncle may also invite a punch, turn his face into a scowl that betrays only a few hints of play, and then invite more punches, trying to teach a child not to be afraid of stoniness in the face of an adversary. Talk praising children for their toughness also becomes common as a child grows from being a toddler to a tot. This praise usually comes to children in a delayed and oblique fashion, again through adults' talk with other adults. Adult relatives, and especially parents and grandparents, are all fond of exaggerating the exploits of young children. The children may also receive such praise more or less immediately in the form of a background commentary made by adults on the children's ongoing conflicts with siblings, cousins, and other children.

That the rule about standing on one's own with peers is imposed so early upon children, has to do not only with the ideals which adults are trying to teach children but also with the problems which children's problems make for adults. Children's relationships with other children always have the potential for affecting adults' relationships with other adults. Conversely, adults' peer relationships and also their personal feelings about particular children always have the potential for affecting children's peer relationships. A problem which must be solved jointly by adults in all social networks is that of developing conventions for coping with the cross-generational implications of situations and particularly with the implications of child situations for adult situations. Indeed, from the perspective of children, social structure is largely a set of agreements made by adults on how to deal blamelessly with children and their doings. The Hawaiian stricture that children must stand on their own in their peer relationships is not only a moral value but also Hawaiian adults' very practical solution to the problem of controlling the implications for their own relationships of their children's peer conflicts. Controlling these implications is especially important for Hawaiian adults since it is customarily with the children of brothers and sisters that their own children have their first peer conflicts. The following episode of interaction, drawn from a videotape record, discloses some of the interplay between child and adult social spheres within the kin group and some of the significance for adults and the politics of their relationships of the rule that children must stand on their own in peer conflicts. This episode of interaction also contains

an example of what is meant by "acting" in two- and three-year-olds and is suggestive of the sequence of events through which children become motivated to "act" in this way.

A girl just shy of three and a boy just past one were being watched by the boy's mother. This woman was auntie (MZ) to the girl. Two friends of this woman were also present in the household. It was near Christmastime, and the children had been doing territorial battles over presents under the Christmas tree, each endeavoring to prevent the other from touching the presents. The three women, meanwhile, were examining some cups and other things that one of them had just purchased. The women had intervened only once in the children's squabbling. The girl had brought a present down on her cousin's head, and the boy's mother had told her to, "Put it back before I lick you," focusing upon the misuse of the present rather than the misuse of the boy. The present had gone back under the tree, but another had come out, been replaced, and then the whole assemblage of presents rearranged. Each time the girl handled the presents, her auntie would warn her to leave them alone and threaten her with lickings. "This kid so hardhead," the auntie said in exasperation to the women. The girl finally left the Christmas tree and ventured over to the three women, attempting to join them in their examination of the purchases. The girl's auntie warned her not to touch, and then gave her a swat when she did. "Leave alone, eh!" the auntie called out as the three-year-old threw herself to the floor and began to wail. "She like act," the auntie said, explaining the swat. "She, she tries to challenge every time," one of the other two women elaborated for the sake of the third.

"Then she gets one slap and she cries," the woman continued, laughing. "Ho, I like lick her, man," said the auntie with feeling. "She hard-head!" Meanwhile, the one-year-old seized upon the three-year-old's vulnerability in order to get back at her for the blow to the head and other affronts he had suffered at her hands. As his mother threatened the three-year-old with a, "You wait, you gonna get licking," because of the commotion she was making, he bent over and pinched his cousin's face. She returned the pinch, and he fell backwards, making a small cry. The three-year-old resumed her ear piercing crying. As her auntie said, "Put you in your room, you wait," the one-year-old made another attack, sitting on his cousin, then flailing at her with his arms. "Look at that," his mother said, laughing. "The guy bussin' her up! Enough. No, no," she then said to her son. Soon, however, she re-considered. "She do that [to him], you know," she explained for her visitors. "'Ey, I going let him fight back, too." The one-year-old was now pulling his cousin's hair, and she was continuing to scream. But, then, abruptly, the affair was over. The three-year-old heard the music of the manapua snack truck coming down the street, pushed her cousin away, and ran to the screen door. "Auntie!" she cried out, to call the woman's attention to this daily event. When the auntie did not respond quickly enough, the three-year-old yelled out, "Stop!" to the passing truck, not nearly so done in by the fight with her cousin and the conflicts with the adults as one might have supposed from listening to her wailing.

The auntie's comment, "I going let him fight back, too," implies that this is what the three-year-old was being allowed to do by her mother. The auntie's intention to do likewise reveals the reciprocal and usually tacit covenant made by Hawaiian adults to keep children's problems from making problems for them. This covenant is to stay as far out of children's peer relationships as possible. As part of this covenant, an adult caretaker will deny aid to a child who is losing the sorts of disputes that are normal in Hawaiian children's peer relationships, requiring instead that a child be tough and fight back. Adults do this because intervention in this context is regarded as unfair interference by other adults and may easily precipitate an adult confrontation. As part of the covenant, adults also tend to minimize children's conflicts, viewing these not so much as breaches of social rules or as potentially traumatic events, but simply as part and parcel of growing up.

For example, a twenty-month-old had been making trouble for his cousin (MZS), who was about two and a half years old. Though younger, the twenty-month-old was spunkier and not much smaller, and had been successfully harassing his cousin. The older boy's mother was sitting on a bench, and he climbed upon it to stand next to her while she talked with peers. As the twenty-month-old made another sortie at him, he let out a yell, attracting his mother's attention. It was not protection, however, that he got from her. His appeal had already broken the generational rules of Hawaiian interaction, and his mother's words and tone of voice let him know it. "Stand on your own," she said to him.

Another example of this denial of aid to children during peer conflicts involves another pair of cousins (MZDs), aged two years eight months and five years five months. The five-year-old was visiting and leafing through a book belonging to her cousin; the younger girl was trying to take it away from her. This girl was less interested in the book, however, than in her cousin; she was smiling and having fun pestering her cousin, her attempt to get the book mostly an attempt to play with her cousin. The two girls had been raised together for much of their lives, and the five-year-old, who had been absent for a few weeks, was one of the younger girl's favorite playmates. Overly enthusiastic, the younger girl pulled her cousin's hair. The five-year-old let out a loud, "Owwwww!" She glanced at the three adults present, one of whom was the younger girl's father, and the adults took a brief look at the two children. The loud "Owwwww!," the hand held to the head, and the younger girl's smile told the story of the situation; perhaps they were meant to. The adults said nothing about the book, the pulled hair, or how cousins ought to play with each other. A few moments later, the younger girl began to cry, and the adults looked back. The five-year-old was studying her book; tearfully, the younger girl said to her father, "[She] pinch me!" But the father did not respond to her words; instead he responded to her crying. "No mai [don't cry], Cheri," he said. The younger girl went inside and could be heard calling, "Mommy!" The five-year-old moved over to the lawn. Not much later, the younger girl rejoined her cousin outside, and the two played a pretend game on the lawn. If the younger girl had made a similar appeal to her mother, it, too, had been deflected.

The covenant among adults provides for rather different responses by the parents or other adult relatives of a child with the upperhand in a conflict. Out of the same desire to avoid problems with other adults, adult relatives of a child with the upperhand in a conflict may intervene to put an end to it and to punish the victor with a scolding or a spanking. Wherever possible, intervention in children's problems is avoided. But intervention may occur if crying or other signs of injury develop, and if these signs are in view of adults. Intervention and the situations in which it occurs tend to be complex.

What a parent or other adult relative does to restrain a child with the upperhand, depends upon whether the adult is kin to the adult kin of the child losing the battle. It depends upon how well the adults involved know each other. It also depends upon how much of an upperhand the winning child has. If the losing child and that child's kin are strangers, and the child is crying, then the action of the adult is usually a relatively strong one, the better to convey an unequivocal public message. In a townhouse complex, for example, a woman was walking ahead of her twenty-eight month old son when the boy was accosted by an acquaintance of his. This boy was about four years old. The woman knew neither the boy nor his relatives. The older boy was requesting and reaching for the soda that the younger boy was carrying. The younger boy, however, was not about to give up any of his soda; with his free hand, he latched onto the older boy's cheek and began to pull. The older boy shrieked and started to cry. Calling out her son's name in a scolding tone, the younger boy's mother strode over to the two children, pried her son's fingers loose, gave him a healthy

swat on his bottom, and then hauled him away from the scene. Later, she smiled about her son's toughness and said something disapproving about some of her neighbors; though she had swatted her son, she in fact approved of his behavior. It was the other child she held responsible for the encounter.

A different sort of problem is presented in the case of troubles involving children of visitors who are relatives but not regular social partners. Intervention here tends to be less dramatic perhaps because strong intervention would disturb the mood of familial intimacy which adults in this situation try to sustain. So long as the children's problems are minor, the interest of the adults is to involve themselves as little as possible but enough to assuage each other's feelings. For example, a woman named Pua was talking and looking at some photographs inside her home with two adult friends and a step-sister, who was a very rare visitor; in the carport outside, Pua's two and a half year old son, Keoki, and four and a half year old niece were playing with the step-sister's three children. These were a boy of eight, a girl of six, and another girl of three. As Pua was examining a photograph and talking to her visitors, the voice of the step-sister's six-year-old carried into the room through the open front door: "Auntie, Keoki throwing everything."

"He gonna get lickin'," Pua said matter-of-factly, without looking up from the photograph. This message was conveyed by the six-year-old to Keoki, apparently to effect, for there were no more reports of Keoki throwing things. About ten minutes later, however, the youngest of the step-sister's children began to cry. From her seat on the couch, Pua



peered out through the screen door. "What wen' happen?" she called out. "Keoki, you went hit her?" she demanded for she could see her son sitting on a tricycle near the crying three-year-old. "Yes," came the reply, not from Keoki or the three-year-old, but from her sister. "'Kay, I coming," said Pua, rising from the couch and intimating punishment. Instead of going out, however, she stopped at the screen door. She directed her son to get off the tricycle and told the tearful three-year-old to get on it, lecturing her son about the need to share and to play nicely. "That your cousin, Keoki," she said. "She one girl. You don't hit girls." While this was going on, the step-sister, who had not risen from her own seat, downplayed the situation. "Kids'll be kids," she said. Waving her hand towards the carport, she said, "I don't," and then trailed off as if to suggest reluctance to involve herself in children's doings. Upon rejoining the adults, Pua said something apologetic about Keoki's not knowing how to share; her step-sister again minimized the situation, saying, "Oh, he's just at that age." A bit later, when it was Keoki who cried over something, neither his mother nor the other woman rose to intervene, even to check the situaton. The crying was "about nothing," his mother explained. "Only some toy or something." What did not happen during this episode is as interesting as what did happen. That Keoki made the three-year-old cry was an event, but neither of the women made much of it. Pua required Keoki to surrender the tricycle, but it was not a stern lecture that she delivered. There was no holding him by the elbow and extending the face into his in order to render the lecture punitive. For her part, the three-year-old's mother did not go outside

to comfort her daughter and to browbeat Keoki and his mother by wearing a frown or hurt expression on her own face. Neither did she attempt to intrude herself between Keoki and his mother by saying something to indicate that no punishment of him were necessary. Reaction by both women was and remained studiously low key.

If serious injury befalls the child of a visiting relative, on the other hand, adult reaction tends to be swift, strong and to have lingering effects. For example, a four-year-old girl accompanied her mother on an off-island visit to her mother's auntie's (MZ) home. Among the cousins present there was a boy (MMZDS) just under three. The two children got into a number of initial disputes, which were more or less playful, and more or less ignored by the children's respective parents, grandparents, and other kin. Then something happened that could not be ignored. The three-year-old gave the four-year-old a bite on the chest that was hard enough to leave tooth marks and to break the skin. As the four-year-old's lineal kin examined the wound and the four-year-old herself struggled to contain her tears, the three-year-old was hauled off for what Hawaiians call a "dirty licking." Afterwards, no further talk about the incident occurred among the adults, but the event hung in the air, establishing a background mood of unhappiness that everyone was powerless to do much about.

Intervention, however, is not the norm in adults' reactions towards children's doings. The pact among adults generally requires and enables adults to steer clear of most aspects of young children's relationships. Among children who are cousins and regular playmates, disputes, squabbling, and the like are largely ignored; they are simply

taken for granted as part of how things are among children. It is often not possible for adults to do anything besides ignore the problems of children two and over since the children tend to be playing in some area away from the adults. When adults do follow the fumbling conflicts of toddlers and other young tots still nearby, it is sometimes out of an amused interest to see who will win. Within the circle of kin who frequent a household, in any case, children's relationships and problems are regarded as their concerns, not those of adults. Voicing the attitude behind this standpoint, one mother said that problems among children are inconsequential and passing events, becoming serious only "when adults stick their noses in."

What children learn from all of this is not not to fight even when that is the ostensible message from parents, aunties, uncles, and others. They learn instead about the complexity of their social world. They learn first that they must stand on their own with peers, that adults have little sympathy for a child who backs away from a struggle and appeals for help. This understanding must be qualified, however, for the children also discover that there are limits to how far conflict may be taken in the vicinity of adults. They learn to regard warily children who are strangers, for when they are with these children, events which usually go unnoticed may generate strong and abrupt intervention by adults. They come to learn that there is a difference between their little village of adults and children and those of other peers, that interaction is safer within their village than between it and some other. They learn, too, that there are different kinds of cousins: some that one sees almost as often as

siblings, and with whom the ebb and flow of interaction seems to be nearly invisible to adults, and some who are infrequent guests and with whom one is supposed to be "nice," if not deferrent. About sex differences, too, they learn, both boys and girls finding out that it is not with girls that boys are supposed to fight. Nor is the situation so simple as that of a rule that needs to be qualified for each of the qualifications turns out to be itself riddled with ambiguity. Girls find out that parents will tell them not to cry even when it is a boy who has made them do it, and boys discover that many girls are perfectly capable of making them cry. While one may be punished for hurting a cousin, furthermore, one may later hear it said by the adult who administered the punishment that it was actually the cousin's fault, that if that child were not so much "on the soft side" or such a "pantie" the problem would not have happened. Even the rule about fighting back, about being tough, is in doubt. It may be that adults disdain children without spirit, and it may be that they privately admire and applaud the spirit of a child who has had to be punished for fighting a stranger or a cousin. But it is certain that nothing troubles the spirit of the village more than a conflict that undoes the premise upon which the adults' covenant is based: that the children are not really going to hurt each other, are too small really to hurt each other, that their rivalries are only a cute and lively backdrop to the lively pleasures taken by the adults in their own interactions. Adults may praise children for being tough, require them to be tough, even punish them for not being tough, but as the children discover, fighting is not what the village is finally all about. There are times when

children are supposed to fight and when they must fight in order to protect their rights in peer interaction. There are even times when they are expected to fight though they are not supposed to be fighting and will surely be punished for it. But never is there a time when fighting is permitted other than as a tool with ultimately positive social purposes; never is there a time when it is not the vested interest of all kinsmen to keep conflict among "the cousins" within bounds. There is much, in sum, that one-, two-, and three-year-old tots are required to sort out as they learn of the need to be tough, the constraints on being tough, and the limitations of the notion.

As infancy is not a time solely of indulgence, neither are the years from one to three or four taken up solely with the hardships and complexities involved in learning of autonomy in its social and other senses. Shows of affection for children, particularly from grandparents, are strong throughout this period. Indeed, grandparents may exercise a moderating influence upon parents and other relatively young adult caretakers. They will complain if a child is being treated too harshly and will threaten to remove a child from primary caretakers if the child is thought to be suffering abuse. "Wow, when Lei whack the kids, she whack hard," a grandmother frowned on one occasion, for example, about a daughter's treatment of a child. She was not face-to-face with her daughter and voiced her criticism simply to the household in general. An oblique but very clear delivery is as characteristic of Hawaiians' usage of criticism as it is of their usage of praise. "They no listen, tha's why. Hardhead," explained the daughter, defending herself. Her mother continued to frown, however, leaving unspoken

everywhere but in listeners' minds the reply that the children were not that "hardhead." Grandparents, aunties, and adult friends will also give primary caretakers and children relief from one another by temporarily taking over the care of the children. Sometimes this will last for an afternoon or a weekend. Sometimes a relative will take on a child for a longer period of time if primary caretakers are having especial difficulty coping with a child or with other aspects of their lives.

All through the time that children are tots, adult relatives also try to teach them alternative means of handling the orientation towards peers and the changes in adult-child relationships demanded of them. Adults do this by demonstrating models of joking, teasing, and repartee for the children, and by showing them how to participate in these sequences (D'Amato 1981a, 1981b; Boggs 1985); in Cazden's terms (1979) terms, Hawaiian adults "scaffold" joking for children as an alternative means of handling issues of acceptance and power in relationships. For example, three adults were watching a two-year-old investigate the contents of his nose. Having inspected the material, the two-year-old seemed to attempt to replace it in his nose, and the adults at once broke into laughter. "Hey, Keoki, take 'em out and put 'em back!" one of the adults laughed, encouraging the boy to do it again. This man's wife decided to play her nephew's (ZS) part for him. "Tell Uncle, 'Shutup,'" she said to Keoki, applying the lilt to her voice that signifies playful sparring, "tell Uncle, 'Shut up!'"

Adults also joke directly with children, teaching them the formulas of teasing. By the time that children are four years old, they begin

to show skill at using these formulas. For example, Leilani, a four-year-old, was sitting outside with her grandmother. "Look Tiny," said the grandmother, smiling. Leilani looked at Tiny--a dog--and laughed. Tiny had curled up in a flower pot to get out of the heat. "No laugh [at] Tiny," said the grandmother, laughing. "That my pet that! That my boyfriend," she continued, ribbing the girl. "That your boyfriend? Marry 'em then!" replied the granddaughter. "And then we make house and raise family," laughed the grandmother, picking up the theme. "He go work, and I stay home! Cook dogfood!" she said, and both she and her granddaughter laughed.

Joking and teasing, however, are more a foreshadowing of what comes next in the children's experience. On balance, the time between one and three or four years of age is a difficult one for Hawaiian children. They must deal with complex demands, complex social situations, and their own complex emotions about adults and peers. Required and encouraged to be tough but also punished for it, praised for being mischievous and pushed to the point of challenging adult authority but also punished for these things, the children face what seem to be a host of contradictions. The adjustment that most children make to this complex set of circumstances is to take the main chance: with peers to be playfully assertive and ready for contention, with adults, to be mischievous and sometimes rebellious. The children are not consistent in this adjustment to peers and adults. Their attempts to "handle" on their own may collapse into appeals for intervention and other pleas for adult indulgence. Neither can this adjustment to the demands of the Hawaiian social world last; it is too frequently

productive of disorder and discord. But through this adjustment, children develop their first appreciation of the toughness that needs to remain a part of their interactional style. They learn to fight.

Learning to balance affection and toughness:  
the ordeal of becoming a child

The data presented by Howard (1974) and Gallimore, Boggs, and Jordan (1974) seem to suggest that the major contributions of adults to the socialization of children end with the shift in adults' behavior towards infants. This, however underestimates the situation. As children approach four years of age, they begin to outgrow their initial adjustment to Hawaiian social networks. They have become larger and stronger and manifestly more knowledgeable about language and other interactional codes. Older people re-organize their expectations of child behavior around the growth evident to them in the children's awareness and understanding, coming to new interpretations of, attitudes towards, and responses to the things that the children do. Adults can accept evidence of rebelliousness from a tot, but the notion of authority in the interactional system will not permit conspicuous flaunting of authority from children old enough to "know better." Conflicts among cousins are also tolerated less the more hazardous and productive of discord these conflicts become and the more children are thought to have the capacity to handle their relationships without conflict. Conversely, breakdowns of autonomy become the more objectionable the more children are perceived to be familiar with the demands of the interactional system and to have the experience and



knowledge necessary to negotiating these demands successfully. Tots' disturbances of the generational order and smooth flow of interaction, in sum, become less and less acceptable. Children are expected to remain mischievous but not be so "hardhead," to continue to fight back against peers but not to make trouble for them, and to accept without further reservation and further resistance their roles as autonomous social beings within the circle of kin and friends. In sum, they are expected and soon required to stop acting like tots and to begin to act like children.

The precise age at which the new change in behavior is required varies from child to child, subject to the same kinds of influences affecting the timing of a child's transition from the status of infant to that of tot. One of these influences is younger children. A new sibling may be in the offing, a younger sibling may have reached the point of transition from infant to tot, or an infant or toddling cousin may have taken up residence. For any of these reasons, a tot may begin to be required to act "older." Sex differences and birth order within the sibling group may also play roles. Girls are usually expected to grow up more quickly than boys, and as a rule, the nearer a child to the top of the birth order in a sibling group, the younger the age at which the child is required to display greater sophistication in the negotiation of relationships. It is evidence of a child's own maturation, however, that again probably plays the greatest role in occasioning a shift in socialization emphasis. For most children, the point of transition is approached sometime between the ages of three and four.

Once a child begins to be perceived as less of a tot and more of a child, a specific rite of initiation begins to unfold. This rite of initiation is excessive in the way that all rites of initiation are. Rites of initiation draw a picture for the initiate of the worst that can happen to a person; they place the initiate in that hell of social disapproval which is always within the power of others to invoke. During the time of initiation, nothing that a person does is right, and there is nothing that a person can do to make things right. For Hawaiian tots, the ordeal of initiation to the status of child begins with an intensification in demands that they be autonomous. Large faults are found with children over anything that looks like a display of pain or anger, of dependence or rebelliousness, over conflicts with cousins whether won or lost, and over other actions that upset either the norms or good order of generationally organized interaction. Demands that children stop being "babies" and stop "acting" in rebellious ways become frequent, reminiscent of the moves made by adults during a child's transition from the status of infant to that of tot. These demands, however, now take on the character of goading or hazing. The point of the ongoing critique of a tot's behavior is not so much to correct that behavior as to induce or provoke the very reactions being criticized. Reprimanded and ridiculed for behaving like a "baby," a child shows pain or fear; this brings on more reprimands and ridicule. Stirred to anger by these injuries to pride, and finally summoning up enough courage to fight back, a child does so, and brings on punishment for "acting." With no escape from the goading and no effective reply to it, a child is landed squarely in the sort of dilemma or

"double-bind" (Bateson 1972:258) that is central to the experience of initiation. There is nothing that a child would rather do than please others, but everything that the child can conceive of doing seems to create only further displeasure.

As the process of initiation unfolds, however, a child is vouchsafed glimpses of the acceptable, of the approved. Rites of initiation only end when those controlling the rites wish them to. But the purpose of the rites is not to destroy an individual's social capacities. It is to impress upon a person the power of society, to define for a person the nature of the miseries that await those who are not worthy of society, and in the way that these things are done, to instruct a person in how to think about social relationships and how to present the self. Hawaiian children are not broken during the transition that they are required to make from the status of tot to that of child. Rather, their toughness becomes tempered. They learn neither to surrender to the goading and hazing to which they are exposed nor to react in anger to it. They learn instead to do as others do--to tease, to joke, to slip the edge of aggression behind the impression of play. When they are finally released from the process of initiation, they are profoundly changed.

During the period of fieldwork, elements of this process were observed in the experience of eleven children of pre-school age. With no child, however, was the process more strongly drawn than with a girl named Leilani. At about the time of Leilani's fourth birthday, her mother became pregnant with a second child. Within a few months, life started to become difficult for Leilani; within seven months, her

initiation to the status of being a child was in full swing. The initiation process came to an end at about the time her mother gave birth. Some of Leilani's experiences from this period will be offered in order to indicate the shape of the events through which Hawaiian children master the final aspects of the Hawaiian interactional style, learning to transform "acting" as aggression into "acting" as teasing and joking. The few experiences of Leilani that will be reported are not intended to be definitive; they are offered instead merely to begin the work of filling in the gap in the ethnographic literature on tots' rite of passage to the status of children. Owing to the fact that Leilani was firstborn and to certain stresses which her mother was under, Leilani went through a stronger rite than most Hawaiian children.

Leilani's troubles were first noticeable in the increasingly sharp reaction of her mother and aunts to her expressions of pain and attempts at seeking indulgence. When Leilani cried over a mishap, it was no longer merely the case that adults would ignore the crying or attempt to shush her; they began to ridicule and deride her strongly for being a "crybaby." When she sat near her mother or otherwise sought indulgence, it was no longer simply that she would be brushed away. "Get off me!" her mother would say with disgust and high irritation. Leilani was overweight. Throughout the time that she was two and three years old, her grandmother would cuddle her and affectionately refer to her as, "my fat baby." Now teasing over being fat also began to sharpen into ridicule. The boyfriend of one of Leilani's aunts developed the trick of squeezing Leilani's cheeks

together, pushing up the tip of her nose to expose her nostrils, and announcing, "Miss Piggy!" This performance always drew laughter from someone. Little that Leilani did pleased anyone, and much that she did occasioned irritation and was the subject of derision. By the time that Leilani was about four and a half years old and her mother seven months pregnant, gruff treatment of her by most of her kinsmen had become the rule. This gruffness now began to develop into a kind of group hazing of her. One of the most striking episodes of this occurred at an airport as Leilani with others awaited the return of her grandfather and an uncle.

Her mother was not present and her grandmother was off at a ticket counter seeking information about flights. The group of people waiting with Leilani included four aunties and three uncles, these people being either siblings of Leilani's mother or boyfriends or girlfriends of siblings. All were in their early twenties or very late teens. Also present were a pair of brothers who were nominally uncles to Leilani. These boys were about ten and eleven. The boys had found a wad of the stickers used by airline personnel to mark parcels, "Fragile." The stickers were about the size of silver dollars and had adhesive on one side. With the stickers, the boys began to play a game with Leilani. They would run at her and past her, affixing stickers to her head or back as they went by. Leilani was not aware of what was happening to her. She assumed that the boys were inviting her to play a game of tag with them. Pleased with the idea, she smiled and laughed with the boys as she ran after them, returning their tags. Very soon Leilani's head and back were plastered with stickers. Her aunties and uncles began to

laugh at the sight of her and at the irony of the situation. Leilani became more and more pleased. It was extremely rare, lately, for so much good-humored attention to be focused upon her. But then she happened to feel one of the stickers on the back of her arm. Realizing that she was covered with the stickers and that everyone had been laughing at her, she sank to the floor, crying. The crying, however, produced no response. The boys ran gaily back to the line of chairs on which the adults were sitting, and both the adults and the boys continued to laugh at Leilani's appearance. After a few moments, Leilani stood up and returned to the group, but the hazing was still not done. One of the adults had also been putting stickers on Leilani whenever she was close by; now he and one of the boys plastered her with two more stickers, renewing some of the adults' laughter. Angry, and crying again, Leilani ran after the boy, but her speed was no match for his. Again she sank to the floor. One of the boys swatted her with another sticker, but as the second boy began to make yet another pass at her, she yelled at him to, "Stop it!" Then she jumped to her feet and pasted him with one of the stickers that had been placed upon her. Success at this changed her mood. Smiling a little, she began to go after the boys as they had been going after her. How long Leilani could have maintained the game in this way is not known. Very shortly, Leilani's grandmother returned and brought it to a halt. She asked why the stickers were on Leilani and cast some hard looks in the direction of the young adults. One auntie summoned Leilani brusquely and began to help her straighten her clothes and remove the stickers. No one responded directly to Leilani's grandmother, however, and the

grandmother did not push the matter further. Whether Leilani could have sustained the game or not, would probably have depended mostly on the two boys. This was not the first time they had treated her in this way, nor would it be the last. It would have been well within the boys' capacity to push the game beyond Leilani's ability to reciprocate their actions.

The most striking feature of sequences like this one is how alone a child is in making the transition from being a tot to being a child. In Hawaiian interaction, rivalry is a fact of life; no one is exempted from this fact of life. In rites of initiation to Hawaiian interaction, rivalry is overdrawn; rivalry between a four-year-old and ten- and eleven-year-olds is not rivalry between peers. But through hazing like that Leilani was receiving from her uncles, a child learns the truths that the child needs to accept about peer interaction. Three lessons for Leilani were stacked up in the airport game. The first was that expressions of neither fear nor pain were effective in dealing with teasing. There was no place for Leilani to run to, and there was no pity for her from the two boys or her adult kin. When she sank to the floor crying, they only laughed all the more. The second lesson was that fighting also availed very little. Trying to fight was an improvement over surrendering to the situation; her shout to "Stop it!" had indeed temporarily stopped one of the boys. But it was not just an individual who was lined up against her; it was a group dynamic that was toying with her. Always in this group dynamic, someone was in a position to laugh at her, whether what she was doing was sinking to the floor crying or trying to give chase to an antagonist. Rather than

fighting the dynamic, she needed to fit into it. As Leilani discovered, the third lesson of the game was that it was only doing to the boys what they were doing to her that stemmed the adults' derision and gave her some satisfaction. Though Leilani probably would not have been able to continue playing at aggression with the boys in the way that the boys were playing at aggression with her, her experience was teaching her that this is what she needed to do.

If anything, Leilani's interactions with adults were even more troubled than those she was having with other children. It was primarily here that the drama of initiation was unfolding. About three weeks after the airport tag game, Leilani was at home with her mother and a cousin (MZD), who was two months shy of two years old. With this cousin, Leilani was both playmate and helper. The two girls were playing on chairs and other furniture. They attracted a scolding from Leilani's mother and a warning to get down from the furniture. Leilani did get off the furniture, but a moment or two later her cousin was back up on a chair again. "Get down!" said Leilani's mother. When the girl did not, Leilani was told to, "Bring her." All the while Leilani's mother was issuing these directives she was carrying on a conversation with another adult. When the two-year-old was brought to her, she hoisted her up on her lap and gave her a slap on the leg. The two-year-old began to cry. "Stop it!" said Leilani's mother. She showed a hairbrush to the two-year-old as if threatening her with it, but then dropped the threat and brushed her hair a few times. Using a towel, she wiped off the girl's face and let her down to the floor again. "Go," she said as if irritated with the girl. Leilani had been



sitting on the floor a few feet away, watching the entire exchange. Released, the two-year-old went at once to Leilani, sat in her lap, and placed her head on her shoulder. Leilani rocked her a few times; pleased and perhaps also a little amused by her cousin's behavior, she said, "Look, she holding on tight to her mother."

Leilani's mother, meanwhile, had gotten up to continue with some work in the kitchen. Within a few minutes, a nephew showed up at the kitchen door to tell her that a friend of hers wanted to talk with her. As she went out, the two-year-old again began to cry. She wanted to accompany her auntie but was having trouble getting her slippers on. Leilani understood her cousin's crying and could also see what was wrong with the slippers; her cousin had them switched. Perhaps still thinking of herself as the two-year-old's mother, Leilani took the slippers off her cousin's feet in order to put them on properly, but this only made her cousin cry all the louder. It was at this moment that Leilani's mother stepped back inside the house. What she saw was that Leilani was somehow connected to a spate of crying that was the last thing that she wanted to hear on this particular day. She was now into her eighth month of pregnancy. "What you doing?" she asked Leilani. "She get 'em on wrong," said Leilani above her cousin's wailing. Leilani tried to put one of the slippers back on, but for some reason, this produced a heightening of the two-year-old's crying. "Leave her alone!" said Leilani's mother, and she reached down and slapped Leilani. Now Leilani began to cry. The injustice of this particular punishment seemed to tap into all of the pain Leilani had

been suffering during the past six months. "Mommy, Mommy," she cried to her mother, who by now had gone back into the kitchen and would have nothing to do with her.

The commotion drew Leilani's grandmother into the livingroom. She laughed at Leilani, not derisively, but in response to the disquieting depth of her granddaughter's misery. "Look Leilani crying," she smiled. "Look my fat baby crying." She tried pulling Leilani to her feet, but Leilani would not be pulled. "Stop it, Leilani," she said quietly, "stop it." Then she sat down beside her and pulled her against her chest. "Leilani, enough. Stop that. I don't like that," she said. Changing her tack, she now said to her son, "Go get me one stick." The boy soon came back with one. The ploy of getting a stick is not a serious one. Children know it to be a hollow threat in almost all circumstances, but Leilani seemed to respond to it and began to stop crying. "Now, Leilani, stop it," her grandmother said. After a few more sobs, she did, and the two stood up.

It is the lot of children everywhere to incur the displeasure of adults and to have to live with a certain amount of misery caused unjustly by adults, particularly during times of transition from one childhood status to another. From this experience, people acquire some of the fears and anxieties that are distinctive of the members of their social networks. They also learn distinctive attitudes towards and beliefs about adversity. For Hawaiians, one of life's great fears is that of being ostracized by the household group, of being abandoned as unworthy by its members. It is in part to guard against this possibility that Hawaiians are so concerned to show that they can

"handle" and so willing to attempt to absorb without self-pity the pain and injustice that they experience. It is also an article of faith for Hawaiians that if they try to "handle," someone will step forward to help them through adversity. The god in whom Hawaiians believe can be a harsh one, but is also a forgiving one, and one who finally will not abandon them. In childhood, the possibility of being excluded is acted out for children in events like this one involving Leilani. In the aftermath of such encounters, the children learn that quitting is not an option for them. They may feel like quitting, may even try to do it, but other people will not allow them to surrender to misery. They make them stand up again; they help them stand up again; and they thus instill in them the faith that there will always be someone there to give them help when they really need it.

The peremptory and sometimes capricious responses that Leilani was receiving from her mother during this time were accompanied by another sort of reaction from adults. Regularly put in the mood to cry by interactions with her mother and aunties, Leilani also regularly attracted derision for her crying and for other aspects of her behavior and her person. One afternoon at about the time of the incident with her cousin and the slippers, Leilani was playing outside with a balsa wood airplane. Her ten- and eleven-year-old uncles, however, commandeered the plane. They began to play with it and to tease Leilani with the fact that it was now in their possession, sailing it over her head. Leilani began to complain about this to an auntie and eventually to cry about it. Leilani was ignored and then told to share, but she persisted. "Leilani, I like slap your mouth," her auntie finally said.

"Give your airplane to the big crybaby," she directed the two boys. Leilani's ancestry was also made the source of some ridicule. Leilani had never lived with her father or his kin, but he was Samoan. This made Leilani part-Samoan in racial terms if in no other. Present during a conversation about different ethnic groups, Leilani was informed by her mother that she was Samoan, the suggestion being that this made her in some sense inferior. Leilani asked her mother what she herself was. "Hawaiian," her mother responded. "And your brother going to be Hawaiian, too. Only you Samoan." In fact, Leilani's father was also the father of the baby her mother was carrying.

Most of the teasing received by Leilani, however, had to do with her weight. The effect of this teasing was like that of the game with the stickers at the airport. The teasing stung Leilani, and she would have to react to it, but she would be permitted neither to indulge in self-pity nor to strike back at adults in anger. A very clear example of the dilemma posed Leilani by this sort of teasing occurred one evening well into the eighth month of her mother's pregnancy. Leilani's mother was staying with a sister; Leilani was being watched by her grandmother and an auntie (MZ). Just before dinner, Leilani bathed and then went out to the livingroom in a towel. While drying herself and being dried by her auntie, Leilani's towel fell down. "Ho, Leilani, you rollypolly," laughed her grandmother. Leilani's auntie also began to laugh. "Leilani, you fit my clothes already," said the auntie. "No," replied Leilani, "too big." "No, but you fit my clothes already," repeated her auntie. "Ho, Leilani, you get big okole

[behind]," laughed her grandmother, "You get big okole." Leilani started to cry. "Leilani, stop that," said an uncle (MB). "Whatsa matter with you. They only laughing at you. You like go to your room?" he asked. "Well, stop it."

The two women tried to control their reaction to Leilani's weight but continued to chuckle. "You thinking good or you thinking evil," laughed the grandmother to the auntie. "You thinking good or you thinking evil," she repeated, laughing some more. Still unable to choke off her laughter, she said to her husband, "She fat! Rollypolly, her!"

Dried and dressed, Leilani's hair was now being brushed and braided by her auntie. Her auntie had made two braids and was twining these. The braids looked very tight. "Auntie, Auntie, no like," cried Leilani. "Shutup, Leilani," said her auntie. Leilani did, suffering quietly through the grooming. When it was finished, Leilani jerked away from her auntie. She lost control of her motion, however, rolling over on a couch and to the floor, and also knocking a book from a table on the way down. Her auntie laughed at this performance and said, "See, Leilani." Leilani began to cry again, but it looked more like crying born of anger than pain; she was staring at her auntie. "Shutup, Leilani," said her auntie. "No act or I gonna whack you." Leilani looked away but continued to cry. "Ncbody like hear your mouth," said the auntie. "Like I whack you?" Leilani's crying diminished, and the auntie went into the kitchen. Four minutes later,

dinner was ready. Leilani was summoned but would not go. "Stay, then," her grandmother said, accepting the situation. Leilani's auntie went into the livingroom to pick up her infant from the blanket he was lying on, but Leilani misinterpreted her auntie's intent. She seemed to assume that the auntie was coming to get her for she picked up a pillow to use in defending herself. With her legs apart and the pillow cocked, she stood facing her auntie. Taking in this display of defiance, the auntie said menacingly, "You like cry, Leilani? You like cry?" "No," said the grandmother to the auntie, "let 'em go." Leilani and her auntie continued to stand for a moment facing each other. Leilani did not look away, but neither Leilani nor her auntie took the situation any further. "No act with me, girl," the auntie finally warned, and she turned to go back into the kitchen. As did this encounter, confrontations between children and adults often involve a space in which a child is granted some display of will and anger by adults. While the adults had pushed Leilani to tears with their teasing and other actions, they did not try to break her resistance to eating with them nor to force her to suppress her anger at them. In these ways, the adults avoided pushing Leilani too far. It is self-pity more than anger in children that adults punish.

In the kitchen, the adults tried to explain the situation to themselves. Initiation rites have consequences for initiators as well as initiates.

"Where Leilani?" asked an elderly uncle who knew full well where Leilani was.

"Inside," pointed the auntie.

"Maybe she like eat with the boys," said the uncle.

"She like hold the baby," replied the auntie.

"Her food over there," the grandmother said. "She only like somebody pet her. Better ignore her. Bumbye she pau [In a little while she'll be finished]." After a time, the grandmother rose to summon her own sons in from their play outside. "Leilani, come eat," she said as she stood up. She did not pause to see whether Leilani was following her direction but instead continued on her way to summon her sons. In her behavior, there was again a space for Leilani and her will, whatever that might turn out to be.

The auntie reached for Leilani's plate and pulled it over to the seat next to her own. She was offering Leilani her company. "Come, Leilani," she called. As had the grandmother, the auntie did not look to see whether Leilani was obeying. After a few moments, Leilani did go into the kitchen, but she did not go directly to her seat. She made a circuit of the table and the kitchen counters before finally settling down beside her auntie. After dinner, Leilani spent about twenty-five minutes taking care of her auntie's infant while her auntie and grandmother cleaned up the kitchen. She held the four-month-old and fed him, and she also did a few cleaning chores which her auntie asked her to do.

As painful as had been Leilani's earlier travails and as tense the confrontation between Leilani and her auntie, the events of this evening did everyone some good. Fighting back in anger--"acting" in a defiant sense--would not be tolerated; as with the the boys at the airport, however, better to show a willingness to fight back in

response to teasing than only to expose pain. Fighting back, at least, got the adults' attention. It made them think about the situation, and it induced a modicum of respect in a way that crying never would. The problem that remained for Leilani was that of feeding her emotions into forms of behavior that would be tolerated by the adults. Teasing and joking are givens in Hawaiian social networks; everyone is subjected to teasing and joking, and everyone is expected to accept that fact with good humor and to reciprocate. Instead of growing angry, Leilani needed to learn to tease and joke herself when exposed to teasing and joking by others.

Effective reciprocation by Leilani of others' razzing, however, did not come immediately. Time and again over the next weeks, Leilani would be subjected to teasing or criticism, would grow pained or angry, and would be told not to "act" or be a "baby." "No answer back with me 'fore I whack you;" "Oh, Leilani, you so hopeless"--these were the sorts of things one often heard going Leilani's way. The problem was not that Leilani was unfamiliar with the forms of teasing and joking. Throughout her life, these forms had been played out for her. They continued to be demonstrated during the time of her ordeal.

Leilani's grandmother played an especially large role in demonstrating to Leilani the forms and uses of verbal sparring. Just a few days before Leilani's confrontation with her auntie, for example, Leilani had been sitting next to her grandmother's ten-year-old son. Smiling, her grandmother had said, "Kiss your small uncle." The point of this kinship reference had to do with the ambiguity in the generational statuses of Leilani and her "small uncle." Leilani was of



a younger generation than the "small uncle" in terms of descent but of his generation in terms of age; functionally, she was more of a cousin to him than a niece. To refer to the boy as a "small uncle," was to play on this fact, turning the idea of the boy's generational seniority into a joke. The joke, moreover, had a special significance in the context of the day-to-day relationship of the two children. For about a year, it had been Leilani who usually went outside in the evening to summon the "small uncle" home. "Charley-boy!" she would yell from the frontyard. "Come home! Come home or you gonna get licking!" This broadcast could be heard strongly and clearly for a radius of at least six houses and, needless to say, had not endeared Leilani to her "small uncle." The grandmother's direction to "kiss your small uncle" was a tease about this as well; indirectly, it was a way of showing Leilani how to use a tease to cause a little embarrassment and to effect a little control. "My small uncle," Leilani said, smiling at the image her grandmother had evoked and resting her hand affectionately on the boy's leg as if he were the younger and smaller child, not she. "I not your small uncle," the boy retorted, pushing Leilani's hand away and clearly discomfited by the entire situation. Thereafter, the threat of using the tease, "small uncle," was a powerful one for Leilani, and she eventually did use it a few times, always to effect with the boy. There were few words in the world that he desired to hear less than, "small uncle," and he seemed to avoid doing things that might provoke their use.

Leilani's grandmother also used joking to deflate some of the authority that Leilani's mother was attempting to exercise. "This not

one house for come in and out, Leilani," Leilani's mother said threateningly a few days after the confrontation with the auntie. "You go out and you stay out or else I gonna fly you out the door!" Leilani's grandmother laughed at this threat of throwing Leilani out the door. "You liar," she laughed at her daughter, "you liar." Then Leilani's grandfather joked about the threat. "No, open the door first," he said, and everyone laughed at the suggestion of this need to protect the screen door before "flying" Leilani out.

Leilani's grandmother, lastly, used repartee in her own relationship with Leilani. On the day after the confrontation with the auntie, Leilani complained, "Hey, you spilling that on me." Leilani was sitting at the dining table. Her grandmother was carrying a pail of water to the sink and was having to squeeze between Leilani and a wall. "Because you so fat, that's why," said her grandmother, countering Leilani's complaint with a tease.

Leilani, in any case, had already shown herself to be knowledgeable about the forms of teasing and joking. The problem that Leilani was continuing to have in finding a response to the derision and other razzing that she was experiencing had more to do with emotions than knowledge. The hazing and goading being received by Leilani was too sharp and too much of a group process to be handled by Leilani or any child of her age without becoming hurt and angry. The reason that the initiation rite did not end sooner than it did was not so much that Leilani did not know how to end it; it was more that the people around her were not yet willing to end it. More than Leilani, it was they who controlled the boundaries of the process.

The initiation rite did not end until Leilani's mother gave birth. Then the pressures upon Leilani lifted almost immediately. She would still receive peremptory directives and sometimes punishment from her mother, and teasing from all of her kin, but gone was the intensity of her earlier ordeal. Leilani's mother's attitude towards her changed, and Leilani's kinsmen seemed to follow her mother's lead. The child who was revealed by this lifting of social pressure was different from the one who, months before, had entered the ordeal of initiation. With increasing confidence, Leilani began to reciprocate others' teasing with sparring of her own.

A few weeks after Leilani's mother gave birth, Leilani was standing on a porch as two uncles arrived. One of these was married to an auntie (MZ) of Leilani; the other was his friend. "Look Miss Piggy," the uncle said, and the friend laughed. "No laugh," Leilani said to this man, "you fat, too." The man was indeed heavysset, if not fat, and people laughed at Leilani's retort. Leilani's mother repeated the story of this encounter for visitors for a time, laughing at what Leilani had said and explaining, "He is, you know. He fat, too!"

Not long after this, Leilani, her mother, and some other kin gathered for a baby shower for one of Leilani's aunties (MZ). Leilani's mother told a story about a strange woman who had appeared out of nowhere and had asked to use the bathroom. She said that she had not known how to say no and so had let the woman in. "Should charge 'em," joked the boyfriend of one of Leilani's aunties (MZ). "Five dollars!" "Wow, uncle," spoke up Leilani, "you crazy or what? Can piss in the bushes!" People laughed at this comment of Leilani's,

not only because of what she said, but also because she had jumped into the conversation so forthrightly. None laughed more than Leilani's mother, who by now had added to her collection of stories about retorts Leilani had used with adults. Leilani's mother spoke with special pride and amusement about how her daughter had dealt with two of her aunties. Called a baby hippo by one, Leilani had retorted, "Not, you the baby hippo. You more fat than me." Leilani had lectured the second auntie for not keeping her baby clean and for allowing him to track dirt inside the house. "She talk straight, you know," smiled Leilani's mother.

A most striking example of how Leilani had changed came about six months after her mother had given birth. Leilani was now a few months past five years of age. Leilani's circle of kin had gathered at the home of one of her aunties (MZ). Leilani had been out visiting with aunties (MMZDs) not involved in this particular gathering, and was dropped off about an hour after it had begun. As she walked towards the carport where her relatives were sitting, Leilani did not even look like the same child. She was moving with the self-assured saunter that Hawaiian teenagers use when they know they are being watched and evaluated.

"Hey, brah, where you was?" asked an uncle. This man was actually a young adult friend of the family. He was standing at the margin of the gathering, leaning against one of the posts that supported the carport roof. This uncle's use of "brah" in addressing Leilani implied a peer relationship and invited banter; and that was what he got.

Leilani did not break stride as the uncle spoke to her but continued on her way to the table at the center of the gathering.

"Why?" she asked over her shoulder. "Niele (nosey)?"

"Wow, brah!" laughed the uncle at this putdown.

"What she said?" her mother asked, bubbling with laughter. "She said, niele?" Speaking with pleasure to her daughter, she explained, "She Samoan, tha's why. Yeah, Leilani? You one Samoan girl." While Samoans are sometimes the object of negative stereotyping in Hawaiian social circles, there is also a good deal of honest admiration for Samoan courage and self-assuredness.

Another uncle (MZH) spoke up, scaffolding a reply for Leilani. Smiling, he said, "Tell Mommy, she the Tongan!" This was a joking reference to a relationship of Leilani's mother, and spawned a bit of further banter among the adults.

In the way that Leilani had handled getting into the carport gathering, as in other aspects of her behavior, she was showing an aplomb that had not been in evidence before. She gave as good as she got now, demonstrating a familiarity with the process of banter, and with the complex of emotions that underlies teasing and joking, that she had not possessed a year earlier. The adults, for their part, were allowing Leilani room to demonstrate expertise with this most complex aspect of Hawaiian self-presentation, tolerating and applauding her performances, and helping her to extend them. Leilani was cute to watch and to listen to, now, a kind of mini-adult, trying to negotiate situations as adults do.

The relationship presently in force between Leilani and the adults of her world, however, could itself only be a transitional one. Like other Hawaiian children, Leilani had been taught to express affection; like others, she had been taught to fight; and like others, she had now been taught to tease and to joke. Some of this teaching had been conscious but much of it not, impressed upon Leilani instead by the routine workings of Hawaiian social occasions and interactional dynamics. The same social structure that had enveloped Leilani and taught her its ways, however, could not long permit her to challenge adults, even in the playful ways in which she was now taking them on. The system's notion of the authority of adults over children could not tolerate this. Having taught Leilani to joke and tease, the adults of her world were now faced with the problem of limiting this "acting" from Leilani, of directing it away from themselves and towards the peer interaction which is its proper domain.

The process of teaching Leilani the limits of "acting" with adults began to occur about six months after the birth of Leilani's brother. At one gathering, the boyfriend of one of Leilani's aunties (MZ) was joking with Leilani's mother. "So," he said to Leilani's mother, "when you gonna have the next one? Three months, hahaha!" He was joking about Leilani's mother's weight. By pretending that he thought she was pregnant, he was saying that she looked fat. "Hoo, you came big," he said to her. "Look hapai (pregnant), already!"

Leilani pulled out her tried and true response to fat jokes. "No laugh," she said to her uncle, "you fat, too!"

"Tha's how, Leilani," exclaimed her mother, who had been stung by the hapai remark, "stand up for your mother!"

The interaction took another line for a time. Anon, Leilani's mother went off to do something, and the uncle fell under a steady gaze from Leilani. "Hey, Miss Piggy!" the uncle said to her. This was the uncle who had invented the Miss Piggy performance so many months earlier.

"You Miss Piggy," said Leilani.

"You," said the uncle.

"You," said Leilani.

The uncle was becoming angry. He was getting more than he had bargained for. "All what I know to do," he said, "is to turn you over my knee."

Leilani began to say something more, but now another uncle (MB) kicked at her foot under the picnic table. It was not a real kick so much as a feint; his toes barely grazed the sole of Leilani's foot. As he warned her in this way, he said, "No act, Leilani." This was the first time "no act" had been used with Leilani in the context of reciprocal teasing. Leilani let the situation go.

About a month later, Leilani provoked a much stronger response from a third uncle (MZH). He had been joking with Leilani, but the joking began to lose its goodnatured quality as he began to take it seriously. Finally, Leilani said, "Shutup," with a teasing lilt to her voice in response to something her uncle had said. The uncle at once grew furious with Leilani. "You like go moimoi (sleep)," he said to her. "You like go moimoi?"

"No, Uncle, not you," Leilani said lamely, obviously frightened by this display.

"Now you know who you talking to, Leilani?" he yelled at her, very vexed. "Now you know who you talking to?" Leilani, needless to say, shortly put some distance between herself and her uncle.

Through experiences like these, children learn the wisdom of limiting their interactions with adults. Taught to "act" in playful ways by adults, children learn that this form of behavior is better exercised in the domain of peer interaction. Adults, congruently, learn that they take risks in joking with children. They know that it is not fair to respond with anger to children's teasing, particularly if they themselves have stimulated it, and that an adult who loses his or her temper with a child over teasing looks foolish to other adults. Adults--particularly parents and grandparents--continue to tease and joke with children. They also continue to delight in children's mischievousness. No child is more dear to a parent or grandparent than one who is a "rascal." But as children learn to limit their interactions with adults, so, too, do adults learn to limit their interactions with children. For both adults and children, teasing, joking, and the like belong ultimately to peer interaction and to making one's way among peers.

#### Summary

This chapter has addressed the question of the socio-structural origins of "acting" and of Hawaiian schoolchildren's values of autonomy and solidarity. The chapter has tried to show how the values of



autonomy and solidarity are related to the organization of Hawaiian interaction; it has tried to show that both serious and playful challenges are necessary to Hawaiian children's negotiation of peer interaction given the Hawaiian organization of interaction; and it has tried to show how Hawaiian children learn these forms of self-presentation through a socialization process which plays upon the ambiguities of approval and disapproval bound up in the idea of "acting." Mischievousness, pugnaciousness, joking, teasing, and other forms of challenge are both encouraged and rewarded, discouraged and punished. As one man said, encapsulating the irony of Hawaiian socialization practices and adults' attitudes towards children, "When they act up, tell 'em, 'No act!' And when they no act, tell 'em, 'Act up, act up!' Hahahahahah!" To live through the process of being told both to act and not to act, is to become attuned to the structure of relationships and rhythms of interaction in the Hawaiian social world. It is to learn those things one needs to know to find and to make one's place within the village of one's kin and friends. Let us begin to wrap up this chapter by summarizing three of these things.

From their socialization, Hawaiian children acquire knowledge first of how to make and when to limit their own claims to worthiness, of how to accept and when to counter the claims of others. It is probably true in all social networks that the processes used to transform an infant into a socially competent being are the same processes used to create new relationships and to explore and sustain ongoing ones. It is to these uses, in any case, that Hawaiian children put the idea of "acting" and of the desist, "no act." "Acting" differs in intensity

from goodnatured teasing within a taken-for-granted relationship and from confrontations where no friendship exists for "acting" places relationships and identities at risk. It tests the line between the approved and the disapproved. To do "acting" or to impute it, is to heighten an ordinary situation, transforming it into a review of established agreements, and always sounding within it echoes of early travails.

Some examples of situations in which "acting" is done or imputed will help to clarify the use of the notion to test and to hold in check the boundaries of rights and identities in relationships. First, two examples of playful "acting," that which is nominally approved: the telephone rings, and a ten-year-old boy answers it. His young adult sister is on the line. She usually calls about this time of day, and always begins her conversation by asking, "Where Mommy?" The boy's mother is standing about ten feet away, looking at him expectantly. Instead of summoning her, however, he smiles, points at her, and over the telephone says to his sister, "There!" "Oh, Junior, no act," his mother says to him in a tired voice as the other adults present break into laughter at Junior's joking use of a deictic. From peer interaction: the guest of honor at a baby shower is opening presents. As she reaches for a friend's present, the friend laughs and says, "Hopefully, it fit!" She is kidding the woman about the weight she has put on. "No act!" the woman says as she returns her smile and begins to open the present. The audience chuckles that began with the tease carry through and beyond the desist. Two examples, now, of open challenges, the sort of "acting" which is nominally disapproved:

a woman has been summoning her five-year-old daughter in from the front yard. The playgroup outside is composed only of older children, all boys, and includes a neighborhood child regarded as rough and unpredictable. The woman's daughter, however, has been resisting leaving the yard. "Now," the woman repeats. "What if I no like 'now,' now?" her daughter asks. "You don't answer back to me, girl," her mother says with irritation. "No act with me 'fore I lick you!" Later, however, the woman repeats her daughter's words to a friend and laughs about the play on "now." From peer interaction: two kindergarten boys have been roughhousing at the end of the day. One of the boys kneels to tie his shoe as his first grade sister arrives to escort him home. The second boy makes a run at his friend but that boy's sister warns him off. "Don't push him," she says. The boy now turns his attention to the sister. Puffing out his chest, he takes a step towards her. The other boy, however, intervenes. Standing, he interposes himself between his friend and his sister and says to his friend, "No act." Then he sucks in his breath, his friend takes the cue, and abruptly the two boys race down the length of the hallway.

Each of these examples of imputations of "acting" contains elements both of approval and of disapproval. It is good to show spirit; it is bad to show defiance or disrespect to adults. It is good to joke and tease with peers; it is bad to try to be better than they. To succeed in relationships, it is necessary to do the one, but one always runs the risk of doing the other; in truth, one inevitably does both. "Acting" is a means of straying beyond the acceptable for the fun and

excitement of it, and for the sake of establishing visibility as a person. The desist, "no act," is a means of granting and curbing these excursions, of sustaining relationships through the risks taken with those relationships. Sometimes the desist, "no act," is applause, sometimes it is a warning, more often it is both.

For an example of the use of "acting" in creating a relationship, one need look no further than a lesson like Ellen's. In such lessons, children replay the climax of their socialization. They "act," first, in order to establish for the teacher and for one another their credentials as spirited Hawaiian children and second, in order to test the teacher's credentials as a competent adult. In response, the children expect two things. Publicly, they expect the teacher both to tolerate and to curb their behavior, to tell them in her own fashion, "No act"--that is how the pattern is supposed to play itself out. Privately, they expect her to be amused by their mischievousness, to develop affection and respect for them owing to it, and accordingly, to limit the direct control she attempts to exercise over them. If the teacher shows herself worthy of commanding the classroom, then the "acting" of the children usually goes little further than the histrionics of an April or the disappearing act of a Herman. For both teacher and children, the "acting" of the children will have been only a bit of harmless mischief, the kinds of things to be expected from children who are "rascals" and "hardhead" but basically affectionate, goodnatured, and well disposed towards adults. If the teacher does not show herself worthy of commanding the situation, however, then she is given a taste of the initiation ritual that the children themselves

have lived through. They treat her to forms of the hazing, goading, and derision that they themselves have had to contend with in growing up. The children may be constrained to attend school, but they constrain the teacher to play by their rules, their rites for creating relationships. The ordeal of a Leilani becomes the ordeal of an Ellen. Passing through it successfully requires of a teacher the same capacities demanded of children: control of pain, control of anger, demonstration of poise.

The "acting" which Hawaiian children learn to do is an aspect of a more general orientation to experience taught them by their socialization. This orientation has been characterized in terms of the values of autonomy and solidarity and of the metaphor of a smile that shows teeth. Another way of articulating the complexity of this orientation is by means of a distinction between age roles and developmental roles. Developmental roles have to do with the human maturational cycle, much of which, presumably, is biologically based. In any case, one may speak of people as "adults" or "children" in the sense of their having attained a certain age and a certain level of physiological development. Social networks, however, also develop certain definitions of how children and adults are supposed to behave, of what their attitudes and preferences are supposed to be. These age role definitions vary from culture to culture, and they are not tied to developmental roles; children play at being adults, adults at being children. Age roles represent contrasting but complementary ways of articulating the self; they are different fronts which people of all

ages juggle in presenting themselves to one another and in coping with their experiences. In Anglo social networks, it is probably correct to say that the front customarily presented to the world is that of a self-assured adult, someone who is frank, assertive, who gets along with others but is also capable of advancing his or her own interest in situations. Behind this conception of the adult, lies a conceptualization of the child as a vulnerable, easily wounded creature of purity and innocence, who would much prefer a world in which interpersonal politics never played a role. When the competitiveness and open maneuvering of Anglo interaction become too difficult to cope with, it is this conception of the child that surfaces to seek emotional support and a timeout. In Hawaiian social networks, on the other hand, conceptions of both adults and children are rather different, and these conceptions alternate in reverse fashions in people's orientation to experience. The front which Hawaiians customarily present in face-to-face interaction is that of the child, but the child construed as a mischievous, "rascal," and affectionate being on the lookout for the "good fun" of reciprocations of teasing and joking in interaction. Behind this conception of the child lies the Hawaiian conception of the adult. This being is not so much one that makes waves as one that can withstand any wave unleashed by the world. It is a being capable of enduring any pain, any hardship, any challenge. In times of trouble, it is this being that surfaces.

From their socialization, lastly, Hawaiian children acquire knowledge of certain structures of relationship. These include distinctions between adults, teenagers, children, toddlers, and babies

as categories of actors, but they include as well certain notions of organization pertaining directly to children's relationships with one another. Among these notions are conceptions of hierarchy within the sibling group, the notion of "the cousins" as a group of peer intimates, and a distinction between girls' and boys' roles and relationships. These aspects of child social structure will be discussed at length in the following two chapters on the Ka Na'i Pono second grade boys' and girls' relationships. It is almost axiomatic that adult social structure both creates and represents a means of controlling certain forms of interactional dynamics. It is not so well appreciated that child social structure also creates and represents a means of controlling interactional dynamics. To this point, Hawaiian children's interactions have been considered only from the viewpoints of their values and certain broad features of structure in their social networks. The following two chapters will consider rivalry and other interactional dynamics of Hawaiian schoolchildren from the perspective of the system of peer relationships created by them at school. This analysis will further clarify the beginning-of-the-year situation faced by teachers. As discussed previously, a teacher needs not only to pass her students' test of her worthiness as a leader, however they define that test; in the first place, she must be attempting to institute in the classroom a system of social organization consistent with the children's system of peer group organization. The children may find the teacher objectionable owing to the way that she conducts herself; they must find her objectionable if her system of classroom organization is disruptive of their own system of relationships.

### Conclusion

Begun with the question of the distinctiveness of the Hawaiian social world, it is fitting to conclude this chapter with that question. To what extent is the Hawaiian orientation to experience "truly" Hawaiian, "truly" Polynesian? Few ethnographers will go so far as to claim that the values and social arrangements of modern Hawaiians remain ethnically distinctive. For many ethnographers, the period of contact has been too long, the influx of immigrants too great for that to be thinkable. Race matters to them; they think in terms of metaphors of distance, dilution, and diminution, of families only part-Hawaiian and therefore part-something else, both racially and culturally. Income matters to them; they think in terms of social structures and values that reflect adaptation to political and economic domination. For the cultural diminution through interracial marriage argument, there is little support; indeed, there is little sense to the argument itself. Parents are not the loci of culture; social networks are. For the non-Hawaiian mates of Hawaiians, procreative relationships have not meant relationships between individual men and individual women; they have usually meant relationships between individual non-Hawaiians, typically men, and a wide network of Hawaiian kinsmen. What does it mean to be partly the child of a non-Hawaiian if it is within a network of Hawaiians that one is raised? For the socio-economic argument on the source of Hawaiian values and social arrangements, however, there is support. It is indisputable that Hawaiians have been subjected to economic and political domination; it is equally indisputable that the interactional systems of other



minorities so dominated--e.g., blacks--tend to be generational ones. To look at the situation from this socio-economic perspective, is to see a generational social structure as the only rational adaptation possible for people denied access to opportunities for self-fulfillment beyond those afforded by informal relationships with peers.

There is, however, also support for the alternative view, that Hawaiian social structure continues to reflect Polynesian themes of social organization. For the reason that the issue of the distinctiveness of the culture of modern Hawaiians is such a vexed one, few references have been made to other Polynesian cultures; better to let Hawaiian social arrangements and cultural practices stand on their own. Anyone familiar with the ethnographic literature on Polynesia, however, will recognize similarities between Hawaiian social arrangements, attitudes, and interactional practices and those of other Polynesian peoples. Indeed, for the terms' appropriateness, the use of the notions, "solidarity" and "autonomy," has been borrowed from the Ritchies' (1970) use of those terms in their work on the Maoris. The strongest evidence of the Polynesian roots of Hawaiian social structure, however, comes from the Hawaiians themselves. As is well known, Morgan (1871) termed the indigenous Hawaiian kinship system a generational one. He did so for the reason that the major sorts of distinctions within the system were only two: distinctions between generations and a distinction between the sexes. Father, father's brother, and mother's brother were called by the same term; mother, mother's sister, and father's sister were called by the same term; brother and male cousins, sisters and female cousins were called by the

same term; and so on. Unlike the Anglo (Eskimo) kinship system, which draws a line around the nuclear family, distinguishing the members of this hierarchically organized unit from all other kin, this kinship system draws lines between generational strata, affirming the equivalence of members of the same generation and their difference from members of older and younger generations. Here it is the peer group that is represented as the distinctive unit. To look at the Hawaiians' situation from this perspective, is to think in terms of one culture's outer forms having been given another culture's inner meanings--of mainland America's hierarchical kinship system having been interpreted in generational senses, of its churches of fictive kinsmen replaced by generationally organized, home-based assemblages of real kin, of its single family dwellings made to shelter wide and fluid groupings of relatives, even of the impersonal, single-stranded, instrumental encounters generated by its cash registers and other features of its economy sometimes enlivened and deepened by the signs of playful rivalry. It is to think in terms of social networks which, to be sure, have changed and continue to change but which have kept alive Polynesian themes of interaction and social organization.

In truth, however, it matters little how one thinks about the Hawaiians, their social arrangements, and their culture. What does matter is that theirs is a systematic and coherent approach to life. While not necessarily originating from facts of political and economic domination, that approach has enabled Hawaiians to meet and to master adversity with no little dignity.

A final story: Soon after I began community fieldwork, Lovey introduced herself to me, and me to her family. Her ten- and eleven-year-old sons introduced me to some of the neighborhood children, including a boy named Tony, who lived a street away.

Tony was everything a fifth grade boy should be. He was bright, good looking, athletic, and self-confident. He visited Lovey's sons regularly, and it soon became clear that he was the leader of the boys on the street. One day, he organized them into a fishing expedition which he led up a nearby canal. The boys caught no fish in the smelly, debris filled water, but they had fun doing it. On other occasions, Tony organized games of catch or bike races. He was fun to be with, and he thought up fun things to do. Lovey's sons called him their "favorite cousin," meaning their best friend, and they and the other boys on the street measured themselves against his achievements. One day he asked me if boys got into trouble for fighting at the school that I worked at. He then told me that he had been suspended twice for fighting. "Even me," Lovey's eleven-year-old chimed in, claiming experience, too, with having run afoul of school law. "Not!" Tony countered. "You mean that time you was sick?"

Towards adults, Tony was often more than a little helpful and affectionate. One day, I arrived home to find him and his older sister mowing my lawn. I had little furniture at the time. On another occasion, he, his sisters, and Lovey's sons spent the better part of a Saturday building a kitchen table for me out of an old telephone company spool and some scraps of wood. One day, he and some boys were

playing in my yard when he realized that I was typing. "They bothering you?" he asked. Even though I said they were not, he said, "Don't worry, I'll take them away," and he did. On another occasion, he and Lovey's sons were playing with one of my tape-recorders. "Do you like John?" he asked them. "I do," he said. Then speaking directly to me via the tape-recorder, he said, "I like you, John. And if you ever need another table, don't worry. Just ask." Tony, in short, embodied the ideals that Hawaiian children try to live up to and Hawaiian adults try to encourage. Naturally charismatic, naturally a leader, Tony was a tough and courageous boy but also a very sweet, helpful, and considerate one.

About a month after school began, he was struck by a car. The town in which he lived stretched out for over a mile and a half along a coastline. A heavily trafficked four-lane highway separated the town from the ocean. At the time of the accident, there were only four traffic lights along the highway; two were at the beginning of the town, one at the end of it, and one in the middle. The ones at the beginning of the town were there mainly to protect children as they crossed the highway to get to a school that lay just by the ocean. The one in the middle of the town was by a road that led to a military installation; it was used almost exclusively by military and civilian support personnel driving to and from work. The one at the end of the town regulated the outflow of traffic from a valley road. The city administration, in sum, had done little to protect pedestrians crossing the highway. The sixteen thousand people who lived in the town usually

had to take their chances in getting from their house to the beach and back again. Tony was struck while riding his bike home from the beach.

The accident was a bad one. The driver, uninsured and unemployed, had been doing about forty miles an hour, the customary cruising speed on the highway. Tony was flown by helicopter to a hospital in the city. From people who had been at the site of the accident, the news was that Tony had died; they could not believe that a person could survive the injuries they had seen. But Tony did not die. He was in a coma for more than two weeks and in intensive care for another three. Finally, he was moved to a rehabilitation hospital, and I visited him there.

He had lost at least twenty pounds. A knee had been damaged, and there were scars on an arm and a leg where he had lost muscle tissue. He was wrapped in a diaper for he could not yet control himself, and a breathing tube protruded from his trachea. There were also scars on his head. They were long and ugly, one crossing the front and top of his skull, one the back. His eyes were dull and flat, and his face, slack. There was still something somewhere behind his eyes, however, for as I sat in front of him, he lifted his good arm and raised his middle finger at me.

"Tony!" his mother said to him, pulling his hand down. It went up again, and she pulled it down again, holding it. While his sisters mothered him, combing the stubble of his hair and otherwise playing with his appearance, his mother explained that he was angry about having to stay at the hospital. Even in this situation, it was not

permitted that Tony "act;" he was expected still to comport himself properly.

The months of Tony's convalescence were long and difficult for Tony and his family, both emotionally and financially. Not once during that period of time, however, did Tony's mother ever seek pity from others. Not once did she ask, why me, why him. At one point, she was approached for advice by a friend of hers. This woman's son had been at fault in a car accident and had no insurance or income. The woman asked Tony's mother about the extent of her son's liability; since Tony had been hit by an uninsured motorist, she would know about such things. Tony's mother answered the woman's questions objectively and dispassionately, never betraying her feelings about the hideous irony of the situation.

About ten months after the accident, Tony's mother talked about it, giving her view of it. Just a week before the accident, she had taken a job driving a bus in order to supplement her husband's income. Owing to the job, she explained, she had neglected her family. "God gives you a warning," she said, "and then he slaps you. Hard." My own mind rebelled at this theory, but it had served her well. She then spoke about the gesture of defiance that Tony had given me and others. "When I saw that," she said, "it really gave me hope. As long as he fights, I'll help him. I'll help him."

The course of Tony's rehabilitation often looked like a replay of Hawaiian socialization. There were moments that were not pretty ones; if Tony's mother would not indulge herself in self-pity, neither would

she permit Tony to pity himself or to seek the pity of others. The values that she had required of him when he was a toddler, she required again of him now.

About a year and a half after the accident, Tony was sitting with his mother at a picnic table in the yard. He, she, and his sisters had just finished cleaning the house and working on the yard. Tony captured a gecko and began to tease his mother with it for it was well known that she was deathly afraid of geckos. "Stop!" she would warn him in panic and then squeal and double over with shivers and laughter when he held it near her neck. Tony was not the boy he once was; he never would be. But he had put himself together again, and life within his family was proceeding according to its old rhythms.

Hawaiian socialization can seem hard on children. The rivalrousness of both Hawaiian adults and children can seem pointless and self-defeating, a waste of time. But whether representing a continuity of indigenous traditions, an adaptation to ongoing political and economic circumstances, or, more probably, both, the Hawaiian approach to experience has enabled Hawaiians of all ages to survive personal and group tragedies with nobility and good humor. Who can fault it?

## CHAPTER 7

## THE IMPORTANCE OF APPEARANCES: THE BOYS' GANGS

Men discern situations with particular vocabularies, and it is in terms of some delimited vocabulary that they anticipate the consequences of conduct.

C. Wright Mills (1940:906)

The past two chapters have described some of the context of values, interactional dynamics, and homelife social arrangements surrounding the phenomenon of Hawaiian schoolchildren's "acting." So far, "acting" has been defined as a kind of challenge, and the idea of the challenge has been located at different points along a continuum of self-presentations ranging from displays of courage, through forms of friendly contention, to displays of affection. The values behind this spectrum of behavior have been analyzed as ones of autonomy and solidarity, and rivalry has been emphasized as the social dynamic to which these values give rise. Hawaiian children's forms of self-presentation, values, and social dynamics have been related to the generational organization of Hawaiian interaction and to the demands that this form of social structure makes of individuals. It has been argued that Hawaiian children learn to mount and to respond to challenges in the course of their early socialization to interactional contexts in which individuals are constrained to manage peer relationships on their own. Within these contexts, recognizing and making playful challenges



functions as a means of creating friendships and asserting and legitimating worthy cultural identities. Recognizing and making serious challenges functions as a means of bounding others' rights in relationships and of asserting one's own, of establishing parity with peers and a certain symmetry of respect as well with elders. The preliminary suggestion has been made that the second graders' "acting" with Ellen represented a test of Ellen's right to the classroom role which she was trying to perform. She was attempting to exercise power over the children. What right did she have to do so? In "acting," the second graders were presenting to Ellen their bona fides as worthy individuals; if she expected them to comply with her authority, then she needed to prove that she merited compliance. She needed to show herself capable of controlling their "acting" while it remained playful and mostly implicit.

Homelife social arrangements, however, are only the outermost constraint operating on schoolchildren's behavior. To make sense of what befell Ellen in her lesson with the second graders, one must look inside the situation in her classroom. Before her, she had twenty-five children who for three years had been not only constrained as a group by adult rules but also encapsulated as a group by those rules. Strangers, most of them, when they arrived at school, the children had discovered certain domains at school which had no definition beyond that which their own actions would give it. These domains included talk at the lunch table in the cafeteria, talk at the independent work center in the classroom, and above all, play at the tetherball posts,

on jungle gyms, and in the other places of the playground. What they had done in these domains was to create their own world of relationships, of friends, enemies, and outsiders. This world, in turn, endowed the events of domains which were not the children's to define with special meanings and significances known only to them. What happened in Ellen's lesson has to do with how that lesson affected and was affected by the second graders' peer relationships. When Ellen turned from the blackboard to begin her lesson, she faced a class of children who would be and, indeed, were already being constrained to act and to react in terms of shared conceptions of peer relationships. The structure of the children's homelife social networks was a far constraint on their behavior; the near constraint was what the children needed to do in order to succeed in the social structure which they had created among themselves at school.

The next two chapters will examine the second grade boys' and girls' peer group structures. Following the analyses of the second graders' peer group structures, it will be possible to look at Ellen's lesson from a perspective resembling the children's own, and to consider the specific meanings, significances, and implications which the circumstances and events of that lesson held for the children. Having moved from a very broad conception of the meaning of the second graders' behavior in Ellen's lesson to the narrowest speculations about situated meanings permitted by the data, this work will draw back to an intermediate position and focus upon the general implications of Ellen's lesson for the education of Hawaiian children.

The boys' gangs

Two moments dominated and largely defined the rivalrous social dynamics of the second graders. The first consisted of reciprocations of playful rivalry--of playful mischievousness, playful joking and teasing, playful posturing, playful contention, playful probing of relationships and situations, and of other gamelike mixtures of challenge and friendship. This moment was made up of sequences through which the children both projected tough identities and kept their tough identities in balance.

The second moment dominating and defining the second graders' rivalries was one of conflict. This moment began with hurt, with the taking of deep and apparently genuine offense over injuries to pride, image, or reputation inflicted, typically, by peers' playfulness. The hurt would grow into put-downs, mocks, and other belittling gestures and thence often into physical conflict. It is important to emphasize that the children were usually not belligerent with each other; they did not set out to cause offense. Furthermore, it was not the case that conflict emerged only from the children's identity play or emerged always from that play. The children were usually able to manage the rhythms of their interactions without conflict, and those rhythms were not the only source of conflict among them. But the mischievous playfulness through which the children at once asserted and validated claims to worthiness did always run the risk of giving offense and of sparking confrontations. Almost daily, the boys of the second grade scuffled with each other.

It was apparent that certain individuals in the class fared better than others in the fast-paced and volatile flow of the boys' rivalries. Jake was the tallest boy in the class. Though rather a poor athlete, Jake could hold other children in thrall with his size, apparent fearlessness, and boastful, peremptory, and sometimes intimidating manner. While on a fieldtrip to the zoo, for example, Jake boasted to Tolbert and Jamie that if he saw a crocodile he would grab its jaw and bend its head backwards until its neck broke, graphically demonstrating this maneuver for the boys. Though Jake's claim was so extreme as to be laughable, Tolbert and Jamie did not dispute it. Jake had a way of making claims like this seem to come true and was fairly certain to punish doubt. At the crocodile pen later on, Jake did not slay a crocodile, of course, but he did take a girl's belt from her and drop it on a crocodile's head. The consequence of this was a stern lecture from the zookeeper about respecting the animals and not pestering them, and the consequence of that that Jake was suddenly cast in the light of being a greater threat to the crocodiles than the crocodiles were to him.

Jake's great rival in the class was Pete. Pete was also one of the largest boys, and he, too, commanded respect and some fear. His style of self-presentation, however, was rather different from Jake's. Athletic, handsome, and extremely charismatic, Pete simply took it for granted that he would be the center of attention. Bold and colorful in his joking, story-telling, and dress, unique and cocksure in his willingness to do impromptu dances and other solo performances, and fiercely combative in his play of tetherball, dodgeball, and other

games, Pete was a natural showman who usually could attract and hold audiences. Pete was also extremely quick to anger and had earned the reputation of being the most explosive of the second graders. Pete's explosiveness and showmanship were related for the one betrayed a great need for peer approval and the other, a correspondingly great vulnerability to signs of disapproval.

Arrayed somewhat below Jake and Pete were Tolbert, Brent, Kaleo, Toby B., and Jamie. Tolbert, the class clown, and Brent, the class tease, were relatively large, and both were accomplished at joking, recess games, and other forms of contest. Kaleo was somewhat smaller than Jake, Pete, Brent, and Tolbert, but of all the boys in the class, it was perhaps he who commanded the most affection and in his own way, the most respect. Kaleo could deliver verbal put-downs more devastating than blows and also had the capacity to defuse situations and assuage others' feelings with light and well-intended joking. Toby B. was considerably smaller even than Kaleo, but he made up for his small size with great tenacity. Though Toby B. might lose a fight, there was no other child in the class from whom he would run. Jamie was missing a hand and a foot owing to a birth defect. He would fight if pushed, but he had made his real mark as the "rascal" of the class. Jamie was unrivaled at this mischievous role, indeed, he was a genius at it. The remaining boys--Freddie, Steve, Mark, Toby Loo, and Kevin--were not social nonentities. All five of these boys participated in the playful contests and other forms of rivalry characteristic of interaction in the second grade peer group. But owing to small size or unwillingness

to engage in conflict, these boys held distinctly lower status than the other boys of the class.<sup>1</sup>

Beyond a pecking order, clear only in its major outlines, there seemed to be little structure to the boys' relationships. Owing to the volatility of the boys' interactions, individuals who seemed fast friends one moment could appear to be sworn enemies the next. Conversely, the fights of morning recess might seem completely forgotten by lunch recess. It turned out, however, that all was not formless in the boys' interactions. Underlying and structuring their interactions was a well-defined system of social organization.

The first news of this system came from Tolbert one day after lunch. He was lying on the sickroom cot with an icepack pressed to a large goose egg on his forehead. When asked what had happened, he replied, greatly excited, "Mr. D'Amato! Mr. D'Amato! You know what? The gaaangs was fighting!" At once, he was asked questions about what the gangs were and who was in them, and he proceeded to relate a very fast paced account of social organization in the second grade.

According to Tolbert, the children of the class were divided into a boys' side (or team) and a girls' side (or team). All of the girls were on the girls' side, but not all of the boys were worthy of inclusion on the boys' side. Some of the boys did not like to fight and played with girls or by themselves at recess instead of becoming involved in the playfighting and other doings of the boys of the gangs.

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<sup>1</sup> The name, Herman, may be recalled from Ellen's lesson; this boy, the smallest in the class, had transferred to another school in December.

As Tolbert phrased it, the boys on the girls' side were "too shrimpy" to be in the gangs. He defined "shrimpy" as small, but there was more to it than that. He included Toby B. as a gang member, and Toby B. was one of the smallest boys in the class. When this was pointed out, Tolbert agreed that Toby B. was small but added that he was also very brave. "He cry and still yet he fight." Rather than just size, it was courage or toughness that distinguished the boys on the boys' side from the ones on the girls' side.

According to Tolbert, only seven boys were in the gangs. Pete, Kaleo, and Brent made up one gang; Jake, Tolbert, Toby B., and the mischievous Jamie constituted the other. The five boys who were disparaged for being on the girls' side were Freddie, Mark, Steve, Toby Loo, and Kevin. Tolbert said that Jake and Pete were the leaders of the two gangs since they were the strongest and bravest of the boys. In explaining the responsibilities of Jake and Pete as leaders, Tolbert said, "If-if-if I fight Pete, hanh, then Jake help me." The reverse situation was described in symmetrical fashion but phrased rather differently. If Brent "challenge me," Tolbert said, then "Pete make trouble to me. He always make trouble." Being the leader of a gang, then, meant being the dominant boy in the gang and standing up for the other boys, when necessary, against members of the opposite gang. Tolbert also threw some light on other relationships and individuals in the two gangs. Tolbert said that he himself was a leader and that if somebody fought with Jamie, he would help Jamie. Asked why he would help Jamie, Tolbert said that Jamie was his cousin. Asked how he was related to Jamie, Tolbert said that he was not really related to Jamie,

that Jamie was his best friend. Tolbert said that Jake and Toby B., too, were cousins, and cousins in the same way, that all of the boys in Jake's gang were cousins. In talking about people in Pete's gang--who represented a separate set of cousins--, Tolbert said that Kaleo was not a leader because he was not strong enough. Tolbert's opinion of Brent was especially low. Brent, one of the largest boys in the class, was also not a leader because "he so shrimpy. Even he eat plenty vegetable and he shrimpy."

Over the next two days, Tolbert's account was checked out with a few of the girls, most of the boys, and all of the gang members. In all major respects, Tolbert's account was supported, but there was disagreement over important details. There was agreement about who was in the gangs and who was not; most of the other gang members used notions like the girls' side and the boys' side in distinguishing those who were from those who were not, and for none of the boys were these and similar terms unfamiliar. There was agreement about who was in which gang and also an underlying understanding of what it meant to be in the gangs and of what it took to get into them. As Mark said, in explaining why he had not joined a gang, "They only make trouble to me. I no like fight." A last point on which there was clear agreement was that Jake was the leader of his gang. There was some disagreement, however, about the identity of the leader of the opposite gang. Most boys called it Pete's gang, but some called it Kaleo's gang. Nevertheless, the extent of agreement among the boys about the gangs and other features of organization was impressive. The following table summarizes what the boys said about their social organization.



Table 1  
The Boys' Social Organization

<u>Boys' Side</u>		<u>Girls' Side</u>
<u>Jake's Gang</u>	<u>Pete's Gang</u>	
Jake	Pete	Mark
Tolbert	Kaleo	Steve
Toby B.	Brent	Toby Loo
Jamie		Kevin
		Freddie

That the gangs and the boys' side/girls' side distinction had real social significance, is suggested by data on the boys' playground and other voluntary associations. The connection between gang affiliation and social choices is far from perfect but generally strong.

For all of the children, the playground was a locale for asserting claims about relationships and the self. What one did at recess showed who one was and who one's friends were for different sorts of social claims were connected with the different playground areas and activities available to the children. There were three main areas of the playground: the upper playground, containing the jungle gym and most of the playground equipment; the lower playground, containing the tetherball posts and the sandbox; and a side area which was used as a playing field for team sports. The upper part of the playground was the turf of Jake's gang. Almost invariably, Jake, Toby B., and other boys would gather on the jungle gym or in the grassy area nearby. On the jungle gym and other equipment, they would talk story and play games like "parachute" or "stilts," which involved jumping from the

equipment or walking along the top of it. In the grassy area, the boys would do pretend fighting and play chasemaster, a form of tag, or boys-chase-girls. While games of boys-chase-girls and chasemaster, which usually included girls, might attract boys from Pete's gang, the playfighting done on the upper playground and the activities on the jungle gym involved only the boys of Jake's gang. The boys in Jake's gang did not always keep to the upper part of the playground. Tolbert was very fond both of tetherball and of flirting with the girls who played tetherball. Consequently, he often spent much or all of recess on the lower part of the playground. But most members of Jake's gang and Jake himself were usually found near the jungle gym.

The lower and side parts of the playground were the turf of Pete's gang. It was in these areas that most of the sports were played, and except for Tolbert, the male athletes of the class were the boys in Pete's gang. Pete, Kaleo, and Brent usually played tetherball at recess and were also the prime movers in occasional games of "sham battle"--a form of dodgeball--, kickball, and other team sports. Jake, Tolbert, and other boys in Jake's gang often joined Pete and his gang in team sports. If the second graders were not playing against the third graders, the gang opposition would show up in the fact that boys in opposing gangs tended to play on opposing teams. For their part, the boys in Pete's gang tended to stay away from the upper part of the playground and particularly from the jungle gym. Besides tetherball and team sports, the boys in Pete's gang might play board games like Connect-4 or talk story in the sandbox and other locations in the lower playground.

The other boys of the class fit in where they could on the playground. Except for tetherball, all of the boys' activities were closed ones: a child had to seek permission or receive an invitation in order to join. A child would say, "I like play," or be asked, "You like play?" If he did not receive an invitation or were not given permission, then he was not supposed to play and might be turned away with a brusque, "You not playing," if he tried. The right to control access to play is, of course, taken for granted by Hawaiian children; in generational systems, the organization and management of peer relationships is the affair of peers. Steve was usually let in on the doings at the jungle gym and would locate himself there. Freddie was sometimes tolerated by the boys in Jake's gang and would also join that group. The reception of both boys, and particularly of Freddie, however, was uncertain. Kevin, the smallest boy left in the class, divided his time equally between staying in the classroom and playing in both the upper and lower areas of the playground. Mark and Toby Loo, however, tended to stick with tetherball. By adult decree, tetherball was an open game, and one did not need to negotiate entry rituals to join; one had only to stand at the end of the line and wait one's turn.

The following table shows how the second grade boys spent their time during twenty recesses spanning the last two months of the schoolyear. These data are most useful in showing the difference in location between the boys of Jake's gang and the boys of Pete's gang and thus the influence of the two-gang structure upon the boys' social choices. About two-thirds of Brent's activities, through three-fourths

Table 2

## Activities of the Second Grade Boys over a Span of Twenty Recesses

	Lower Area			Side Area	Upper Area			Total Activities Lower and Side Areas (Pete's turf)	Total Activities Upper Area (Jake's turf)				
	Total Days Present	Days on Playground	Board Ietherball Games	House Hopacotch Sandbox (w/girls)	Team Sports	Chasemaster & Boys Chase Girls Fighting	Play- Playground Equipment*						
<u>Pete's Gang</u>													
Pete	20	17	12	3	2	2		3	2	1	1	22	4
Kaleo	18	15	9	2	2		1	3	3	1	1	17	5
Brent	20	17	11	1	1	1		2	3	2	5	16	10
<u>Jake's Gang</u>													
Jake	19	16	3			1		2	5	4	14	6	23
Tolbert	20	19	12		1	1		2	4	3	7	16	14
Jamie	19	16	3		1	1	1	1	3	1	11	7	15
Toby B.	18	15	4			1		2	5	2	12	7	19
<u>Boys on the Girls' Side</u>													
Toby Loo	20	18	14		1				1	1	2	15	4
Mark	20	18	14		1	2		2	2	1	3	19	6
Steve	19	18	2			1	1		2		14	4	16
Kevin	20	14	6			1	1		2	1	6	8	9
Freddie	18	14	6		1	1			3	2	8	8	13

\*Play on jungle gym, slides, and monkey bars.

of Kaleo's, to well over three-fourths of Pete's took place in the lower or side areas of the playground. On the other hand, over two-thirds of Jamie's activities, through over three-fourths of Toby B.'s, to well over three-fourths of Jake's took place on the upper part of the playground. Owing to Tolbert's preference for tetherball, he spent about half of his time on the lower part of the playground. His pattern of play is similar to that of the other boys in Jake's gang, however, in the number of times he chose to do pretend fighting and to play on the jungle gym and other equipment.

Similar kinds of patterns turned up in fieldtrip groupings and in classroom seating for movies and other events. The boys of a gang tended to associate with one another and to stay away from boys in the opposite gang. There is also some evidence that the boys of the gangs were thinking in group terms as they made these choices. During a midyear fieldtrip, for example, the children had borrowed my notebook, as they often did, to write their names, draw pictures, and leave other messages. On one page, Pete printed his own name and those of Kaleo and Brent. At the bottom of the page, he wrote, "Rocket Boys." A note had been made of the fact that Pete, Kaleo, and Brent had ridden together on the bus and had sat together at the park we were visiting, but at the same, no special significance was attached either to the list of names or to the caption. It turned out, however, that "Rocket Boys" was one of the names of Pete's gang. Other names that the gang had had in first and second grades or would come to have in third grade were "The T-Birds," "The Poison Walkers," "The Warriors," "The Boogie Phantoms," and "The Golden Lockers." As did most of the boys, Pete had

a weakness for overdrawn images of machismo, most of which he acquired from songs, films, and television shows. Jake's gang, however, was known simply as Jake's gang.

That the boys' gangs were indeed related to the politics of conflict, is suggested by data on the boys' heights and weights. The following table ranks the boys in terms of size. Since height was felt to be the more important variable, an inch of height was reckoned to be the equivalent of two pounds of weight.

Table 3  
Heights and Weights of the Second Grade Boys

<u>Boys</u>	<u>Affiliation</u>	<u>Height (ins)</u>	<u>Weight (lbs)</u>	<u>Rank Order</u>
Jake	Jake's gang	54.0	71.5	1
Brent	Pete's gang	52.0	72.3	2
Pete	Pete's gang	50.5	68.0	3
Tolbert	Jake's gang	51.0	55.8	4
Freddie	Girls' side	49.0	59.0	5
Kaleo	Pete's gang	48.5	56.0	6
Steve	Girls' side	49.5	51.5	7
Mark	Girls' side	48.0	50.5	8
Jamie	Jake's gang	48.3	47.8	9
Toby B.	Jake's gang	47.5	47.0	10
Toby Loo	Girls' side	48.0	45.5	11
Kevin	Girls' side	44.5	43.8	12

Owing to the boys' model of the gangs as rival fighting groups, one would expect relatively large physical size to be an attribute of gang members. One would also expect a fairly even physical matchup between the two gangs. As the data show, both expectations are fulfilled. Five of the six largest boys were in the gangs; four of the six

smallest were on the girls' side. Two of the four largest boys were in Pete's gang, the other two, in Jake's. In sum, there did appear to be two gangs in the class, these gangs did play a role in structuring the boys' social choices, and the gangs did seem involved with the politics of conflict.

The discovery of the boys' gangs was extremely significant. It meant that the boys were not behaving simply upon the basis of values imported from their homelives but rather that they were acting in terms of the dictates of a system of organization which they had created among themselves at school. Rather than only a good in itself, the value of being tough was a criterion for acceptance and position in this system of organization. Rather than representing the attempts of individuals simply to live up to cultural ideals or to achieve certain states in relationships with other individuals, the boys' teasing, joking, and playful contentiousness as well as their fighting and other shows of toughness had to do with making claims to membership and status in their system of relationships. Most importantly, rather than merely the automatic consequence of the boys' values, their rivalrous social processes represented the dynamic of their system of relationships. The moves and attitudes which were keying rivalry and conflict among the boys--their provocative playfulness on the one hand, their sensitivity to challenge on the other--were moves that they had to make and attitudes that they had to display to win and hold position in their peer group. It was the way in which the boys had made their values the basis for a game of relationships at school, in other words,

rather than those values themselves that was responsible for their rivalrousness.

In organizing peer relationships at school, the boys had made use of certain structural features of peer relationships in Hawaiian social networks. It will be recalled that Hawaiian households participate in ethnic social networks numbering as many as two hundred people annually. Two of the structural terms used within these networks are "the cousins" and "the gang." Kinsmen represent the core of the ethnic networks centering upon and enveloping households. The kin of a person's own generational stratum, or those of lower generational strata, may be referred to collectively as, "the cousins." The notion of kin solidarity implied by the use of this term is particularly appropriate where children are concerned for the members of a sibling group and their child kinsmen often live in the same household for periods of time, are regularly tended together by adults, share in the same rewards and punishments, and otherwise function and are treated as a unit. "The gang" refers to all of those real and fictive kin actively involved in the life of a household. Used especially with peers, the notion of "the gang" stands simply for the idea of a friendship and support group; to say "my gang" is to mean "my friends."

Raised to behavioral standards of autonomy and solidarity within the populous context of a household's social networks, children learn that they must stand on their own with peers, but they also learn to draw distinctions among peers. They learn to avoid serious conflicts with real and fictive cousins, to be wary of outsiders, and to stand with cousins against outsiders. Boys and girls learn that they should



not fight with the opposite sex and that being tough is especially the province of boys for the boys who back down from fights with other boys are criticized for being mahus, the Hawaiian term for male transsexuals. The strongest lesson children learn, however, is their first one--that peer relationships are their own responsibility.

These features of peer organization in Hawaiian social networks constituted clear precedents for many features of the second grade boys' game of peer relationships at school and suggested a theory of that game consistent with the boys' own ideology. The structural notions of the "boys' side," the "girls' side," and "the gang"; the idea that friends are "cousins;" and the connotations of these terms all have roots in homelife aspects of peer relationships. Locked into the uncertain company of peers who were strangers at school, it seemed that the boys of the second grade had fought--discovering along the way who would and who would not--, developed mutual interests and alliances out of their fights, and fit the distinctions emerging in their relationships into the familiar and evocative socio-structural models of their homelives. Arising from the process of conflict and rivalry, the boys' peer group structure had organized and was continuing to enjoy participation in that process.

It turned out, however, that the boys' rhetoric about their social organization was a very uncertain guide to the operation of that social organization. It is true that the boys were organizing their actions at school in terms of a shared model of peer organization; it is true that the boys' system of organization was generating rivalry; and it is true that the boys' gangs did play something of a protective and mutual

support function for gang members. It is probably even true that the gangs had grown out of the boys' fights. The pattern of the boys' interactions, however, was not the pattern suggested by their gang versus gang and boys' side/girls' side rhetoric. The operation of the boys' peer group system was more subtle than that. The discussion that follows will focus first upon the gangs. There were many indications that these groups at the heart of the boys' system of organization could not be what the boys said they were.

#### The bump on Tolbert's head

In the first place, the facts of conflict among the boys matched their theory of conflict very poorly. The boys talked as though a fight between any two boys from opposite gangs would necessarily absorb all of the boys of both gangs, but gang versus gang confrontations were actually exceedingly rare. No more than three occurred over a two year period. Actual fights between the two gangs of boys were nonexistent; none occurred. Even fights between pairs of individuals from opposite gangs did not occur as regularly as other sorts of conflicts. Particularly peculiar is the fact that Jake and Kaleo did not have a single fight from the last half of their second grade year through their third grade year. Pete and Jake had only two fights, both at the beginning of their third grade year. That the leaders of the two gangs fought each other so rarely is truly remarkable in view of the boys' characterizations of the duties of leaders and the fact that playground scuffles occurred about once every two recesses. Before situations heated up, the leaders of the gangs might indeed stand up for fellow

gang members; the presence of Jake could discourage Pete, and that of Pete, Jake, from "making trouble" for the smaller members of the opposite gang. When conflict was at hand, however, the leaders of the gangs seemed extraordinarily adept at staying away from each other.

Relationships within the gangs, conversely, were not smoothly solidary. On the contrary, they were quite volatile. The relationships among the members of a gang lasted, but these relationships were daily subject to very sharp fluctuations. Indeed, the boys a gang member most often fought were members of his own gang, not those of the rival gang. Thus, it was not the case that fighting was either organized in terms of the gang opposition or inhibited along the lines of gang membership. If anything, the reverse seemed true.

The results of a sociometric exercise give evidence on the volatility of relationships within gangs. Within a week of Tolbert's revelations, the second graders were asked to name three children that they liked to play with at recess and three that they did not like to play with. It was anticipated that gang members' responses would reflect the gang opposition, but this was not consistently the case. The following table summarizes gang members' responses. As the table shows, most of the boys gave responses largely or wholly congruent with the gang opposition; they generally named people in their own gang as children they liked to play with and people in the opposite gang as ones they did not like to play with. The responses of Jamie and Pete, however, are anything but consistent with the gang opposition. Jamie mentioned two of the boys in his own gang--Jake and Tolbert--as ones he

Table 4. -- Responses of gang members to the instructions, "Name three children that you like to play with at recess," and "Name three children that you do not like to play with at recess."

RESPONSES

		Jake's Gang				Pete's Gang			Other Second Grade Boys					Second Grade Girls				Third Grade Boys	
		Jake	Tolbert	Toby B.	Jamie	Pete	Kaleo	Brent	Toby Loo	Mark	Kevin	Steve	Freddie	Noe	Norino	Laura	Yuki	J.T.	Chico
<u>RESPONDENTS</u>	<u>Jake's Gang</u>	Jake	***** +	+	+							-		+			-	-	
	Tolbert	+	***** +			-	-		+			-							
	Toby B.	+	+	***** +		-	-	-	+				+						
	Jamie	-	-		***** +	+	+	+							-				
	<u>Pete's Gang</u>	Pete				***** +		-					+	-			-	+	+
	Kaleo		-	-	-	+	***** +	+		+									
	Brent	-	-		+	+	+	***** +											

did not like to play with and all of the boys in the opposite gang as ones he did like to play with. Pete, on the other hand, mentioned none of the boys in his own gang as ones he liked to play with and none of the boys in the opposite gang as ones he did not like to play with. Pete thus made his responses entirely outside the gang framework. On the day preceding the sociometric exercise, there were three fights or near fights among the boys. As discussed below, one of these conflicts was between Jamie and the boys of his gang, one was between Toby B. and Jake and Tolbert, and the last was between Pete and five other boys-- Brent, Jake, Tolbert, Toby B., and Jamie. The reasons for the responses made by Jamie and Pete on the sociometric exercise may well lie in the two conflicts which had involved them. The meaning of their sociometric responses, however, is not that they represent explicable exceptions to the rule of gang solidarity but rather that it was the rule for the boys to fight often enough with friends to be regularly disaffected with those friends and, indeed, with the entire two-gang system.

A second problem with the idea of the gangs as fighting units is the fact that of the twelve boys in the class, only seven were in the gangs. If the purpose of the gangs had really been to organize conflict, then some effort should have been made to recruit the smaller boys for these boys would have made the difference in gang fights. That these boys were not recruited, suggests that the main priority in recruitment was not building a gang's fighting capacity but preserving its image. Freddie was a relatively large boy whose presence could

have tipped the balance of power for a gang. But no one in either gang wanted to be that closely associated with the sort of image projected by a Freddie.

Thirdly, the boys were actually very coy about the gang opposition. Away from members of the rival gang, boys might talk in extremely strong terms about the gangs and the calibre of the people in the opposite gang. But in public interactional settings involving the rival boys, this sort of talk vanished. Even the mere fact that there were gangs in the class would not surface. The boys were careful in other ways with the gang opposition and the idea of conflict. The boys could be emotionally explosive, regularly taking great and genuine offense at relatively small matters. But they often seemed very selective about with whom they would explode. One or two of the boys would fight almost anyone anytime, and all of them were concerned to project this image, but, in fact, most of the boys were usually careful about risking their reputations, fighting boys against whom they had some chance for success. The boys were also careful about where they exploded; their fights usually occurred within easy reach of adults, it appeared intentionally. It seemed less the case, in other words, that the boys' social processes involved conflict than a game of conflict.

Lastly, even the existence of the gangs--let alone their function as fighting groups--was in some doubt. The gangs certainly existed as ideas for the boys, but it was not always easy to find substance in these ideas. Sometimes boys from rival gangs might play together at recess or sit together in the classroom or on fieldtrips; even Pete and Jake might do so. This is not to say that the boys made social choices

without respect to gang affiliation. But while "the gang" was in part a group, detectable in patterns of association on the playground and in other locales, it was also simply an attitude of intimacy which even committed rivals might find occasion to extend to each other.

The very situation in which the boys' social organization came to light is illustrative of the violence one would have to do to the boys' behavior in order to force that behavior into the boys' own image of two rival fighting groups. As Tolbert lay on the cot with the icepack pressed to his head, there was no more urgent topic for him than the gangs. His memories of fights which Jake, Toby B., Jamie, and he had had with Pete, Kaleo, and Brent were all that he wanted to talk about, and he did not particularly care to be interrupted by my requests for general information about features of the boys' relationships.

Listening to Tolbert, it occurred to me to ask which boy in the rival gang had been responsible for the bump on his head. Tolbert replied that Toby B., a boy in his own gang, had caused the bump, not Pete, or Kaleo, or Brent. "Was it an accident," I suggested helpfully. "He trew 'em," replied Tolbert matter-of-factly, the thing Toby B. had thrown having been no less than a wooden slipper. By now seriously confused, I protested that I had been given to understand that the gangs had been fighting and that that was how Tolbert had gotten his bump. No, Tolbert explained patiently, it was not at lunchtime that the gangs had been fighting but at recess, two hours earlier. Here was Tolbert, perhaps ten minutes away from having had his brains thoroughly scrambled by Toby B., a boy in his own gang, volunteering not one word

about that incident, but instead talking with obvious relish about the recess fight--which, it turned out, had involved but three boys--and many much, much older battles. In a last defense of my own understanding of reasonable links between events and talk, I expressed surprise that it was Toby B. who had inflicted Tolbert's injury and not someone in the opposite gang. "Tha's different," Tolbert shrugged. "We was playing." On the playground, it might have been someone in his own gang that Tolbert had fought, but in the sickroom, it was grand and self-dramatizing fighting between gangs that Tolbert wanted to talk about. The one sort of event was not even news; the other was a passport to heroic tales which might cloak any number of knocks on the head with the powerful imagery of self as warrior. What Tolbert was concerned with doing in talking about the gangs was not providing an objective account of social organization in his class; he was concerned with his image, with using the idea of the gangs to shape a certain impression of himself.

Talk like Tolbert's and the other evidence of calculation in the boys' use of the idea of the gangs invites a different assumption concerning the origins of these groups and a different interpretation of their meaning. The problem faced by the boys at school was not having to fight and to build alliances for support in fights so much as having to project tough identities and to manage the problematic dynamics inherent in the projection of tough identities. The problem was one of having to be a standout--as an athlete, a wit, or otherwise a person of courage and capability--and thus of having to cope with being a target, for successful projections of a tough identity might



always pose implicit or explicit threats to others' claims. The problem was equally one of having to function as an observer and judge of other boys' claims and thus of having to choose between invalidating those claims and giving offense or validating them and potentially renegeing on one's own obligation to maintain parity with peers. The problem, in short, was one of having to do things in the service of one's own identity which were likely to undermine others' identities, give offense, provoke conflict, and therefore prove self-defeating. Seen from this perspective on the boys' situation, the gangs were less groups which grew from a collective interest in organizing conflict than ones which grew from a collective interest in avoiding conflict; they are better understood as the central elements of a shared system of impression management, of a collective solution to the problem of being tough. The boys' social structure, like any other, required boys to lay claim to certain values and thus to contribute to the creation of potentially problematic social dynamics; it required them to tease and do playful contests and other sorts of things that had the potential to give offense. But the boys' social structure, like any other, also gave them means of coping with their values and dynamics, of coping with rivalry and the conflicts to which rivalry might lead. The boys' talk about the gangs as rival fighting groups was less a description of the workings of their peer group than an aspect of those workings. It was a piece of what the boys did in order both to make themselves out to be the worthy denizens of a tough world and to make that tough world livable.

Foreground appearances and background realities: the role of the gangs in generating and controlling conflict

The boys' two-gang system was in the first place a context which promoted rivalry; indeed, it made the escalation of rivalry to conflict absolutely inevitable. It did so not because it required boys to look for trouble; it did so instead by insuring that trouble would eventually find them.

The boys of the boys' side were all supposed to be tough; they were supposed to fight in response to challenges or attempts at dominance from peers. They were therefore supposed to take each other seriously. Their way of doing this in face-to-face encounters was by attempting to sustain the appearance of parity among equally tough, equally autonomous individuals. The two gang structure provided for two versions of the appearance of parity. With fellow gang members, a boy was supposed to be playfully contentious. Playfulness affirmed bonds of fictive kinship and denied ill-feelings, while contentiousness suggested a boy's worthiness at holding up his end of the tough, boys' side show. The boys of a gang were supposed to cut each other with teasing, but not too deep, and they were supposed to accept teasing in return. With members of the rival gang, ill-feelings presumed, a boy was supposed to show the adversarial respect of controlled rivalrousness on the theory that the other boys would fight if either weakness or open hostility were shown. Here, the idea was to keep alive the idea of balanced threats behind outward shows of sociability. Maintaining these two versions of parity was the boys' means of not calling into question the

claims of both friends and foes; it was their face-to-face means of expressing and honoring claims to being tough.

There were, however, certain challenges and facts of dominance built into the boys' system of organization. The gang opposition amounted to a standing challenge between the boys of the two gangs. Within the gangs, inevitable differences in size, social skills, and temperament had resulted in the creation of dominance hierarchies. The presentations of self through which the boys appeared to assert and validate claims to parity thus overlay and always run the risk of realizing certain built-in potentials for affront. In teasing a leader, for example, a follower took the risk of challenging the leader's claim to dominance; in teasing a follower, a leader took the risk of challenging the follower's right to being treated as an equal. In joking, playing recess games, and otherwise engaging in contests with boys from the opposite gang, a boy took the risk of going beyond saber rattling and of challenging the credibility of his rivals. A vulnerability shared by the boys of the gangs was that of having to strike back with put-downs or blows--or lose face--whenever playful contentiousness had verged into affronts too obvious and too public to be ignored.

The boys, furthermore, actively sought out opportunities to take risks and to test the limits of risk-taking. It was in a leader's self-interest to reveal a little of his authority over followers, in a follower's self-interest to disclose some resistance to a leader's authority over him, and in a gang member's self-interest to show that

he was willing to take the risk of provoking boys from the opposite gang. It was also simply diverting for the boys to take risks with relationships. Indeed, most of the boys played with their social structure as though it were a toy, seeing what it took to get it to do interesting and amusing things.

If the boys' social structure set the stage for certain types of affront and thus for conflict, however, it also provided for certain controls over conflict. Fights within gangs were fights between friends. These fights tended to be shortlived, and they were also always followed by acts of reconciliation. There were three main reasons for this. First, the object in fights within gangs was to defend rights in relationships, not end relationships. Second, the boys were constrained by a very limited set of options for interaction and interactional partners. After a fight with a friend, there was nothing to do but to mend the situation or turn the friend into an enemy. Lastly, the boys of a gang shared histories of play and mutual support. They called each other cousins and, indeed, had become cousins over the course of their shared experiences at school. Their need to resolve conflicts with friends was not only pragmatic but emotional; fights with friends left them with genuine feelings of regret. The idea of association within a gang thus affected the intensity and duration of conflict and provided boys with bases for forgiving each other. The repair work done by the boys of a gang after a conflict is an extremely significant feature of the gangs for it goes to the heart of the sort of group that the gangs were. The gangs were not the smoothly solidary groups that the boys would make them out to

be when they talked in self-important ways about themselves and their relationships. But owing to the repair work that good friends would do after conflicts, the gangs perdured. They were patterns of association to which children would return after one or another disturbance had passed.

Fights between boys of different gangs, on the other hand, were fights between putative enemies and were thus endowed with a highly dramatic and at time almost mythic character. These fights were not shortlived so much as rendered brief and inconclusive by the gang versus gang context. Dramatic and dangerous events by definition, these fights tended to have long buildups and to attract much attention. Once joined, the battle between boys of different gangs did widen and escalate but not to a point of climax in gang versus gang fights. Instead, the fights escalated until they stopped, that is to say, until they ensnared or attracted the attention of someone whose claims to power the children were willing to accept without challenge-- those of older and larger children or of adults. Following these fights, the children did not repair relationships for there was no taken for granted friendship to repair, no routine of playful association to renew. Neither, however, were these fights prolonged. Reputations for being fighters freshly reaffirmed--always more with bluster than with blood--, boys would move into a pattern of avoidance. As reconciliation maintained boys' commitment to friendship and kept the gangs from falling apart, so did avoidance maintain boys' commitment to opposition and keep the gang rivalry both from fading and from self-destructing. The boys' object in fights between gangs was

ultimately more to prove their own worth by means of the gang opposition than to vanquish enemies.

#### Conflict within gangs

The three conflicts occurring on the day before the sociometric exercise are illustrative of the ways in which the two-gang system both set the stage for conflict and structured the process and outcomes of conflict. The details of these three conflicts are also helpful in clarifying certain of the boys' sociometric responses. The first two encounters exemplify the dynamics of conflictual processes within gangs; they involved Jamie primarily against other members of Jake's gang and Toby B. exclusively against other members of Jake's gang. Jamie's encounter occurred at recess; Toby B.'s began at recess but was carried into the classroom.

Jamie did not arrive on the playground until about midway through the 10:00 to 10:30 recess period shared by the second grade with the third grade. Recess had already assumed its usual form. Most of the girls and many of the boys from both classes were playing tetherball. Other small playgroups were here and there. From the swings, the seesaws, or the lanai at the base of the playground, individuals who did not have many friends were watching the tetherball players and the rest of the playground. The playground supervisor was also at the cement lanai. From this, her characteristic post, she was in easy reach of the tetherball players and was also well-placed for keeping an eye on the other children.

The members of the second grade gangs were located in three areas: Pete was inside the cafeteria at the base of the playground; Brent, a boy in Pete's gang, and Tolbert, a boy in Jake's, were at the tetherball poles just outside the cafeteria; and Jake and Toby B., along with Freddie and Steve, were on the jungle gym at the top of the playground. Kaleo was absent.

In the cafeteria, Pete was playing Connect-4 with J.T. and Chico. These were the third grade boys who on the next day would be named by Pete as children he liked to play with. Pete's play with the two third graders was a bit unusual. Second graders generally did not play with third graders outside the context of team sports and the tetherball lines. Both classes, however, had lost the privilege of playing team sports. Chico had also lost the privilege of playing tetherball, and Pete was at loose ends since Kaleo was absent. As Pete had made his way through the cafeteria to the playground, he had been invited by Chico to play Connect-4; those two boys had been joined by J.T. when he had finally lost at tetherball. Pete's game of Connect-4 with J.T. and Chico was a closed one. Other children watched Pete, J.T., and Chico from time to time, but those three boys were the only ones who played the game.

Neither Tolbert nor Brent was much involved in playing tetherball. Tolbert was more interested in playing a game of clowning and flirting with Estrella and other second grade girls. Brent was mainly occupied with playing a game of harassing the boys at the jungle gym. He would make runs on Jake, Toby B., and the other two boys, be chased off, and

position himself in or near the tetherball lines to study the scene once again. The brush with danger involved in what he was doing was fun for Brent as such risks generally were for boys; he would laugh as he ran away from the defenders of the jungle gym. That Brent's sorties were such nonevents, however, also disclosed his relatively low position among the boys of the boys' side. The boys on the jungle gym could not be bothered with doing more than brushing Brent away.

When Jamie arrived on the playground, he was carrying a book. He stopped off by some second grade girls in the sandbox for a little over a minute. One of these girls had brought some cosmetics to school, and she and her classmates were playing with them. Finally Jamie opened his book to the girls, and then quickly departed, leaving some dramatic expressions of indignation and also some laughter in his wake. Jamie traveled towards the swings, not the jungle gym. When he arrived at the swings, first Freddie and then Toby B. broke from the jungle gym and ran towards Jamie. Jamie turned to run from these boys, but Freddie caught up to him, grabbed him around the chest, and would not let go. Toby B. joined in the struggle with Jamie, apparently trying to wrest Jamie's book away, and now Brent also arrived on the scene at a run. He shoved Toby B. and tried to pull Jamie out of Freddie's grasp, but he backed off when he saw Jake nearing them, also at a run. At this point, the playground supervisor blew her whistle. Having gotten the boys' attention, she began her own advance towards the swings. Jake and Toby B. stood on the hillside while they waited for her to come within action range. Freddie continued to hold onto Jamie,



while Brent, who had run down the hill, began to circle in behind the supervisor. Her, "What's going on, boys?" unleashed a stream of pent up charges and counter-charges.

"I never do nothing, they only make trouble to me!" charged Jamie. Brent at once affirmed this, claiming he had only become involved in order to protect Jamie from Freddie, Toby B., and Jake.

"He my cousin!" Jake yelled at Brent as if to brand absurd the thought that Jamie needed protection from him. Toby B. picked up this theme and counterattacked, saying to Brent, "You the one [making trouble]!"

Jamie again protested Freddie's troublemaking and his own innocence, and the supervisor ordered Freddie to let Jamie go. Wrenching himself free, Jamie tried the bold tactic of simply walking away from the scene, but the supervisor stopped him.

"He get [has] one book," Freddie offered. The boys' squabbling finally linked to something tangible, the supervisor confiscated the book. She told the boys to avoid one another and that any more problems that day would mean no recess the next.

Jake, Toby B., and Freddie returned to the jungle gym. Jamie followed the supervisor down the hill, trying to get his book back or at least an assurance from her that he would be able to take it home with him at the end of the day. At the jungle gym, the meaning of the boys' attack on Jamie soon became clear. Jake was feeling ill-used. Jamie had brought the book to school in the morning. He had shown it to most of the boys, but he had not troubled to show it to Jake. "Get picture of the lady inside!" explained Freddie, grinning hugely. He had

obviously seen the pictures which Jamie had concealed in his book. Jake complained that Brent had been teasing him about the book because he, too, had seen the pictures. The final straw was that Jake was being accused of picking on Jamie. Jake said he had only sent Freddie and Toby B. down the hill to borrow the book from Jamie, not to fight him or take the book from him.

The children were not supposed to bring personal possessions to school because such things often aroused envy or were "borrowed" by other children. The children did share things with each other. As a sign of friendship, they often traded slippers, T-shirts, and other articles of clothing during the day; a child might also ask a friend to "hold"--that is, to safeguard--some special possession for a time as a token of trust. But especially attractive items often ended up and stayed in the hands of the more dominant children. It was primarily to deter the appropriation of a child's belongings that the teachers discouraged children from bringing things to school and confiscated those things when they did. The ingenious Jamie had gotten as far as he had only because he had hidden his pictures "of the lady" within the pages of a copy of The Book of Mormon. The religious nature of the book had made Jamie's teachers reluctant to confiscate it and had even raised some false hopes. Some teachers thought that Jamie might actually be turning over a new leaf.

From a position near the base of the playground, the attempt to recover the book fruitless, Jamie assailed the boys at the jungle gym with scathing taunts and insults. Jake probably had been interested only in seeing Jamie's book, not in having Freddie and Toby B. use

strongarm tactics on him. When Jamie ran, Toby B. and Freddie, who was always eager to show that he was tough, too, had simply done what seemed to come next. The book, however, held special meaning for Jamie, and there was real anger in his voice as he cursed the boys on the jungle gym. His handicaps of missing a hand and a foot made it difficult for him to participate fully in the doings of the children. He could not fight as well as they, could not play tetherball, dodgeball, or run in the chase games as well as they. He did participate in these activities, but Jamie's principal means of gaining peer recognition was through playing the role of the "rascal." At this role, Jamie was unrivaled. The rascal performance, central to Hawaiian images of personhood, involves a kind of insouciance and seductive mischievousness which endears the miscreant to his or her audience. Jamie's having put his pictures "of the lady" into a religious book in order to smuggle them past the teachers is the essence of what being a rascal is about. In an interview with Jamie's mother, the opportunity arose to ask her about the meaning of the word, "rascal." The interview took place in her home. We were seated in her livingroom. A few moments earlier, Jamie and his brother, who was four, had tried to slip by her and into their bedroom with some popsicles. They were smiling at her as they tried to slip by, and she smiled at them when she halted them. We were talking about the idea of being tough, and the conversation led into the idea of being a rascal. Jamie's mother's discussion of the role gives an idea of what Jamie was trying to accomplish with his pictures and of why the loss of his book made him so angry.

Author: When people say, "rascal," is that what they mean, sort of? A little bit rough and tumble, or. . .

Jamie's Mother: Uhhh with my boys, "rascal," Hawaiians say, "kolohe," uhm it's not just rough. It it's doing things they know they not supposed to do, but they try it anyway. That's the kind of rascal things my boys do. They'll try anything. They'll always try to break that rule.

A: How come do you think?

J's M: It's challenging to them. "Let's see how far we can take Mommy today!"

A: Hahahaha

J's M: And sometimes they'll take me to the point where I forget what they're doing, that they're breaking the rule, and then, whoopeddoo! we won Mommy today, they got over on Mommy. And it's fun for them to do that. And I catch myself, and I go. . . you know, like like they try to come here and eat right? [She is referring to the popsicles.] They always try to see how far they can get. Then when they get in their room it's like, "Hah, we won, Mommy didn't catch us!" you know?

A: Hehhehheh

J's M: And sometimes I can see them just looking at me and smiling. They love that, they eat that up. And to me, when they win, I laugh too!

A: Hahahaha

J's M: But I-I-I-I think that's good. Intelligent!. At least they intelligent hahahaha

When Jamie brought his book to school that day and opened it to his classmates, he was doing more than revealing pictures "of the lady." He was revealing his own mischievous intelligence, his capacity to work appearances in such a funny and startling way. He was showing his spirit to the end of gaining the recognition and respect of his peers, of showing that he belonged on the boys' side. When the boys grabbed

Jamie and his book, it was a coup of personality that they were trying to seize, their treatment of him not only a blunt statement of disregard but a crude denial of his rights to individuality. The boys might as well have been trying to take Jamie's name. In not showing his book to Jake, Jamie had perhaps gone too far for he had embarrassed Jake in front of the other boys. Jamie's slight of Jake might have been accidental or self-protective, or Jamie might simply have been playing with the background facts of his relationship with Jake. Relatively less dominant boys often did this, seeing what sort of provocation was required to get a rise out of the more dominant ones. Whatever Jamie's reasons, the slight had challenged Jake's taken for granted position of dominance within the gang. In trying to take Jamie's book from him, however, Jake, Freddie, and Toby B. had gone far too far in asserting dominance over Jamie. They had publicly repudiated Jamie's claims to parity with them. Their treatment of Jamie showed a complete lack of respect and fear of Jamie as a fighter. As was true for all of the children, Jamie's first obligation in a situation like this was to his own identity. With his taunts and insults after his book had been confiscated, Jamie was trying to make the boys on the jungle gym pay for the way they had treated him.

Was this episode the reason that in the sociometric exercise on the following day Jamie said he liked to play with the boys of Pete's gang and did not like to play with Jake and Tolbert? It is, of course, not possible to say. So fast did things develop among the boys that some other conflict may well have been at work; Tolbert was not even one of the boys on the jungle gym. It may even have been the case that in his

sociometric responses, too, Jamie was playing the role of the rascal. When the 'inconsistencies' in his sociometric responses were discovered, Jamie was queried about them. Asked what gang he was in, Jamie smiled and said, "Pete's." Then he called out to Toby B., who was playing nearby. He said, "Yeah, Tobe? I stay in Pete's gang!" and Toby B. and the other boys had laughed at this fine joke. Whatever Jamie's reasons for his sociometric responses, it was just the sort of sequence generated by his pictures that was forever cycling through a gang and causing upsets to gang members' relationships. Boys used ambiguity and playfulness as well as trust in their common commitment to "the gang" to insulate themselves from problems stemming from the gang dominance hierarchies. Followers used ambiguity and playfulness to put give into their assertions of parity with leaders and to mask their probing of leaders' background status claims. Leaders used ambiguity and playfulness to mask and to soften indications of power, the enjoyment that they would take in their rights over followers. Sooner or later, however, ambiguity and playfulness would fail to sustain the tension between the game of parity everyone seemed to be playing and the realities of disparity everyone knew were actually being negotiated. Something would happen to give offense, and boys would find themselves entrapped by their own emotions and the logic of conflict. Of a sudden, there would be Jamie running from Freddie, Toby B., and Jake, and later shouting insults up the hill at those boys. He and they would have perfect reasons for their behavior, but all that the reasons would finally add up to is one more cycle of the

endless dialectic between rights to parity and facts of dominance within the gangs.

The problem that developed between Toby B., Jake, and Tolbert at the end of recess was cut from the same pattern as Jamie's conflict. Recess ended chaotically, as it often did, with the playground supervisor struggling to get the children into quiet sitting positions in their third and second grade lines. Out of patience, the supervisor lectured the children for about three minutes on the need to be quiet and to follow instructions. Despite the lecture, Jake and Toby B. got into some reciprocal name calling with Brent. This was a carryover from the sorties Brent had continued to make on Jake and the boys at the jungle gym after Jamie's book had been confiscated. Jake and Toby B. were shouting insults up the line at Brent, and he down the line to them. Shortly, the three boys were made to leave the line and to sit against the wall. The supervisor guided the boys into positions far apart from one another, Toby B. first, then Brent, and then Jake. Soon the rest of the children were allowed to go into the cafeteria for snack, and the supervisor went in herself.

Toby B. and Brent sat with blank expressions; snack was a highpoint of the day, and to miss it a painful experience. Jake, however, had something up his sleeve. Smiling, he took a piece of ricecake from his pocket and began munching away happily, lording it over both Brent and Toby B. Toby B. responded by sliding around Brent into a position next to Jake; he wanted some of the ricecake. Jake, however, was not willing to share it. He had been given the piece of ricecake by Tolbert in the morning and was enjoying not only the taste of the treat

but of his own power. As followers sometimes played with background facts of dominance, so, too, did leaders sometimes play with foreground appearances of parity, revealing signs of their status as a way of enjoying that status. Smiling as he kept the ricecake to himself, Jake was allowing a structural fact of dominance in the gang to emerge. He was showing his ability to attract and to withhold goods from others. Correlatively, he was requiring Toby B. to accept the hard reality that, in fact, he was not Jake's equal.

Anon, the supervisor leaned out of the cafeteria to check on the boys. "Whoops!" she said disapprovingly in the direction of Jake and Toby B., registering Toby B.'s change in location and his urgent whispers to Jake but not the reason for these things. "Okay, Brent," she added in a parting shot at Jake and Toby B., "you can come in." Teasing Jake and Toby B. with a wide grin, Brent disappeared into the cafeteria. Toby B. became more insistent about the ricecake, which was also fast disappearing. Soon the supervisor again looked out at the boys. "Okay, Jake, what's in the mouth?" she asked. Not waiting for an answer, she said, "Come on in and spit it out, and let's go to class."

Toby B. immediately became extremely upset. He had evidently missed both the ricecake and the snack provided by the school. "How come I don't get snack and I never eat nothing?" he demanded. The supervisor explained that he had been late in responding to the end of recess whistle to line up, had not behaved himself in the line, and had not stayed where he was supposed to stay, quietly, along the wall. "Not! Not!" Toby B. kept protesting, beginning to cry. "I was waiting



for directions to be followed and I didn't see it happening," concluded the supervisor. "How come Brent and Jake get snack?" asked Toby B., far from satisfied and continuing to cry. He could tolerate being punished with Brent and Jake, but he could not tolerate being treated differently than they. It was immaterial to him that Jake had procured his own snack and that Brent had earned his. If he were going to be punished with Jake and Brent, then he should suffer no more than they.

"Let's think about Toby B. now, and get Toby under control so he can go back to class," said the supervisor, trying to soothe him a little. Toby B., however, was manifestly not soothed. Since class was already supposed to be underway, the supervisor asked if I would stay with Toby B.; then she returned to the classroom.

Toby B. continued to cry out of anger and frustration. He said again that Brent and Jake had gotten to eat, but he had not, and that that was not fair. A cookie was found for him, and he stopped crying. But he remained angry; being left out of the ricecake treat had stung. Asked about his movement along the wall, Toby B. said he had moved closer to Jake in order to tell on Jake if Jake ate the ricecake. Asked again what gang he was in, Toby B. said, "Pete's."

"Not Jake's?"

"No!"

"Not Tolbert's?"

"No!" Asked whether it were true that he and Jake were cousins, Toby B. again said, "No!" At this particular moment, Toby B.'s friendship with Jake and Tolbert was far from his mind. The proximate fact was that he had been slighted, his rights to good and equal

treatment from his friends violated. By withholding testaments of friendship, Toby B. was trying to even the score with Jake and Tolbert. Upon returning to the classroom, he took a more direct route to getting even. He got into a fight with Tolbert.

So it was for the boys. Schooldays for them were always rife with challenges to identity claims and rich in little vignettes of face and pride. Each day, each boy attempted to hold his own against real or imagined challenges, to preserve the rights, usually generously conceived, that were the due of a person like him, and when all else had failed, to inflict some pain upon those who had not given him his due. Not only the boys of the gangs, but all of the children were very proud, very much in need of acceptance and respect from peers, and never more hurt and angry than when treated poorly by peers. Whether or not a peer were a friend, did not make a difference. If a boy like Toby B. were mistreated, then he would be compelled to prove he had been misjudged as well. It was only after scores had been settled that the crucial difference between friends and enemies would emerge. The details of reconciliation were not observed following Jamie's conflict with Freddie, Toby B., and Jake; they were, however, following Toby B.'s fight with Tolbert.

The first half of the schoolday--which straddled recess--was divided into a series of five class periods. In each of these periods, one group of children worked with the teacher on a reading lesson at Center 1, the reading center, while the rest of the children worked independently in small groups located in different parts of the classroom. At the end of a period, the children rotated to new centers.

When Toby B. returned to the classroom, the first period following recess had already slipped by; Toby B. shared the second class period with Tolbert at an independent work center. Tolbert, not knowing of Toby B.'s anger, said something innocuous to him as he arrived at the center. The result was that Toby B. grabbed Tolbert's worksheet and in the course of the ensuing struggle, ripped it and scratched Tolbert. Both boys ended up on their feet, their fists clenched. "I only like tell him something and he tease me and scratch me," a surprised and angered Tolbert protested to his teacher. The teacher placed the boys far apart at their work center, but they remained very angry at each other.

Soon, however, it became apparent that the relationship between Toby B. and Tolbert was on the mend. Toby B. was having trouble completing his worksheet. The children were allowed and encouraged to help one another with their work, but they were not required to do so. Not surprisingly, Tolbert was now very unwilling to help Toby B. Toby B. would try to take a look at Tolbert's paper, but Tolbert would turn it away from him. On one such occasion, Tolbert made a face at Toby B. to which Toby responded with a slight rise out of his chair and an angry scowl as if to suggest he were on the verge of fighting. Finally, about eleven minutes after their initial confrontation, Tolbert left his paper face-up on the table. Toby B. took three long looks at it over the next two minutes, but then Tolbert turned it over again. Toby B.'s hand shot into the air, threatening a report to the teacher. "So?" said Tolbert. He was still angry. Two minutes later, the teacher announced the end of the center period and called the

children to gather at the front of the room for a pre-lunch song rehearsal. Tolbert now relented, leaving his paper face-up on the table and moving towards the front of the room. There was little else Tolbert could do. It was important to get work finished because if it were not done within the time allotted for a class period, then it had to be completed during some other period or, much worse, during recess or lunch. Had Tolbert not relented, he would have created a new crisis in his relationship with Toby B.; indeed, to have allowed the situation to continue indefinitely would have been to end the relationship with Toby B. For the next two and a half minutes, Toby B. worked diligently on his paper copying from Tolbert's example. When he finally joined the large group on the classroom floor, Toby B. sat in front of Tolbert, that place being the closest he could get to Tolbert. Jake was sitting to Tolbert's right. By lunchtime, ten minutes later, the relationships between Toby B. and both Jake and Tolbert were smooth again. Both the conflict and conflict resolution that had been played out between Toby B. and Tolbert were exceedingly familiar to the boys of the gangs. It was a cycle that they lived through daily. Being cousins did not mean not fighting; it meant instead repairing the damage done by fights.

A lunch recess conflict between Kaleo and Pete on another day shows more of the emotional side of the boys' conflict resolutions. This conflict began over the question of who was to blame for the loss of a game. The second graders were playing kickball against the third graders. Pete and Kaleo were the principal players on the second grade

side, but the second graders began losing the game badly. Tempers frayed, and some critical remarks were exchanged between Pete and Kaleo over the flow of the game. Disgusted with the play of his teammates, Pete finally left the game. He sat on the swings just up the hill from the side area of the playground and occasionally shouted criticism at his former teammates. Towards the end of recess, the kickball game broke down. Pete moved to the cement lanai, Kaleo followed, and there they renewed their dispute. The playground supervisor intervened because the boys had made their bodies big and were bumping chests, the prelude to a fight.

"He stay by the swing," Kaleo explained to the supervisor, "and then and then, 'Hey, you guys,' just because we losing, he say, 'Hey you guys, you black uhm hey, you guys uhm get them out, you black asses!'"

"Not! What, you ain't doing nothing!" Pete fired back, apparently both denying that he had said anything and asserting that if he had, it would have been justified in view of the poor play of Kaleo and the other boys on the team.

"Hey, brah, I was trying!" said Kaleo.

"So, I was trying more than you and you telling me--"

"Hey, no call us black asses!" Kaleo interjected, his choler rising again. Kaleo was part-black. He could usually handle racial insults without betraying sensitivity. Pete, however, was a friend. Coming from him, the insult had apparently struck home even though it had not been meant for Kaleo alone and even though Pete may not even have been aware of its special applicability to Kaleo when he spoke it.

"Shutup!" said Pete.

"You!"

"You!"

"You!"

"You!"

"I no need!" retorted Kaleo, finally breaking the chain. "God give me mouth for talk back!"

"You-you guys need to go cool off," interrupted the playground supervisor. "Come on," she said to Kaleo, who was blocking Pete's way to the wall where boys sat down to cool off. "Kaleo?" she had to say again before Kaleo would relax from his fighting pose and allow himself to be led off. For the last few minutes of recess, the boys sat far apart along the wall outside the cafeteria. They did not look at each other.

The first lesson after lunch began with the children sitting together in a large group on the floor. Kaleo sat down; Pete sat down next to him. Nothing passed between them, but Pete sat in such a way that one of his feet touched one of Kaleo's; both boys were barefoot. Leaning forward so that his head was just above Kaleo's lap, Pete began to talk to Kaleo and to smile at him. It was not possible to hear what he was saying, but it was not really necessary to. By talking to Kaleo, probably about anything but the kickball game, Pete was trying to tell him that he was sorry. Kaleo did not back away from the contact that Pete was making with him along the shoulder, side, and leg, and eventually he responded to Pete. The sincere affection Pete felt for him, he, too, still felt for Pete. It was this sort of

exchange that was so conspicuously absent in the aftermath of fights between boys who were not friends. Again and again, Pete, Kaleo, and other pairs of cousins would find themselves in conflicts stemming from some offense one of the boys had given the other in the course of play; and again and again, the boys would decide that their conflicts were less important than their friendships.

At a somewhat later date, Pete wrote a story. Kaleo was at his table, helping with the story and also serving as an audience. Pete's story was about a dolphin:

Long ago there was a boy named Pete. he had a mom and a sister. one hot day Pete went on his boat. when he was fishing he saw a dolphin. he caught the dolphin. when he got home he said mom come quick. mom came very fast. Pete named him Kaleo. Kaleo and Pete had good fun in the sea.

by Pete and inc !!!!

Kaleo was pleased with the sentiment of the story and with the centrality of his role in it, but he hooted at being cast as a dolphin. Teasing Pete, he produced a drawing showing a shark about to bite off a swimmer's leg. This touched off a dispute, grandly histrionic, as usual, which finally attracted a warning from the boys' teacher. Amused by the note of exasperation that had been in the teacher's voice, the two boys shared a covert smile about how much fun it was to be boys. If schooldays were full of challenge and conflict for the boys owing to their toughness and mischievousness, so, too, were they full of moments like this. More than the inertia of routine, it was these moments that kept the boys coming back to each other.

Conflict between gangs

Conflicts between boys from different gangs also had predictable origins and followed a predictable pattern. As boys from the same gang could cope with the gang dominance hierarchy so long as actions neither challenged that hierarchy nor made it conspicuous, so, too, could boys from different gangs cope with their structural commitment to opposition so long as mutual respect was practiced in face-to-face encounters. But as boys' actions would eventually give offense within gangs, so, too, would their provocative playfulness and simple fondness for taking a gamble lead to the giving of offense in interaction across the gang opposition. When this kind of offense was given, a fight was usually at hand for it had the effect of raising basic questions about a boy's courage and commitment to the gangs. Was a boy in fact committed to the gang opposition and to being a fighter, or could he actually be teased and kidded, and thus challenged and insulted, with impunity?

The last conflict to occur on the day before the sociometric exercise shows how this question might arise and play itself out. In Pete's situation, lay an especially clearly drawn picture of the dynamics invited by the projection of a tough identity. On this day, Pete had chosen to wear his disco socks. These were flashy knee length affairs, stitched through and through with silver and gold metallic threads. Pete had even rolled up his pants to show off his socks. They were too well shown off, apparently, for Tolbert's taste. As the children left their seats for song rehearsal just before lunch, Tolbert looked at Pete's socks, then kidded him, saying, "Hoo! Chicken legs!"



Brent, not above taking enjoyment from seeing his leader brought down a notch or two, laughed at Tolbert's rib; thus encouraged, Tolbert himself giggled.

Had these words not crossed the gang oppositon, Pete and Tolbert might have resolved the situation without scuffling, at least, without a major conflict. But in taunting Pete in public in this way, Tolbert was effectively daring Pete to act on the standing challenge between the gangs. Tolbert's dare, moreover, threatened the parity claimed by Pete in his relationship with Jake. Pete's opposite number in the rival gang was Jake, not Tolbert, for Tolbert was a follower in that gang, not its leader. Perhaps for the reason that not to punish Tolbert's mockery was to accept parity with Tolbert and thus dominance from Jake, Pete did. He smiled at Tolbert, but ironically, showing mock appreciation of Tolbert's insult and foreshadowing a much stronger counterstrike. "Wait," he said malevolently to Brent, and then began to move on Tolbert. Tolbert, still smiling, backed up, but finally ran out of room at the classroom door. Pete put his arm around Tolbert's neck, holding him in a loose headlock. Smiling yet, he made a feint with his fingers at Tolbert's eyes. Tolbert took the feint in good humor, still counting himself ahead, until he heard Jamie laughing. Jamie, to be sure, also was not above enjoying seeing one of the more dominant boys in his own gang being put down. The teacher had not been able to see the scene. She had been sitting at the front of the room, waiting for the children to form up for song rehearsal, and they had

blocked her lines of sight as they sought spaces on the floor. Her field of vision now clear, she called out, "Boys," and Pete released Tolbert.

Neither boy was smiling as they joined the gathering at the front of the room. Tolbert sat next to Jake, and Jamie, perhaps reconsidering the situation, sat in front of Jake. Pete sat behind Tolbert. When Toby B. joined the group, he sat in front of Tolbert. Jake's gang thus formed a tight little group with Pete lined up behind it. Brent gave Pete as wide a berth as possible. He sat at the extreme right of the children's formation on the floor, placing a rubbish can between himself and Pete for good measure. It will be recalled that Kaleo, the remaining member of Pete's gang and the only boy who might have been able to control Pete, was absent on this day.

During song practice, Pete pestered Tolbert with his foot. This drew some sharp backward glances from Tolbert and Jake. It was not until Pete got a dose of raised eyebrows from the teacher, however, that he stopped bothering Tolbert.

At the end of song practice, the teacher excused the children one by one until only Pete, Brent, and the boys of Jake's gang were left. Trying to defuse the situation, the teacher told the boys that they needed to talk things out and empathize with one another. Empathy for the children, however, occurred in different sorts of situations at different sorts of moments. For these two boys, a fight was practically a foregone conclusion. They had shown themselves ready to fight. The rules required that the boys now act upon the challenges and threats they had issued. After teasing a pair of unwilling and

completely hollow apologies out of Pete and Tolbert, the teacher excused the boys.

All of the boys were late to lunch but finished in time to be excused for afternoon recess with the rest of the second graders. Jamie was at once called back to the classroom to finish some work. Jake, Tolbert, and Toby B. went to the jungle gym on the upper part of the playground; they were joined by Mark and Steve and by Brent as well. A little later, the third graders were excused from the cafeteria. Soon Pete arrived in the upper area of the playground accompanied by J.T. and Chico, the two third grade boys with whom he had played during morning recess. These three boys sat on the slides near the jungle gym. With Kaleo absent and Brent cast into the role of a rival, Pete had enlisted the two third graders as allies. He would need the support of allies in this situation. It was not the case that the cousins rhetoric of the gangs meant that a fight between boys from different gangs would produce a general melee. It did mean, however, that the boys of a gang were all likely to join in on a fight between one of their number and a boy acting on his own. It mean that Pete needed allies in order to keep from being overpowered. In recruiting J.T. and Chico, Pete had chosen logically and well. Pete and the two third graders were friends. Besides having played Connect-4 together in the morning, they had ridden home together on the same schoolbus for three years. J.T. also happened to be the largest boy in the third grade and thus the school.

Pete's sitting on the slides with J.T. and Chico was extremely provocative since this represented an incursion into Jake's territory.

Pete was saying that he was willing to fight. Jake, Tolbert, Toby B., and Brent were thus thrown back to a fundamental question. Were they willing to fight? These were always risky, exciting, and highly dramatic situations for the boys. At times like this, a group dynamic took over among a set of friends for each had to show the others he was willing to fight. The boys thus did not avoid fights or simply await them, but instead flirted with the possibility of fighting as if rolling dice to see which one of them would end up doing it. Shortly, Jake, Tolbert, Toby B., and Brent began a game of chasemaster. Laughing, poking each other, and throwing a little playfighting into the game of tag, too, the boys spilled over into the territory Pete had claimed by the slides; in effect, each of the boys was waving a red flag in Pete's face. Soon, Pete said something to Brent, Brent mocked Pete, and Pete took off after him. Brent led Pete a merry chase, down the hill, through the sandbox, and around the school building. In a carnival-like mood, the other boys raced after Brent and Pete, but broke off the chase at the sandbox, all of them leaping into it and landing in a pile. There they stayed, wrestling, laughing, and getting out to take a flying leap back in again. By this time, Jamie had arrived outside, and he joined Jake, Tolbert, and Toby B. in the sandbox. Having made one complete circuit of the school building, Brent came hurtling by again with Pete in hot but still distant pursuit. Someone laughed at Pete for his inability to catch up with Brent. Perhaps it was Jamie. In any case, Pete responded by giving up the chase and taking on the boys in the sandbox. He shoved Jamie

backwards, making him fall, and then advanced on Toby B. Tolbert intervened by placing himself between Pete and Toby B., but got shoved backwards for his trouble. He, too, fell. At about this time, the playground supervisor arrived. Tolbert picked himself up, Pete went for Tolbert again, but J.T. stepped between the two boys. He was facing Tolbert instead of restraining Pete, however, so that it was ambiguous as to whether he were stopping the fight or taking Pete's side. He could well have been doing both. The playground supervisor read the situation the first way although Tolbert seemed to interpret it the second way as he quickly put the supervisor between himself and J.T. The supervisor took Pete and Tolbert away to "cool off," and the drama of the situation broke. The two third graders drifted away; Jake helped Jamie find his slipper in the sandbox, and then he, Jamie, and Toby B. went back to the jungle gym. There, they relived the fight and gossiped about what they would have done to Pete had he had no third grade allies. The rest of the day passed without event. The boys steered clear of one another, Pete of the members of Jake's gang, those boys of him, and Brent of everyone.

Was this fight the reason that Pete named J.T. and Chico as people he liked to play with, and Brent as one he did not? Was it also the reason that Jake named J.T. and Chico as two of the children he did not like to play with? Again it is not possible to say. The relationship between the fight and the sociometric responses of the boys, in any case, is of less significance than the role of the boys' gangs in promoting and controlling such fights.

As it did with boys from the same gang, the two-gang structure set the stage for conflict between boys from different gangs. An action meant to project a tough identity would succeed in giving offense, the standing challenge of the gang opposition would be activated, and boys would find themselves participating in the buildup to a fight.

But neither in fights within gangs nor in ones between them, did the boys' social system require more of boys than they were able to give. The fights which awaited them owing to the two-gang structure were also fights regulated in intensity, duration, and outcome by that structure. Rarely, if ever, did fights between boys from different gangs take the form of general melees, and never were such fights without elements of self-interested calculation. The grand spectacle of these conflicts, however, went a long way to suggest things that were not there and to camouflage things that were. Thus, Pete's fight with the boys of Jake's gang looked like a gang versus gang conflict even though it was not; and while it appeared that no one in the sandbox that day was operating on anything other than the surge of fighting spirit, it is obvious that Pete and Jake were. Through a tacit negotiation of the situation, these two boys managed not to fight even though they were as close to each other--and thus presumably as close to fighting--as Pete and any of the other boys in the sandbox. For his own part, Pete began with the safest fight--one with Brent, a boy in his own gang--and then worked his way up through Jake's gang, thus suggesting a readiness to fight Jake but never in fact doing so. As was Pete's encounter with the boys of Jake's gang, this sort of fight was limited in duration by its very gravity. It would climax in

moments of high drama doing honor to both sides, and then give way to a pattern of avoidance serving both to end the encounter and to preserve the attitudes necessary to such encounters. The moments of high drama, moreover, were not forgotten. They became part of the oral history of the class--of the group memories through which boys proved that they did participate in the grand affair of gang versus gang rivalry, of the group tradition constraining them to continue to see in jibes like Tolbert's "chicken legs" dares to put claims to courage to the test. In the ways that fights were promoted and controlled, the gang opposition provided boys with means both for demonstrating courage and for controlling the demonstration. Living out the gang versus gang mythos did not require boys to display anything like the virtuosity with kicks and chops that they showed in their games of playfighting. Neither did it mean prolonged engagements. It required only that boys be willing to face other boys as enemies for a few seconds; it required only that they be willing to trade a few shoves, at most, a few slugs. But it also required no less than these things. It took an act of courage for a boy to face four other boys at once even if only for a short time; and it took an act of courage for a boy to stand up to a larger and stronger boy even when supported by three allies.

Situational stagecraft: the role of the gangs in limiting conflict

The taming of conflict, however, was only one dimension of the control over rivalry given boys by the two-gang system. The gangs also provided boys with a set of means for limiting the likelihood of conflict.

The most obvious way in which the boys' gangs enabled them to do this was by providing them with a rationale for justifying the avoidance of situations in which serious fights were a possibility. The boys talked as though members of rival gangs behaved in terms of a rule of confrontation; in fact, however, the boys tended to behave in terms of a rule of avoidance, not only after conflict but during the normal conduct of their affairs. The idea of the gang opposition established the idea of the all-out fight between enemies as an interactional possibility. It thus defined and provided boys with an opportunity to participate in a kind of ultimate rite of toughness. At the same time, however, the idea of rival gangs provided a means for limiting the potential of the all-out fight for "everybody knew" that one associated with friends and avoided enemies. The two-gang structure thus both created the grand and ennobling possibility of combat between enemies and also gave boys a basis for limiting their exposure to this possibility. Avoidance could be practiced by the members of the gangs, furthermore, without cost to their reputations as fighters. "Everybody knew" that Pete and Jake did not avoid each other because they were afraid of fighting; on the contrary, they avoided each other precisely because they were enemies who might fight. Indeed, far from undoing claims to toughness, the convention of avoidance served as a collective means of validating and expressing such claims. That boys avoided each other, meant they took each other seriously as rivals. The boys' awareness of the potential for affront contained by situations and their use of avoidance to limit their



exposure to serious affronts was expressed one day by Pete. He had been playing a boys chase girls game involving members of Jake's gang. But he had left the game and disappeared into the cafeteria. There he found some legos and played with these. Asked why he had left the boys chase girls game, he said, "If I stay outside, I only gonna fight."

The ideas of friends and enemies also gave boys some control over the potential for conflict within the circle of the gang. The notion of possessing a common enemy enabled boys both to make grand claims and to keep the act of claims-making from posing implicit threats to the status claims of playmates. Within the gang and its little domain, boys could make claims to fighting prowess, do heady talk of comradeship, loyalty, and support, even re-enact fighting scenes from kung fu movies and the like as if the heroic images and black and white morality of these stories had relevance to their own situation at school. All of this could be done without running much risk of offending the audience and provoking conflict. Since claims were usually made relative to people in the opposite gang, who were not present to hear them, a boy's identity work was likely to trouble neither enemies nor allies. Correlatively, one boy's acknowledged expertise at tetherball and similar activities did not necessarily jeopardize the claims of other gang members. Since the boys of a gang were allies, the accomplishments of one boy might feed into the group pride shared by all. It was a source of prestige for a gang to have the best tetherball player as a member, and both gangs, as a matter of course, did make this claim.

The idea of the gang also enabled boys to control the possibility of conflict emerging from their contentious and rough and tumble play. "Everybody knew" that the boys of a gang were friends who by definition accepted each other's claims to worthiness. Consequently, the spills and other mishaps which boys caused each other in play, and which could well be made reasons for fighting, might instead be ignored or dismissed as accident, misunderstanding, or over-enthusiasm. As shown by the behavior of Kaleo and Pete following the kickball game, it was not always possible to do this. But neither for the boys involved nor for those witnessing their doings did these kinds of troubles always require the sequel of confrontations. As Tolbert said, this sort of thing was different--it was play. A boy who had been hurt in play might even be allowed the right to slug the boy responsible on the back or the arm in order to restore parity to a situation and keep it from escalating. This was observed to occur between Tolbert and Toby B., Tolbert and Mark, Jake and Toby B., and even once between Pete and Brent. This was permitted and tolerated within the gangs because the boys were "cousins"; between boys who were not cousins, of course, this sort of redress was out of the question.

In these and other ways, the understandings bound up in the ideas of the gang and the gang opposition allowed boys to establish parameters for situations and definitions for events which served to project tough identities, to validate others' claims, and to minimize conflict both within and between gangs. Owing to the fact that one associated with friends and avoided enemies, the boys could set up situations on the playground and elsewhere so that interaction

contained fairly few and fairly well delimited risks. In the separate gang turfs, each set of boys might use the other as a dummy to knock around in gossip; alternatively, the boys of a gang might use the idea of their solidarity against the rival gang as a basis for minimizing their own problems. The boys of the gangs did not always separate or manage their doings in these fashions, to be sure, but the option for doing so was always there for them to use in avoiding or breaking off confrontations without cost to identity. More than a fighting group, "the gang" was a group that talked about fighting; more than a group that talked about fighting, it was one that used the idea of shared enemies to sustain play; and more than a group of any sort, "the gang" was a set of terms and commonsense understandings used by the boys as a kind of situational stagecraft. By means of this stagecraft, boys might set up the drama of being tough in such a way that self-presentations were not so likely to give offense and to bring on conflict.

A recess encounter between Pete and Jake illustrates some of the ways in which boys could use the idea of gang rivalry to control the likelihood of conflict even as they gambled with the possibility of fighting. On this particular day, the third grade was on a fieldtrip; the second graders thus had the playground to themselves. Seven children gathered to play tetherball at the pole nearest the cafeteria. When Pete arrived outside, the two children playing tetherball at this pole were Brent, one of Pete's allies, and Jake, Pete's greatest rival. The children lined up waiting to play were Claradine, Toby B., Melody, Doreen, and Mapu. Pete got in line behind Mapu.

Tetherball is a two person game played with a ball suspended by rope from the top of a pole. The players hit the ball in opposite directions, each trying to make it sail over the other's head. The children of KEEP played two versions of tetherball. One was called the "short game" and was played at the tetherball pole nearest the cafeteria; to win in this game, all a child had to do was to hit the tetherball past the opponent once. The second game was called the "long game" and was always played at the far tetherball pole; to win this version of tetherball, a child had to hit the ball past the opponent again and again until the tetherball wound completely around the pole. The short game was designed to favor smaller and relatively inexperienced children, but when the second or third graders had the playground to themselves, they often played the long game at both tetherball posts. The second graders had followed this practice and were playing the long game at both posts. Pete, however, did not know this. He thought he had joined the short game that was customary at the tetherball post by the cafeteria.

Seeing the ball sail over Jake's head and wind around the pole, Pete began to shout to Brent, calling Brent by the nickname he had given him. "Out! Tre-Tree! He out!" Again the ball sailed over Jake's head and around the pole. "Tree, go stop the ball! Go stop the ball!" Pete shouted.

Players in line were usually very vocal about judgments as to victory and defeat because they also wanted to have a chance to play. A child who had won a game, furthermore, was often reluctant to stop the ball without being "forced to" by the children in line. The loser

of a game was usually angry about having lost. If the loser would not accept defeat but continued to strike the ball, then repeated demands from children in the line that the ball be stopped tended to insulate the victor from the anger of the loser when he or she finally did stop the ball. There was always some ambiguity, however, as to whether the shouts of children in line were being motivated by the state of the game and their desire to get into it or the state of their feelings towards the children playing the game and their desire to underline some particular child's defeat.

Again seeing the ball sail past Jake and still unaware that Brent and Jake were playing the long game, Pete shouted once more to Brent. "Stop the ball, Tree! Tree! Stop 'em, Tree! He missed! Tree! Stop 'em!"

"Tha's long game," Mapu said, finally cluing Pete in. "Tha's long game."

"Oh, tha's long game?" Pete asked.

By now, Jake was well on his way to losing even the long game for the ball had sailed past him so many times that it was nearly completely wound around the pole. On one of the ball's last circuits, Jake missed it, hitting instead the string attached to the ball and thus violating one of the cardinal rules of tetherball. "Touching string" was cause for immediate disqualification.

"He touch string!" yelled Doreen. Doreen laughed as she made this charge because Jake's situation was already so obviously hopeless. It was as though Doreen were amused at the thought of piling insult on top of injury. Jake struggled on for a couple of seconds, swatting at the

ball one last time after it had wound completely around the pole. Striking the ball after losing a game was one of the children's favorite means of redressing defeat. Angrily, Jake now turned his attention on his tormentors in the line.

"Yeah, and Mrs. Akana said you can touch string!" said Jake, indignantly disputing Doreen's call.

"No can," said Doreen.

"Unh-huh, brah," agreed Pete.

In his earlier exhortations to Brent, Pete had been supporting not only the apparent victor in the game but a member of his gang. This had been lost on no one. Now in stepping into the dispute between Doreen and Jake, Pete was moving closer to conflict with Jake. Jake immediately swung his attention from Doreen to Pete.

"Why, how come you do, brah, why you talking?" he challenged Pete.

"Shutup!" snapped Pete.

"Why, cause you don't know how to talk?" demanded Jake. On the audiotape of this encounter, there is no pause discernible between Pete's "Shutup!" and Jake's riposte. Jake's facility with responses like this was one of the primary reasons he was a gang leader.

"Nooo," said Pete, uncertain of where to take his own response. Jake, still talking, unintentionally gave him an in.

"Go scotch tape 'em!" he said. By daring Pete to try to make him shut his mouth, Jake was not really trying to provoke Pete to a fight. Jake was trying instead to show that Pete was not willing to go any further. He was trying to put Pete down.

"Yeah, well go get the scotch tape, I gonna tape 'em!" Pete said, responding to the dare.

Jake was standing just outside the circle of the tetherball arena; Pete remained in his original position in the tetherball line. If either boy had made a move towards the other or had embarrassed himself by not being able to keep up his side of the disputing, then the two boys would probably have to have fought. They were angry at each other, but as far as possible, they were playing their hands at the level of mockery. Being tough did not require fighting so much as a willingness to risk the possibility of fighting. Neither did audience expectations require more from Pete and Jake at this point than a skillfully managed dispute. "Everybody knew" that Pete and Jake were not afraid of fighting each other and really would fight if necessary; at least, no one except perhaps Doreen would ever openly suggest otherwise.

Pete and Jake, however, did have a problem; they had to find a way of ending their dispute while they still could. Otherwise the logic of the situation might carry them to a fight.

Jake raised the ante from scotch tape to glue. "Yeah, go glue 'em!" he dared Pete. "Glue 'em shut!"

"Yeah, go bring the glue!" retorted Pete.

"Eh, you! You like glue em, not me!" As he spoke, Jake turned up the hill to head to his own territory at the jungle gym. There was no loss of face involved in this for Jake. On the contrary, he was proclaiming himself the victor in the encounter. Pete had been challenged three times to leave the tetherball line but had not risen

to the occasion. Jake's last comment was meant to underline for the tetherball crowd that it was Pete who had allowed the tension to break and the moment to pass.

"You!" called Pete, reminding Jake and the other children that he was ready to fight any time Jake was. Jake having retired from the field of battle, Pete was offering himself as the victor. He turned his own attention back to tetherball; the next game was already well underway.

If it were the case that neither boy had actually won the encounter, it was also the case that neither boy had lost it. Access to separate territories had given them a means of breaking off their dispute at an opportune moment without loss of face to either. Having done a creditable job of flying their flags, the two boys avoided each other for the rest of recess, and there was no further trouble between them. Tapped by the confrontation between Jake and Pete, the gang opposition now began to organize other features of the situation.

Toby B., Jake's ally, was now playing Brent, Pete's ally. Claradine was supposed to have played next, but she had let Toby B. pass her. Children worked to protect a place in line against cutters and passers, but when emotions had been aroused, the less assertive children were often willing to relinquish position to others. As Claradine soon did, they might also move on to safer locations.

"Cheat! He wen' touch string!" Doreen was shouting.

"Who?" asked Pete.

"Toby B.!" Doreen replied.



"No worry," said Pete, beginning to root for Brent, "Tree gonna beat 'em."

"Beat 'em, you giving chance!" Doreen shouted at Brent. Doreen was not cheering for Brent; Brent was simply not winning the match against the much shorter Toby B. quickly enough to suit her.

"Go, Tree!" yelled Pete. "Tree, go!/// 'Kay, Tree, right there! ///Hey, c'mon, c'mon, Tree! C'mon, c'mon! /Wahhah!" Pete cried as Brent began to win. "Wahhah!" Pete repeated, holding up his arms to relish the victory.

The ball having wound completely around the pole, Toby B. took one last swipe at it, and then went up the hill to join Jake and Steve at the jungle gym. Tolbert, playing in the far tetherball game, would also soon head towards the jungle gym. Perhaps owing to Pete's and Jake's brush with conflict, the boys were acting on the notion of the gang opposition and separating their doings. They were avoiding conflict.

Melody now stepped up to take on Brent.

"C'mon, Tree!" yelled Pete. "Wahheehahaha!"

"Give 'em [Let him have it], Mel!" exhorted Doreen, doing a counter cheer for her compatriot. "Glue 'em, Mel!" she added, delight showing in her face at this joking reference to the confrontation between Pete and Jake. Doreen was not afraid of either Pete or Jake. Neither was she averse at poking fun at the boys and all the posturing and maneuvering they would do to avoid jeopardizing their tough appearances.

A comfortable pail

If the interpretation of the gangs presented in this chapter is correct, then these groups were the source of both problems and solutions for boys. In establishing certain structural potentials for affront, the gangs were in the first place a trap of machismo requiring only the weight of a few pictures, a piece of ricecake, or a pair of socks to snap shut. If the gangs were a trap, however, they were a trap artfully placed, carefully cocked, and baited with pleasures worth the bite. The boys used the gangs as a species of commonsense in order to avoid and to curb conflicts among themselves. The fights made inevitable by the gangs, on the other hand, were fights also controlled by those structures. And the rewards of participation in the gangs were not inconsiderable. The gangs gave boys access to heroic images of themselves and the right to talk like fighters. Most importantly, the gangs gave boys access to playmates, "cousins" with whom they could spar and play and upon whom they could count for support. In these ways, the gangs made living up to the ideal of being a fighter both less risky and more grand, less a personal ordeal involving taking on every comer and more a social game in which reputations for being tough were attained by means of, rather than at the expense of, the ideal of solidarity. It was probably less the case that the boys needed to turn classmates into cousins in order to fight off enemies than that they needed the idea of enemies in order to turn classmates into cousins. In its own way, the notion of the gang of cousins humanized the strange and unparalleled situation that the boys found at school. It enabled them to cast a net of fictive kinship over strangers, to absorb them

into understandings of how rivalry is kept friendly and conflict resolved among peers who actually are cousins.

One of the Hawaiians' favorite metaphors for social dynamics in peer groups is that of crabs in a pail. Each crab tries to climb out, and each is pulled back in by the others' efforts to climb out. What the gangs did for boys was to provide them with rivalry that was enjoyable more often than not; the gangs were a comfortable bucket. That it tended to be the larger boys who participated in the gangs is not surprising. It was these boys who were under the most pressure to live up to the image of being tough. They were the ones who most needed a way of being tough that did not simultaneously lead to the giving of offense and, ultimately, to the undermining of their own identities.

#### The boys on the girls' side

The five boys on the girls' side were not a group or even really a category. They shared a situation, but their experiences within this situation varied considerably. For three of these boys, not being in the gangs usually had little significance; for the remaining two, it could often be the source of much misery.

The boys on the girls' side tried to do the same impression work as the boys in the gangs. They, too, tried to project images of poise and toughness and would also extend tokens of solidarity to other children. In the background of interaction involving these boys, however, lay the common knowledge that they were much more likely to expose fear or suffering than to fight back in response to challenges. The other

children in the class knew that there was little risk involved in spurning these boys' gestures of friendship and in attacking their claims to being tough. These boys might be treated brusquely with impunity, and many of the other children would do so, sometimes as a way of asserting their own claims to being tough, sometimes in order to protect cultural ideals by denying the right to claims of toughness to individuals who had not earned that right.

Whether or not a boy did suffer ill treatment owing to the lack of a reputation for being a fighter, however, depended upon the boy's social relationships, size, and other personal qualities. Kevin, the smallest boy in the class after Herman departed, had a friendship with Kaleo which protected him from abuse. Kevin was also a likable sort, had few pretensions to being tough, and was much less mature in many ways than the other second graders. For example, he was still occasionally incontinent. The other children seemed to regard him as a harmless and much younger sibling. Toby Loo was also a relatively small boy. His strongest relationship was with Tolbert for Toby Loo, too, was an avid tetherball player. Toby Loo attracted more put-downs than Kevin because he made himself socially more visible. For most of the boys, however, he was too small to be taken seriously. The larger boys might reject friendship from him, shaking off his arm, for example, if he laid it on their shoulders, but they usually did not harass him unless he invited it with teasing and other actions of his own.

Steve also was not especially troubled by not being in the gangs, but his situation was much different from that of Kevin and Toby Loo.

Steve had a remarkable relationship with Doreen. Doreen was taken lightly by no one. Most of the boys avoided her. Steve, however, would stroke and braid her hair in class and could also kid and tease her without fearing for his safety; no other boy and few girls in the class dared to take such liberties with Doreen. In reciprocating Steve's friendship, Doreen would not allow other children to bully Steve in the classroom, retaliating swiftly on the few occasions that Brent or Tolbert took Steve's paper or pencil. Though Steve and Doreen played in different areas during recess, Steve also seemed to wear the mantle of Doreen's protection on the playground. Steve almost always sought to play with Jake and the other boys at the jungle gym during recess and had effectively made himself a de facto member of Jake's gang. The boys at the jungle gym occasionally treated Steve roughly during the games which they played at recess, but they rarely went so far as to make him cry. Although some of the boys in Jake's gang--most notably Jake himself--often did not seem especially keen on associating with Steve, they did not deny him entree to their doings. Steve, for his part, did not strain his rights to participate in Jake's gang. He kept a low profile, staying away when there was trouble, and playing as much the role of observer as participant in the gang's doings.

For Mark and Freddie, however, things could often be very difficult. These two boys had the size to be in the gangs. Mark was just slightly smaller than average, and Freddie was the fifth largest boy in the class. These two boys should have been fighters. That they were not, often made them targets of scorn and bullying.

This was particularly true in Freddie's case. Freddie tried to make the kinds of claims that the boys in the gangs made and tried to join them in their doings. But he would soon be rebuked for doing the one and was likely to attract hazing for doing the other. During one class meeting, for example, Freddie began telling a story about himself and Esau. Esau had been a classmate of the children but had transferred to another school at the end of first grade owing to a diagnosis of learning disability. The second graders had their own theory about the transfer. They remembered Esau as a "very, very brave boy," to quote one, and thought, not without justification, that he had had to transfer owing to all of the fighting he had done and trouble he had gotten into. When it became clear that Freddie's story was about a confrontation with Esau which he had won, Pete cut Freddie's story short with a contemptuous, "Esau never bother with you."

During recess, Freddie often tried to play in the team sports or chase games. Freddie did not have customary rights to join in these activities and might simply be told, "You not playing." When he was allowed to associate with the boys of the gangs, he could quickly find the rug pulled out from under him. Freddie, it will be recalled, played a central role in the events which led to the confiscation of Jamie's book. Later in that recess, Freddie, Toby B., and Jake were sitting on the upper bars of the jungle gym, their legs hanging a few feet from the ground. Brent was occasionally making runs through the ground level bars of the jungle gym and swiping at the legs of the boys

sitting on it. If Brent lingered, these boys would jump down and chase him away. At the very end of recess, Brent made one last raid. Jake, Toby B., and Freddie dropped to the ground to give chase. After a step or two, however, Jake and Toby B. stopped running. The hapless Freddie, ahead of those two boys, did not realize that he was now the only person chasing Brent. When Brent saw that Freddie was his lone opposition, he immediately spun around and gave Freddie a straight arm, knocking him unceremoniously to the ground. All three witnesses to the scene--not only Brent, but also Jake and Toby B.--laughed at Freddie. Freddie picked himself up and went to make a tearful and futile complaint to the playground supervisor, his attempts at asserting a tough identity having been exposed as pretension once again.

Similar things might happen, but less frequently, with Mark. Mark was more like Kevin and Steve. He kept a low profile on the playground, and his lack of social visibility is apparent in the responses to the sociometric questions. Mark tied with Kevin for the fewest total number of mentions received by a boy: one positive and one negative. Mark was the only boy not in the gangs to follow out the logic of the gangs in his own responses to the sociometric questions, dutifully naming the boys of Jake's gang positively and those of Pete's negatively. But Mark in fact avoided the boys of both gangs at recess. Sooner or later, however, Mark's attempt to be invisible would fail in an unpleasant way. He would attract the notice of a Brent or a Tolbert, and his next few moments would be miserable ones. "Chicken of the sea, chicken of the sea," Brent taunted him one day, for example,

jabbing his finger into Mark's back as Mark tried to walk up the playing field and away from him.

The following tables summarize the sociometric responses made and received by the boys on the girls' side. These data are useful mainly in the broad contrasts which they show with the responses made and received by the boys of the gangs. The first table shows the responses made by the boys on the girls' side to the question of who they did and did not like to play with at recess. The second table shows the total numbers of positive and negative mentions received by each boy in the class.

These data are illustrative, first, of the general status superiority of the boys in the gangs. From boys in the class, boys in the gangs received an average of 3.1 positive mentions; boys on the girls' side received an average of 1.2 positive mentions. Similarly, from boys in the class, boys in the gangs received an average of 2.7 negative mentions; boys on the girls' side received an average of 0.8 negative mentions. Within the boys' network, the boys who were not in the gangs merited neither much positive nor much negative attention. In the boys' sociometric responses, as in their interactions, it was the boys in the gangs who drew the most attention.

The data show, secondly, a much stronger orientation towards girls on the part of boys on the girls' side. The seven boys in the gangs mentioned only four girls in response to the sociometric questions. The five boys who were not in the gangs mentioned nine girls. Indeed, while the boys in the gangs gave only about 14% of their total positive



Table 5. -- Responses of boys on the girls' side to the instructions, "Name three children that you like to play with at recess," and "Name three children that you do not like to play with at recess."

<u>RESPONDENTS</u>	<u>RESPONSES</u>																		
	<u>Boys in Gangs</u>							<u>Second Grade Girls</u>							<u>Boys on Girls' Side</u>				
	Jake	Tolbert	Toby B.	Jamie	Pete	Kaleo	Brent	Noe	Norino	Trina	Estrella	Melody	Claradine	Louella	Yuki	April	Steve	Kevin	Freddie
Steve							+		+		-	-		+	-				
Kevin*		+		-	+												+		-
Toby Loo*						+	-	+		+									
Mark	+	+	+		-	-	-												
Freddie			-						+				-			-	+	+	

\*made less than three negative responses

Table 6

Total Positive and Negative Responses Received by Boys  
on the Boys' Side and Boys on the Girls' Side

	<u>Boys' Side Boys</u>						<u>Girls' Side Boys</u>						
	<u>Positive Responses</u>			<u>Negative Responses</u>			<u>Positive Responses</u>			<u>Negative Responses</u>			
	<u>Total</u>	<u>From Boys</u>	<u>From Girls</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>From Boys</u>	<u>From Girls</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>From Boys</u>	<u>From Girls</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>From Boys</u>	<u>From Girls</u>	
Jake	3	3	0	2	2	0	Steve	3	2	1	1	1	0
Tolbert	4	4	0	4	3	1	Kevin	2	2	0	0	0	0
Toby B.	3	3	0	2	2	0	Toby Loo	2	1	1	1	0	1
Jamie	2	2	0	6	2	4	Mark	1	1	0	1	0	1
Pete	4	4	0	6	3	3	Freddie	0	0	0	8	3	5
Kaleo	3	3	0	4	3	1	<u>Totals</u>	8	6	2	11	4	7
Brent	3	3	0	11	4	7	<u>Averages</u>	1.6	1.2	0.4	2.2	0.8	1.4
<u>Totals</u>	22	22	0	35	19	16							
<u>Averages</u>	3.1	3.1	0	5.0	2.7	2.3							

and negative mentions to girls, the boys on the girls' side gave about 37% of their total positive and negative mentions to girls. For these boys, girls had greater social significance, both in the sociometric exercise and on the playground. The girls, however, did not reciprocate this attention in their own sociometric responses. As shown by the disproportionate number of negative mentions given by girls to boys in the gangs, it was these boys who most drew their attention as well. Not much significance should be attached to the two positive mentions given boys on the girls' side. These two mentions came from girls who had relatively little standing within the girls' social network. The boys on the girls' side, in sum, possessed relatively little standing among both the girls and the boys.

The generally low status of the boys on the girls' side reflects the strength of the children's commitment to the idea of courage as a measure of personhood. One does not usually hear words like, "the girls' side," in the conversation of adult Hawaiian males. Among children and teenagers, these words and ones like mahu function as taunts and insults; they imply that a male has failed in some fundamental way to be worthy. The low regard in which second grade boys not in the gangs were held and the derision to which Mark and especially Freddie were exposed were tied directly to these boys' lack of a reputation as fighters. If it were the case that these boys suffered to varying extents for want of a reputation for courage, however, it was equally the case that they could improve their situation by acquiring that reputation. A boy could do nothing about the standards used by the children to determine worth and rights to

membership in the peer group. This was a social and cultural phenomenon unalterable by the actions of a single individual. But a boy on the girls' side could affect his standing by passing the same test that the boys of the gangs had passed.

When Toby B. transferred to another school in the summer between the second and third grades, the gangs were left unbalanced. Pete, Kaleo, and Brent remained in the one; Jake, Tolbert, and the handicapped Jamie were in the other. As might be predicted on the basis of size and sociometric responses, it was Mark who took Toby B.'s place in Jake's gang. He gained this position, in part, by showing that he would not let Brent push him around anymore. He had a number of fights with Brent early in the third grade schoolyear and won each of them. The effect of this showed up in a sociometric exercise done a few months into the year. Mark was one of the boys mentioned most often in both positive and negative ways. In the children's view of things, Mark had arrived. There was a second basis for the improvement in Mark's social standing; at the beginning of the schoolyear, he also showed that he would not let his teachers "push him around."

#### Summary

One way of looking at the second grade boys' social organization is to see it arising almost automatically from their values. Owing to the boys' value of being tough, they fought; out of their fights emerged rivalries, alliances, and also a perception of who would not fight; out of their rivalries and alliances emerged the two gangs. Another way of looking at the boys' model of their social organization, however, is to

see it arising, not from their values, but from their collective efforts to cope with their values.

From this latter perspective, the second grade boys' socio-structural achievement at Ka Na'i Pono School was to use homelife precedents to create a structure of relationships which required them to live up to but also enabled them to live with the value of being tough. This structure of relationships provided the boys with the basic choice of joining the gangs or staying on the girls' side. In order to join the gangs, a boy had to assert a tough identity and thus had to take the risk of fighting; indeed, he had to fight. Staying on the girls' side released a boy from having to fight, but it carried with it the risk of being put down and otherwise unpleasantly treated by other children. If a boy did join a gang, then he committed himself to a collective game of maintaining appearances of parity by keeping status inequalities and the gang opposition submerged as background issues. Eventually, offense would be given and the game would break down. But the breakdowns were usually fairly well controlled, sometimes fun in their own way, necessary in any case, and meantime the gangs provided playmates, diversions, and the pleasures of posturing. If a boy chose to stay on the girls' side, then he could avoid some of the volatility of peer rivalry, but he also had to live with the knowledge that other boys and girls, too, might at any time poke holes in his front of boyish machismo, revealing it to be a sham.

Within these general lines of the boys' collective solution to the problem of living up to and living with the value of being tough, each boy made a distinctive, personal adaptation. There has not been space

enough to do more than suggest some of these adaptations, but it should be clear, at least, that the boys did not all define or need to define their participation in the gangs or on the girls' side in the same way. Boys did not all have to be tough with the flashiness and short temper of Pete or the cool fierceness of Jake. They could also do it by being a rascal like Jamie, a tetherball champion like Tolbert, a wit like Kaleo, or even a tease like Brent. Neither did being on the girls' side mean the same thing to all of the boys who were not fighters. Mark adapted to the situation by keeping a low profile; Steve, too, kept a low profile but also used his relationship with Doreen to arrive at accommodations with Jake and other children. Kevin and Toby Loo were usually protected by small stature from many of the boys' dynamics. Nonetheless, Kevin also established a personal friendship with Kaleo, and Toby Loo set up limited personal rivalries with Brent and especially with Tolbert. Only Freddie seemed to find no way of mitigating the risks associated with his mode of participating in the boys' relationships. By inserting himself into the tough boys' doings and copying their self-presentations, Freddie appeared to try to deny the background facts of his situation, but this only made him a handy target for scorn and abuse. It is not clear whether a Freddie role was also integral to the boys' structure of relationships. Perhaps Freddie was a necessary symbol for the boys, dislike of him a point on which they could all agree and through which they could affirm collective values.

It is known, however, that the ideas of structure used by the second grade boys in creating their system of relationships are very

general ones among Hawaiian schoolboys. These ideas were found among younger cohorts of children at Ka Na'i Pono School, among children at other elementary schools in both rural and urban settings, and even among children at a preschool. With no other class was there sufficient time to discover how these ideas of structure were put into practice. There is every reason to suppose that boys' articulations of the notions of "cousins," "gangs," and the like vary from school to school, responsive to differences among schools--e.g., the number of classrooms at a grade level--and among children--e.g., ethnic differences within classrooms. But there is also every reason to suppose that peer interaction everywhere entails similar dynamics for Hawaiian schoolboys, that they experience these dynamics as practical problems, and that they use their notions of peer group organization to devise a collective strategy for coping with these problems.

Conclusion: Pete and Kaleo

One issue raised by the boys' social organization remains unresolved. This is the issue of leadership in Pete's gang. Most of the boys said that Pete was the leader of this gang, but some of the boys--including Pete himself--said that it was Kaleo. It is fitting to conclude this chapter with this issue for the nature of leadership in Pete's gang is suggestive of the considerable subtlety and humanity that lay in the boys' relationships.

To the extent that this gang had a leader, it turned out that that leader was Kaleo, not Pete. Pete was more the figurehead. This was indicated by many bits of evidence but came across most clearly in

something said by Brent at the beginning of the boys' third grade year. Brent was by himself on the playground--I had finally learned not to ask the boys questions about their relationships in public--, and I asked him whether he were still in Pete's gang.

"Not Pete's gang," he retorted indignantly. "Mines [my gang]!"

"Yours?" I asked him, more than a little surprised by this turn of events.

"My turn," explained Brent.

"What do you mean, your turn?"

Brent elaborated: "First grade, Kaleo. Second grade, Pete. Now me."

"You mean you guys take turns being leader?"

"Yeah," he said.

"How did you guys decide that?" I asked.

"Kaleo said," he said.

The significance of this ostensible circulation of the leadership role is no doubt that it saved face for Pete and, to a lesser extent, for Brent. Pete had the size, desire, and charisma to be the leader of his gang, but the domineering style of leadership at which Jake was so adept did not suit Pete's temperament, and he lacked Kaleo's touch. Pete's energy drew children to him; on the playground in the morning before school, there were always a few children around him. But the brightness of his star was offensive as well as attractive to the other children, and Pete himself was exceedingly quick to take offense at their actions. Kaleo was smaller than Pete and not as charismatic, but he was courageous and remarkably strong at playing the game of



toughness in a way that enabled everyone to win. Pete repelled children as much as he attracted them; Kaleo won and kept peers' support. The generality of this support is suggested by the results of an election held in the spring of the children's second grade year. The children had been asked to vote for two class representatives. There had been problems on the bus, on fieldtrips, and in other areas, and the two representatives were to meet with the principal when necessary to explain the children's side of things. Each second grader was given the right to cast two votes for class representatives, and thirty-one of the votes are known. Of these votes, Noe received six, Kaleo, six, and Norino, five. Pete had four votes, one of which, not surprisingly, came from Pete himself. No other child had more than two votes.

Adept at keeping the game of parity going by accepting playfulness and by using joking and other forms of play to maintain dynamic balances in relationships, Kaleo was also adept at helping people back into the game of parity after they had fallen out of it. Handling relationships on one's own is no easy matter; if the children's rivalries could be hard on teachers, the demands of the children's world could also be very hard on the children themselves. One example of Kaleo's sensitivity to the less dominant boys has already been provided in the case of the attention he gave to Herman after Herman had drawn group castigation for delaying release of the class for a kickball game. Kaleo showed the same sort of sensitivity to other boys who were not fighters. On numerous occasions, Kevin, Mark, and even Freddie all received from Kaleo support they had sorely needed in order

to compose themselves and to face their relationships again. Kaleo, however, also extended this support to boys in the gangs. For all their toughness, these boys could find themselves no less in need of such support than the other boys; indeed, their need could be much greater, so much further would they fall when they exposed vulnerability.

Pete was especially dependent on Kaleo's support. Hawaiians hold that there is always at least one person to whom even the most volatile of males will listen. Pete had the biggest temper in the second grade, but there were two children to whom he would usually listen. One was Noe, the other, Kaleo. The structure of the boys' relationships being what it was and the chemistry of friendship being what it is, Kaleo could frequently influence Pete even when it seemed certain that he would fight. Aware of this, other children often used Kaleo to restrain Pete, informing him of fights Pete was about to get into so that Kaleo would stop them. Even Jake might seek Kaleo's intervention in this way, using it on one occasion to keep a fight between Pete and Tolbert from happening. Kaleo and Pete often fought each other, but they also had some sort of mutual understanding. Kaleo could keep Pete out of trouble.

Pete was also dependent upon Kaleo for help when things had gotten to be too much. In Pete's third grade year, this was often the case. Pete was having large problems in his homelife relationships and would come to school wired to explode. Almost anything could set him off. In the morning before school started, the children would sometimes pass the time by playing Connect-4. Pete finally had to be barred from

playing the game because even a loss at this was enough to make him explode and attack other children. In class one day, the children were playing another ill-advised girls-versus-boys answering contest. The teacher leading the contest was a "special," not one of the children's two regular teachers, and she was also new. The children were gathered on a rug in front of the teacher. She had drawn a tic-tac-toe grid on the blackboard. She would ask a question of the girls' team or the boys' team, and the team captain, who had been selected by the children, was supposed to give the team's response. If the answer were correct, then the team captain could put an "X" or an "O" on the tic-tac-toe grid. Otherwise, the turn passed. Kaleo was the team captain for the boys. The boys and girls played an even game until the boys missed a question. The teacher then asked the girls that question, and they gave the correct answer. Pete at once exploded into tears of rage. He went completely out of control, carrying on about how the game was not fair, how the girls got to answer all of the questions, how nothing was fair, the hardship of the lesson tapping into the other hardships of his life. The teacher was speechless. All of the children were turned to Pete, none of them moving or saying anything, just watching. Sobbing, Pete finally slid under a table, apparently trying to hide. Kaleo put his hand on Pete's leg, kept it there, and asked for the next question. The effect of this was that the game got moving again. Attention went back to the teacher, who did ask the next question, and everyone let Pete be as the game played itself out. The eyes off of him, Pete eventually brought himself under a semblance of control. It was this capacity to do the right thing

even in situations like this one that made Kaleo one of the children's leaders. They recognized in Kaleo's behavior a truth about their situation. Games are only games, whether school games or home games. Any game can become distorted, and any game can be pushed beyond an individual's capacity to endure it. It is the transcendent quality of empathy that makes games possible in the first place and that keeps them playable.

## CHAPTER 8

## CHARLEY'S ANGELS: THE TITAS, THE BULL, AND THE HELPER

"I stay half on the men's side and half on the women's side."

A middle-aged Hawaiian woman speaking metaphorically of the interplay of feminine and masculine values in her presentation of self.

One day, the first grade children were playing a pretend game. This game offers a concrete introduction to some of the similarities and differences between Hawaiian boys' and girls' self-presentations and social structures. The game is also suggestive of the difficulties which attended the study of the second grade girls' relationships and therefore of the limitations under which this chapter on the second grade girls has been written.

The pretend games of the children at Ka Na'i Pono usually worked with the same two sorts of models. One model involved the restoration of social order and used very strong conceptions of intergenerational power. This was primarily a girls' game. There would be a "Mommy," "Aunties," sometimes a "Daddy," and a "Baby" or a "Puppy." One girl from another class had an alterego she called, "Jimmy." The baby, the puppy, or Jimmy would bolt out of the house, be kidnapped, or otherwise end up in jeopardy. The little one would have to be rescued, and

always there was liberal scolding or spanking for the little one's own good. The other sort of pretend game involved chasing and adversarial relationships. This was a boys' dominated game and came in two varieties--boys chase boys and boys chase girls. In a boys chase boys game, boys would divide themselves into sides and would take turns chasing each other. The chase turn passed in different ways. Sometimes the boys would be doing a game of battle. A boy would pretend to be shot and fall to the ground. He would come back to life, and then it was his turn to do the shooting and the others to do the falling. Sometimes just catching up to a boy was enough to effect an exchange of the turn. A boy would be tagged or tackled, and then the chase would commence in the opposite direction. In boys chase girls game, the turn did not really pass. The boys would chase girls, catch them, and release them or be beaten off by other girls and sometimes other boys. The chase would then pick up all over again. Chase games began with teasing or some other form of dare. "You canna catch me, you canna catch me," a child would say in inviting another to give chase. One game was called "alligator" and featured the dare, "Alligator, alligator, can't catch me." Much of the fun of the pretend games, however, came not from the teasing and chasing, rescuing and scolding, but from the fantasies of the children, the stories they acted out in the course of play.

On this day, the first grade boys were playing Empire Strikes Back. This could be played as a boys chase boys game, but the children were playing it as a boys chase girls game. Two of the boy leaders of the class were playing the roles of Luke Skywalker and Han Solo, the

protagonists in the film, *The Empire Strikes Back*. These were the roles that all of the boys coveted. In order to make the game sufficiently interesting to attract playable numbers, the first graders had adopted the convention of the rebel soldier, and most of the rest of the boys were pretending to be rebel soldiers. Rebel soldiers also got to fly around in spaceships and fire guns, and were thus the functional equivalents of Luke and Han. The few remaining boys pretended to be Tauntauns, creatures ridden by Luke, Han, and the rebel soldiers. The mission of all of the boys in the game was to rescue Princess Leia. The boys had cast one of the smaller and cuter first grade girls in this role. Princess Leia was being closely guarded by the largest girl of the first grade, who figured in the boys' storyline, naturally, as Darth Vader, the leader of the evil forces of the Empire.

The girls had gathered in two knots by the two trees in the middle of the playground. These trees, by common agreement, were the girls' bases. The boys could not attack the girls so long as they were near to or touching the two trees. The boys explained that the girls' guns were weaker than the boys' guns, but that when the girls were at their bases, the girls' guns became as strong as the boys' guns. For the game to get started, the girls had to tease or shoot at the boys. This gave the boys the right to chase the girls, who would flee from tree to tree, shooting as they ran. Sometimes a group of three or four girls would shoot a boy dead. The boy then came back to life as a monster and now nothing protected the girls because monsters do not recognize the convention of bases. The lack of reciprocity involved in all of

these conventions, of course, is an expression of an underlying rhetoric of male dominance.

But the girls were not being terribly cooperative about helping to get the game off the ground. A boy would fly close to a tree or ride up on his Tauntaun, but nothing happened. The girls would not respond by teasing, shooting, and fleeing. At one point, Luke Skywalker commanded his Tauntaun to attack one group of girls, and the Tauntaun made a very hesitant move to do so. But faced with the girls' continued coolness, he at once abandoned the project, turning to Luke and saying, "No!" in his Tauntaun voice. Later this boy would be shot dead by a group of five girls and would become a monster, but the game needed the initial move to be made by the girls in order to get going. To pass the time while they waited for the girls to warm up to the idea, the boys did aerial combat with imaginary foes.

Finally, the girls began to tease and shoot at the boys and to run from tree to tree, exposing themselves to the risk of being captured. The boys chased the girls, and when they caught one, they imprisoned her in the jungle gym, the boys' "mother ship." Other girls would mount attacks on the jungle gym to release their friends, or the prisoners would escape. Towards the end of recess, the intensity of the game mounted. As time for recess runs out, the children often bring their games to a climax in this way. The girls had all left their bases and were gathered in a large group. Most of the boys had become monsters, and all of them were making runs at one or another of the girls, grabbing them, holding them, or wrestling with them. Much of this play had strong sexual overtones for the children. By the end



of recess, the game had become a large free for all in the middle of the playground, boys struggling with girls and other boys, too, amidst much shouting and laughing.

Afterwards, a remarkable fact about the game came to light. The game had been videotaped, and the camera happened to catch two girls exchanging an imaginary object by one of the trees. These two girls were two of the female leaders of the class and had been among the favorite targets of the boys in the chase game. Curious about the object, I asked Luke and Han what it was, but they did not know. The two girls themselves were then asked about it. They replied that it was a radio. They explained that they had been using it to talk to Charley. "Who's Charley," I asked. "You know," one of them said, "like Charley's Angels." It turned out that the whole time the boys had been playing Empire Strikes Back, with the girls figuring as the bad guys, the girls had been playing their own game of Charley's Angels--a television show--, with the boys figuring as the bad guys. The two games were virtually mirror images of each other. The same boys and girls playing the prominent roles in the boys' game were also the children playing the prominent roles in the girls' game; the same qualities in people valued in the one game were also the qualities valued in the other. It was only the good-bad polarity that was reversed, each sex viewing itself as the moral superior of the other. There were, however, two obvious and important differences between the two games. The storyline of the boys' game had been quite explicit, but the storyline of the girls' game had been almost covert. While everyone had been well aware of what the boys were up to, none of the

boys had known the script that went with the girls' protection of Princess Lea. They did not know that the girls were actually Charley's Angels, protecting the "Princess" from villains. And in the end, it was the Charley's Angels rather than Luke, Han, and the rebel soldiers who were better able to hold together as a group.

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the organization of the second grade girls' relationships and to relate their peer organization, too, to the phenomenon of classroom "acting." As was the case with the Charley's Angels in the pretend game, there was structure to the second grade girls' relationships. But as did the rebel soldiers in the pretend game, we will have to proceed in this chapter without direct knowledge of what that structure was. Certain facts about the girls' relationships were obvious to their male counterparts, to their teachers, and to the ethnographer. But the boys were not able to provide an account of the girls' relationships with anything like the detail of their account of their own peer relationships. They were able to say only that the girls did not have gangs. Questions to the girls themselves met with shy and sometimes coy non-responses, and the questions soon stopped being asked. Consequently, this chapter will have to rely much more completely upon sociometric and similar data for indications of structure in the girls' relationships. The structure of the boys' relationships will be used to provide some clues to the structure of the girls' relationships, but the relevance of these clues will be quite limited. The girls did not have gangs in the way that the boys had gangs; more importantly, the boys had no one who played a role in the class equal to that played by Noe.

Tetherball players and pretend game players

The most general distinction made by the second grade boys among themselves was that between the boys on the boys' side and the boys on the girls' side. The second grade girls did not divide themselves so explicitly into the tough and the not tough, but evident among the girls was a parallel, if tacit, distinction. The creation and maintenance of this distinction could be witnessed in all of the routine frameworks of the schoolday. The tough girls of the class were the ones who vied for the right to pass out the books during reading lessons or who tried to sit closest to the teacher when she elected to teach a lesson on the rug. They were the ones who were not afraid to report boys for misbehaving, to stand up to boys and other tough peers when necessary, and to give help with classroom work or to withhold it at their choosing. The tough girls, in short, played the game of rivalry; they were the ones who made and defended claims to parity, not only with other girls, but with boys. The girls who were not tough, by contrast, were likely to defer to children who were. These were the girls over whom other children were not afraid to assert dominance. The framework in which the difference between girls who were tough and ones who were not was most apparent and most telling was recess. Among the second grade girls, there were tetherball players and pretend game players. The tetherball players were the tough girls of the class. In their own way, these individuals were the fighters among the girls.

Tetherball is picked up by the children at Ka Na'i Pono during the first grade year. As mentioned, there are two tetherball posts, and

the children at Ka Na'i Pono play two versions of the game. The object in the "long game" is to wind the ball completely around the pole, in the "short game," to make the ball pass over the opponent's head at least once without the opponent's touching the ball. A notion of difference in competence is associated with the difference between the two games. Novices are supposed to play the short game, experts, the long game. A notion of status difference is therefore also associated with the two games. To play the long game is to make claims of superiority to the people playing the short game and of parity with the other long game players. During the recess shared by the second and third graders, second graders usually congregated at the short game, third graders at the long game. But there was also some mixing of the two classes. Tetherball is an open game; anyone may wait in either of the two tetherball lines and eventually take a turn.

All of the second grade girls played tetherball at one time or another, but there were seven tetherball regulars in the class. Doreen and Melody were the largest girls and could hit the tetherball the hardest. Both Doreen and Melody often played in the long game against third graders or staged matches against each other. Melody fancied herself Doreen's equal, but in fact she was not. She lacked Doreen's wit and capacity for teasing and disputing. Though she tried to stand up to boys and to other children as Doreen did, Melody would often end up being the one to cry. Doreen did not cry; Doreen also did not lose. Hawaiian children have a term for the individual who is most dominant in a peer group; they call this person, "the bull." Doreen was the bull of the second grade.

Mapu and Estrella were not as large and strong as Doreen and Melody but were also very good at the game. To a greater extent than Doreen and Melody, Mapu and Estrella were also friendly rivals. Indeed, Mapu and Estrella were almost sociological twins. They were the same size, were in the same reading group, and received virtually identical grades for classroom work and behavior throughout the second grade year. They were also among the girls found most attractive by boys. While Mapu and Estrella would stand up to boys, they also enjoyed teasing and flirting with them. Boys did not find Melody and Doreen very attractive.

All four of these girls shared the same best friend, Noe. Indeed, Noe was almost every girl's best friend and was universally loved by the adults as well. Despite her small size, Noe was a tetherball regular and among the best of the tetherball players. Noe was in fact the informal organizer of the tetherball games. She might serve as a judge and arbiter in controversial tetherball matches, and she would also take the lead in getting the principal, teachers, and other staff to set up the tetherballs. More often than Mapu and Estrella, however, Noe would find other things to do at recess, looking in on boys and other girls, and sometimes helping the teacher in the classroom.

Norino, the sixth of the tetherball regulars, was like Noe in this respect. She was almost as fond of playing boys-chase-girls and chasemaster, a form of tag, as she was of playing tetherball. Indeed, Norino usually took the lead among the girls in initiating these games with boys. Norino, however, was not a pushover. She had a good sense of humor, was skillful in teasing and disputing, and in terms of her

willingness to stand up to boys and other girls, probably ranked third in the class, just behind Doreen and Noe. She was a leader among the children, and the children respected her as such.

The seventh tetherball regular was April. Unlike the other tetherball players, however, April had few, if any, friends. She was a fighter, but her status among the girls was the equivalent of Freddie's among the boys.

Most of the remaining six girls also played tetherball but not so frequently as the tetherball regulars. These girls more often played pretend games like house, chasemaster or boys-chase-girls with the boys, or games like hopscotch and jumprope. The pretend games were their favorite games. These were closed activities, and to play, a girl had to have an invitation or gain permission from other players. Trina was usually the gatekeeper and organizer of the pretend games. Trina was also competent at tetherball and divided her time among a number of activities, but she preferred the pretend games. Like the other socially prominent girls--Noe, the tetherball leader; Norino, the chase game leader; Doreen, the class bull; and Estrella and Mapu, the sociological twins--Trina could give as good as she got in joking, teasing, and disputing.

The pretend game players were not nearly so active a group as the tetherball players. There was always a tetherball game going on, but the pretend game players often did not get a game going and often did not include all available girls when they did. Trina's most frequent partners in the pretend games were Louella and Laura--almost always a recess duo--together with Kehau. Louella and Laura were both somewhat

overweight and lacked the physical and verbal skills necessary for tetherball. They did enjoy playing games with boys but were not thought very attractive by boys, and boys would frequently take advantage of them in play. Kehau was thought attractive by the boys and also occasionally joined them in boys-chase-girls games. Like Louella and Laura, however, Kehau lacked the insouciance and courage of girls like Norino, Estrella, and Mapu and would frequently find herself in the position of backing off from both boys and girls.

Claradine and Yuki were marginal even to the pretend game players. Claradine had arrived during first grade and had established close relationships with neither tetherball players nor pretend game players. The fact that she fancied herself Jake's girlfriend also did not endear her to Norino, who also entertained thoughts of connection to Jake. Claradine often spent only the earliest minutes of recess outside, returning to the classroom ostensibly to help the teacher. Yuki was a quiet and withdrawn child. Her friendship was neither particularly objectionable nor particularly attractive to the other girls. She usually spent recess on the cement lanai at the base of the playground, watching the tetherball players and the other children. Scanning the playground before making a decision as to what to do was part of recess for all of the children. But for Louella, Laura, Kehau, and especially for Yuki, watching was often an end in itself.

The table on the following page shows the second grader girls' activities over a span of twenty recesses during the last two months of the second grade year. A double line separates the tetherball regulars from the pretend game players. A limitation of the data is that they

Table 7

Activities of the Second Grade Girls over a Span of Twenty Recesses

	<u>Total Days</u>	<u>Days on</u>		<u>Pretend</u>	<u>Chasemaster</u>	<u>Kickball &amp;</u>			<u>Slides,</u>	<u>Watching</u>	<u>Total</u>
	<u>Present</u>	<u>Playground</u>	<u>Tetherball</u>			<u>Games</u>	<u>With Boys</u>	<u>Team Sports</u>			
Noe	20	19	16	0	3	2	1	1	0	0	23
Norino	19	17	11	2	5	2	2	0	1	0	23
Mapu	20	20	20	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	24
Estrella	20	19	19	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	20
Melody	19	18	17	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	18
Doreen	17	16	13	0	1	2	0	0	1	0	17
April	18	16	11	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	17
Claradine	19	16	11	2	2	0	1	0	4	0	20
Trina	19	15	4	7	2	0	2	1	2	0	18
Kehau	19	14	4	4	0	0	6	0	2	4	20
Louella	19	15	1	6	2	0	3	0	5	3	20
Laura	19	15	0	6	4	0	1	0	6	4	21
Yuki	19	13	0	2	0	0	8	2	2	4	18



do not show the length of time that the children engaged in particular activities. It is for the reason that Claradine's participation in tetherball was usually short-lived that she is not included among the tetherball regulars; when Claradine did spend an entire recess outside, it was in playing pretend games rather than tetherball. It is clear from the table, however, that tetherball was the single most popular game among the girls and that there was an inverse relationship between playing tetherball and playing pretend games. The tetherball regulars did little pretend game playing, and most pretend game players did not play tetherball very frequently. The two sets of girls thus tended to represent socially distinct categories, the boundaries of which were crossed regularly only by three children--Noe and Norino from the one direction, Trina from the other. It is also clear that there is a direct relationship between playing tetherball and playing kickball and other team sports with boys. Both tetherball players and pretend game players engaged in boys-chase-girls games, but only girls who played tetherball regularly would seek to play team sports with the boys. Conversely, only these girls were accepted by boys as teammates. Girls like Noe, Norino, and Doreen usually did not cry when hurt in games, and as athletes, these girls were at least on a par with the boys.

At recess, then, the tetherball posts were at the center of the girls' doings and absorbed most of the girls. Here one would almost always find Melody, Doreen, Mapu, and Estrella, usually Noe and Norino, and often April along with second grade boys and third grade children--normally twenty to thirty children in all. Away from the main action,

other second grade girls would find other things to do. Claradine might take an early turn or two at tetherball and then depart. Kehau and Yuki were usually to be found on the cement apron near the tetherball posts, playing hopscotch, sometimes watching the tetherball players, and being joined off and on by April. Every now and then, Kehau would herself take a turn at tetherball; sometimes she would stand in line only to leave it a turn or two before she was due to play. Trina played tetherball some days; on others, she organized pretend games, principally with Louella and Laura, sometimes also with Kehau. If not playing with Trina near the sandbox, Louella and Laura were usually on the slides or swings at the margins of the playing-field. Here they watched the boys from Jake's gang, occasionally playing with them in boys-chase-girls games or chasemaster. Sometimes Noe or Norino would leave the tetherball posts to join in these and other things, but the girls who did not play tetherball were usually both literally and figuratively on the periphery of the girls' doings.

That it is appropriate to think of the difference between the tetherball players and the pretend game players as one of toughness, is apparent from the second graders' own judgments on the relative toughness of classmates. In order to secure these judgments, the children were asked to perform a sorting task early in their third grade year. Each of the children was given two sets of photos, one of the boys, one of the girls, and asked to arrange the photos in order of toughness. The children were then asked how they knew that one child was tougher than another. Agreement among the children on both the girls and the boys was very strong, particularly where judgments on the least and

most tough children were concerned. The data on the girls is summarized in the following table. For the sake of simplicity, the children's rank orderings of the girls are reduced to three categories: first to fourth toughest, fifth to eighth, and ninth to twelfth. For example, Melody was ranked as one of the four toughest girls by nine children, as one of the fifth to eighth toughest by another nine, and as one of the ninth to twelfth toughest by the remaining three. The data would be stronger, of course, had the sorting task been done in the children's second grade year, but the schoolyear ran out before this could be done. The tetherball regulars of the children's second grade year, however, remained those of their third grade year.

Table 8

## The Girls Ranked According to Toughness\*

Number of Times Ranked

	1st to 4th toughest	5th to 8th toughest	9th to 12th toughest	Overall ranking	
Tetherball regulars	Doreen	21	0	0	1
	Noe	19	2	0	2
	Norino	12	9	0	3
	Mapu	10	10	1	4
	Melody	9	9	3	5
	Estrella	8	11	2	6
	April	8	12	2	6
Pretend game players, chase players, and watchers	Trina	2	10	9	8
	Claradine	0	11	10	9
	Louella	0	8	13	10
	Kehau	0	6	15	11
	Laura	0	1	20	12
Yuki	--	--	--	n/a	

\*There were 23 children in the class at this point. The children were not asked to include themselves in the rankings, and April was absent. Therefore, each child, except April, was ranked 21 times; April was ranked 22 times.

The connection between playing tetherball and being thought tough was obviously an extremely strong one. The seven tetherball regulars were also deemed the seven toughest girls of the class. The difference between the tetherball regulars and the other girls, moreover, was one of kind rather than degree. Each tetherball player was ranked by at least eight other children as one of the four toughest girls in the class. Trina, on the other hand, was the only pretend game player ranked as one of the four toughest girls in the class, and she was included in this category by only two children.

The second graders, however, only very occasionally mentioned tetherball in accounting for their ranking decisions and never mentioned proficiency at tetherball as the primary explanation for why a girl was deemed tough. Rather than to tetherball, the children always referred to fighting in explaining why one girl was tougher than another. Sometimes references to fighting were phrased in general terms. The children were almost unanimous, for example, in regarding Doreen as the toughest girl. Trina explained that Doreen was the toughest because, "She always fight Pete. The teacher stop her, and then they gotta shake hands." Characteristically, however, the children referred to actual fights in accounting for judgments of relative toughness. The children's use of fighting histories in explaining rankings was often very sophisticated. Mapu, for example, said that Melody was tougher than April "'cause the other time when Mel went fight April, I hold [restrained] April, hanh, and April never like fight [i.e., she did not resist being restrained], but Mel, she like fight." The children might also refer to very old confrontations in

justifying their rankings of classmates, treating these incidents as critical events with continuing implications. Tolbert, for example, explained that Norino was tougher than Kehau because, "The last time, she give Kehau black eye." The "last time" turned out to mean "six months ago." Steve reached all the way back to kindergarten in talking about Noe. He said that Noe was tougher than Mapu because, "One time in kindergarten, Noe fight Mapu, only Jake stop 'em 'cause Mapu was crying."

In fact, however, the girls did not do nearly so much fighting as the boys. Over the twenty recesses from which the data on the girls' activities were drawn, the second grade boys had nine fights, the girls only two. Although Noe was thought to be the second toughest girl in the class, Steve turned out to be one of the very few children who could actually remember a fight Noe had ever been in. Rather than basing their judgments exclusively upon fighting, the children seemed to combine fighting incidents with more routinely available indications of courage in judging relative toughness among the girls. They appeared to read the quality of toughness into girls on the basis of the choices typically made by the girls and of how the girls characteristically comported themselves in activities. Noe might have fought rarely at best, but she was also the only second grader who regularly took martial arts lessons, a fact with which the other children were mightily impressed. Although Trina could not remember ever having seen Noe fight, she was certain that Noe was very tough. "She take karate, tha's why. Nobody fight Noe 'cause they afraid she gonna fight them." That playing tetherball was so strongly associated with being thought

tough is probably related to the physical and social risks one has to take to play the game, and the reliability of such risk-taking as an indicator of toughness. The tetherball is hard and can hurt the hand, and hitting the ball requires timing, hand-eye coordination, and practice. Learning the game thus requires a capacity to tolerate pain and to cope with "looking bad" for a time. Tetherball, furthermore, invariably produces winners and losers. Playing the game thus also requires the courage to vie against boys and larger children, to try to beat them at the game, and to oppose them if they try to work the rules to their advantage. As with a child who takes martial arts lesson, a girl who plays tetherball "has" to be tough. She need not actually do much fighting to be thought tough by peers; a capacity to fight is simply presumed on the basis of her choices and behavior during recess and in other arenas.

Whatever the manner in which the children made judgments as to relative toughness, it is apparent that there was a qualitative difference in toughness between the tetherball players and the pretend game players mirroring the qualitative difference between the boys on the boys' side and the boys on the girls' side. It is further the case that the tetherball players dominated the girls' doings in much the way that the boys on the boys' side dominated the boys' doings. At first glance, then, the girls' relationships appear to be structured in the same manner and upon the basis of the same values as the boys' relationships. But with the manifest importance of toughness to both sexes and with the separation of both into children who were tough and ones

who were not, the socio-structural similarities between the girls and the boys in fact end.

The boys achieved solidarity through alliances against a common, same-sex enemy. Boys had to be tough in order to place themselves in the running for regard; and tough boys needed the idea of a shared opposition against a rival set of tough boys in order to cohere. The girls, too, achieved solidarity by uniting against a common enemy, but in their case, the enemy was the boys, not other girls. Where boys allied in opposition to one another, girls united in opposition to boys, acting as though all of the girls of the class formed a single gang. This alignment of girls against boys and of boys--rather less consistently--against girls resembled the rivalry between the two boys' gangs. As the one boys' gang made a background claim of superiority to the other and knew that this claim was disputed by the other, so, too, did the one sex make a background claim of superiority to the other and know that this claim was disputed by the other. The dynamics associated with the opposition between the girls and the boys, however, were very different from those associated with the boys' gang rivalry. Both oppositions could lead to conflict, but they did so in different ways and with different results.

Complementing the opposition between the two gangs of boys were the dominance hierarchies internal to each of the gangs. Complementing the girls' opposition to the boys, similarly, was a very strong and legitimate girls' status system which, in principle, at least, absorbed all of the girls. Associated with this status system was a potential for

affront and for conflict similar to that associated with each of the boys' gangs. The status rights claimed by girls high in the status system might offend girls low in the system; and the rights to parity claimed by girls low in the system might offend girls high in the system. The dynamics of status rivalry among the girls, however, were again very different from the dynamics of status rivalry among the boys. This is indicated by the fact that some of the least popular of the girls turned out to be some of the toughest of the girls. The girls' peer group was not simply one of the boys' gangs writ large, the boys taking the place of the rival gang, the girls internally stratified in much the manner of each of the boys' gangs. It was a very different game of rivalry that the girls played.

The girls' solidarity against the boys: "They make trouble, you know"

Boys were all-important to themselves; their friendships were with other boys, and their enmities were with other boys. Girls, however, thought more in terms of the class as a whole. They tended to phrase friendships in terms of relationships with other girls, but they did not phrase dislikes in this way. Here, they stood together against the boys. This difference between the girls and the boys is apparent in the sociometric exercise. In responding to the question of the three children with whom they most liked to play at recess, the boys usually named other boys. The 12 boys of the class made 38 responses to the positive recess playmates question; of these, 30 responses mentioned boys, and 8 mentioned girls. The 13 girls of the class named other



girls almost exclusively as the people they liked to play with at recess. Of their 39 responses, 37 mentioned girls, and only 2 mentioned boys. The boys continued with a strong same-sex pattern of response when asked to name three children with whom they did not like to play at recess. In their 33 responses to this question, the boys named other boys 25 times, and girls 8 times. The girls, however, reversed their pattern of response. Instead of naming girls as people they did not like to play with at recess, they usually named boys, 23 of their 36 negative responses going to boys. They also tended to name the boys of the two gangs, 16 of their responses going to these boys.

Reflected in the boys' pattern of response to the sociometric questions is an idea of opposition as a same-sex phenomenon and thus an idea of solidarity as a same-sex factional phenomenon; reflected in the girls' pattern of response is an idea of opposition as a cross-sex phenomenon and thus of solidarity as a same-sex group phenomenon. The tough girls did not divide themselves into rival gangs and thus did not name other tough girls as people they did not like to play with; instead, the girls as a group focused negative attention on the boys.

The girls' solidarity against boys was grounded to some extent in the girls' experience of the boys' toughness. As a rule, the boys were more concerned with dominance issues than the girls, and boys were particularly concerned to maintain the impression of dominance over girls. As suggested by the boys' side/girls' side rhetoric of the boys, boys acted in terms of an implicit claim to dominance over girls and might fight if this claim were challenged. Boys did not always try to assert dominance over girls, and girls far from always refrained

from asserting dominance over other children, boys included. But as a group, boys did cut into the tetherball line, were difficult about losing games to girls, and otherwise attempted to dominate girls often enough to make them credible as a common enemy. Nine of the eleven girls who named boys as people they did not like to play with gave "teasing," "hurting," "pinching," "spitting," or some other action associated with dominance-work as their reason for not liking to play with those boys; six of these girls added simply, "They make trouble." Correlatively, when boys named girls negatively in this and on other sociometric exercises, they tended to explain, "They act wise," or in some other way to convey the idea of insubordination. The girls' solidarity against boys is thus in part an understandable and justified reaction to the boys' behavior and attitude of dominance towards girls.

The girls, however, were not merely passive reactors; their solidarity against the boys also reflects an active strategy for self-defense and control which they had put into operation on the playground and in the classroom. In order to cope with the boys most concerned with asserting toughness, the girls often did think of themselves and behave as a single gang. By herself, for example, a girl might not be able to force a boy to admit to having lost a game. But a chorus of girls together yelling, "Out! You out!" from the tetherball line was usually sufficiently embarrassing to persuade even boys like Pete and Jake to accept defeat and to depart, albeit with a barb like, "There, crybabies!" usually thrown back at the girls. Sometimes, girls acting on their own might simply speak as though they embodied the group in order to put its power to work in putting down

and controlling boys. During one lesson, for example, Toby Loo had been pestering Estrella. As the lesson drew to a close, he was trying to get the teacher's attention in order to win a turn at answering a question. "Call me! Call me!" he was saying, and "Mrs. Akana! Mrs. Akana! I never get chance! I never get chance!" Finally, Estrella said scathingly, "Nobody care." As the teacher prepared for the next activity and Toby Loo slumped back in his seat, Estrella applied the coup de grace. "Nobody like you," she said.

That girls used solidarity as a group strategy for controlling boys, is given circumstantial support by the differences between the responses of the tetherball players and the pretend game players in the sociometric exercise. The seven tetherball players used all 21 of their positive mentions to name other tetherball players and one pretend game player--Trina--as the people they liked to play with. Of the tetherball players' 21 negative mentions, however, 16 went to boys; only 5 negative mentions went to girls. All 5 of these negative mentions, moreover, were accounted for in one way or another by April. She received 2 of the 5 mentions, and she herself made the other 3. Rather than naming boys, April named 3 pretend game players as the children she did not like to play with, referring to them as "silly and baby people." For the most part, the tetherball players thus followed a rule of naming only other tough or relatively tough girls as people they liked to play with and of naming boys as people they did not like to play with. The six pretend game players followed the same general pattern of naming tetherball players positively and boys negatively, but they were less consistent in following this pattern. They made 18

positive responses; of these, 2 went to boys. Eleven of their remaining positive responses did go to tetherball players (9) and Trina (2), but 5 went to other pretend game players. Correlatively, the pretend game players spread their negative mentions among the boys and the girls rather than focusing disapprobation upon boys. Of their 16 negative mentions of classmates, 8 went to girls. Of these 8, furthermore, only 2 went to April; 1 went to Doreen and the remaining 5 were distributed among three of the pretend game players. These data suggest that the stances of girl/boy opposition and girl unity around the tetherball players were the more relevant to answering the sociometric questions the more girls were involved in contending with boys in the tetherball lines, in team sports, and in other frameworks. Vying more frequently as equals with boys, the tetherball players had to cope more frequently with confrontations with boys and therefore had greater reason to rely upon the strategy of female solidarity in dealing with boys. For these girls, the boys were always visible as a common enemy.

It would be simplistic, however, to relate the solidarity expressed by the girls solely to the boys' behavior and to the group strategy used by the girls in controlling or defending themselves against boys. Girls of primary school age are not smaller than boys. On the contrary, the very smallest of the second grade girls were as large as the average sized second grade boys. The girls thus could, and often did, put down male attempts at dominance by taking or threatening to take direct measures of their own. The second grade girls were far from pushovers. All but Doreen and Noe usually ended up deferring to

Pete and Jake in one-on-one encounters, but where the remaining boys were concerned, the tougher girls could usually hold their own. During a film being shown to the children at the end of the day, for example, Brent, Jamie, and Toby Loo were using some crayons belonging to Mapu and which Mapu had forgotten to put away. When Mapu finally realized that her crayons were being used by the boys, she at once got up to go after the boys. Abandoning the crayons, Brent and Jamie backed away from her, but she caught Toby Loo and swatted him. A little later, Brent and Norino squared off. It turned out that Brent, Jamie, and Toby Loo had been using Mapu's crayons to write unflattering notes about Norino, one of which had wound up in her possession. The teacher put a stop to the confrontation between Brent and Norino but that did not end matters for either child. When Brent was waiting for the schoolbus sometime later and saw Norino approach, he anticipated some reaction to the note. Trying to deflect blame from himself, he said to her, "I never bother you. No blame 'em [the note] on me! Jamie write 'em!" Ignoring him, the battle already having been won since Brent had obviously taken her displeasure seriously, Norino boarded her bus. Somewhat lamely, Brent "stuck finger" at her back.

In instructional and other contexts of group activity, the girls often simply assumed dominance over the boys. For example, there were not enough math books to go around in one math lesson. By design, the teacher divided the children into boy-girl pairs, requiring each pair to share a math book. The children coupled were Claradine and Pete, Doreen and Kaleo, Norino and Brent, Noe and Tolbert, Mapu and Jamie, April and Mark, Toby Loo and Laura, Louella and Steve, Trina and Kehau,

and Estrella and Melody; the other children were either absent or being tested. The first named child in each of these pairs was the one who ended up controlling the math book. With the exception of Toby Loo in the Toby Loo-Laura pair, the dominant children in the lesson were thus all girls.

As suggested by these facts, the second grade girls' attitude of collective opposition to the boys was as much a value statement as it was a reaction to the boys' actual behavior or an element of a self-defense strategy. The boys were supposed to be the physically superior sex. But as far as the girls were concerned, indeed, as far as the children as a whole were concerned, girls were nicer and smarter than boys. They were the morally superior sex. Fighting was supposed to be mainly a boys' thing, an evil made necessary owing largely to boys' machismo. The girls themselves fought, but being nicer and smarter than boys, they were supposed to disdain fighting and children who fought; and they did. By naming boys as people they did not like to play with in the sociometric exercise, the girls were saying that girls are superior to boys. By relying upon group pressure as a strategy for achieving their goals in the tetherball lines and in other frameworks, the girls were not saying that they could not fight so much as that they were above fighting. While in part a defense against rough treatment by boys, the girls' collective opposition to boys was also simply a move made by the girls in a game of sexual politics with the boys.

There were, furthermore, altogether different hazards against which girls protected themselves through a stance of collective opposition to boys. The girls' feelings about the boys and about fighting were

highly ambivalent; the girls were drawn to both. Hawaiian children, and probably all children, display a sexual interest in one another from their first experiences at school. This interest is clear in the play that the children do and in the situations that they seek out. During one lunchtime, for example, three first grade girls ventured over to where Pete and some other boys were playing sham battle. The girls were asked what they were up to. "Making trouble," one of them said mischievously. "They make trouble, you know," she continued, indicating Pete and the others. "Yeah," one of her partners smiled, "so we make trouble to them." The "trouble" that the girls had in mind was a kind of teasing that might lead to being chased by the boys. It was flirting that these girls intended. The second grade girls' own interest in the boys, and especially in the fighters among the boys, was just as clear. One of the pretend games that Trina and the other girls played was called, "Boyfriend." To get into this game, a girl had to make a claim to having a boyfriend in the class. The claim did not have to be true so much as believable to the other girls. Their toughness notwithstanding, the tetherball players, too, toyed with the idea of boy-girl relationships. Like the other girls of the class, they knew a number of jokes, rhymes, and ditties with sexual overtones. As sung and acted out by Noe, Norino, Mapu, and Estrella during lunch one day, one of the ditties went like this:

When Suzy was a teenage[r],  
a teenage,  
a teenage,  
When Suzy was a teenage,  
She went, Ooh, aah, lost my bra!

The tetherball players also made claims to having boyfriends, and the second grade boys made claims to relationships with girls. Noe, Norino, Mapu, Estrella, together with Trina, Claradine, and Kehau were the girls who were most often involved in gossip about romantic alliances; Jake, Tolbert, Pete, and Toby B. were the boys. Rumors of romantic connection between second graders were not associated with much manifestly sexual behavior. But attraction between boys and girls did regularly generate playful chasing of girls by boys, playful teasing and scolding of boys by girls, and other mutually enjoyable experiments with fantasies of dominance and subordination in male-female relationships.

In addition to attractions, there were also some true friendships between boys and girls. These friendships were manifested through various forms of supportive and affectionate behavior, including acts of chivalry by boys and of mothering by girls. Pete, for example, would defend Noe's honor in the tetherball games and in other contexts. On one occasion, Noe missed a number of opportunities to beat a much larger third grader in a tetherball game. "Come on, Noe," said Toby Loo, "no give chance!"

"She not," said Pete. "She scared, tha's why," asserted Toby Loo. "She not scared, fuck you, brah!" said Pete. "No, not, she just waiting," said Toby Loo, quickly concurring.

Noe, for her part, had a soft spot for Pete. After one recess, for example, Pete came off the playground with his temper flaring and was made to sit outside the classroom as the other children went in. After a few minutes, the teacher looked outside to ask if he were ready to



join the class. "No!" he replied brusquely. The teacher shrugged and let the door close. A little while later, Noe opened the door and looked out at Pete. He looked up at her but then turned away, making a point of ignoring her. Noe waited a moment and then said, "Come, Pete," in tones so neutral that one could hear in her voice only patience with the way things are among boys. Something about the way Noe had spoken took the fight out of Pete, and he stood up and went in.

Associated with these boy-girl friendships and attractions were some distinct hazards for the children and particularly for the girls. Play between the sexes could be too arousing for the boys and thus turn too rough for the girls. Here, the stance of female solidarity against boys might figure as a control over boys' excitement; it could put the brakes on situations and provide girls with time to recover from having been pushed, tripped, or otherwise abused. Rivalry for the attention of boys in chase games and in other contexts could also well arouse jealousy between girls. Simply the suggestions made in gossip or note-passing among the girls that a girl was pretty or not, well dressed or not, sweet smelling or not, and thus attractive or not, could easily lead to problems. As well as a strategy for coping with roughness from boys, the stance of solidarity was a strategy for coping with attractions to boys and, more importantly, simply with the idea that one was supposed to be attractive to boys. Female solidarity enabled girls to mask and to manage putative rivalries over the same boys and to cope with the much more stable, pervasive, and potentially troublesome rivalry over relative success at manifesting feminine allure. True friendships between boys and girls posed somewhat

different problems. The problems here had to do with the questions of where a child's true loyalties lay and of where the boundaries to cross-sex friendships lay. For both boys and girls, there was fear as well as pleasure connected with the frisson of attraction, and for both, the danger that cross-sex friendships might be taken as a betrayal of same sex peers. The stance of solidarity against boys enabled girls to avoid the perception of disloyalty to the side and to give boy-girl friendships safe limits.

Many of the multiple and diverse hazards involved in boy-girl encounters are well-illustrated by events which surrounded Mapu, one of the tetherball players, during a recess occurring in the children's third grade year. The events of this recess are also indicative of the varied purposes served by the girls' stance of solidarity against boys. For this recess, the children had lost the right to play both tetherball and team sports with the kickballs because those games had occasioned a number of fights. Options for play radically curtailed, Mapu began recess by sitting with Tolbert on the monkey bars. Shortly, they devised a game to amuse themselves. Tolbert would hang from the monkey bars and try to reach or kick up through them at Mapu, and Mapu would try to loosen his fingers to make him fall.

On the jungle gym next to the monkey bars, Estrella, Norino, and Kehau were playing a pretend game. Norino and Kehau were the babies, and Estrella, the mommy. Soon Norino ran down the hill with Estrella chasing her. Seeking refuge behind the playground supervisor and also absorbing her into the game, Norino said, "Help, Mommy! She gonna lick me! She gonna lick me!" The supervisor smiled at the girls but did

not get involved, and Estrella began to drag Norino back up the hill. Laughing as she was being taken away, Norino called back to the supervisor, "You stink [are a bad] Mommy! You stink Mommy!" Kehau arrived in the middle of this and tried to render aid to Norino. But Norino and Estrella together ganged up on Kehau instead, spanking her, and dragging her back up the hill to the jungle gym.

Meanwhile Melody, Steve, and Toby Loo had joined Tolbert and Mapu on the monkey bars. All three boys were hanging by their arms from the bars. They were simultaneously trying to pull each other down with their legs and trying to fend off the girls' attempts to dislodge them. Melody had climbed up beside Mapu, and both girls were playing at loosening the boys' fingers to make them fall. After one fall, the boys and then the girls switched from the monkey bars to the jungle gym; Norino having escaped from Estrella once again, the jungle gym was vacant. As Tolbert clambered around on top of the jungle gym, however, he lost one of his slippers, and Mapu, still on the ground, seized it. For some reason, the loss of the slipper to Mapu upset Tolbert. Perhaps it represented too intimate a contact. "Gimme 'um! Gimme 'um!" he demanded rapid fire from his perch, but Mapu would not. Tolbert began climbing down, but as he reached the ground, Mapu threw the slipper over and beyond the jungle gym. Kicking off his other slipper, Tolbert moved forward as if to confront Mapu. Laughing and holding her arms in front of herself as she backed away, Mapu said, "I so-rry! I so-rry!" Tolbert then smiled and went off to get his other slipper.

As Tolbert was retrieving the slipper, Norino, Estrella, and Kehau arrived back on the scene at a run and jostled Mapu. They were trying

to involve Mapu in their game, but Mapu became angry at having been overrun and squared off to fight Estrella instead. Estrella and her partners laughed at Mapu's reaction but kept their distance. Melody ended the confrontation by guiding Mapu back to the monkey bars.

Toby Loo returned to the monkey bars, too, but Tolbert and Steve shifted their interests. They stayed in the open field with Estrella, Norino, Kehau, and two new arrivals, Mark and Jamie. Together, the four boys initiated a boys-chase-girls game against the three girls. The boys went down on all fours, pretending to be dogs, and loped off after Estrella, trying to muzzle, bite, and paw at her legs. She eluded them, mostly, but they caught up with Norino and spanked her. Laughing and striking back at the boys, Norino got free, and then the boys set out afresh after her, Estrella, and Kehau. There was much laughter, much squealing, much tumbling around; they were all enjoying themselves.

Not so Mapu. She, Melody, and Toby Loo had been joined by Kaleo on the monkey bars; all four children, Mapu and Melody included, had gone back to the game of hanging from the bars and using their legs to pull each other down. But Mapu was less well disposed than she had been and shortly got into a confrontation with Melody. Melody, using her legs, had pulled Mapu down from the monkey bars, but then Mapu had reached up and used her arms to pull Melody loose, breaking the rules of the game. As Melody picked herself up from the ground, she exchanged some sharp words with Mapu, and then Mapu shoved Melody backwards, making her fall again. Angry and a little tearful, Melody went to complain to the principal, who happened to be nearby. At this point, Toby Loo, still

hanging from the monkey bars, made the mistake of teasing Mapu about the fact that she was about to be "busted" by the principal. Mapu retaliated by reaching up and yanking Toby Loo loose. As he fell to the ground, Toby Loo tilted in midair and came crashing down on his spine. Furious and in pain, he got up and slugged Mapu, who slugged him back. Both children were now crying freely. The principal, a witness to the entire episode, broke up the fight and set off towards her office with Mapu, primarily to get Mapu away from the enraged Toby Loo. Restraining and also supporting Toby Loo, Kaleo and Steve headed downhill towards their teacher. The whistle to end recess had been blown a few moments earlier, and the children's teacher, who had come out to lead them back into the classroom, was standing at the base of the playground, watching the crowd by the monkey bars and trying to figure out what was going on.

As Kaleo tried to explain things, the teacher took Toby Loo in her arms, partly to keep him from chasing after Mapu and partly to shelter him from the looks and occasional teases of other children. Meanwhile, however, the noise level in the line was picking up. The children from the chase game were still laughing and jostling each other, other children were beginning to argue about things, and Laura had dropped to the ground and begun to cry. "She fall," explained Brent, innocently. He had been standing directly in front of Laura in the line. "You push her," said Melody, who had been standing directly behind Laura; Melody had been a witness to the line jockeying between Laura and Brent and had seen it escalate to a shove from Brent. In truth, the encounter had not been altogether Brent's fault. During recess, Laura had gotten

involved in a running dispute with Louella, her recess partner and best friend. Several times during recess, their dispute had peaked in tears and cries of, "You not my friend!" When Laura had gotten in line behind Brent, she had been, perhaps, a bit more assertive than usual.

"Fuck you," said Brent, reacting angrily to Melody's charge that he had pushed Laura. "Fuck you," retorted Melody, mouthing the words silently. Brent puffed out his chest at Melody and made the hint of a move to strike her, but she stood her ground, knowing that he was mostly bluster. Menacing her with a snarl, Brent turned back into his position in the line as if he had won the encounter; Melody dismissed Brent with a brief look of disgust. Later in the day, Kaleo would have to restrain Melody from attacking Brent.

Noe and other girls in the line now tried to get the children to shape up. Their teacher had an "All right, that's it!" performance to which she would treat them when her patience was at an end; the children knew that the teacher had almost arrived at "it" when she stood stock still with her eyes glaring wide and her mouth pursed tight. "Come on, you guys!" said Noe. "She waiting!" implored other voices. Abruptly, the children were lined up and quiet, and the teacher led them off to the classroom and a pep talk.

The problems among Mapu, Toby Loo, and Melody, however, had not yet been resolved, and within a few minutes, Toby Loo and Melody were called to join Mapu and the principal to tell their side of the story. In the principal's office, Toby Loo accused Mapu of mistreating both himself and Melody, but Melody at once disputed this. She claimed that Toby Loo had butted into what in fact had been simply an accident

involving herself and Mapu. The principal cut off the budding argument. She counseled Toby Loo not to get involved in others' problems, Mapu to ignore others' teasing, and required the two to make mutual apologies. Melody and Mapu then spontaneously offered apologies to each other and agreed not to play so roughly. When they returned to class, Mapu was still sniffing a little. The two girls sat together, and Melody made a point of keeping Mapu supplied with tissues. The confrontation they had had was altogether forgotten.

Was it the case that Mapu had been primed for her confrontations with Melody and Toby Loo by feelings of jealousy towards Estrella over so improbable an object as Tolbert? Had Mapu instead been left with the stirrings of anger by Tolbert's behavior over the slipper, or had she simply been reacting to immediate events when she pulled first Melody and then Toby Loo down from the jungle gym? Any of these things is possible; more relevant is the fact that all were familiar possibilities of experience for the children in cross-sex interaction. These possibilities stem from the potential for conflict over issues of dominance, attraction, and sexual rivalry which always lay in encounters between boys and girls.

Foremost among the hazards of cross-sex interaction for the children was that background issues of sexual politics would emerge to threaten the foreground matter of play. Flirting was one thing; girls were quite willing to play at being one down to the boys by letting themselves be chased--so long as the boys were willing to look a little foolish doing it--and by acting out the role of mischievous subordinate--so long as this was appreciated by the boys merely as a

tactic of seduction, not as an admission of real inferiority. Younger girls were even willing to do things like push older boys on the swings. Being dominated against their wills by boys, however, was another thing entirely, and girls were not at all prepared to accept this. The problem for the children was that the one sort of situation could quickly transpose into the other. Like the conflict in claims between the boys' two gangs, a very real conflict in claims to primacy underlay the boys' and the girls' presentations of self. Whatever the role definitions sustained by the children in the service of play and mutual attraction, boys were committed to maintaining a claim of dominance over girls, and girls were committed to maintaining a claim of parity, at the least, with boys. Whenever events upset either claim, then boys were likely to act to defend their presumptive rights of dominance over girls, and girls, their presumptive rights of parity with boys. Tolbert might enjoy being teased by Mapu, but if it were not clear to him that she were only playing, then he might make a move to put her down. Estrella, on the other hand, might enjoy being chased by the boys, but if it were not clear to her that they were only playing, then she was quite capable of making the move to confront them.

Another threat to the course of play between boys and girls were a set of background issues regarding boys in the girls' relationships with each other and a complementary set of background issues regarding girls in the boys' relationships with each other. Mapu and Estrella were good friends, and although both were attracted to Tolbert and attractive to him, neither lost any time thinking about him. A recess



spent as this one was in pretend games and flirtation, however, brings rivalries and potential jealousies close enough to the surface to be easily triggered by the teasing, bumping, and jostling customary in such play. Liberties that Mapu might allow in the tetherball lines were not necessarily liberties she would permit when the idea of rivalry was relevant. In the context of an ongoing encounter with Tolbert, jostling like that which Mapu took from Estrella and the other girls could readily be interpreted as affront and quickly swell undercurrents of contention. These undercurrents, in turn, might spill over from one relationship to others, eventually washing over individuals like Melody and Toby Loo partly because they just happened to be in the way and partly because it was easier and less painful to fight over a game than to fight over the issue of relative attractiveness. For boys, matters were similar. In the right circumstances, putative rivalries over girls could dispose boys to be quick to take offense at the routine events of play.

Despite a variety of potential sources of problems, girls and boys did not often end up fighting each other. When they did, however, then they could be lifted to displays of pain and rage connected less to immediate circumstances than to the group implications of boy-girl confrontations. In a sense, each boy was threatened when a boy was confronted by a girl, each girl, when a girl was confronted by a boy, and both boys and girls reserved especial disdain for peers who characteristically let down the side. Girls were especially hard on a child who was too easy for the boys, letting herself be mauled too freely in the chase games and otherwise showing herself too available

and ready an object for the boys' fantasies of dominance. Like the boys--albeit to a much lesser extent--girls could also be hard on a peer who performed poorly in confrontations with the opposite sex. A girl could back down from boys, and she could cry during confrontations with boys, but she had to have good reasons for doing these things; the girls, too, had limited patience with "crybabies."

Owing also to the group implications of boy-girl confrontations, the boys and especially the girls tended to close ranks on sex lines, smothering inner rifts in the service of group identity. Thus, Melody would forgive and forget a spat with Mapu in favor of making a common front in the principal's office, and Kaleo would restrain a boy like Toby Loo, partly to keep him from embarrassing himself any further and partly, perhaps, to keep alive the idea that boys needed to be restrained in order to be kept from doing harm to girls. Anon, disturbances would pass, and public attitudes of opposition between boys and girls would recede from direct view. Children like Melody and Brent, who were not friends, would avoid each other. Children like Mapu and Toby Loo, who were friends, at least not enemies, would rediscover feelings of empathy and attraction for each other, and would eventually find their way again to chase games, teasing, and other forms of play with sexual politics. Like the game between Norino, Estrella, Kehau, and Tolbert, Steve, Mark, and Jamie, play with the opposite sex did not always go awry and, indeed, was typically the source of much fun.

In view of the hazards but also the attractions involved for girls in associating with boys, the most reasonable conclusion to be drawn

from the girls' stance of solidarity against boys is that it operated rather like a homebase. The company of other girls was a place from which girls could venture for the excitement of chase games with boys but equally a place to which they could keep to protect against the very real possibility of being hurt by boys in play. In representing the joint forswearing of relationships which were in fact somewhat attractive, solidarity against boys also served as a conventional means for muting jealousies and rivalries among the girls themselves. When things had gone wrong and fights had happened, solidarity, lastly, was a place to which girls could return for comfort and support. The girls' feelings and relationships with the opposite sex, like those of the boys, were not simply negative but strongly charged and potentially volatile and dangerous. The attitude of group solidarity gave girls a means of coping with the situation. Matched by an equally emotionally charged if not equally complex orientation on the part of the boys, it was a structural resource used by the girls, by no means always successfully, in coping with the multiple hazards of having to associate with tough boys, of having to vie with other girls in living up to ideals of femininity, and of having to deal with problematic feelings about peers of both sexes.

The girls with each other: "She have fun playing with her frinds and I want to join."

In a very important way, however, the girls' attitude of solidarity as girls had nothing whatsoever to do with boys and everything to do with other girls. It was an integral aspect of the girls' own

structure of relationships, an attitude which the girls might have manifested even had Ka Na'i Pono been an all girls' school with no boys to play, flirt, or fight with at recess.

The girls' social organization was very strong in the sense of being both strongly agreed upon and very strongly ranked. The girls' responses in the sociometric exercise reveal very clearly the internal structure of this status system and the extent to which it was agreed upon by all the girls. As can be seen from the following table, five girls in the class--Noe, Norino, Mapu, and Estrella among the tetherball players and Trina among the pretend game players--accounted for no less than thirty-one of the thirty-nine positive mentions received by girls from girls. Each of the thirteen girls in the class mentioned at least one of these five girls as a child she liked to play with; ten girls mentioned more than one. Not one girl in the class, however, mentioned any of the top five as a child she did not like to play with.

Neither was the attention focused upon Noe, Norino, Estrella, Mapu, and Trina simply a function of the split between the tetherball and pretend game sets; it was not the case that the first four girls were named only by other tetherball players, and Trina, only by other pretend game players. The seven tetherball players did name the top five girls more consistently; all twenty-one of their positive mentions went to these girls. Six of their twenty-one mentions, however, went to Trina; among the tetherball players, only Doreen did not name Trina as one of the three girls she liked to play with. Not counting Trina's mentions, all of which went to other members of the top five, the pretend game players gave only seven of their fifteen positive

Table 9

Mentions Received by the Girls of the Class in Response to the Positive and Negative Recess Playmates Questions

Responses Made by Girls and Boys Naming Girls

	Noe	Trina	Norino	Mapu	Estrella	Laura	Melody	Kehau	Claradine	Louella	Yuki	Doreen	April	Subtotal Pos./Neg.	Pete	Jake	Toby B.	Jamie	Steve	Toby Loo	Freddie	Totals Pos./Neg.
Noe		+	+	+	+	+	+	+						9/0	+		+			+		12/0
Trina	+		+	+	+		+		+		+			8/0						+		9/0
Norino	+				+	+				+				4/0	-	+			+		+	7/1
Mapu		+					+					+	+	5/0								5/0
Estrella	+	+	+	+								+		5/0					-			5/1
Laura								+	-	+	-			2/2				-				2/3
Melody									+					1/0					-			1/1
Kehau											+		-	1/1								1/1
Claradine						-					+			1/1								1/2
Louella		-							-				-	0/3							+	1/3
Yuki								+					-	1/1	-				-			1/3
Doreen								-						0/1								0/1
April	-	-		-										0/4						-		0/5

Responses  
Received  
by Girls

responses to the top five girls; but these seven responses were not focused upon Trina. Indeed, three of these five girls did not mention Trina at all. Kehau mentioned Noe, Laura mentioned Noe and Norino, and Louella mentioned Norino and Mapu as children that they liked to play with. Support for members of the top five thus crosscut the tetherball player/pretend game player distinction.

Within the top five, Trina and Norino, typically the organizers of the pretend games and chase games, respectively, stood a little above Estrella and Mapu in most social contexts. Noe, however, was in a class of her own. This was quite clear from the children's performance on two other sociometric questions. On one, the children were asked to name a person in the class to whom they would give a present if they had one to give; the present could be given to anyone, boy or girl. Of the twenty-five second graders, two children, including Trina, received two presents each, ten children, including Norino and Mapu, received one each; the remaining eleven presents went to a single child, Noe. She was given presents by all segments of the class: the tetherball players, the pretend game players, boys from both gangs, and boys on the girls' side. In a very real sense, Noe was the center of the class not only for the girls but for all of the children. In the second exercise, the children were asked to imagine that they were all alone on a strange island. If they could choose three girls from the second grade to help them, who would they choose? Who would they not choose? The girls with the largest negative totals were April (13), Doreen (7), and four of the pretend game players--Laura (14), Yuki (9), Louella (7), and Claradine (6). The girls with the largest positive totals

were the girls of the top five--Trina (10), Mapu (9), Estrella (8), Norino (6), and Noe. Noe was mentioned positively by 18 of her 24 classmates and negatively by no one. The only girls in the class not to mention Noe as a helper were Claradine and Yuki. Noe was again mentioned by all segments of the class.

It is clear from the concentration of positive attention upon the top five girls, and particularly upon Noe, that the girls' collective opposition to the boys was linked to a very strong and well-defined status system which embraced and was supported by all of the girls. This unitary peer group structure was a difference of profound significance between the girls and the boys. It meant that girls had only a single option for group affiliation; and this fact, in turn, held systematic implications for the girls' social agenda, their definition of rivalry, and their control of conflict.

Both the girls and the boys were driven by an interest in succeeding among peers, but success meant different things for the girls than it did for the boys. The boys' two-gang system established fighting as a legitimate and intrinsically valued activity, and it rewarded displays of relative dominance with status and prestige. In this system, individuals vied to be at the top. More precisely, each boy tried to insure that no other boy was manifestly more dominant than he. The girls' unitary and highly ranked peer structure, on the other hand, provided no context in which fighting between girls was a legitimate and intrinsically valued activity. On the contrary, it tended to render fighting illegitimate for conflict disturbed both the girls' solidarity towards the boys and their internal organization.

Rather than relative dominance, this system rewarded the achievement of relative centrality to the girls' doings. Where boys tried to be tough in order to be at the top, girls tried to be tough in order to be near the center. More precisely, each girl tried to insure that no other girl--save Noe-- was manifestly more socially favored than she. Each girl aimed to create and to maintain situational characteristics which disclosed her centrality to the girls' social life and to female frames of reference. Being included was what the girls sought--included in games on the playground, in trips to the bathroom, in the set of girls who were let in on peer news, who exchanged clothes, who were thought tempting to boys, who were close to the teacher and close to Noe and other leaders. Boys had to be tough to merit inclusion in their rival gangs; girls had to be tough to win and to hold position towards the center of their single gang.

As the use to which girls put toughness was different from the boys', so was the nature of their rivalry. For the boys, the background question in situations was who was tougher than whom. This question generated rivalry over relative possession of valued personal qualities like courage, athletic talent, and wit. Theirs was one-on-one rivalry, the rivalry of head butting. The girls, too, butted heads. But for the girls, the principal background question was who had more friends than whom. This question generated indirect and group mediated forms of rivalry. Theirs was rivalry over centrality or situational prominence. It was driven by concerns with popularity, and sometimes by feelings of jealousy, and had to do with relative possession of social connections.



Both the head butting and the jockeying for favor generated by the boys' and girls' social systems were forms of contention and could lead to conflict, but again there were very important differences between the boys and the girls. The girls' joint acceptance of Noe as primus inter pares relieved them from a struggle for primacy and the stronger forms of rivalry that might be relevant to such a struggle. By giving this position to Noe, the girls not only honored Noe, but in effect, made a pact with each other not to contest rights to the center. They thus restricted their rivalry to the less divisive issue of relative proximity to the center. Among the boys, there was no corresponding agreement as to primacy; on the contrary, in principle, each boy was committed to maintaining appearances of parity with all other boys. Conversely, the girls' social integration gave them the potential for acting in a concerted way to control rivalry and to sanction fighters. In the boys' game, it was neither possible nor desirable to institute group pressures to be nice. Owing to the strength of the girls' integration, however, it was entirely possible for them to isolate peers who were either too tough, vying for centrality too much like boys, or too punitive, exercising rights of centrality over other girls too harshly. For a boy to offend a peer like Pete or Jake, who enjoyed the uncertain support of perhaps two to three other boys, was one thing. For a girl to offend one of the top five girls and Noe in particular was another thing entirely for these girls could influence the entire class. There was only one game of relationship among the girls. A girl either played this game, or she was out, and she might well be put out for playing it too roughly.

The net effect of the general devaluation of fighting, the lack of socio-structural contexts and issues which called for fighting, and the girls' fear of social sanctions stemming from fights, was that the girls did not allow their rivalries over position so readily to key conflict. There were not as many fights nor so many acrimonious voices among the girls. Girls could accept defeats in games and could expose vulnerability much more easily than the boys for these things did not have the social costs for the girls that they held for the boys. When conflicts between girls did occur, they tended to be short-lived and conducted verbally rather than physically. On the other hand, while girls could be extremely sharp with one another, they were generally more concerned than boys not to hurt peers' feelings. Positional claims within the girls' status system were validated mostly through group sentiments of admiration and affection and positional rights were less ones of dominance than of influence. The girls' status system is itself better conceptualized as a set of concentric rings than as a hierarchy. These rings extended inwards from a periphery of culturally less worthy individuals--including most of the pretend game players but also some tetherball players--, through an in-group of girls roughly equally worthy and socially successful, to a central position of great influence occupied by Noe.

In sum, the girls, too, instituted a form of peer organization which both promoted rivalry and rendered rivalry controllable. But where the boys' system tended to generate peer conflict, the ultimate form of rivalry, the girls' system tended to render peer conflict

illegitimate, generating a struggle for inclusion and centrality instead. And where rivalry was controlled among the boys through their fear of losing serious fights and avoidance of such fights, rivalry was controlled among the girls through their fear of exclusion and avoidance of group disapproval. If being included was what the girls all sought, being excluded was what they all feared. In this fact lies another of the reasons for the girls' stance of solidarity against the boys. There was no danger of losing one's place in the peer group by expressing disapproval of boys; there was, however, if one expressed disapproval of other girls. For all of the girls, the boys were a handy symbol to use in suppressing and camouflaging their own rivalries with one another.

#### Rivalries for position in the classroom and on the playground

Both the classroom and the playground contained recognized points of centrality and thus both locales keyed rivalries for position among the girls. These rivalries absorbed all of the girls, but most closely involved the top five girls, and certain other individuals--primarily tetherball players--who had aspirations to the girls' inner circles.

For all of the second graders, academic standing was related to peer group status, but academic success was important in different ways and to different degrees for the boys and the girls. For the boys, academics were yet another framework in which to make assertions and counter-assertions in their game of parity and dominance with peers. For the girls, academics were more a framework through which to assert

relatively close position to the teacher, the center of the classroom. From the girls' perspective, high academic status was as much a sign of a strong relationship to the teacher as a mark of personal achievement. Perhaps more precisely, the significance of high individual achievement in the classroom was that it could connote a special relationship to and thus relatively greater influence with the teacher.

Reading group status was the strongest indicator of relative academic status. The color-coded, five level reading group system used at Ka Na'i Pono is tied to different levels of performance on tests of reading achievement, to different levels of seat work, and to different level reading books and Center 1 reading lessons; and the children all know this. From top to bottom, the five reading groups are blue, orange, yellow, green, and red; lists showing the members of each group are usually posted on a wall of the classroom. Reading group status is also directly observable each day at Center 1 and at Center 2. One reading group at a time meets with the teacher for a twenty-minute reading lesson at Center 1. Immediately following a lesson with the teacher, that group goes to Center 2, "Follow-up Center." For the other three center periods, the children of a reading group are usually split up, working with children from other reading groups at other center locations, but for at least forty-minutes each day they are visible as a group holding a certain position in the classroom's hierarchy of reading achievement. The following table shows the distribution of the second graders in the five reading groups.

Table 10

## Second Grade Reading Group Status

	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Boys</u>
<u>Blue group</u>	Noe Doreen Trina Laura	Steve
<u>Orange group</u>	Norino Louella April	Jake Kaleo Freddie
<u>Yellow group</u>	Melody Claradine	Pete Brent Jamie Kevin
<u>Green group</u>	Estrella Mapu	Toby B. Tolbert Mark
<u>Red group</u>	Kehau Yuki Rennie (transferred 10/79)	Toby Loo Herman (transferred 11/79)

From this table, it is evident that high academic status was associated with being a leader for both the girls and the boys. Five of the academic leaders were also five of the peer group leaders: Noe and Trina were both in blue group, Norino was in orange group, and Jake and Kaleo were also in orange group. Just as obvious from this table, however, is that high academic status was not a sufficient qualification for a leadership role. Among the boys, both Steve and Freddie were highly placed academically but poorly placed socially; similarly, Laura, Louella, Doreen, and April were highly placed academically but

poorly placed socially. Conversely, being relatively low in the hierarchy but not at the bottom was not necessarily socially damaging. Toby B., Tolbert, Estrella, and Mapu were in the next to bottom reading group but well positioned among their peers. It probably did no harm for a child to be at the top of the academic hierarchy, and it probably did no good for a child to be at the bottom. More important than high academic status per se, however, was whether a child was able to use that status to create a consistently attractive image--of dominance among the boys, of centrality among the girls.<sup>1</sup> Congruently, more important than low academic status per se was whether a child were at the periphery of things in other ways as well. For Noe and perhaps most decisively for Trina, high academic status was another piece of an attractive image of centrality. On the other hand, whether in blue group or not, Laura was still Laura--somewhat overweight, not very athletic, and not tough enough to resist dominance from other children.

In creating an image of connection to teachers, the girls, furthermore, were neither limited to nor limited by the issue of formal academic standing. The schoolday included many possibilities for assisting the teacher and even simply for arranging to occupy a

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<sup>1</sup>Undue significance should not be attached to the fact that boys who belonged to the same reading group also often belonged to the same gang. Though the composition of the reading groups was supposed to reflect objective measures of reading achievement, it also reflected a teacher's practical efforts at creating a group of children who could work together. It was less the case, in other words, that boys were in the same gang because they were in the same reading group than that boys were in the same reading group because they were in the same gang.

physical position close to her, all of which could be used by the girls to mark position within the peer group. Whatever their relative academic standing, girls might vie as equals for these opportunities to locate themselves at the heart of things.

Lessons taught on the floor provided one such opportunity for the children generally did not have assigned seats for these lessons. Certain girls would vie for front row seats while the other children, and primarily the boys, would sit further away. These lessons were usually taught by "specials." For one week's Hawaiiana class, for example, the children formed up like this:

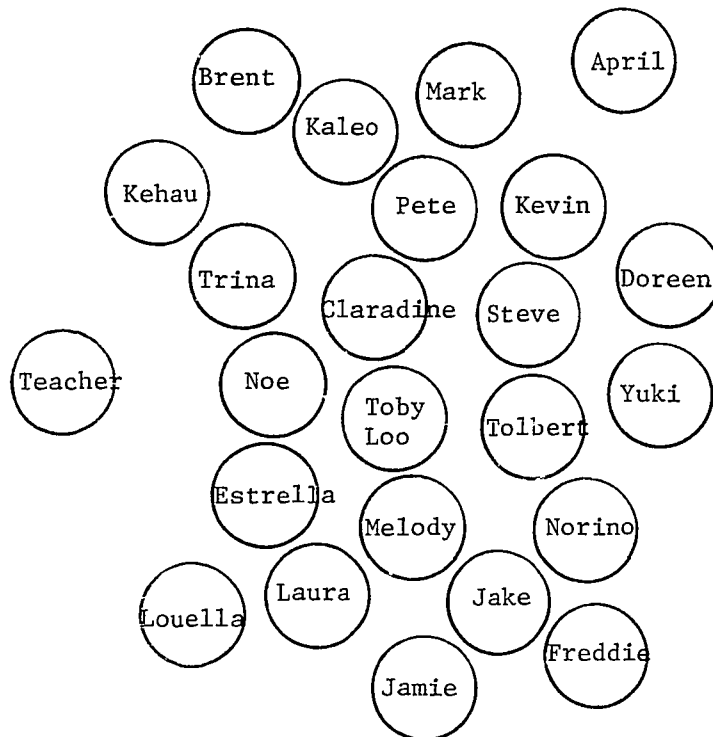


Figure 3

Seating Arrangement for a Hawaiiana Class

The position which a child ended up occupying in this formation had partly to do with whether the child had been released relatively early or relatively late to join the group on the floor. But the formation also reflects the girls' orientation to the idea of centrality and the outcomes of their rivalries over positions of centrality. As can be seen from the diagram, girls generally sat towards the front of the group, and of the four members of the top five present for this lesson, three had seats in the middle of the front row.

One variable which strongly influenced the girls' rivalries over centrality was the number of "centers"--i.e., of attractive activities or attractive individuals--available to them in a setting. The more the number of centers, the less intense were the girls' rivalries over centrality for the more opportunities did each girl have to find and to occupy some relatively central position. Another variable which strongly influenced the girls' rivalries over centrality was the ease with which distance from a center could be measured. The less well-marked was distance from the center, the less intense were the girls' rivalries over centrality for the less clearly did one girl's position imply advantage or disadvantage relative to other girls. Conversely, the fewer the number of available centers and the more easily measured was proximity to the center, the stronger were the girls' peer rivalries. Large group lessons taught on the floor represented a context in which there was only one "center" and in which relative centrality was clearly marked. Consequently, this context tended to promote relatively intense rivalries for position. Getting and holding on to the better positions often required work as shown by



the process through which the children seated themselves for their next week's Hawaiiana lesson.

For this class, the children were again not released from their seats at the same time, but instead joined the teacher on the floor as they completed some seat-work. Pete and Estrella were the first to arrive. The teacher, as usual, was sitting cross-legged on the floor. Pete sat just off her left knee, and Estrella just off her right knee. Trina was the next child to arrive. She somehow inserted herself between the teacher and Estrella, forcing Estrella to give ground. Estrella resisted this intrusion, trading looks with Trina and trying to push her away, but to no avail. As this was happening, Kaleo and Toby B. arrived and sat to the side a few feet behind the first row. Rather than staying with the girls, Pete slid back to join these two boys, and Estrella immediately moved around Trina to claim Pete's vacated position. Reacting to this, Trina moved to her right about half a foot, successfully nudging Estrella a bit further from the teacher than she wanted to be. April and Doreen now arrived, however, and themselves nudged Trina further along; April sat squarely in front of the teacher and Doreen sat to April's left, occupying more or less the space that originally had been Estrella's. Mark arrived next and sat to Doreen's left; his stay there was a brief one, though, because Noe soon arrived and stood just behind him, waiting. Taking the cue, Mark slid backwards about the width of a row, and Noe sat next to Doreen. From right to left, the children now facing the teacher were Noe, Doreen, April, Trina, and Estrella. Norino and Melody were the next children to arrive. As the front row was already full, they sat

directly behind April and Doreen. Soon, however, the formation on the floor broke up. The teacher passed out some hula instruments, and she and the children stood up and spread out to use the instruments in a dance. Forgotten during the fun of the dancing, the girls' rivalry over proximity to the teacher surfaced at the end of the lesson; Noe, Trina, Estrella, Claradine, and April all vied with each other to help the teacher collect the instruments and carry them to the third grade classroom for the next Hawaiiana lesson.

The five twenty-minute periods that constitute a day's language arts session--called "centers" by the children--and other pieces of the daily routine provided girls with similar opportunities to jockey for positions of closeness to the teacher. In the second grade, there were always housekeeping and preparatory tasks that needed to be done. Doing these things for the teacher suggested connection to her and centrality to the class. The decentralized structure of the language arts session, however, tended to de-emphasize the girls' rivalries. The setting of the session distributed the girls among numerous clusters of activity. During language arts, there were six or more activities operating simultaneously, and each provided girls with some access to central positions and to valued tasks. There was Center 1, where the teacher would be conducting a reading lesson, and there were five or more independent work centers functioning in the room. Nevertheless, girls who were evenly matched as rivals and who were equally socially ambitious were sometimes assigned to the same reading group or independent work centers, and these girls might vie relatively intensely for the positions and tasks available. This was the case for

Estrella and Mapu. They were in the same reading group and often at the same independent work centers. Their classroom rivalry over centrality was therefore frequently intense.

Much of their classroom rivalry centered upon the passing out of reading books at Center 1. The child who sat in the far right seat at Center 1 was the one entitled to pass out the books, and Mapu and Estrella often struggled over this seat. During centers one morning, for example, Mapu braced herself to make a dash for Center 1. The end of a center period in second grade was usually foreshadowed by a warning from the teacher to clean up and was marked by the ringing of a timer. For the next minute to minute and a half, the children who had not yet done so would prepare to move, and the teacher would scan the room to see that everyone was either ready or getting ready for center change; she would then direct the children to make the move to their next centers. The teacher's glance fell upon Mapu and stayed there until Mapu stopped straining at her seat. When the teacher's eyes traveled on, Mapu again braced herself to run, and Estrella, alerted to Mapu's intention, also began straining at her seat. "Okay, next centers, please," the teacher finally called out, and both Mapu and Estrella did a half run, half quick walk to the far right chair at Center 1. Estrella actually got there first, putting her hand on the chair to draw it back. Mapu, however, simply slid into the chair, occupying it before Estrella could. Estrella stood behind the seat, frowning at Mapu and waiting for her to get out of it, but Mapu would not. Estrella then attempted to make a protest to the teacher, but the teacher was busy talking to Tolbert and Toby B., who had just arrived

at Center 1. These two boys had been sitting together during the preceding center period and making more noise than they should have. After twice failing to draw the teacher's attention, Estrella gave Mapu a look and then sat in the seat next to her. Smiling, Mapu passed out the books.

On another occasion, it was Estrella who maintained the upperhand. The two girls had been vying over blackboard erasers and blackboard space to erase. Finally, they squared off. Estrella hit Mapu; Mapu stood her ground but did not retaliate. Unlike the boys, the girls distinguished between "hard" and "soft" hits; Estrella's hit had been a soft one. A minute later, the blackboard war flared up once more; Estrella again hit Mapu, and Mapu again held her ground but did not retaliate. The remainder of the task was accomplished without further trouble, each girl staying within a certain space on the blackboard and not provoking the other.

Sometimes a group of girls in the classroom would itself constitute a center. Individuals would vie for position within this group but often so gently as not to disturb its playful and intimate mood. After class meetings, for example, the second grade would often be joined by the third grade for the treat of a film. Since there were not enough chairs for everyone and since it was more fun to sit on the rug anyhow, most of the children would arrange themselves in little same-grade and primarily same-sex clusters on the floor. During one movie, Noe, Trina, and Estrella gathered in a corner of the room. They lay on their stomachs next to each other with Noe in the middle, murmuring and giggling in the dark. Estrella then shifted to a position between and

on top of Trina and Noe, putting her head on Noe's back and lying with a leg over one of Trina's; there was more giggling and cuddling. Shortly, Claradine arrived and lay in the position Estrella had vacated. Doreen followed. At first she sat crosslegged behind the pile of four girls but then began shifting forwards. Claradine gave way until finally Doreen was lying next to Noe with Claradine lying in front and to the right of her. The little slumber party broke up when the teacher walked by. Noe and Claradine moved to some nearby chairs. The other three girls ended up in the oversized library chair, Doreen and Trina sitting side-by-side, Estrella, against their legs.

On the playground, the centers of interest for the girls were certain individuals--Noe but also Trina and Norino--and certain activities--pretend games, chase games, team sports, and most especially the tetherball posts. Girls lined up to play tetherball not only for the thrill of the contest but because "the gang" was usually there. As suggested by Kehau's habit of waiting in line but not actually playing, girls joined the boisterous, fast-paced flow of activity through the tetherball lines, into the tetherball arena, and back into the lines again in order to make themselves part of the heart of the class. Indeed, the idea of contest was sometimes the least significant aspect of tetherball. In one variant of the long tetherball game, children played by pairs. Rather than passing from the loser of a game to the next child in line, the turn to play passed from one pair of children to the next pair, both winner and loser vacating the tetherball post at the end of a game. Though the girls sometimes paired off in order to stage championship matches--Doreen against

Melody, for example-- , the point of participating in this version of the game was not to win so much as to share the stage with a friend and, conversely, to show that one had friends to share the stage with.

Participating in tetherball games involved the girls in the same sort of rivalry that accompanied their efforts at assisting and positioning themselves near the teacher in the classroom. The tetherball players all coveted the turn to play; the children waiting in line wanted to get into a tetherball game as quickly as possible, and the children actually playing a game wanted to prolong their stay at the tetherball post for as long as possible. These conflicting interests often made the tetherball games noisy centers of controversy and led to the creation of numerous points of tetherball law. Touching string (hitting the string attached to the ball rather than the ball itself) was cause for forfeiture as were bobbling (hitting the ball more than once) and passing line (crossing the imaginary line which separated one player's semi-circle of territory around the pole from the opponent's). Giving chance (not playing for an immediate win against a smaller child or a friend) was usually seriously frowned upon but not cause for forfeiture unless sustained and flagrant. The convention of clipping, on the other hand, could be used by a child to sustain a turn at the short game. In that game, winning required hitting the ball past the opponent only once; if a child could defend a claim to having nicked the ball as it passed by, then the game continued until someone missed the ball completely. All of these charges and counter-charges, needless to say, were easy to make but difficult to prove so that tetherball games were frequently accompanied

by running disputes until finally completed. "Miss! Miss! You out!" would come the charge from children in line, and "Not! Clip!" from a player. To hold her own in the tetherball games, a girl had to be willing to engage in these disputes, asserting and protecting her rights against the other players. Simply holding one's place in the line could be difficult. There were children who might try to cut or to pass ahead. What a girl did about these situations disclosed her commitment to and ability at maintaining a position towards the center of the girls' doings. As with classroom rivalries, however, the girls rarely allowed tetherball rivalries to escalate to fighting. The girls were responsive to disputes, teasing, and losses in games, but they were not so thin-skinned as the boys; and within their peer group, the implications of fighting were quite different. Girls who had position did not want to risk it by fighting; and most of the girls who did not have position usually had little desire to make matters worse.

On the playground, as in the classroom, the availability of a number of attractive activities also helped girls to control their rivalries over centrality. Indeed, at recess, girls had options to switch from one center of action to another that they did not have in the classroom. If rivalry at one tetherball post began to escalate, a child could switch to the other post or to some altogether different activity. Conversely, the girls' playground rivalries were the more intense and girls needed to be the more perseverant and insistent about their rights, the fewer were the play options available to them.

For recess one day in third grade, for example, the tetherballs were not put out because the ground around the posts, always bare of

grass, was very wet and muddy from the night's rain. This left the children with the options of chase games, pretend games, hopscotch and similar games, or team sports. Many of the children, including girls who normally played tetherball, ended up opting for team sports.

Estrella came out with the recess ball for she was ball captain that day. Doreen, however, simply took the ball away from her and stood bouncing it as other children came out and began to collect for a game of kickball. When sufficient numbers had gathered, Pete nominated himself to be a team captain opposite Doreen, and those two children did junk-and-a-po--Hawaii's version of the Japanese jan-ken-po choosing game--to see who would pick first. At lunch later that day, the children were asked why Estrella had not been a team captain though she was ball captain for the day and therefore should have been. Many voices at once answered that Estrella was afraid to "junk Doreen" but that Pete was not.

Pete won the right to choose first. He and Doreen agreed to pick two children each to start with and then one each to finalize the teams. The children usually played kickball with four person teams because with more than four players, it took too long for a person to get a chance to kick. It also got to be too difficult to make three outs on the opposing team. Greater numbers tended to decrease rather than increase a team's efficiency at fielding kicked balls.

Pete's first selection was Noe, but Pete was not sure who to pick next. Kaleo and Brent were the other two boys in Pete's gang, but Kaleo was still in the classroom. Saying, "Me! Me!" Brent darted into the circle of children waiting for the game to get going, but everyone



knew that he had lost recess and was supposed to be standing against the wall. "Can play?" Pete asked Brent anyway, but Brent raced back to the wall without answering. Jake and Tolbert were also among the children who wanted to play kickball and were clamoring for Pete to pick them, but Pete avoided noticing their pleas. Then Noe whispered in Pete's ear. "I pick Noe and 'Rella [Estrella]," Pete finally said, the consultation over. "Go. Take your two takes." Doreen chose Jake and Tolbert to resounding groans from those two boys. They wanted nothing to do with Doreen. Pete then made his next selection. "Kaleo when he come out," Pete said--"go." As her final teammate, Doreen chose Mark, the new addition to Jake's gang.

Doreen's team took the field. She claimed the pitcher's role for herself; behind her, Jake, Tolbert, and Mark arrayed themselves as fielders and basemen. Noe went up to kick first, and Pete stood behind homeplate to field Doreen's pitches. On the sidelines, Estrella waited for her turn at bat while Laura, Louella, and Kehau giggled and played at being cheerleaders. Norino, however, was not content with that sort of peripheral role. She had been in the crowd gathered to play but had not been chosen. Rather than accepting exclusion, Norino undertook to insert herself onto Pete's team. From her perspective, this team was probably Noe's team. She stood next to Estrella in the batters' line, but Doreen, Jake and eventually Pete all told her, "You not playing." Norino did not take a turn at bat, but when Pete's team was finally put out, she joined Pete, Noe, and Estrella on the field. There were more complaints from Doreen and Jake, but none this time from Pete. When Doreen's team was put out, Norino again joined the batters' line.

Despite an early protest from some of the children on Doreen's team, she held out and eventually took a turn at bat. Though not selected for the game, Norino thus successfully forced her way into it. Moreover, she placed herself on the team which eventually won. The children did not keep track of the score in games like kickball but judged winning and losing on the basis of what they all knew to be the general flow of the game. Pete's team held the kick turn longer than Doreen's, scoring more frequently, and in general performing more competently. When Tolbert flubbed a play towards the end of recess, Jake said something disparaging about Tolbert's capacity to play, and those two boys fought. Shortly after that, the game broke down.

#### Controlling deviance and dominance

These examples of interaction on the playground and in the classroom illustrate the power of the girls' conceptions of peer organization to generate rivalry over issues of inclusion and centrality and are also suggestive of the effectiveness of their system in neutralizing conflict, particularly among the top five. Girls needed to be tough in order to get into and to hold position within groups clustered about some center of activity. But whether vying for space to erase on the blackboard, for the navigator's seat at Center 1, for position in a group on the floor, or for access to and rights in recess games, girls' usually were not and could not afford to be so tough as to precipitate conflict. To fight and be branded a trouble-maker, was to risk exclusion from the group itself. It was not so much to lose in the girls' game of relationships as to be denied the

opportunity to play it. This was a potent threat for all of the girls and was largely responsible for conventions like "soft" and "hard" hits and for the manifest unwillingness of most of the girls to allow conflict to escalate much beyond nudges, words, and looks of indignation.

There were prices to be paid, however, for this effective control of conflict. The same social organization which promoted and so effectively controlled the girls' rivalry over centrality also created the conditions for some potentially much more divisive problems. In a network in which only one group affiliation is possible, group dynamics tend to penalize strongly behavior outside the norm and to construe a variety of norms rather narrowly. In order to assure and to bolster position within the one game of relationships available, members of the network tend to make much of perceived commonalities and to magnify the significance of perceived differences between themselves and other network members. Conformity becomes a shelter against the danger of exclusion; playing a role in excluding or limiting the rights of individuals thought not to conform cements entitlement to the shelter and enhances its appeal, establishing acceptance as a scarce, conditional, and therefore treasured good.

The inevitable consequence of the processes of conformity and exclusion, however, is the creation of certain problematic roles. These roles include those of the weak and the deviant. The weak are individuals who are not or are simply thought not to be successful in living up to shared values; the deviant are individuals who do not, cannot, or are simply thought not to hold the values held by other

members of the network. If pushed to the extreme, the processes of conformity and exclusion generate versions of these roles so extreme as to threaten the well-being of both the individuals saddled with them and the group itself. Outcasts and scapegoats may reject a group so punitive in its dynamics as to have created these roles, eventually organizing their own rival network or attempting to thwart the routine functioning of the network. Manifestly punitive group processes also rebound to challenge the ideals, values, and morale of members with full group rights, threatening their belief in the goodness of their association and their commitment to it. In these ways, the processes of conformity and exclusion constitute not only a method for achieving but also a hazard to social integration. The problem facing members of a network like the second grade girls' is that of controlling these processes; essentially, the problem is one of maintaining sentiment for the group on the part of those whose rights within it have been limited, and of maintaining sentiment for the weak and the deviant on the part of a group which has adjudged these individuals to be "not like us." The second grade boys, too, faced this problem, but with them, the problem was not nearly so potentially acute as it was with the girls. The boys may have fought, but the fragmented and volatile nature of their relationships also made it difficult if not impossible for them to mount the sustained and concerted peer group pressures and attitudes of which the girls were capable.

That the girls' peer group contained individuals who were relative outsiders is apparent from observational data and a variety of

sociometric and other data. The second grade girls' ideals included attractiveness, cleanliness, and intelligence but also virtues associated directly with the generational implications of Hawaiian interaction. These virtues included a capacity to act with nurturance and responsibility towards peers, to have "good fun" with peers, and also to defend oneself and one's rights against peers through joking, teasing, disputing, and, if necessary, the physical means of fighting. The deviants among the girls were certain tetherball players--Melody and particularly Doreen and April. These girls had too much toughness and did not display other values and traits which girls are supposed to possess. The weak individuals among the girls were certain pretend game players--Laura, Claradine, and particularly Yuki and Kehau. These girls were not tough enough and were deficient in other respects as well. With both the deviant and the weak among the girls, however, there was always a question as to whether manifest qualities and traits were aspects of the individual or aspects of the role. They are probably best viewed as aspects of both. Doreen, April, Yuki, and Kehau played the roles they played in part because they were who they were. On the other hand, had the second grade girls all been exactly alike, there probably still would have been Doreens and Aprils and Yukis and Kehaus among them. The girls' peer group itself, in other words, would have created these roles and found reasons for fitting individuals into them.

The following table combines data on the girls' sizes with rank order in toughness, positive and negative mentions on the recess playmates question, reading group status, and playground affiliation.

The table attests to the status differences among the girls and gives indications of some of the frameworks critical to status.

Table 11

Heights, Weights, and Sociometric Mentions Received  
by Girls from other Girls

	Height (lbs.)	Weight (ins.)	Rank Order Size	Sociometric Mentions (Positive/Negative)
Doreen	53.0	82.5	1	0/1
Laura	51.0	82.0	2	2/2
Melody	50.0	74.0	3	1/0
Norino	50.0	69.0	4	4/0
April	51.0	61.5	5	0/4
Kehau	51.0	59.8	6	1/1
Louella	48.5	65.0	7	0/3
Estrella	51.0	57.0	8	5/0
Mapu	49.0	59.3	9	5/0
Yuki	49.0	56.3	10	1/1
Claradine	49.0	51.3	11	1/1
Noe	49.3	50.0	12	9/0
Trina	48.5	50.8	13	8/0

As is clear from this table, the relationship between size and status was much different for the girls than it was for the boys. Among the boys, size was directly related to status; as a rule, the larger the boy, the more the status. Among the girls, almost the reverse was the case; the larger the girl, the less the status. Of the seven largest girls in the class, only one was a member of the top five; of the six smallest girls in the class, four were members of the top five.

Part of the reason that size was such a different variable among the girls is that for them different aspects of size were relevant to

determinations of toughness. To win fights, a boy needed some height and body weight; to win tetherball matches, girls needed some height and quickness. Thus, despite the fact that Noe was extremely slight, her quickness and ranginess made her a star tetherball player. More to the point, toughness was itself a different sort of variable among the girls. Whether a girl could "handle" was determined less by whether she won fights than by whether she would stand up to challenges and use the verbal talents of joking, teasing, and disputing to control situations. Among both the boys and the girls, moral courage and wit were ultimately more important than physical toughness in shaping impressions of worth, but this was especially true among the girls.

Beyond these differences in the relevant aspects and relative significance of size, however, are constraints which were worked by the girls' dynamics of conformity and exclusion upon the idea of size. The boys' dynamics rewarded dominance and thus size; the girls' dynamics tended to frame as unnatural or not normal girls who were either too big and strong or too heavy and soft. These girls did not look like girls were supposed to look. If a girl who did not look "right" also did not act "right" and possess the other status markers that girls were "supposed to" possess, then she was very likely to find herself on the periphery of the girls' peer group.

Among the tetherball regulars, Doreen, Melody, and April neither looked nor acted "right." These girls--Doreen and Melody in particular--were in the first place too large. They also contended with the other children in ways too assertive of their size and toughness. April was brash, unpredictable, and often disputatious and

punitive towards girls she reckoned to be social inferiors. She was also capable of crudely sexual language and joking which the other girls found both amusing and offensive. In addition, April was part-black, and this doubtless played a role in her peripheral status. It was less the case that the girls did not like April because she was part-black, however, than that the girls thought of April as being part-black because they did not like her. Kaleo, too, was part-black, and he was one of the best liked children in the class. Among the girls of another class, another part-black child was also one of the centralmost figures. As do American children generally, the second graders had acquired the sorts of racist notions common in adult American society, but these ideas were relevant more as symbols for articulating attitudes and feelings towards peers than as sources of such attitudes and feelings. Whatever her color, April was too rough and abrasive.

Melody, too, made too much of the idea of physical dominance despite the fact that she often did not fare well in confrontations. Melody, for example, played the long tetherball game with the third graders much more often than the short game with the other second graders. She was also always enthusiastic about championship matches between herself and Doreen, acting as though in the entire class it was only Doreen who could give her a good game. In these and other ways, Melody placed herself above her classmates and stimulated them to close ranks against her. Doreen, however, was by far the most physically dominant girl and the most assertive of her dominance. As the bull of the class--a role in which she took no little pride--Doreen was



committed to making a good showing in tetherball games and in other frameworks of contest. This had not endeared her to the other tetherball regulars, who more than once were forced to swallow losses at games they had actually won. On the basis of sheer size and strength, there was no one in the second grade to match Doreen. She did not use the girls' strategy of group pressure in dealing with the boys; she did not need to.

In sum, April, Melody, and Doreen--especially April and Doreen--deviated from the girls' notions of how girls were supposed to look and act; they were too much like boys. The price that they paid for this was either being a lightning rod for disapproval, as was true for April, or receiving the cold shoulder from peers, as did Doreen and to a lesser extent Melody. Had these girls been boys they would doubtless have fared much better among their peers. Melody and Doreen, in particular, would have done very well. As girls, however, they were too large, too strong, too concerned with dominance--too different to fit into or to be welcome in the center of the girls' doings.

The problems with acceptance experienced by pretend game players were also related to the issues of appearance and toughness but in a different way and not quite so strongly. These problems, however, also reflect the operation of conformity and exclusion in the girls' peer dynamics. Louella and Laura were both overweight more than large and strong. Laura was also untidy and not adept at using verbal and other means to stand up for herself. In consequence, these two girls were candidates for something less than central position. Both of these girls, however, were relatively high in the academic hierarchy, and it

was probably this that kept them from being located at the very fringe of things. Kehau and Yuki, on the other hand, were in the proper size range, but they were at the very bottom of the class academically. Yuki was retained at the end of second grade, and Kehau was nearly retained. Yuki and Kehau also did not assert themselves in the scenes of the girls' doings; they did not display the toughness they would have needed to display in order to claim and to hold position in the tetherball lines and other situations. It was not clear, however, whether they hung back because they were not tough or whether they did not display toughness because they knew they were not well-accepted. It often seemed the case, in other words, that these two girls maintained a low social profile owing to their awareness of the tenuous nature of their acceptance within the girls' peer group. Lastly, Claradine's problem with acceptance probably stemmed mostly from the fact that she had joined the children in first grade. The girls' relationships had already taken shape, and Claradine had not demanded the right to acceptance by her peers. She was excluded from the center of the girls' doings because her reticence and lack of prior social connection had made her excludable and because the concept of girls at the center required the concept of girls at the periphery. Like those of Louella and Laura, however, Claradine's problems with acceptance were not so acute as those of Kehau and Yuki. Among the girls who were not tough, it was Kehau and Yuki who suffered most from the dynamics of conformity and exclusion.

If the data show that there were outsiders and near outsiders among the girls, they make equally clear that these individuals maintained

sentiment for the girls' peer group. While it is noteworthy that neither Claradine nor Yuki mentioned Noe on any of the sociometric exercises, all of the girls voted the partyline to some extent, and none of them voted squarely against the ticket. Again and again, the names of Noe, Trina, Norino, Mapu, and Estrella turn up positively in the sociometric exercises, the few exceptions to this rule being consistent with the ups and downs of the girls' day-to-day rivalries. For the Aprils and Doreens and the Yukis and Kehaus alike, the core of the girls' peer group remained powerfully attractive. Their position was that of being on the outside and looking in longingly rather than resentfully. This was particularly true of the girls' orientation towards Noe. Almost all of the girls in the class held much affection for Noe and desire for her friendship. In explaining why she would give a gift to Noe, for example, Laura wrote this: "I want to give Noe a nice gift. It is a kiss because she is nice to me." Kehau expressed the same sentiment: "I want to give Noe a cat. Cas she like me and when she has samtering [something] she gev me." April's response was most revealing of the situation of outsiders. She wrote that she would give a gift to "Noe becuse she have fun playing with her frinds and I want to join."

That few if any of the peripheral players in the girls' game of relationships manifested serious disaffection with the girls' social order, has to do partly with the girls' collective success at keeping the status differences among themselves from growing too punitive in interaction. Disregard among the girls was expressed both directly and indirectly. Girls kept disregard implicit by leaving peers out of

invitations to action, by ignoring a girl when she made initiatives of her own, or simply by positioning their bodies so that they faced away from a child rather than including her in a group. On a direct level, disregard might take the form of insulting teases, threats, or other putdowns. Through experience, each of the peripheral players had learned that strength of resistance varied directly with distance traveled into a situation, and each had settled upon the degree and type of discomfort which was acceptable. The central players, similarly, had learned what it took to keep peripheral players from getting too close. Partly as individuals and partly as a group, they had decided on the degrees of proximity which were permissible and had discovered the conventions which were effective in signaling social boundaries. Interaction between central and peripheral girls tended to move towards but usually remained within their respective tolerances for neither sort of player had much to gain by taking interaction beyond acceptable limits. The availability of multiple types of centers and the flexibility of the girls' notion of centrality also played important roles in easing relationships between peripheral and central girls. The boys' two-gang structure and their conception of toughness tied their formulations of relative worth to processes like fighting, teasing, recess contests, and other frameworks serviceable as gauges of relative dominance. The girls' metaphor of centrality was less content dependent. It could apply to a variety of frameworks, providing girls with a variety of means for crafting an appearance of being in on things. A girl who was an outsider on the tetherball circuit might not be so much of an outsider to her reading group or

independent work groups. The experience of varying degrees of distance from a variety of centers, in turn, tended to keep peripheral players hooked into the girls' game of centrality. Sometimes it seemed as though they themselves stood at the center.

Nevertheless, the essential feature of the girls' peer group was that insiders held special status and special rights to interaction and withheld these to varying extents from the peripheral girls. Always a source of pain, school events and the girls' dynamics could push the fact of marginality beyond tolerance for the peripheral girls. That sentiment for the group on the part of these girls and sentiment for these girls on the part of group survived the working through of this possibility, has to do with the efforts that the girls would make to repair breaches of trust and relationships. In particular, it has to do with Noe.

In a group as strongly integrated and ranked as the second grade girls' peer group, power and influence are concentrated in the hands of the topmost leader. Noe used this power and influence to keep the girls' peer group integrated and to control group processes. At recess, Noe shared her time with a variety of children, including the peripheral girls. The fact of Noe's friendship made manifest and maintained links between these girls and the heart of the class. Just as importantly, Noe acted as the girls' moral leader. Noe was the most respected as well as the most popular of the girls, embodying the best of the girls' values of courage, wit, intelligence, attractiveness, and concern for others. Noe used this group respect to place limits upon the girls' group dynamics, keeping the girls who seemed too tough from

being turned into rogues and those who seemed not tough enough from being abused. There were things that Noe would permit, and things that she would not permit in the girls' peer group. She tended not to intervene in rivalry between individuals; that was their affair. But she would intervene in contests between individuals who were not evenly matched as rivals, and she would intervene when group dynamics had gone or threatened to go too far. That she would do so, was part of the reason that the other girls had given Noe her central position. With Noe as the moral leader of the group, each of the girls knew she was as safe as she was likely to be from group dynamics. Girls like Melody and Doreen knew that Noe would not withhold friendship from them and that this would influence other girls, keeping the door to situations open and group criticism from growing too strong. In return, they accepted from Noe forms of control that would have been out of the question from other children. Girls like Laura, Louella, and Kehau also knew that Noe would not withhold friendship from them and that this would keep them from being bullied. In return, they gave Noe affection, support, and admiration. Some girls, it is true, were sheltered less by Noe's friendship and leadership than others. This was the case for April, Claradine, and Yuki. But enough of the girls were sheltered by Noe that the girls' network remained viable as a unitary group. As reflected in April's words and in the pattern of Claradine's and Yuki's sociometric responses, even girls towards whom Noe felt no particular friendship retained commitment to the girls' peer group.

Doreen: "Not! Clipped!"

Noe's role as a moral leader was particularly effective where Doreen and Kehau were concerned. The strength and toughness of the one challenged the girls' de-valuation of physical dominance and the routine functioning of tetherball games and other activities; the weakness of the other invited bullying, scapegoating, and other distortions of the girls' values and relationships. In these different ways, both Doreen and Kehau were threats to the girls' social system.

Doreen's situation was particularly striking. It is a truism that the children who are most problematic for teachers are the same individuals most problematic for other children. As Doreen regularly offended her peers with her toughness, so, too, did she regularly offend her teachers. But there was also something magnificent about Doreen to which both her peers and her teachers responded. No one had consulted Doreen before ordaining that boys were tougher than girls and could chase and capture girls on the playground. As far as Doreen was concerned, this rule was silly and manifestly contrafactual. She was the equal of any boy and would play the same game of dominance as the boys even if that meant arousing dislike among her peers. Doreen's situation, in other words, was not determined simply by her failure to live up to the second graders' notions of femininity but by her commitment to act in terms of her own standards. It was this resolve of hers that kept her butting heads with peers and teachers but which could also spark no little admiration among both. As everyone knew, Doreen could "handle."

During one recess, for example, Doreen had won a series of short tetherball games. There had been some close calls, but most if not all of the games had been won fairly. Nevertheless, rancor was becoming visible in the faces of the other children. Finally, a child succeeded in hitting the ball over Doreen's head. The ball traveled so high above Doreen's head that there could be no question that she had lost, and the children in line at once broke into a loud cheer. Doreen, however, continued to play, and immediately there came an eruption of "OUT! YOU OUT!" from the tetherball line. "Not!" retorted Doreen. "Clipped!"

"OUT! YOU OUT!" again yelled the tetherball players; they also began to seek the intervention of the playground supervisor. The principal happened to be on duty this day and had been observing the children at the tetherball pole. The principal told Doreen that she had lost and that she should wait in line for another chance to play. Children in line now laughed and teased Doreen, but Doreen, holding the tetherball under her arm in the way that a soldier or football player might hold a helmet, said she had not lost and would not leave. The children in line again disputed this, but none made the move to take the ball from her. Three days earlier, in exactly the same situation, one of the third grade girls had tried to take the ball away and had collapsed in tears when Doreen had yanked her hair. The principal told Doreen that she had lost and had to follow the same rules as everyone else; she had to give up the turn to play. Doreen now charged out of the tetherball arena to argue with the principal. She told the principal that she had clipped the ball as it traveled overhead and



that there was no way that the principal or anyone else could know that she hadn't. The principal tried to ignore Doreen by walking away to the cafeteria, but Doreen pursued her, continuing to shout that she had not lost. Finally, the principal replied that she had indeed lost and that she needed to settle down. "Fuck you!" responded Doreen.

If there is an action guaranteed to make schooladults angry, it is being told, "Fuck you," by a child; and all children know this. Teachers--everywhere, it seems--make a point of forbidding the "F-word," and children always seem to know what the F-word is without having to have it spelled out for them. That Doreen had spoken in this way to the principal, is a measure both of how angry she was and how willing she was to stand up even to the principal on a matter of principle. The principal told Doreen to accompany her to her office. Doreen refused to go. The principal told Doreen that she would count to five and that if she did not follow, she would be "in big trouble." Doreen finally followed.

In the office, the principal demanded an apology from Doreen, but Doreen would not stop talking about the tetherball game. She said that she had clipped the ball, that there was no way that the principal could have known that she had not, and that therefore the principal had been wrong in making her leave the game. For Doreen, the situation had transcended the issue of winning or losing at tetherball; indeed, that had never really been the issue. The issue was that Doreen had the size and ability to win game after game of tetherball fairly and the will to do so even though her well deserved athletic dominance of the game aroused resentment. For Doreen, that children had been so ready

to cheer her defeat and the principal so ready to declare her the loser, had less to do with the particulars of that one game than with the particulars of Doreen--with the fact that she stood out in ways in which girls were not supposed to stand out. It was this and the unfairness of it that had probably driven Doreen to dispute a game which she had in fact lost rather than merely a desire to continue to dominate play.

Eventually, the principal got Doreen to apologize for cursing at her. Then the principal offered Doreen her own apology for not having believed that she might have clipped the ball. Adults who did battle with Doreen often found themselves doing things like this. In truth, adults as well as children could resent as deviance Doreen's exceptional qualities of size, will, and courage, and in truth, this resentment could compromise objectivity, making adults feel guilty about intervention even when intervention had been entirely correct and justified. Doreen may have been the bull of the class, but she was not really a bully; she was simply determined to chart her own course despite--indeed, perhaps partially owing to--the concerted opposition which, she had learned, this could arouse.

The grudging admiration which both adults and other children felt for Doreen helped to control their actions towards Doreen and Doreen's towards them. On its own, however, ambivalence would probably not have been sufficient to keep Doreen from being pushed beyond the periphery of acceptance. What saved Doreen's place among the girls was probably her friendship with Noe.

With Noe, Doreen was a different child. Her role as the bull of the class and the question of whether her qualities were exceptional or deviant ones did not arise as issues. Doreen remained tough, but her pugnaciousness vanished; and Doreen made overtures of friendship towards Noe that she did not make towards other girls. Melody may have especially prized Doreen as a tetherball partner, but Doreen's favorite partner was Noe, not Melody. Doreen would contrive to play against Noe in the short game and regularly invited her to be her partner in the long game. In many of the other frameworks through which girls affirmed association, Doreen was not a player. For example, girls would trade garments during the day and might also make agreements about what to wear on the next day. Doreen was too large to trade clothes with the other girls, and Doreen, in any case, did not make claims to femininity through clothing and accessories. On the contrary, she rejected the notion of such claims. Trips to the bathroom to "wet hair" in order to cool off after tetherball and other games, however, were a different story. These trips fit more the image of female warrior that Doreen preferred exclusively to project and that she assumed, rightly, that Noe also valued. If Noe had been playing with her, she would suggest the idea of wetting hair to Noe; Doreen, the largest of the girls, and Noe, nearly the smallest, would emerge from the bathroom, hair dripping wet, equally sisters in combat.

Nor was Doreen's fondness for Noe simply a function of Noe's centrality to the other girls. Doreen was fearful of losing face in front of peers, but she was not fearful of experiencing peers' dislike. Doreen's fondness for Noe was a free choice of her own. It was deep

and entirely genuine. Devotion is probably not too strong a word to use in describing Doreen's feelings for Noe. At one recess during the children's third grade year, for example, Doreen was unwinding the tetherball. Doreen had just beaten Noe at the long game, and it was the right of the victor to unwind the tetherball from the pole after a game. This right gave children like Doreen a chance to show off their strength. They would smash the ball as hard as they could to make it come unwound in one go or would hit the ball again and again, until it flew around the pole in an ever faster and widening arc. Doreen was a master at this. By third grade, her strength was truly astonishing. She had gained nearly thirty pounds between second and third grades, and all of it seemed to be muscle. After unwrapping the ball by hand a few turns to give herself some rope to work with, Doreen smashed the ball as hard as she could to unwind it from the pole. Noe, however, had strayed back into the tetherball circle and the ambit of the ball. The ball exploded off her back, knocking her straight to the ground. Doreen went to her at once. When it seemed that Noe could not breathe, the girls huddled around her thought she might be dying, and Doreen simply scooped her up in her arms to rush her off to the classroom and the teacher. There, Noe eventually got her breath back and stopped crying, but this took about thirty minutes to accomplish. Through it all, Doreen was stricken. She sat restlessly and without speaking, as though in the throes of some private experience of hubris. She kept looking towards and away from Noe, alternately riveted and repelled by what had happened. Once, she got tissues for Noe, who accepted them.

Of the two girls, it was Doreen who seemed the more comforted by this transaction.

With Doreen's affection for Noe went trust, and with the trust went a willingness to accept control from Noe. Noe was able to use this potential for control in ways that benefited both Doreen and the peer group as a whole. All Noe usually had to say to get Doreen to leave a game was, "Out, already," and Doreen would go. For Doreen, the relationship with Noe was a certain one. Consequently, Doreen was relieved from doubt as to whether Noe's judgments about games were motivated by background dislike--no one expressed dislike of Doreen openly--or simply by the events of the games. In the classroom, the situation was similar. Here, too, Noe could intervene without provoking Doreen. An example of this is contained in Ellen's lesson. Doreen had captured a pencil belonging to Jamie and was teasing him with it. Noe's simple, "Doreen," won a return of the pencil to Jamie. It was as though the enormous Doreen were willing to regard the slight Noe as an elder kinswoman who held legitimate rights to authority over her. Noe's acceptance of Doreen's friendship, conversely, tended to legitimate rights to inclusion in the peer group which Doreen would have demanded, doubtless successfully, whether or not the other girls had been willing to grant them. That Doreen was Noe's friend, made Doreen's presence in playground and bathroom conferences less intrusive and objectionable and more an acceptable and taken for granted feature of the way things were. In sum, Noe kept Doreen from disrupting the girls' relationships and activities and also kept those relationships and activities from pushing Doreen too far. She tempered both the girls' processes of

exclusion and Doreen's toughness. Through the relationship with Noe, Doreen's exceptional qualities were even harnessed, to some extent, for the good of the girls as a whole. No boy would buck the girls in the tetherball line if that meant taking on Doreen. The boys' own affection for Noe was usually more than enough to keep them from behaving aggressively towards her. But it was not only Pete who would defend Noe; at least twice in second grade, Doreen made it clear to boys that to make trouble for Noe was to make trouble for her.

Noe played something of the same role with Melody, the second of the three girls who were too tough. But here the need was much less since, except for her size and occasional assertiveness, Melody was so much like the other girls. With April, however, Noe did not play this role, and it was probably for this reason that April became such an outsider. Only April was shunned by the other girls and might be explicitly labeled by them as deviant. For example, during one recess, April and Mapu played against each other in the short version of tetherball. April lost. Back in line, April teased Mapu, telling her to get ready to lose because her next opponent was going to beat her. This kind of reaction to defeat in tetherball was not unusual. How it played out, however, depended upon the relationship between the individuals involved. That between Mapu and April was far from strong. "Not!" said Mapu. "Yes," said April. "Why, 'cause she win [can beat] you?" Mapu retorted, rather haughtily. She and her new opponent then launched into the next game.

Children always wagered a certain amount of face in tetherball and other games; how much face was involved depended in part upon the

betting, if any, that had gone on beforehand through words like those Mapu had exchanged with April. Mapu had bet heavily on her current game, not only because of her words, but because it was April with whom she had exchanged them. Another element affecting the amount of face won or lost in a game was how a child had won or lost. A child who had put up a good battle could lose without feeling much discontent; at least the performance had looked good. An inept performance, on the other hand, would cause a child to feel shame and might also expose him or her to ridicule. It was in the latter way that Mapu lost her game.

Mapu's opponent struck the ball soundly, making it course first down and then up, well above Mapu's head. As the ball sailed overhead, Mapu strained upwards to take a wild swipe at it. She missed the ball, however, and lost her footing, coming down on her rump. "Anhhanh," April laughed from the line. Mapu immediately became enraged. She flew at April, screaming, tearing at her hair, and scratching her face. This degree of physical violence was exceedingly rare among the girls; indeed, this was the single most violent episode observed among the second graders. The supervisor grabbed Mapu, pulling her away from April. Mapu was crying with rage. "Pilau!" she screamed at April. Pilau means filthy; to call April pilau was to tell her that she was beyond the pale.

April did nothing to defend herself against the insult; indeed, she had done very little to defend herself against Mapu's physical attack. However much April's often provocative behavior could seem to say otherwise, what April really wanted was what she said she wanted--to "join." When one of the girls who did belong made it clear to April

that she did not belong and would never be allowed to belong, April would freeze, less from fear of the girl than from dread at the facts of her own situation. No repair work was observed following Mapu's assault upon April. Mapu did not approach April, and April did not approach Mapu. Neither did the supervisor require the two girls to make amends. Perhaps for the reason that Mapu's attack had been so ferocious, she contented herself with separating the girls and requiring Mapu to sit against the wall. An apology from Mapu, in any case, would have been pointless.

It is not hard to find reasons for why the other girls did not like April and for why Noe could not bring herself to link April to the group in the way that she did Doreen. But one wonders whether April would have been customarily so argumentative, boastful, and abrasive had she not been exposed to quite such pointed exclusion from peers.

Kehau. "They need somebody for blame"

Kehau's peer problems were even more clearly structural in nature. At the least, one would have to attribute the periodic acuteness of her problems to structural origins. Kehau seemed not tough enough, but who "Kehau" was depended upon how Kehau was seen and saw herself within the peer group. At school, as she and everyone else knew, Kehau was out of her element and that one fact seemed to put her out of her element in all ways. By third grade, she had fallen so far behind the other children in reading that she required special tutoring. Her increasing difficulties with staying in the game academically during this year



were matched by increasing difficulties with staying in the game socially. Early in the year, she became more and more the child other girls picked on and used as a scapegoat. Even more necessary for her than for Doreen was Noe's friendship as a link to the other girls and as a brake upon the dynamic of exclusion.

Little put-downs of Kehau were common. For example, it was Kehau's job one morning to pass out the math workbooks. As she dropped Estrella's to the table, however, it slid off and onto the floor. "Eh, no fly 'em," said Estrella. "I never," said Kehau. "Watch out 'fore I fly your head," warned Estrella. Hurt and fear appeared on Kehau's face as she moved away from Estrella, but Kehau did not take the transaction any further. Nor did anyone else. This sort of event did not pass without notice, but it usually did pass without comment. Kehau's reluctance to fight back was like April's. It would not solve anything for the problem was with the group, not individuals.

Kehau, however, might also become the target of stronger exercises of dominance, and here, Noe might intervene. For example, during a chase game one recess, Norino struck Kehau in the eye. Kehau returned tearfully to the classroom, supported by Louella and Laura. Soon Noe, too, returned. "Norino went hit you?" she asked. When Kehau said yes, Noe said, "She gonna get it." It took another five minutes for recess to end. Kehau had stopped crying long before that, but when the teacher and the other children filed back into the classroom, she began to cry again. "What's wrong, Kehau?" the teacher asked. "Norino went hit her," said Noe, speaking for Kehau. The teacher's attention and that of the children, naturally, swung to Norino. Norino tried to

defend herself by putting some of the blame on Kehau, but Louella, Laura, and even Doreen interrupted her, disputing her interpretation of events. Backtracking, Norino called the episode an accident, the closest that the children usually came to admitting blame. She then apologized to Kehau. The teacher asked Kehau if everything were all right, Kehau said that it was, and the teacher started class, not sure, she later said, of what had happened but glad that it was over. Norino, doubtless, was glad, too, to be no longer the focus of group displeasure.

The greatest danger of being an outsider in the way that Kehau was an outsider, however, was not abusive treatment from individuals but abusive treatment from the group. A powerful demonstration of this possibility was provided by the obscene graffiti incident that happened in the children's third grade year. This incident is also illustrative both of Noe's role in articulating group sentiment for the weaker girls and of the group sentiment which was in fact maintained by the other girls for such individuals.

For about two weeks, all of the children of the school had been warned about putting graffiti in the classrooms and particularly the bathrooms. A final warning threatening loss of recess and other dire consequences had seemed to produce results, but one morning, the custodian found an especially obscene bit of graffiti in the girls' bathroom. The graffiti seemed beyond the writing skill and ken of the kindergartners and first graders. Since the second graders were on a fieldtrip that day, it was assumed that one of the third grade girls

had done the deed sometime during the morning class session. Owing probably to a felt obligation to the custodian--who had been deeply offended by the graffiti and indignant that it was her lot to clean it off--, the principal and the children's teachers decided to get to the bottom of things. At recess, they kept the third grade girls in, telling them that there would be no more recess in the morning or at lunch for anyone until the guilty party owned up to the graffiti. The adults were not insensitive to the plight of the third grade girl presumed responsible. Beyond having to clean off the graffiti, there would be no punishment for the graffiti writer, only counseling; and no one, except the adults, would ever know who she was. The girls were each to write "yes" or "no" on a piece of paper; the principal would collect the papers and eventually contact the girl whose yes had indicated that it was she who had written the graffiti. All of the pieces of paper, however, came back with noes on them. When this was discovered, the principal told the girls that the guilty party could simply visit her in her office. She again warned, however, that so long as there was no admission of responsibility there would be no recess for anyone.

The girls spent the remainder of that recess inside the classroom with their heads down. During the following class period, no one showed any inclination to confess, and so as the time for lunch approached, the pressure grew upon the children to produce a scapegoat. When the principal returned to the classroom just before lunch, the children did just that. The girls told the principal that Kehau had written the graffiti. When the principal asked who had seen Kehau do

it, however, each girl cited some other girl who cited someone else, and so on, the accusation feeding back upon itself. Certain that the girls had invented the story about Kehau, the principal nevertheless talked to Kehau privately; Kehau told her that she had not done it.

Curious about the graffiti, I was let into the girls' bathroom to see what it said. Mapu, Louella, Norino, Estrella, Noe, and Melody were already there. The third grade children had been released for lunch a few moments earlier, and these girls had stopped at the girls' bathroom to take a look. For my benefit, Mapu said, "Kehau write 'em," and Melody and Norino agreed. Just as these words were spoken, however, Kehau walked into the bathroom. Already ashen from her talk with the principal, she was visibly shocked to see the girls there and to hear what they were saying. It was as though a secret had been revealed to her. People who had appeared to be friends were turning out not to be friends at all. No one said anything. Kehau looked at her classmates and at the wall, then left the bathroom and went to the cafeteria.

Seating in the cafeteria was assigned. Kehau sat at her customary place, and Louella sat at hers, directly across the table from Kehau. I also sat down across from Kehau. "I don't think Kehau did it," said Louella. I agreed with her. "Why do people say somebody did something when they didn't?" asked Louella. "I don't know," I said. "They need somebody for blame," said Kehau, still extremely pale.

Anon, the principal came into the cafeteria, appalled at the fact that the children had produced a scapegoat and dismayed that it had

been the pressure from the adults that had made them do it. "I don't want a scapegoat," she told the third grade girls. "That's someone you blame for something when you don't know that they did it. I won't have that." To take the pressure off the children, she said that they would all be able to play at lunch recess.

Perhaps the girls had truly believed that Kehau had written the graffiti. The fact was that Kehau was one of the individuals most peripheral to the girls' conversational network; indeed, she had spent a good piece of the morning outside the classroom with her tutor. Thus, the fact was that Kehau had not been in a good position to eliminate herself from suspicion during the girls' collective deliberations over who the graffiti writer might be. Assuming that the graffiti writer was one of the third grade girls, the 'fact' had seemed to be that Kehau must have been the one to do it; she was the only possibility left. Now, however, the girls were feeling less than noble about their deduction. The authenticity of Kehau's shock had sliced through all the gossip; the girls knew that the accusation had been false.

After lunch, Kehau stood against the wall at the base of the playground. Noe soon took up a position about five feet to her left; to Noe's left other girls gradually collected in a line. In order, these girls were Norino, Louella, Claradine, Trina, Mapu, Doreen, Estrella, and Laura. April was absent; Melody, as usual, was the last one eating. Noe began to slide along the wall towards Kehau, but pride made Kehau move further towards the corner of the building. When Kehau reached the end of the wall, she stopped, and the other girls also paused. Then Noe tried moving towards her again, and this time Kehau

stayed where she was. When Noe got to Kehau, however, Kehau sat down, evading contact with Noe. Noe moved around to Kehau's right side; Norino took Noe's place on Kehau's left. Then Noe tugged at Kehau to stand up; she wouldn't. Finally, Noe took Kehau's arm and pulled her up so that she stood between herself and Norino. All of this was done without talk; the girls had also kept their gaze directed towards the playground most of the time that they had been sliding along the wall so that they had done what they had done mainly through peripheral vision. Now Noe began to apply pressure to Kehau's right side, and Norino to Kehau's left side. They were trying to wedge her between them so that when they moved out onto the playground, Kehau would have to move with them. They were successful for a step, but then Kehau pulled out of her position between the girls and settled against the wall again. They tried another time but with the same result. Then Estrella moved to Noe's side of the line, and Noe let her take her place against Kehau's body; Estrella had more weight than she. Estrella and Norino got Kehau further along, but Kehau still resisted. This time, however, the girls were not to be denied. Noe got in front of her, saying, "'Nuff, already," and pulling her by the arm, and Louella, Claradine, and Trina pushed from behind. Together, this group and the rest of the girls in the class rolled into line at the long tetherball game. The battle with pride given up, Kehau finally began to cry. Now vying to be the person most supportive of her, the girls put their arms around her and took her off to the bathroom.

After lunch recess, the children told their teacher that no one in their class had written the graffiti. The adults dropped the issue--

there turned out to be no reason to pursue it because the graffiti stopped cropping up--and soon the entire incident seemed forgotten. Doubtless, Kehau remembered it and continued to be affected by it; but doubtless, the other girls also remembered and continued to be affected by the consequences of having too completely abandoned one of their own. They were not noticeably nicer to Kehau on an individual basis--she continued to haunt the periphery of tetherball games and classroom activities and to attract occasional put-downs--, but they never subjected her again to anything approaching the total exclusion she had experienced during the graffiti incident. To this extent at least, Kehau owned a place among the girls. Would Kehau's re-integration have been as successful had Noe not led the other girls to her after lunch? Perhaps; perhaps not. Defending the integration of the group and the moral values of the group was peculiarly a function of the group leader. In organizing themselves around a central figure, the girls had created the potential for scapegoating and other forms of abuse. It was especially the responsibility of the leader to recognize the need for action and to organize action when group processes became too abusive.

#### Homelife precedents

It is not possible to say how general is the pattern represented by the second grade girls' social organization. In other classes at Ka Na'i Pono School and at other schools, there were suggestions of social organizations underlying girls' interactions similar to the second grade girls' unitary "gang." One must assume that social organization

among girls is also responsive to differences among schools and among student populations. One may assume, however, that relationships with boys and with other girls everywhere pose Hawaiian girls similar problems and that everywhere they define and manage these problems through equivalent if not identical social structures.

At Ka Na'i Pono, the second grade girls' social organization, like the flow of their interactions, was both very similar to and fundamentally different from that of the boys. Like the boys, the girls were rivalrous and had to be tough to be socially successful. But unlike the boys' rivalries, the girls' rivalries were shaped and constrained by a unitary group structure. Rather than over the issue of relative dominance, the girls vied with each over the issue of relative centrality. In consequence, the girls fought less than the boys, and among the girls, too much as well as too little toughness could be a cause for low regard and limited acceptance. The girls who were most successful were ones who were nurturant and attractive--in the broad sense of having wit, intelligence, a sociable disposition, physical grace, and good looks--and who were tough enough to stand up for themselves against boys and other girls but not so tough that they precipitated conflict. Hawaiians have a name for girls who combine playfulness and physical beauty with athleticism, mischievousness, and courage; they call them, "titas," a term once used to mean "sister." The girls who had made it in the class were titas; of the ones who had not, most aspired to be.

The social integration which was the girls' strength, however, was also their weakness. Owing largely to a fear of being excluded--



of being denied rights within the single group available to them-- , girls controlled conflict among themselves very effectively; but owing precisely to the same fear, girls also created and maintained a set of intra-group distinctions according to which rights and regard were restricted the more an individual was perceived as too tough, too large, too unfeminine or conversely, too weak, too heavy, too slow. Noe and other individuals attempted to exercise some control over the possibility that the restriction of rights might grow into the elimination of rights; on the basis of the sentiment that peripheral girls maintained for their classmates, one would have to conclude that they succeeded. One suspects, however, that for April, Kehau, and Yuki, even for Melody, Doreen, and Claradine, school was sometimes not the most welcome of experiences. Like the boys' peer group, the girls' peer group was not a flawless system for generating social satisfaction. Sometimes the girls, like the boys, were challenged by events to transcend the rules of the game in order to keep it humane. The wonder of it is that they so often did.

As there are clear homelife precedents for the boys' gangs and boys' side/girls' side distinction, so are there clear homelife precedents for the girls' solidarity as girls and their internal status system. Indeed, the precedents for the girls' social organization are the same kinship and household networks, but interpreted from the perspective of female rather than male participants.

Obvious from the data presented in Chapter 6 is that women and ties to women play a far greater role than men and ties to men in maintaining the integration of Hawaiian social networks. The ethnic networks

which center upon Hawaiian households tend to be put together by women and to be held together through women's actions. It is far more often the relatives of the female head of household than of the male who are most closely involved in the life of a household. When a man mates and begins to father children, he tends more and more to lose contact with his own siblings and other relatives and to become more and more absorbed by his mate's network of kin. Friends and the demands of friendships made prior to mating become a source of friction, and contacts with these friends decrease. New friendships and relationships with neighbors tend either to involve both male and female heads of household or to flow primarily through the female. Conversely, when a woman mates and begins to bear children, her ties to kin--and particularly to sisters and female matrilineal cousins--gain new dimensions and new importance. She takes renewed interest in them as sources of help, information, and companionship, and they take renewed interest in her for similar reasons. It is she who is primarily responsible for raising children and keeping a household running, and so it is she more than her mate who also takes the lead in making contacts with neighbors and effecting mutually beneficial exchanges of goods, services, and friendship. Her role as household manager also entitles her to some control over visits made by male friends of her mate. Signs of displeasure from her are enough to shorten such visits; they may also have the effect of causing conflict between herself and her mate, feeding eventually into the attenuation of the mate's relationships with friends or to the ending of the woman's relationship with the mate. Women, in sum, are at the center of Hawaiian social

networks, and it is female solidarity that keeps these networks operating (cf. Howard 1974:122-128).

As was the case among the second graders at Ka Na'i Pono, female solidarity in Hawaiian social networks has complex functions, playing roles in both women's relationships with men and women's relationships with other women. The tradition of female solidarity has equally complex origins, lying partially in cultural and partially in historical, demographic, and economic circumstances.

From the turn of the nineteenth century through the 1950s, the sex ratio among people aged 15 to 44 was imbalanced. In 1900, 1910, 1920, and 1930, respectively, males accounted for 73.6%, 68.4%, 60.2%, and 65.4% of the total population between the ages of 15 and 44 (Nordyke 1977). Among the adaptations made to this situation by the population of the Hawaiian Islands, was serial mating for some women and prolonged or periodic bachelorhood for many men. Over the course of her reproductive years, a woman might have a number of children by a series of different men. On the other hand, many men, including many Hawaiian men, either did not mate or did not mate permanently in the sense of establishing an enduring relationship with a particular woman. The implication of these facts for Hawaiian kin networks was that women were the primary sources of continuity and new growth. Relationships with the mates, affines, and, most importantly, the children of male members of kin networks might come and go, the men now entering relationships with women, now losing those relationships and returning to a state of bachelorhood. Relatively unstable as contributors of new growth to kin networks, men were also relatively unproductive for they

sired far fewer children than their female kin bore (Adams 1937:76). Correlatively, relationships with the mates and affines--but not the children--of female members of kin networks might also come and go. Men were thus somewhat marginal both to their own kin networks and to their mates' kin networks. Adding to the social marginality of males in Hawaiian kin networks, was the fact that the mates of Hawaiian women were frequently outsiders in a cultural sense (Adams 1937:336-340). These facts together tended to weaken the significance of affinal and patrilateral connections. Owing to the social and cultural flux engendered by a disproportionately male Hawaiian Islands population, women and kin connections traced through women were points of stability, a matrilateral net in which male outsiders might be caught for a time and through which then pass. Male rivalry over women and economic conditions also acted to strengthen the significance of matrilateral connections and to emphasize female solidarity. The fact of being relatively scarce gave women a certain amount of power. For a woman, there was always another man; not so for the men. The same fact, however, meant that women had to deal with demands from potentially many men and with a male ethos structured in fundamental ways by concerns with protecting rights to mates and thus with controlling mates. Sisters and female kin--which is to say, typically, female matrilateral kin--helped to shelter a woman both from the demands of males in general and from those of her mate in particular. Sisters and female matrilateral kin were also the resources most likely to be there when companionship was needed and when material help was needed. Since historically the income of Hawaiians has been relatively

low, the need for help has been relatively great and recourse to kin and particularly female matrilateral kin correspondingly frequent. The tradition of solidarity among Hawaiian matrilateral kinswomen doubtless owes much to the peculiar demographic circumstances which have played sometimes in parallel ways, sometimes in contrasting ways, but always in some way upon all of the ethnic groups of Hawai'i.

While the sex ratio of the Hawaiian Islands' population is now in overall balance again, social forces within the Hawaiian population continue to work against patrilateral ties and to emphasize matrilateral connections and the solidarity of kinswomen. Interracial marriage is high for both men and women of Hawaiian ancestry, but higher for the women than the men (Wittermans 1981:152). Welfare rules and other aspects of low income status also tend to undercut the status of men in households. Owing to these and other circumstances, men continue to be relatively marginal participants in Hawaiian kin networks, and the networks continue to depend upon women for their integration and continuity. Social forces, however, do not operate in a vacuum; the generational organization of interaction in Hawaiian kin networks itself promotes a distinctive version of female solidarity and a distinctive structure of relationships among same generation kin.

Both Hawaiian girls and boys must cope with the various forms of autonomy expected of individuals in a generational system. But they are taught different strategies for coping with these expectations, and the expectations themselves are rather different. Males do not begin by being larger than females, but they end up that way. Probably for this reason, girls are taught as soon as they are mobile to avoid rough

or unfamiliar males. It is also repeatedly emphasized to them that they must not venture outside alone and that they must stay in the company of female kin--typically sisters and matrilineal parallel cousins. These early experiences lay the groundwork for girls' use of solidarity as a strategy for coping with males. Girls are also taught to stand up for themselves and are especially well trained in the verbal tactics of teasing and joking. But later in life when the males finally have surpassed them in size, the strategy of solidarity is their best and most effective means of coping with stronger forms of conflict with men and particularly with mates. Sisters or cousins may provide an adult woman with protection against conflict with a male. A party of female relatives may even threaten a male or take revenge against him for his treatment of a kinswoman by using insults to embarrass him in public. It is partly owing to the potential for conflict with males, in any case, that generational systems of interaction promote solidarity among same generation kinswomen. As males will ultimately be larger and stronger than females, they are better dealt with on a group than an individual basis.

The usefulness of solidarity against males would on its own promote the control of rivalry among females and the development of relationship structures capable of diminishing the possibility of conflict. The homelife structural precedent for Hawaiian girls' rivalry over centrality and organization around a central figure, however, is tied more explicitly to issues of accountability and responsibility within children's household peer groups than to issues of female solidarity against males.

In generational systems of interaction, as discussed previously, adults tend to discharge indirectly their responsibilities as child caretakers. They create strongly stated systems of rules and hold children individually and jointly responsible for following the rules and for looking out for one another. Responsibility in kin peer groups, however, falls unequally upon the older and upon girls. The older children are expected to exercise control over younger siblings and cousins and to play a greater role in the operation of the household; and girls are expected to do much more than boys. For older children and especially for girls, this means insuring that cleaning, cooking, and other major household tasks are accomplished. Again especially for older girls, it also means insuring that younger children are watched and helped, but also warned and punished if they break the rules (Gallimore, Boggs, and Jordan 1974:61-82, 124-143).

Often, these responsibilities may be combined in a special role given to one of the children by the adults. The child nominated for this role is usually a girl and usually the oldest girl, but not always, for while the role is in part ascribed upon age and sexual bases, it is also in part achieved. Whether a child nominated for the role actually plays it, depends upon whether the child is able to demonstrate a capacity to handle the complex requirements of the role. This child--referred to by Gallimore, Boggs and Jordan (1974) as mother's lieutenant and in this work as the helper--becomes primus inter pares among the children of a household. She represents the adults to the children for she carries the adult agenda into the peer group; and she represents the children to the adults for she may act as

a generational go-between and carry statements of children's desires and feelings to adults. For brothers, sisters, and even cousins, she becomes a kind of second mother, looking after them and helping them as much as do the adults. For adults and especially for her mother, she may become almost as much of a peer as she is daughter or niece. The complex role played by this child becomes a central one in a household. She is for the adults the individual most accountable if things go wrong--if work is not done, if rules are broken, if young children are neglected, if children's misbehavior leads to the damage of property or to harm to them. Congruently, this child is expected to control the dynamics of interaction within the household children's group, acting to insure that rules are obeyed, that the safety and well-being of younger children are seen to, and that children's work gets done. Empowered to administer directives, warnings, and sanctions, and also able to bring adults and the wrath of adults into play, this child is for the other children a peer but a special peer. They know that they must listen to her for they have been taught to by adults and know what will happen if they do not. But they also feel gratitude and a sense of debt to her. She does so much for them that the authority vested in her by adults becomes a moral right. Partly in order to avoid trouble with adults, and partly out of respect for this child's legitimate rights over them, they allow her to control the dynamics of their interactions and may seek her intervention in the case of disputes. Through the experience of adjusting to her, boys and especially girls learn the politics of participation in peer oriented and female controlled social structures. Much the same knowledge is acquired in



households in which there is no helper figure, for older sisters and female cousins play pieces of the helper role, particularly those having to do with watching and controlling younger children. Boys learn of the limitations of tough self-presentations within households and of the greater rights of females over household operations and relationships. Girls are prepared for the strong roles that they will play in running their own households and in keeping their households linked with those of sisters and cousins. In particular, they learn of how rivalry and solidarity may operate side by side in the relationships of kinswomen.

Against the background of this information on Hawaiian social networks, it seems clear that the second grade girls at Ka Na'i Pono were trying to play the same strong role in their class that their mothers and aunties played in their homelife kin networks and that they themselves were learning to play in children's household peer groups. As Hawaiian women run households, keep kin groups together, and use solidarity to control men, so too did the girls try to run their class, keep it together, and use solidarity to control the boys. Their model of organization around a central figure and the nature of their rivalry with one another seem to have been drawn directly from the operation of children's peer groups in households. They had accepted Noe as a version of the helper, granting her rights over them similar to those exercised by older sisters and female cousins in their households. In effect, Noe had been nominated for this role by her teachers. One of the very brightest of the girls and the most helpful to teachers, she always acquired a kind of natural influence with them. The other girls

and the boys, too, seem to have read this influence as a granting to Noe of the rights and responsibilities associated with being the helper in a household.

### Noe

Support for this view of the structure and premises of the second grade girls' relationships with one another comes from Noe's own situation. There were two girls in the second grade who were the oldest members of their sibling groups. Noe was one of them. It turned out that Noe played a very strong version of the helper role within her own family. When Noe was in third grade, her mother was interviewed on Noe's activities and role at home. At the time of the interview, Noe had three younger sisters. One was seven, another five, and the youngest less than two. The seven-year-old sister had a hearing impairment, a speech impairment, and was somewhat retarded. In the mornings, it was customary for Noe to prepare the seven-year-old for school and to see that she caught her bus. Noe's mother and father both worked. In the afternoons, it was Noe's responsibility to watch the seven- and five-year-olds, ensuring that they did not play outside and that they were bathed by the time their parents returned at five. If the girls did not stay inside or did not bathe, then all of them were punished. The toddler was left with an auntie but also became part of Noe's responsibility whenever she was at home. Noe also routinely helped with cleaning, laundry, and other household chores. In speaking of Noe, her mother repeatedly emphasized the extent of her own and her husband's indebtedness to her. She also mentioned that Noe

sought out opportunities to help neighbors. For example, during the pregnancy of one neighbor, Noe had volunteered to do marketing and household chores for her.

Parents are always likely to exaggerate the accomplishments of children. From Noe's records, however, it was apparent that Noe's mother was not exaggerating the role Noe had begun to play very early in her family and particularly towards her handicapped sister. For the two years prior to kindergarten, Noe attended a preschool. Noe's younger sister joined her at this preschool during the second year that Noe was there. When Noe graduated from the preschool, a detailed progress report was written by a teacher who had obviously been impressed by her. It emphasizes Noe's intelligence, academic progress, and enthusiasm for school, as well as her athletic talents. The teacher's remarks about Noe's "socio-emotional development," however, are most germane. Noe was four years old when this report was written. It reads as follows:

Noe is certainly one of the more responsible, mature children in the room. She has a very positive self-concept, and also an enthusiastic and receptive attitude towards others. She is popular among both boy and girl peers, and often is a "mediator" or serves as a spokesperson for another friend. It is important to note that Noe has often been responsible for escorting her younger sister Nadine on the school bus to and from school. Nadine is a hearing-impaired child, and frequently depended upon Noe to express her needs for her. Noe sometimes even had to carry Nadine's hearing aid to and from school. Noe is generally a cheerful, happy and outgoing child. When she did display withdrawn, moody behaviors, it almost always was for a good reason.

Apparent from this report and from Noe's behavior at Ka Na'i Pono is that she transferred to her classmates and teachers an orientation

she had learned to take towards her sisters and parents. At school, she tried to be helper both to her teachers and to her classmates. Noe was a tough child and enjoyed teasing and joking, but she also displayed a level of responsibility and nurturance towards peers unequalled by her classmates. She helped with schoolwork and she helped, as discussed, with social problems. Perhaps more importantly, she looked for ways to help. For example, the classrooms at Ka Na'i Pono were air-conditioned and would sometimes grow very cold. During the spring of their second grade year, the children's teacher noticed that someone had forgotten to take a jacket home for several days running. She asked whose it was and Noe said that it was hers. The teacher reminded Noe to take it home. When several days later it was still in the classroom, the teacher again reminded her to take it home. When Noe still did not take the jacket home, the teacher asked her why. Estrella, speaking for Noe, explained that she had brought it to the classroom so that children who did not have jackets could use it when they got cold. As she looked for ways to help peers, she also looked for ways to help adults. On one occasion, for example, she asked to borrow my tape-recorder during recess. I was using it at the time to tape-record children's interactions in the tetherball lines. Having gotten to know Noe, I had grown fond of her and trusted her as did the other adults. So trusting was I, in fact, that I simply gave the tape-recorder to her without asking her what she intended to do with it. There was no other child with whom I would have done this. Noe took the tape-recorder up the hill to where Jake and the boys in his gang were doing play-fighting. The tape-recorder was on the entire

time, so it created a record of her conversation with those boys. She told them that I was going to tape-record their play and then play the tape back for them so that they could hear themselves. What Noe was obviously trying to do was to help me with the research I was doing in her class. How she knew that this was just the sort of thing I would be interested in is a mystery to me. It is indicative of the sensitivity to adult agendas which is acquired by children who play the helper role. The boys, however, were dubious about the idea of having their play recorded. When this became apparent to Noe, she organized them to sing a song instead. When she returned the tape-recorder to me a little later, she told me that I would have to play it for the boys at lunchtime. That had been her bargain with them and she evidently wanted to make sure that I honored it.

A few years after Noe graduated, she wrote a letter to the principal of Ka Na'i Pono. It was obvious from the letter that Noe had not changed. She told the principal that the children at her school were going to be given a few days vacation so that the teachers could have conferences with the parents. Noe wondered whether she could spend those days helping in one of the classrooms at Ka Na'i Pono. From time to time throughout this year, Noe helped in the kindergarten classroom.

The other girl in the class who was the oldest in her sibling group was Kehau. During an interview with her mother, it became apparent that Kehau, too, played something of the helper role in her own household. That Kehau's capacity to play this role was nowhere in evidence at school, may be indicative of the power of academic values

and of teacher behavior in determining a girl's status in the classroom peer group and thus the traits and talents she displays.

#### Summary of boys' and girls' peer organizations

The past two chapters have described the contexts of relationships in terms of which the second graders' interpreted their doings and out of which those doings emerged. The intent of the chapters has been to show, first, that the second graders' values and interactional dynamics were problematic for the children themselves and, second, that the children used conceptions of organization deriving from kinship and friendship networks to create manageable versions of rivalry at school. The essential problem faced by all of the children, girls as well as boys, was that of having to control rivalry. In somewhat different ways to somewhat different ends, both girls and boys had to project toughness, but this was always likely to elicit balancing moves and thus could key the escalation of interaction towards conflict. So long as the children were able to keep their interactions framed as reciprocations of the sort of playful and friendly assertiveness represented in teasing, joking, and game playing they could keep situations from escalating. But the potential for conflict was always present. Indeed, since conflict--in the broad sense of contention--functioned as a rite of passage and test of relative status for the children, clashes were inevitable in their relationships.

The children's social structures gave them means for coping with rivalry by providing them with some control over situational parameters, by giving them definitions for events tending to preserve

the playfulness of contentions, and by leading them eventually to sequences of avoidance or conflict resolution if interaction had escalated. The boys' and girls' socio-structural distinctions amounted to a grid used by the children in separating their interactions and in interpreting the potential for conflict contained by different locales. Associated with the jungle gym, the area for chase games, the playingfield, the two tetherball posts, the sandbox, the swings and seesaws, the cafeteria, and the lanai were distinct forms of contention and distinct sets of relationships. Children sorted themselves among these contexts and moved from one to another in part on the basis of the potential for conflict contained by the contexts. Within these contexts, the ideas of being "cousins," "sisters," and "boyfriends and girlfriends" helped children to keep interactions framed as playful rivalry and guided them towards processes of reconciliation if interaction did escalate. The mere availability of separate and relatively small contexts of interaction worked to lessen possibilities of conflict. A child did not have to vie with all other children at once nor to take the relatively great risks involved in performing in front of large audiences. Even individuals in the bottom of the boys' organization or at the periphery of the girls' organization could set up situations so that they, too, had opportunities for doing valued self-presentations within manageable processes of rivalry. To be sure, the boys' and girls' social structures insured that some conflict over issues of dominance or centrality would occur. For some children, furthermore, school was probably often an unpleasant experience. But the children's social structures also served common interests in

providing ways out of problems which everyone shared. Above all, the children's social organization set the stage for "good fun"--for all that playful, mischievous, and grandly histrionic theater which gave the second grade its colorful reputation and made of that little band of children a performing troupe to which each child could be proud to belong.

In discussing the second graders' social organization, this chapter and the last chapter have also had a third intent: that of establishing a basis for relating the issue of classroom cultural conflict to the issue of classroom politics. Both in the classroom and on the playground, Hawaiian children define interaction as a process of rivalry. And both in the classroom and on the playground, whether rivalry is kept playful or not, depends largely upon the parameters of situations and upon the interactional options available within these parameters. Where situational parameters and interactional options are appropriate, teachers and children can manage the politics of classroom interaction--to include beginning-of-the-year tests of teacher authority--without sustained conflict. Where the parameters and options are inappropriate, however, beginning-of-the-year tests of teacher authority are likely to represent the beginning of yearlong political struggles between teachers and children.

The next three chapters will relate teachers' beginning-of-the-year experiences with Hawaiian children to the nature of the classroom games which the teachers try to play with the children. The first of these chapters will relate the escalation of the second graders' "acting" in Ellen's lesson to the structure of that lesson; the second will



describe and analyze the instructional system which has been developed at Ka Na'i Pono School through teachers' attempts to arrive at resolutions of the issue of classroom politics acceptable to them, to their students, and to their school. As the third chapter will show, however, instructional systems guarantee nothing. The successful negotiation of beginning-of-the-year classroom rites is always the distinctive personal achievement of a teacher and a class of children.

PART III: TEACHERS, CHILDREN, AND CLASSROOM SOCIAL STRUCTURE

## CHAPTER 9

## "ACTING" AND THE STRUCTURE OF ELLEN'S LESSON

They are a force.

Lila, the children's third grade  
reading teacher, speaking of the power  
of the children's peer group processes.

Ellen's lesson grew from the same two ingredients that go into the making of all beginning-of-the-year encounters between children and their teachers. The first of these ingredients is the children's orientation to the situation. This orientation grows from the children's reaction to the politics of schooling, from the children's peer group politics, and from the children's attitude towards the ideology of schooling.

A given for schoolchildren is that some sizing up and challenge of teacher authority will occur. The experience of schooling itself provides children with the motive for doing this for it gives them a state of power imbalance to think about and raises questions as to the legitimacy of this state of imbalance. For Hawaiian schoolchildren, the classroom given is that "acting" will happen. "Acting" represents Hawaiian schoolchildren's distinctive method of testing a new peer's right to parity, a new teacher's right to authority. The comedic, mischievous, and willful quality of "acting" symbolizes individuality

not yet tamed by the rules of authority figures or the counter-demonstrations of peers. It is behavior not yet constrained by the conventions of one or another type of relationship. It invites the imposition of such constraints, and in this way, both invites relationship and tests the worthiness of others for relationship. Through "acting," Hawaiian schoolchildren explore the complex of attitudes, capacities, and emotional dispositions--the person--that lies behind the teacher's front; and they know that they will. They also know that the teacher's capacity to recognize and to deal appropriately with "acting" will determine the group's perception of her and thus the capacity of the individuals in the group to accept her authority as legitimate. Two paths lead away from "acting." One is toward mutually acceptable relationships. When events move along this path, "acting" is eventually revealed to have been harmless kidding, a kind of putting on of the other. The second path leading away from "acting" is towards conflict. When events move along this path, "acting" sharpens into ridicule and derision. It denies a person's entitlement to parity or to authority by the means of belittling that person.

"Acting" and equivalent processes happen at the beginning of the year, however, for the reason that undefined relationships with teachers also place in question children's own relationships with one another. That teachers are supposed to be put through a rite of challenge by children, makes the mounting of such challenges equally a rite of passage for children themselves. Rising to the occasion of testing the teacher is how children show each other and their teachers

that they are worthy members of the children's peer group. In Hawaiian classrooms, this fact heightens the children's normal peer rivalrousness and tends to bind them together more closely than usual in group processes. Since peer acceptance and regard are tied to the rite of testing the teacher, the children tend to push each other to "act." This dynamic sometimes results in the formulation of explicit rules of group behavior towards teachers. Early in the children's third grade year, for example, Kaleo revealed that the boys had made a pact not to do "what the teachers say." At another school, the girls of the second grade had also formed a unitary group structure. They called this structure "the gang." One girl said that to get into the gang, "you gotta play trick on the teacher." The children are also especially concerned to show sensitivity to affront and to status maneuvers in peer relationships; again for the reason that peer acceptance and regard are on the line, they are especially intent on countering the performances of peers with ones of their own. The combined effect of beginning-of-the-year uncertainties is that the children of a class all tend to operate at the same pitch of rivalry. Since each child is trying to match the behavior of other children, the children either boil up as a group in their test of the teacher and of each other or together hold their group processes at a simmer. It is the group process character of the situation that is most problematic for teachers. They either succeed with the group as a whole, or they fail with the group as a whole.

It is indisputable, lastly, that the intensity of beginning-of-the-year rites is affected by socio-economic variables in general and by

the sorts of factors which Ogbu (1982) and Wolcott (1974) point to in particular. Hawaiian children are usually members of social networks in which education is not credible as an avenue of advancement. For this reason, an ideological justification for participating in the classroom and for accepting its constraints is usually available in only a very limited way to Hawaiian children. Contra Ogbu and Wolcott, however, this does not mean that no justification for accepting the classroom is open to Hawaiian children. Rather than on an ideological basis, Hawaiian children justify acceptance or rejection of the classroom on a case by case, situational basis. Their test of the teacher is typically intense because it is usually only she who can provide them with a reason which they can all honor for tolerating the classroom and for participating in instruction.

The second ingredient of beginning-of-the-year classroom experiences is the instructional system of the teacher, the system of relationships which she attempts to institute in the classroom. Children do not leave their own system of relationships at the classroom door, but neither is it the case that they are entitled to use their conceptions of social organization in order to shape and to cope with the emergent dynamics of peer interaction and interaction with the teacher. Interactional events take shape and play themselves out within the context of the teacher's notions of social structure. She defines the parameters of the situation, deciding how the children are to be organized over classroom work and how the flow of work is to proceed. It is thus her system of classroom organization that

determines the options available to the children for managing their particular version of interactional dynamics. In Hawaiian classrooms, the question critical to the outcome of the encounter between the teacher and the children is therefore whether the teacher's system of classroom organization also represents a social structure which both promotes rivalry and renders it controllable. Does the teacher's system of organization provide her and the children with the sorts of interactional options required to manage rivalry, or does it not?

If it does, then the teacher and the children may get through the beginning of the year with their identities intact. The teacher will have to find appropriate responses to "acting" and appropriate methods of curbing the children's peer rivalries. But at least the possibility exists for working towards successful relationships and successful instruction. If the teacher's system of organization is inappropriate to the management of rivalry, however, then both the teacher and the children are likely to suffer. Each child will be quick to jockey for position and some relative advantage, to use counter-performances to undermine any advantage achieved by peers, and to show sensitivity to affronts emerging from these processes. If the teacher's system of classroom organization does not provide her and the children with the resources required for managing this inherently volatile situation, then it is unlikely that either she or the children will be able to control classroom interaction and very likely that the children's relationships will erupt into conflicts.

Ellen's lesson provides a concrete example of this. The structure of Ellen's lesson made it impossible for her and for the children to do the things they needed to do to control the heightened forms of rivalry associated with beginning-of-the-year rites. Owing primarily to this, almost everything that could go wrong, did.

#### Early events in Ellen's lesson

"Acting" is quick to set up but slow to escalate. As it did in Ellen's lesson, "acting" starts off with playful peer rivalry tangential to the lesson. This peer interaction outside the flow of the lesson is complemented within the lesson by playful contention over response turns and playful use of response turns. If the teacher is unable to deal with these processes as they begin to appear, then "acting" is likely to escalate. In Ellen's lesson, it probably took two minutes, at most, for "acting" to be established as a shared frame of reference for the children. It took about twelve minutes for "acting" to escalate beyond group playfulness.

Two roles are available to children in the initial phase of "acting": advance scout and group player. The advance scouts of the "acting" process are children who for their own reasons would prefer chaos to instruction. These children tend to be boys relatively low in the boys' dominance hierarchies or girls at the periphery of the girls' peer group organization. In Ellen's lesson, one of the earliest bits of "acting" was Herman's disappearing act. Herman was the smallest boy



in the class. Other early initiatives came from Brent, Jamie, and Toby Loo and from Claradine, Doreen, and particularly April. Children like these have little, if anything, to lose in playing with teachers and lessons and much to gain. The beginning-of-the-year opposition between the children as children and the teacher as teacher gives children on the fringe a chance to be in. To play a relatively large role in "acting," is to play, for the moment, a relatively large role in the peer group. "Making trouble" for the teacher through playful challenges attracts peer attention that a child might not otherwise merit. For at least the time that a child succeeds in making the teacher look a little foolish, a child may also become a culture hero to other children. Even if they do not especially admire the performer, the children appreciate a good performance. Congruently, it is in the interest of children holding marginal positions in the peer group to maintain group resistance to the teacher for as long as possible. As soon as resistance fades, the children's formal unity as children also fades, and the Brents, Jamies, Claradines, and Aprils of a class find themselves on the fringe of things again. April's "acting" illustrates these points most clearly. On the very periphery of the girls' peer group, April was the most prominent of the girls in the early stages of the lesson. The idea of opposition to Ellen made the other girls nominal allies, and April made the most of the occasion, articulating and advancing the idea of resisting the teacher. Freddie, April's counterpart among the boys, was absent on the day of Ellen's lesson. When present, he, too, played a prominent role early on in "acting" processes.

The group players in the "acting" process are class leaders and other children relatively content with their positions in the peer group. These children participate in group play in order to maintain their standing, but unless provoked by peers or by the teacher, they remain within the umbrella of group social processes. The reason for this is straightforward enough; they have too much to lose. Children risk much in taking on the teacher and the lesson for the teacher may prove to be adept at handling the situation. A child who "acts" may therefore be made to look foolish to peers. Nevertheless, it is the commitment of group players to the "acting" process that determines whether it takes. Unless these children follow the lead of the Hermans, Claradines, and Aprils, beginning-of-the-year rites in the classroom tend to hold at the level of peer interaction tangential to the lesson.

The reason that "acting" sets up so quickly in lessons like Ellen's is that children are able to judge very soon whether or not the teacher is skilled at dealing with the initiatives of advance scouts and the background peer interactions of other children. If the teacher is not effective, then all children fall under considerable constraint to begin to play and to match each other's play with the features of the situation. Children with prestige cannot be expected to compromise that prestige by appearing to take seriously a lesson which children like Herman, Brent, and April have shown can be undermined almost at will. Initial moves ripple throughout the children's peer network, and shortly, classroom order begins to take on the feel of a fragile shell

containing forces over which the teacher has little control. By one minute ten seconds into Ellen's lesson, she had heard twelve seconds of coin bouncing, about five seconds of barking spanning three occasions, a voluble dispute among six children over whether she had written "Social studies" or "Social science" on the blackboard, the first command from Toby Loo to "Stop it, April," April's voice playing with the pauses in one of Ellen's own utterances, two additional peer disputes, much additional background noise, and last but not least, Claradine's shout to Herman to "GET IN HERE." Ellen's attempt to get volunteers to read the word, "Communication," at one minute twelve seconds into the lesson generated fifty-six seconds of voices calling out various responses as children vied to give and to get in on giving the right answer.

The reason that "acting" is relatively slow to escalate from a relatively quick start is that Hawaiian children are in their own way very moral about the situation. Their peer rivalries unify them in poking fun at the teacher, but they tend not to go beyond group playfulness unless they have cause to. That they are afforded cause, usually has to do with the effects of the teacher's instructional system upon the children's identities, relationships, and emotions. Indeed, it is usually owing to the features of the teacher's instructional system that "acting" has the opportunity to take hold in the first place. The fundamental problem in Ellen's lesson was her methods of instruction, not her methods of reacting to the children's "acting."

Ellen's lesson as stage and spotlight

The dramas of the children's interactions worked best when the spotlight did not shine too brightly on a particular child. Strong claims and conspicuous success in the children's teasing, joking, recess games, and other playful contests stimulated other children to do heightened counter-performances. Conspicuous failure, conversely, motivated a child to counterattack by bringing other children down. The dynamics of the children's interactions also worked best when the children had multiple stages on which to perform and did their performances in front of relatively small audiences. The children's division of the playground into distinct territories accomplished this for it meant that the children did not have to contend with everybody else in a single interactional framework and that they had multiple opportunities for acting out the drama of being tough, charismatic children. It meant that each child might find a location in which to create some version of a credible identity and to vie with appropriate others in an appropriate version of rivalry. Correlatively, it meant that children could avoid the possibility of giving or being given serious affront in the course of identity work. It also meant that children could leave situations in which serious affronts were in the making.

In Ellen's lesson, however, there was only one stage, the spotlight shone brightly on performers, and the audience was very large. The structure of Ellen's lesson loaded all of the children into a single interactional framework and massed attention upon the teacher, upon the child placed in the spotlight by an invitation to perform from the

teacher, and upon children who had stolen the spotlight in the course of "acting." Everything that happened in the classroom became common knowledge. Each time that Ellen performed an action or required a performance from a child, and each time that a child "acted" or reacted to Ellen, all of the other children were potentially aware of it. The size of the audience and sharpness of audience focus magnified the consequentiality of classroom actions; it heightened the visibility and effects achieved by actors through performances and multiplied all of the risks involved in performing. When a child "acted," the other children could not ignore the situation; they were all there to see it and to recognize in it an implicit dare to do the same. When a child responded to an initiative from Ellen, the other children were all there to see this, too, and to recognize in the peer's response a potential claim to status superiority or loss of face--an affront given or received. These implications of action had complex ramifications among the children. A bit of "acting" might lead to a simmer of "acting" around the room. A skillful performance from one child would call for matching performances from other children; alternatively, it might provoke ribs or put-downs from children whose claims had been implicitly threatened. An inexpert or otherwise unflattering performance might stimulate mockery or derision from other children; alternatively, it might lead to threats, scorn, or criticism directed towards the teacher and peers from the child who had been made to look bad. Each of these events, in turn, could have its own effects, a single incident thus establishing a chain of actions and counter-actions. Unpredictable and complex in their details, these chains of

events all had the same roots: the children needed to perform in the lesson in order to assert personal identity claims and to match others' claims, but the risks of performing in Ellen's lesson were too great. Highlighted by massed attention and stripped of ambiguity and the possibility of being ignored, hidden, or left behind, classroom performances kept stimulating rivalry and steering the children towards possibilities of giving or receiving serious affront

The structure of the situation also put enormous pressure upon Ellen. Her lesson organized the children as a group and focused their attention upon her and her actions. This made it relatively easy for the children to coordinate "acting" as a group process. It also meant that Ellen and Ellen's answer turn were focal points in the children's rivalries with one another. Ellen might receive not one answer in response to a question, but half a dozen or more as the children worked to get expressions of their identities into the lesson. As Ellen also discovered, Hawaiian children may sometimes raise their hands simply to keep alive the impression of playing equal roles with other children in answering games. Once when Ellen called on Mapu and another time when she called on Doreen, she received no answer but instead a smile from a child whose game had been found out.

In these circumstances, little that Ellen did was of much avail in furthering her own interests of curbing "acting," of controlling the children's rivalries, and of making an orderly flow of instruction happen. On the contrary, Ellen's actions were likely to cause the escalation of situations. Ellen's attempts to control the children's "acting" either failed or succeeded. Where they failed, she made

herself look bad. Where they succeeded, she created an opponent for she had put a child down in front of the assembled audience of the class (D'Amato 1981a, 1981b). The more often she did this, the more she created the conditions for an alliance among children based on shared personal rather than merely formal opposition to her. Ellen's efforts at involving children in the lesson would also succeed or fail. Where they failed, and response turns were ignored or taken playfully, some of Ellen's authority was again leached away. Where they succeeded and individuals did make relevant responses, these responses were likely to intensify rivalry, requiring other children to do counter-performances (D'Amato 1981a, 1981b; cf. Boggs 1985). The clearest example of how the making of lesson responses could cause rivalries to escalate was, of course, Ellen's boys versus girls answering contest. No choice for a classroom activity could have been more unfortunate than this one. It played directly upon one of the principal oppositions among the children and in exactly the wrong way for it created an explicit status difference between the boys and the girls. The opportunity to participate in this contest was sought enthusiastically by the children for neither the boys nor the girls could brook letting the other side get ahead. Twice in the course of the contest, Ellen had to put her fingers in her ears because she had generated so much response from the children. Once she had to overtalk the children, saying, "One at a time, hands raised for points on the board." When the boys began to lose the contest--and in such an open and precisely quantified way, point totals for correct answers tallied on the board--

it was inevitable that their "acting" would become transformed into derision of Ellen, the girls, and the situation.

In the moments just before the complete breakdown of the lesson in the "boo for the girls" chant led by Toby B., four conflicts were unfolding in the room. Toby B. was yelling "NO TEASE" at Claradine and was about to be warned to back off by Jake; Pete had fallen into a dispute with Kaleo about whether or not Kaleo had a microphone; Brent was loudly disparaging Ellen's radio from the back of the room; and Toby Loo was complaining to Ellen about April. The story of how Toby B., Pete, Brent, and Toby Loo had gotten from the playfulness with which they had begun the lesson to the anger that was in their conflicts and that was shortly to fuel their chanting is the concrete story of what was wrong with the structure of Ellen's lesson. Each of the chains of events through which these boys arrived at anger began with some sort of injury inflicted upon the boys by the lesson itself.

Toby B.: "There YOU!"

Toby B. was a group player for the first twelve minutes of the lesson and a rather low-key one at that. On a number of occasions, he raised his hand and gave relevant responses to Ellen. He did not become involved in the dispute between Mark, who was sitting next to him, and April. Neither did he get involved in the car key struggle between Jake and Herman or the teasing between Jamie and Doreen which was also occurring nearby. Like the other children, Toby B. "acted" in group response turns; but he "acted" no more than they, and he initiated very little "acting" on his own. When Ellen strode by him at



11:35 of the lesson holding a large picture against her chest, Toby B. did try to pull up a corner of the picture in order to see what it showed. The attempt lasted only for less than a second, however, and Toby B. then put his head on his table in what he assumed was the correct waiting posture. His action had been playful, not confrontational. He was still "acting" in ways that invite the imposition of legitimate constraints.

The shift in Toby B.'s mood and behavior occurred all at once. It was caused by the very next series of events to happen, the chain of actions initiated when Ellen showed the picture she was holding to the class. The picture was of a black girl taking a tumble on her rollerskates. Teasing April, Toby Loo said, "That's April, fall down." That Toby Loo was trying to belittle April had to do with the ongoing rivalry between the two over boundaries at their table. This rivalry outside the lesson had been joined within the first seventy seconds of the lesson. It had also been boosted by early events in the lesson itself. When Ellen had asked the children to read the word, "Communication," April had been the only child to succeed in doing so. April had made much of this conspicuous success, affronting most of the children around her with boasting over her achievement.

It was not possible for April to allow Toby Loo's tease to go unchallenged. When Toby Loo made the tease, the attention of the class had been focused upon Ellen's picture, and he had spoken loudly enough for everyone to hear. Reacting to his tease, April said, "That's Toby, looks like." Toby B., apparently thinking that he was the target of April's barb, reacted to this attack from April immediately and

extremely strongly. "There YOU!" he shouted. Toby B. was the smallest of the boys who aspired to be known as fighters. Perhaps owing to his size, Toby B. was one of the most explosive of the boys when confronted with an affront like April's derision. He showed this same explosiveness when faced with a slight like Tolbert's leaving him out of the ricecake.

Toby B.'s shout froze conversation and movement in the classroom. April spoke an insult into the quiet ("You get the fag clothes" [?]), Kehau laughed, and Toby B. at once rose to his feet to confront April. April continued to smile but did not stand to confront him. Whether because two teachers were nearby or because standing in a fighting pose was countable as the strongest response that Toby B. needed to make, he soon sat down again. But from this moment onwards he was a changed boy.

Toby Loo tried to give Toby B. some ammunition to use against April. "April ba:ald. Yeah, Toby? April ba:ald. April's ba:ald."

Toby B., however, was initially more interested in getting validation of his worthiness than in retaliating against April. Retaliation would come, but not quite yet. He had been unsettled by April's remarks about the picture. It is absurd that he should have taken seriously April's comment that the picture was about him, but, nevertheless, he did. That he did is indicative of how strongly the children were committed to being responsive to affronts and of how deeply public and open affronts stung them. Instead of exploiting Toby Loo's observation about April in order to taunt April, Toby B. used the idea of not being bald to get some reassurance for himself. He said to

Toby Loo, "Yeah, you get [have hair], same like me. I get." Not sufficiently reassured, Toby B. said, "Watch," to Kaleo and showed Kaleo how long his hair was as if the length of his hair could somehow prove that he was not the sort of person to fall down on rollerskates. April's remark about the picture and her insult of Toby B.--heightened as these things had been by the structure of the situation--had awakened the issue of peer acceptance for Toby B. and the need to prove and to get testaments of the fact that he was fit to belong. A minute earlier, Toby B. had been relatively content with himself and the situation; now he was oriented to finding opportunities to re-assert the image of a tough, charismatic boy.

Toby B.'s efforts to assert his worthiness coalesced around the boys versus girls contest, partly because most of the interactional opportunities of the situation lay in this context and partly because other people, and particularly the teacher, interpreted his behavior in terms of the contest. While Toby B., Toby Loo, and Kaleo had been talking about April's hair, the girls had been awarded two points for a correct answer in the instructional contest. Probably in order to draw Toby B. back into the lesson, Ellen now gave him a chance to answer a question. The boys received two points for his answer, and directly afterward, he and April traded teases. "Boo girls, boo girls, boo girls," said Toby B., putting her down. "Oogoo boys," countered April. "Oogoo girls," said Toby B. "Gay boys, gay boys, gay boys, " said April. One minute and forty seconds had passed since Toby B.'s confrontation with April. This exchange with April contained the

precedent for the "boo for the girls" chant which Toby B. would lead eight minutes later.

About a minute and a half later, Toby B.'s concern with demonstrating his fitness surfaced in another way--he tried to get Rennie, who was sitting just around the corner of the table, to move further away. Rennie was actually sitting well away from Toby B., and her presence had not caused Toby B. any problems over the first portion of the lesson. Toby B.'s need for territory and for asserting control over territory, however, had increased. He knelt on his chair and reached over the corner of the table in order to pinch Rennie. Rennie was absorbed in the lesson, and her back was to Toby B. When she felt the pinch and turned around to see what was going on, Toby B. slapped her on the arm. The lesson, meanwhile, was becoming ragged owing both to the children's "acting" and to their efforts at getting into the lesson and making a difference in the girls versus boys contest. Ellen had just said that the boys were making so much noise that she could not hear. When she saw Toby B. pinch and then slap Rennie, Ellen awarded the girls two points as a punishment of Toby B., prompting other boys to voice loud and immediate criticism of Toby B. With these complaints from his peers, Toby B. had come full circle in the lesson. He had been insulted by April and laughed at by Kehau; he had tried to re-establish himself by disproving April's insinuations, by trading teases with her, and then by using force to get Rennie to move away; and now, owing to the teacher's reaction to this last measure, he was being criticized again, this time by other boys. With the award of the punishment points, April, delighted with the situation, did a

"YehHAYYYYYYYY" cheer for the girls. Finalizing the opposition between herself and Toby B., she followed her cheer with a teasing, "Yahhan yahhan yahhan," directed at Toby B.

A few feet behind Toby B. lay the ingredients for another conflict, more serious for the reason that it involved Jake, the leader of Toby B.'s gang. As part of her own "acting," Claradine was clapping for the girls, who had just been awarded two more penalty points, this time for Herman's behavior. Jake, who was flirting with Claradine, was also clapping. The two were seeing who had the courage to continue clapping the longest. In reaction to what seemed imminent discovery by Ellen, Claradine stopped, and then laughed and slapped Jake on the arm when he continued to get away with his own clapping. She then started clapping again. Her lead was followed this time by April and Kehau, two of the principals in Toby B.'s problems. Emerging in the situation was thus the potential for an alignment among April, Kehau, Claradine, and Jake and thus for an opposition and confrontation between Toby B. and Claradine and Jake.

This potential took some time to be realized. In the moments of clapping, cheering, and other noise and confusion following the awards of penalty points to the girls, Toby B. was not responsive to the behavior of Claradine behind him. Dispirited, he attempted to quit the game. "I not playing," he announced. But of course he could not quit the game; there was no other game to play. Over the next five minutes, Toby B. continued to assert himself in the boys versus girls contest and that contest, in turn, motivated him and the other boys to assert themselves, the boys' losing cause carrying all of the boys into

heightened rivalrousness with peers and with Ellen. If Toby B. had been involved in equivalent events on the playground, he might have been able to restructure the situation to provide himself with the relief and support that he needed. In the context of Ellen's lesson, however, he could not drop the issues of April's original insult, of the group's criticism of him, and of the boys' relatively poor performance in the answering contest. He could not leave the scene or re-tell the story of these events in some face saving way within the company of his gang of friends. Stuck as he was in the situation, the story of Toby B.'s discontent kept building upon itself, gradually transforming Toby B. from a group player in the "acting" process to an opponent of Ellen and her lesson. The situation began to move towards climax when Claradine clapped after the boys were awarded two points for a correct answer, and Toby B. discovered her clapping. Toby B. began to overlap Claradine, apparently interpreting her clapping as a put-down of the boys. "So?" replied Claradine, "girls get the most." "No TEASE!" Toby B. yelled at Claradine. Jake tried to intervene to put Toby B. in his place, but it was too late. Toby B. began to chant, "boo for the girls," and the chanting was picked up at once by other boys. Leading this chant immediately improved Toby B.'s disposition. It made Toby B.'s worthiness as a tough, mischievous boy clear for everyone to see. In one fell swoop, Toby B. put down the girls, put down Ellen, and put down Jake; he smiled broadly as he evened the score with his various antagonists.

Pete, Brent, and Toby Loo: "You too Jake."

That Brent and Toby Loo were in the midst of disputes when the chanting broke out and thus willing participants in it, had to do with the score in the boys versus girls contest, with chains of events affecting these two boys personally, and with roles which had been made available to them owing to the story of Pete's experiences in the lesson. Pete's experiences, in turn, were molded by the same situational parameters as Toby B.'s.

Pete, too, had been primarily a group player for the first portion of the lesson. Like the other children, he had not spurned opportunities to "act." He had laughed when his classmates had laughed about events in the classroom, and he had added some personal touches to group play. But he had not acted confrontationally towards Ellen. Nevertheless, there are indications that the lesson was beginning to wear on Pete. Pete and Jake had adopted different attitudes towards the lesson, reflecting the difference in their personal styles. Jake was watching the proceedings as if they had been set up as an entertainment for his benefit. In so doing, he was suggesting the idea of superiority over peers. For Pete, on the other hand, the lesson represented another arena in which he needed to claim the sort of role that was the due of a person as charismatic and as much of a performer as he. Consequently, Pete was a very active and vocal participant from the earliest moments of the lesson. He became especially active during the boys versus girls game. Pete's performances were always relevant, but the problem was that there were not enough opportunities to

accommodate his performance needs and those of everyone else. At about fourteen minutes into the lesson, some tension between himself and Ellen began to show. Mapu and Toby B. were the first two players in the girls versus boys contest. Pete attempted to get himself nominated for the next turn, but Ellen gave the turn to Claradine. She then praised Claradine's answer, saying, "Claradine had a really super idea that I'd like to share with the rest whoseever ready and waiting." Pete's voice sang out, "I not ready." "I know you have some super ideas, too," said Ellen, trying to assuage him, as she went about reformulating Claradine's answer for the benefit of the class.

Directly after this, Ellen asked Pete a question, and he responded with an enthusiastic and pertinent answer. Of Pete's attitude towards the lesson, the most reasonable inference is that the lesson was posing problems for him but that Ellen and he were trying to manage the dynamics of these problems as best they could. Disaffection was growing but had not yet become a serious problem.

When serious disaffection did come, it came all at once as it had with Toby B. The heightening of Pete's challenges of Ellen and of peers was again tied to a specific action of Ellen's and to the effects worked by this action owing to the parameters of the situation. The action was Ellen's use of Pete in demonstrating nonverbal methods of communicating affection.

Pete and the other children knew something was up when Ellen asked Pete to stand and approach her. Ellen was making up a story about having been absent from school and having returned to the classroom to see and be pleased by the sight of Pete. Anticipating the hug that was



to come next, Pete made a move to run and was also exhorted to do so by classmates. When Ellen enveloped Pete in her arms, the children were ready to respond--for eleven seconds, they roared with laughter.

Ellen did not know of the gangs and of the dynamics of relationships within and between them; teachers often do not have the time and opportunity to learn of the details of such things. Every time Ellen focused the attention of the class upon some child or some task, however, she took the risk of springing some trap in the children's relationships. Class reaction to the picture of the skater taking a tumble had unsettled Toby B.'s claims to fitness, prompting him to make demonstrations of his toughness and eventually to align himself against both Ellen and Jake. Ellen did not know this, but the boy she had selected for her demonstration of affection was a gang leader, a child whose claims were among the strongest in the class and thus among the most difficult to defend and maintain. In hugging him in front of the class, she had made immediate trouble for him and thus eventual trouble for herself.

The children's initial laughter was not derisive. They were reacting as though they had been told a very good joke. The element of surprise in this joke had been the sight of the swaggering Pete enfolded in the arms of the adult teacher. The laughter, nonetheless, was embarrassing, and the display of affection exposed Pete to the possibility of being made a target of derision. Jake and Doreen, Pete's two great rivals in the class, could not resist this golden opportunity to take a shot at Pete. The questions that Ellen asked the class following her hug of Pete had to do with the meaning of this

message and the means she had used to communicate it. Interestingly, April, who had been among the most conspicuous sources of "acting," was now conspicuously well-behaved. She was the first child to answer Ellen's questions and did so with no hint of "acting." Indeed, almost all of the children in the room were quiet and attentive to the situation. As they knew something was up when Ellen first beckoned Pete, so, too, perhaps, did they know that something was up now.

Doreen and Jake did not disappoint them. In response to Ellen's question about the means she had used in communicating with Pete, Doreen announced, "Your FISTS!" and grinned broadly. When Ellen recognized Jake, whose hand was up for the first and only time in the lesson, Jake laughed and said, "You love 'em!" This implicit put-down was not lost on Pete. As Ellen did repair work on Jake's utterance, Pete teased back, calling out, "You too Ja:ake!"

Jake and Pete got no closer to conflict than this during the lesson. But the laughter from the class and the teasing from Doreen and Jake had continuing effects upon Pete. Following the episode of the hug, he was a changed boy, his need one of restoring credibility to his claims of parity with Jake and dominance over other children in the class; like Toby B., he now needed to show his toughness. Pete's attempts to counterattack also coalesced around the opportunities provided by the lesson, bringing him into stronger opposition to Ellen. Pete, too, became an opponent of the lesson.

Evidence of Pete's stronger opposition came almost immediately. Ellen capped the repair work she did on Jake's "You love 'em!"

utterance by saying, "So we have lots of different ways to communicate." She then looked into her grab bag for another topic to move to, saying, "Let's see what else is in the grab bag if everyone can get ready and wait." Before she was able to finish her utterance, however, Brent had begun a comment of his own.

From the beginning of the lesson, Brent had taken the role of an advance scout and had applied himself with gusto to the task of finding ways to play with Ellen's lesson and with peers nearby. Participating in group opposition to Ellen was more rewarding for Brent than having to cope with the normal routine of being towards the bottom of the tough boys' dominance hierarchy. And so Brent had done what he could to push the process along. "Acting," however, could well bring Brent into confrontations with tough peers; it always did bring him to the attention of the teacher, exposing him to her sanctions. In situations which mass attention upon individual actors as did Ellen's lesson, attracting sanctions from the teacher can be extremely painful for this exposes a child, in turn, to group derision from peers. Brent had attracted teacher attention and sanctions on a number of occasions in Ellen's lesson. For the first six minutes of the lesson, Ellen had either ignored Brent's "acting" or attempted to control it through praise of other children and warnings about behavior delivered to the class as a whole. From the sixth through the tenth minute of the lesson, however, Brent had received four direct sanctions. All four sanctions had been accompanied by teasing and derision from peers. In the eight minutes which had passed since the last sanction, Brent had kept a relatively low profile, mostly to avoid further reprimand from

Miss Wong who had been sitting nearby. Miss Wong moved, however, during the aftermath of Ellen's hug of Pete. This gave Brent the opportunity to express some criticism of Ellen.

As Ellen got to the word, "ready," in the phrase, "if everyone can get ready and wait," Brent began to speak. He said, "Tha's not one," and then paused, waiting for Ellen to complete her utterance. The pause lasted less than a second. As soon as she finished speaking, Brent continued his own utterance, saying, "grab bag." Simultaneously, however, Pete began to speak. He had heard Brent say only, "Tha's not one," but had guessed the rest of the utterance and framed his own. "That ain't one grab bag," Pete said. "No more toys."

"Yeah," chimed in Toby Loo, "no more toys, no more toys." Toby Loo's own reasons for being disenchanted with the lesson had to do mostly with the rough times he had been having with April; his willingness to expose disenchantment had to do with Pete. The alignment of a leader against a teacher emboldens boys to do things they would not otherwise do. One minute and thirty-one seconds had passed since Ellen had hugged Pete. Only 24 seconds had passed since Jake had uttered his mocking, "You love 'em," and for the first time in the lesson, Ellen had boys deriding her and her talk.

The excitement that followed Ellen's pulling a radio out of the grab bag distracted the children from the criticism they had all heard going Ellen's way. Pete's post-hug concern with asserting dominance, however, quickly showed up in his giving Ellen the direction to, "Put 'em on! I like use 'em!" About twelve seconds later, Pete was

standing up to confront a peer, and a girl nearby yelled, "PETE SIT DOWN!" Pete did sit when the peer failed to rise to the occasion. From across the room, however, Herman, too, yelled, "PETE SIT DOWN!" Pete yelled back, "Shut up! Shut up! pain in the ass." Toby Loo also picked up his criticism of Ellen again. He raised his hand. When Ellen responded by asking him how a radio might communicate with a person, Toby Loo derided her again: "How come that radio not working? Broken!" This assertion re-aligned Brent and Pete for contention with Ellen. When Ellen asserted that the radio was not broken, Pete called out, "Then turn 'em ON! TURN 'EM ON!" When Ellen did not, he too loudly asserted that it was broken.

By this point, three minutes and seven seconds after the hug, the room was full of noise from peer contention as well as contention with Ellen, and Ellen's control of the situation was effectively gone. The lesson stumbled on for another minute and thirty-eight seconds. Perhaps aroused to action by Toby Loo's assault on Ellen's radio, April began pestering him again, trailing her hand and arm over his portion of the tabletop. Ellen's questions about the radio, meanwhile, bogged down in disjointed and off-track responses. She found a way of awarding points to the boys for two of their answers, but this only called the boys' attention to the fact that they were still far behind the girls in point totals, bringing on expressions of anger from Pete, Brent, Toby B., even Mark, and teasing from Claradine and other girls. When Ellen made her last addition to the boys' tally, the actors were all positioned for their takeoff into the "boo for the girls" chant.

Toby B. was making the discovery that Claradine was clapping behind him. On the other side of the room, Pete was pouncing on Kaleo for no reason other than the fact that Kaleo was a handy target. Spared most of the lesson owing to comprehension tests he had been taking, Kaleo had asked Pete to confirm the fact that he owned a microphone: "I get one mike, yeah? I get one mike, yeah?" The microphone topic was a spinoff from the lesson talk about the radio. "Not, you no more!" snapped Pete. Pete was not willing to validate anyone's claims to anything. At the back of the room, Brent was still harping on the radio: "THAT RADIO DON'T EVEN WORK!" And in the middle of the room, Toby Loo was yelling complaints about April: "LOOK AT APRIL!" When Toby B. began to chant "boo for the girls" in reaction to Claradine, it took only two repetitions for the chant to absorb Pete, Brent, and Toby Loo as well as Tolbert, Jamie, and Kevin. The girls, of course, could not not respond to this put-down from the boys, and almost immediately launched into their "boo for the boys" counterchant. The children's "acting" had exploded in this way, not because it had to, but because there was nothing else it could do in the context of Ellen's lesson. The massing of attention entailed by that lesson had taken away the children's socio-structural means of managing rivalry, forcing situations upon them almost certain to trouble their relationships and to provoke them to rebellion. In the structure of her lesson, Ellen had not provided the children with a pail for containing the dynamic of rivalry; it was more a pressure cooker, a system which kept generating tensions and providing no means for their release.

Following the children's chanting, Ellen got some derision from Toby B. and from Doreen, who made fun of her voice and her words. But over the remainder of the lesson, most of the children behaved most of the time in terms of the dynamics of their rivalries with one another. When they again challenged Ellen, the challenges did not grow directly from the children's attitudes towards Ellen but from the effects that her actions were having on their peer rivalries. Pete and other boys continued to be responsive to the score in the boys versus girls contest. They continued to try to get Ellen to give them the answer turn so that they could even up the score. The boys' last chant happened after Ellen helped Rennie through a performance which Rennie had been unable to do on her own. This was unfair as far as the boys were concerned. It represented a biased intrusion into the domain of their peer rivalries. They complained among themselves that Ellen had given Rennie "clues" and then they again voiced their disaffection with the situation with boos.

#### Conclusion

"Acting," when it escalates, does not always follow the route through children's peer relationships which it took in Ellen's lesson. Events may challenge dominance relationships as they did in Ellen's lesson in the case of Toby B. and Jake, and this challenge may escalate to the point of fighting. Fights may also develop between individual boys and girls. The pattern of how this may come about is suggested by the events surrounding Doreen. The eye contact which she received from Ellen was followed by some derision from peers. If later events had

been differently structured, this exchange with Ellen might have represented the beginning of a story of discontent for Doreen--one which could well have climaxed in fighting between Doreen and other children or in a confrontation between Doreen and Ellen. The escalation of "acting" may also occur within the girls' own network of relationships. April's theft of Kehau's slipper towards the end of the lesson and the girls' concerted efforts to get the slipper away from April are suggestive of how a peripheral girl's attempt to steal the show may generate opposition and a disruption of the lesson from other girls. The leaders of the girls may themselves play a role in organizing the escalation of opposition to the teacher. On one occasion, for example, the second graders had a substitute teacher who set out to rule the children with a firm hand. This alienated many of the children who could normally be counted upon to be well-behaved. Indeed, it was Noe who organized and directed an initial episode of the children's resistance to this teacher. Whatever the route to climax followed by beginning-of-the-year "acting," however, the ultimate cause of escalation is almost always the same--the instructional system of the teacher. If the spotlight is too bright, the stage too crowded, and the audience too large, the children's rivalries are almost certain to escalate in one fashion or another to conflict.

A lesson like Ellen's is only the beginning. What happens next is that the teacher invariably takes the children's behavior personally, feeling the sort of pain and anger that a person feels whenever rejected as a worthy incumbent of the role he or she is trying to play.



Teachers--especially new teachers at Ka Na'i Pono--know that they are supposed to be "nice" with children. But they learn as Ellen learned that being nice is not enough, and they cannot deny their own feelings of outrage. As one new teacher said, "I can't keep that [positive reinforcement] up all the time. It's just not emotionally realistic." In reacting to the situation, the teachers decide not to be Ms. Nice anymore. It seems to them that the problem was that they were not forceful enough with the children. Accordingly, they come on stronger. They seek to impose their will and an inappropriate system more closely upon the class; they attempt to compel compliance and begin to react with anger to and to punish any sign of misbehavior. These are precisely the wrong things to do. The children have been raised to a powerful but relatively distant figure of authority. When the teacher attempts to exert close control over their behavior and to punish them if they resist, they take it as an attempt to degrade them before their peers (D'Amato 1981a, 1981b), and they react with all of the considerable fire and courage of which they are capable. They cannot allow themselves to be put down by the teacher in front of the class. There is much too much at stake for them. The idea of resisting the teacher, which is merely conventional at the beginning of the year, now becomes a duty for the children. This is not to say that the children do not maintain their own rivalries with one another. On the contrary, the conflict with the teacher and the children's peer rivalries augment each other in complex ways, each struggle driving and being driven by the other.

With the teacher determined to force the children to recognize her power and the children committed to proving that they will meet fire with fire, the struggle between the teacher and the children becomes centered less and less over classroom work and more and more on personalities. Stating the rules of the classroom and the consequences for breaking the rules, for example, are normally necessary and effective means of managing the children. But once the teacher and the children are pitted against each other, the children take the rules as dares. If losing recess is the consequence for breaking the rules, they will lose recess for a day, a week, and even longer--as did happen--until finally an outsider like the principal finds it necessary to intervene. In the context of a full-blown struggle, generosity disappears and the worst may be assumed of the intention behind any remark. The teacher may ask so apparently innocent a question as, "Evan, where's your pencil?" and in response receive a brutal, "Heah! You blind-eye or what? Got your eyes up your ass." In the spring of a long hard year, this is exactly the response to that question that one teacher--experienced, but new to Hawaiian children--received from an eight-year-old. When one boy in this class was sent to the principal's office on another day, he slammed the door behind him as hard as he could. Inside the classroom, other boys cheered. One shouted, "Tha's how, Mike! That's how!" In a large group discussion in a different classroom, the teacher--again experienced and new to Hawaiian children--said, "Quiet, Erica," to a child who had begun speaking out of turn. That the teacher spoke in this way is itself indicative of the experiences this teacher had been having. She had not begun the

year speaking sharply. "You be quiet," said a boy in response to the teacher. "You the one talking. You shutup." This was a preschool classroom. Most of the children were four years old.

Teachers who do battle with Hawaiian children suffer, the more so because nothing seems to work--neither being nice, nor being forceful. Vomiting before class is surprisingly common. Also common are migraines, sleeplessness, stupor, sudden bouts of crying, and recourse to therapy, tranquilizers, and other treatments. On the children, too, struggles with teachers are hard and not only inside the classroom. One eight-year-old girl whose teacher was experienced, but new, and having trouble, started crying in the middle of the sort of recess contention routine among girls. As she was walked away from the scene, still crying, she said, "I hate this fucking school."

From the detail presented in the last five chapters on Hawaiian children at home and at school, the next chapter will attempt to draw some general conclusions about what is going wrong in lessons like Eileen's and about how well-intended Hawaiian children and teachers of Hawaiian children can end up having such miserable experiences with one another. The next chapter will also provide a description and analysis of the accommodations that have been made at Ka Na'i Pono School to Hawaiian children's interactional processes.

## CHAPTER 10

## RIVALRY, COMPETITION, AND CLASSROOM SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Socialized to a particular view of the world, Hawaiian schoolchildren try to do their best at living up to ideals and values worth living up to. They are affectionate, proud and courageous, charismatic and rivalrous. The teachers of Hawaiian schoolchildren try to do their best at a job worth doing. Far more often than not, they are committed, idealistic, and talented. Granted that some ritual of testing will occur between teachers and children--why such troubled encounters? Why their elaboration into such protracted struggles?

The details of Ellen's lesson and the particularities of the second graders' peer relationships provide one sort of answer. A more general answer lies in a difference between games--a difference between the nature of the peer game played by Hawaiian schoolchildren and the nature of the peer game usually imposed upon them by schools. This chapter will draw a contrast between the game of competition and the game of rivalry, use features of Ellen's lesson to exemplify the contrast, and will then discuss the adaptation of classroom social structure which has been made at Ka Na'i Pono School to Hawaiian children's interactional values, processes, and structures. The comparison between competition and rivalry will be idealized and is offered as a heuristic device; the point of the comparison is to provide a conceptual framework for drawing together the details that

have been presented in this work and for capturing the sense of the changes that have been made in KEEP classrooms.

The difference between trying to be better than others  
and trying to be as good as others

Competition and rivalry share certain important features. Both are games played by peers, and people play these games for the same reason--to gain acceptance and a little prestige. Both games involve the idea of contention, and the object in both games is to win. But winning means different things in the two games and is accomplished by means of different processes.

In the game of competition, a player tries to show that he or she is better than other players. A player does this not for the sake of triumphing over peers but as a means of proving worth, of demonstrating social value. Through refereed processes like argumentation and one or another form of test-taking, this game creates clear and often precisely quantified status differences among peers. In the game of rivalry, on the other hand, a player does not try to show superiority to other players but parity with other players; one tries to show that one is as good as anyone else. This game, too, produces status differences, but these differences are handled as background matters. Through the reciprocation of teasing, joking, and similar actions, people play at putting each other down, express affection for each other, and establish an appearance of parity. Conceptions of status difference grow behind the appearance of parity, but status differences are typically ambiguous, imprecise, and kept that way.

Underlying the difference in the meaning of winning and in the processes of contention between the two games is a fundamental difference in structure. This difference has to do with the role played by figures of authority. Face-to-face players in the game of competition include peers and one or more figures of authority. The role played by figures of authority is that of judging and adjudicating peer contests. Figures of authority decide who has won, who has lost, and by how much. Figures of authority also control the possibility of conflict emerging among players, denying players the right to fight about the results of contests. The only redress available to losers is to try harder. It is this feature of the game that makes it possible for players to contend with one another in candid and open ways without conflict and to cope with the pain that all people feel when they lose contests. The covenant among players to honor the results of competition, not to fight over those results, and to value competition as a socially beneficial dynamic forces processes of redress into frameworks outside the arena of contention itself.

The game of rivalry also involves figures of authority, but these figures are not face-to-face players in the game. Figures of authority establish certain rules, but peers are on their own within the confines of these rules. It is players' own responsibility to control the possibility of conflict, and, here, the feelings which always grow for all people from the experience of contention may well grow into conflict. Displays of friendliness are conspicuous and status differences are imprecise and handled as background matters because relationships must be managed in this way to prevent contention from

escalating to conflict. There is no one in this game to intervene in peer interactional processes; whether social order is maintained is understood by players to be contingent upon their own actions. More aggressive than competition in the sense of always involving the risk of conflict, rivalry is less aggressive in its style of play. Players are "nice" to each other because they must be nice if they are to avoid conflict. Players are expected to take immediate action upon being presented with clear and open challenges; indeed they must take action to remain players in the game.

Clustering around the structural difference between the two games are differences in the values taught and required by the games and in the conceptualizations of society and of social roles which reflect and legitimize the two games. The game of competition teaches the value of dependence in relationships between figures of authority and peers; in relationships among peers, the game of competition teaches the value of independence. In this game, individuals need to value peer relationships less than the idea of success at the game; ultimately, they need to value friends less than winning in order to commit themselves to and to succeed in processes of contention. The images of society that grow from the game of competition reflect this; one speaks of "climbing the ladder of success" or of "getting ahead" when one thinks in terms of the game of competition. In the game of rivalry, on the other hand, the dominant value in relationships between figures of authority and peers is that of autonomy; the dominant value in peer relationships is that of solidarity. In this game, individuals cannot value winning more than peers. There is no ladder of hierarchy to

climb in this game; peer status is treated by players as though it were ascribed and permanent. What awaits an individual who "wins" in the sense of proving superiority to peers is not a new status but the social limbo of losing connection to peers. Here, the aim in contests is to create some relative advantage within the peer group but not one so conspicuous as to jeopardize membership rights. Images like the Hawaiians' vision of crabs pulling each other down from the sides of a pail reflect the impermanence of relative advantage in the game of rivalry and the leveling nature of rivalry as a social dynamic. Maintaining peers in their status as peers are the strong rules of figures of authority; it is these rules that constitute the Hawaiian idea of the pail and that keep peers separate as a group from figures of authority and their peer game.

The differences between competition and rivalry are most clear in the socialization processes which prepare children for the one game or the other. In teaching the game of competition, adults play strong face-to-face roles with their children, directly and closely controlling children's behavior. These roles reflect the idea of dependence of children upon adults and are justified in terms of beliefs that children are "innocent," "immature," "formless," and unlikely to survive without close adult supervision. It is probably the case that children first learn the rules of argumentation and of other forms of competition through trying to establish some relief from the dependent role in which they are cast by adults. In teaching the game of rivalry, adults also play strong roles with children, but these roles are not face-to-face ones. Adults' socialization strategy is to



establish strongly stated structures of rules, to equip children with the skills necessary to function within the rules, and to release children into these structures, requiring them to be individually and jointly responsible for following the rules and for looking out for one another. This socialization strategy reflects the idea of autonomy between children and adults and is justified in terms of beliefs that children are willful or "hardhead" and mischievous or "rascal"; the idea is that the child's nature is inherent in the child and that growing up is a process through which this innate being becomes revealed. The adults' duty is to use strong rules and punishments to constrain this innately willful and mischievous being both for the general good and for the child's own good. From the processes of conflict associated with this form of adult authority, children learn that they are mischievous and willful, and they learn how to be mischievous and willful in acceptable ways; they learn the forms of rivalry.

Not all Hawaiians play the game of rivalry; not all the people who play the game of rivalry are Hawaiian; and all people learn to play different games. Early socialization experiences, socio-economic status, depth of life experience, and, most importantly, the choices of others affect the choices individuals make as to the games they play. In the classrooms of Ka Na'i Pono and of other schools serving low income Hawaiian children, the peer game played by children is that of rivalry. The children's social problems with school arise from the fact that the game of competition is the one traditional to the American culture of schooling.

Ellen's lesson exemplifies the face of competition in the classroom. First, Ellen had all of the children seated so that they faced her. She defined one framework of interaction in the classroom, and one framework only, and she herself took command of this framework. In these ways, Ellen was acting in terms of the assumption that adults have the right to exercise direct control over all of the children present in a setting (D'Amato 1981a, 1981b; cf. Boggs 1985). Secondly, Ellen defined a certain process of peer contention in her lesson. She defined performance tasks for the children to do, giving them questions to answer and movement tasks to decode and to perform. She attempted to pass out these tasks on the basis of a one-at-a-time rule. Following a performance, she evaluated the performance, always praising performances, to be sure, but praising some more than others and reformulating performances until a child got it "right." In these ways, Ellen defined acts of participating in the lesson as moves in a contest which she herself controlled and judged. This implicit definition of the situation was made explicit in the boys versus girls answering contest. Claiming as her right the function of exercising direct face-to-face control over children, Ellen also claimed as her right the function of placing children in competition with one another and of judging this competition, deciding, in effect, who had won and who had lost.

There is nothing wrong with the game that Ellen was trying to play; children who understand the idea of competition and have acquired the attitudes and interactional knowledge necessary to managing its dynamics are quite capable of playing it. Girls against boys contests

and structures of competition so strongly defined as to be punitive are probably always bad ideas. But children who have been taught this game may look forward to classroom competitions. They find nothing insurmountably problematic about putting themselves on the spot in the classroom and accepting face-to-face control from the teacher. On the contrary, they hold especial respect and affection if also fear for teachers who are demanding in the context of classroom discussion, and they may feel deprived if not given the opportunity to prove themselves in classroom competitions. Winning always feels good, whatever the game; conversely, the risks of games are always acceptable to players so long as the games are thought to be socially beneficial and so long as players believe that they have some potential for succeeding in them.

Hawaiian children, too, reserve especial respect and affection for teachers who are demanding, but children like the second graders have no taste for and do not know how to manage classroom competitions. In trying to impose the structure of competition upon the situation, Ellen was working against everything from the general conceptions of adult-child relationships which the children had learned in their homelives to the subtleties of the children's management of the particular relationships and reputations which they had created among themselves at school. As this work has tried to show, the connections among social structure, values, and behavior are extremely systematic, complex, and potentially volatile. When Ellen did what she did in the completely well-intended way in which she did it, she was undermining all of the social arrangements and situational protections and

understandings which the children required to control the inherent volatility of their own form of peer contention. In effect, Ellen took children who played the game of rivalry and put them into the game of competition; she required children who staked their identities on maintaining appearances of parity to engage in tests of superiority. Exposed to the giving and taking of a variety of affronts by the open and public contests of this game, the children reacted by destroying it.

The sequels to lessons like Ellen's are also intelligible from this perspective. The teacher's inclination is to do yet stronger versions of the figure of authority role defined by her game; she does more forceful versions of face-to-face authority and control over children. This directly offends what the children have learned about relationships at home and what they are trying to do in their relationships at school. Adults are supposed to expect them to "handle," not treat them like "babies," not interfere in their peer dynamics and degrade them in front of peers. The children retaliate as they have been taught to retaliate against people who would degrade them and as they need to retaliate in order to hold on to positions among peers. As a group, they frustrate the teacher's efforts at controlling the class; in one-on-one encounters, they become defiant and explosive. They have no choice; they are committed to their own game and its meanings.

#### Classroom adaptation at Ka Na'i Pono School

In many if not most schools serving minority children, problems like those which were experienced by Ellen are taken for granted as the

results to be expected when teachers who are inexperienced are placed in classrooms with children who have been socially and culturally "deprived," who have learned next to nothing of how people should behave so troubled are the children's homes and home experiences. It is assumed that battles with the children are inevitable and that teachers will eventually learn how to manage the battles so that their classrooms do not riot. At Ka Na'i Pono, teachers--and especially new teachers--may also account for classroom problems in terms of the children. For example, one new teacher--not Ellen--said that she finally understood the children. She had watched an episode of a nature series on public television and had come to the conclusion that what she was trying to do was to teach a troop of baboons. Most new teachers arrived at similar formulations expressing their sense of their children's "wildness" and lack of "social skills." At Ka Na'i Pono, however, these ideas did not grow into a school tradition. As at other schools, the adults and children of Ka Na'i Pono were locked by networks of relationships into separate adult and child spheres and peer games; and each side was constrained by the dynamics of ongoing peer relationships to do what it was doing in the classroom with the other. The difference is that at Ka Na'i Pono the adults were not committed to the specific game which they were trying to play in the classroom with the children. Defense of this aspect of the adults' culture was not locked into the adults' peer game. Instead, the adults were committed to the goals of making classroom education comfortable for the teachers and children and productive of improved test scores on national tests of reading comprehension. As Jordan and Tharp (1979)

note, the adults proceeded on a least change philosophy; the idea was to introduce the smallest changes necessary to making a difference in the children's education. But the essential point is that the adults were willing to change their game. Evidence of classroom management problems and abysmal test results notwithstanding, the ideology of the institution was that the children were educable and civilized in their own way. The problem was to find a way of teaching them.

Providing formal institutional leadership in the discovery of this way was a whole cadre of adult specialists. These individuals included classroom consultants, curriculum researchers, educational psychologists, sociolinguists, and educational anthropologists. In their different ways, these figures reinforced the institution's commitment to improving education and developing a school tradition consistent with the beliefs that the children were educable and civilized. Adult specialists functioned in a variety of ways as go-betweens for teachers, providing teachers with interpretations of various American sub-cultures of schooling (e.g., educational research, reading research, educational psychology, educational anthropology) and providing as well their own types of data on and interpretations of classroom events and problems at Ka Na'i Pono. The cadre of adult specialists at the school also attempted to influence classroom operation directly. Without the presence and concrete efforts of the adult specialists in helping the teachers to effect productive change, it is unlikely that change would have come about.

A lack of clear knowledge on how to produce change, the ethos of Ka Na'i Pono as an institution, and the idea of teacher responsibility

for classrooms, however, placed most of the burden of finding the way to improved education upon the teachers. The staff of the school--to include most especially its research staff--had certain ideas of the results it wanted to achieve. It wanted classrooms that "looked right." The staff wanted to be able to look from the observation deck and to see classrooms in which teachers and children were enjoying one another's company and in which the children were working industriously. The staff also wanted test results that "looked right." The staff wanted to show that Hawaiian children with average IQs from low-income families could succeed in school. But no one at the school knew precisely what to do in the classrooms to make these things happen. Furthermore, the non-teaching staff--the consultants, researchers, and administrators--settled more on a collaborative or lobbying model of effecting change than a topdown model. Sometimes some of the more powerful administrators would demand the implementation of this or that classroom practice. Mostly, however, the consultants, curriculum researchers, educational psychologists, and anthropologists worked with teachers in effecting change. Presentations would be made of procedures being used in other schools. Presentations would also be made of research efforts at Ka Na'i Pono. These presentations would feature recommendations for teaching and for classroom operation. Perhaps the primary method of lobbying involved a collaboration between a particular researcher, a particular classroom consultant, and a particular teacher over particular classroom issues (Jordan 1985). Whatever the form of lobbying, however, decisions on implementation

were mostly in the hands of the teachers and their peer group. A fundamental premise of the culture of schooling and a fundamental aspect of the teacher's own perspective is that a teacher's classroom is, for better or worse, her responsibility. The teachers had a greater personal stake than anyone else in making classroom instruction happen, and they had more direct knowledge than anyone else of the children's classroom dynamics.

That teachers succeeded in moving towards improved classroom education, has to do largely with the indirect constraints worked by the institution's goals and circumstances upon the teachers' experiences and behavior. There are few work-related experiences as enmiserating as having to go day after day into a classroom that is not functioning smoothly. Carol, a new and relatively inexperienced teacher, said this one day: "You know what I did last week? I went outside and cried." She had had some children in at recess to make up some testing, two of them had begun to fight over some blocks, others were clamoring for her attention at the same time in order to give her their papers so that they could get to recess, another teacher was in the classroom having some trouble with some children she was keeping in from recess, and "it just got to be too much. Today was junk, too." She was asked what made a day, "junk."

Well, like today there were problems all day long. The kids weren't responding, and I had to raise my voice. I got hoarse, the kids just kept picking at each other all day long, and it felt like a volcano with all this magma churning here and there and never knowing when it's going to erupt.

Experiences like this are extremely demoralizing and debilitating, attacking a teacher's health, her sense of the goodness of her



profession, and her belief in her worthiness to practice it. These experiences are not tolerable indefinitely; they must be changed. The values and goals of Ka Na'i Pono School and of the teachers themselves being what they were, the teachers were not allowed and could not allow themselves to give up on the situation or to rule the classroom through fear. They kept looking until they found things that worked--things that would give them and their students good days and that would restore to them the sense of doing a good job well.

Institutional goals also militated indirectly for educational change by affecting the links between teachers' classroom experiences and their peer group experiences. The teachers at Ka Na'i Pono School competed for peer regard, and as teachers at all schools tend to do, they viewed their classrooms as their own private domains. But owing to institutional circumstances at Ka Na'i Pono, the teachers moderated their own competitiveness and oriented this peer group process towards the shared goal of making the classrooms at Ka Na'i Pono function better. While the teachers respected boundaries between classrooms, they also tended to wear down these boundaries for it was not in the common good to maintain them. The teachers were not tenured and neither was their institution a permanently funded one. Their careers at Ka Na'i Pono School and indeed the continued existence of the school itself depended upon their collective ability to produce results in the classroom. Personal concerns could not be and were not allowed to interfere with the dissemination of useful techniques and strategies within the teachers' peer group or with the support and apprenticeship of new teachers. Conversely, the teachers' competition for recognition

motivated each of them to try to be the best in the classroom, pushing the whole process of educational innovation along. In sum, ordinary peer interactions between teachers, the teachers' own personal ideals, and their daily classroom experiences all became harnessed at Ka Na'i Pono School to the goal of effecting productive classroom change. Getting test results and classrooms that "looked right" were institutional commitments without which productive change would probably not have occurred. The reason that these goals were achieved, however, has to do with the implications which these institutional commitments held for the teachers' definition of their classroom experiences and peer group processes.

Echoes of the institutional context and experiences which motivated teachers to change the classroom and to change their own behavior in the classroom can be heard in the talk of new teachers at Ka Na'i Pono. In a sense, the experiences of these teachers recapitulate the experiences that went into the making of the KEEP program. Kathy, another new teacher, was asked why she had stuck out a very difficult year at Ka Na'i Pono instead of leaving. This is what she said:

That's a really good question. My doctor told me I had one or two choices. That either I quit my job or take a leave of absence or that I need to take these drugs. So I really had to think about that. . . .I guess there were a lot of different reasons I stayed. A lot of it was the support I was getting [from other teachers]. Another was the feeling that I didn't want to quit until I had it mastered. . . .I didn't want to quit until I was somehow in control of the situation. People told me not to worry, that it would get better, but that wasn't it because I didn't believe that. I just didn't want to quit. Once I had to consciously make a decision, I

said, no, I want to stay, this is where I want to stay, and I want to somehow get good at this.

Not all of the teachers experienced management problems in the classroom; some teachers are always able to control the classroom whatever the disparity between its game and that of the children. But many of the teachers did have problems in the classroom, especially in their first year at Ka Na'i Pono, and all appreciated the benefits of changes to classroom organization which began to be implemented in the mid-1970s. One of the teachers from this era, who herself had the reputation of being one of the strongest if not the strongest classroom manager, said that when the changes were introduced, "we noticed an immediate dropoff in management problems." What the teachers and staff of Ka Na'i Pono did was to change the context of instruction. Instead of putting the children in a classroom context appropriate to the game of competition, they changed that context in ways that made it appropriate to the children's game of rivalry. There were three principal ways in which they did this. The first was in the teachers' method of organizing children over classroom work. The strategy which the teachers and staff arrived at here essentially involved doing in the classroom what Hawaiian adults do in their homes. Instead of exercising direct face-to-face control over all of the children, the teachers, too, developed strongly articulated systems of rules, equipped children with the skills necessary to function within the rules, and released them into these structures, requiring them to be jointly and individually responsible for following the rules and for helping each other. The teachers called this form of classroom

organization, the "center system." Complementing this strategy for organizing classroom operation, the teachers developed turn-taking procedures in the direct instruction of reading and forms of teacher control talk and other techniques of self-presentation which were also consistent with the children's values, social processes, and situational needs for managing relationships and reputations.

#### The center system

KEEP borrowed the idea of the center system from the American inventory of educational practices. A center system is a decentralized system of teacher control over the classroom. The classroom is broken down into a set of small group work contexts. The teacher runs one of these herself, but at the others, the children work independently on tasks set out by the teacher. In effect, the teacher establishes a series of small pails in the classroom.

The language arts portion of the day at Ka Na'i Pono is usually divided into six periods. The first is called introduction of centers. During this time, the children sit at homeroom seats, and the teacher moves from center to center, explaining the tasks which the children will find at the centers. At the conclusion of the introduction of centers, a series of five (sometimes six) twenty-minute class periods begins. These periods are also called centers. In each of these periods, the teacher works with one of five reading groups at Center 1, the reading center. The other children find their way to independent work centers on the basis of individualized schedules carried by them in folders. When the children arrive at these centers,

they begin to work on the tasks which they find there. They are allowed to talk to each other as they work; they are not allowed to talk to children in other centers. They are also allowed to help each other with the work; but they are not allowed to interrupt the teacher at Center 1. Towards the end of a center period, a bell--usually a timer--rings. Children are expected to clean up and to prepare to move to the next center. A second bell goes off or the teacher verbally releases the children, and they move on their own accord to their next centers.

The structural features of this method of organizing classroom operation are consistent in a number of important respects with the structure of the game of rivalry. In effect, the center system promotes a version of the game of rivalry but not one destructive of classroom order. First, the decentralization of the classroom removes the spotlight of massed attention from both the teacher and individual children. Instead of a single interactional framework, the classroom operates on the basis of six or more frameworks, each representing a distinct bubble of activity. This reduces the consequentiality of actions; it is no longer so risky for a child to respond to the teacher or for the teacher to perform in front of the children. In the reading group at Center 1, a child can respond to the teacher without so much risk of "looking bad" to peers (D'Amato 1981a, 1981b; Boggs 1985) or of affronting peers with a superior performance. The situation is similar at the independent centers; work performances are not highlighted and thus do not pose so serious a threat to appearances of parity. From Center 1, correlatively, a teacher can talk to a child or to a center

of children elsewhere in the classroom about behavior problems without absorbing everyone's attention in her action. For example, she may direct a comment to a child at Center 4 without involving other children in the class in the episode. Having been involved in their own work and interactions, children at other centers will often not know why the teacher has spoken to a child about behavior. Indeed, the children may miss the episode entirely. Neither does the organization of the situation promote tracking of further developments between a child and the teacher. Perhaps for this reason, further developments do not occur nearly so often in the center context as they do in large group contexts like Ellen's lesson. In reducing the size of the audience attending actions and thus the significance and consequentiality of actions, the center system both reduces the likelihood of affront and relieves children from much of the requirement of taking offense at events interpretable as affronts.

The center system, secondly, gives the teacher a chance to do some social engineering, and this has the effect of giving the children access to those situational resources required by them to avoid serious affronts in their rivalries with one another. As the teacher discovers which children in a class can work together and which cannot, she changes the children's reading group assignments and center schedules. In effect, she builds possibilities for avoidance into the children's experience of the classroom. Children who cannot get along do not have to interact with each other either in reading lessons at Center 1 or in the independent work centers. On the contrary, the availability of numerous centers and different schedules means that the children all

have the potential for being placed in comfortable contexts of rivalry. It means that girls have multiple and distinct opportunities to vie for positions of centrality; it means that contexts can be defined so that boys can vie over the issue of relative dominance without risking the giving or taking of serious affront. Conversely, it means that the teacher may separate individuals whose playful rivalries with one another are likely to push them into mischievousness and the undermining of classroom order.

Thirdly, the center system gives children the opportunity to exercise autonomy in doing work and relieves the teacher from the requirement of directly supervising everyone's work. This reduces the likelihood of affront in relationships between the teacher and the children. As Gallimore, Boggs, and Jordan (1974) note, one of the longstanding complaints of Hawaiian children about school is that in classrooms they are treated like "babies." In removing the teacher from direct control of the children, the center system restores to Hawaiian children a modicum of control over work contexts. Instead of receiving performance demands from the teacher face-to-face--in effect, being directed on the spot to do things by the teacher--the children pick up their work tasks as they circulate through the centers; and they do the work without being directly supervised and shepherded through it by the teacher. The teacher, of course, has supplied the tasks and in this sense is guiding the work that the children do, but the connection between the teacher and children is not face-to-face. The teacher uses the operation of the center system to do the job for

her of distributing tasks to the children. The children's center schedules show the same kind of indirect control. By means of these schedules, the function of controlling classroom movement is transferred from the teacher to the children themselves. The teacher's guidance is present in the situation for she has created the schedules, but it is again an indirect form of guidance. Moreover, it would be impossible for the teacher to take back the function of controlling movement in the classroom during a day for, in fact, she does not know where the children are supposed to go in each of their periods. There are too many different schedules involved. The children of a reading group are together at Center 1 and at Center 2, the follow-up center. After this, however, they split up. By design, the other centers are composed of children at different reading levels and therefore in different reading groups. Thus, no two children from a reading group have the same schedule for any given day. Moreover, the teacher begins the language arts period with a different reading group each day. Thus, each child has a different schedule for each day of the week. In consequence, if a class has twenty-five children and if there are five center periods each day, there will be 125 different schedules for the week. When the bell rings at the end of a class period, the teacher simply trusts that the children are going where they are supposed to go. One teacher said, "Running centers is like putting a car on the road, only you're not driving it. They are." Getting to the right place and doing the work there ends up being each child's own responsibility.



Fourth, the center system enables the teacher to transfer the idea of evaluation from the performance of individuals to the performance of the class as a whole. This in turn enables teachers to harness the children's peer processes to the end of promoting work and controlling the class. A center period is a set of six or more separate work processes unfolding simultaneously. This fact creates the possibility for a different kind of evaluation. The relevant evaluation question in this context is not, "How did Kalani do with his answer turn," but, "How are we as a class doing in our half dozen or more work contexts." It is typical for teachers to raise and answer this question at the end of each language arts period. At the beginning of language arts, the teacher will have drawn a grid on the blackboard showing the periods of the day. Alternatively, she may create a permanent grid. When the cleanup bell at the end of a period rings, she will place in the grid some symbol of her evaluation of that period--a "Happy face" or words like "stupendous," "great," "so-so." If she writes a "so-so," the children deemed responsible for this are likely to attract criticism from their peers. If during a center period, the teacher warns that she may have to rate the period "so-so" instead of "stupendous" owing to behavior problems at some center, the other children again are likely to exert pressure upon their peers. Thinking in terms of groups is taken for granted by Hawaiian children, and they are extremely responsive to group symbols. Group evaluation at the end of center periods is entirely consistent with the idea of shared rewards and shared punishments in the children's homelives. In the second graders' third grade year, one of the pieces of the day most closely followed by

the children was their reading teacher's evaluations of the center periods. There were always cheers and applause for words like "stupendous." At the end of the language arts portion of the day, the teacher might allow the children to rate the entire session if their behavior had been especially good. The teacher would write the children's descriptors on the blackboard. The children would aim for superlatives. An example: "Five super dooper, wonderful, excellent, stupendous centers!" Another example: "Six fantastic, wonderful, great, marvelous, fabulous, super centers!" Rating the day in this way became a ritual in the class, and the children were very likely to come down hard on peers whose behavior had cost them an opportunity to perform it.

A fifth effect of the center system is that it legitimizes the children's peer interactions. Whether or not the teacher permits peer interaction in the classroom, Hawaiian children will put their considerable social energies into interacting with one another (Jordan 1984). In a lesson like Ellen's, in which there is only a single interactional framework, all of this talk that the children will do with one another anyhow is by definition "inappropriate." In a center system, it becomes legitimate so long as it occurs within a center and not between centers. As Jordan (1984) notes, learning centers appeal to Hawaiian children's values by enabling the children to use one another as resources and to provide help to one another.

Sixth, the center system has a set of implications of especial significance for beginning-of-the-year "acting." If the division of the class into small work groups reduces the teacher's power in the

sense of taking her out of face-to-face control of the children, it also reduces the children's power for it takes away their visible unity as a group. A child who "acts" no longer has a ready-made audience for his or her behavior. Correlatively, the separation of the children into distinct work contexts relieves them from the requirement of following each other's lead so closely in "acting." The children's rivalries with each other do not feed on themselves so readily when the children are absorbed in different work processes. As noted, in radically reducing the size of the audience to an event, the center system also relieves children from the requirement of taking offense at everything that might be seen as an affront. This feature of small group work contexts is especially important at the beginning of the year when the children are especially sensitive and concerned to demonstrate sensitivity to affronts. Finally, the center system gives the children an opportunity to observe the teacher outside the framework of direct interaction with her. When seated at tables away from Center 1, they have the opportunity to see her conducting a discussion at Center 1. More importantly, they have the opportunity to see their peers participating in this discussion. The observability of this and the circulation of the children a group at a time through Center 1 has the cumulative effect of undermining the children's resistance to the teacher. To put the point more accurately, it has the effect of taking the children off the hook of needing to "act." Having seen peers behave properly with the teacher, the children feel less pressure not to do so themselves. Evidence of the teacher successfully getting individuals to do things provides other children

with a justification for accepting the teacher's authority. Few if any of the children, after all, really want to see the teacher fail; their own relationships with one another are too unsettled and unpleasant until the teacher has proven herself.

At Ka Na'i Pono School, it was not possible to test the proposition that the center system is a classroom context less productive of problems for the children and for the teacher than large group work contexts. The reading teachers at Ka Na'i Pono all used the center system and rarely taught in large group contexts. Comparisons between lessons taught by the content areas teachers--who sometimes did use large group structures--and reading lessons were not felt to be useful since the content areas teachers tended to be new and inexperienced. It was possible, however, to test the difference between large and small group contexts in eleven kindergarten classrooms in the public school system. The teachers in these classrooms were all veteran teachers of Hawaiian children. The routine in each of the classrooms included both a large group work context led by the teacher and a period of centers operation. One large group work context and two periods of center operation were audiotaped in each of the classrooms. The audiotapes were coded for frequency of control talk, that is to say, for instances of teacher talk to children about their behavior. In the large group context, control talk by the teachers occurred at a rate of nearly one event every two minutes. During center operation, control talk occurred at a rate of about one event every four minutes. Two teachers new to Hawaiian children were also studied and here the

comparison between large and small group contexts was especially strong. One of these teachers was a kindergarten teacher, the other a preschool teacher. In large group, the kindergarten teacher's rate of control talk was about three events per minute. During center operation, it fell to about one event every three minutes. For the preschool teacher, the comparison was much the same. In large group, her control talk averaged about two and a half events per minute. On some days, this rate rose to four and even five events per minute. In a small group work context, however, her rate of control talk dropped to about one event every three minutes. These data are suggestive of the inherent difficulties of managing large group work contexts with Hawaiian children. This is not to say that such contexts cannot be successfully managed. It is instead to say that these contexts are much more problematic than small group contexts like centers and that they may be too problematic for teachers inexperienced with Hawaiian children. For these teachers, a small group work context may be the only viable method of establishing classroom control let alone good rapport. An impression born of observing teachers and talking to them about their daily experiences is that when control talk occurs at a rate of about one event per minute, the teachers have "bad days." When rates hit two or more events per minute, the teachers are experiencing more stress than they will be able to manage indefinitely.

A particularly striking example of the difference in the behavioral implications of centers operation and large group work contexts occurred in a third grade classroom at Ka Na'i Pono. One week, a substitute teacher worked twice with this class in the centers format

of the language arts period. Her problems with the children in this context were minimal. The following week the same teacher substituted for the science teacher. The science teacher ran science in a large group format. The science teacher's rate of control talk in this format was high, but the teacher was a performer and was adept at doing a strong presentation of authority. The substitute teacher, however, lost control of the class. The children "acted," the "acting" escalated, and finally the situation exploded when one of the boys fought other boys, did some damage to classroom property, and cursed the teacher. Same children, same teacher, different formats. Different games.

#### Breathing room and equal time

Putting the children into centers ameliorates the problem of direct instruction. It reduces the size of the audience in teacher-led lessons; and it enables the teacher to constitute reading groups so that the groups do not contain children likely to end up in conflicts with one another. These situational parameters, however, do not solve the problem of managing interaction within the setting of direct instruction. The teachers' problem here is that of coming up with a teacher-led interaction which is acceptable to the children and capable of satisfying her own instructional goals.

This problem has two aspects. First, the teacher needs a novel definition of a figure of authority role. She needs to direct reading lessons, and she will need to evaluate student performances; but she must accomplish these things in ways that are acceptable to children

whose own peer game does not involve evaluation and direct control by adults. Secondly, the teacher must control the effects of instruction upon the children's inherently rivalrous social dynamics. The teacher's own performance demands will stimulate the children to engage in rivalry. A question posed to one child will prompt responses from others as the children attempt to match each other's performances. The act of doing a performance and of having that performance evaluated before the peer group at Center 1, furthermore, will expose a child to the risk of suffering affront to his or her identity and of creating affront to peers' identities. In order to cope with the situation, the teacher must provide herself and the children with the means of managing the dynamic of rivalry and of avoiding serious affronts in the course of rivalry. The two problems which the teacher must solve in order to conduct reading lessons are actually twin aspects of a single need: what the teacher requires is a version of rivalry which provides for the possibility of a figure of authority acting as judge and controller of the game. The one-at-a-time, teacher initiation-student response-teacher evaluation format of conventional instruction (Mehan 1979) is through and through a structure of competition which inevitably defines public and explicit status differences among children. What is needed is a transformation of this game that makes it look more like rivalry and less like competition. The need is for a refereed version of rivalry.

Au (1980), in her incisive and elegant analysis of the way in which teachers at Ka Na'i Pono have solved the problem of direct instruction,

focuses upon the teacher role aspect of this problem. In reading lessons at Ka Na'i Pono, Hawaiian children are willing to accept direct control from teachers. They will respond in relevant ways to the teacher's initiatives and will accept evaluation from her. Au relates this fact to the turn-taking rules which teachers permit and, indeed, encourage in the direct instruction of reading.

As described by Au, Center 1 instruction involves the use of a comprehension strategy in the teaching of reading. In Au's analysis, reading lessons at Ka Na'i Pono have three components: preparation of the children for the story to be read by means of the teacher's eliciting child experiences relevant to the topic of the story; periods of silent reading followed by teacher questions "which assess the children's understanding of the information in the text"; and finally a teacher-led discussion through which the teacher helps the children to "draw relationships . . . between the material in the text and the children's own experiences" (Au 1980:94). Au argues that the successful management of this process of comprehension depends upon the teacher's and children's joint use of mutually acceptable structures for participating in conversation.

In analyzing the participation structures of a reading lesson judged to be "near ideal" by the reading teacher, Au discovered nine different types of structure. Some of these structures produced sequences of interaction typical of American classrooms. She found three: transitions, a structure through which the teacher moved "the group from one type of activity to another (e.g., from discussion to



silent reading) or from one topic of discussion to another" (Au 1980:101); choruses, a structure in which the teacher elicited and received a choral response from the children; and single turns, in which the teacher elicited and received a response from a single individual.

Five other structures which Au found, however, were unlike those of conventional American classrooms. These structures were composed again of a teacher initiation turn but now included child response turns which involved multiple children playing multiple roles. These structures arise in reading lessons at Ka Na'i Pono for two reasons. First, children will participate in the response to the teacher whether or not the teacher has nominated them to respond. Thus, children not nominated to respond may augment a nominated speaker's comments, dispute the speaker's comments, or simply offer comments of their own. The second reason that these complex forms of child response turns occur in Ka Na'i Pono reading lessons is that the teachers allow them to occur. The teachers may use verbal or nonverbal means of reserving the turn to talk for a child who has been nominated to speak, but, as a rule, the teachers do not oppose other children's efforts to join in the response to a question or other initiative. The teachers avoid enforcing a one-at-a-time rule. Through experience, the teachers have learned that if the children's attempts to join in the response to the teacher are opposed, the children will turn the situation into a game. They will all speak at once and use digressions and other tactics to create artful violations of the teacher's one-at-a-time rule, entrapping her in a futile project of getting them to speak properly.

Au used the variables of dominance and of the number of children speaking in order to draw distinctions among these five more complex participation structures. The structures found by Au were single/joint turns, in which the comments of a dominant child speaker are augmented by a second child speaker; single/open turns, in which the comments of a dominant child speaker are augmented by two or more additional speakers; joint turns, in which no speaker is dominant but two or more speakers contribute "almost equal amounts of talk"; joint/open turns, in which the utterances of two co-equal speakers are associated with commentary from at least one other child; and open turns, in which three or more children share equal status as speakers. Thus, in general, Au distinguishes between single turns, in which a particular child is clearly the dominant speaker; joint turns, in which two or more children are co-equal speakers; and open turns, in which three or more children are co-equal speakers. Within each level of structure, she finds structures suggestive of the next level. Thus, she discriminates between single, single/joint, and single/open turns depending upon how many additional speakers are augmenting a dominant child's utterance; and she also discriminates between joint and joint/open turns depending upon whether the talk of a pair of dominant speakers is augmented by additional speakers. As may be surmised from the number of structures which Au needs to postulate in order to account for the interactional sequences occurring in the reading lesson, reading lessons at Ka Na'i Pono School tend to be fast-paced and complex processes. They are quite different from one-at-a-time, recitational patterns of instruction. There were only four children

participating in the reading lesson which Au studies, and one of the children seems not to have been an especially active participant. One can only wonder at how many participation structures Au would need to have postulated had the reading lesson involved more children!<sup>1</sup>

In making sense of the data, Au notes that the participation structures of KEEP reading lessons resemble "talk-story" participation structures used by Hawaiian peers in organizing conversation in peer settings. Talk-story participation structures have been analysed by Watson (1975), Watson-Gegeo and Boggs (1977), and Boggs and Watson-Gegeo (1985). According to Watson (1975), "talk story and joking conversation among Hawaiian children are cooperatively produced by two or more speakers." Talking story may include forms of playful contention in which "one test of social status and power is the ability to wrest the turn away from another, with the approval of the whole group." Successful participation in talking story, however, involves "keeping the audience disposed in [one's] favor." As Watson notes,

the speakers most successful in keeping the audience disposed in their favor are the speakers most apt to encourage a partnership in performance. Sometimes the result is that two or more speakers alternate (as in swapping personal experiences or [playful] insults), and at other times it is contrapuntal or joint performance.

A key feature of talking story is that topics and turns are not coterminous; a story--typically an account of a past interaction known

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<sup>1</sup>The ninth structure found by Au is probably also one found generally in American classrooms. She called this structure a "damaged transition." What goes on in this sequence resembles the ad hocing practices described by Garfinkel (1967).

to at least some members of the gathering--is not owned by the individual who has introduced it and exhausted in that individual's turn. It is instead developed over the course of a quick-paced interaction in which other speakers offer corroboration of points of the story, add details, sometimes co-narrate the story by telling the next piece of it, and express evaluations or other comments upon the story, the story-teller, and the events recounted (Boggs and Watson-Gegeo 1985:106-109). Another key feature of talking story is that any participant may introduce a story (*Ibid*). The structural aspects of talk-story interactions detailed by Boggs and Watson-Gegeo are all intelligible as manifestations of the game of rivalry. By means of the joint development of topics, of balance in the introduction of topics, of a relatively quick pace in which turns tend to be short and exchanges of turn rapid, and of the "contrapuntal" or playfully contentious mood of these events, people who talk-story together create an interaction the structure of which symbolizes the ideas of parity and playful rivalry among peers.

Au points out that features of the KEEP reading lesson are similar to features of talk-story. The reading lesson, too, involves the development of topics by two or more speakers; and, as Au notes, the reading lesson may also involve contention--often but not always playful--among speakers. The presence of the teacher as conversational leader, however, makes for differences between participation structures in reading lessons and participation structures in talk-story events. In KEEP reading lessons as in conventional reading lessons, the teacher

initiates interaction, may nominate child speakers, and evaluates performances. Au argues that participation structures in KEEP reading lessons lie on a continuum, ranging from structures characteristic "of the conventional recitation setting" to ones representing a "classroom approximation" to talk story events in Hawaiian peer groups (Au 1980:97). Au concludes that KEEP reading lessons are hybrid interactional structures, compatible with but different from talk-story events and compatible with but different from the conventional interactional means used by teachers in organizing reading lessons.

Why are Hawaiian children willing to participate more or less peaceably in these hybrid interactional structures? Au argues that the success of KEEP reading lessons lies in the children's acceptance of the teacher as a figure of authority in a face-to-face context and that this acceptance, in turn, is made possible by the teacher's adherence to two conditions. These conditions underlie and are reflected in the participation structures permitted by teachers in KEEP reading lessons. First, the teacher permits the children to have "breathing room":

The term "breathing room" refers to the teacher's willingness to let the children respond as best they can at the moment, without criticism that reflects on their abilities. The teacher makes few corrective comments during the lesson . . . . [In the lesson studied by Au,] she only once corrects a child's use of words . . . . The teacher seems to be concentrating on the goals of helping the children to understand the story. . . . In the process she is willing to ignore many little foibles. . . . Central to the argument that breathing room is an important operating principle for the teacher is the idea that she permits and even encourages the use of talk story-like participation structures. [. . .] A child may reply independently of other children, receive help from others, and comment on, contradict, or complement the answers of others (Au 1980:111).

Second, the teacher provides the children with "equal time":

Equal time is evident in the control exerted by the teacher in the allocation of turns and time given each participant to speak. Teacher nomination was used to equalize the distribution of turns among the children, and not in a coercive manner. Especially in viewing the tape, the impression is gained that the teacher is willing to let everyone have his say. . . . The equal time condition applies to the distribution of talk not only among the children, but also between the teacher and the children. The willingness of the children to continue to participate in the lesson, even when they have made mistakes or are not sure of the right answers, may well be partly attributable to the teacher's efforts to deal with them in a scrupulously fair manner (Au 1980:111-112).

Viewed from the perspective of the contrast that has been drawn in this chapter between the process of competition and that of rivalry, what the teachers at Ka Na'i Pono have done in redefining their role is to redefine those aspects of the structure of classroom competition most problematic for children who play the game of rivalry. In giving children "breathing room," teachers have redefined the idea of evaluation and their role as evaluators, avoiding the creation of explicit status differences among the children and so of affronts to the children. Center 1 instruction remains productive of status differences; the children know who talks most, who has the most imaginative responses, and who gets the most enthusiastic evaluations from the teacher. But by praising everything and directly criticizing little if anything, the teacher does not make her own judgments of relative competence explicit. She thus does not create conditions to which the children are likely to respond by taking affront and by criticizing or otherwise belittling her. The provision of "equal time" has similar effects. By letting each child have his or her say, a

teacher comports herself with the children's expectation that they will be treated as equals by adults--that is to say, that adults will not draw strong distinctions among them. Providing the children with "breathing room" and "equal time" also tends to neutralize another aspect of the structure of competition which Hawaiian children find especially problematic--that of actions clearly marked as solo performances. The value of neutralizing this feature of one-at-a-time processes of instruction, however, is best appreciated from the perspective of Hawaiian children's peer relationships.

While Au considers her data from the vantage of the teacher role aspect of the problem of direct instruction, her data and conclusions about participation structures in reading lessons also shed light on how teachers solve the second aspect of the problem, that of defining a version of peer rivalry which they and the children are capable of controlling. In making room in reading lessons for children to make responses without having to be nominated to do so and for the possibilities of children being co-equal speakers in turns or of augmenting one another's speech, the teacher in effect makes room for the children's dynamic of rivalry. In generationally organized interaction, peers learn the management of turn taking as an aspect of the game of rivalry. Peers do what they do with turn taking in order to project and to maintain an appearance of parity within which to play with the idea of differences among themselves. In reading lessons at Ka Na'i Pono, children add their voices to the response to the teacher because in this setting, too, it is the game of rivalry that is being played. Children need to have their "say" in order to match the

performances of peers and thus to keep the structure of the situation reflecting an image of parity among equally capable and autonomous individuals. Conversely, in some circumstances, children may need to avoid responding to the teacher because they have nothing to say or are not sure of what to say. In these same circumstances, other children may step in, as in fact they do, owing to their collective interest in keeping an image of parity happening. It can be as painful for Hawaiian children to see a peer being put on the spot in a lesson as it is for them to occupy that spot themselves. In permitting single/joint, single/open, joint, joint/open, and open turns in lessons, in using teacher nominations to equalize opportunities to be heard, and in neither punishing response from un-nominated children nor insisting upon response from nominated children, teachers enable children to engage in rivalry with one another and to do the things they need to do to keep their self-presentations balanced and coherent. A one-at-a-time rule of response is a rule of competition; it organizes interaction so that individual turns are distinct and can be evaluated against each other and abstract standards of performance. Single/joint, single/open, joint, joint/open, and open turns are structures of rivalry; these structures organize interaction so that individual turns and their individual significances are continually being submerged within group processes, so that individual performances in fact do not provide bases for claims of special distinction and are not readily evaluable against each other. Owing to teachers' and children's joint acceptance of these structures in reading lessons at Ka Na'i Pono, teacher initiatives do not put children on the spot in

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front of peers (D'Amato 1981a, 1981b; Boggs 1985) but are instead absorbed into routine processes of rivalry. Children are able to balance the performances of peers by making moves of their own as the need arises, and they are also able to help each other through performances. The participation structures defined by Au, in sum, enable the teacher to define a role of authority acceptable to the children by enabling the children to sustain and manage peer rivalry within the instructional context. As Au's work shows, all does not become chaos when children respond to the teacher without having been nominated to do so; on the contrary, it is when teachers attempt to impose a one-at-a-time rule of response that lessons become disrupted (Au and Mason 1982). The children have experience at managing rivalry; it is competition that they do not know how to manage and will reject if the teacher requires it of them.

Boggs (1985) makes a related but somewhat different argument as to Hawaiian children's acceptance of direct instruction in the Center 1 context at Ka Na'i Pono. He notes that the mode of direct questioning of children by adults is associated with punishment in Hawaiian households; direct questions put the child on the spot. He notes, as has also been suggested elsewhere (D'Amato 1981a, 1981b), that direct questioning in large group contexts puts a child on the spot in front of the class and is often experienced aversively. He concludes that direct questioning in the small group context of Center 1 instruction is not experienced aversively by Hawaiian children because "questions are so adequately framed by the egalitarian mode of speaking in the

lesson that they lose the negative connotation they have in other settings" (Boggs 1985:166). The fact that children need not respond to questions from the teacher alleviates the risk of being wrong and removes overtones of parental coercion from the experience of being questioned. Boggs' explanation of the success of Center 1 instruction is not incompatible with the perspective adopted in this work. Alleviation of the risk of being wrong is one aspect of the way in which direct instruction has been transformed from a setting consistent with competition to one consistent with rivalry.

#### Orientation

Through association with Hawaiian children and the KEEP instructional system, teachers also develop a certain orientation to their role, the role of the children, and the purpose of the classroom. This adjustment in perspective parallels the changes made in classroom organization and direct instruction; it represents a re-ordering of functions and priorities consistent with Hawaiian children's values and interactional dynamics. Teachers express this orientation in the statements which they make about classroom rules, roles, and purposes, in the classroom situations which they accept or punish, and in their methods of winning compliance with rules. KEEP teachers vary widely, to be sure, in the outlook which they develop on the classroom, but they tend to share certain features of orientation.

First, the best of the KEEP classroom managers have succeeded in "letting go" (Jordan, Tharp, and Baird-Vogt 1982); indeed, "letting go" is the precondition for the successful implementation of the KEEP

system and the successful development of classroom relationships with Hawaiian children. "Letting go" means not trying to direct and control so much of the children's activities in a face-to-face way (D'Amato 1981a, 1981b; Boggs 1985). It means trusting the children to do what they are supposed to do and allowing them the latitude to work autonomously. It also means letting go of certain treasured images of what classrooms are supposed to look and sound like. It means accepting the peer interaction that children will do at centers or at least ignoring it as an inevitable and usually innocuous accompaniment to the children's work (Jordan 1985); and it means relinquishing strict and exclusive control over the turn to talk in direct instruction. Moving from the idea of child dependence to that of child autonomy in teacher-student relationships is extremely difficult for almost all teachers to do. It violates an idea that is an article of faith for most teachers, namely, that children are in need of direct teacher control and supervision and as much face-to-face instruction as can be arranged in a day. Teachers find it hard to believe that children can work on their own at independent centers despite the fact that on-task studies consistently show the children to be at work 80% to 90% of the time (Farran 1986). One teacher just becoming acquainted with the KEEP instructional system, and showing some strain, said, "Normally, you know what they're doing because you tell them what to do, when to do it, and how to do it. But with this [center system] you just have to trust." Simply the noise level of Ka Na'i Pono classrooms is difficult to adjust to. Each of the learning centers breeds a certain amount of talk. Children learn how to talk at centers so that they do

not involve adjoining centers or disrupt direct instruction at Center 1, but compared to more conventional classrooms, Ka Na'i Pono classrooms are noisy. Teachers eventually become so used to the noise levels of KEEP classrooms that they no longer notice it, but this takes time and conscious effort. Center 1 poses similar problems. If a teacher has spent her life in one-at-a-time instructional contexts, it is difficult for her to imagine how instruction could otherwise proceed. Nor is it easy to learn how to release direct instruction from the reins of a one-at-a-time rule. "Participation structures" are analytic reifications of dynamic interactional processes. After the teacher has asked a question at Center 1, she does not hear children sequencing varied responses in unproblematic ways. She may get overlapping responses, contending responses, or ones that begin to stray from the focus which she is trying to maintain. It is her task to weave all of this together and to keep it coherent. As with accepting noise levels and the possibility of independent work at centers, the first step in learning how to do this is foregoing the effort to control things directly. Once teachers do let go, the children are capable of surprising them with their industriousness and the creativity and fun of their discussions. "Letting go," however, is not something that most teachers do willingly. Teachers in the KEEP system eventually let go for until a teacher does so Center 1 is a cacophony of voices, the independent centers are hotbeds of rivalrousness and mischievousness, and transitions and other contexts in which the teacher faces the class as a whole are always moments of potential rebellion. But many teachers in the KEEP system probably

continue to harbor the wish that their students would be more "adult-oriented," that is to say, would be more willing to accept close and direct control.

Secondly, and somewhat paradoxically, the most effective of the KEEP teachers project a very strong image of being "in control." Letting go does not mean permissiveness, which is disastrous with Hawaiian children (cf. Martini 1985). It means instead working within a different but very strong conception of an authority role. As teachers at Ka Na'i Pono discover, Hawaiian children's peer rivalries require the children to look for and to attack weakness in adults. The children count as proof of weakness any evidence of confusion, uncertainty, or surprise which the children themselves are able to induce in a teacher by means of their behavior. In consequence, the best of the KEEP classroom managers attempt to foresee and to provide the children with rules governing every possible contingency. There are rules on how to sit at center tables, how to line up, how to move in lines, how to wait, how to change from one center to another, how to get access to the bathroom, what to do when someone is already in the bathroom, what to do with completed work, what to do with extra time when work is completed early, what to do when pencils break, how often one can go to the pencil sharpener, what to do when help is needed, what to do with rubbish, what to do when things are found in the classroom, how loud voices can be at centers, how loud voices can be in the cafeteria, how much food has to be eaten before one is "through," and on and on. By means of these rules, teachers attempt to project the image of being figures totally conversant with and in control of

all aspects and possibilities of classroom life. The teachers' own experiences with Hawaiian children teach them to use clearly articulated structures of rules in order to project something of the very strong and indirect authority role played by adults in Hawaiian children's homelives. In a sense, the children's peer rivalries require the teachers to replicate the homelife conditions which are constitutive of and control those rivalries--the strong pails of adult rules. The impression that rules have been established for 'all' contingencies, conversely, enables children to arrive at the group agreement that their teacher can "handle." It is not so much that the rules make it impossible for the children to do things which are unexpected and which therefore make the teacher stumble and seem unworthy of her role. It is rather that the impression born of the rules relieves the children as a group from the necessity of looking for ways of surprising the teacher's expectations. Indeed, once a teacher has laid out a system of rules, the children's rivalries begin to work in an altogether different direction. The children begin to impose the rules on each other in order to prevent anyone from claiming special distinction through the act of getting away with things.

Thirdly, KEEP teachers tend to frame the function of control in terms of group rather than personal goals. A teacher who gives the impression of controlling for the sake of controlling is not likely to be win the compliance of the children of a class. Hawaiian children are extremely sensitive to the exercise of personal power and extremely sympathetic to group appeals. The best of the KEEP classroom managers make a point of premising the whole function of control on the idea of

the good of the children. When they punish a child, it is not so much because the child has not been listening to them or otherwise interfering with their performance as because the child has been interfering with the group goal of learning. One expert classroom manager said, "You're not doing it [teaching] for yourself, you're doing it for them." The more that a teacher communicates the message that she exercises control over situations in order to help the class learn, the more she mobilizes the children's group sentiments and provides them with a justification for control which they can all respect.

Fourthly, teachers at KEEP have developed certain distinctive attitudes towards the exercise of authority. One of these is complete impartiality or as Au (1980) puts it, "being scrupulously fair." This entails not playing favorites with children in the sense of not taking up positions on who is to blame for some peer problem. Since these problems are typically joint products, a child held solely accountable is likely to feel unfairly singled out and to rebel against adult sanctions. Being "fair" also means not holding an individual accountable for a group process. "Acting" like that which Ellen experienced is a group phenomenon, and teachers learn to treat it as such. Individuals who attract sanctions in the course of such processes also feel unfairly singled out. It usually goes against the grain of teachers to impose group punishments because always in a situation there are some who have behaved worse than others and some who have misbehaved very little. Hawaiian children, however, usually deem it fair for the teacher to sanction them as a group when they are

engaging in group mischievousness. If they grow angry, this anger is typically directed against the peers held most responsible for the punishment, not the teacher.

Demonstrating fairness also requires the teacher to respect certain of the more subtle conventions of relationships between adults and children in the children's world. Breaking rules playfully and without ill intent, is a means for children of turning the tables for a moment upon adults and of communicating affection to adults. It is a way of coping with authority which both adults and children find entertaining and harmless. As children begin to grow fond of their teachers, they will play tricks on them which do not represent challenges but are instead gestures of affection which presuppose the legitimacy of the teacher's authority. The children expect the teachers to react to these tricks with shows of indulgent authority. Violating this expectation produces shock, anger, and disgust in children. Another action guaranteed to produce surprise and anger is not giving children totally explicit warnings before administering punishments as Boggs (1985) points out. Playing with the idea of breaking the rules is a characteristic dynamic in interaction between Hawaiian children and adults just as playing with the idea of status differences is a characteristic dynamic in relationships between peers. As Boggs (1985) observes, adults react to this play with increasingly stronger warnings. The need to repeat commands and warnings is taken for granted by adults as part of what they need to do to get children to heed them. At school, any punishment given without a completely explicit warning that punishment is impending violates the children's



expectation that the testing which they do of strong rules is a legitimate adaptation to those strong rules. It is particularly important to handle the issue of warnings and punishments properly because otherwise routine situations may escalate to the point at which they require the intervention of the principal and of parents, an outcome that neither child nor teacher desires. In these and other ways, being "fair" means knowing and playing by the rules of the generational game of peer and authority relationships which children have learned at home.

Along with certain attitudes towards the exercise of authority, teachers at Ka Na'i Pono have developed a distinctive behavior management strategy for expressing authority. The teachers and staff discuss this behavior management strategy as though it were simply sound educational practice, and doubtless, it is. But the strategy also has certain clear correspondences to Hawaiian values of self-presentation; it corresponds in particular to the values of autonomy and solidarity and to the range of interactional forms through which Hawaiian children and adults mix these values in their self-presentations and interactions.

First, as Antill and Tharp (1976) show, teachers at Ka Na'i Pono praise children at roughly five times the rate at which children in comparison classrooms receive praise. The idea behind this very high level of praise is to build motivation for school, to reinforce appropriate behaviors, and by this means to preclude inappropriate behaviors. As Jordan (1981) argues, however, the praise and other

tokens of affection which Hawaiian children receive from teachers at Ka Na'i Pono also represent an analogue to the unconditional affection which the children receive from their adult kin. Frequent praise accords with the tokens of solidarity that are normally supposed to frame contexts of interaction. As unconditional affection is the touchstone of Hawaiian children's relationships with parents and other adults, so, too, does the nearly unconditional praise and affection which they receive from KEEP teachers form the touchstone of their relationships with the teachers. The children know that they do not have to earn the smile from the teacher; it is a constant. The smile fades and may go away in moments of trouble, but the children know that it will soon come back again.

When a child does misbehave, teachers are supposed to "cue the misbehaving student by giving specific praise to students who are behaving." If this fails, they are supposed to "give a desist" by "star[ing] at the misbehav[ing] student, call[ing] the student's name, or briefly and clearly tell[ing] the student to stop what he's doing." If a child continues to misbehave, teachers are supposed to "give a warning" and then, if necessary, "a punishment." When the child begins to behave again, the teachers are supposed to praise the student (Anderson et al.). The idea is to call as little attention as possible to misbehaving children on the theory that this reinforces misbehavior.

In fact, what the teachers actually do in reacting to misbehavior is more complex than this. KEEP teachers use at least sixteen different types of statement in reacting to misbehavior. These statements range from forms of ignoring what is wrong and forms of

noticing what is wrong through forms of requiring change in behavior to forms of punishing misbehavior. Teachers ignore what is wrong by directing the children's attention to models or rules of proper behavior. Essentially, a teacher ignores what is wrong by noticing the reverse of what she is seeing. Ways of doing this include praising or cuing ("I like the way Malia is sitting"), naming participation conditions ("I'm going to call on people who are sitting nicely"), or requesting a reiteration of rules ("How do we line up?"). In noticing what is wrong, a teacher uses a question or a statement to direct attention to some state of affairs. The teacher assumes that the children will understand that it is relevant for her to notice what she has noticed only if what she has noticed is not supposed to be happening. Ways of noticing what is wrong include checking the situation ("Ready, Mike?"), saying what is wrong ("Mike's talking"; "The people at Center 4 are making it hard for us to hear"), asking who is responsible for what is wrong ("Who's talking?"), asking for an explanation of what is wrong ("What's all that noise?"), and noticing a child by name ("They made fire, Keola, by rubbing two sticks together"). In requiring a change from what is wrong, the teacher tells the children what to do next. Ways of doing this include pauses ("I'll wait till it's quiet"), requests ("Can you sit down, please?"), commands ("Sit down"), demands ("Tisha, I want you to sit down"), and warnings ("You have a choice. You may either sit nicely or go back to your table"). In punishing what has happened, lastly, a teacher may rebuke, scold, or require a child to undergo some period of separation or isolation from the normal duties and privileges of the student role

(e.g., sitting by himself or herself with head down, losing recess, being sent to the principal's office, having notes sent home, and having conferences with parents).

This range of reactions to misbehavior seems to be an adaptation in two ways to the problem of having to play a face-to-face figure of authority role with children who are accustomed to distant and strong figures of authority. First, in the logic of this range of reactions, teachers reflect sensitivity to Hawaiian children's values in interaction and to the dynamics of their peer relationships. Punishments and actions which tell children what to do next need to be a part of teachers' response repertoire with Hawaiian children. The children expect teachers to grow responsive to the play that they do with teachers' authority role; indeed, the children create conditions deemed to merit responsiveness in order to see whether the teacher will in fact respond. It is a way of finding out whether the teacher is worthy to control the doings of charismatic and tough children. Commands, desists, warnings, and punishments so practiced that a teacher is able to deliver them without showing anger need to be a part of the teacher's response repertoire.

If this is all that a teacher does, however, she will fail for the children will regard her as mean and bossy. The other end of the spectrum mixes the idea of being able to "handle" with sensitivity to the children's peer group context. Ignoring and noticing do not specify for a child what the child is to do next. Behaving in the proper way is left up to the child to do on his or her own. The significance of this is that a child can respond appropriately to

ignoring or noticing without seeming as though he or she has been forced to comply by the teacher. The use of ignoring and noticing thus displays to children a teacher's appreciation of their peer group concerns. A child can do the thing indicated without losing face and attracting teasing from peers. By the same token, the act of ignoring and particularly of noticing conveys certain important messages about the teacher. The children have greatest respect for a person who is "cool under pressure." The act of noticing conveys this quality. The minimal nature of this reaction suggests, first, that the teacher is not easily shaken, that whatever it is that she has seen is regarded by her as a minor matter. Secondly, it conveys sophistication with the forms of interaction. Noticing suggests the possibility of escalation to stronger action like commands, warnings, and punishments, without committing either the child or the teacher to this escalation. The reason for this is that the act of noticing does not involve the teacher in interaction with the child who is misbehaving. Unlike requiring change and punishing, which create explicit compliance turns, noticing and also ignoring create implicit compliance turns. Even when performed as a question ("Who's making all that noise?"), noticing is not perceived as the first move in an interactional sequence. In consequence, noticing does not constrain immediate compliance from a child. It leaves a space for compliance without requiring that a child jump into it at once and fill it up. In one classroom on one occasion, for example, a teacher said this: "Someone over there"--pause while the children's eyes look in the direction in which she is pointing while

she herself ignores that corner of the room--"is getting a little too noisy." End of action, also end of noise, and all very painlessly. Noticing is much stronger than ignoring for it readies a teacher for action; the same state of affairs cannot be noticed twice. But noticing is much less strong than requiring changes and punishing for it does not commit either the teacher or the child to an immediate escalation. If the act of noticing conveys teacher poise, it also respects child autonomy.

It is interesting that noticing tends to be what is missing from the behavior management repertoire of new teachers. They know how to ignore--they learn this in behavior modification classes in undergraduate education. They also know how to command and to punish, although not with the emotional control which they eventually acquire. What they do not know how to do is to notice. In their experiences with the children, they leap directly from ignoring to commanding, warning, and punishing. There is not the subtlety in between that lets a child know he or she is with someone who is not easily provoked and is likely to maintain fair and strong control over situations.

The second way in which this range of teacher control talk is an adaptation to the problem of managing rivalrous dynamics among children is in the mix of responses that teachers use. In a study of management talk in eleven KEEP kindergarten classrooms, two twenty-minute center periods were audiotaped in each classroom. It was found that 34% of the teachers' reactions fell on the ignoring and noticing end of the spectrum, with 66% on the requiring change and punishing end. Of the low end responses, 27% were of the noticing variety; on the high end,

59% fell into the requiring change category. These classrooms were in four different schools, and nothing was known about daily classroom life in most of them. An impression acquired from close contact with especially well-managed classrooms is that teachers and children have better days when low end responses balance high end responses. Nevertheless, from this data on control talk and from the high rates of praise with which KEEP teachers complement their control talk, one may draw the inference that they are achieving a certain balance in their self-presentations. Through praise and shows of affection, they show children that they are "nice"; but through their control talk, and particularly through noticing and emotionally controlled forms of requiring change, they also show that they are "tough." They, too, smile in a way that shows teeth. In speaking of a boy who was especially difficult to manage--not one of the second graders--a teacher made a remark that conveys something of the subtle balancing acts teachers need to perform when exercising authority over Hawaiian children. She said, "I found that I could control him if I didn't get him angry and didn't let him know he had gotten to me."

### Conclusion

The KEEP system of instruction has been shown to be effective in producing good classroom relationships between teachers and Hawaiian children with average IQs and low-income family backgrounds; it has also been shown to be effective in generating scores on tests of reading comprehension at national norm levels. In these senses, the KEEP system is successful. This chapter has argued that the success of

the system--from a social perspective--lies in its compatibility with the peer culture of Hawaiian schoolchildren.

It is important, however, to note what KEEP is and is not and what it does and does not do. The KEEP system, doubtless, is not the only way of creating a classroom accommodation to Hawaiian children's rivalries, values, and peer group structures; and it is not necessarily the best way. It is one way that was developed at a particular institution at a particular time to serve the teachers' and staff's goal of developing an educational program capable of making the classroom a scene of mutually acceptable and productive work. What the KEEP system does, from a social perspective, is to provide teachers and children with a framework supportive enough of their different goals and interests that they are able to develop productive and, indeed, affectionate relationships with one another. The schoolchildren at KEEP are, by and large, happy with their classrooms and their teachers. So long as their teachers are skilled in the system, the children do not express the sort of disaffection with school that may be heard in other institutions, even from children of primary school age. What the KEEP system does not do, however, is to make the classroom easier in an absolute sense. It does not change the basic elements of the situation. It is still the case in Ka Na'i Pono classrooms that Hawaiian children experience an imbalance of power between themselves and their teachers and still the case that they mount a relatively intense test of their teachers. It is therefore still the case that the classroom is a gamble for Ka Na'i Pono teachers, however well experienced they are and no matter how well established the



effectiveness of their teaching methods. When a teacher steps into the classroom at the beginning of the year, wearing the air of a caring and strong teacher and saying all of the right things in just the right way, nothing is certain. She risks herself in her performance, her ideas of who she is, others' ideas of who she is, and the only test of the performance that means anything is the response of the children.

It is appropriate to conclude this story of the second graders and of educational innovation at Ka Na'i Pono School with a look at the beginning of the children's third grade year. In Ellen's social studies lesson, Ellen and the second graders were involved in a very honest struggle, a struggle to create credible social identities within their respective peer spheres and shared classroom context. It is exactly this sort of struggle between well-meaning teachers and well-meaning children that has always propelled educational innovation at Ka Na'i Pono School. Lila, the children's third grade reading teacher was exceptional in her command of both the social and academic aspects of teaching Hawaiian children. Her beginning of the year interactions were altogether different from Ellen's. But Lila and the children also became involved in just the same sort of struggle concerning the definition of relationships and identities. Neither was this struggle without pain for Lila and the children. In enthusiasm for educational change, we who have seen what it can produce sometimes attribute to it powers that it does not have. Educational innovation does not provide happy endings to stories like Ellen's lesson, but bittersweet ones--ones that do not eliminate the conflict and

constraints that are always a part of human interaction but ones that do show, finally, the human capacity and willingness to find ways out of conflict and into understanding and acceptance. For more than that, one cannot ask.

## CHAPTER 11

## THIRD GRADE

I think teachers don't want to recognize how much power the children have because you get so scared you can't teach. . . .The energy is there. It's going to be moving one way or another. You can't stop it, you can't block it, and you can't just let it go. You have to channel it. . . .

You give them a common goal to work towards, and you set parameters in which you operate to reach that goal. . . .

You know how I used to say, "In or out?" You try to draw a difference between the classroom and everything else. All the bad feelings, and everything that doesn't pertain to the classroom you tell them to leave outside. And you do that, too. You tell them, "When you come into the classroom, you're ready to work and that's how we're going to reach that goal. . . ."

You have to believe in them.

Lila, the children's third grade teacher

Viewed in its entirety, the beginning of the year rite between teachers and Hawaiian children is an interactional process containing three phases. The first phase is a honeymoon period which may last as long as three or four days or as little as ten or fifteen minutes. During this phase, the teacher presents herself to the children, and the children, uncertain about the teacher and about each other, take in and evaluate the presentation. They begin to form personal impressions of the teacher.

The second phase is one of conflict between the teachers and children and among the children themselves. This, too, may be short or long, lasting from one to four weeks. During this phase, the children's rivalry with one another pushes them outwards to test the bounds of adult rules. The children begin to receive punishments, and eventually some point of crisis is reached in the children's relationships with adults. The reason that the children test the rules is that no one of them can readily accept classroom order until it becomes clear that the other children do so as well. In order to establish the conditions for arriving at some collective decision about the classroom, the children, and particularly the boys, need to induce some observable consequence for misbehavior which can be accepted as a legitimate constraint upon doings. How far the children go in testing rules depends to some degree upon the personality of a class. Not all Hawaiian classes are the same; some involve more intense rivalries than others. To reach a point of "crisis" in relationships with teachers, some classes need only go to the point of losing recess for talking between centers. Some classes, however, may have to go to the point at which class members begin to get suspended in order to find a consequence which can be collectively honored, as a constraint upon behavior. How far the children go depends much more heavily upon the adult contexts trying to regulate their behavior. It depends upon how consistently and strongly rules are enforced for the children will go as far as they have to go to uncover constraint. Most of all, it depends upon the nature of the classroom routines and other interactional rules which the adults attempt to enforce. Some teachers give the children cause for

escalating their behavior and turning situations into confrontations; with these teachers, the children may grow abusive as a matter of self-defense (Boggs 1985; D'Amato 1981a, 1981b). Other teachers do not give the children cause for escalating their behavior, and with these teachers, the children do not grow disrespectful. These teachers notice the phase of conflict in the form of heightened peer interaction in the classroom, poor academic performance, and certain other relatively indirect forms of resistance.

The last phase of the process is one of conflict resolution. Following some period of crisis consisting of children's testing of the rules and adult punishments for this, teachers and children arrive at some modus operandi for the year. What this phase looks like varies enormously from classroom to classroom. In some classrooms, the children may reveal affection and respect for their teacher and settle into work routines which their teacher has defined. The children remain all that they are--rivalrous, playful, enormously energetic in their interactions--, and so there are days during the year that are not good for them and for their teachers. But the keynote in these classrooms is one of mutual affection and mutual commitment between teachers and children. In other classrooms, however, teachers and children take away different conclusions about each other from the conflict phase of their relationship. Here, teachers have learned that the children will go as far towards warfare as the teacher wishes to go; teachers learn what to do to avoid provoking rebellion. The children, for their part, have learned that the teacher is capable of imposing powerful sanctions upon them to include that of suspension and

the sequels of suspension in the children's relationships at home. The children learn to keep the process of resistance below the level which will bring them into contact with the stronger sanctions at the teacher's command. As there are bad days in classrooms which have arrived at productive resolutions of the issue of classroom power, so are there good days in classrooms that have not. But the keynote of these classrooms is one of tension and of undercurrents of hostility which may erupt from time to time with unfortunate consequences for all concerned. The children of a class, furthermore, may arrive at different relationships with the different teachers they have in a year. With some, they may settle into productive relationships, but with others, not.

Probably for the reason that 1980 was a year of great and unsettling change for Ka Na'i Pono School, the first month of that schoolyear was very difficult for everyone. KEEP was disseminating its program to the public schools and converting experienced classroom teachers to teaching consultants. Essentially, it was raiding its own classrooms for expert instructors of the KEEP system. In the 1980-81 schoolyear, there were two teachers assigned to first, second, and third grades, and one to kindergarten. The three content areas teachers in first, second, and third grades did double duty for all of the classrooms as teachers of special subjects like Hawaiiana, Art, P.E., and Music. All three of these teachers were relatively inexperienced; they were also new to Ka Na'i Pono School and the teaching of Hawaiian children. Of the four language arts teachers, only the first grade teacher and Lila, the third grade teacher, were

veterans of Ka Na'i Pono. The second grade teacher was new to Hawaiian children and the kindergarten teacher new to Ka Na'i Pono School. Of the teachers who had some direct responsibility for third grade, only Lila was experienced. Lila's teaching partner, Mary, who was the math teacher, the children's Hawaiiana teacher, and the children's P.E. and art teacher were all new. Even the personnel who were assigned to monitor bus arrivals and departures and the cafeteria were new. Changes had also occurred among the children themselves. The biggest of these affected Pete and Mark. Pete was having problems in his relationships at home, particularly with his stepfather. Pete had spent part of the summer with relatives and would move in again with relatives before the year was out. Pete was explosive throughout the third grade schoolyear. Mark had put on weight over the summer and had been lifting weights. His brother, Matt, was also starting out as a kindergartener at Ka Na'i Pono. Whether for his own reasons or owing to the presence of his brother, Mark set about improving his position among classmates this year by showing a new disposition to fight.

These and other changes affected how far the children went and were motivated to go in their beginning-of-the-year test of the situation. From the start of the year, Lila was doing the things she needed to do to win the children's acceptance of her and her classroom routine. But it took three weeks for days to begin to operate smoothly.

#### Different models

The honeymoon time belongs to the teacher. The children are relatively quiescent; they are checking out each other and the teacher.

What the teacher does with this time in the way of defining her own identity and the identity of the class, has implications for the entire year. It determines the kind of conflict she will experience with the children, and it establishes the parameters within which this conflict will be resolved. It thus determines whether the possibility exists for a satisfactory resolution of the issue of classroom power.

At Ka Na'i Pono School, the first few weeks are spent primarily in testing of the children's reading proficiency and in relatively light seatwork. The center system does not operate during this time because test results are needed to assign the children to reading groups and to make out their daily schedules. The teachers' initial goals are much more behavioral than academic in any case. The teachers' primary intent is to get their classes acquainted or re-acquainted with school and the idea of a school routine. During this time, the teachers separate the children into work groups and begin to rotate these as groups through a limited number of centers. In this way, they preserve some of the social advantages of a small group work context. On the first day, however, teachers face the class as a class for at least the morning. Their main goal is to establish classroom rules and to introduce themselves to the children.

From the observation deck, on September 2nd, the first day of school, one could see into both the second and third grade classrooms. One could watch Lila with the third graders, and Kate, the new second grade reading teacher, with the new second graders. What one saw on this day was a study in contrasts.



In both classrooms, the day began with the teachers going over classroom rules. During this half hour, both Lila and Kate set about projecting strong images of being in control. The two teachers were working, however, in terms of altogether different models of what being in control meant. Lila was smiling as the children came in. When she began to speak to the class, her smile changed into a look of concentration appropriate to the project of organizing classroom work, but the smile reappeared whenever appropriate. She later said that behind these looks, she was extremely nervous and apprehensive, both because it was a new year and owing to the reputation of the particular class she was meeting. But none of this showed. In the smile one saw a welcoming of the children to the classroom, in the look of concentration, a hint of hard work to come, and in the two together, the suggestion of a person both nice and tough. This impression of Lila was reinforced by the way in which she set about communicating the rules of the classroom to the children.

In general, Lila was clear and precise in the information she wished to communicate. There were few uncertainties or stumbles in her performance, and no room for teasing or derision. She also limited the interaction between herself and the children. She did not ask the large group context and the state of her relationship with the children to support more than it could support. She did not invite an extended conversation on any of the points that she was making. But she did provide spaces in her discourse for the children to participate, and she allowed them to participate in ways appropriate to the management

of their peer relationships. The first three points are illustrated by Lila's discussion of bathroom procedures with the children:

Lila: Okay, I'm going to show you about the bathroom procedures. This is a signout sheet for you to use when you need to go to the bathroom. You don't have to raise your hand. Just come up and sign out. If you have to go to the bathroom, what are you going to do?

Many: Sign up.

Child: Sign up.

Lila: Okay, April what do you have to do?

April: Sign up there.

Lila: Okay.

Child: Sign up.

Child: Put your name.

Noe: And and when you when you pau [finished with] the bathroom you cross it out.

Lila: 'Kay. When you go to the bathroom, you should write your name here or your initials. And you want to not take take anything with you. So you should leave your

Many: Pencils!

Lila: You remembered! Okay

Child: Or crayons

Child: [inaudible]

Lila: Or crayons. Right. Okay. If you're going to go to the

Child: [inaudible]

[Lila:] bathroom write your name or your initials on the paper, go out, come back in, and cross it out. And remember you can only have one person going at a time. One boy and one girl.

As discussed, Hawaiian children expect even treatment from adults and try to stay even with each other in interaction with adults. In her talk about the bathroom, Lila is doing the things that all teachers need to do: telling the children what the rules are, leaving nothing to chance, and repeating the message a number of times. But she is also playing an appropriate role with the children; as Au (1980) puts it, she is allowing the children to have their says and is validating those says. In effect, she is allowing the children to even up the imbalances which her own discourse and requests for response are creating in the children's relationships with one another. As a child attracts special notice from the act of speaking, the child attracts other speakers. Recognizing this, Lila allowed other children to talk but kept the problem of rivalry over the turn to talk manageable for both herself and the children by asking only for rudimentary information about the classroom. This had the effect of limiting the potential for contention among the children. Even so, it is apparent that the children could still find ways of coming up with different slants on the same possibilities for response.

Lila was also careful about what she defined as misbehavior and how she reacted to misbehavior. At the beginning of the morning, Lila had told the children that they had a lot of work to do during the year. They could help each other, but they needed to work and not disturb

each other. She told them that if someone were having problems, that person could sit outside the classroom door until he or she was ready. Lila thus related the idea of classroom order to the idea of the good of the group; implicitly, she related the necessity for her own actions as figure of authority to the good of the group. Over the course of the morning, Lila acted in ways that were consistent with this interpretation of the need for classroom order and implied justification of her role as classroom leader.

This was the first time that most of the children had seen each other since early June, and the children were not completely quiet. Far from it; the children conversed with each other in looks, short utterances, smiles, and movements throughout the morning. Much of this, Lila chose to ignore; she did not make an issue of it even though some of it was suggestive of challenge. But some things she did not ignore. When it seemed to her that April was straying too far away from the flow of the talk about bathroom rules, Lila directed a question to her. The question she asked was easy to answer, and Lila's tone of voice emotionally neutral. Consequently, neither her question nor the manner of its delivery was punitive. It reminded April of the situation, and it told the other children that Lila would expect them to follow the situation. Lila also showed the children that she would take stronger action than this were it needed. Two minutes after the talk about bathroom rules--twelve minutes into the morning--, Pete's voice became loud enough to interfere with her own. "Pete?" she said, waiting till she had gotten his attention before continuing--"are you going to stay in third grade or uh are you having some problems?"

Pete composed himself into an attitude of attention, and Lila continued with her talk about pencils and other classroom supplies. In reacting in this way to Pete, Lila was defining the ground she would protect in the classroom. She was saying that she needed to defend the work process and would do so. The manner in which she did it was also very sophisticated. Lila shortly introduced a shorthand expression for the idea of choosing between participating in the classroom or not. She would ask, "In or out," leaving the choice to escalate a situation entirely up to the child addressed. Sometimes, she would tell a child that he or she needed to sit outside; not once during my observations and not once in Lila's memory, did a child respond to her question, "In or out," by going out.

Over the course of the morning, Lila also did not patronize the children. She did this partly in the way in which she defined her authority role and the need for good order in the classroom. She did it also in the way that she praised and did not praise the children for comportment. The behaviorist approach to classroom management recommends high rates of praise in order to "shape" behavior, and doubtless a teacher is safer erring on the side of too much than too little praise for comportment. But praise can be patronizing and even counterproductive as well as beneficial to the classroom. One Ka Na'i Pono kindergarten child once reacted to praise from his teacher by asking her why she was always trying to butter up the class. Lila fit the praise she gave the children into the logic of the topics she needed to cover. She went through all of these topics without a break, praising the children along the way, but for their answers, and only

occasionally for their comportment. In this way, she gave the talk itself a higher priority than comportment. She was again emphasizing the issue of work over the issue of social control. When she arrived at the end of her string of topics, however, she gave the third graders a well-deserved bit of praise for attuning themselves to what she had been saying: "Boy, third grade is so super this morning. Really getting things fast. I didn't think we could go this quickly, but everybody is behaving so well. Terrific!"

Lastly, Lila complemented the professionalism of her performance, of her stance as a figure of authority, and of her attitude towards the children with expressions of genuine feeling for them. Lila was not saccharine; she was not that sort of person. Concern for the children simply came out of her in how she spoke to them and presented herself to them. There was the smile that had greeted them when they came in and that remained just behind the smoothness of her talk with them about rules. When the children said something that pleased her, the smile would reveal itself as the emblem of her disposition towards them. Her, "You remembered," utterance during the talk about bathroom rules was framed in this way. Sentiment also showed in her sensitivity to the children. If she had spoken to a child in the way she had spoken to Pete, she would look for a time when praise was appropriate, and give it as she in fact did with Pete. Most clear, however, was the way her sentiment showed in connection with the children's work. She wanted them to succeed, and they could hear it in her words. After the talk about rules, the children joined an assembly with the other grades. This assembly also was mainly about rules: bus rules,

cafeteria rules, playground rules, CPO (child police officer) and safety rules. In the classroom following this, Lila distributed one of the tests that the children would have to take. As she passed out the tests, she said this:

When I give you the test please leave it face down. We'll go through this together. Don't turn it over. Okay. First thing. Some of the questions will be easy but other parts of it might be a little hard for you because you spent the whole summer away from school. Even if it gets hard for you please do the best you can. Let it show all the goodness that's in your head.

Lila cared about how the children performed, and she showed them that she did.

Next door, Kate was also establishing an authority role; in her own way, she was also trying to help the children show the goodness of their minds. But Kate was working in terms of a model of strong face-to-face control. Lila left the third graders at their seats. She did not have them sit in a group on the floor. Kate did do this with her second graders. She had long strips of tape on the floor, and she required the children to sit in rows along the strips of tape. Packed in this tight formation, they were supposed to attend her and not each other as she spoke to them about classroom rules and later on in the morning read a story to them. The formation itself was perturbing to the children. There were too many ways of getting rivalry going: of violating the next child's sitting space and getting one or another sequence of trouble started or simply of fooling around and getting one or another piece of playful contention going. The kind of attentiveness Kate was demanding of them was also not the sort that they were likely to give. She wanted them to keep their eyes on her; she wanted

them not to make noise; and she wanted them to raise their hands and not speak out of turn, which she interpreted as noisemaking. But the children's social structures, at home and at school, did not orient them for this sort of close control by adults. The children were oriented towards staying even with peers; and they expected even treatment and indirect control from adults, the sort of control that would honor their autonomy and respect their power as a group. For all of these reasons, Kate's own requests for response kept generating sequences that did not start off with raised hands but instead featured multiple responses, sometimes playful, but often earnest. In the close quarters of the formation on the floor, the children's attention, furthermore, kept swinging directly back to peers. The more these things happened, the more Kate would insist upon eyes forward, no voices, and raised hands, and the more she would get just the reverse.

As the morning wore on, Kate became increasingly convinced that the children were ill-mannered and disrespectful, and the children, that the teacher was mean and unfair. Kate had not started off the day with a smile; she was working more on the theory that the children would get affection when they deserved it and in any case not until she had established control of the situation. By 11:26 A.M., her face had become a tight mask. She was in the process of "kicking" another child out of the formation on the floor, and as she walked in front of one of the boys in the front row, he gave her the finger behind her back. Children giggled. She turned, wondering what the giggling was about, but unable to see. About ten minutes later, Kate got the children up and moved them into third grade to say grace with the third graders.



But before they could do this performance, she marched them all back again because they had not formed up quietly enough in the third grade classroom. She put them back into their formation on the floor and told them that it was their lunchtime they were losing. They could decide to behave in the ways in which they needed to behave, or they could decide to lose lunchtime; it was all up to them. At 11:40, grace was said, a song was sung, and at 11:43, they left. Half of one of the strips of tape had already been peeled away.

After lunch, it was more of the same. The children worked in parallel on a worksheet exercise at their tables, but they were beginning to "act" in more or less open ways. The honeymoon was already over; the children appeared to have made up their minds about the situation. Kate had a bell that she rang when the class was too noisy. At 1:29, she rang the bell and said, "Boys and girls," pointing to her ears. At 1:32:16 she rang the bell, and again, and again, the last coming at 1:32:27. "Boys and girls," she was saying, "excuse me. Jana, eyes should be up here. Timothy, eyes should be up here. Jana, Jana. Sandy, Sandy. Boys and girls, our voices are too loud. Our voices are so high you couldn't even hear me." At 1:38:25, she rang the bell, and again at 1:38:31. At 1:40:10, two of the children were singing and playing a handclapping game. At 1:41:46, the teacher rang the bell three times. A boy was trying to get her attention, but she was trying to rein in the rest of the classroom and told him, "Not now." The bathroom turn had become an issue for the boys; they were vying over the turn to go, and this boy wanted to complain about not having been able to go. Leaving the teacher, he got into a

confrontation with one of the boys with whom he had been contending. This boy screamed, drawing a look and a face from the teacher. At 1:44:53, she rang the bell again: "Excuse me. Sandy, excuse me." A boy was making catcalls, and the teacher threw a look in the direction of the catcalls. Another boy was giving the video camera the finger. Another was proclaiming himself to be the Incredible Hulk. A girl was hanging upside down from her table. In third grade, meanwhile, the children were writing letters home to the adults of their lives about the first day of the new schoolyear. They were not completely quiet. Far from it, they were talking to each other as they worked. But neither had teacher insistence that they be quiet forced them into near mutiny. They were working, and the sounds that they were making had mostly to do with their work. By 1:50, on the other hand, the second grade teacher had rung the bell three more times, for a total of thirteen times in twenty-one minutes. The teacher decided to hold a class meeting on the spot; it took three minutes to get the children's attention and to get them organized to listen. The teacher talked about how high the noise levels were and how quietly the third grade was working. She and they went through a list of things that they would need to work on: listening, cooperation, talking quietly, working quietly. When the class meeting ended, there was still some time left to the day, and the bell rang some more before the day was over. In the second and third grade classrooms, both Lila and Kate were seeing evidence of the children's rivalrousness with one another; both were also seeing suggestions of "acting." Lila, however, was working with the children's rivalrousness; she was harnessing it to the operation of

the classroom and was ignoring "acting" as far as possible. Kate, however, was working against the children's peer dynamics. These dynamics had no place in the image of classroom order which she was attempting to create. She wanted a class of children attending to her, not to each other, and who were following only her directions to act: speaking when she directed them to speak and so on. In opposing the children's social dynamics, Kate was providing the children with justification and motives for moving to conflict. In her classroom, the test of teacher authority was already being transformed into a struggle for control.

Afterwards, Lila was asked about teaching in large group contexts. The only times during the day that she had addressed the children as a group were when she had introduced the classroom rules to them, spoken to them about the test, and given them some instructions about seatwork. Otherwise, the children had worked in parallel. At no time had she had them sit together on the floor. Lila said that she rarely taught to the group as a group. She did that only at the beginning of the year, and then only with the children sitting at their homeroom seats. She explained that they would get distracted sitting in a group on the floor. The only time she would gather them in this way would be to read a story. "But they're not ready for that," she said, "and neither am I!"

Kate was not happy with her day, and she was not happy with her children. They were too noisy, too contentious with each other and with her. She said that the whole situation had begun to feel like a struggle for control. "I guess I'll just have to get back at it

tomorrow," she said. "It's either going to be me or them, and it's not going to be me." It is tempting to treat this sort of statement as a reflection of a particular teacher's personality, but by the following year, Kate no longer talked like this. What her statement more truly reflects is the state of mind to which interaction with Hawaiian children leads when the teacher operates in terms of the wrong kind of strong image of control and attempts to realize the wrong kind of image of classroom operation.

Contrasts between the two classrooms piled up in other ways after the first day. Kate would usually try to deal with group dynamics on the basis of individuals. The classroom would be getting noisy, and she would try to find the individuals responsible for this group dynamic. Lila would respond to the group; for example, she might tell all the children to put their heads down if peer interaction grew too loud, too absorbing. Over the next three days, both Kate and Lila divided their classes into small work groups. One of their tactics of control was to reward these groups with happy faces on the blackboard. The teachers would put the names or symbols of the small groups on the blackboard and put happy faces under the names or symbols. But Kate passed out merit strictly on an earned basis. By the end of the first week, Kate had broken her class down into six groups. On one afternoon, the happy face totals for these groups were 21, 21, 30, 32, 38, and 42. Lila had divided her class into five groups. At the same time on the same afternoon, the point totals for her groups were 21, 21, 24, 25, and 26. In Kate's class, the two bottom groups had given up on the game; they were now "acting" more or less freely at their

tables, creating the justification for a further widening of the merit gap between themselves and the other groups. In Lila's class, the differences between groups were big enough to be meaningful but small enough to keep everyone in the game. A parallel difference showed up when the two teachers began to move into full fledged centers operation. A feature critical to the success of the center system is the speed of the transition from one center to another at the end of a class period. For the center system to work properly, transitions must be timely, and teachers rehearse this feature of the system with children by walking them through center changes. Equally fundamental to the proper operation of the center system, however, is the teacher's willingness to allow the children autonomy in operating the system. Kate had trouble letting go. Kate rehearsed center transitions by timing the children with a watch. The children were supposed to make the transitions in five seconds. Instead of giving the children practice in making transitions, these rehearsals gave them more motives and more opportunities for "acting:" they walked slowly, they took forever to get started, they collided with one another, they would go back to where they had started from to get something "forgotten," they would go to the wrong place, and so on. All of this had the effect of proving to Kate that the children were not all that capable of doing things by themselves. Lila, on the other hand, simply made the children responsible for making timely transitions. If transitions began to lag, she would tell the children so, reminding them that they were holding other children up, were themselves in danger of falling behind, and would have to find some time for finishing incomplete work,

recess if need be. Lila did not push the children to do things. She laid out the system for them and required them to operate it.

There were other differences between events in Lila's classroom and events in Kate's classroom, but they were all connected to the same fact: Lila was absorbing the children's peer dynamics--and the attitudes towards adults and ideals entailed by these peer dynamics--into her system of classroom operation. She was placing the children in a structure compatible with processes of peer rivalry. Kate and her children, on the other hand, were thinking at cross-purposes; they were playing different games. By means of her rules and organizational structures, Kate kept setting herself up as a target and pushing the children to use her that way. There was often a tragic quality to this for it was clear from the earnestness and enthusiasm with which Kate would begin lessons that her top priority was teaching, and it was equally clear from the initial interest and enthusiasm that the children would show in lessons that they were quite willing to participate in the process of education. But from the perspective of Kate's model of face-to-face control, the routine dynamics of the children's rivalrousness looked like disobedience. Again and again, Kate would stop a lesson to remind the children to listen to her, to keep their eyes on her, to talk one at a time, and to wait their turn. The more the children appeared disobedient, the more she insisted upon total control, and the more did the children lose interest in lessons and in fact become disobedient. As happened on the second day of school, a lesson that started off extremely well would end up with the children losing recess. By the morning of the third day, the second

graders were calling Kate a "witch" among themselves; by the end of the third day, she was lamenting being "mean." It was not her. She was doing it, she said, but it was not her.

Upon moving into small groups, Kate noticed that she had fewer problems with the children. But early events and Kate's continuing difficulties with unfamiliar social dynamics limited how much improvement could be made in relationships between herself and the children. The year turned out to be an effortful and trying one for her. After a period of conflict, she and the children reached an accommodation, but it was a strained one. Even as late as May, there were days that blew up with children swearing at her in the classroom and otherwise abusing her. Lila never experienced this sort of problem.

Within the first days of school, contrasts also developed between Lila's experience with the third grade and the experiences of other teachers. Each of the third grade's three content areas or special teachers developed a different sort of problem with the children. Mary, Lila's teaching partner, began her first day with the third graders by making a game of memorizing their names. She joked with the children about names as she ran through their names. Very soon the children began to joke back, changing the pronunciation for Mary's last name, for example, into the call sign of a local radio station. Concerned, as she later said, that the children like her, Mary was too familiar with them. In consequence, the children became too familiar with her. This established the conditions for the development a relatively poor relationship. Not holding much initial respect for Mary, the children did not heed her very well. Mary eventually reacted

somewhat punitively to this, and in response, the children escalated their resistance to her. One of the children's most troubled relationships was with their P.E. and art teacher. This teacher was extremely idealistic; she had decided to work at Ka Na'i Pono School out of a desire to make things better for Hawaiian children. The reality of "helping," however, is always considerably different from the vision. This teacher soon became appalled at how rough the children could be in their language and to one another. She was somewhat fearful of the children as all adults new to them are, and probably for this reason was more insistent than she might have been on a model of face-to-face control of the children. This teacher became very good with Hawaiian children, but this first year was hard on her, particularly during P.E. The children's Hawaiiana teacher, on the other hand, projected a very sweet persona in her first year at Ka Na'i Pono, and the children all became fond of her. But especially during the early weeks of the schoolyear, lessons taught by this teacher might quickly grow too boisterous and playful. Lastly, the children's primary supervisor on the playground and in the cafeteria was not suited by training or temperament for her role. She was a clerk and often complained, rightly, that she was being required to do a job for which she had no background. She had been forced into the job by the general dearth of school personnel during this schoolyear, but she did not know how to do it and often became indignant at the children's treatment of her and of one another. She focused especial displeasure upon the third graders, perhaps because they were the oldest. In any case, her contacts with the children often grew unpleasant for both her and them.



Lila did not have the problems with the third grade experienced by these individuals. With her, classroom problems never went much beyond peer contentiousness tangential to the lesson. Individual children might blow up for their individual reasons. But she did not attract disrespect, abuse, or playfulness that went too far. On the contrary, within the first three days of school, first some of the girls and then some of the boys began to support her in public ways and to sanction peers who disturbed the classroom. But Lila could not get by without a test. Furthermore, Lila's experiences with the third graders were affected by those of other adults. If the children came to her after an especially difficult morning math session, Hawaiian lesson, art or P.E. lesson, or recess, Lila would feel the aftermath in her classroom. Lila's honeymoon with the third graders lasted from September 2nd, a Tuesday, through September 4th. On Friday, September 5th, and for the next two schoolweeks, things got worse, much worse than they needed to get or would have gotten had Ka Na'i Pono's stores of experience not been so reduced. There are important lessons, however, in the experiences between the third graders and the adults of the school. These experiences show how strained situations can become and yet produce good relationships between Hawaiian children and teachers using appropriate classroom systems.

#### The children's early weeks at school

The conflict phase of beginning-of-the-year rites belongs to the children; it grows from the dynamics of their concerns with

establishing or re-establishing identities and reputations. These dynamics move them into opposition to adults; they also move them into opposition to each other. The children, and especially the boys, are driven into these oppositions by concerns with parity. To prove to each other that they are tough, and that they merit certain reputations and statuses, they follow each other's lead. Essentially, the children play a game of nerves, seeing who will and who will not take serious risks in interaction with peers and with adults. Where adults are concerned, this dynamic moves children towards flaunting authority and finally into breaking rules. Where peers are concerned, the dynamic moves children towards confrontation and finally into fighting. The ultimate endpoints of these two lines of opposition are in a sense the same for the ultimate test in peer relationships is to fight and the ultimate test in relationships with adults is to break the adults' central rules, to include that of not fighting. The consequences of fighting, furthermore, are not limited to peer relationships and the sanctions of schooladults. Fighting may bring notes to parents and generate parent-teacher conferences. Hawaiian parents are like most parents when it comes to problems with school; they side with their children. But like other parents, they also tend to punish their children for getting into trouble at school, and the children all know this. The children's move towards fighting, then, is a true ordeal; it involves all sorts of immediate, short term, and long term hazards. The children's moves towards stronger opposition in peer relationships and in ones with adults, of course, do not unfold separately from experiences with adults. Adults' actions have implications for the

pitch of rivalry which children reach in their peer interactions, and those peer interactions have implications for the children's orientation towards adults.

On the first day of the new schoolyear, it was clear that the children's attitudes were different than they had been on the last day of the last schoolyear. There were few greetings from the children on the playground; they looked around or through familiar adults. Some of the children were not comfortable in doing this; others did it with a suggestion of hostility; but all did it to some extent.

Signs of the third graders' solidarity with each other and formal opposition to adults came out in other little ways over the first few days. There was clothing, for example, and the way it was worn. In the classroom for the first two days, Pete wore a baseball cap backwards; he circulated the hat among Brent, Jamie, Jake, and Mark on the third and fourth of September. Not to be outdone, Doreen brought her own cap to school on the fourth. Contraband turned up as well. One of the children, perhaps Jake, brought a men's magazine to school. In any case, he and Pete were caught with it in the boys' bathroom after one of the girls had informed Lila. This happened on the third of September. But mostly the children expressed opposition to adults through classroom actions. Boys might try to sit with their feet on the tables or walk away from teachers as the teachers talked to them--not so abruptly as to be disrespectful but pointedly enough to test the adults' patience. Most of the children played with rules concerning when and how loudly they might talk. Advance scouts also began to stand out in individual ways. These children included Jamie,

Brent, April, Mark, and Pete. At recess, the children began to test the authority of recess monitors. Children tend not to view these adults as full possessors of schooladult rights. Tolbert, for example, said to one of the recess monitors, "You cannot make me sit down," but then backed away from this dare. By the third of September, some of the third graders--Jamie, in particular-- were also beginning to test the boundaries of recess time, staying uphill by the jungle gym or by the tetherball posts after the whistle to end recess had blown.

For the first few days, however, the children's challenges of adults were relatively mild primarily because so much was uncertain in the children's relationships with each other. During second grade, the reality of the gangs and of the boys' side/girls' side distinction lay in certain habits of association on the playground and in certain attitudes and stories of relationships which the boys renewed daily and elaborated daily through playground and classroom events. When the second grade schoolyear ended, the boys' social structure, in a sense, also ended. It was not something that the boys could simply pick up again as if nothing had changed. Was Pete the person Kaleo remembered him to be, Jake the person Pete remembered him to be? What was one to do about the gangs? Was one to treat people who had been enemies as if they still were? To what was the attitude of enmity to be attached? Last year's stories were last year's stories; they no longer had emotional immediacy. The situation was much the same if somewhat less critical among the girls; old relationships could not be picked up again as if no time had intervened. Relationships needed to be rebuilt

around new facts: around this year's evidence of recess choices and this year's stories of play and of conflict.

Owing to uncertainty about peer relationships, the children sustained a honeymoon period with each other for the first three days of school. This honeymoon was particularly conspicuous in the relationships of the boys as they were usually so rivalrous with one another. At recess on the first day, for example, Pete played ball for a time in the middle of the playingfield with Jamie and Jake, theoretically boys in the opposite gang. On the next day, patterns of recess association more clearly reflected the previous year's choices, but the boys were all at the "wrong" locations. Pete, Brent, and Kaleo ended up on the jungle gym--Jake's territory--while Jake, Jamie, Tolbert, Freddie, Steve, and Louella gathered in the area where team sports were played--not exactly Pete's territory but associated with the boys of that gang. Jake explained that they were catching crickets "for fight." Line formations also showed novel patterning. During second grade, for example, it was rare for Jake and Pete to stand next to each other in line. During the first week of the third grade schoolyear, however, this was common.

The third grade boys' honeymoon with each other lasted through Thursday, September 4th. On Friday, September 5th, they began to have fights with each other on the playground. These fights had mostly to do with redefining dominance relationships in friendships and with re-asserting the dominance of the boys on the boys' side over those on the girls' side. The boys steered clear of most questions of gang relationships. In the classroom, Brent took a swipe at little Kevin.

During P.E., Pete got into a fight with Kaleo. During recess, Jake fought Kevin, too, explaining that Kevin had put grass down Kaleo's shirt and had gotten some of the grass on him as well. The real problem for Kevin on this day was probably that he had been made the captain of one of the classroom work groups; the other boys were redressing the situation by putting him down. Also during recess, Tolbert teased Brent, who chased him and was eventually rewarded with a kick from Jake. Pete got into a fight with Freddie at the end of recess. Freddie was carrying a handful of sand from the sandbox. Pete ordered him to put it back, Freddie threw at Pete, and the two fought. On the way back into the classroom, Jake got in his licks with Freddie, too. Jake hit him, it appeared, only because Pete had. The whole mood of this day was conflictual. It was hot during lunch recess, and by the end of it, most of the boys had their shirts off, boosting the impression of mass wildness.

The breaking of the children's honeymoon with one another was accompanied by the breaking of the honeymoon with their teachers. A few minutes into the morning of September 5th, Mary was trying to teach a math lesson about the calendar. Tolbert, however, was miming a rock 'n roll guitar performance for Kehau, to whom he had taken a decided fancy. Brent and Mark were doing a cheer of some sort, while Kaleo was showing off kung fu poses at his table. Throughout the first few weeks of school, martial arts moves were extremely popular among the boys. Anon, Brent attracted Pete's attention by using the end of his table to flip his pencil about three feet straight up in the air. Mark and Kaleo meanwhile were looking into and trading teases with children in

the adjoining second grade room. April was flying a math aid around her table as though it were an airplane. Toby Loo was touching a pencil to his nose to make his eyes cross for the benefit of the children around him. Some children--Doreen, Louella, and Norino--were trying to answer Mary's questions. Distracted by Tolbert, Doreen finally told him to shut up. Tolbert jumped up, struck a martial arts pose, and did a Bruce Lee scream at her. Smiling at Tolbert's foolery, Doreen slugged him. Tolbert took this in good humor, but both children then attracted a warning from Mary. Later, when Doreen stumbled on her way to the pencil sharpener, Mary said, "Doreen, be careful," as though irritated with her. A bit later, Mary praised Louella for the good work she was doing. Mark, sitting next to Louella, brushed her paper aside with his own. "Don't you bother her," Mary said. "I not bothering her," Mark said. "I doing my work." Mary ended up having problems with Mark and especially Doreen. The origins of these problems probably lay in episodes like these, with the teacher beginning to focus displeasure with the group on certain individuals.

On September 5th, Lila also had a bad day. But her bad day was rather different from Mary's owing to the way in which she managed the classroom. Lila had divided the class into fourths and was circulating these four groups through tasks she had set out at four centers. Preparing the way for this organization, Lila had elicited rule statements from the children on how centers were supposed to work. She had written these on a very large sheet of poster paper as the children mentioned them, elaborating some rules, deleting others. The rules included "no talking between centers," "no walking between centers

except when the bell rings," and "don't bother people when they are working." Lila had thus established clear agreements with the children about centers. She had also appointed captains for the groups from children who had volunteered for this role and was learning about the children from their performances in the role. The captains for this day were Doreen, Noe, Tolbert, and Kevin. She used group captains, she said, "to do my legwork for me." She learned on this day that Doreen, Tolbert, and Kevin were not very effective as captains but that there were children in their groups who were. These children had assumed the major functions of the captain role, shushing people when Lila was waiting to speak and warning center mates to get ready to move when it was time for transition. The third graders would do rivalry over anything, to include attending to the teacher and vying with other groups to be the first ready to move, to have cleaned up, to make the speediest transition from one center to another, and so on. Lila was not yet conducting Center 1 herself. That would not come until September 22nd, the fifteenth day of school. It would take that long for test results to be returned and for Lila to assure herself of the children's readiness for full centers operation. At present, she was monitoring the children at their centers to insure that they were familiar with her expectations regarding the centers and to motivate them with small rewards to participate in the classroom. All late morning and all afternoon on September 5th, Lila worked on the children, praising them, putting their names under happy faces on the blackboard, and nipping trouble in the bud mostly with non-confrontational techniques like noticing. During one of the center periods, for



example, she said, "Third grade, you need to listen again at your centers. It's becoming a little loud." But Lila would also make stronger statements. Within the first week of school, Mark, Brent, Toby Loo, April, Jamie, and Pete had all heard the warning, "In or out," and Lila used it with Mark and Pete on this day. She also used the mere display of her own displeasure to control the children. Towards the end of school on September 5th, Lila was evaluating the children's behavior in language arts. She was praising the children and adding that they were sometimes forgetting to listen to their voices, when her own voice was drowned out by a conversation going on at one of the tables. "Okay, I'll wait," Lila said, sitting down abruptly and with obvious irritation. "You guys," Melody said, "Teacher." The talkers stopped talking, and Lila stood up and continued. That the children stopped misbehaving so quickly, is indicative of how impressed they already were with Lila. This use of the tactic of pausing only works when children have already been impressed with a teacher's poise and care about losing her interest and making her angry. Conversely, evidence that the peer group will be responsive in this way to the teacher places pressure upon individuals to conform to the teacher's definition of the situation. It means that children who "act" do not have the support of the group. Although September 5th was a bad day from the perspective of talking between centers and general inattention to schoolwork on the part of the boys and some of the girls, there was also clear evidence that Lila's classroom interactional structures, her focus upon work, her sentiment for the children, and her readiness to defend classroom rules had

already begun to succeed in gaining the children's acceptance of her role and her agenda. Nevertheless, September 5th inaugurated a period of test for Lila no less than for the children's other teachers. From September 8th, black Monday, through September 17th, the children operated at a high pitch of rivalry with one another and of "acting" with their teachers. The difference is that the work Lila had done on the first few days of school was making for a different kind of test of her authority and would eventually produce a different outcome.

"We was fighting every minute! Every minute!"

September 8th brought fights and near fights, and some grand social experimentation. One of the major issues for the boys was what to do about the gangs. Should they maintain them or not, and if they did, what were they to do about the imbalance that had been created by Toby B.'s departure? The boys spent most of the week beginning Monday, September 8th, trying to answer these questions about the gangs. Jake's gang now included only Jake, Tolbert, and the unpredictable Jamie, whose fighting ability was impaired by his physical handicaps. Aligned against Jake's gang were Pete, Kaleo, and Brent. These three boys now had clear dominance in size and numbers. The boys' first attempt to deal with the situation was to try to unify the gangs.

On Monday, September 8th, while the children were supposed to be working in small groups on math problems towards the end of the morning math session, Jake and Brent, the new leader of the Pete-Kaleo-Brent triad, held a conference in the corner of the classroom. During the transition from math to science, Jake went to talk to Tolbert, and

Brent to Kaleo and then to Pete. Brent was all smiles. He climbed on a chair as he talked to Pete, and Kevin climbed up beside him. The only talk that could be heard was a question from Pete to Brent: "We friends Jake them?" Brent nodded, and Pete struck up a kung fu pose. Celebrating the unification of the gangs, Brent and Kevin jumped in tandem off the chair they were standing on. Pete then climbed up and did the same.

"I should see everyone at their seat," Mary said, responding to this.

Pete ambled off to his table to pick up his work and to hand it in. Jake arrived at the completed work bin with Pete, and the two walked back together. Pete leaped into the air, giving an imaginary foe a kung fu chop. Jake followed Pete to his table and stood talking to him. Within a moment, Tolbert arrived and saluted Jake and Pete with the sort of dance football players do when they have scored touchdowns.

The peace between gangs, however, did not last the hour. What happened over the course of the rest of the morning is that the boys of the gangs rediscovered why they had not been friends during second grade.

To complete their science exercise, the children were required to use dictionaries, and there were not enough to go around. The children were seated at ten different tables in the classroom, and each pair of tables was to share a dictionary. Brent and Tolbert were at the same pair of tables; Jake was not. But Jake signalled to Tolbert that he wanted to see the dictionary that Tolbert was using. Tolbert brought it to him, occasioning a complaint to the teacher from Brent, who said

he wanted to use it. He got nowhere with the complaint since Tolbert was back at his own table by the time Brent attracted Mary's attention. Tolbert teased Brent, and the two boys needled each other for the next twenty minutes.

For music, next class period, the children sat on the floor in front of Mary. Midway through this session, Jake was turned completely around and talking with Toby Loo. Mary had already given Jake and other children a number of warnings about paying attention. "Jake, what am I going to do with you?" Mary asked. Brent and Mark immediately suggested that she send Jake to the principal's office, but she sent him back to his table instead. Threatening looks were exchanged with Mark and Brent en route.

Recess began routinely enough. Pete, Brent, and Kaleo were among the children in the tetherball lines. Tolbert teased Brent as he went up the hill towards Jake and the jungle gym, however, and Brent soon made a sortie up the hill. He came running back down the hill, chased by Jake and Tolbert. When Brent hid behind the playground supervisor, Jake and Tolbert let him be and went back to the jungle gym. Brent collected Pete and Kaleo, however, and those three boys took up a position on the monkey bars, next door. From the jungle gym, Tolbert teased Brent, and Brent responded by running at Tolbert. As he neared Tolbert and Jake, however, Brent turned away and ended up being chased downhill by Tolbert. Pete now entered the fray, jumping down from the monkey bars and exchanging words with Jake. Kaleo grabbed Pete from behind, however, and pulled him back down the hill. All of this bluster and flirting with fighting was redrawing the gang opposition.

Jake was the only person left at the jungle gym. He also ventured down the hill, initially, it appeared, to check on Tolbert. In the vicinity of the playground supervisor, however, Jake and Pete got into another confrontation. This time they bumped chests and exchanged one pair of shoves before the playground supervisor made them sit against the wall. This was the first of two early year "fights" between Pete and Jake.

A few minutes before the end of recess, the supervisor released Pete and Jake. Jake went back up the hill to Tolbert and the jungle gym. Pete joined Kaleo, Brent, Freddie, and Kevin. Five abreast, these boys began to march on the jungle gym. They were halted at once by the playground supervisor and made to locate themselves elsewhere.

There were no further confrontations between the two gangs on this day. At lunch recess, Jake and Tolbert did play fighting by the jungle gym while Kaleo, Brent, and Pete stuck with tetherball. The question of balance, however, had not been resolved; Jake and Tolbert were still outnumbered by Pete, Jake, and Kaleo. On the following day, September 9th, Mark began to make a play for the position Toby B. had held in Jake's gang.

In the morning before school, Mark got into a dispute with Brent which flowered into a classroom confrontation. Mary halted this. At the end of recess, Mark and Brent struggled over one of the tetherballs, each wanting to be the last person to strike it. Brent won control of the tetherball, but Mark became enraged. He grabbed a hula hoop and hurled it at Brent, who ducked and then backed away.

Breathing hard with emotion, Mark got into line for the return to the classroom. The playground supervisor told Mark he could not return to class until he retrieved the hula hoop. Mark would not go at first, but then he went to pick up the hoop. Brent, who had not yet lined up, apparently because he did not want to stand near Mark, was standing in the path to the hula hoop. When he saw Mark walking towards him, Brent moved well out of Mark's way and cut into line. When Mark returned to the line, he had a wide smile of satisfaction on his face. Brent was avoiding him so it was clear that Brent now took him seriously. Over the balance of the week, Mark won further confrontations with Brent and even came off well in one with Pete. Jamie could still make Mark cry with teasing, and Mark's contentiousness sometimes backfired. For example, Mark provoked a confrontation with April, but then backed away from her when she stood up to him. Nevertheless, the explosiveness which Mark was affecting impressed his peers. Mark still preferred to play tetherball at recess, but he began to play sometimes at the jungle gym and was always welcome there. Indeed, for a time, Jake seemed to be trying to promote a fight between Mark and Tolbert. Tolbert declined this encounter, further boosting Mark's stock.

Between the 8th and the 17th of September, there were other scuffles, including ones involving Pete with Freddie, Brent with Tolbert, Brent with Jamie, Mark with Jamie, Mark with Brent, Mark with a second grader, Kaleo with a second grader, Doreen with a second grader, and Doreen with Melody. These altercations--except for the two involving Doreen--were shortlived and insignificant in themselves. But that they were happening so frequently is indicative of the pitch of

the rivalry playing through the children's peer network during these eight days. The rivalries were great theater for the children, and following these rivalries became a consuming interest. At the height of the children's rivalrousness, Norino and Brent spoke excitedly of some fights that had happened that morning in the classroom. According to these two, they and Toby Loo, Pete, Kaleo, Mark, and Jamie had all been fighting in the classroom. Norino said that she and Toby Loo had been teasing each other and that Pete had challenged Toby Loo, saying, "You only fight girls." Toby Loo ended up crying, and then Brent had jumped in on Toby Loo's side. Norino and Brent said that Brent was not afraid of Pete or Jake or even Tolbert, Brent's real nemesis. One thing had led to another, and the fighting soon involved Kaleo, Mark, and Jamie. "We was fighting every minute!" said Brent with obvious relish. "Every minute we was fighting!"

In the classroom, this level of peer rivalrousness and taste for the theater of it all was felt by the teachers in the form of heightened "acting." The teachers did not all get the same treatment. But all but Lila saw lessons approach chaos, and Lila, too, had to struggle to keep the children directed towards the choice of committing themselves to school.

September 8th, the day of the grand gang alliance, was a particularly bad day for Mary. During science, there was all sorts of conferring among the boys, kung fu stances, and the like. In music class directly after this, the boys made a hash of a hymn, singing offkey and holding their nostrils together to make a nasal sound. While Mary's back was turned, the boys also joined in a spontaneous

test of nerves. Risking being caught by Mary, they took turns making running dives off a circular table and sliding off onto the floor. They repeated this on two other occasions, once with Lila. Of all the boys, Jamie behaved the worst. He played with his artificial limb during Mary's class, made noise, and would not obey her. "It was terrible," Mary said, "I couldn't believe it was happening to me, in my class, that this little boy was going berserk." Freddie, however, came in a close second to Jamie. He stuck his tongue out at Mary.

September 8th was a bad day for Lila, too, but she worked as before at keeping the class in hand. All through the day, she found occasions to give children notes on colored paper, praising them for good work, for following directions, for helping, and so on. One of these notes went to Norino, who seemed to brush it aside at first. Then she opened it, smiled, and wrote her name on it. During lunch recess, Noe, Kaleo, and Norino showed off the notes they had received. Even Pete and Jake did so. At least fourteen of the children received these notes. Lila had now divided the children into five groups and was circulating the groups through five centers. She had made Trina, Noe, Claradine, Pete, and Mapu the captains of the groups but often referred to the groups in terms of other members' names, thus preserving personal stakes in the groups for other children. Lila kept drawing attention to the interdependence of the groups, praising them for working well together and awarding them happy faces on the blackboard but also pointing out when one or another group was holding up the show. Lila's praise of groups also had the effect of placing them in constructive rivalry with each other. At one center change, she said, "Terrific, Noe's table is



almost ready." Doreen, in another group, reacted to this by saying, "Freddie, put your head down," to one of the slowest members of her group. At other points in the session, Jamie and Toby Loo got similar treatment from peers. Continuing to talk, Lila said, "Pete's group, terrific. Doreen's group. Waiting for two groups to get ready now. Eyes looking this way as soon as you're finished." A few seconds later she said, "Mel, could you get your group ready, and Claradine, we're waiting," establishing the impression that Mel's and Claradine's groups were interfering less with her than with the operation of the class.

During the seventeen minute class period that followed after the transition, Lila praised the children fourteen times, sometimes by group, sometimes by individual, four times directing praise to the class as whole. For example, "Third grade, really good working in centers now. I'm really impressed with the work you're doing." Again: "Third grade, everyone is doing a really super job of being a third grader. I'm really impressed with the way everybody is working today. It really shows a lot of responsibility." Lila also responded early to indications of talking between centers or other violations of center rules, primarily through noticing. During the same time period, Lila noticed what was wrong four times. For example, "Third grade, listen to your centers;" "Centers 4 and 5, be sure you're not talking over [between centers]." Other behavior--for example, some kung fu poses which Jamie struck--Lila ignored. On the other hand, on two occasions Lila took stronger action. She made Tolbert sit by himself after she had directed him to a seat at his center, warned him about staying seated, and found him up and walking around again. She also

asked Pete what his problem was when he became involved in a dispute at his table.

At the end of the day, Lila totalled the happy face scores for the five groups. These totals were 26, 27, 28, 29, and 30. She said, "They're all very close. If you are one of the lowest scores, try and think about what was causing the problem in your group. Most often the problem was people weren't looking at me and listening when I asked them to stop." From the second to the twenty-second of September, Lila did little direct instruction but much of this sort of talk while the children worked at independent centers. That Lila ended up having to do so little of this sort of talk after September, doubtless has to do with the foundation for good relationships which she created during these weeks. From the perspective of the children's values, she was entirely unobjectionable; on the contrary, she manifested mastery of the children's values. She was extremely supportive of them, she recognized each of them often enough to give them the feel of recognition, and she was no nonsense when it came to fooling around. Within the shell of the children's resistance to the classroom over the first few weeks of school, it is safe to conclude that the children had in fact come to the conclusion that Lila was a good and fair teacher.

The children were beginning to manifest some of this to Lila. It was already clear that the girls were all solidly behind her. Boys, too, began to indicate support, both in their behavior in the classroom and in other ways. After Friday's fight with Pete, for example, Jake confided to Lila that, "Pete fight me but I never fight him," meaning that he had only defended himself against Pete, not counterattacked.

For his part, Pete was sometimes active in controlling the behavior of peers in the classroom, once threatening Jamie with bodily harm, for example, for being out of his seat and fooling around. There was also more than rivalrousness happening in the boys' relationships with one another and with other children at school. On the 10th of September, Pete played a long game of tetherball with Victor one of the smallest of the new second graders. He gave Victor many chances, finally losing the game to him. Kaleo did exactly the same thing with one of the second grade girls at about the same time, giving her many chances and finally losing. Noe and other girls did similar things. On September 11th, a game of sham battle (dodgeball) involving thirteen third graders and five second graders was played through completely without problem, a minor miracle as may be imagined from the name of the game.

Events like these, however, were the exception rather than the rule between the 8th and 17th of September. Confrontations were continuing to be an issue in the children's peer relationships. Some days would go by with few problems, but then there would be four or five fights in a single recess period. The children were also continuing to have problems in their relationships with other adults, and all of this was influencing Lila's lessons. The work Lila was having to do to manage the class was effortful. The children and particularly the boys were much absorbed in peer relationships and required little distraction to lose sight of classroom work. Lila had to stay on her toes to catch sequences of playful rivalry before they escalated. Sometimes she kept boys in from recess because they had not heeded a warning about moving between centers or talking between them. As much as a fourth of the

center work was also not getting done. The boys' rivalries, moreover, were pushing them to experiment with order in her classroom. On the 9th of September, she had to keep Toby Loo, Jamie, and Jake in from recess. They had toyed with their center task card until they had finally pulled apart the sheets of lamination which were supposed to protect the task cards. On the 10th and 11th, Lila was treated to emotional displays from Mark. He took to slamming his chair into his table as he left one center for another. It seemed part of Mark's strategy for enlarging upon his reputation. More than anyone else, Mark was also falling behind in his school work. Lila spoke to him privately about chair slamming, and he stopped doing this. But he continued to be problematic and inconsistent in completing work. Tolbert, who was also falling behind, had to be kept in from recess once for wandering around the classroom. Pete was unpredictable, sometimes well-behaved, but often explosive owing primarily, it seemed, to problems at home. Lila had had to have Pete sit outside once for growing angry at someone at his center. Jamie was a continuing problem. Mary said he held the "class hostage with his moods" and that is an accurate description of his behavior. He was typically the last to be ready for everything, and the one most likely not to be behaving when everyone else was. While there were individual standouts, however, the problem was more a group one. The class as a whole would have good days but much more commonly, bad days. While Lila was doing all the right things, and there were indications that these things were working, the children were still not able to pull their rivalry down to

the levels which Lila was seeking. There was too much interference in the classroom coming from the children's peer doings.

The reason that the children were not yet collectively able to lower the pitch of their rivalry and to give Lila easier control of their behavior is that they were still engaged in a game of nerves with one another. The children and especially the boys, were still pushing each other to test the rules of school and were still very sensitive to issues of status in their peer relationships. That the children were still playing this game of nerves is related, in turn, to three sets of facts. First, the children were continuing to suffer affronts of one form or another in their relationships with other adults, and these affronts were continuing to inspire them to resist school and schooladults. The playground supervisor, for example, lectured the third graders after one recess for not having "brains enough to simmer down for snack. Am I making sense?" she asked. "No," responded Brent. "Oh," retorted the adult, "some people are slow learners." "Yeah, you," said Pete.

Secondly, centers were not yet operating in Lila's classroom. Owing to testing and to the teachers' concern with re-socializing children to school, the center system takes some weeks to be placed in full operation. Children experienced with the center system, as the third graders were, tend to view these weeks as something other than "real" schoolweeks since the real classroom routine is not yet happening. The length of time required to install the center system, in other words, tends to prolong play with the constraints of schooling.

Lastly, the general inexperience of the schooladults was undermining the rule about not fighting. This rule was relatively clear and strong. If a child fought at recess, he or she was supposed to sit down. A second fight meant a trip to the principal's office. A second trip to the principal's office meant a conference with parents. A third trip meant suspension. This rule had to be clear and strong because if the children did not believe it to be strong, then their own rivalries would require them to break it. The use and enforcement of the no fighting rule, however, was subject to a set of subtle understandings between the children and the adult staff. The staff knew that the children were fighters and would have scuffles at recess. Furthermore, a fight was not a fight was not a fight. There was the question of when a fight was a fight and when it was a dispute. There was the problem of when a fight was an affair between two individuals and when it was merely one aspect of a group-wide process. Furthermore, there was the question of whether the children were responsible for fights or if the adults supervising them were responsible in the sense of not having exercised adequate control over situations. These questions surrounding the issue of fighting were manipulated by both adults and children because no one had much interest in pushing playground scenes into the pathway that would lead to parent conferences. Adults, however, had to be adroit in their handling of this issue. If the children came to believe that there were no consequences for fighting, then they could not respect the rule and would, on the contrary, push each other into fighting. In years in which the staff at Ka Na'i Pono was well experienced with managing

situations with Hawaiian children, handling the no fighting rule properly was not a major problem. This year, however, it was. The staff itself was often creating the conditions for scuffles among the children, and owing to an inconsistent application of the rule, the children were not sure that the rule was real.

For these reasons--the weak application of the no-fighting rule, the often inappropriate behavior coming from inexperienced schooladults, and the fact that lessons had not yet "really" started--the children were as yet unable to surrender their formal resistance to the classroom. As later events would show, the children had developed fondness and respect for Lila within the shell of their opposition to school. But conditions at the school had not allowed this affection and respect to break through. The children were still binding each other and being bound by adults other than Lila to test the rules of the adults and relationships with adults.

#### The Hawaiian Lesson and the School Operations Meeting

Relationships between the third graders and the adults reached a crisis point in the third week of school. Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, the 15th, 16th, and 17th of September, were all very bad days. On Monday, September 15th, Mary had a particularly hard time of it in her math lesson. The mood of "acting" was there before she began, and recognizing the mood, Mary reacted with a little sarcasm to it. She reminded the children--Kaleo and Brent by name--to finish their work and put their names on their papers, or she would have to give them a lolo (i.e., dumb, crazy) as a grade. "Lo-lo," said Brent,

picking up the word and calling it back to her. Mary responded, again with a little sarcasm, by saying, "Brent, you know well what that is." To demonstrate some of the work that would have to be done, she picked up Freddie's book, and he pretended to strike her with a ruler after she turned her back. Pete was sitting with his feet up on his table, and Mary directed him to remove them. He was slow to take them down and quick to put them back up again. The situation might have gone further except that the children had a test to take this morning.

Mary's math session was equally difficult on the 16th. On this day, however, P.E. stole the show. Doreen got into a dispute with another child, the P.E. teacher tried to intervene, and Doreen became enraged. The P.E. teacher ended up sitting on Doreen as a last ditch attempt to control her. Doreen cursed the teacher and bit her finger. On the 17th of September, the P.E. teacher again lost control of the third graders but this time in her role as art teacher. A shouting match erupted between herself, Pete, Brent, Toby Loo, and Jake. Mary, who stood recess duty on the 17th, had a confrontation with Doreen, not quite so severe as that of the P.E. teacher, but verging decidedly in that direction. Fights among the children also picked up on the 15th, 16th, and 17th. A spate of fights erupted among Pete, Brent, Kaleo, Freddie, Mark, Jamie, Jake, and Tolbert. For Lila, the consequence of all of this was much heightened classroom absorption in peer rivalry, concomitant teasing and disputing at centers and travel between centers, a decrease in work done, and more evidence of passive resistance to the classroom. On Wednesday, for example, another task card was ripped, this time by Jake and Brent. Owing to the crises that



were developing in relationships between the third graders and Mary and particularly the P.E. teacher, a school operations meeting was called on the 17th for the afternoon of the 18th. The idea was to decide what to do about the third grade.

For the children, too, the situation was becoming wearing. On Tuesday, Mark's continuing efforts at promoting himself had gotten him into a confrontation with Jake. This was more than Mark had bargained for, and he had cried. Some of the girls had also cried for obscure reasons. Pete did as well. On September 18th, the very day that the adults were to meet to discuss the third grade, Pete burst into tears in the middle of a Hawaiiana lesson. This was the occasion on which Kaleo lent him support. Pete had wanted the role of team captain but had lost it to Kaleo. When the boys began to lose the girls-versus-boys contest, Pete had simply erupted into a crying rage. Later, he said that he had bumped his head and that that was why he had cried.

In the school operations meeting, the P.E. teacher, not surprisingly, was the most vocal critic of the third graders. When she began to talk, all of the abuse which she had been suffering began to pour out of her. She talked about how disrespectful the children were, how foul their language could be, how mean they were to each other and to teachers. She had never seen children behave in these ways. She talked for about twenty minutes finally wondering, "How did I get started on all of this?" Lila stepped in to advance a plan which was quickly accepted by the principal and the social worker. The plan may have taken the new teachers by surprise, but in fact, there was little else left for Lila to do. Lila suggested that the social worker

contact the parents of three of the children--Pete, Brent, and Mark-- and that two other children--Jamie and Doreen--be placed on a behavior modification plan. The plan was seconded by the principal and the social worker.

"Roses are red"

Friday was still a bad day, but then schooldays took a strong turn for the better. On Monday, September 22nd, Lila had a relatively good day. It was on this day that she began full-fledged centers operation. At the beginning of the session, she made a grid on the board to use in evaluating the six center periods which she would be running in her class. By the end of the language arts session, each slot in the grid was marked, "Super," with exclamation marks. At the very end of the day, she wrote, "SUPER DOOPER CENTER WORK, THIRD GRADE!!!" Tuesday was another good day for Lila, and on Wednesday she was positively beaming about the children and the classroom. She called this her first really good day of the year and was enthusiastic about the behavior of the children and the creativity of their responses in reading lessons. Interestingly, it was on this very day that Kaleo revealed the organized character of the boys' resistance to school. Mark got into a confrontation with a child at his table during lunch. I happened to be standing nearby and asked Mark if he wanted to go outside to cool off. Mark, who had been very friendly with me in the preceeding year but had been very distant this year, said nothing and continued to hold his fighting pose. "Why is he being so weird?" I asked the children at his table. Kaleo spoke up. "He . . . none of the boys gonna do what the

teachers say." This statement from Kaleo turned out to be something on the order of the last gasp of the boys' resistance to school. Lila's run of good days continued unbroken through the rest of the week and the following week, her problems with the boys having declined dramatically. Mark, Kaleo, Pete, Brent, Jake, and the other fighters among the boys had held out on accepting the regime of school longer than anyone else except for Doreen. Having made their point, the boys could relax from their attitude of resistance and accept the situation without loss of face. That Kaleo was willing to expose the secret of the boys' organized attitude of resistance to school to me, an adult, was a sign that the attitude of resistance had served its purpose and was no longer needed. From the week of September 22nd onwards, Lila had good relationships with the children of the class. Indeed, some of her best relationships were with the most spirited children like Kaleo, Jake, and Doreen.

The school operations meeting of September 18th undoubtedly also had an effect upon the situation. It was not owing simply to sanctions or the threat of sanctions from parents, however, that the third graders began to give Lila their compliance and to restrain their peer rivalries in her classroom. Hawaiian children are not well-motivated by fear. If the third graders had not already decided that they liked and respected Lila, they would have turned their relationship with her into a cold war. It is altogether possible for children to continue to wage battle with a teacher who can tap into sanctions like parental displeasure. Children know that parents have limited patience with reports from teachers. Children also know that to lodge a complaint, a

teacher must have an event to report. If she is able to talk only in vagaries about not listening or fooling around, parents will not listen. Consequently, children can maintain resistance to teachers by submerging their identities in group processes, and Hawaiian children know well how to do this. To the extent that the school operations meeting exerted an influence upon the children, it was mostly a symbolic influence. It gave them a justification for exposing what had come to be their true feelings towards Lila.

From the fourth week of school on, Lila began to collect tokens of affection from the children. On Friday, September 26th, she got the first bit of a different kind of "acting" from shy Kevin: he hid her orange a few feet away from her and giggled when she suspected him. That Kevin could not be trusted around oranges, became a standing rib that Lila used on Kevin, always pleasing him. On Monday, September 29th, Doreen brought leis to school for Lila, Mary, and the P.E. teacher, and on Wednesday, Kehau did the same. Noe, Claradine, and other girls began to slip and to call Lila, "Mommy." Lila also began to receive love notes from the children. Perhaps the most significant of these came from Pete. He wrote a poem to Lila on the back of a worksheet:

Roses are red  
Violets are blue  
I like you

### Conclusion

Other teachers reached conflict resolutions with the third grade, but those of the new teachers were not of the same order as Lila's.

These teachers and the third graders learned how to avoid making too many demands of each other and in this way reduced some of the tension of their relationships. That tension, however, remained. Mary was to have some very rocky times with the third graders and especially with Pete and Doreen. The P.E. teacher also had problems. She confided that she could not trust the children and that they might erupt at any time. Kate's problems with the second grade were also persistent and deep-rooted. She had a very difficult year.

Lila's success with the children had to do with her trust in them and the instructional methods which allowed her to sustain and express that trust. One of the things that her good relationships with the children made possible was test scores at national norm levels at the end of the year--no small achievement for children all of whom had average intellectual talents and three-fourths of whom were from families receiving welfare. Some videotapes of reading lessons held during the fifth week of school give some idea of how Lila and the children achieved these test results. Management talk from Lila to the children of the class is very rare during these reading lessons. The lessons themselves proceed along the lines of the multiple person response turns analyzed by Au (1980). Lila frequently receives more than one response to a question from children during the reading lessons. These responses concern the topics Lila has introduced, however, and the children sequence their responses so that they are not all speaking at the same time. Lila herself is suffused with enthusiasm for the situation and with affectionate interest in the

children and their talk during the lessons, and one sees these attitudes mirrored in the faces of the children.

Another thing made possible by the good relationships between Lila and the children was a fieldtrip in early October to the zoo. This fieldtrip was extremely pleasureable for all concerned. There were no fights and few disputes. There was, however, a lot of singing, joking, and talking story. Lila herself took the lead in much of this. She teased and joked with the children, showing them how better to do what they had been trying to do all along with each other.

CHAPTER 12  
A GROUP WEDDING

This dissertation has tried to show why the children of one class at one school behaved the way they did at a certain time of the schoolyear. This work has taken the position that tests of teachers like that mounted of Ellen by the second graders and of Lila by those same children are generated by the political premises of schooling. Schooling is a constrained experience for children. They are required to go and required to accept the control of schooladults when they go. The question is, why should they? This work has taken the position that children will accept control from a teacher and participation in a classroom routine if that teacher measures up to the children's values and if that routine accords with the children's own social structures and social dynamics. In supporting the position, this work has provided a cultural analysis of Hawaiian children's relationships and interactional processes both at home and at school. It has argued that these relationships and processes reflect the dynamic of rivalry rather than that of competition. It has argued further that lessons like Ellen's result when teachers try to play the game of competition with children who play the game of rivalry. Lastly, this work has argued that educators at Ka Na'i Pono School have managed to create a classroom routine acceptable to Hawaiian children by transforming classroom games of competition into ones of rivalry. In so doing,

the staff at Ka Na'i Pono School has not changed the fact that schooling is a constrained experience for children and that interactions between teachers and children at the beginning of the year will always be fraught with risk and uncertainty. What the schooladults at Ka Na'i Pono have done is to develop certain ways of doing things in the classroom that are capable of sustaining trust between themselves and the children and of helping all of them--children and adults alike--into the roles and games which they must play in their respective peer groups.

This work has not taken a position on the educational effectiveness of the KEEP system; neither has it taken a position on the viability of the KEEP system in institutional contexts designed differently from that which produced it. This author harbors a certain pessimism about the notion of educational innovation not because it is impossible to develop better systems of classroom instruction, but because the idea of disseminating classroom systems is inherently problematic. Research institutions design programs for classrooms, but the contexts of classrooms are schools--and these are powerful contexts indeed. If the premises and goals of these contexts are not modified, they are altogether likely to take a system like KEEP and find in it a powerful mode of social control, not of education.

This work, lastly, has been through and through an interpretive one concerned primarily to offer a certain view of Hawaiian children. Other ethnographers focusing on Hawaiian children in educational contexts have emphasized different qualities in the children's behavior. Jordan (1981) has emphasized co-operative peer processes.



Boggs (1985) has emphasized peer conflict stemming from lack of agreement as to role claims. The emphasis of this work has been placed upon Hawaiian children's collective attempts to honor and to cope with their ideals. No one asked Noe, Doreen, Jake, Pete, and all the rest of the children of their class whether they wanted to go to school. The children were simply thrown together at school, and they tried to make the best of the situation. They established structures of peer relationships which allowed them both to play the game of projecting tough, vibrant identities and to keep that game a game.

Late in the children's third grade year, the same school that had assembled them was preparing to disband them. The children had been taken on fieldtrips to the schools that they would be going to in the following year and had had some counselling sessions on what to expect. In view of the enormity of the coming change, the children's rivalries with one another had begun to lose their significance. By late April, in fact, the boys' gangs were no longer mentioned.

The children faced the prospect of losing their friends at the end of the schoolyear with the same attempt to cope and to enliven that had always characterized their efforts at dealing with school. At a recess in May, the children took turns marrying each other. Noe and Toby Loo did most of the officiating. Among the marriages was one between Noe and Pete. Jake married Claradine and Kehau. When Tolbert would marry neither Estrella nor Mapu, those two girls married each other. Louella and Laura also married each other. Kevin did not participate directly in the weddings but picked bougainvillea and strewed these over the celebrants.

Whether this work has succeeded in making a case for the relevance of children's peer relationships to studies of minority classrooms, I do not know; I do know that we owe children like these and their teachers all of the support that the disciplines of social science can provide.

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