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BIG MEN ON CAMPUS: A STUDY OF INFORMAL
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STUDENTS IN AN URBAN HIGH SCHOOL.

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LINDA W. GUTWIRTH

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BIG MEN ON CAMPUS: A Study of Informal
Leadership among Black and Puerto Rican
Students in an Urban High School

by

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INTRODUCTION

This study deals with the emergence and replacement of informal leaders in a complex, semi-autonomous social system.¹ It centers on the analysis of a strike that occurs early in the 1970-71 school year among a group of six hundred entering freshmen at the Annex of Julia Richman High School in New York City.² Ninety-five percent of the students are black and Puerto Rican boys and girls, ranging in age from thirteen to sixteen years.

In the second week of the school year a black youth, known to his classmates as Big Bob, mobilizes a following and a large amount of support among students, teachers and members of the surrounding community for a walkout, or strike, ostensibly aimed at improving the quality of the school lunch. In the process, he creates the embryo of a new system of social relationships in the school. Then, apparently at the height of his reign, Big Bob suddenly abandons his struggle and drops out of school. His most active supporters disperse and his major rival becomes his replacement.

My analysis of the strike and its outcome addresses the following questions: what preconditions create favorable breeding grounds for the emergence of an informal leader of Weber's

¹I am indebted to Meggitt's (1971) study of leadership among the Mae-Enga of the New Guinea Highlands for suggesting both the focus of this research and the basic analytic approach.

²The names of the school's occupants and of other informants have been changed to protect them from identification.

'charismatic' type among Annex students; what prompts certain students, and not certain others, to try to launch a walkout; why does Big Bob, and not certain other students, succeed in mobilizing the walkout; why do some students try to undermine him from the outset; what factors condition variations in the amount and nature of support that others in the situation, who are influential for its outcome, give Big Bob; why does Big Bob suddenly drop out of school; why does his rival, and not certain other students, become his successor; and, finally, what changes, if any, does Big Bob's performance bring to the school or the system of which it is a part?

Field Conditions and Methods

I entered the field intending to explore the relationship between speech and social centrality, or leadership, in adolescent peer groups. The decision to do fieldwork in a school was prompted, in part by coincidence. As I was seeking an appropriate field in which to explore the sociolinguistic problem that interested me, I noticed the sudden appearance of hundreds of black and Puerto Rican teenagers in the predominantly white, upper middle class neighborhood where I lived. I was particularly attracted by the style and bearing of many of the blacks among them. The textures and colors of their clothing were more varied and appealing; they stood closer together on the street or in subways and buses; they moved about more (whether sitting or standing), touched each other more often and spoke in louder and more assertive tones than

those of the white middle class or Puerto Rican teenagers I had casually observed. All this conveyed an impression of warmth and liveliness.

Some of the local residents and shopkeepers, however, disliked and feared the presence of large numbers of black and Puerto Rican adolescents in their neighborhood. As a result of their complaints to members of the local Community Action Council, a meeting was arranged with the principal and deans of the school these students attended, for the purpose of "helping the students to feel at home in the community surrounding the school." A member of the Council asked me if I would attend the meeting, suggesting that my anthropological training might enable me to contribute some useful insights to the discussion. I went because I was curious and because I had begun to wonder if the school might not provide a suitable field for my proposed research.

The meeting did not impress me as fruitful. Indeed, the participants' apparent lack of enthusiasm for their self-chosen task suggested that they shared the pessimistic outlook of an elderly looking white, female dean of girls at the school. She predicted gloomily that no matter what anyone did to welcome the students to the community, there would still be times when, as she put it, "the natives get restless." Her remark stuck in my mind like a burr in a sock until I encountered Friedenberg's (1971:121) characterization of the phrase "student unrest":

"It is a curious phrase which recalls the restless natives of an earlier imperialism -- restless, presumably because they were natives, inadequately civilized and hence unable to accept or be grateful for the advantages that might otherwise be lavished on them."

After the meeting I approached the principal of the school, outlined my research aims to him and, somewhat nervously, raised the question of doing research in his school. To my surprise he invited me to begin whenever I liked, saying that I would be welcome to come and go as I pleased and do whatever I liked in the school, provided, of course, that my presence did not distract its occupants from their work.

I did fieldwork at the Annex of Julia Richman High School from March through May of 1969 and from mid-September to mid-June (a complete academic year) in 1970-71. At first members of the school's predominantly white middle class professional staff expressed interest in my research and, with few exceptions, invited me to observe their classes. In contrast, the para-professional teacher aides, who were black and Puerto Rican, questioned my motives from the outset and continued for several months to express reservations about my presence in the school. When I assured the aides that I was an independent observer who wanted to find out what it was like to be a student in one of the city's high schools, a black female aide suggested that I could easily find out by enrolling my children in the Annex. Feeling defensive I replied that my children were not yet old enough to attend high school. The aide then suggested that I study a school in my own neighborhood and

when I pointed out that the Annex was in fact in my neighborhood, she asked me why, since I was white, I didn't go and work in a white school. A black male aide agreed with her. "Dorothy's right," he said, "what you want comin' in here, stirrin' up these kids, writin' down everything they say, makin' them think they hang the moon? Why don't you go and study your own kids, and let our kids alone?"

Not knowing how to reply, I excused myself, saying that I couldn't go on talking because I was on my way to observe a class. I ran upstairs, not pausing until I reached the third floor landing where I stopped to catch my breath. Then, fighting tears, I turned and fled down the staircase and out of the schoolhouse.

A black policeman, standing guard at the front door, stopped me to ask if I would bring him a roll and coffee from the corner luncheonette. I brought them and, after thanking me, he too asked me what I was doing in the Annex. I answered that I wasn't sure and that in fact I might not return. He said he thought I should stay and "tell the kids' side of it." Then he launched into an account of the drug problem in the city's schools, warning me to avoid becoming involved in drug transactions and giving me some hints on how to identify pushers.

My first weeks at the Annex suggested that creating rapport with students would be no easy task. Although polite, they

tended to avoid me and so, on my return at the beginning of the 1970-71 school year, I tried several ways to win over the new group of entering freshmen. First, I carried my six week old son to the Annex. We arrived during lunch period and, as I had hoped, immediately attracted favorable attention from many students in the lunchroom. Even the aides, who were still suspicious of me, came over to admire the baby.

Early in the fall I volunteered to be one of the chaperones at a school dance, provided I could bring along my husband and our daughters, then aged eight and ten. The students were delighted with the girls who danced until they were exhausted. The next week, to my delight, many of the students who had attended the dance began greeting me warmly; some even offered to help me in my work.

I began conducting informal interviews with small groups of students, using questions adapted from Labov's (1965) interview schedules for studying the speech of black and Puerto Rican adolescents in New York City³. These questions, designed to elicit a large volume of speech, proved invaluable in creating rapport with the students, as they were phrased in the vernacular and centered on topics that generated lively discussions among them. The interviews took place spontaneously, wherever students gathered -- the girls' bathrooms, stairwells, supply closets, corners of the lunchroom or the schoolyard or, on occasion, in neighborhood pizza parlors, luncheonettes or a nearby park. I used a tape recorder with a built-in

³See Appendix II for examples of interview questions.

microphone to record the discussions and this also helped create rapport since most of the students enjoyed handling the equipment (indeed, many of them owned tape recorders and were more at ease with recording than I) and amused themselves by recording songs and toasts. (See Abrahams 1970 and Appendix II of this study for some examples of toasts).

Since conversations often grew uninhibited during these sessions I made it a practice to play back the tape, erasing any parts that prompted students to express concern over invasions of privacy. Fearful of inhibiting spontaneous conversation, I seldom took handwritten notes during the interviews, but wrote down what I remembered, in privacy, as soon after the interview as possible.

At first I concluded each interview by asking those who had participated to read some short word lists and sentences and a one-page story about a high school basketball game (also taken from Labov's schedules); these were designed to elicit a more formal kind of speech to compare with the casual speech from the earlier part of the interview. But a request to read aloud often aroused much tension or hostility on the part of students. Comments such as "You said you wasn't a teacher, but you actin' just like a teacher now, ain't you?" indicated that students resented my shifting from the role of sympathetic listener whose purpose was simply to share in their experiences to that of a judge subjecting them to yet another test in what I learned was a continual parade of academic evaluations.

Sensing that I would be obliged to modify my research goals or risk losing the rapport I had gained, I decided to shift the focus of the research and study patterns of informal leadership among the students without trying to make a precise and thorough study of possible linguistic correlations. However, I continued to conduct the interview sessions, although omitting the reading section, because they created opportunities to observe and participate in relatively informal interaction.

As students began offering themselves as informants and field assistants, teachers began complaining that my project was disrupting their work. The principal warned me that he had received complaints from several teachers who felt that students misused the interviews as an excuse to avoid classes. He suggested that I come to the next staff meeting and try to resolve the problem. At the meeting I offered to shorten the interview, limit the number of students I interviewed on a given day, restrict the interviews to one or two days a week or even discontinue them for a time if the teachers felt it would be useful. The teachers agreed to let me continue interviewing, on a one or two day a week basis, provided that I spent a portion of the rest of my time organizing field trips, working in the remedial reading program, trying to find part-time jobs for students who asked for help, and the like.

The students, on the other hand, also began to create what they

considered a suitable role for me. I served as unofficial historian of their freshman year in high school. They wanted me to record special events such as field trips, intra-mural athletic contests, school dances and so on. In addition, they invited me to hookey parties, asked me to accompany them to X-rated movies, taught me some aspects of drug use and the concomitant vocabulary, and sought my opinions on the entries in their Slam Books⁴.

In addition to discharging the tasks that teachers and students considered appropriate to my role in the school, I made several visits to the parent school, to some of the intermediate and junior high schools that my informants had previously attended and to a community center where many of them participated in adult-supervised after school recreational and/or remedial programs. Toward the end of the year, with the help of a black photographer who volunteered to give a day a week of his time, I also helped organize a popular student workshop in photography.

Staff members approved of my school-related activities, but complained to the principal if they learned or suspected that

⁴Slam Books, or Slang Books as they are sometimes called, are notebooks containing questions about sexual attitudes and experiences, the quality of social life in various housing projects, the relative popularity of current songs and dances and so on. They also contain invitations to evaluate parents and peers. A student who wants to circulate a Slam Book simply writes his or her name and nickname on the cover, numbers some twenty to thirty lines on the first page and invites other students to sign in and contribute their opinions on the topics and questions that follow. Those who sign in answer each question, labeling their comments with the number that appears next to their names on the first page.

I had participated in drug or hookey parties or spent time reviewing Slam Books and the like. When such complaints prompted me to express reservations to students about these extracurricular activities, or suggest that I might jeopardize my position in the school by participating in them, they reproached me for rejecting their efforts to help me with my study or "put me down" for acting like a teacher. As a result I continually felt as if I were walking a tightrope -- tense and fearful of losing my balance.

After deciding to focus on the actions involved in the lunch strike and its outcome, I interviewed each of the major actors at least twice (in some instances, three times), asking for information about their participation in the strike and about their relationships to one another and to others in the situation. I also consulted their school records as a partial check on some of the information obtained from the interviews. The description of the exchange contents, duration, frequency, multiplexity and directional flow of exchanges among students involved in the strike (and between them and others in the school and surrounding community) is based on interviews, records, and daily participant-observation in formal and informal settings in and around the school.

Theoretical Framework

Although Max Weber can hardly have envisaged a "society" of high school freshmen when he formulated his concept of charismatic leadership, at first sight the data seem to lend them-

selves profitably to analysis in terms of Weber's categories of charismatic, traditional and rational-legal authority.

Weber introduced the concept of charisma (from the Greek "gift of grace") to refer to

"a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, super-human or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities. These are...not accessible to the ordinary person, but are regarded as exemplary, and on the basis of them the individual concerned is treated as a leader." (Bendix 1962:88)

Contemporary scholars would probably agree with the view expressed by Dekmejian and Wyszomirski (1972:196) who argue that an aspiring leader's possession (or lack) of exemplary qualities is always determined by his own society, according to its peculiar culturally derived criteria. Therefore, in terms of his own milieu, the potential charismatic is an outstanding personality, endowed with great dynamism, sensitivity and resourcefulness. These personal gifts become instrumental in imparting his values to his followers. In terms of more universal criteria, they argue that the charismatic is also a revolutionary inclined to take major risks. Being a product of his own crisis-torn environment, he is an alienated individual whose alienation can usually be attributed to an unstable family life and the failures and sufferings experienced in society, i.e., inability to gain upward mobility, imprisonment, identity crisis - factors that propel him toward revolutionary action. In this sense he is a 'marginal' who draws to himself other 'marginals' who eventually become the core of his movement.

The concept of charisma belongs to an essentially intuitive realm that resists rigorous definition. I use the term charisma, throughout this study, to refer to a quality in the exercise of power that can operate on a minimal resource base. A charismatic leader's resources are immaterial ones. His ability to command the actions of others does not depend on wealth or physical force. Rather, the force of his personality and of his example are effective substitutes for material resources or the structure of conventional political authority.

Charisma also implies a definition of goals, even if these are not sharply formulated. Ambiguity in this area allows a wide range of followers to believe that their respective goals will be met, while the charismatic leader, who sees a range of alternatives to established practices, presses for what he considers appropriate ways to reallocate resources toward different aims. He need not bring any new elements into a situation, but acts as a catalyst in precipitating new arrangements of existing elements. Unlike a true catalyst, however, the holder of charisma may himself change in response to the dynamics of a situation.

Weber distinguished between personal charisma and the charisma of office: the official or master who depends on the charisma of office or the sanctity of tradition to maintain a following fulfills ordinary, daily needs, while the personally charismatic leader arises in a crisis and demands a following on the basis of the mission he feels called upon to accomplish. His

claim to leadership is valid only if those whom he seeks to lead recognize his mission, and he remains their master only so long as he proves himself and his mission in their eyes.

The relationship between the personally charismatic leader and his followers is typically unstable, according to Weber and, because he is regarded as endowed with exceptional gifts, his successors face the problem of preserving charisma after the leader and the crisis have passed and everyday demands reassert themselves.

The contemporary revival of scholarly interest in the concept of charisma generated correspondingly widespread controversy over its utility, mainly because of Weber's ambiguity regarding the relative importance and interaction of the psychological and social aspects of charisma. Moreover, the concept was rejected because it lumped together "good" and "bad" leaders (Friedrich 1961:16) or "genuine" and "spurious" ones (Easton 1965:303-5); it was dismissed as inappropriate to the study of leadership in secular contexts (Lowenstein 1965); Schlesinger 1960; Dogan 1965) and even discarded in the study of millenarian movements (Worsley 1968). Yet, despite these critiques, a number of scholars (Davies 1954; Etzioni 1961; Friedland 1964; Willner and Willner 1965; Rustow 1967; Singham 1968 and Dekmejian 1971) continued to use the concept of charisma, treating it as a relationship between leader and followers rather than a personal attribute of the leader himself.

Recently Dekmejian and Wyszomirski (1972) have applied the charismatic typology to the analysis of historical materials from the Islamic context. Developing a "dynamic" model which contains a number of interacting factors in a developmental framework, they argue that, at the culmination of the charismatic "cycle" the leader "will have presided over a transition from charismatic authority to one that relies increasingly upon 'rational-legal' means of legitimacy; with the passage of time, the system may also acquire 'traditional' legitimacy as well." (Dekmejian and Wyszomirski 1972:198). Furthermore, they emphasize the central importance of the charismatic's "message" in creating an intense spiritual relationship between himself and his followers. It is the spiritual bond engendered by his message that ultimately enables the leader to transform his followers' value systems. Such a transformation of values must occur for the leader to succeed in building the foundations of a new order.

In his analysis of leadership during the terminal stage of colonial evolution in Grenada, Singham (1968) develops a model of charismatic authority which contrasts sharply with that of Dekmejian and Wyszomirski. Singham calls this model the hero-crowd relationship and argues that the preconditions and political characteristics which underlie the hero-crowd relationship make it a secular analog of the millenarian movements anthropologists have called cargo cults (Worsley 1968). The main difference between the two appears to lie in the presence or absence of a message. Worsley emphasizes that the

the cargo cult leader's success in welding together previously separate social units depends on his ability to project his message onto the supernatural plane, thereby transcending the barriers that divide his potential followers. Singham, on the other hand, stresses that the essential link between the hero and the crowd rests on the former's ability to canalize emotions for short periods of time and provide temporary release for the anxieties created by a social crisis. Ultimately, the need to retain the spontaneous nature of the crowd movement conflicts with the hero's efforts to build an organization to sustain him and these two incompatible tasks tend to defeat him.

Although this brief review does not do justice to the complexities of the foregoing analyses, it nevertheless seems clear that they provide fascinating insights into the nature of charismatic leadership. Indeed, a Weberian framework apparently offers theoretical clarification in these case studies of leadership in both religious and secular contexts. It also seems at first sight to explain the action involved in the present case. However, it cannot deal with questions concerning the sequence of actions involved in the strike or with the related problem of what conditions variations in the amount and nature of support that others in the situation give to the emergent leader. Such questions suggest a somewhat different approach; namely, one which analyzes social behavior in terms of social networks.

Social network analysis (Mitchell 1969; Bott 1971) centers on the nature of the exchanges linking an identifiable set of persons. A network is usually traced from some initial or

anchorage point, normally a specific individual whose behavior the observer wishes to interpret. The set of direct links between that individual and others is known as Ego's primary star; the primary star, together with the interconnections among the persons in it, makes up the primary zone of Ego's network (Mitchell 1969; Introduction). The links connecting members of a hypothetical network may be diagrammed as follows:

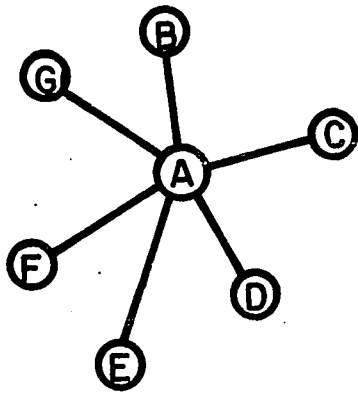


FIG. 1

Typical Primary Star

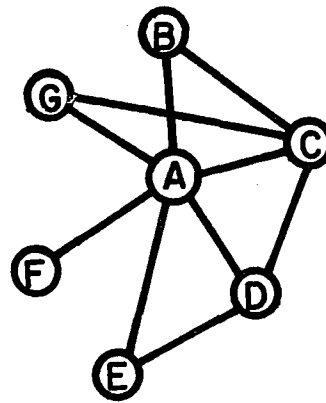


FIG. 2

Typical primary zone,
with density 48 %

(from Mitchell 1969:59)

In analyzing variations in support for Big Bob, I consider the links in his primary star and primary zone to be the most significant and compare them to his major rival's in terms of relevant interactional and structural characteristics.⁵

The interactional characteristics include (a) exchange content; (b) multiplexity of exchange contents; (c) directional flow; and, (d) duration and frequency of exchanges. The term exchange content refers to the overt elements of transactions between individuals. These may include information, goods, services, conversation and the like. Multiplexity is a term that indicates the number of exchanges in a given relationship. A relationship becomes multiplex when more than one exchange content (the minimum amount necessary for a relationship to exist) appears within it. As a rule the strength of a relationship - by which I understand the ability of an individual to exert influence over the actions of the person to whom he is linked - varies in direct proportion to the multiplexity of exchanges between them.

Directional flow refers to the direction which the exchanges in a given relationship may take. Apart from conversation, which is normally bidirectional, the other exchanges I have discussed need not be reciprocal. Although there is an element of generalized reciprocity in such exchanges, it is not necessarily in terms of goods or services of like kind.

⁵My analysis owes much to Kapferer's (1969) study of the mobilization of support for individuals involved in a dispute among a group of African mine workers.

Duration and frequency of exchange refers to the amount of time that partners in a relationship have interacted with one another and to the number of exchanges between them during a specific time period. Although these may not always reflect the intensity of a relationship, their significance in this case emerges clearly.

In a school these four aspects of interaction -- exchange content, multiplexity, directional flow and frequency and duration of exchanges -- are influenced by many factors. Social attributes such as an individual's age, sex, ethnic and residential background serve to associate him with or separate him from others in the situation. Position in the formal structure of the school, as well as the scheduling of classes and participation in extracurricular activities bring some people into regular contact and may foster the growth of relationships beyond the school. The central point to be noted, however, is that an analysis of the exchange contents within a relationship, and particularly the multiplexity, frequency and duration of exchanges, indicates the extent of the social investment which individuals have in the persons to whom they are linked.

Structural characteristics of networks compare them in terms of (a) range; (b) density; (c) span and (d) degree of multiplexity. Range here refers to the number of people in direct contact with Ego combined with the social heterogeneity of the individuals concerned (cf. Wheeldon in Mitchell 1969:133). A person

in contact with ten people of differing social backgrounds would have a wider range network than one in contact with the same number of people of generally similar social background.

Density here excludes Ego's direct ties to his network members and concentrates solely on the degree of interconnectedness among the persons to whom Ego is directly linked.

Density is found by dividing the actual number of interlinkages among individuals in a network by the possible number of interlinkages.

Span refers to the number of links out of the total viable links operating between persons captured by a given Ego as a result of including specific people within his direct set of relationships.

Degree of Multiplexity is obtained by dividing the number of relationships which contain two or more exchanges by the total number of all relevant relationships and expressing the results as a percentage.

Zone multiplexity excludes Ego's direct links to his network members and is then found by dividing the number of multiplex links connecting other network members to each other by the number of all relationships (uniplex and multiplex) connecting them. These structural elements, together with the interactional elements outlined above, in particular duration of contact among network members, measure their social investment in one another and strongly influence variations in the amount and nature of support given to aspiring leaders in the competitive situation under study here.

The emergence and replacement of informal leadership in the present case must also be seen in terms of power relations between the dominant and subordinate groups in the school. Although schools are among the few institutions in our society in which the young may lawfully participate (from which in fact they may not withdraw before reaching the legally recognized school-leaving age without risk of prosecution from law-enforcement agencies), there is no public high school in which students possess any authority -- as distinct from influence - and few in which they experience much autonomy (Friedenberg 1971). The peer society in high school, like inmate society in prison, undoubtedly affects the quality of daily life in it as much as or more than policies set by the administration; however, students have no status in the formal hierarchical organization to which their teachers belong and no power to make decisions regarding school policies.

Ultimate authority in the high school resides outside the student group in part because the decisions that a student leader is normally called upon to make relate to a different field of operations from that of the adults involved. No student, for example, has an ongoing responsibility to the school or to the safety of its occupants. Furthermore, although some students may have children of their own, and some may hold part-time jobs, none is completely responsible for his or her family's support.

In view of the limited conditions of responsibility among students, questions may arise as to their seriousness of purpose in organizing a strike. Are they merely flexing their muscles, playacting at protest, or do they have specific goals? Whatever the answer, it is the administrative bureaucracy that determines the limits within which conflict will be allowed to occur.

At the Annex, these characteristics together with the ethnic composition of the student body and staff create a colonial situation in which the dominant society and culture, through the adults in charge of the school, administers a subordinate, plural society. Here Singham and Singham's (1973) concepts of cultural domination and political subordination in the Caribbean offer theoretical clarification for the situation in the Annex.

What seems likely, in view of the data described in the present study, is that an adequate analysis of the emergence and replacement of informal student leaders must adopt a systemic approach that relates micropolitical processes in the school to conditions in the wider society (Lacey 1970; Watson 1970), as expressed in terms of the following hypotheses:

1. In a complex social system informal leaders within a subordinate group do not necessarily emerge by recruiting followers; rather, potential followers, who may be pre-defined in terms of structural positions and other social attributes, demand and create leaders in response to situations created by the dominant group.

2. When the dominant group gives members of the subordinate group opportunities to exercise some measure of autonomy, the system enters a period of relative stability. It is then that members of the subordinate group may strive, in the manner of Melanesian Big Men or Tammany Hall politicians, to improve their positions by mobilizing support among co-members in a series of free, dyadic transactions. But when members of the dominant group, in reaction to internal or external factors which threaten to undermine their interests, withdraw traditional opportunities for the expression of autonomy by members of the subordinate group, then the latter are obliged to abandon free competition for leadership and support a leader who can effectively protect their common interests against opposition from the dominant group. It is then that an aspiring leader of Weber's charismatic type may mobilize support across existing social categories by means of a performance and concomitant message that provide his followers with a convenient

banner under which to act without necessarily revealing the underlying reasons for their actions (cf. Kapferer 1969).

The conditions influencing this alternation between "charismatic" and "traditional" leaders are analogous to those which Meggitt (1971) identifies in analyzing the pattern of leadership among the Mae Enga of the New Guinea Highlands:

"On the one hand, there is a condition of diastole, a period when an extended network of relationships is significant. This is a time of relative peace and relaxation within the group and vis a vis other groups, during which men set up fairly free, contractual, dyadic relationships of exchange and aid with each other, including non-agnates. It is then that aspiring Big Men try to improve their positions, while incumbents strive to maintain their own. In short, this is the period in the cycle when all the observed events are most compatible with the usual 'Melanesian' or Big Man model of leadership.

But economic and political conditions, and through them demographic conditions, do not remain stable for each group. Diastole gives way to systole. The expansive, relaxed period is succeeded by (and in part contributes to) a state of opposition, or actual conflict, between segments, especially between clans. Situations of segmentary opposition demand corporate activity and support. The free dyadic relationship of Big Man and partner is replaced by the constrained, obligatory relationship of group leader and followerNow an 'African', or segmentary model is appropriate."

3. It seems likely that a charismatic leader, in some sense brought to power unwittingly by the dominant group, can fairly easily be neutralized by the dominant group if its members restore traditional channels for the exercise of some degree of autonomy among members of the subordinate group. Then competition for leadership can re-emerge in the latter.

4. In a competitive situation variations in the amount and nature of support for a given leader will not necessarily reflect the kinds of issues he addresses, or the nature of his message, but, rather, the extent of the social investment that others in the situation have in him as compared to his rivals.

The charismatic leader who emerges in those times when the dominant group threatens the subordinate's group traditional organization will probably always lose when the competition is in terms of social investment, since in order to be successful in situations requiring charismatic leadership he must not be too identified with any of the traditional groups. The outcome of the contest will also depend on the degree to which the actions of competing leaders meet the culturally defined criteria for leadership within their particular social milieu, as well as on the degree to which a given leader's actions are in fact acceptable to the dominant group. In short, leaders in subordinate groups are ordinarily political middlemen (Swartz 1968:199-204) who may be produced by local situations or structures they hardly comprehend, or who may, on the other hand, be self-conscious manipulators of diverse resources. In either case they face the difficult task of creating strategies that will satisfy the conflicting interests of subordinate and superordinate groups (Van Horne 1971). The charismatic is extraordinary in the sense that he tries to resolve the conflict by creating a new system.

Outline of the Study

The first part of the study deals with the socio-political and cultural environment in which the lunch strike occurs. It

begins with a review of the scope and general organization of the city's public school system as it operates in the 1970-71 school year: This is not intended to be an exhaustive description of the system but, rather to identify those aspects of it that may illuminate the events described in the following chapters. A brief history of Julia Richman High School follows, with emphasis on the changing composition of the student body and on political conditions in the wider society that influence relations among its occupants and between them and members of the surrounding community. This includes a description of the material and social conditions in the Annex itself, centering primarily on the backgrounds of its students -- the areas they come from, the kinds of feeder schools from which they have graduated prior to entering the Annex, and the social organization and criteria for leadership in informal peer groups. Although the study is concerned with the pattern of leadership that emerges within the school, it uses autobiographical writings of some adult members of the same social milieu as the students in order to explore the relationship between models of leadership in the community and the pattern found in the school.

The second part of the study describes and analyzes the actions involved in the strike, and a final section considers some of the practical and theoretical implications of the analysis.

PART ONE: THE SETTING AND THE ACTORS

CHAPTER ONE¹

The New York City Public Schools: 1970-71

I - Policy and Administration

Public education in New York City is provided under a decentralized school district system voted by the Legislature in 1969, with succeeding amendments. (Charts I and II in Appendix I compare the organization of the system before and after the passage of the 1969 decentralization law.) At the core are 1,140,000 pupils in grades pre-kindergarten through high school; a staff of 110,000 pedagogical and administrative employees; a physical plant composed of 964 permanent and 265 temporary buildings, plus leased premises; and an expenditure of more than two billion dollars in city, state and federal funds.

Operation and control of the schools are shared by the Board of Education and by elected community school boards, subject to the general powers of the former with respect to citywide policies. The Board of Education consists of 5 members individually appointed by the city's 5 borough presidents. Many of the powers, duties and responsibilities formerly vested in the

¹The aim of this chapter is to illustrate the general scope and organization of the city's public schools, with particular attention to those aspects which are directly related to the actions described in the second part of this study. Further details can be obtained from the Office of Education Information Services and Public Relations at 110 Livingston Street, Brooklyn, New York 11201.

Board of Education have been transferred to the authority of the community school boards. Among these are:

1. The administration of elementary and junior high-intermediate schools;
2. Selection of community superintendents;
3. Appointment and assignment of teachers,
4. Certain aspects of school construction and repair, and
5. A large measure of control of instructional priorities and flexibility in the staff (subject to Board of Education policy and contractual obligations).

The Board of Education, under the law, retains jurisdiction over high schools, special schools and classes and certain functions related to city-wide operations.

The Chancellor is the chief executive officer of the city school system. The position of Chancellor was created by the decentralization law to replace that of Superintendent of Schools. The first Chancellor began his duties on September 1, 1970.

Appointed by the Board of Education for a stated term, he controls the schools and programs under the jurisdiction of the Board and is responsible for the implementation of Board policy. He must also assure that all districts comply with the applicable provisions of the decentralization law. The Chancellor participates in Board deliberations, but has no vote.

There are 31 community school districts, organized on the basis of average daily attendance of pupils in the elementary and

junior high-intermediate schools: 6 in Manhattan; 6 in the Bronx; 11 in Brooklyn; 7 in Queens and 1 in Richmond.

The cost of operating the city schools is reflected in two city budgets, each taking effect on July 1 and continuing through June 30 of the succeeding year. The expense budget, financed in part by state and federal funds, provides for the salaries of all employees as well as educational supplies and equipment, repairs, custodial services and so on. The city portion of the budget is supported by tax levies on real estate and other sources. The capital budget provides for the construction of new buildings, additions, modernization and related work. It is funded through the sale of long-term municipal bonds. (For total expense and capital budgets see Table I, Appendix I).

II - School organization

The city's public schools are organized as elementary, junior high or intermediate schools, high schools and special schools. The Board of Education is presently moving toward the reorganization of the schools so that high schools will be established as four-year schools, intermediate schools will include either grades 6-7-8 or grades 5-6-7-8, and elementary schools will have grades 1-4 or 1-5 plus kindergarten.

State law requires the school attendance of city residents who are six to seventeen years of age. Children five years of age and youths up to age twenty-one may attend. The require-

ments of the law are met by the completion of a four-year high school course regardless of age. Otherwise, the minimum age for leaving school is 16, if the pupil has lawful employment.

The average pupil is expected to complete the work of one grade each year and provision is made for pupils on all school levels to progress at their own rate of ability: classes are organized for children who cannot proceed at a normal pace, for average pupils and for rapid learners. However, the city has a traditional policy of automatically promoting virtually all pupils. According to standards that have been in effect since 1967, as a general rule no student is retained in the same grade for an additional year more than twice during his first eight years of schooling -- no more than once in elementary and once in junior high-intermediate school. This policy of automatic, or 100% promotion, combined with a practice whereby pupils who are "left back" are merely required to repeat the same grade in the same fashion -- without necessarily receiving special remedial instruction, has the effect of moving students up the educational ladder without necessarily educating them. At present, students may be from one year and two months to two years and seven months behind in reading and still be promoted.²

Most city schools - the exceptions being specialized high schools, general vocational high schools and schools serving

²See the New York Times, December 3, 1973 (1:6) for report that the Chancellor plans to issue tougher standards for promotion.

physically or emotionally handicapped children - are zoned to bring about better utilization and/or integration. In elementary and junior high-intermediate schools, pupil enrollment generally confines the zone to a limited geographic area. In single-sex academic high schools, the zone may include an entire borough and even cross borough lines.

The Board of Education provides daily transportation via school bus or common carrier for nearly 600,000 pupils. Pupils in grades 9-12 who reside one mile or more from the school they attend are issued reduced-fare eligibility cards which permit them to ride on New York City Transit Authority facilities for an average cost of ten cents a day. In 1969-70, the number of eligibility cards in use was as follows: junior high school pupils, 11,808; high school pupils, 161,557; parochial high school pupils, 60,942.

The city school system serves more school lunches than any other educational system in the country. Lunches providing one-third to one-half minimal daily nutritional requirements of a child are served daily to more than 400,000 school children - about 75% of whom receive free lunches under various welfare programs.

III - Youth and Adult Centers

After-school community centers are maintained in 560 schools from 3 to 5 P.M. for children of elementary and junior high school age. Activities include arts and crafts, dramatics,

sports and games, music, dance and special events. Teenagers, out-of-school youth and adults may also use 466 evening community centers whose programs include physical education, arts and crafts, social activities and informal adult education.

During the summers 533 vacation day camps, for children aged 5-14, operate in school buildings on weekdays.

IV - Funded Programs (Federal Aid: Elementary and Secondary Education Act).

About \$129,000,000 of ESEA, Title I funds go to major programs in the public schools. These included College Discovery and Development and College Bound Programs, which aim to discover and develop students with potential and prepare them for admission to college.

V - Other programs

Auxiliary services include a high school redirection program which seeks to redirect potential dropouts toward the mainstream of education under the umbrella of educational-vocational plans. The four schools involved in the experiment draw on the school system's guidance services and outside career specialists to augment their own activities.

A pre-technical program is offered for students in the 11th and 12th grades whose achievement is such that they would not normally qualify for admission to community college. The program includes areas of engineering technology, medical technology

and business technology.

In 75 schools, 7,000 pupils alternate between school and related jobs on weekly, monthly and part-time daily schedules involving 200 business organizations and 87 departments of the city and state governments, as well as 11 schools of practical nursing. Over 90% of the pupils remain as full-time employees after graduation in the firm or institution which trained them. A number of business organizations and social agencies have become sponsors of the program in an effort to expand employment opportunities while encouraging continuance of studies. During the 1969-70 school year, pupils in the cooperative work-study program earned more than \$9,000,000.

VI - Personnel

The work force of the city school system numbers more than 110,000 employees. This total includes 69,000 pedagogical and 41,000 supportive administrative positions.

Applicants for teaching and other pedagogical positions must be citizens or have declared their intention to become citizens. Except for trade subjects (shop) and industrial arts, license for all regular teaching and supervisory positions require the baccalaureate degree, certain courses in education and in subject matter and, in some instances, stipulated experience.

A Board of Examiners, composed of the Chancellor (or his deputy) and 4 examiners (appointed by the Board of Education after a competitive examination conducted by the Civil Service Commission), is responsible for examining applicants for pedagogical positions, school secretary, attendance teacher and bilingual teacher in school and community relations. The Board of Examiners also issues lists of persons qualified to fill these positions.

The Joint Employment Recruitment Program, an outgrowth of contract negotiations between the Board of Education and the United Federation of Teachers, attempts to increase the number of minority-group personnel and thereby achieve a better ethnic balance in the schools.³

The Office of Staff Relations, established in 1962, participates in collective bargaining negotiations with various employee groups and administers agreements entered into between bargaining representatives and the Board of Education. There are 19 negotiated agreements in force, involving pedagogical and administrative personnel.

In support of improved services in poverty area schools, the Board of Education employs auxiliary educational personnel (para-professionals) who assist in school and classroom manage-

³Although records of the ethnic composition of high school personnel have been kept for the last 3 or 4 years, the Board of Education has not yet made them public and my requests for such information were repeatedly refused.

ment, clerical functions, and in tasks related to the instructional program. The group numbers about 9,000 full and part-time employees in a variety of programs which are funded by the city and federal governments.

VII - Physical Plant

In addition to its 1,229 permanent and temporary buildings (including 235 portable units and 30 "mini-schools"), the school system uses 234 leased premises in all sections of the city. In gross area, the 964 permanent structures occupy an area of 95,000,000 square feet.

About 5,000 contracts involving maintenance and repair work are awarded annually by the Board of Education. Emergencies are handled by a fleet of 30 mobile workshops and 20 radio-signal supervisory vehicles. Many schools are equipped with burglar alarms, non-breakable glass substitutes and other devices to deter vandalism.

During the 1969-1970 school year, recorded damage to city school property cost \$2,936,314. The loss was related to glass breakage (\$1,299,095); unlawful entries (\$1,371,053); and fires (\$266,166).⁴ Generally, \$2,000,000 is added to

⁴On October 3, 1973 the New York Times (32:4) reported on a study by Harvard University sociologist, J. Zeisal, who argues that vandalism is the product of improper design - not malice on the part of children. More than half the multi-million dollar yearly costs could be avoided, according to this view, and the profits of a burgeoning anti-vandalism industry could be put to other uses by the schools.

the total cost of vandalism to account for defaced walls and desks, broken furniture and fixtures and so on, which are not included in recorded figures.

CHAPTER TWO

The Julia Richman High School

I - The First Fifty Years (1913-1963):

Manhattan's Julia Richman High School for Girls, named for the city's first female superintendent of schools, was organized in 1913, in three branches with 1500 pupils. By 1917 it had an enrollment of 3,000 pupils who were housed in seven buildings scattered between West 13th and East 86th streets (see Map I in Appendix I). In 1924, the school moved into a single new building at 67th Street and First Avenue, where its excellent courses in science, mathematics and foreign languages and its intensive secretarial and nursing programs attracted girls from all over the city.

For four decades Julia Richman remained a prestigious, all-girls school. On its 50th anniversary in May 1963, the New York Telegram and Sun called Julia Richman an "all-girls U.N.", noting that 30,000 students had graduated from the school in its first half century. The New York Times celebrated the many lawyers, actresses and poets among Richman alumnae and mentioned that, in addition to winning 46 scholarships and 22 intra-mural awards, graduates of the class of 1962 had been admitted to 50 four-year colleges, 34 two-year colleges, and 12 nursing schools. In 1963, three Richman graduates entered Columbia University's School of Engineering.

Over 500 teachers served at the school during its first fifty years; some for their entire careers, others for long periods. A column entitled "From the Principal's Desk", which regularly appeared in the school newspaper, reflects the atmosphere they created:

"My Dear Girls,

Today, having left the Fairy Land of A Mid-summer Night's Dream behind us, we journey off to the Magic Woods of Hansel and Gretel. What a rich, dramatic experience has been ours this happy December! What splendid actresses and musicians abound in our school! And how many generous, self-sacrificing teachers have given of their time and talents to make each program a success!"

(December 22, 1960).

II - From the mid-sixties to 1970

By the mid-sixties, the principal's column began to take on a new tone:

"My Dear Girls,

I would like all of you to dedicate yourselves, this year, to maintenance of the respect that has always, for half a century, come to our girls when they announced themselves as Julia Richman graduates ...There are many ways in which we can show the public how well we do...Our dramatic productions have always won us great praise. Here is a place where you can help. I was not pleased with the audience behavior of several of our girls at the matinee of The Night of January 16...Some teachers and students have suggested that we give up having a matinee performance, saying that some of our girls cannot be trained to behave themselves in large audience situations where they are anonymous.

This spring our Senior Production will again be a fine professional job. Shall we show it only in evening performances? Shall we give it up entirely? Have you any suggestions for how you, as students, can make the performance a pleasant, exciting one for all

of us without any disagreeable disorder? Are you willing to agree that you cannot control yourselves except when watched over by a section teacher as in regular assemblies? I will welcome any letters you wish to write me on this subject. Perhaps you have the key to a solution."

(February 4, 1966)

By 1970 the principal's column had disappeared from the school paper and, for lack of sufficient funds the paper itself appeared only sporadically. The few editions that were produced appeared in mimeographed form and were shorter than the professionally printed ones of earlier years. In March the editorial staff circulated a one-page issue, reporting on the results of a poll in which 300 students stated their opinions on a number of topics, including administrative procedures and extracurricular programs. The poll also listed several school problems and asked students to check those that bothered them most. The list included use of drugs; administrative system; student discipline; student apathy; teacher apathy. Many students checked more than one item and some added others, such as: lack of union between students, teachers and principal; toilets being closed; unauthorized searching of students for drugs and weapons; muggings; lack of communication and understanding and lack of intelligence in the faculty as far as teaching goes.

In the winter of 1971 an independent social work agency received the following assessment, based on two months of evaluation by one of its staff members:

Assessment, October-December, 1971

"The climate of the school is counter-productive to education. Excessive loitering is a pronounced feature. Students roam the halls, often in noisy playful groups while classes are in process. While it is said that the school has a 60% attendance record, actual class attendance is considerably lower. Many teachers are instructing only a handful of students. As one teacher/guidance counselor reported, out of a class roll of 29 students she can expect 4 to 5 students a day.

Strong discipline is lacking in the school. Few demands are made on students. Unsupervised students have difficulties. Serious fights have occurred. Peer pressure to avoid classes is great and administrative demand to attend is weak. Students seem to experience this as lack of concern on the part of faculty and are begging both by behavior and in many instances verbally for limits.

The major causes of part class attendance and lack of student respect for the school, as I see it, are the breakdown in controls and discipline previously mentioned; lack of communication between faculty and students; retarded educational development of a large number of students; the lack of demand for teacher accountability in student attendance and achievement. Shocking numbers of students are failing. The atmosphere of the school is one of failure and depersonalization. Many students who walk the halls cannot read well enough to do the class work. I have encountered at least one student who had difficulty writing the homework assignment from the blackboard. This is data teachers seem not to have on their students or choose to ignore. Students, rather than talking to their teachers, threaten or attack them or, more commonly, avoid classes. Teachers are frightened of students. This is evidenced in their behavior and students verbalize their awareness of this fear. Teachers and students are overwhelmed and turned off.

I received a wide range of requests for social work service from the staff. They included group work with pregnant girls and postnatal guidance; attendance problems; non- and slow readers; discipline and behavior problems; wandering students (indoor street work); failures; students returning from institutions; vocational readiness; sixteen, seventeen and eighteen year olds in the 9th grade; suspensions; guidance counselors; teachers and casework. The school is most

receptive, in fact eager for social work involvement in the school. Exasperated, they seem inclined to "dump", if you will, the problem students, expecting social workers to wield magic and produce a "reformed" and conforming student. There is an element of discarding the student via the referral. In the process the school seems to be avoiding the problem and abdicating its own responsibility for an involvement in the child's displayed behavior. Also evident in the nature and manner of referral is staff confusion between a behavior problem and a discipline problem. It is interesting that referrals from students have made this distinction, and do not reflect a discarding process but, rather, commitment and continued involvement with the individual.

Work Goals

I have decided to focus my efforts at Julia Richman toward facilitating communications between students and teachers, building toward accountability.

The problems confronting Julia Richman in 1970-71 stemmed from and reflected several interacting factors that also affected other urban schools; (1) demographic shifts in the wider society changed the composition of the student body (See Charts III and IV in Appendix I for statistics on the changing composition of the student body at Julia Richman and other Manhattan high schools from 1958 to 1971); (2) the civil rights movement regained momentum and members of minority groups struggled to gain control of the institutions that affected their own and their children's lives; (3) one aspect of this struggle, which influenced relations among students, parents and teachers, was the fight to decentralize control of the city's schools.

In 1966 New York City established three decentralized experimental school districts. In response, school personnel,

fearing that they would now be hounded from their jobs by a militant community, staged a 14-day strike in September 1967. In June 1967 the Board of Education voted, over the protests of Julia Richman's principal, members of the teaching staff, students and alumnae to change the school from a single sex to a coeducational institution. At the same time, the school was re-zoned to include the area between 42nd street and 155th street, from the East River to Seventh Avenue (See Map II in Appendix I).

Enrollment reached capacity in September, 1967, with admission of 450 boys at ninth and tenth grade levels, bringing the total number of students at Julia Richman to 3,400.

The admission of boys and the new zoning regulations brought an increase in drug use and disciplinary problems. Staff committees voted to tighten regulations and the local police precinct assigned a full-time patrolman to the school.

By 1968 enrollment had reached 4,000 and the school, already on a ten-period day, opened an Annex in an old vocational high school twenty blocks from the main building. The Annex, which was staffed by 36 volunteers from the parent school's staff, would accommodate 650 ninth year students, but over 700 could be registered since attendance records indicated that one hundred to one hundred and fifty pupils are absent on any given school day.

A few weeks after the Annex opened, members of the citywide

teachers' union launched a prolonged strike to protest the firing of teachers and principals without due process, in decentralized school districts throughout the city. Although Julia Richman's principal kept the main building closed until the strike ended on November nineteenth, the Annex was finally opened in October, by parents, members of the community and twenty teachers. Interim schools were also set up, on a voluntary basis, with teachers in the College Bound and Mathematics programs using churches, settlement houses, political clubrooms and the like.

When the teachers' strike ended the Board of Education added forty-five minutes to the school day, in order to make up for the time lost during the strike. In protest against the imposition of a longer school day, members of various Student Power groups staged a one-day, citywide strike. To help stem the tide of student unrest, Julia Richman's principal organized a student-faculty-parent consultative council whose monthly meetings were open to all. However, despite this effort, tension remained high and spring-brought renewed protests. In April 1969 some Richman students set a fire in the basement of the main building and there were riots in the lunchroom.

Toward the end of the 1969 school year the principal of Julia Richman requested and received permission from the Board of Education to transfer to a school nearer her home. At the Annex, scene of the actions described in the second part of this study, more than fifty percent of the staff obtained

transfers to the main building or to other schools, or resigned and took jobs outside the system. Many of those who transferred to the main building attributed their desire to leave the Annex to its deteriorated physical condition. (See Table II in Appendix I for Profile of Julia Richman High School and the Annex).

III - The Annex: 1968-1970

Origins:

In the spring of 1968 a group of teachers from Julia Richman persuaded the Board of Education to let them use a recently condemned elementary school building, twenty blocks from the main campus, as an Annex for entering freshmen. Their aim was to help eradicate recurring disruptions among students in the parent school by alleviating its overcrowded conditions and to provide a protected environment in which freshmen could strengthen their academic skills before going on to the main building. Thirty-six teachers and an assistant principal volunteered to staff the Annex and, in September of 1968, they greeted the first group of freshmen.

A few weeks after the Annex opened members of the citywide teachers' union launched a prolonged and bitter strike. Half the Annex staff supported the strike; the rest opposed it. When it finally ended tensions among colleagues inhibited their ability to cooperate and seriously damaged the freshman program. At the end of the first year half the teachers resigned or requested transfers to the main building or to other schools.

Relations between the Annex and the surrounding community:

In the spring of 1969, as the Annex approached the end of its second year, local property-owners, shopkeepers and residents filed sixty-five written complaints against Annex students at the local police precinct, charging them with littering sidewalks and entrances to apartment buildings, defacing public property, provoking street fights with students from a nearby Catholic high school, disrupting transportation, shoplifting and accosting pedestrians. Members of the Community Action Council met with the school's administrators and pressed them to eradicate the disruptions.

Student-teacher relations:

Aware that their major responsibility in the eyes of the community was to keep the students under control, and concerned to protect their positions and their relations to superiors in the educational hierarchy, veteran teachers turned the Annex into a prison. By September 1970 an armed policeman stood guard at its entrance while inside teachers and teacher-aides patrolled the corridors. Furthermore, in the hope of exerting more effective control over the new group of entering freshmen, the staff suspended extracurricular activities (including student government organizations), discouraged contact between Annex students and upperclassmen at the main building and eliminated traditional school assemblies and school service posts, such as student monitorships.

As a result of the staff's new policies, no formal welcome greeted the new students on the first day of school in September 1970. Many of them expressed disappointment at the lack of an opening day assembly to mark the beginning of the final stage in their formal education. When they discovered that the staff had also decided to omit athletic teams, clubs, student government, school service committees and the like many students expressed resentment and hostility against the Annex or just against "them", meaning the adults in charge. However, most seemed to resign themselves to enduring a year at the school. A significant minority, however, were affected by and responsive to (1) the ongoing struggle by members of the city's black and Puerto Rican minority groups to decentralize control of the city's schools; (2) the activities of militant groups like the Black Panthers and the Young Lords; (3) the media's reports of protest on university campuses, in urban ghettos, prisons and the armed forces. All these drew the attention of some students to the possibilities of protest.

Physical environment:

Students also expressed resentment against the physical environment of the Annex. The material surroundings in which they found themselves in no way suggested a high school. Constructed in 1906, the old elementary school building lacked adequate facilities for its present students: blackboards in many classrooms were set too low for efficient use; toilets and basins in most bathrooms were too small for comfort; there was no gymnasium and the space available for physical education -- two

empty classrooms combined into one -- could not accommodate more than half the students in a given semester. Direct electrical current inhibited the use of modern audio-visual aids and prevented the installation of a hot-lunch kitchen, so students received sandwiches and milk from the parent school which they ate in a bleak auditorium lined with long wooden tables and benches.

The first floor of the poorly lit, five-story Annex contained two small inside yards, the auditorium, the nurse's office, the custodian's office and two bathrooms. The school office, the principal's office, the deans' offices and the office of the guidance counselors, as well as several classrooms and two bathrooms were located on the second floor. The third and fourth floors contained classrooms, a bathroom a piece, the makeshift gymnasium and an empty classroom that served as the teachers' lunchroom. Additional classrooms and a small library were on the top floor. Large supply closets were present on several floors. Five flights of stairs, located at each end of the Y-shaped corridors, connected the floors.

Personnel and Schedule:

From 9 A.M. to 3 P.M. each school day between six and seven hundred freshman students, the principal, thirty-six teachers, four paraprofessional teacher-aides, two secretaries, a school nurse, a custodian and two custodial assistants occupied the Annex. The principal, thirty-two of the teachers, both secretaries and the school nurse were white. Four teachers, all

the teacher-aides, the custodian and his two assistants were black or Puerto Rican.

The master program listed classes in the following areas: English, Remedial Reading, Eastern Civilization, Home Economics, Physical Education, Hygiene, General Science, Mathematics, French, Spanish, Secretarial Studies, Music and Fine Arts. Each student received an individual program card assigning him or her to eight forty-five minute periods daily. Students had no independent study periods and no free time apart from a daily lunch period. Teachers received one or two preparation periods daily in addition to the lunch period.

September 1970: The Annex Freshmen

In September 1970, when the present study begins, the admissions list for Julia Richman High School reports a total of seven hundred and eighty pupils in the freshman year (ninth grade). (See Table III in Appendix I). Nearly all of these are at the Annex; however, the staff notes that at current rates of attendance (See Table II in Appendix I) one hundred to one hundred and fifty freshmen may be absent on any given day.

Nearly eighty percent of the freshmen come from four junior high-intermediate schools in East and Central Harlem (See Maps II and III in Appendix I). All four of these feeder schools boast excellent physical facilities and offer students a wide range of extracurricular activities; however, their average 8th grade reading scores, as measured by Metropolitan Achieve-

ment Tests (MAT), are low. (See Chart V in Appendix I).

A socio-economic profile of the districts from which these four feeder schools draw their students shows considerable internal variation in income, housing, occupation and education. (See Table IV in Appendix I). The major actors in the lunch strike reflect these differences in socio-economic background. (See Social and Academic Profiles of Students: Appendix II.)

Types of students

Both black and Puerto Rican students use the black English vernacular (Labov 1972, especially pp. 255-263) in describing themselves and their classmates. Those who hang out in informal peer groups characterize themselves and their co-members as fly, wild or bad and refer to those who do not hang out as punks, faggots or lames. My observations of their use of these terms suggests that the criteria for membership in hangout groups include (1) independence from adults; (2) toughness; (3) readiness to take risks; (4) overt sexuality; (5) verbal skill; (6) athletic ability and (7) ability to entertain and amuse others -- by joking, singing, dancing, wearing flamboyant clothes and the like:

"Here come Cola, the fly one. That girl really know how to rap, dress, dance, kiss and fuck. She cute, sweet, fine, fly first-class!"

"Them niggers out there -- they wild, man, they really wild! Cuttin' class, gittin' high in the bathroom, cussin', fightin', stealin', talkin' 'bout how they been down with so many girls they lost count."

"You seen the dude with all them leathers, 'n alpacas, 'n knits? Forty dollar shoes 'n that shit? He think he baad!"

In contrast punks are "afraid to fight"; faggots "don't make out with girls"; and lames are "all quiet, like, y'know, always down in the book -- they just ain't hip to a lot of things."

"All them mothers in the Honors English class -- punks, faggots 'n lames -- all of 'em!"

"Some people -- like Dihoo, my boyfriend -- act like a lame in school. But get him outside of school -- he different! He don't stay all to hi'self like that."

"A lame? That's someone who wears high-water pants 'n penny loafers -- 'stead of pro-keds or leathers. And always has to do what his mother or the teacher tells him to do."

As Labov (1972:258-9) notes:

"to be a lame means to be outside the central group and its culture; it is a negative characterization does not imply any single set of social characteristics. Some lames can't or won't fight - they are cowards or weaklings; some are 'good' in that they do not steal, smoke, shoot up dope or make out, but others may be just as tough or just as 'bad' as peer-group members; they may merely be distant, going their own ways with their own concerns." (emphasis mine).

From the standpoint of hangout group members, lames are social cripples, whose separation from the hangout group culture may be due to parental influence, or to the individual's own choice or to his or her failure to meet the criteria for membership in the group.

Some hangouts identify with political activism; some belong to millenarian sects; some are primarily concerned with becoming "big-timers" -- rich and well-known athletes and entertainers or pimps, pushers, gamblers and the like. Political activists often wear the red, black and green colors of the black nationalist movement, or the berets and emblems of the

Young Lords party. They greet each other with ritual salutes and sport lapel buttons whose pictures (a raised and clenched fist, or a photograph of a militant her or heroine) reflect their political sympathies. Their heroes and heroines are people like Rap Brown and Angela Davis; their extracurricular reading centers on books about black or Puerto Rican nationalists and on newspapers published by militant groups. They draw red, black and green slogans on the walls of the Annex: Free Angela; Puerto Rican Independence; Power to the People. At Christmastime they decorate the front wall of the auditorium with a towering red, black and green painting of Santa Claus. A Puerto Rican youth's account of his participation in activist groups illustrates the level of political awareness among such students:

"In my project which is Wagner, I'm in this organization, y'know, the Last Prophets. We wanna fix up Wagner, y'know, because Wagner's really - it's a corrupt place, y'know....So we got petitions, y'know, we went from house to house in every building, y'know. 'We are the concerned youths of Wagner projects', we say, y'know. The, uh, co-founders were a whole buncha college students. I found out about it cause I knew one of 'em. But like, before I got to be a Last Prophet I always be goin' down to the Lords, y'know. They all for Puerto Rico bein' a commonwealth. So like, no member of the Lords can belong to another organization, y'know, except like a school organization, y'know. So like when I got to be a Last Prophet, the Lords, they call me, like they criticize me and they tell, uh, 'You a Uncle Tome' an' all of this and all of that. I tell 'em 'Look, y'know, jus' forget about it. I'm willin' to help your people any time, but as a Lord, I'm no more.' An' then uh, they have the Friends of the Lords, y'know, an' that's what I told 'em: 'I'll be a Friend of the Lords.' That's like you don't be a Lord but like you work with 'em, like sellin' newspapers or you go to the church and you help."

Members of millenarian sects undergo an initiation period in which they must change their hairstyles and clothing styles,

submit to religious indoctrination, receive new names and agree to observe certain dietary restrictions and rules concerning relations between the sexes. These are reflected in a black girl's description of her initiation into the Five Percenters¹:

"My brother was, like you know, down with the Five Percenters. They like Muslims, like you know, believe in Allah and this and this. You know, don't eat no pork, you know, believe in what they want to believe. They like in a world to theyself. And so, he had came home one day and he said 'Well, sister, you got the Whitey hair style.' So I looked at him like, y'know, like he was crazy. So he say 'Why don't you get yourself together sister and stop being in the Whitey world. Go back to you own world'. Like that. So I asked him what was he talking about. He said 'Let me show you.'

So he called some girls and they had Afros. Boy they was pretty. They was real pretty! So I said 'Yeah', like that. So he said, 'Now look, you black sister, these is some true black sisters, and all the rest of 'em is black and true, and you know, I want to be proud of my sister - you know a sister like came from the home and everything, the same sister that my mother had birthed - I want to feel proud of her too.'

So I went in there and I washed my hair, but it didn't ain't kink up. It was all curly. So he say, 'You gotta give it time, and you gotta use the stuff on it.' So, you know, he hadda bought the stuff for me and then I had used it, and then from that day on I just stuck to my Afro.

And then, my boyfriend, he Five Percenter and, you know, he brung the whole story down to me. Like when the first black man came here, first black woman, and how they created earth, and don't eat no swine and all like that. And he told me that my name just don't suit as a Five Percenter. Like, you know, they'll say 'Asia'. Maybe, 'Jemel'. Maybe 'Siwana'. And you know, like the boys, they'll have like Armel or you know Ra-Kee, yeah Kusan, you know all Arabian names like that, like you know in the olden days there was people that believe in Allah or Ali. You gotta learn Swahili an' karate.

¹ Although the members either did not know or would not explain its derivation to me, according to a black teacher at the Annex, the name Five Percenters comes from the following expression: "Eighty-five percent of the niggers out there is Uncle Toms; ten percent ain't worth shit; 'n we the five percent that's gonna save the others."

Now a Five Percenter and a Muslim is different. They different. Like, you know, a Muslim is sincere to they woman. You know, a Muslim like Muhammad Ali, he Muslim - like he's sincere to his woman. He not like Sugar Ray 'n them, you know they make they money 'n they go, they have a wife, but you know they be other womens too. Muhammad Ali only got one woman 'n, you know, they believe in them long dresses. Now the Five Percenters is allowed to have, um, seven womans and, um, womans of 'em is only allowed to have one man, and the womans is supposed to be, you know, loyalty to they man, you know devote theyself to they man.

You know, here goes: it's like me 'n Katie, 'n you know my man had just finished having sex with her and I know about it and I'd go right up to Katie 'Hi, how ya feelin?' like that, you know? It couldn't be no violence toward her, because the man is allowed to have seven womans."

Those hangouts whose aim is to become "big-timers" are, as a rule, less concerned than either political activists or millenarists with what Hannerz (1969:177-201) calls the norms of 'mainstream' culture. They tend to have poor academic histories, participate only sporadically in adult-supervised extracurricular activities or community sponsored youth programs, hold only seasonal jobs (just before Christmas, for example) rather than steady part-time jobs and have little interest in or knowledge of how to prepare for mainstream occupations -- other than those involving sports or the entertainment world. As the following conversation reveals, they are very responsive to the style their heroes in the big-timers' world display:

Larry: Peewee went down to that Frazier-Quarry fight and he had a pure mink coat on.

Cowboy: And a cashmere hat...I saw his pitcha in the paper.

Lefty: What kinda coat was it?

Larry: A pure mink coat.

Cowboy: White.

Larry: White. And he had a cashmere hat that looked like
Shiit!

Cowboy: It was a pretty big cashmere hat, too.

Larry: An' it was psychedelic. What made it so bad, it was
psychedelic!

Cowboy: It shined!

Larry: Yeah! Baby oil all over it.

Lefty: Baby oil?

Cowboy: Johnson and Johnson.

Larry: Well, that's the way he dress.

Cowboy: And he got a deep pad, man.

Larry: He got a deep house.

Although a significant minority of students reject mainstream goals, most express ambivalence and alternate between mainstream and hangout group cultures. The records of the latter reveal average to superior academic abilities and achievement; in addition, they hold steady after-school and/or weekend jobs (clerking in stores, medical centers or the post office, delivering groceries, babysitting and so on) or attend adult-supervised community centers where they regularly tutor younger schoolchildren and participate in sports, hobby workshops and vocational training programs. They tend to have relatively clear vocational goals and precise information about how much training is needed to achieve these goals and where to secure such training. Some think of going to college. Their heroes and heroines tend to be their fathers, mothers, older siblings or other adults with whom they have contact and who function in

mainstream roles or occupations. The point to emphasize, however, is that some mainstreamers are sufficiently attracted by the style and behavior of the hangouts to maintain peripheral membership in one or more groups. Others may in fact be lames at heart, but remain fringe members of hangout groups in order to avoid being victimized by core members. As a result hangout groups play an important role in the daily life of the Annex; the structure and the criteria for prestige and leadership within the dominant hangout groups are the focus of the following chapter.

To summarize: the students who enter the Annex in September 1970 begin their freshman year of high school during a period of upheaval in the city's school system. Eighty percent of them come from 4 main feeder schools in East and Central Harlem; although the reading scores of these 4 feeder schools are relatively poor, they all have excellent physical facilities and extracurricular programs in comparison with the Annex. The physical and social inadequacies of the Annex lead most of the students to express resentment against the school and its staff. Moreover, the struggle on the part of members of the city's black and Puerto Rican minorities to decentralize control of the schools, as well as political activism in the wider society, draws the attention of a significant minority of students to the possibility of protest.

CHAPTER THREE

The "Bosses" and the "Lovers": patterns of leadership in informal peer groups.

Between ten and fifteen percent of the students attending the Annex participate in informal peer groups ranging from three or four to fifteen or twenty members of similar age, size, sex, ethnicity and residential background. Students refer to their participation in the activities of such groups as "hangin' out". They seek in such groups what they cannot find elsewhere; namely, a chance to compete for recognition and prestige, escape from onerous academic tasks and adult supervision, and the thrill and zest of participation in common exploits. In short, hangout groups create a society for some students at a period in their lives where none adequate to their needs exists.

Members of hangout groups would prefer not to come to school, but since they are too young to leave school lawfully they make the best of the situation by treating the Annex as if it were their hangout -- a place to keep warm and dry in bad weather, to eat, gossip, flirt, flaunt their new clothes, groom each other's Afro hairdos, play basketball, stage singing and dancing performances, gamble at cards and dice, plan hookey parties, buy, sell and use drugs, drink and have sex. They spend their days roaming the building, dodging the deans, persuading casual acquaintances to lend them money (or stealing, if necessary), sneaking past the policeman to run off to the corner stores for cheap wine or beer or sodas, hiding in bathrooms, rapping in

stairwells, fighting in hallways and endlessly writing their names and nicknames, their declarations of love and war, their hopes, wishes and dreams all over the schoolhouse walls.

Soon after the beginning of the school year, The Bosses with the Hot Sauces and The Lovers, or The Wild Ones -- parallel groups of black boys and girls -- begin to emerge as the dominant hangout groups in the school. My observations of the members' use of these group names suggests that they encompass the following meanings: toughness, virility, independence and the ability to drink and take drugs without becoming addicted or losing self-control.

The Structure of Hangout Groups.

Each of the groups has a core consisting of two or three leading members and a number of rank and file members. Peripheral members form nebulous rings around these cores and, on occasion, form embryonic hangout groups of their own. Core members do not consider peripherals trustworthy but tolerate them for their admiration, applause and occasional usefulness.

The leading members of the Bosses report that they have known each other for years. Sabata, Big-T and Smokey were in their own words "raised up together". They have lived in the same neighborhood for six years and, although they attended different intermediate schools, they continued to meet almost daily after school. Goldfinger and Sabata attended the same intermediate school for four years prior to entering the Annex.

During that time they were team-mates on the school's basketball team. Goldfinger soon began to extend his relationships with Sabata beyond the school; he regularly travelled twenty blocks from his apartment house to the neighborhood where Sabata, Smokey and Big-T hung out together after school. The four youths shared a wide range of information and opinions on life in general; in addition, they teamed up for shoplifting expeditions and for basketball games against other neighborhood hangout groups. The rank and file members -- Lefty, Spider and Cowboy -- have also known each other and at least one of the core members for several years. Lefty and Spider attended the same intermediate school as Big-T and Smokey for four years; Cowboy attended the same school for two years. All five played on the school's basketball team and Big-T and Smokey soon brought the others into their after-school games with Sabata and Goldfinger. Soon after Lefty, Spider and Cowboy began playing basketball with the others, Sabata invented the name Bosses with the Hot Sauces for the group.

Peripheral members -- Brad, Mike, K.D. and K.K. -- were also schoolmates of Goldfinger's and Sabata's for four years before coming to the Annex. They remain peripheral, however, because in one way or another they fail to meet the criteria for core membership in the Bosses. For example, although Brad and Mike make useful allies on shoplifting sprees or during fights with other groups and have proved that they can "boss the sauce" (i.e., drink or take drugs without losing self-

control), neither dresses, raps, dances or plays basketball well enough to qualify for core membership. K.D. and K.K. on the other hand, play good basketball, know how to dance, wear "fly" clothes, and, according to core members "have a pretty good line with girls". However, they are honors' students whose parents or guardians make them concentrate on school-work. In consequence, they hang out only sporadically; furthermore, they tend to avoid fights. For these reasons, core members say that K.D. and K.K. are "down for some things, but not really down."

The concept of down has a wide range of meanings in the Bosses' discourse. Honors' students, for example, are "down in the book"; a flamboyant dresser is "down in the suit"; those whose actions or remarks are seen as attempts to assert superiority or belittle another are publicly "put down" through verbal attacks. To be "down with the Bosses" however, entails showing readiness to put the group's activities ahead of other loyalties or obligations. Core members subject each other to persistent rebukes for failure to conform to this ideal. For example, when Cowboy misses a school dance that the Bosses have arranged his co-members reproach him for his failure to attend throughout the following week, even though they are aware that it was his grandfather's death that kept him away. No matter what one's accomplishments then, core membership in the Bosses demands consistent participation in the group's activities.

The Lovers (or The Wild Ones)

The Lovers are a larger and somewhat less tightly structured group than the Bosses. With one exception, core members of the Lovers -- Jeanne, Jackie, Katie, Julie, Sharon, Sylvia and Rosalee -- have known each other for a number of years. Jackie reports: "I grew up with Julie and Sharon is my cousin. Rosalee went to school with me from the first grade and Sylvia lives in the same block. I know Katie since IS 201" (intermediate school). The exception is Jeanne who enters the Annex knowing none of her classmates. Here is Jeanne's account of how she becomes a member of the Lovers:

"Well, the first day I was a goodie. 'Cause I didn't know nobody. You see I spent a couple of years in Richmond, Virginia. One year with my grandmother and another year with my aunt. But I was bad in Richmond and I couldn't stay for no longer because of my behavior. So I moved up to my brother's house. My grandmother and my aunt, they just said I was gettin' outrageous. And they sent me up with my brother. Well, the first day I was a goodie. Then I met Julie, 'cause Julie's in my home room. And on the third day, I think, I met Jackie down in the yard. And, like Katie, I used to take the train with Katie and then I got to know Katie better."

Jeanne's outstanding good looks and attractive clothes, her talent for singing and her athletic ability make her one of the "flyest" girls at the school; she also proves herself sufficiently "bad" and "wild" to win a large amount of prestige among the Lovers.

The structure and nature of relationships linking members of the Bosses and the Lovers is shown in Figures 3 and 4. (see p.64) The dark lines show relationships of relatively long duration;

the broken lines indicate less longstanding ties; the peripheral position of Brad, Mike, K.D. and K.K. and their counterparts in the Lovers, is apparent.

The exchange content of relationships within each group includes: conversation, joking; team assistance (during basketball games and other sports contests); task assistance (arranging dances and parties and planning shoplifting expeditions); cigarettes; clothing; sleeping accommodations; cash; drugs; personal services (waiting in line to collect others' lunches in the lunchroom, running errands, grooming another's Afro hairdo). The first five of these tend to be reciprocally exchanged; in contrast, the directional flow of clothing, sleeping accommodations, cash and drugs tend to be from leaders to other core members. Personal services, on the other hand, tend to flow from core and peripheral members to leaders (Figures 5 and 6, see pp. 65 and 65a).

Relations between the Bosses and the Lovers include economic and sexual transactions. For example, when Sabata or another core member of the Bosses has drugs to sell, Jackie, Jeanne, Katie or Sharon act as "carriers". Knowing that the Annex policeman cannot search female students, the girls agree to carry the Bosses' "bags" in return for a free share of the drugs. Core members of the Bosses choose a different Lover on each occasion in order to avoid arousing suspicion; they then collect payments from buyers and signal the day's

carrier what amount to distribute. Sometimes these transactions generate fights among and between the Bosses and the Lovers; in addition, competition among members of each group for one another's sexual favors often prompts fights.

Despite the Bosses' emphasis on loyalty and commitment to the group, hangout groups at the Annex tend to be transitory, constantly shifting alliances. Individual members are easily diverted to some new person or group that seems to offer more excitement, or intra- and inter-group fighting weakens solidarity and morale among members. Hangout groups are latent conflict groups, similar in structure and function to urban youth gangs (Miller 1958; Thrasher 1927; Whyte 1955 and Yablonsky 1962). The deans periodically break up those groups whose members arouse adult disapproval by suspending some core members or transferring them to other schools. According to the deans, between one hundred and two hundred students are suspended or transferred each year; however, suspensions rarely last more than a week and transfers (known to the staff as "Fulbrights") tend to be exchanges between schools seeking to discharge students seen as disruptive. As a result, the total and volume of hangout groups does not change significantly with changing personnel. Since the staff withholds formal channels for extracurricular socializing, hangout groups assume an unusual importance at the Annex, creating a segmentary system of social relationships among their members. To pre-

capitate mass action an aspiring leader must succeed in mobilizing support across the boundaries created by such a system. Big Bob, the black youth who mobilized the lunch strike, succeeded in part because he was not too closely identified with any particular segment.

The Bosses' ties to the leader of the lunch strike

Goldfinger, Sabata and Big Bob (who mobilized the lunch strike) have been schoolmates for four years prior to entering the Annex. Originally all three were in the same honors class; eventually Goldfinger and Sabata, indifferent to academic success, slipped into regular classes while Big Bob remained in the honors program. As a result, Sabata and Goldfinger had more occasion to interact with one another than with Big Bob during Classes. Although all three were members of their intermediate school's basketball team for three years, Big Bob's increasing truancy gave Sabata and Goldfinger more opportunity to interact with each other (during practice sessions and in intra-mural competition) than with Big Bob.

Big-T, Lefty, Cowboy and Smokey have seen Big Bob at occasional community-sponsored basketball games during the three years before coming to the Annex. Their exchanges with him are limited to conversation and team assistance during these occasional games.

Spider has known Big Bob for two and a half years before reaching the Annex. They attend a store-front community center where

they talk, joke, share tasks and perform small personal services for each other. However, Big Bob's participation in the center's program is sporadic and Spider does not interact with him as regularly as with Sabata. An important point is that both Sabata and Big Bob treat Spider as a favored 'younger brother'.

The former teaches him shoplifting techniques, coaches him in basketball and karate, encourages his flair for clothes, applauds his dramatic talent and teases him for being timid with girls and reluctant to try drugs. The latter supervises his schoolwork, advises him about girls and sports careers and tries to interest him in political activism.

K.D. and K.K. have been schoolmates of Big Bob's for four years before coming to the Annex. As honors students they have had classroom contact with Big Bob throughout intermediate school; as members of the school's basketball squad they also interacted with him. However, due to Big Bob's poor attendance, K.D. and K.K. in fact interacted more frequently with Sabata and Goldfinger whose attendance was more consistent than Big Bob's.

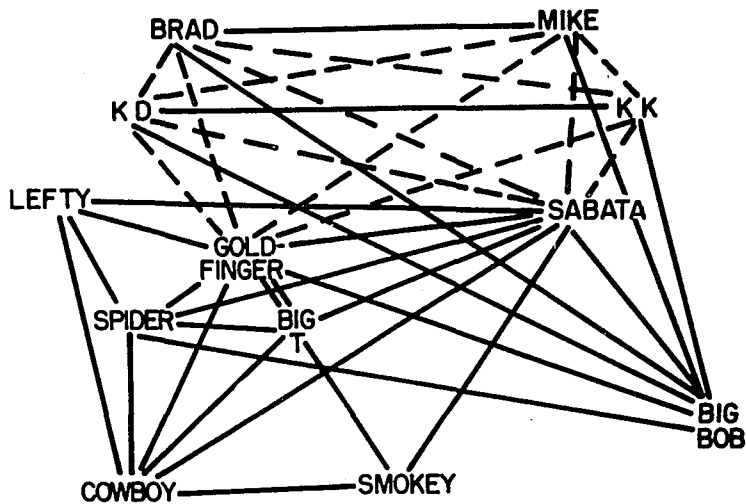


FIG. 3

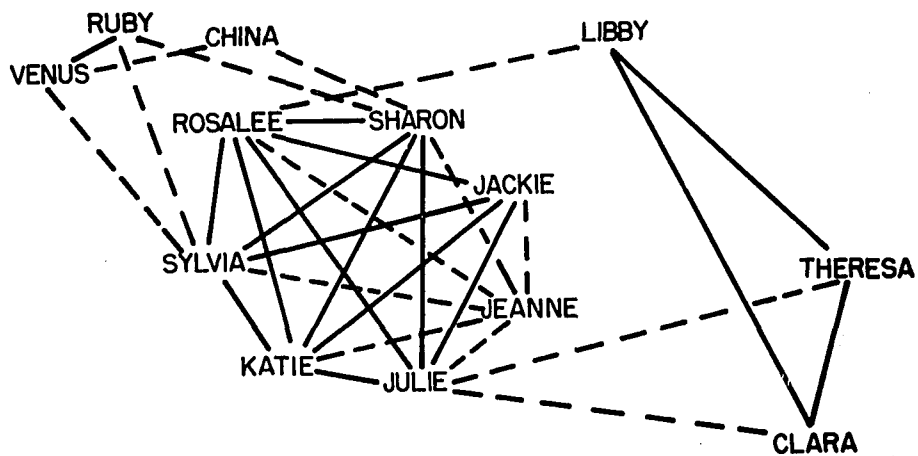


FIG. 4

The structure of linkages among
The Bosses and The Lovers.

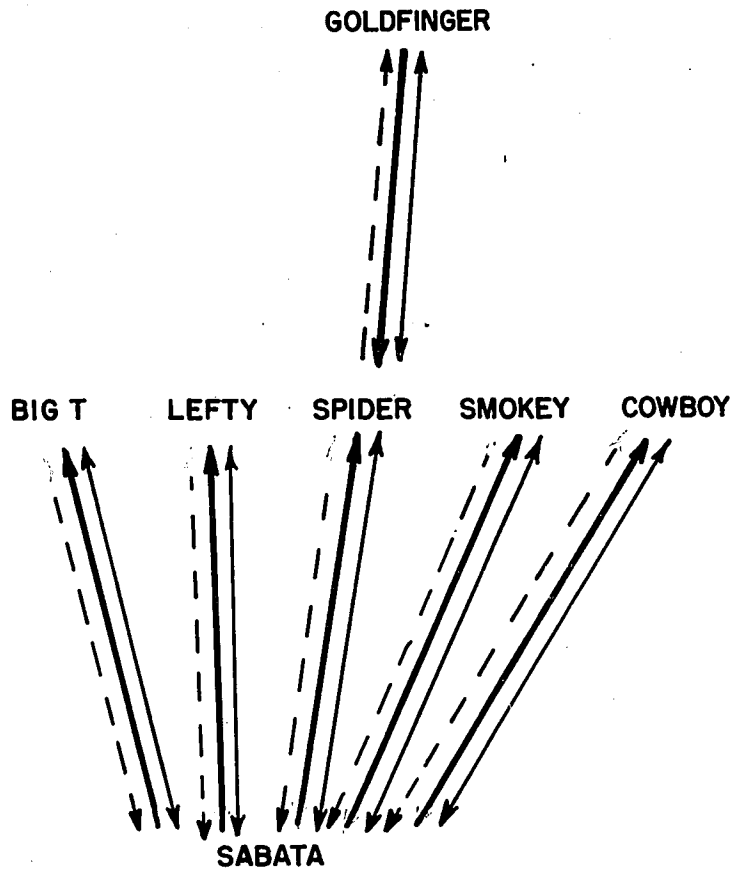


Indicates relationships of 3
to 4 years' duration and 100%
multiplexity.



Indicates relationships of 1
year's duration or less and/or
less than 100% multiplexity.

FIG. 5



Directional flow of exchanges
between leading Bosses and
other core members



Indicates conversation, joking,
team assistance, task assistance.

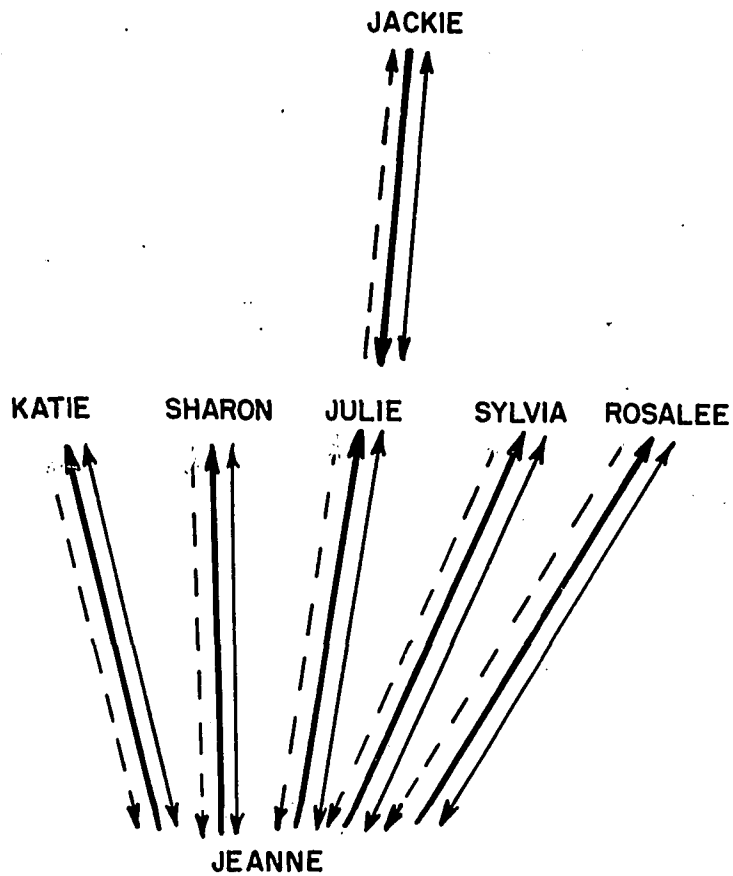


Indicates cash, drugs, clothing,
sleeping accomodations

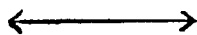


Indicates personal services,
admiration, applause

FIG. 6



Directional flow of exchanges
between leading Lovers and
other core members



Indicates conversation, joking,
team assistance, task assistance



Indicates cash, drugs, clothing,
sleeping accommodations



Indicates personal services,
admiration, applause

The pattern of leadership in hangout groups

Leadership positions tend to circulate among core members of the Bosses and the Lovers: the best talkers, the best athletes, the most experienced gamblers and so, take turns leading the group and coordinating the members' activities when and as the situation demands. Egalitarian norms promote the rapid circulation of leaders in these groups, prompting co-members to reject the notion of leadership:

"There is no leader. We all agree on that; there's no leader whatsoever." (Katie)

"Everybody's got a understandin' with each other. Like, they give a...a opinion. Like, they make a suggestion and if we all agree on that suggestion, we'll do it. But we don't have no leader."
(Jackie)

"My man, Spider, don't take no shit from nobody: it ain't no leader; we jus' all down together."
(Goldfinger)

The egalitarian ideology stems from and reflects factors similar to those described in Jayawardena's (1963) study of Indian laborers on a Guianese plantation. These are: the absence of any organization for the protection of students' interests and their lack of power to make decisions affecting their lives in the school; in addition, the absence of formal channels for the exercise of traditional student leadership increases its importance. Furthermore, a glance at the social structure of the school indicates that this ideology is a

fairly accurate reflection of reality: educational qualifications, age, and socio-economic status mark the students as a distinct status group. This is further emphasized by common residence and subordination to the adults in charge of the school. However, the egalitarian ideology fails to take into account what differences there are among students. As members of the wider society, individual students are motivated toward achieving success, obtaining culturally valued goods and improving their chances for upward mobility; thus use their individual gifts - academic, social, athletic - to implement those goals.

Certain social patterns help to maintain the egalitarian ideology in the face of individual differences in ability and aspiration: the emphasis on sharing and generosity tends to blur economic inequalities among members of hangout groups; drinking and drug parties, during which participants reiterate sentiments of brother-and sisterhood, also reinforce egalitarian ideology and competition for prestige.

Although core members of the Bosses and the Lovers alternate in leadership positions, some members are clearly dominant. Sabata and Jeanne not only initiate action for the groups more often than others, organizing athletic competitions, talent contests, school dances and the like, but also arbitrate most intra- and inter-group disputes. In addition, they serve as mediators between the hangout groups and the staff, mani-

pulating school rules in favor of the Bosses and the Lovers by persuading the deans to give them student monitorships which legitimize cutting several classes daily. (In return, the Bosses and the Lovers act as an informal police force in the school, controlling other hangout groups and assuring the staff of a fairly orderly and predictable daily routine.) In the event of a fight, however, or when the need arises for planning and executing strategy in competitive team sports, Goldfinger and Jackie play leading roles.

The dominant position of the leading members is reflected in the directional flow of exchanges between them and their co-members. Sabata and Jeanne -- and to some extent Goldfinger and Jackie -- provide other members with cigarettes, cash, drugs, clothing, grooming aids and advice and, on occasion, sleeping accommodations. Others tend to initiate conversations with leading members, imitate their clothing and speech mannerisms, and perform personal services for them -- waiting on line in the lunchroom to collect their lunches, for example, or running out to buy cigarettes, soft drinks and snacks. Leading members readily accept such services but avoid accepting money from co-members, preferring to borrow from leaders of parallel Puerto Rican groups if they run short of cash. The directional flow of exchanges among members of the Bosses and the Lovers and between them and the staff is shown in Figures 5 and 6.

My observations of the Bosses' and the Lovers' use of nick-

names (Gutwirth 1973) indicate that naming patterns and modes of reference and address also reflect individual status in a hangout group. Among the Bosses, core members use nicknames that stem from their personal attributes (Spider for a skinny, long-legged youth) or reflect their aspirations (Sabata for a boy who admires the revolutionary hero of the movie Viva Zapata!; Goldfinger for one who admires the ruthless and powerful hero of another movie). Peripheral members, in contrast, are known only by diminutive forms of their first names (Brad and Mike) or use their first and last initials (K.D. and K.K.) as nicknames. Leading members generally select their own nicknames and tend to bestow nicknames on others. Furthermore, rank and file or peripheral members seldom address leading members by their nicknames (although they may privately use them in reference), but call them by their first names (or diminutive versions of these) instead. This asymmetrical mode of address, which reflects the social distance separating leading members from others in the group, corresponds to that which Brown and Ford (1964) have described for American English. The Lovers also have nicknames that reflect personal qualities (Cola for a bubbly, lively girl; China -- pronounced "Cheena" -- for one with slanted eyes; Dusty for a light-complexioned girl); however, these tend to drop out of use when Jackie confers Afro-American names on her co-members and changes the group's name from the Lovers to the Sisters of Black Culture. (A glossary of nicknames used by Annex students appears in Appendix II.)

In sum, although members of the Bosses and the Lovers deny the existence of leaders, two members of each group are clearly dominant. The nature of their relations with co-members and with the staff indicates that the criteria for leadership in these hangout groups include:

1. ability to perpetuate the traditional standoff between hangouts and the staff by securing student monitorships and permission to organize extracurricular activities that not only legitimize cutting several classes daily but also allow the deans to use the leading members of dominant hangout groups to control the others, thereby assuring the staff of a relatively stable daily routine. (See Appendix II for transcription of tape recording showing Sabata and Goldfinger performing their monitorial roles.)

2. ability to arbitrate disputes (See Appendix II for transcriptions of tape recordings of Sabata in the role of arbitrator), provide entertainment by singing, dancing or reciting toasts and the like (See Appendix II for an original play by Jeanne and Sabata's favorite toast), and create opportunities for co-members to compete for prestige (athletic events, talent contests, school dances). In addition, leaders must be able to provide co-members with cash, drugs, clothing and, if the need arises, with sleeping accommodations.

In implementing the aims of their fellow Bosses and Lovers Sabata, Goldfinger, Jeanne and Jackie display certain personal

qualities considered exemplary by members of their social milieu. Sabata easily holds the center of the stage. He comes to school in flamboyant clothes that draw admiring comments from his classmates. One day he wears a leather suit, the next a pair of jeans and a dark grey T-shirt with a big, white rabbit emblazoned on the front. Students and teachers alike tease him about this shirt, remarking on the famous reproductive capacities of rabbits. This, apparently, is just the response Sabata desires. "I don't plant my seed in the same place twice either, man -- or the vines gonna get crossed", he proclaims, proudly passing around photographs of his infant son and daughter with their respective mothers. Soon he has a black and a Puerto Rican "wife" among the Annex girls and these girls become leading members of female hangout groups in the school.

"Wherever Sabata at," says an admiring teacher-aide, "it's gonna be comething goin' on. He always got something up his sleeve." At lunchtime Sabata is master of ceremonies. Sometimes he lifts Moses, a dwarf who is treated with special affection by his classmates, onto his shoulders and begins to dance in the middle of the floor, gracefully, tirelessly -- grinning and winking all the while as if the whole performance is nothing but a grand put-on and that, too, is part of the joke. Singing and clapping groups of onlookers urge Sabata on. At last he swings Moses onto the floor and the audience bursts into applause as the two dance side by side.

When the Bosses play basketball at lunchtime Sabata sometimes withdraws from the game and begins calling the plays from the sidelines. Talking in the fast, clipped style of a sports announcer, he draws much appreciative laughter from the audience. When his team-mates stop to rest between games Sabata presents several of them with mock awards: "For sportsmanship", he announces ceremoniously, thrusting a lightbulb or broom handle on one of the players, adding the recipient's name with a toastmasterly flourish. Soon the Bosses are laughing too much to go on with the game.

Sometimes, on rainy days, when the atmosphere in the lunchroom is particularly tense, Sabata stages mock fights. He and some of the Bosses go up to someone with a fair amount of prestige in the hangout groups and pretend to pummel him. Then, at a given command, they stop and go on to someone else. According to the teachers and teacher-aides who let these play fights continue, they serve to relieve much of the tension resulting from the imposed inactivity of a rainy day.

Sabata wins over the adults in charge of the Annex because he has a highly developed sense of what they will and will not permit. He has no axe to grind with the staff but, rather, accepts the fact that they have to be disarmed if he and his friends are to enjoy themselves. And so he negotiates, cajoles, exhorts, beguiles, charms, appeals, reasons and promises in order to win support from teachers and students.

Jeanne and Jackie are Sabata's counterparts in the Lovers. They share his flair for clothes and his ability to manipulate others. They, too, arbitrate internal disputes and provide co-members of the Lovers with entertainment and excitement -- Jeanne invites a few of the Lovers to audition for a singing group she performs with on weekends; Jackie not only arranges for several co-members to model clothes in her housing project's annual fashion show but also initiates them into the Five Percenters and teaches them about black culture. Jeanne speaks for the group in dealing with the Annex staff, and most of the Lovers' parties take place in her apartment.

The expression and control of aggression in hangout groups.

Goldfinger and Big-T are respected by their co-members as the best athletes in the group. They are also the most likely to engage in random, unpredictable physical aggression. Daily they throw books, rulers, basketballs and other school supplies at each other and at other members of the Bosses. Or they engage in a hand-slapping, shoulder-and-hip-bumping ritual to express admiration for or mutual agreement about an act or remark that one or another of the Bosses has made, and then suddenly veer off into a fight. When staff members are called upon to break up such fights, the combatants usually explain that they are "only playin'". And, indeed, it is difficult for an outsider to gauge the seriousness of these expressions of aggression. For example, although Goldfinger and Big-T normally score several spectacular points during basket-

ball games, they tend to miss when aiming large objects at classmates standing no more than a few feet away. Furthermore, fights between the Bosses always occur before an audience whose members can be counted upon to separate the participants before they can do one another any serious harm.

A similar pattern of aggression emerges among the Lovers: well-coordinated girls, stars on the basketball court, inexplicably miss when throwing objects at nearby human targets; fights generally occur in the presence of an audience and the fighters often assert that they are only "havin' some snaps" or "only playin'".

Public expressions of physical aggression that are clearly aimed to miss their marks belong to the realm of ritual verbal insults (Labov 1972: 327-353) which play an important role among members of black adolescent peer groups. Whether the expression of aggression is verbal or physical, however, individuals tend to "play" only with co-members in order to minimize the dangers involved in accidentally hitting one's target (Labov 1972: 340-343). On the basis of evidence from the autobiographical works of black writers, entertainers and political leaders (Baldwin 1963 ; Brown 1970 ; Gregory 1965; Malcolm X 1965; Poussaint 1967 ; Wright 1969) and from the anthropological literature (Powdermaker 1966 ; Rosenfeld 1971) it is fair to say that the constant exposure to highly controlled, ritualized expressions of aggression is

crucial to the survival of blacks whose lives depend on knowing how to handle themselves in the face of random, unpredictable aggression from certain whites. Among Annex students the continuous control of aggression creates a tremendous degree of tension which tends to find an outlet in fantasy. (See the spontaneous, original writings of students in Appendix II).

The criteria for leadership in hangout groups reflects the members' recognition of the importance of controlling aggression. Although core members report that they must prove themselves in at least one fight, subsequently those who are proficient at repartee and succeed in confining aggression to the verbal level win just as much prestige as those whose actions earn them a reputation for being tough fighters. My observations of the leading Bosses and Lovers suggest that what is even more significant is how both verbal and physical leaders strive to keep "cool" and refrain from letting others goad them into physical aggression. (See Appendix II for a description of an exceptional case that "proves" this rule.)

The Hustler, the Entertainer and the Hard-man; cultural definitions of manhood in the black community.

A consideration of leadership in the case under study here requires close attention to the definition of masculine identity in the black community, its characteristic rituals and expressive roles and the reasoning behind them. Keil (1966) argues that the hustler and the entertainer are ideal types representing two important value orientations for the

lower-class Negro. Both are seen as men who are clever enough and talented enough to be financially well off without working. In this sense, a preacher can be both a hustler and an entertainer in the eyes of his parishioners and the Negro community at large.

Abrahams (1970a; 1970b), Keil (1966) and Kochman (1972) have shown how, in the black community power resides in the spoken word and the oral tradition. Good talkers abound and the best gain power and prestige. Black entertainers are masters of sound, movement, timing and the spoken word and the two black writers who have enjoyed the most acclaim served sound apprenticeships: Ralph Ellison as a musician and James Baldwin as a preacher. The kinship between the two also emerges in Rosenberg's (1970) study of American folk preachers: among his black informants were several individuals who were both professional musicians and preachers.

In contrast to hustlers and entertainers who gain their ends through indirection, manipulating and exploiting people and situations, and operating in terms of verbal persuasions whenever possible, is the hard man who works through violence and direct attack (Abrahams 1970: 87). These contrasting images of masculine identity, known to members of the black community as the "cat" and the "gorilla" are represented in two popular Negro toasts, "The Signifying Monkey and the Lion" and "Stackolee" (Abrahams 1970: 45-47 and 88-90). In the former, as often in real life, the "cat" and the "gorilla"

find themselves in contest with each other to see who can, in Abrahams' phrase, "carry off life in the better style". The Monkey is a cool cat who gains his ends through indirection, relying on his verbal skills to outwit the strong, tough Lion (which is just what "signifying" means).

The bad man, Stackolee, exhibits the quality of being in perpetual conflict; although Stack doesn't have the flexibility or sense of humor of the Signifying Monkey, his abilities with a gun bring him a series of victories.

Abrahams sees the two patterns of style and action represented in these toasts "as alternatives for the man in the street seeking self-respect and a feeling that he is in control of his own life by acquiring symbols of power and position." (Abrahams 1970: 91) He notes that both life patterns are primarily directed inward, "bottled up in the Negro ghetto":

Stackolee kills and rapes other Negroes and the Signifying Monkey directs his wiles against a bully-member of his own "jungle" community; however in his discussion of the white community's reaction to "cats" like Adam Clayton Powell and Cassius Clay, and to the strong-man or bad-man pose of the Black Panthers, Abrahams shows the effect of both patterns on relations between the black community and the wider society.

The monkey is often called a "pimp-monkey": pimp, a laudatory term in the black vernacular, commonly means "sharp" or "beautiful"; the "gorilla" equivalent is "tough" which means

both "good" and "good-looking". The pimp is admired as the epitome of the cat because he not only gets clothes and money by using his wits but does so by exploiting women. Iceberg Slim gives us a pimp's justification for this approach, equating money and style with power: "Everbody in both worlds (white or black), kiss your ass black and blue if you have flash and front." (in Abrahams 1970: 92)

Abrahams emphasizes that although the bad-man solves his problems through physical violence, the cat must decide when style or "flash" is best served through clever docility, verbal persuasion, or convenient brutality. This means that he must be prepared, when he knows another is vulnerable, to become violent even though this may temporarily "blow his cool", the style on which he most commonly relies. It also means that he must be ready to show submissiveness when he knows that he is in a vulnerable position. His great weapon is versatility, a characteristic which the hard-man lacks completely.

PART TWO

The Action

CHAPTER FOUR

The Lunch Strike

Plunkitt: "Have you ever thought what would become of the country if the bosses were put out of business, and their places were taken by a lot of cart-tail orators and college graduates" It would mean chaos."
Plunkitt of Tammany Hall (Riordan 1963: 81).

The 1970-71 school calendar

September 3, Wednesday: Principals, assistant principals, chairmen of departments, teachers of educational and vocational guidance, guidance counselors, secretaries et al report for duty. All newly appointed teachers and permanent substitute teachers newly assigned to their respective schools report for duty-orientation sessions.

September 11, Friday: Teachers et al report for duty. Chancellor's Conference Day. Address of the Chancellor followed by faculty conferences in individual schools.

September 14, Monday: School sessions begin for 1970-71.

October 1 and 2, Thursday and Friday: Rosh Hashonah - schools closed.

October 12, Monday: Columbus Day - schools closed.

November 3, Tuesday: Election Day - schools closed.

November 11, Wednesday: Veteran's Day - schools closed.

November 26, 27 - Thursday and Friday: Thanksgiving Recess

December 24, Thursday through January 1, Friday: Christmas Recess

1971:

January 15, Friday: Martin Luther King's birthday - schools closed.

January 29, Friday: Fall term ends.

February 12, Friday: Lincoln's birthday, schools closed.

February 15, Monday: Washinton's birthday (date set by Congressional and state legislation) - schools closed.

April 9, Friday through April 16, Friday: Spring Recess.

May 31, Monday: Memorial Day, schools closed.

June 30, Wednesday: Last day of school for pupils, teachers and supervisors for 1970-71.

Total number of instructional days in 1970-71: 184.

On the first morning of the new school year a steady stream of black and Puerto Rican boys and girls, ninth graders ranging in age from thirteen to sixteen years, filter down the sedate, tree-lined streets that lead to the Annex of Julian Richman High School in New York City. They have come on subways and buses from the city's ghetto areas to attend a high school located in a predominatly white, upper middle class residential neighborhood. Nearing the schoolhouse they notice an armed black policeman standing guard at the entrance just below the American flag that waves over the front steps. Some greet him; others remain silent, eyeing him furtively or staring straight ahead. No one goes inside.

In his office on the second floor the principal wonders aloud why the new freshmen hesitate to enter the Annex. A teacher suggests that perhaps they are waiting for the customary first bell. "So they want a formal invitation", muses the principal. "Well, this group may turn out to be a little

more civilized than the last. Imagine, they're waiting for an invitation!" He rings the first bell and, at once, students begin filing up the steps and through the front doors.

Inside a pair of paraprofessional teacher-aides direct students to a lunchroom on the ground floor where teachers are distributing program cards and urging students to proceed immediately to their homerooms. No formal opening-day assembly greets the students on their first day of high school and before the end of the day they learn, to their dismay, that the Annex not only lacks adequate facilities for their needs, but also lacks most of the traditional features of school life. There are no athletic teams, no clubs, no school service positions, no student government, no upper-classmen. These are located in the main building which is separated from the Annex by twenty blocks. Teachers emphasize that the Annex is designed to prepare freshman for the demands of a high school curriculum before incorporating them into the life of the parent school and exhort them to concentrate on their studies. Many students express resentment against the Annex and its staff.

At lunchtime on the second day of school a trio of black youths wearing sneakers and blue jeans with matching jackets start a basketball game in the schoolyard. Soon several more players join the game and an admiring audience begins to form. Some of the spectators stand in the doorway

between the yard and the lunchroom, others sit on benches that line the wall on one side of the doorway or perch on empty, overturned milk crates which they haul out from the lunchroom. A few girls look on from the windows of a ground floor bathroom.

Some of the players have names stitched across the backs of their jackets: Sabata, Big T, Goldfinger, Smokey, Spider. After a while the boy named Sabata withdraws to the sidelines and begins calling the plays. His fast-talking sports announcer style brings much appreciative laughter from the audience. Soon a teacher-aide urges players and audience to return to classes. As the aide escorts them through the lunchroom one of the players removes a felt-tipped pen from his pocket and writes the following announcement on the door.

The Bosses with the Hot Sauces

Sabata
Goldfinger
Big T.
Lefty
Smokey
Spider
Cowboy

He draws the last letter of Cowboy's name carefully, in the shape of a lasso.

On the third day of school Sabata asks the guidance counselor if he wants student monitors to supervise the lunchroom.

The guidance counselor's reply is evasive. The next day Sabata asks again and finally at the beginning of the second week, the deans tell him that there will be no student monitors during the first term. The following day some of the students begin discussing plans for a walkout.

On the second Friday of the school year, as the bells ring to signal the end of the third period, two black youths named Brad and Mike begin racing down the hallways of the Annex shouting "Walkout! walkout!" They attract a fairly large number of followers who surge down the stairways shouting, whistling, pushing one another along until they reach the lunchroom where the first of three consecutive lunch periods is in progress.

Carmen, a tiny, fiery Puerto Rican girl waves wildly from atop a table toward the front of the room, urging her classmates to join her on a walkout. Waving back at her, Brad and Mike make their way through the crowd. They climb up beside her and all three appeal to the crowd to walk out. But no one pays much attention until a tall, good-looking black youth comes striding through the lunchroom shouting "Why? What we walkin' out for?"

"Well, replies Carmen, cause we jus' wanna walk out, that's all."

The tall fellow leaps onto the table and turns to the crowd. "If we gonna walk out", he yells, "walk out for somethin' good."

"Like what, Big Bob?", call some students from the other side of the lunchroom.

Well, like...the lunchroom", says Big Bob. "It ain't no good. And the lunch is atrocious!" As he utters the last word, Big Bob hurls his milk carton across the room. Instantly several students imitate his gesture and soon milk cartons, sandwiches, oranges and paper bags are flying in all directions. Some students overturn tables and benches, some roll large garbage bins through the doors of the lunchroom and down the front steps into the street.

"Let's bring the story down to them, brothers and sisters", Big Bob chants from the table. "Put it like this here: the Annex lunch is a hazard to your health."

"Annex lunch a hazard to your health! Annex lunch a hazard to your health!" the students chant in response and, as they take up the chant, Big Bob urges them on.

"I ain't even drink the milk", he announces, "cause I don't think the cow was clean! We gotta get this school together. We gotta get action. I want y'all to come with me." He jumps down from the table and begins making his way through the crowd, quietly asking one student after another if they are with him, ready to stage a walkout to protest the lunch.

Then he pushes open a door leading from the lunchroom to the schoolyard. "We havin' a walkout", he calls out to the Bosses who are playing basketball. "You comin'?"

The game stops as Spider moves to join Big Bob. K.D. and K.K., who are watching the game, get up and follow Spider. At this Sabata speaks up. "You walkin' into jail, man!", he tells Big Bob. His teammates and several girls who are watching the game, laugh and express agreement with Sabata. Big Bob shrugs and turns to go. Spider, K.D. and K.K. go with him. Sabata and the others pretend to go on with their game, but after a moment they too join the crowd in the lunchroom. The students move toward the front doors where the principal and the deans exhort them not to leave the building, warning that those who disobey will be suspended or transferred to other institutions, and threatening to call the police.

The students push and jostle each other until those near the front doors are pushed out onto the steps. At once the crowd rushes out. Students stream down the block, tossing food and lunch bags as they run. Some head for a nearby park; others go home. But the majority are soon hemmed into the street by police and riot-control cars that arrive in response to a summons on the Annex policeman's walkie-talkie radio.

The students mill around while the deans and several policemen pace up and down the block, asking them to return to the Annex and form a committee to meet for discussion with the principal and the deans. Finally Big Bob calls out that he's going back to the lunchroom to organize a grievance committee and draw up a set of demands. Anyone who wants to help, he shouts, should come with him.

The others follow Big Bob to the Annex, mount the steps and reassemble in the gloomy lunchroom where they find him standing on a table in the center of the room, helping Carmen up beside him, yelling to Brad and Mike to get up there with him and calling out that he needs "some black girls, some Puerto Rican girls, some black brothers and some 'Ricans' too," to make up a mixed group for his committee.

"Let's get it together, y'know, a grievance committee. And go upstairs and talk...to the deans. If this works the sky's the limit! We could have this whole school disrupted! In less time!"

The crowd grows excited and several students raise their hands to indicate that they wish to join the committee.

"You two", he points to Nancy and Lily, two attractive Puerto Rican girls, "and you over there...Foxye! I want y'all to come with me. Will you come?"

The black girl he calls Foxye, noticeably heavier than most of

of the girls in the school but pretty in her Afro hairdo and round eyeglasses, smiles and says "I'm game. I'll go."

Nancy and Lily glance at each other for a moment, then Lily nods slightly and they both move toward Big Bob's table.

Big Bob jumps down from the table, grabs Foxie's hand and begins leading her out of the room, followed by the others he has chosen and by Brad, Mike and Carmen.

Then he remembers that he has no Puerto Rican boy and turns around to call Angel, who is wearing a beret with a Puerto Rican Independence button on it and a windbreaker with the Young Lords' emblem on the shoulder. Angel joins them and they go off to the deans' offices. There a junior-year-student whom the deans have summoned from the main building tries to dissuade Big Bob from persisting in the strike. The deans leave the room and the junior begins telling Big Bob that it is too early in the year to stage a walkout, that it isn't right to disrupt things, that he ought to give it a chance. Big Bob simply stares at him and the older boy moves a bit uneasily in his chair. Then he admits that he and some of his boys tried the same tactic two years ago, but got nowhere because the Annex had too many problems.

Big Bob interrupts him: "Well, if you tried it and didn't succeed, why can't we try it and make it succeed??" Then he instructs his committee members to draw up a list of demands for the deans who are waiting in a classroom down the

hall. Before long the junior begins helping them compose the list.

Their first demand is for a hot lunch daily. Then for a jukebox or record player for the lunchroom. Then, better gym facilities, permission to smoke, and other similar suggestions follow. Big Bob reviews the suggestions and asks Nancy, Lily, Carmen or Angel how to phrase them in Spanish. He tries to imitate them, laughs at his mistaken pronunciations, invites Brad, Mike and Foxie to try speaking Spanish and laughs at them too. The Puerto Rican students enjoy the performance.

When the committee presents its list of demands the deans insist that a hot lunch is out of the question as it would require installation of alternating electrical current at a price which the Board of Education considers exorbitant. Big Bob suggests that maybe some of the neighborhood residents would be willing to contribute the money. He is ready to start canvassing the community to raise funds. Or they could invite the mayor to come for lunch: "Let the mayor taste the Annex lunch and see the school for himself. I bet the mayor will rehabilitate the school or close it, one or the other."

The deans do not reply to these suggestions at once. After a few moments one of them offers several alternatives: He can introduce Big Bob and the committee to the district Assemblyman, or even the state Senator, whose headquarters are in a nearby storefront. They can show the students how to campaign for changes at the Annex. Or he can arrange for Big Bob

to attend a session of the local Community Action Council. He will try to set up a meeting with the director of the school lunch program. He will take Big Bob along to the next meeting of the Consultative Council at the main building during the following week. He will lend his own phonograph to the committee and even supply a transformer for the electrical current so that students can play records during lunch periods. Big Bob and his committee should form a squad to supervise the lunchroom; he will provide monitors' badges for them to wear. He will ask the Principal this afternoon, at the teachers' meeting, about the possibility of smoking in the courtyard.

"I'm all for you", the dean tells the committee, "and you can count on Mr. Jones (the other dean) and me to help you. I'm glad to see a group of students who are willing to work at improving things, instead of complaining all the time. Now, I've got a lot of ideas, but you've got to work to carry them out."

Big Bob is elated. The committee members talk animatedly among themselves. The deans get up, shake hands with Big Bob and ask him to go down to the lunchroom and tell the other students that everything is under control and they should return to classes for the rest of the day. It is a little over an hour since the walkout began.

The committee members start to leave for the lunchroom but Big Bob tells them to wait a minute. He has a better idea,

he says. Why not spend the rest of the day going from class to class, to rap with small groups of students so as to get everyone's ideas and get everyone involved. The deans quickly agree with this plan and urge Big Bob out of the room and downstairs to the lunchroom.

Striding into the lunchroom, Big Bob leaps onto the front table, clasps his hands triumphantly over his head and shouts "We've got it! We've got it! The school is ours!" The crowd cheers - several people perform little dances and ritual handshakes.

"Bullshit!", shouts one of the Bosses from the back of the room.

"The school ain't ours", Sabata adds in perfect imitation of Big Bob's intonation.

"You talkin' a whole buncha crap", puts in another boy from the same group.

"Garbage", offers still another. "We knew we shoulda went up there ouse'f."

"We knew we shouldna let you go up there", declares Sabata and his pals concur.

Big Bob pays no attention to them. "We gonna get action", he reassures the crowd. "Me and my committee will be comin' to all y'all classes this afternoon, startin' right now, to

rap with y'all and see how to get our school together. Get to class now, so we can start, hear?" And they all go, even Sabata and Larry and the others who have tried to undermine Big Bob's success.

The Monday after the walkout the deans send Big Bob and his committee to discuss their aims for the Annex with members of the P.T.A. and representatives of the Community Action Council.

In his absence small bands of students roam the school, breaking windows, stealing, strewing leftover food in hallways, setting fires on stairwells, spraying containers of the chemical mace into classrooms. The deans, in an effort to calm the situation, lend the students a record player and a transformer for the electrical current to set up in the lunchroom and Big Bob delegates Angel and Foxie to supervise the equipment and keep students from prolonging their lunch periods. However, while Big Bob attends meetings outside the Annex, Sabata seizes his chance to compete for the leadership position. He convinces the deans that they need more monitors to supervise the lunchroom and the deans, fearing that a direct authoritarian approach is bound to fail, give Sabata a set of monitors' badges and make him head of an official school-service committee. He gives badges to Foxie and Angel and distributes the rest to core members of the Bosses and the Lovers. Together, they take over the lunchroom and transform it into a dance hall.

Big Bob outlines another plan to his committee:

"I figure ain't nothin gonna happen unless we can make it happen...by doin' it on our own. So we gotta get it together. Say, we gonna make some posters. We gonna picket the mayor!"

The girls on the grievance committee make posters saying "We need better lunches", "No more peanut butter" and the like and, on the Tuesday after the lunch strike the committee members and several peripheral members of hangout groups at the Annex picket in front of the Mayor's house. Their demonstration is televised on the evening news and on Wednesday morning one of the mayor's assistants visits the Annex. Big Bob shows him around the school.

On Monday, October 28th Big Bob spends the morning at a meeting with the district assemblyman; in the afternoon he brings the assemblyman to see the Annex and then leads several members of the grievance committee, as well as K.D., K.K., Spider and some peripheral members of the Lovers, into the streets to enlist the support of local residents for his campaign to improve the Annex. To his surprise he finds sympathizers:

"All through the school they told me that these people did not like us, y'know, when we were coming outside...and they were afraid, y'know. And like when I brought it towards them like, when I went across the street and I said 'Good Afternoon. How are you' and they said 'Fine,' they were very polite, y'know. Bein' like it was in the summertime, I mean, it was warm, y'know...they'd be, y'know, in the window, or takin' out garbage. I said 'I go to school across the street, and like I want to talk to you for a while...about our school.' They asked, 'Well, what is it?' I told them, I said, 'As you might know

or heard, y'know, we're tryin' to fix up our school, and how do you feel about it?' And they said, 'Well, it's a great idea...to see, y'know the young people that are goin' to the school try...tryin' to put the embetterment towards it!' And that it was a good idea, and that if they needed the support of the community that at least this person I was talkin' to would give it. Y'know, the support."

On Tuesday, October 6th, Big Bob visits the director of the school lunch program and then reports to his classmates in the lunchroom:

"We went to a meeting at the board of lunches and we got a little cooperation from them, but it didn't seem like they wanted to give us very much. So they told us that they couldn't get the y'know, hot lunch-room right away. But they'd give us a substitute. They'd give us hero sandwiches until they got the hot lunch!"

The crowd cheers. Big Bob is clearly King of the Annex. He waits for the shouting to stop and then continues:

"I told 'em if they don't get the heros here by a certain time - October fifteenth is the deadline - we'll walk out again - this time for good!"

The following day Big Bob and Goldfinger have a fight. It begins in the gymnasium and ends with both contestants bloody and crying with rage, in the hallway. They tell the deans they fought over a girl and emphasize their respect for each other by repeating that they "fought as friends". But an informant who has seen the fight from the beginning has this to say:

"Goldfinger told Big Bob that the teachers sayin' he won't stop picketing and carrying on and, you know, holding meetings and all like that, until he gonna get everyone in the school a Y.D.card¹. And so Bobby didn't

¹The expression "Y.D.card" refers to a Youth Delinquent record that police were then keeping on minors whose misdemeanors came to official attention.

even answer him. And then Goldfinger said he was only doing it to show off for 'some girls. And then Bobby turned around and hit him and the fight was on."

On his way home from school that afternoon Big Bob gets into a fight with a budriver who asks to see his bus pass. Several students who have seen both fights express surprise and disappointment: "Black people shouldn't always be fighting like that." "If Bobby was all that ready to fight he should have stayed where he belonged 'cause he knows he and Goldfinger can't beat each other." "Bobby act like he think he startin' the revolution."

Big Bob fails to return the following day and the next week, after a brief visit to the principal's office, he disappears again. Rumors about his departure abound. Foxie's remarks echo those of many students:

"Some people told me that...he was in jail. Some people said he got shot. Some people say he was in the hospital. Lot of different stories. I think he's in some type of trouble to tell you the truth."

The paraprofessional aides, however, are convinced that Big Bob has gone on to other schools to organize similar walkouts. They feel that he was trained by outside agitators to disrupt the schools. The fact that he had helpers who disappeared from the Annex right after the walkout is further evidence, to the aides, that Big Bob was sent by an activist organization. They reject the suggestion that the so-called helpers might have been older students from the parent school, summoned by the Principal to dissuade Big Bob from pressing his

demands, and that they had simply returned to the main building when the walkout ended. Several aides also suspect that Big Bob had been taking drugs just before launching the walkout. How else, they ask could he have found the courage to "step right out in front, where he could be seen? He looked wild that morning, just like someone on drugs." The principal, deans and veteran teachers, on the other hand, explain Big Bob's departure by citing his record of the past three years which not only reveals marked intellectual gifts and academic achievements, but also continuous behavioral problems and increasing truancy.

Big Bob gives the following account of his decision to abandon the Annex:

"One night I had just come home from work and I was sitting around looking at T.V....and somebody knocked on the door so I got up and answered it. And it was a policeman...it was two policemen and a detective. So they said, 'Are you Bobby M.?' I say, 'Yeah'. So my grandmother came to the door and say, 'What is it?' They say, 'Well, we have a warrant for your arrest.' I say, 'For what?' 'Tryin to start a riot.' I say, 'How did I try to incite a riot? By doin' what?'

So, one of them said 'For stagin' a protest, for stagin' a walkout and this, that and the other thing.'

Well, I told my grandmother, I said, 'Don't worry.... everything be all right.'

They took me downtown and they questioned me for about three or four hours. I was by myself, sittin' there, bein' cool. They put me through one of them Dragnet things:

'You want a cigarette?'

'No, thank you.'

They told me, they said, ah....'When you were startin' this riot, this so-called, y'know, sit-in, were there

any fights or anything?' I said 'No.' 'Were there chairs thrown?' I said, 'Some of the kids did throw chairs, but not in order to hurt anybody, and after they threw 'em, they picked 'em right up.'

And they quest....you know, they really talk a lot of garbage to me. So I told them...I said....'Listen, y'all are tryin' to do something against me which I did not do. And this is purely ridiculous, cause all I'm trying to do is to endure the betterment of the school.'

I said to them, 'If I din't want the education that you people are trying to give me, I wouldn't be fightin' for the betterment of our school. I'd just say the hell with it. And wouldn't never come back to school.'

So they just had to let me go. I came back and I found out from Goldfinger that there were certain members of the staff in the school who did not like what I was puttin' down. And were doing many things to get me in trouble. So I say, if I was to get in trouble then everybody connected with what we was doin' was bound to get trouble. So I just applied for a transfer....and when they didn't want to give it to me, I just up and left.

Now, from my point of view, the whole thing....y'know.... really....I wasn't no President, I wasn't no organizer, I wasn't no Chairman of the Board. We wuz just....everybody doin' they own thing. And from everybody doin' they own thing, we got partly what we wanted. We don't have the full results yet but we got part of what we wanted.

But I don't think I'd get involved any more, in anything like this anymore. Not that it....y'know....it wasn't interesting, y'know....it was quite interesting, to see how certain people, y'know, certain people...say certain members of the Board of Education, and certain, y'know, important people....in the school....reacted towards us and what we were doing...."

After Big Bob's departure Sabata and the Bosses take charge of the volatile situation at the Annex. At first they let Big Bob's committee members assist them with various tasks, such as monitoring the lunchroom and arranging a school dance. But, within a few weeks the committee members quietly disperse. Brad and Mike return to the fringes of Sabata's

hangout group; Foxie returns to classes; Lily becomes editor of the Annex newspaper; Nancy's parents eventually send her to school in Puerto Rico; Carmen's attendance falls off and finally, she, too, drops out of school; Angel stays until the end of the first term - during which time he and Big-T have a fight (See Appendix III) - and then goes to an experimental school in East Harlem that he hears about from an official who has attended one of the meetings with Big Bob and his committee.

Although the deans are aware that the Bosses and the Lovers cut classes and flouted school rules in other ways, they feel that the situation at the Annex as a whole is so volatile that a direct, authoritarian approach is bound to fail. It will require some weeks of persuasion and diplomacy, in the dean's view, to get the students into a normal routine. In the meantime, one of the deans is called away to jury duty and the other relies on Sabata, Goldfinger, Jeanne and Jackie to help him control the Bosses, the Lovers and members of other hangout groups in the school.

CHAPTER FIVE

Analysis

As indicated in the introduction, the present analysis of the emergence and replacement of informal leaders among students in an urban American high school addresses the following questions: (1) what preconditions create favorable breeding grounds for the emergence of an informal student leader; (2) what prompts certain students, and not certain others, to try to launch a walkout; (3) why does Big Bob, and not certain other students, succeed in mobilizing the walkout; (4) what factors condition variations in the amount and nature of support that others in the situation, who are influential for its outcome, give Big Bob; (5) why does Big Bob get into fights with Goldfinger and a bus driver and then leave the Annex; (6) why does Sabata, and not certain other students, become Big Bob's successor; and, finally, (7) what changes, if any, does Big Bob's performance bring to the Annex or to the system of which it is a part?

The analysis begins with a review of the timetable of events involved in the lunch strike:

First Week

September 14, Monday: Opening Day. Students express disappointment in Annex.

September 15, Tuesday: Students' complaints increase.

September 16, Wednesday: Sabata requests student monitorships. Guidance counselor evasive.

September 17, Thursday: Sabata again requests monitorships. Deans evasive.

September 18, Friday: Brad, Mike and Carmen begin to discuss possibility of a walkout.

Second Week

September 21, Monday: Sabata makes third attempt to get monitorships. Deans announce that staff has decided to do without student monitors until the spring term.

September 22, Tuesday: Brad, Mike and Carmen begin planning walkout for the following Friday.

September 23 and 24, Wednesday and Thursday: Brad, Mike and Carmen spread the word of forthcoming walkout to protest conditions at the Annex.

September 25, Friday: Big Bob launches THE LUNCH STRIKE

Third Week

September 28, Monday: Big Bob and grievance committee members attend meetings at main building. Vandalism in the the Annex.

September 29, Tuesday: Deans provide record-player and transformer for electrical current in the lunchroom. Big Bob appoints Foxie to supervise the lunch music. He and other supporters picket at the mayor's house.

September 30, Wednesday: Sabata begins to compete for leadership by slowly taking over in the lunchroom. Big Bob shows mayor's assistant around the Annex.

October 1 and 2, Thursday and Friday: School closed for Rosh Hashonah

Fourth Week

October 5, Monday: Big Bob and some committee members meet with district Assemblyman and then canvas neighborhood, asking for support for their goals in the school.

October 6, Tuesday: Big Bob and grievance committee meet with director of school lunch program. When they return to the Annex Big Bob reports to students in lunchroom, threatening to stage a second walkout unless improved lunches arrive on the promised date. Later, policeman come to Big Bob's apartment and take him to local precinct for questioning.

October 7, Wednesday: Big Bob and Goldfinger fight. Big Bob fights with busdriver on the way home from school.

October 8, Thursday: Big Bob absent. Deans give Sabata badges for lunchroom monitors to wear. Sabata distributes badges among members of grievance committee and Bosses.

October 9, Friday: Big Bob absent again. Bosses begin to dominate lunchroom. Grievance committee begins to dissolve.

Fifth Week

October 12, Monday: School closed. Columbus Day.

October 13, Tuesday: Big Bob returns to Annex to request transfer to main building. Principal refuses.

October 14, Wednesday: Big Bob absent.

October 15, Thursday: Big Bob returns and again requests transfer to main building. Receives transfer to newly-organized mini-school program, sponsored by parent school but located in neighborhood community center.

October 16, Friday: Bosses begin planning school dance for end of month.

From October 18th until the Thanksgiving Recess: Big Bob attends mini-school sporadically; finally drops out.

(1) What preconditions create favorable breeding grounds for the emergence of an informal student leader?

The first of these questions lends itself profitably to an analytic framework based on Weber's typology of charismatic leadership (Dekmejian and Wyzsomirski 1972; Singham 1969). According to this framework, several interreacting factors create favorable preconditions for the emergence of a student

leader of Weber's charismatic type. These include: (a) a situation of acute social crisis; (b) the presence of a leader whose personal qualities are considered exemplary by members of his particular social milieu and who, according to more universal criteria, is a 'marginal' member of his society -- a revolutionary, inclined to take major risks; (c) the leader's performance and its concomitant message initiate the charismatic relationship by expressing the deeply felt needs and expectations of members of the crisis torn society and by drawing other 'marginals' who become the core of his movement; (d) the leader seizes and/or creates further opportunities to perform and propagate his message, thereby enlarging his following; and (e) at the culmination of the charismatic 'cycle', the spiritual bond engendered by the leader's message effects a transformation of his followers' value systems which enables him to build the foundations of a new order.

The situation at the Annex contains four of the five factors outlined in the foregoing developmental framework.

a. A social crisis

Demographic and political factors in the wider society prompt members of the city's black and Puerto Rican minority groups to wage an ongoing struggle for community-control of the city's schools. In response, members of the citywide teachers' union, fearing that their jobs are threatened by the demand for decentralized control of the schools, launch a series of prolonged and bitter strikes. The students' exposure to

these related actions alerts them to the possibilities of protest; in some instances, their awareness is heightened by the media's reports of protest in other sectors of the society (university campuses, urban ghettos, prisons, the armed forces).

Nearly 80% of the students entering the Annex have recently graduated from four junior high-intermediate schools whose physical facilities and extracurricular programs are vastly superior to those of the Annex (see Chart V in Appendix I). In fact, the staff's decision to curtail traditional extracurricular activities, in the hope of improving discipline, creates a social vacuum in the school. The school's glaring inadequacies disappoint the expectations of all the students; for those whose adaptation to school rests primarily on masking the problems caused by inadequate reading skills through participation in extracurricular activities (see the social and academic profiles of Brad, Mike, Carmen and several more of the major actors in the lunch strike in Appendix III), the lack of such activities creates a serious social crisis. The average scores of students who were in their final year at three of the four main feeder schools during 1969-70 (see Chart V in Appendix I) shows that the reading abilities of the average Annex student are two years below grade level.

b. An exemplary personage

Big Bob's first lunchroom performance shows that he possesses personal qualities considered exemplary by members of his

particular social milieu: his ability to project his voice, the rhythm and timing of his speech, his talent for evoking audience response through humor ("I ain't even drink the milk, 'cause I didn't think the cow was clean!") and alliteration ("The Annex lunch is a hazard to your health."), his preacher-like manner of addressing the crowd as "brothers and sisters" typify the man of words -- the hustler or entertainer whose ability to manipulate and control others through the exercise of verbal skills wins him admiration and prestige among those who share the predominant values of black culture.

Big Bob's social and academic profile (See Appendix II) shows that he also meets part of the more universal criteria according to which the holder of charisma is a 'marginal' members of his society, and a revolutionary who is inclined to take major risks. Big Bob is a loner with an unstable family history. His school records show that, despite his intellectual and athletic achievements he has a high rate of truancy. Although these data indicate that he finds school frustrating and possesses both the talent and the social marginality of a potential charismatic leader, his reaction to his encounter with the police suggests that he was not in fact fully aware of the risks involved in staging a student strike. However, it is worth noting that, in the eyes of the teacher-aides Big Bob showed unusual courage by "stepping out in front where he could be seen". Furthermore, both they and the students explained Big Bob's abrupt departure from the Annex in terms that parallel

the myths that partners in a charismatic relationship typically create about absent leaders (see Burrige 1960).

c. Performance-message

Big Bob's performance and its concomitant message express the needs and expectations of his fellow students: First, he hurls his milk carton across the lunchroom, inviting his classmates to release their pent-up frustrations and resentment in a manner that symbolizes their rejection of the school's rules and signals the beginning of a transitional period of no rules. Second, after the grievance committee meets with the staff, he returns to the lunchroom bringing a message -- "The school is ours!" -- that clearly echoes the black and Puerto Rican cry for community-control.

Big Bob's performance draws other 'marginals' who become the core of his movement: Brad, Mike and Carmen are all academically and socially marginal; Foxie, Nancy and Lily find themselves in a marginal position at the Annex -- Foxie has never before attended a public school and hardly knows what to expect, while Nancy and Lily are socially adrift because there is no way for them to establish their usual ties to one or another of the teachers (see Appendix II: 140-146) Angel appears secure in both social and academic spheres, but his sensitivity to what he sees as the inferior position of Puerto Rican students vis-a-vis blacks (see Appendix II: 140-141) suggests that he too feels himself marginal, at least in the sense that he considers black students dominate the school

and prevent Puerto Rican students from exercising any autonomy in the expressive realm of extracurricular activities. This interpretation is supported by the gratified responses of all three Puerto Rican members of the grievance committee when Big Bob makes self-mocking efforts to speak Spanish and then leads the other black members to reveal their linguistic incompetence by insisting that each of them try to repeat the committee's list of demands in Spanish.

d. Opportunities to perform and propagate the message

Big Bob creates several additional opportunities to perform and propagate his message, apparently enlarging his support in the process. He attends a series of meetings with members of the parent school's Consultative Council and with local political representatives; he leads a demonstration at the mayor's residence; he conducts a door-to-door campaign among members of the community surrounding the Annex. In each case he gains attention and promises of support. Finally, he stages a second, triumphant performance in the lunchroom during which he tells his followers that (1) he has succeeded in getting the director of the school lunch program to agree to provide Annex students with a more palatable lunch; (2) he has threatened to launch another walkout if the new lunches fail to arrive on the promised date. The crowd's enthusiastic response indicates that Big Bob is now at the height of his reign. A few days later he suddenly abandons his struggle and drops out of school. The problem of his abrupt departure will be considered below, in the course of dealing with the remaining questions posed at the beginning of this chapter.

Several of the questions listed at the beginning of this chapter center on variation in the behavior of some of the major actors in the lunch strike and its outcome; such questions lend themselves to an approach that interprets individual behavior in terms of the ties linking an identifiable set of persons (Mitchell 1969). The central concept in such an approach is that of a social network.

2. What prompts certain students, and not certain others, to try to launch a walkout?

The timetable of events preceding the walkout (see pages 92 and 93) indicates that it is only after Sabata's third unsuccessful attempt to secure student monitorships that Brad, Mike and Carmen try to launch a walkout. What prompts them is the desire to maintain an adaptation to school which rests on substituting school service for academic progress: the junior high-intermediate school records of these three students, whose reading scores are two or more years below grade level, and the comments of some of their former teachers indicate that the teachers tacitly condoned the perpetuation of such an adaptation to academic failure.

However, the same may be said of other students (Cowboy, for example, or Smokey, Lefty, Jackie, Julia, Katie) who nevertheless appear indifferent or hostile to the walkout. The reasons for this variation in behavior lie in the nature of the ties linking each of these individuals to one another and to others in the situation. Brad and Mike are peripheral members of the Bosses; Carmen, a peripheral member of another hangout group. Unlike core members of hangout groups (Cowboy,

Smokey, Lefty, Jackie, Julia, Katie), whose social investment in each other and in leading members of their respective groups is much greater, peripheral members can afford to try launching a walkout (and take the attendant risks of failure) without jeopardizing their prestige and standing among their peers. In fact, by showing themselves ready to take such risks they create an opportunity to enhance their standing in the hangout group.

3. Why does Big Bob, and not certain other students, succeed in mobilizing the walkout?

Big Bob is neither a lame nor a member of a hangout group but, rather, a gifted loner who is not as closely identified with any particular group as are Brad, Mike and Carmen. Furthermore, in articulating his classmates' grievances (which neither Brad, Mike nor Carmen succeed in doing) he focuses on the poor quality of the school lunch, an issue that does not directly threaten the staff's authority in the school. This enables Big Bob to offer students in every social category an appropriate banner under which they may act without necessarily revealing the underlying reasons for their actions. Finally, by making a fairly harmless gesture which nevertheless conveys an impression of violence he precipitates the walkout: he throws a milk carton, which immediately evokes action from students among whom a milk fight may best be seen as an example of the tendency to express aggression in controlled and often ritualized forms.

4. What factors condition variations in the amount and nature of support or opposition that others in the situation give Big Bob?

The structure and nature of the ties linking others in the situation to Big Bob, Sabata, one another or members of the staff condition variations in the amount and nature of support or opposition given Big Bob.

Sabata opposes Big Bob because the latter's emergence threatens the relationship that Sabata has been trying to create with the deans. Moreover, Sabata undoubtedly realizes that overt, public opposition to the walkout may in fact win favorable attention from the deans, thereby hastening his chances of acquiring the monitorships that allow the Bosses to cut several classes daily in return for keeping a modicum of order in the school. Since their ties to Sabata and to one another outweigh their ties to Big Bob, core members of the Bosses and the Lovers also oppose the latter. Only Spider, who enjoys a special relationship to the other core members of the Bosses and equally strong ties to Sabata and Big Bob, divides his support between the rival leaders. A point worth noting is that although core members of the Bosses and the Lovers try to undermine Big Bob with words, they nevertheless participate in the walkout. This is probably due in part to their desire to share in the excitement, and in part to the hope that heavy participation in the walkout will prompt the staff to restore traditional opportunities for students wishing to exercise some measure of control over their lives in the school.

Peripheral members of the Bosses, who have equally strong ties to Sabata and Big Bob and relatively weak ties to core mem-

bers of the Bosses, also divide their support between the competitors.

The deans, whose main concern is to protect their relationships to superiors in the educational hierarchy and to members of the surrounding community, feign support for Big Bob when that seems the most expedient way of keeping students under control and switch to Sabata when that course promises to restore order in the school.

5. Why does Big Bob start fights with Goldfinger and a bus-driver and then abruptly leave the Annex?

Big Bob starts a fight with Goldfinger because Goldfinger's reference to students getting in trouble with the police, coming as it does on the day after Big Bob's encounter with the police, so disturbs the latter that he loses his "cool". Instead of countering Goldfinger's remark with a verbal "put-down", which would have been the appropriate response, Big Bob, lapses into physical violence. The negative comments of students who are on hand during the fight suggest that in a verbal leader of Big Bob's type, a lapse of this kind signals the deterioration of leadership.

Frustrated by the realization that he faces overwhelming opposition, and still shaken by his encounter with the police, Big Bob lashes out at the busdriver who asks to see his bus pass.

Then, sensing that he has severely damaged his claim to leadership in the eyes of students who have seen one or

another of these fights, and knowing that Sabata will make the most of it, Big Bob decides to quit the Annex.

6. Why does Sabata, and not certain other students, become Big Bob's successor?

Sabata succeeds Big Bob because (a) after Big Bob leaves the scene, the weakly linked members of the grievance committee disperse, leaving the field to the more strongly linked members of the Bosses and the Lovers and (b) the range, span and multiplexity of Sabata's ties to others in the school are greater than those of his potential rivals on the grievance committee or in the dominant hangout groups (see Figures 7 and 8).

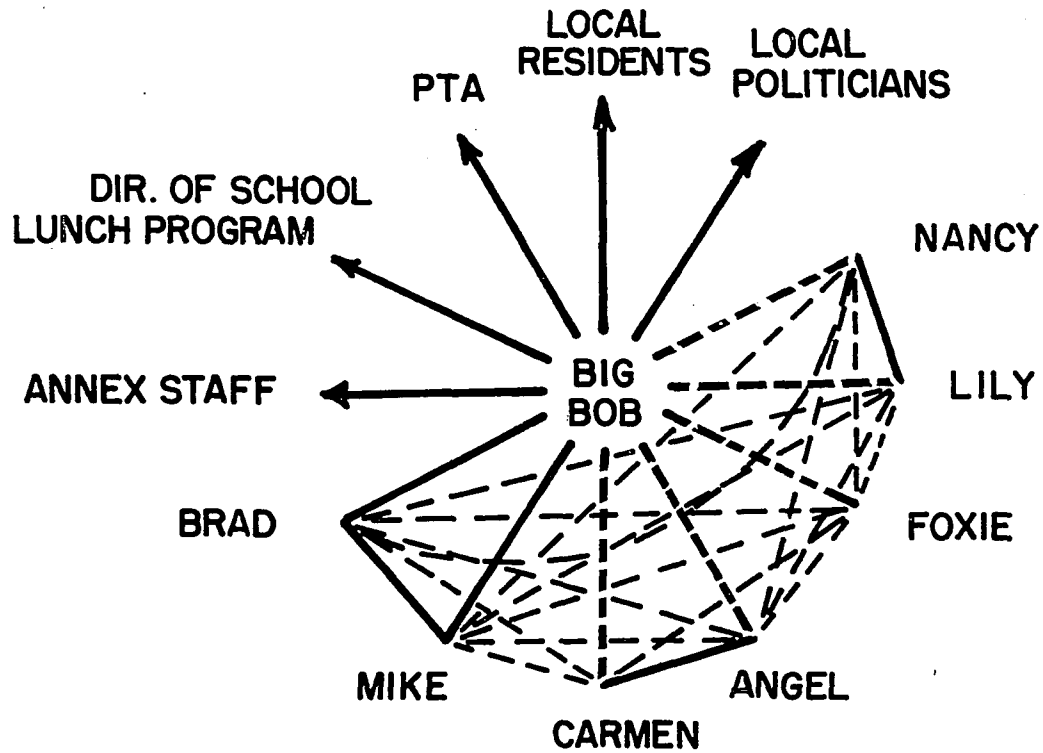
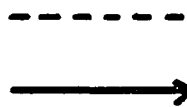


FIG. 7

Big Bob's Network

Indicates relationship of 3 to 4 years' duration prior to entering the Annex



Indicates relationship formed since entering the Annex

Indicates direction of Big Bob's attempts to mobilize support among adults in the Annex, the educational bureaucracy and the surrounding community

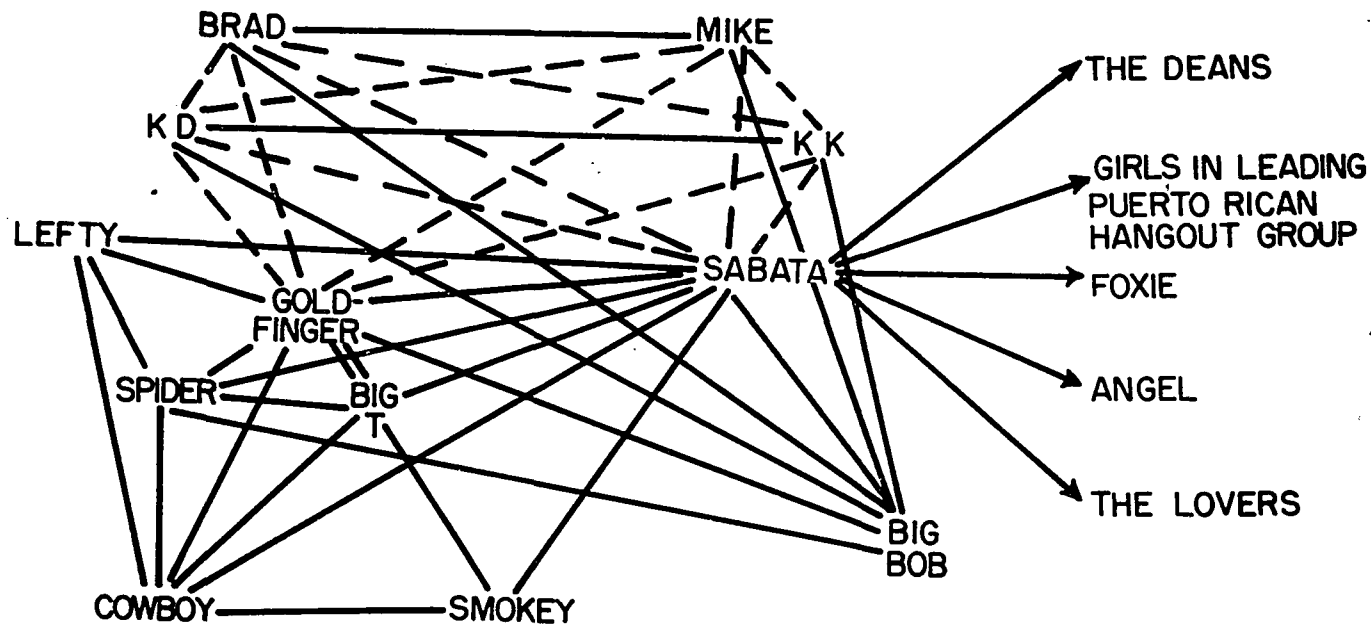


FIG. 8

Sabata's Network

————— Indicates relationships of 3 to 4 years' duration and 100% multiplexity

----- Indicates relationships of less than one year's duration and/or less than 100% multiplexity.

—————> Indicates direction of Sabata's attempts to mobilize support within the Annex

7. What changes, if any, does Big Bob's performance bring to the Annex or to the system of which it is a part?

Before the end of the 1970-71 school year Big Bob's overt material and social aims for the Annex are met: there are hero sandwiches and music in the lunchroom and plans are made for the installation of a hot-lunch kitchen; the students regularly use the excellent sports facilities in a local community center where they participate in intra-mural basketball competition. Furthermore, relations between the school and the community improve: the once-hostile Community Action Council creates a committee, known as the Friends of the Annex, whose members help students arrange several interesting field trips and organize a successful outdoor art fair. They also raise money to help finance the proposed hot-lunch kitchen. Finally, the Annex staff not only restores some of the extracurriculum, but also begins to encourage freshmen to participate in clubs and student government activities of the main building.

Although it would be an exaggeration to say that Big Bob's movement has itself been instrumental in making changes in the city's school system, it seems likely that the cumulative effects of many student protests have helped bring about certain structural changes at the high school level.

A comparison of the high school directories for 1970-71 and 1972-73 indicates that there is growing flexibility in the kinds of programs available to students.¹ However, an evalua-

¹ High School directories may be obtained by writing to the Board of Education at 110 Livingston Street, Brooklyn, New York.

tion of the import of these changes requires further participant-observation.

CHAPTER SIX

Conclusion

The emergence of an informal student leader of Weber's 'charismatic' type and his replacement by a rival of the 'traditional' type is related, in part, to conditions in the wider society that influence student-teacher relations in an urban American high school and, in part, to cultural norms and structural characteristics that influence relations among members of informal peer groups in the particular school under study here.

Demographic and political changes in the wider society alter the ethnic composition of New York City's public school population and prompt members of black and Puerto Rican minority groups to demand community control of the city's schools. Fearing that community control will threaten their occupational security, members of the citywide teachers' union launch a series of unprecedented strikes, ostensibly aimed at protesting deteriorated working conditions in the schools. The struggle for community control of the schools and the related teacher strikes intensify disciplinary problems in many of the city's high schools.

The Annex of Julia Richman High School is located in a predominantly white, upper middle class community whose members dislike and fear the presence of large numbers of black and Puerto Rican students in their streets. Many residents and merchants complain to the police about the behavior of Annex

students; veteran teachers, hoping to stem the growing tide of complaints, decide to withdraw extracurricular activities in an effort to establish strict control over the new group of entering students.

Deprived of the extracurricular programs that traditionally encourage students to exercise some measure of autonomy in the school, offer them some chance to compete for recognition and prestige among their peers and ease the adaptation of a significant minority who perform school service tasks and undertake other extracurricular activities in order to avoid attending classes, the students unite in their resentment against the adults in charge of the school.

The situation enables a charismatic leader to mobilize a following and a large amount of support among students, teachers and members of the surrounding community for a walkout, or strike, ostensibly aimed at improving the quality of the school lunch. In the process he creates the embryo of a new system of social relationships in the school. However, when his actions become unacceptable to the deans, who have unwittingly created the conditions for his emergence, they neutralize him by restoring some of the extracurriculum and shifting their support to his more traditional competitor.

In a competitive situation, the 'traditional' leader has the advantage over the 'charismatic' leader for the following reasons: (1) others in the situation, over whom they are competing for support, have stronger ties to the former than they do to the

latter whose ability to mobilize widespread support in a crisis situation rests in part on his social marginality; (2) the ties linking core members of the traditional leader's following to one another are significantly stronger, in terms of duration, density and multiplexity, than those linking core members of the charismatic's following.

Frustrated by his opponents' efforts to undermine him and frightened by a threatening encounter with the police, the charismatic leader responds violently to a verbal challenge from one of his opponents. This aggressive response, considered inappropriate in a verbal leader of his type, signals the deterioration of the charismatic's claim to lead. He soon abandons his struggle and drops out of school. After his departure his loosely linked supporters disperse and his major rival becomes his successor.

There is still a great deal to learn about the emergence and replacement of informal leaders in subordinate groups, and the parts of the picture presented here need more data and more controlled methods of observation for their confirmation. What the study suggests, however, is that an adequate approach to the problem must center on the followers and on conditions in the environment -- material, political, demographic -- that influence them to create different types of leaders in response to different situations. In addition, the study calls attention to an oscillation between 'charismatic' and 'traditional' leaders in subordinate groups that parallels the alternation between a 'Melanesian', or Big Man and an 'African', or segmentary type of leadership in a

small-scale New Guinea society (Meggitt 1971). Finally, it emphasizes that, in a competitive situation, variations in the amount and nature of support that followers give to a particular leader are related, in part, to his ability to meet the cultural criteria for leadership in his particular social milieu and, in part, to the structure and nature of ties linking the followers to one another and to each of the rival leaders.

What is perhaps most significant is that such an approach does not necessarily conflict with Weber's typology of charismatic leadership but, rather, complements it by taking into account variations in the follower's actions.

For school personnel the study implies that the dissension and demoralization which assail a large number of schools in our society stem from and reflect: (1) the lack of correspondence between school policies and realities and, (2) a wider conflict between the interests of the city's black and Puerto Rican minority groups, who are struggling to gain control of the institutions that affect their lives, and the professional ambitions of those members of the white middle class majority whose present and future security rests on protecting their jobs in the school system. Whether the recurring emergence of

charismatic student leaders fosters structural, or merely superficial changes in that system remains to be seen.

For anthropologists, a practical implication of the research is that schools provide attractive fields for the study of micro-political processes: the actions that one can observe within them parallel those which occur in a wide range of empirical situations; furthermore, they occur at an accelerated pace that permits the observer to generate hypotheses about the nature of political processes without incurring the costs of prolonged and/or repeated periods of fieldwork in more traditional settings. Finally, the research suggests that the study of leadership patterns in informal, interstitial groups of students will repay the efforts of anthropologists interested in political socialization.

APPENDIX I

TABLE I

BOARD OF EDUCATION EXPENSE BUDGET*

Total Obligational Authority by Major Program

Major Program	Personal Service	Other Than Personal Service	Total
Board of Education	\$ 1,027,961	\$ 621,548	\$ 1,649,509
General Administration	5,436,433	2,192,416	7,628,849
Personnel and Teacher Training Support Services	6,905,055	2,055,104	8,960,159
Curriculum and Instructional Support Services	10,036,919	2,678,719	12,715,638
Instructional Activities	337,794,438	110,362,660	448,067,098
Office of School Buildings	13,269,458	16,516,222	29,776,680
Business Administration and Support Services	12,268,590	6,788,439	19,057,029
Non-Public Schools, Etc.	3,756,966	32,475,790	36,232,756
Improvement of Educational Services and Added Personnel Costs	15,000,000	-----	15,000,000
Community School Districts - Instruction and Administra- tion	618,629,697	142,273,947	760,903,644

* 1970-71 as Modified.

TABLE I (Cont'd)

Major Program	Personal Service	Other Than Personal Service	Total
Community School Districts- Support and Special Services	\$ 78,310,145	\$ 69,007,485	\$ 147,317,630
SUB-TOTAL	\$1,102,336,662	\$384,972,330	\$1,487,308,992
Elementary and Secondary Education Act			145,685,106
State Urban Education Programs			48,029,740
Special State and Federal Reimbursable Programs			16,400,000
NET TOTAL ALL PROGRAMS			\$1,697,423,838

TABLE II

JULIA RICHMAN HIGH SCHOOL

(from: Profiles of Academic-Comprehensive High Schools, 1971-72)

<u>Enrollment</u>	<u>Citywide</u>	(Academic-Comprehensive High Schools)
4,468	253,773	
<u>Percent of Attendance</u>	<u>Citywide</u>	
60.0	75.0	

<u>Main building</u>	<u>Annex</u>
Constructed: 1924	Constructed: 1906
Modernized: 1963	Remodeled as a vocational school: 1942
Utilization: 115%	Condemned: 1967
No. of instructional rooms: 100	Re-opened as Annex: 1968
On 2 sessions daily: 7:45 A.M. to 5:00 P.M.	No. of instructional rooms: 29
	On single session: 8:30 A.M. to 2:45 P.M.

<u>Ethnic composition of student body</u>	<u>Citywide</u>
% Black 50.8	31.0
% Oriental 1.3	1.6
% Puerto Rican 34.7	15.7
% Other (Spanish surname) 2.2	3.4
% Other 11.0	48.3

TABLE II (Cont'd)

% of students
in 10th year reading
2 or more years be-
low grade level

<u>Julia Richman High School</u>	<u>Other Manhattan High Schools</u>	<u>Citywide</u>
64.0	Benjamin Franklin: 66.0	35.9
	Charles E. Hughes: 74.4	
	Geo. Washington: 59.7	
	Hoover: 84.4	
	H.S. of Music & Art: 5.6	
	Louis D. Brandeis: 70.0	
	Seward Park: 37.8	
	Stuyvesant: 0	
	Washington Irving: 40.0	

Average No. of
Subject Periods
Taken by each

<u>Student - Julia Richman High School: 1971-72</u>	<u>Citywide</u>
6.1	5.9

Special Programs - Julia Richman High School: 1971-72

College Board	Pre-technical Nursing	School-Home
Cooperative Work Study	Correlated Curriculum	Contact
Pre-technical Medical	Homework Helpers	Practical Nursing
		Mini-School

Staff - Julia Richman High School: 1971-72

No. of Positions

Principal	1	Secretary	4
Asst. Princ., Administrative	3	Laboratory Specialist	4
Asst. Princ., Supervisory	10	Asst. Stockman	1
Teachers	181.8	School Secretary	
Guidance Services	14.2	Interne	1.3
		Security Guards (hours)	6,095
		School Aide (hours)	17,400

TABLE III
JULIA RICHMAN HIGH SCHOOL
 Feeding School Admissions

<u>Manhattan</u>	<u>To 9th Year</u>	<u>September 1970</u>
10	2581 7th Avenue	80
29		--
35	1 East 104th St.	5
44	100 W. 87th St.	19
45	2351 First Avenue	175
88	215 W. 114th St.	19
99	410 E. 100th St.	--
117	240 E. 109th St.	225
129	425 W. 130th St.	--
136	6 Edgecombe Ave.	53
148	466 West End Ave.	--
169	113 E. 4th St.	1
201	2005 Madison Ave.	139

	Manhattan Total	716
	Queens Total	1
	Bronx Total	5

	Public School Total	722
	Parochial School Total	58

	GRAND TOTAL	780

TABLE IV

Socio-economic Profiles of
Community Planning Districts
in which the 4 main feeder
schools are located

(from the New York City Planning
Commission's Community District Profiles -
April, 1973)

MANHATTAN COMMUNITY PLANNING DISTRICT 9	Number.....	Percent
TOTAL POPULATION	112964	100.00
White	49092	43.45
Negro	58787	52.04
Other nonwhite	5085	4.50
HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION		
TOTAL HOUSEHOLDS	42716	100.00
Husband-wife families	17556	41.09
Single parent families with members under 18 yrs.	4363	10.21
With male head	527	1.23
With female head	3836	8.98
Other single parent families	3690	
Primary individuals	17107	40.04
Over 65 years	4363	10.21
Aver. No. of persons per HH	2.50	
Pop. in Group Quarters	5890	
Marital status (pop 14 yrs+over)	92133	100.00
Divorced	4019	4.36
Separated	7395	8.02
Widowed	9677	10.50
HOUSING		
TOTAL HOUSING UNITS	43642	100.00
Renter occupied - total	40773	93.42
White	16721	38.31
Negro	22459	51.46
Aver contract monthly rent	\$97	
Owner occupied - total	1943	4.45
Single family WO business	101	.23
Average \$ value of above	\$26,720	
Coops and condominiums	1432	3.28
Other owner occ. units	410	.93
White	1026	2.35
Negro	805	1.84
One Room units	3937	9.02
Occ. Units lacking telephone	11126	25.49
Overcrowded units (1.51+PPR)	1593	3.65

TABLE IV (Cont'd)

MANHATTAN COMMUNITY PLANNING DISTRICT 10	Number.....	Percent
TOTAL POPULATION	159336	100.00
White	6127	3.84
Negro	152212	95.52
Other nonwhite	997	.62
HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION		
TOTAL HOUSEHOLDS	61657	100.00
Husband-wife families	20425	33.12
Single parent families with members under 18 yrs.	9879	16.02
With male head	832	1.34
With female head	9047	14.67
Other single parent families	5698	
Primary individuals	25655	41.60
over 65 years	6604	10.71
Aver No. of persons per HH	2.54	
Pop in group quarters	2588	
Marital status (pop 14 yrs.+over)	122803	100.00
Divorced	4813	3.91
Separated	17429	14.19
Widowed	17055	13.88
HOUSING		
Total Housing Units	64532	100.00
Rental occupied - total	59058	91.51
White	1588	2.46
Negro	57116	88.50
Aver contract monthly rent	\$78	
Owner occupied - total	2599	4.02
Single family WO business	94	.14
Average \$ value of above	\$22,103	
Coops and condominiums	1803	2.79
Other owner occ. units	702	1.08
White	31	.04
Negro	2546	3.94
One room units	7697	11.92
Occ. units lacking telephone	23593	36.56
Overcrowded units (1.51+PPR)	2999	4.64

TABLE IV (Cont'd)

MANHATTAN COMMUNITY PLANNING DISTRICT 11		
	Number.....	Percent
TOTAL POPULATION	154450	100.00
White	81053	52.47
Negro	67602	43.76
Other nonwhite	5759	3.75
HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION		
TOTAL HOUSEHOLDS	49134	100.00
Husband-wife families	22433	45.65
Single parent families with members under 18 yrs.	9424	19.18
With male head	776	1.57
With female head	8648	17.10
Other single parent families	4024	
Primary individuals	13254	26.97
Over 65 years	4039	8.22
Aver. No. of persons per HH	3.02	
Pop. in group quarters	5726	
Marital status (pop 14 yrs+over)	108917	100.00
Divorced	3883	3.56
Separated	9903	9.09
Widowed	10692	9.81
HOUSING		
TOTAL HOUSING UNITS	51750	100.00
Renter occupied - total	46237	89.34
White	24240	46.84
Negro	20395	39.41
Aver. contract monthly rent	\$76	
Owner occupied - total	2886	5.57
Single family WO business	41	.07
Aver. \$ value of above	\$17,609	
Coops and condominiums	2217	4.28
Other owner occ. units	628	1.21
White	1170	2.26
Negro	1571	3.03
One room units	1947	3.76
Occ. units lacking telephone	19431	37.54
Overcrowded units (1.51+ PPR)	2536	4.90

TABLE V

MANHATTAN COMMUNITY PLANNING DISTRICT 9

	Total Population		White		Negro		Puerto Rican**	
	Number...	Percent	Number...	Percent	Number...	Percent	Number...	Percent
Total Population	113022		50153		58931		13048	
Education								
Total persons 18 yrs. & over	85776	100.00	39126	100.00	43593	100.00	8445	100.00
Tot 18+ w 4 yrs. High School	43245	50.41	23848	60.95	17587	40.34	2393	28.33
Income								
Total Families	26006	100.00	10928	100.00	14229	100.00	3279	100.00
Median Family Income	\$7,717		\$8,579		\$7,129		\$6,401	
Families with income below federal poverty level	3757	14.44	1234	11.29	2420	17.00	583	17.77
Families w income over \$15000	3684	14.16	2178	19.93	1352	9.50	205	6.25
Laborforce characteristics (16+)								
Total civilian laborforce	51126	100.00	22345	100.00	26793	100.00	4657	100.00
Occupation of employed persons	48727	95.30	21403	95.78	25413	94.84	4289	92.09
1.Prof,Managerial,Technical	11208	21.92	7327	32.79	3267	12.19	333	7.15
2.Sales	2138	4.18	1074	4.80	1007	3.75	283	6.07
3.Clerical	11707	22.89	4974	22.26	6272	23.40	807	17.32
4.Craftsmen	3162	6.18	1183	5.29	1904	7.10	489	10.50
5.Operatives	8206	16.05	3097	13.85	4747	17.71	1109	23.81
6.Laborers,incl.Farm	1552	3.03	515	2.30	1033	3.85	191	4.10
7.Service workers	10754	21.03	3233	14.46	7183	26.80	1077	23.12
Laborforce participation								
Males 16+ - Total	40534	100.00	19372	100.00	19485	100.00	4083	100.00
In civilian laborforce	27619	68.13	12623	65.16	13834	70.99	2989	73.20
Unemployed, % of Civ.Lf.	1286	4.65	512	4.05	722	5.21	226	7.56
Females 16+ - Total	48022	100.00	20849	100.00	25673	100.00	4903	100.00
In civilian laborforce	23507	48.95	9722	46.63	12959	50.47	1668	34.01
Unemployed, % of Civ.Lf.	1113	4.73	430	4.42	658	5.07	142	8.51

** Note: The figures for the Puerto Rican population are not additive; they may be included in both the white and negro figures.

TABLE V (Cont'd)

Manhattan Community Planning District 10

	Total Population		White		Negro		Puerto Rican**	
	Number...	Percent	Number...	Percent	Number...	Percent	Number...	Percent
Total Population	159267		6976		151819		4976	
Education								
Total persons 18 yrs. & over	111781	100.00	3925	100.00	107459	100.00	2529	100.00
Tot 18+ w 4 yrs. High School	39196	35.06	1418	36.12	37581	34.97	566	22.38
Income								
Total Families	36973	100.00	1356	100.00	35508	100.00	1071	100.00
Median family income	\$6,137		\$5,801		\$6,152		\$5,642	
Families with income below								
Federal poverty level	8461	22.88	340	25.07	8087	22.77	267	24.92
Families w income over \$15000	2433	6.58	107	7.89	2326	6.55	7	.65
Laborforce characteristics (16+)								
Total civilian laborforce	62773	100.00	2136	100.00	60413	100.00	1373	100.00
Occupation of employed persons								
1.Prof,Managerial,Technical	6068	9.66	335	15.68	5684	9.40	107	7.79
2.Sales	1991	3.17	100	4.68	1886	3.12	14	1.01
3.Clerical	13439	21.40	429	20.08	12964	21.45	227	16.53
4.Craftsmen	4215	6.71	169	7.91	4040	6.68	105	7.64
5.Operatives	11182	17.81	431	20.17	10703	17.71	379	27.60
6.Laborers, incl. farm	3255	5.18	82	3.83	3171	5.24	66	4.80
7.Service workers	19035	30.32	482	22.56	18509	30.63	400	29.13
Laborforce participation								
Males 16+ - Total	50452	100.00	1999	100.00	48293	100.00	1395	100.00
In civilian laborforce								
unemployed, % of civ. Lf.	33733	66.86	1411	70.58	32231	66.74	964	69.10
	2071	6.13	88	6.23	1969	6.10	57	5.91
Females 16+ - Total	66067	100.00	2190	100.00	63619	100.00	1480	100.00
In civilian laborforce								
unemployed, % of Civ. Lf.	29040	43.95	725	33.10	28182	44.29	409	27.63
	1517	5.22	20	2.75	1487	5.27	18	4.40

** Note: The figures for the Puerto Rican population are not additive: they may be included in both the white and negro figures.

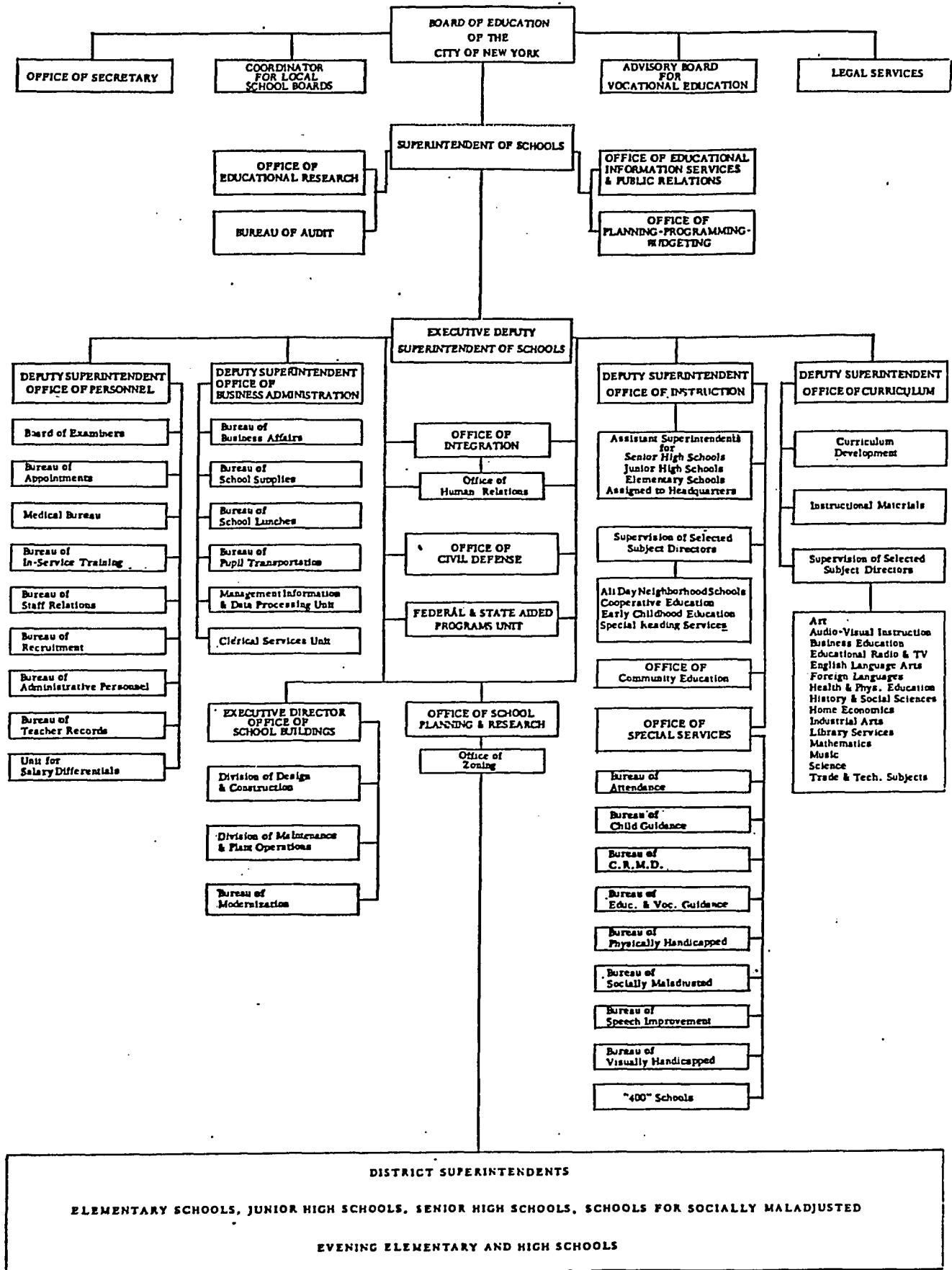
TABLE V (Cont'd)

MANHATTAN COMMUNITY PLANNING DISTRICT 11

	Total Population		White		Negro		Puerto Rican**	
	Number...	Percent	Number...	Percent	Number...	Percent	Number...	Percent
Total Population	154361		82757		67532		59932	
Education								
Total persons 18 yrs & over	96512	100.00	52482	100.00	41457	100.00	33222	100.00
Tot 18+ w 4 yrs. High School	31499	32.63	15168	28.90	15577	37.57	6242	18.78
Income								
Total Families	36328	100.00	19201	100.00	16076	100.00	14637	100.00
Median family income	\$5,895		\$5,697		\$6,173		\$5,031	
Families with income below								
Federal poverty level	9982	27.47	5576	29.04	4076	25.35	5178	35.37
Families w income over \$15000	2903	7.99	1808	9.41	1061	6.59	473	3.23
Laborforce Characteristics (16+)								
Total Civilian Laborforce	48969	100.00	24931	100.00	22758	100.00	15435	100.00
Occupation of employed persons								
1.Prof,Managerial,Technical	6232	12.72	3660	14.68	2362	10.37	928	6.01
2.Sales	1987	4.05	1271	5.09	704	3.09	710	4.59
3.Clerical	10653	21.75	4640	18.61	5813	25.54	2618	16.96
4.Craftsmen	3971	8.10	2287	9.17	1597	7.01	1506	9.75
5.Operatives	9278	18.94	5165	20.71	3864	16.97	3937	25.50
6.Laborers,incl.farm	2026	4.13	998	4.00	976	4.28	627	4.06
7.Service workers	11608	23.70	5212	20.90	6014	26.42	3879	25.13
Laborforce participation								
Males 16+ - Total	42994	100.00	23784	100.00	17920	100.00	15939	100.00
In civilian laborforce	29003	67.45	15831	66.56	12365	69.00	10600	66.50
Unemployed, % of civ.Lf.	1772	6.10	1041	6.57	662	5.35	724	6.83
Females 16+ - Total	55187	100.00	28886	100.00	24917	100.00	19846	100.00
In civilian laborforce	19966	36.17	9101	31.50	10393	41.71	4835	24.36
Unemployed, % of civ.Lf.	1442	7.22	660	7.25	768	7.38	507	10.48

** Note: The figures for the Puerto Rican population are not additives; they may be included in both the white and negro figures.

CHART OF ORGANIZATION OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK
Prior to 1969



Reorganization of
CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS

In 1969 the decentralization law made it necessary to reorganize Central Headquarters' offices in order to provide the necessary supportive services to the decentralized school districts and to provide appropriate direct services and supportive services to the centralized schools. (High schools were centralized.)

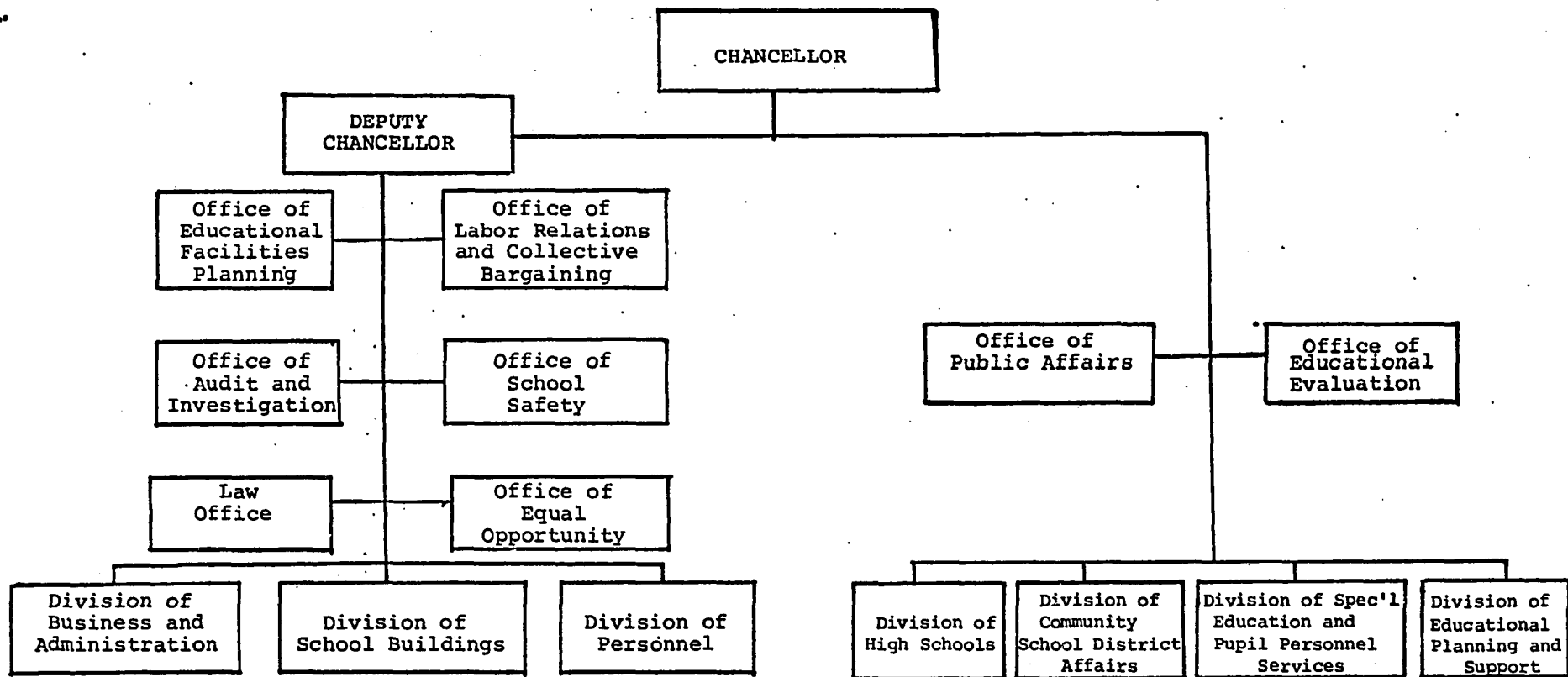


CHART III

Ethnic Composition of student
body, Julia Richman High School,
1958 - 1970

	<u>Puerto Rican</u>	<u>Negro</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
Oct. 1958	889 25.5%	748 21.5%	1850 53.1%	3487
Oct. 1960	819 26.3%	742 23.8%	1552 49.9%	3113
Oct. 1961	768 25.6%	752 25.0%	1483 49.4%	3003
Oct. 1962	719 24.8%	835 28.8%	1346 46.4%	2900
Oct. 1963	763 24.7%	1098 35.5%	1232 39.8%	3093
Oct. 1964	717 22.8%	1317 42.0%	1104 35.2%	3138
Oct. 1965	642 22.1%	1364 47.1%	895 30.8%	2901
Oct. 1966	626 24.8%	1100 43.6%	792 31.4%	2518
Oct. 1967	946 30.5%	1243 40.2%	903 29.2%	3092
Dec. 17, 1968 (Julia Richman now coeducational and re-zoned to include East & Central Harlem)	1461 35.9%	1703 41.9%	901 22.2%	4065
Oct. 1969	1632 35.4%	2118 45.9%	1060 18.6%	4610
Oct. 1970	1741 37.3%	2166 46.4%	766 16.3%	4673

CHART IV

Comparative Data on Ethnic Composition
of Other Manhattan High Schools
in 1958, 1969, and 1970

	<u>% in</u> <u>1958</u>	<u>% in</u> <u>1969</u>	<u>% in</u> <u>1970</u>
<u>Benjamin Franklin</u>			
Puerto Rican	24.1	52.1	48.8
Negro	30.5	43.6	43.4
Other	45.3	4.3	7.6
<u>Charles E. Hughes</u>			
Puerto Rican	13.4	21.6	21.2
Negro	30.5	63.9	65.9
Other	45.3	14.5	12.9
<u>George Washington</u>			
Puerto Rican	8.6	25.5	20.8
Negro	29.1	32.2	30.5
Other	62.3	42.3	48.6
<u>Hoover</u>			
Puerto Rican	31.6	46.9	46.7
Negro	29.4	33.5	40.6
Other	39.0	19.5	12.7
<u>High School of Music & Art</u>			
Puerto Rican	1.7	7.3	9.1
Negro	7.7	23.4	24.3
Other	90.5	69.3	66.6
<u>Seward Park</u>			
Puerto Rican	18.2	34.2	37.8
Negro	15.1	20.9	22.8
Other	66.7	44.8	39.4
<u>Stuyvesant</u>			
Puerto Rican	.9	2.7	3.4
Negro	1.5	7.4	10.3
Other	97.6	89.9	86.2
<u>Washington Irving</u>			
Puerto Rican	18.9	35.3	35.2
Negro	28.9	33.1	35.3
Other	52.2	31.6	29.4

CHART V

The 4 Main Feeder Schools

J.H.S. 45 - Community District 4

% of Teachers with more than 3 years experience	65.0
Average MAT 8th Grade Reading Score	6.7
Ethnic Composition of Students in all Junior High Schools in Community District	37.8 - % Black 0.1 - % Oriental 57.8 - % Puerto Rican 1.3 - % Other (Spanish Surname) 3.0 - % Other
% of Children Eligible for Free Lunch in all Junior High Schools in Com- munity District	65.4
Physical Facilities	Built 1958 Gymnasium and swimming pool Auditorium seats 512 Multi-media supplies in fair to good supply Hot-lunch kitchen and cafeteria
Extracurricular Programs	Sewing, Science, Radio, Chess, Knitting, Dance, Swimming, Volley Ball and Basketball Teams. Building used as after- school center.

J.H.S. 117 - Community District 4

% of Teachers with more than 3 years experience	64.0
Average MAT 8th Grade Reading Score	6.4
Ethnic Composition of Students in all Junior High Schools in Community District	Same as above.
% of Children Eligible for Free Lunch in all Junior High Schools in Com- munity District	Same as above.
Physical Facilities	Built 1957 Auditorium seats 582 Gymnasium Multi-media supplies fair

CHART V (Cont'd)

Extracurricular Programs

Hot-lunch kitchen and cafeteria
 Photography, Stamps, Music, N.Y. Historical Society, 6 Industrial Arts Shops (wood, metalcraft, ceramics, general craft), Sewing, Cooking, Band, Orchestra, Chorus, Basketball Team.

Intermediate School 10 - Community District 5

% of Teachers with more than 3 years of experience 55.2

Average MAT 8th Grade Reading Score Not Available

Ethnic Composition of Students in all Junior High Schools in Community District
 81.5 - % Black
 0.2 - % Oriental
 14.4 - % Puerto Rican
 2.1 - % Other (Spanish Surname)
 1.7 - Other

% of Children Eligible for Free Lunch in All Junior High Schools in Community District 74.7

Physical Facilities Building first occupied in Sept. 1969
 2 gymnasiums, large and well-equipped
 Auditorium seats 600
 Videotape television slide machines film in more than adequate supply
 Hot Lunch Kitchen & caf.

Extracurricular Programs Electrical shops, Industrial arts, woodwork; music, basketball teams. Building used as after-school center.

Intermediate School 201 - Community District 5

% of Teachers with more than 3 years experience 50.5

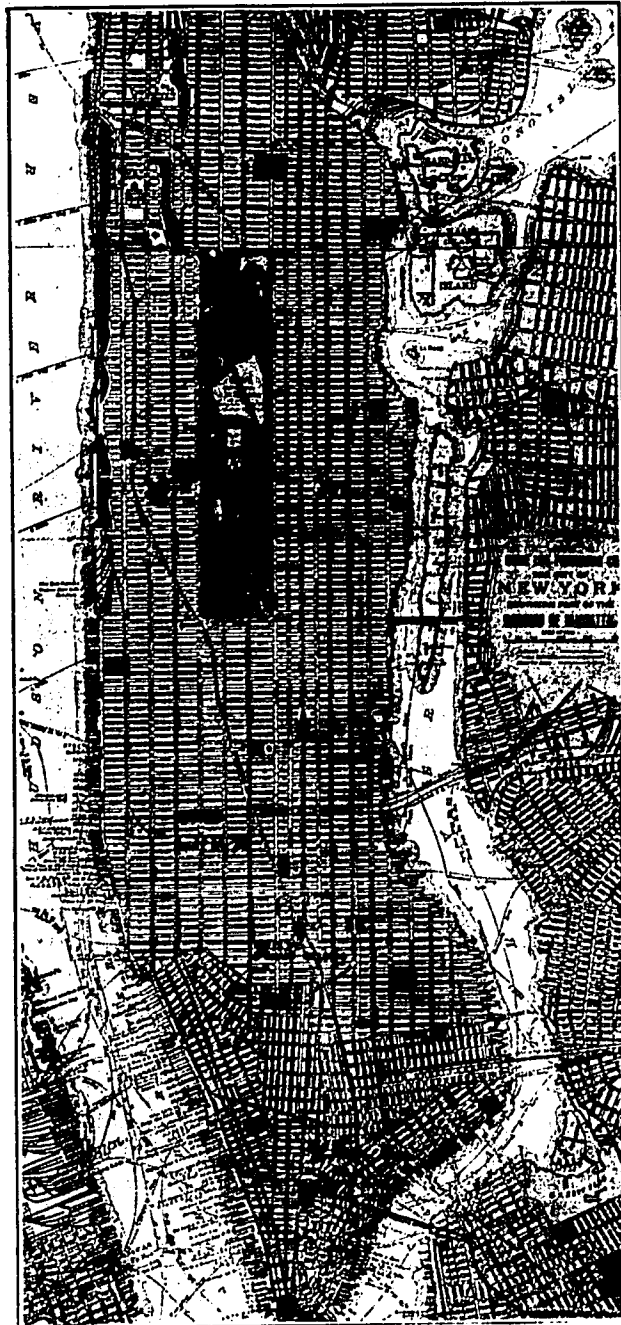
Average MAT 8th Grade Reading Score 5.8

Ethnic Composition of Students in all Junior High Schools in Community District Same as above.

% of Children Eligible for Free Lunch in all Junior High Schools in Community District Same as above.

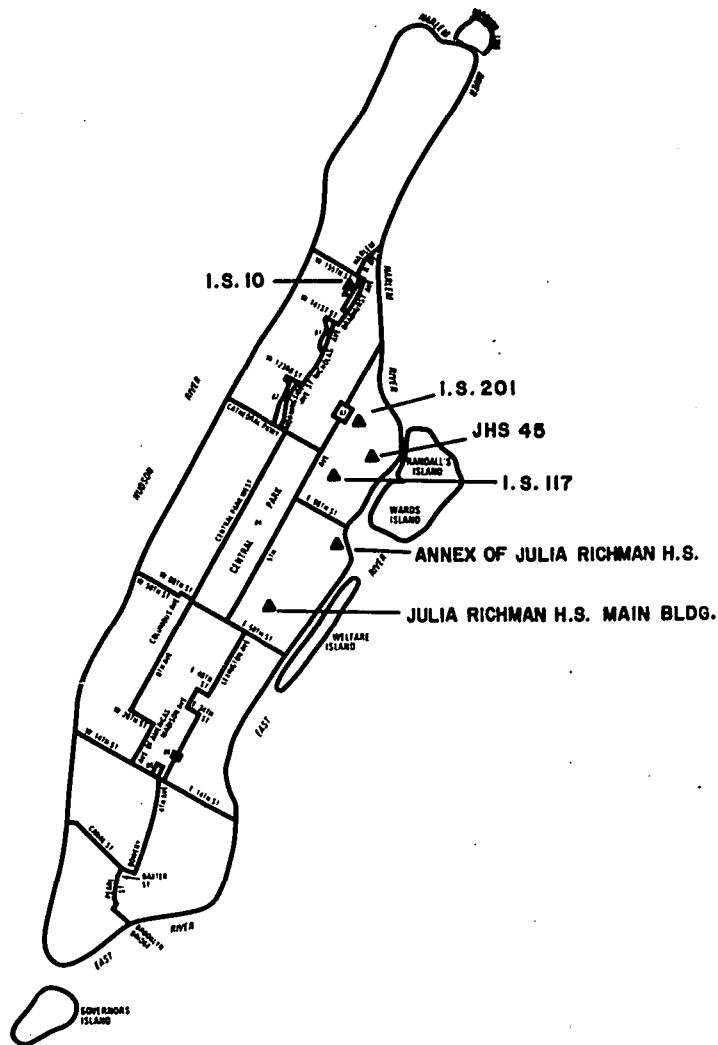
Physical Facilities Built 1966

THE LOCATION OF THE
JULIA RICHMAN H.S.
1917








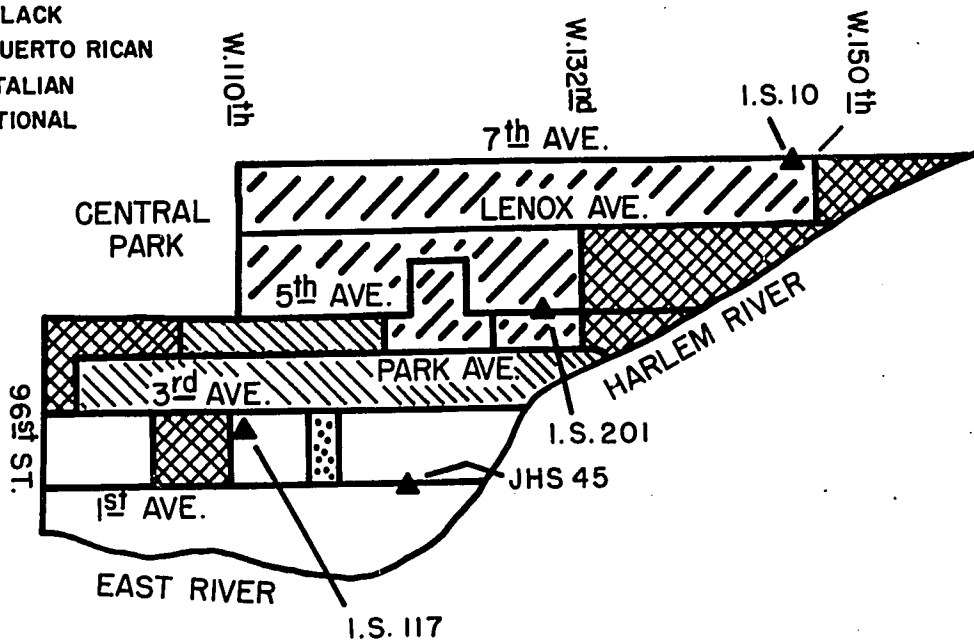
MAP I

Manhattan



MAP II Locations of 4 feeder schools sending students to Julia Richman's Main Building and Annex.

-  MIDDLE CLASS
-  POOR BLACK
-  POOR PUERTO RICAN
-  POOR ITALIAN
-  TRANSITIONAL



MAP III Area from which
Julia Richman receives
its students beginning
September, 1967.

APPENDIX II

Social and academic profiles of major actors in the lunch strike.¹

Big Bob

Born: 5-6-55

Address: Drew Hamilton Project, Manhattan

Residential History: Lived with mother's mother until age five; then with mother and stepfather for a year and a half. Returned to mother's mother at age six and a half and has lived with her ever since at present address.

Parents

Father

Disappeared when Big Bob was born;
Stepfather, a numbers runner, separated from mother

Mother

Lives in lower Harlem; on Relief

Siblings

One younger sister, now living with mother.

Father's mother

Lives in Florida (Miami suburbs). Works as a seamstress and does bead-work in clothing store.

Mother's mother

Born in North Carolina. Her father was a Baptist minister. She now works as domestic; is active on tenants' council of her housing project.

¹At the time I collected the data presented here, the Board of Education had no policy regarding access to or use of students' records. In no case did I consult a student's record without obtaining his or her oral permission to do so for the purpose of gathering information to include in a dissertation or book. In four cases I was able to obtain written consent from the parents or guardians of the students in question; in three cases, I obtained such permission orally, on the telephone.

School history

Diploma from IS 10, June 1970
Stanford-Binet Score, May 1961: 103
 May 1962: 111
 May 1963: 100

Metropolitan Achievement Test, 1966 (5th Grade): 6.3

Honors and Awards

Social Studies; French; English: 1968
General Organization Representative: 1969
Basketball Squad

Teachers' comments

Fifth Grade: "Cannot be trusted, lies, does not work up to potential."
April 7, 1965: "Advised attendance in Afternoon Play Center Tutorial Program."
1968 - 1969: "Growing truancy. Seems to travel about the city on his own a lot."

Grandmother's comments

Grandmother says she took Bobby back to live with her after his stepfather beat him. She discovered this when, on her grandson's weekly visit she noticed bruises on his back as she was giving him his usual Saturday night bath: Bobby admitted, after much questioning from his grandmother, that his stepfather had beaten him several times, while drunk. According to his grandmother, Bobby spent a great deal of time at a Catholic Church in her neighborhood, partly because of its athletic programs for youth and, in the process became interested in religion and even talked for a while of becoming a monk.

Participation in adult-supervised community activities

Attends community center where he plays basketball; tutors younger children. Attendance declines at same time as truancy increases. Attended basketball camps and played in the Rucker (annual Harlem sports event in which local youngsters play with basketball stars).

Part-time Job

Seasonal work in Post Office.

Career Goals

Wants to go to college, hopefully on athletic scholarship, and study business administration, possibly even try for master's degree, so that he will have "something to fall back on, if I don't make it in basketball."

Angel

Born: 7-14-56

Address: Wagner Housing Project: Paladino Avenue, Manhattan

Residential History: Lived all life with parents at present address.

Parents

Father

Born: Hanoi, Vietnam
Occupation: Merchant Marine

Father's father, French
Father's mother, Vietnamese

Mother

Born: Puerto Rico
Occupation: Secretary at
Welfare Department

Siblings

Two older brothers; one elder sister; one younger brother.

One elder brother is married, has two children and works for the telephone company; the other is unmarried, dropped out of college, lives alone, earns living through gambling. Elder sister lives with parents, in her last year of high school, expects to attend Cornell University next year. Younger brother lives with parents, attends elementary school.

School history

Diploma from JHS 45: June 1970
Citywide Regents Examination, June 18, 1970: 83%
Metropolitan Achievement Test, January 1970 (8th Grade): 9.6

Honors and Awards

8/69: Special Mention Medal, School Science Fair
5/70: Citizen of the Week
5/70: Second Prize, School Science Fair
5/70: Third Prize, Borough of Manhattan Science Fair (Project on salinity of water in New York City).
5/70: General Organization Representative

Teachers' Comments

First Grade: "Very active, unruly at times."
Second Grade: "Very talkative, does everything quickly."
Third Grade: "Extremely dynamic and creative personality. Appears to have learned to generate his energies into interests beyond regular school assignments. He is extremely capable."
Fourth Grade: "Very competent worker. However, he is frequently involved in fights and arguments with classmates, including girls."

Sixth Grade: "Has a lot of ability and has been very creative in the individual reading program. Has been reported by a number of teachers for lack of self-control."

Guidance Counselor's Comments

"Lacks motivation; has great potential, has made improvement in last year."

Participation in extracurricular activities

Swimming; volleyball; school assemblies; was one of eight JHS 45 students who arranged special services in memory of students killed at Jackson State University in Spring of 1970.

Participation in adult-supervised community activities

Vacation Day Camps for two summers.

Other Activities

Participated in Young Lords Party and in The Last Prophets (young tenants' organization in housing project).

Part-time Job

Worked for neighborhood drug abuse program for two summers.

Career Goals

Medical or technical para-professional. Knows that this requires a year or more post-high school training and knows how to enroll in appropriate programs.

Note:

Angel spoke proudly of how his part in the memorial services for Jackson State students brought him prestige in junior high school. However, he complained that there, as at the Annex, black students dominated the social scene and Puerto Ricans tended to resign themselves to a secondary role.

Carmen

Born: In Puerto Rico, birth date not on school record.

Address: Longwood Avenue, the Bronx

Residential History: Lived with parents and siblings in Puerto Rico until January, 1964. Has moved six times since coming to New York City, in the Bronx and Manhattan.

Parents

Father

Born: Puerto Rico
Occupation: Waiter in night club.

Mother

Born: Puerto Rico
Occupation: Worked as waitress in coffee shop but stopped because of recurring asthmatic attacks which often hospitalized her. Now on welfare.

Siblings

One older brother, married.
One younger brother and one older sister living with Carmen and mother.

School history

Entered New York City schools in September 1964, from Puerto Rico.

Certificate, JHS 45: June 1970

Metropolitan Reading Achievement Test in Sixth Grade: 5.3

Metropolitan Reading Achievement Test in Eight Grade: 5.4

Teachers' Comments

11/23/64 - Mother came, but doesn't understand English.

10/1966 - Mother visited, interested in child.

11/1966 - Mother attended parent-teacher conference on work-study habits and child's ability to get along with others.

"Can be a problem if not corrected from the start. Tendency to hit other children; also, tendency to join others and get into trouble. Otherwise, could be a good student."

4/20/64 - "Transferred to slower reading group. Poor behavior and achievement."

1/1970 - "Tries hard, very dependable. Corrective reading classes."

Honors and Awards

None listed

Participation in extracurricular activities

Was one of eight students in JHS 45 who organized special services in honor of students killed at Jackson State University, Spring 1970.

Participation in adult-supervised community activities

Community Center, evenings: dances, other entertainments.

Part-time Job

One summer as clerk-typist in local police station. Wants to repeat.

Career Goals

On her high school application form she indicates that her choice is nursing; but then draws a line crossing it out.

Lily

Born: 1-5-56

Address: East 124th Street, Manhattan

Residential History: Lived all life with parents; moved once, from one building to another in the same neighborhood.

Parents

Father

Born: Puerto Rico
Occupation: Works in mirror factory.

Mother

Born: Puerto Rico
Occupation: Part-time cashier in restaurant.

Siblings

Two older brothers, in high school.

One older sister, asthmatic, with rapidly deteriorating condition that raises questions about her ability to remain in school.

All four children living with parents.

School history

Diploma from JHS 45: June 1970
Metropolitan Reading, March 1969 (7th Grade): 6.7
April 1970 (8th Grade): 7.1

Honors and Awards

June 1970: Typing Award
Yearbook
Class Magazine

Personality Rating

S = Satisfactory; N = Needs Improvement; U = Unsatisfactory

	<u>Courtesy</u>	<u>Effort</u>	<u>Responsibility</u>	<u>Self-Control</u>
Seventh Grade -	S	S	S	S
Eighth Grade -	S	S	S	S

Summer School Grades

1969: (7th Grade)	1970: (8th Grade)
English - 85%	English - 70%
Social Studies - 70%	Social Studies - 75%
Mathematics - 85%	Mathematics - 95%
Science - 65%	Science - 75%
Typing/Journalism - 85%	Typing/Journalism - 85%

Teachers' Comments

June 1970: "Lily is a talented young lady with a strong, and realistic ambition of being a lawyer."

Extracurricular activities

Co-editor of Yearbook and Class Magazine - JHS 45

Lily and Nancy, as co-editors, established close ties with their English teacher. They did the same thing with an Annex English teacher soon after the lunch strike.

Participation in adult sponsored community activities

Church-related youth group activities, which center on Puerto Rican festivals, parades, picnics and visits to museums.

Part-time Job

Lily had held a steady, after-school and summer job for two years, clerking in a neighborhood store that sells hosiery, lingerie, gloves and the like.

Career Goals

Wants to be a lawyer. Somewhat vague about where to get required training; hopes to work summers in law office.

Nancy

(Nancy's parents sent her to live with relatives in Puerto Rico shortly after the lunch strike. The following information comes from two informal interviews with Nancy and Lily and several subsequent conversations with the latter.)

Born: 1956

Address: The Bronx, New York

Residential History: Lived with mother all her life. Moved several times in the Bronx and Manhattan.

Parents

Both parents born in Puerto Rico; presently separated. Mother works.

Siblings

One older sister, alienated from the mother and living on welfare with one child. Nancy is very close to her sister and often visits her without their mother's knowledge.

School history

Diploma: JHS 45, June 1970

Nancy read aloud (a one-page story and several word lists) during an interview. Her fluency was on a par with Lily's and suggests that she has a similar reading score (i.e., one year below grade level).

Extracurricular activities

Co-editor (with Lily) of school Yearbook and Class Magazine. Nancy and Lily established close ties with the English teacher who supervised these activities and did the same with one of the Annex teachers after the lunch strike.

Participation in adult-sponsored community activities

Church-related youth group (with Lily).

Part-time Job

Worked as receptionist in obstetrician's office, three or four days a week, after school, and during summer before entering Annex.

Career Goals

Nursing or laboratory technician in hospital.

Foxie

Born: 4-29-55

Address: East Harlem

Residential History: Lived all life with parents; first in Maine, then in Manhattan. Moved once - from Maine to New York City.

Baptism: New York City

Confirmation: Maine

Parents

Father (Black American)
Born: Lane, South Carolina
Occupation: Manager of restaurant-bar. (Father killed by mugger two years before Foxie entered the Annex.)

Mother (White French Canadian)
Born: Fort Kent, Maine
Occupation: Nurse's Aide

Siblings

Two older sisters, one living, the other recently died (cause of death: sickle cell anemia).

School history

Diploma: St. Ann's School, Manhattan, June 1970

Transferred to 4th grade at St. Ann's School from parochial school (St. Agatha's) in Maine.

Excellent attendance record until 8th Grade when Foxie was hospitalized for surgery and missed a month of school.

I.Q. Test (1-4-65): 111

Achievement Test Scores

Grade 4, M.A.T. - Arithmetic: 4.4
Reading: 5.6

Grade 5, M.A.T. - Arithmetic: 5.2
Reading: 6.0

9/69 - Reading: 9.5
Math: 8.2

4/71 - M.A.T. Reading: 10.6

Extracurricular activities

No extracurricular programs available at parochial school.
However, Foxie was President of Teen-Agers in Action, a church-related group that worked together during 7th and 8th grades.

Participation in adult-sponsored community activities

Studied karate for two years at community center.
Music lessons at community center (plays piano).

Tentative Career Goals

Social worker

Brad

Born: 7-11-55

Address: West Harlem

Residential History: Lived all life with mother, moved twice
in Manhattan.

Parents

Father and mother separated. Mother on welfare.

Siblings

One brother, aged three.
Two sisters, aged nine and thirteen.

School history

Repeated one grade.
Certificate: IS 10, June 1970

M.A.T. Reading Average, January 1970: 3.1

Teachers' comments

Grade 8: "Brad is a congenial young man, although he has had some trouble in school. I have never known him to be involved in anything malicious. This could be applied to his conduct toward his teachers and fellow students. He is mature for his age and at times has expressed a high degree of sophistication in matters related to the material that was covered in Social Studies class."

Extracurricular activities

Vice-president of student council; 8th Grade.

Part-time Job

Delivers groceries for small store on Saturdays and several times a week after school.

Career Goal

Electronics Paraprofessional

Mike

Mike's records were unavailable. However, he gave the following information:

Born: 6-1-55

Graduated from IS 10 in June 1970.

Treasurer of student council in 8th Grade.

Has three sisters; aged 15, 16, 18 and three brothers; aged 19, 13, and 10.

His father is a plasterer; his mother works as a cook in a school.

On reaching his 16th birthday, Mike plans to switch to a night school program so that he can work with his father during the day.

Sabata

Born: 3-25-55

Address: Central Harlem

Residential History: Lived all life with mother in New York City. Moved 3 times.

Parents

Father and mother separated. Mother re-married. No information regarding parents' occupations.

Siblings

Two older brothers; one younger brother; one younger sister.

School history

I.Q. (age 8): 91

Diploma: IS 10, June 1970

M.A.T. Reading Average, Grade 8: 7.0 - 7.1

Math Average, Grade 8: 5.8 - 5.9

Recommended to Regular classes.

Teachers' comments

Grade 4: "He must be the whole show or else he won't play. Little self-control. Can be good leader, but doesn't know where to stop. Tries to get by with doing as little as possible. Needs constant reminding about work and behavior."

"Very school service minded."

"President of I.S. 10 student council in 8th grade and does a fine job in promoting student togetherness."

Extracurricular activities

Student council (President)

Basketball Varsity

Part-time Job

Coaching in sports program of I.S. 10's after-school center. However, often sends Big T. to work in his place.

Career Goal

Laboratory technician in hospital. (But note that in informal interviews, Sabata says he's planning to "make it" as a numbers' man.)

Big-T

Born: 3-21-56

Address: Central Harlem

Residential History: Lived all life with mother and step-father. Moved twice, in New York City.

Parents

No information on record.

Siblings

Two older brothers; one younger brother; two older sisters.

School history

Diploma: IS 201, June 1970

M.A.T. Reading Average, June 1969: 5.6

Teachers' comments

"Cooperative mother: will come when called, very likeable. T. has a very quick temper, can be very stubborn at times. Is responsible but slow at times in attending to his work. Loquacious."

"His reading is halting, with no expression, weak in comprehension, vocabulary, definitions of words. Often freezes and doesn't work. Improvement slow. Hostile at times."

Extracurricular activities

Basketball squad. Principal's montiorial squad.

Participation in adult-sponsored community activities

Occasionally fills in for Sabata, working in I.S. 10's after school sports program.

Career Goals

Professional basketball.

Lefty

Born: 5-5-56

Address: East Harlem

Residential History: Lived all life with parents in Manhattan.

Parents

Father's Occupation:
Prize fighter

Mother's Occupation: re-
ceptionist in hospital.

Siblings

Three brothers; aged 19, 18, 11.

School history

Diploma: IS 201, June 1970

M.A.T. Reading Average, March 1969: 4.1

Poor Attendance record in 8th Grade

Extracurricular activities

Basketball squad; Principal's monitorial squad

Adult sponsored community activities

Coaches younger boys in basketball in I.S. 201's after-school community center.

Career Goals

Wants to transfer to Manhattan Vocational School, automotive department.

K.D.

Born: 7-15-55

Address: West Harlem

Residential History: Living with paternal grandparents since
start of intermediate school.

Parents

No information.

Siblings

One younger sister, also living with grandparents.

School history

Diploma: IS 10, June 1970

Honor's Program throughout intermediate school.

Extracurricular activities

Basketball squad

Science Fair

Participation in adult-sponsored community activities

Summer school - Two summers in special science program.

Career Goal

Uncertain, but want to "make a lot of money, travel all over the world, live in a 36-room mansion, get married and have 4 kids who will have more toys than they can count."

Cowboy

Born: 1-23-55

Address: Brooklyn, New York

Residential History: Lived all life in New York City, partly
with parents in Manhattan and partly
with grandparents in Brooklyn.

Parents

Father's occupation: Porter in Hebrew Home for Aged.
No information on mother.
No information about siblings.

School history

Retained in 4th Grade

Certificate: IS 201, June 1970

M.A.T. Reading Average (March 1969): 3.8

8th Grade Ratings: Pupil absent on testing day.

Counselor's Recommendation: General course in high school.

Extracurricular activities

Dramatics, basketball squad, Principal's monitorial squad.

Participation in adult-sponsored community activities

Community Center (football)

Vacation Day Camps - 2 summers.

Part-time Job

Delivery boy for grocery store (seasonal).

Career Goal

Professional football.

Spider

Born: 5-5-56, in small town in South Carolina

Address: Central Harlem

Residential History: Lived all life with parents. Moved from South Carolina to the Bronx, then to Manhattan.

Parents

Father's Occupation:
Laborer

Mother's Occupation: domestic
worker and part-time cashier in
grocery store

Siblings

Two younger brothers; one younger sister

School history

Elementary school in South Carolina, then in the Bronx, then to IS 201.

Diploma: IS 201, June 1970

M.A.T. Reading Average (April 1968): 4.7

Reading teacher's estimate in Grade 8: 8.0

Arithmetic teacher's estimate in Grade 8: 8.0

Report Card: 80% or above in all subjects

Recommended to Regular classes.

Teachers' comments

1969: "Cooperative, reliable, excellent dramatic talent."

Honors and Awards

1968 - Self-improvement Award

1969 - Award for improvement and cooperation in Reading.

Extracurricular activities

Basketball Varsity; Newspaper; Drama Club; Monitorial Squad.

Participation in adult-sponsored community activities

Neighborhood Block Association

IS 201 after-school center (tutorial in reading): once weekly.

Vacation Day Camps - 2 summers.

Community Center (Basketball and football).

Career Goal

Sports or entertainment field.

Smokey

Born: 8-26-55

Address: Central Harlem

Residential History: No information.

Parents and siblings: No information.

School history

Certificate: IS 201, June 1970

Pupil retained in Grade 4

January 1970: 5th Grade reading level

Teachers' comments

1968 - "Below grade in all subjects. Unsatisfactory behavior from Grade 3 on. Seems totally unconcerned with school work and behavior."

1966 - "Five day suspension hearing."

1965 - "Hyperactive, restless, needs constant supervision."

Extracurricular activities

Basketball team

Career Goal

Professional basketball.

Goldfinger

Born: 8-26-56

Address: Central Harlem

Residential History: Lived all life in New York City, sometimes with mother, sometimes with maternal grandmother, sometimes with a guardian.

Parents

Mother manages stationary store.
No information about father's occupation.

Siblings

Three older brothers; one older sister; one younger sister.

School history

Diploma: IS 10, June 1970.

M.A.T. - January 1970 - Reading: 7.8
Mathematics: 6.1

Principal recommends placement in regular classes.

Teachers' comments

4/62 - "Father dotes on boy, spoils him. Boy is a problem in school. Mother complained about father's attitude."

5/63 - "Interview with very cooperative mother. Boy's mother makes him behave."

2/66 - "Spoke to mother about work and conduct."

(Teacher Notes): Special abilities and aptitudes

Track, baseball, basketball (varsity team), dancing.

7th Year personality profile: "Too playful, disrupts too many lessons when not cutting class."

Principal's comment, 8th Grade: "Very capable, responsible student."

Participation in adult-sponsored community activities

Vacation Day Camps - 2 summers

Basketball Camp - 2 summers

Career Goal

Indicates that he wants to go to college on athletic scholarship.

Jeanne

Records unavailable.

Information from three informal interviews: Jeanne lived in Richmond, Virginia with paternal grandmother and father's sister for two years (from age 11 to age 13), then moved to the Bronx where she lived with her eldest brother while attending JHS 145 in the Bronx.

She is now 15.

When she decided to come to the Annex, she moved to West Harlem where she now lives with her father, a butcher, and his wife. Her mother, who is ill, lives in a nursing home in upper New York State.

Jeanne has four brothers; aged 33, 22, 17 and 16. The eldest works in the Department of Correction and is a member of the Mayor's Task Force in the Morrisania section of the Bronx. His wife is a legal secretary. The next eldest who recently graduated from Farleigh-Dickinson, works in the Post Office and plans to go to graduate school in business administration.

The younger brothers are still in high school in the Bronx. Both work for the Neighborhood Youth Corps and hold part-time jobs as stock clerks in a supermarket.

Jeanne's classroom performance showed outstanding intellectual capacity; her original play (see page 162) provides an example of her writing ability. She has excellent musical abilities and belongs to a girls' singing group that entertains at local dances on weekends.

She is uncertain about her future plans, but would like to continue with music.

Jackie

Born: 8-16-56

Address: Central Harlem (housing project)

Residential History: Lived all life with mother and father
in New York City at present address.

Parents

Father born in North Carolina.

Mother born in Georgia.

No information about parents' occupations on record, but Jackie says her father is a successful numbers' man; her mother doesn't work.

Siblings

One older sister, lives alone but in same building as Jackie and her parents.

School history

Certificate: IS 201, June 1970

M.A.T. Reading Average (4-19-69): 4.7, 4.9

I.Q. (1964): 100

Teachers' comments

June 1966: "Weak in spelling and math."

June 1965: "Specific weaknesses in spelling and math.

Cooperative parents."

June 1963: "Knows initial sounds but very slow reading.

Behavior atypical, should be separated from her friend G.G.

Cooperative parents. Pupil diabetic."

Participation in adult-sponsored community activities

Modeling clothes in housing project fashion shows.

Member of the Five Percenters (religious sect).

Fantasies of Physical Aggression in
Spontaneous Oral and Written Expressions
of members of hangout groups

LIFE IN SIEGE CITY
by Killer

Chapter One:

It was the last day of school and everybody was excited and scared that they might get left back. I was not so bright so I was kinda scared too. Bing! bing! bing! the bell had rung and it was time for me to go to official class.

"Okay", said my teacher, "shut up! Else you will spend another year in this school." The class died down the noise.

"Okay, I will give out your report cards. And don't talk or show them to anybody. Rachel, you get outside. Jimmy, Tom, James, Frank, Troy...." That was my name, Troy. Troy King. I walked down the aisle scared that I might be left back. And if I was my mother would beat my behind. I took my report and looked at it shy. Then I saw those big black words sayin', 8-11! I was happy and I smiled...which I didn't do since I came to school that morning.

Our teacher was mean and we hated her. But I was happy and I like her for my first time. Bing! bing! the bell went again and we all ran out the school yellin' and cryin'.

All but Benner. He was mad and he had a stick in his hand, cursin' to himself that he was gonna beat her brains out with the stick. I went over to him and said he looked like he got lef' back. He looked at me in a mean way and said "That white cracker is gonna get it." I asked him who was he talkin' about. Then he said "That Whitey name Miss Jones."

I knew he wasn't playin' around because he hated her real bad. But I just said anyway that he was. Then he looked at me and said "What the hell you mean?" and "You should min' your own business else you will get the same as her."

Just then Tommy Smith came and said that he got skipped to the ninth. Then he asked me what class was I goin' to. I told him 8-11. Then he asked Benner. He knew Benner got left back, but he asked Benner anyway. Benner didn't say a word. He just stared at the door because his target was there. He walked over to her and said in a soft and angry voice "Why did you put me back for?"

She looked at him and said in a nasty voice, not seein' the stick he had, "I should have put you back in a lower grade." And as she was about to say something else a big brown stick went over her head and landed right onto her. She started to scream as another blow came down. The janitor heard the noise and came to the scene and two others - strangers - came. Miss Jones was yelling that he tried to kill her. The three grabbed us all - me and Tommy too. But they were beatin' Ben, beatin' him until his face turned colors. But if it wasn't for Miss Crane, the men would have killed him.

Then they called a police and said that we tried to rob him. Miss Jones was on her knees cryin' while the cop was tryin' to comfort her. Then the cop put us in a car, a police car. I was sure I was bein' takin to court for a thing I didn't do. It didn't take me to court, but I knew they would.

When we got to the station they put us in a cell. I was trembling. Then a man came up to us and said that we have to stay there til our mothers came. Then we could go if Miss Jones would not press charges. I gave the cop my name and address with my phone number. Around two hours and a half my mother came. The cops told her what happened. She was lookin' at me like she was goin' to die. I tried to tell her I was not in it, but I could not move my lips. Then the smack came right across my mouth. I was mad and angry and I wanted to cry. But I was too mad to cry. Just as she went on her first slap Miss Jones came over and she called to my mother and told her that I didn't have nothin' to do with it. I was happy then, but my face wasn't. She came over and told my mother that Benner did it. Just then the cops said I could go home. Tommy came out too.

My mother was still kind of upset. When I got home she asked me if I had got left back. Then she said that if I did I better not tell her.

My mother was around 32 and I was 13 years old. And my height was around five-three. and I was built in the body. I lived in the Coltchesses in Siege City. Siege had three boroughs - Greenland, Benson and Coltchesses (where I lived).

Coltchesses was a bad place, but Siege was bad altogether, anyway. I lived in a project called King Projects. It was a big project. I was in my room when my brother, Dink, came in. My mother started to yell at him but, as always, he didn't pay her any mind. Then he came in the room and I told him I got promoted. He was around 15 years old and he had dropped out of school as most of the guys did in Siege. He was tough and when I needed help I would always go to him for help. He had a lot of gangs. And I was in a gang named the Red Falcon. We were not one of the top fighting gangs, but we were not one of the low fighting gangs. We had many enemies. To tell you the truth, every gang out was our enemy.

The rest of Killer's novel centered on the experiences of his gang.

ANYBODY SEEN MY FRIENDS?
by Jeanne

MAIN CHARACTERS

Ruby
Jackie
Tea
Sharon
Rosalee
Venus
Libby
Jeanne

SETTING

The setting is the East Side of Harlem. Ruby, Jackie, Tea and Jeanne live in the Lincoln Projects at Madison Avenue. Ruby and her brother Walter and her mother. Jackie and her brother Russell and her mother. Tea and her brother Di-hoo and her mother. Jeanne and her brother Gary and her mother. Ruby lives in apt. 5l. Jackie lives in apt. 5a. Tea lives in apt. 5h. I live in apt. 5b. Sharon and Rose live at E. 131 St. Rose 3d, Sharon 3c. Libby and Venus live at 132 St.

Now all of us use drugs. Let me tell you about us:

Scene 1

JACKIE Anybody see Jean? She suppose to be straight and I want to get high.
RUBY She got some good shit, too, boy. We had two bags between Tea, Jeanne and me and we were fucked up.
TEA I wish she would come on, it's party time.
VENUS 201 giving a dance.
TEA Bet. Let's go there.
NARRATOR All of a sudden there's a knock on the door to Ruby's house.
RUBY It's Jeanne.
JEANNE Jackie, man, where you been.
JACKIE All over looking for you, Jeanne, you straight?
JEANNE Yeah, why?

JACKIE I just want to get high, you didn't even tell me.
JEANNE I was going to but I guess I forgot. Do me a
favor. Y'all go to my house. Here's the key.
Wait there til I get back. Tell my mother I went
to the store.
RUBY Come on y'all.
TEA Where Jeanne went.
JACKIE To pick up her dope.
SHARON I have to be home at two, it's 8:30 now.
ROSE I'll be back. I'm going to get some works.

Scene 2

NARRATOR Rose is back and everybody is waiting for Jeanne.
Then Jeanne walks in. First she turns on the record
player. Her mother is in the back asleep. Her
brother Gary is out.

JEANNE OK, how many y'all want?
JACKIE I want one to myself.
RUBY Everybody want one to themselves except Libby and
Venus.
JEANNE OK, y'all cough up 12 dollars.
ROSE Jeanne, if you wasn't one of us I wouldn't trust
you.
JEANNE Man, ask Ruby and Tea about my shit. It's smoking.
JACKIE Rose, whose works you got?
ROSE Vincent's. Oh yeah, Julia said she be over to cop
for her and Larry.
JACKIE Jeanne, you skinnin?
JEANNE Wait, I'll tell you in a minute.
NARRATOR Somebody knocks at the door

JEANNE Tea get the door
TEA It's Julia and Ching.
JEANNE What's happening?
JULIA I want three
JEANNE Ching, you want any?
CHING You can give me one
JEANNE Eight dollars, four bags.
JACKIE Jeanne, what you doing?
JEANNE Skinning. Julia, y'all getting high up here?
JULIA Yeah we might as well, 'cause I don't have no
works.
JEANNE All those skinning in my room.
NARRATOR Somebody comes through the door. It's Jeanne's
brother, Gary.
GARY Hey, Jeanne, give me two. What's happening people.
NARRATOR Gary stays and sniffs with Ruby. Julia, Jackie,
Rose, Ching and Jeanne come out of Jeanne's room
all high.

Scene 3

NARRATOR It's ten o'clock and everybody is going to 201 party.

ROSE Jeanne your shit is fly.

JEANNE I try to tell y'all.

JACKIE Man, sis, your shit would stop a bull at five paces.

NARRATOR Everybody laughs.

JEANNE Libby lock the door.

NARRATOR As we walk into 201 dance we see the fellows: Gary, Di-hoo, Walter, Russell, Johnny, Donald, David and K.D.

K.D. What's the matter with y'all?

WALTER They're high.

DI-HOO They look fucked up. I can always tell when my woman Jackie is high..

JEANNE Come on y'all, let's party.

NARRATOR The party is over. Jeanne, Jackie, Ruby and Tea are on their way home.

JEANNE Hey, y'all come with me over to Vincent's house. I want to give him the money.

JACKIE All right. Ruby, you and Tea going?

RUBY Yeah

NARRATOR We are at Vincent's house. I give him \$30. We are about to leave.

VINCENT Y'all come over about two tomorrow. I have a surprise for y'all.

JEANNE OK, we'll be over.

NARRATOR Next day, everybody's over Vincent's waiting for Jeanne.

JEANNE Good morning folks.

VINCENT Here is your half-half.

JEANNE Y'all know who is hooked?

VINCENT Who?

JEANNE Bobo. He looks real bad, real bad.

JACKIE Vincent, what you want us for?

VINCENT I just wanted to give y'all two bags apiece.

NARRATOR Everybody thanks Vincent and leaves. Jackie goes and gets her works. Everybody's getting high when there's a knock at the door.

Scene 4

NARRATOR Jeanne goes to the door. It is two cops.

FIRST COP May I come in?

JEANNE Sure, Mr. Officer.

NARRATOR Jeanne says it loud so that the girls can hear her so that they can put it away. The two cops come in and sit down.

JEANNE May I help you?

FIRST COP Which of you is Jeanne and Gary Smith?

JEANNE That's me. My brother is sitting over there. Why?

SECOND COP Drugs, Miss Smith.

COP

JEANNE No...no drugs in here.
 FIRST COP You know, I believe you. Where is your mother?
 JEANNE Working. Why?
 SECOND
 COP Tell her to call the housing police for these projects.
 JEANNE All right. Thank you.
 NARRATOR They leave, somebody knocks at the door. It's
 Julia and Ching.
 JEANNE Hello everybody.
 JULIA What's happening?
 JEANNE How many y'all want together?
 JULIA I want five and Ching wants three so that's eight.
 NARRATOR Sharon and Rose slip in.
 SHARON Jeanne give me two.
 ROSE Jeanne give me three.
 JEANNE Five plus eight equals thirteen times two is twenty-
 six dollars. Oh yeah, the cops was just up here.
 Somebody's been squealing on me and my brother.
 When I find out, I'm kicking asses. Y'all got that?
 Any beefs?
 NARRATOR Nobody says anything. Somebody knocks at the door.
 JEANNE Come in.
 DI-HOO Jackie, your mother wants you.
 JACKIE I'll be back.
 JEANNE OK. Hey, Jackie, got anybody in mind?
 JACKIE Yeah, Clara and Fluffy.
 JEANNE I was thinking of them two also.

Scene 5

NARRATOR It's Sunday and I see Clara and Fluffy.
 CLARA I heard the cops was over your house.
 JEANNE Oh, yeah.
 FLUFFY Yeah, so did I.
 JEANNE O yeah, who told you?
 CLARA Jackie.
 NARRATOR Then all of a sudden Jackie comes by.
 JEANNE Hey, Jackie, come here.
 JACKIE What's happening.
 JEANNE You told them about the cops coming to my house?
 JACKIE No. why?
 NARRATOR Jeanne grabs Fluffy and pulls out her blade. Jackie
 is holding Clara. Then Sharon is walking by and sees
 what is happening and goes to help Jackie. Clara
 tells Fluffy that Jeanne is crazy with a knife.
 Jeanne fucks Fluffy up, grabs Clara and fucks Clara
 up too. Now Jeanne has them both on the ground.
 Everybody stands around and watches.
 JEANNE OK, which one of y'all squealed?
 NARRATOR Jeanne threatens them with the knife.
 FLUFFY Jeanne, it was Clara that squealed to the cops on you.
 JEANNE OK.
 JACKIE Cops, Jeanne, hurry up.

NARRATOR Jeanne cuts the left side of Clara's face straight down.
JEANNE Clara, tell the cops who did it and I'll kill both of y'all.

Scene 6

JACKIE Man, sis, you fucked them two up.
SHARON You can fight your ass off Jeanne.
NARRATOR Monday we go to school at the Annex. We are in the gym class. Clara walks in and looks around. Jackie looks at her and says "Jeanne really fucked up your face." Then Clara sees Jeanne. She faces her and fires one shot. Jackie tells her your going to get it as she is running over to Jeanne. Clara runs out. Ruby and Tea run in along with Sharon, Rose, Venus, and Libby. Jackie tells them what happened and Mrs. King, the gym teacher, leaves with Jeanne. Ruby and Jackie run out. Everybody else follows them.
RUBY Get that bitch!
JACKIE I'll catch her.
NARRATOR Jackie grabs her, pulls her down, everybody jumps on her and fucks her up. On the way home everybody is talking about Jeanne getting shot.
SHARON Let's stay home tomorrow. We can go visit Jeanne at her house.
JACKIE Everybody down.
NARRATOR Everybody says "Bet". The next day over at Jeanne's house.
SHARON We got Clara for you, Jeanne.
JEANNE Thanks y'all, but I got to get her myself and I got to kill her.
TEA Jeanne, you'll be sent away.
JEANNE So, it won't be the first time. I've made up my mind to shoot her just like she did me.
SHARON Jeanne, we are going to stay with you all day, alright.
JEANNE Yeah, I'd like that.
JACKIE Jeanne, let me tell you something. I like you like a sister from the same mother. Let me take care of Clara for you.
RUBY Jackie, I'll help you. Tea and me both, OK?
JEANNE No, but y'all could help me.

Scene 7

NARRATOR Somebody knocks at the door.
JEANNE Jackie get the door please.
JACKIE Jeanne, look who came to see you, Julia and Ching.
JULIA How, you been?
JEANNE Fine. What bring y'all two here?
JULIA Jeanne, Clara is dead.
NARRATOR Everybody stops what they are doing.

JACKIE How did she die?
CHING She was beaten to death, by y'all.
JEANNE Thanks a lot. There's a bag on my dresser.
CHING Jeanne, I came to say take care of yourself, all of
y'all because she'll get revenge on y'all.
JEANNE Thanks a lot. See y'all later. Jackie, got any
money? I want to get high.
JACKIE Yeah, a dollar.
RUBY I got two.
TEA I got two.
SHARON I got one.
ROSE I got two.
VENUS I got three. Sharon you and Venus put together.
Jackie look in my drawer and get eight bags. I mean
the last six.
NARRATOR Jackie goes and gets a handful of bags and sees she
only has six. We get high. The next day we go to
school. We all meet downstairs in front of the building.
When we get there, we see Mrs. King.

Scene 8

MRS. KING Jeanne, how have you been?
JEANNE Fine.
MRS. KING Jeanne, you and your friends have to go to court
tomorrow morning at eight o'clock sharp.
JEANNE OK. Thanks a lot.
NARRATOR The next scene takes place in a courtroom. They call
Smith, Jeanne. Jeanne goes to the front of the court
and tells what happened. The jury leaves. When they
return they find Jeanne Smith "Not", I repeat, "Not
Guilty". We are on our way home when a car starts
flying by shooting. Everybody jumps down. No one is
hit.
JEANNE We have to find out who that was.
JACKIE I'm hip.
RUBY Come on y'all, let's go get some Chinese food.
SHARON Bet.
JEANNE Let's go get high first.
RUBY OK.
NARRATOR They go over to Jeanne's house to get high. Jackie
and Sharon go to pick up for Jeanne. Then they come
back. They all get high. They are all going to get
Chinese food.

Then all of a sudden a car came by shooting again.
This time the car does not miss. In the Friday
morning paper, "Eight Girls Shot Dead". This is what
happened to us. Now let's see if you can guess who
did it. Here is a clue:

(Julia, Fluffy, Ching)

THE JUNKIE'S CHRISTMAS
Sabata's Favorite Toast

It was the night before Christmas
And all through the pad
Reefers 'n cocaine - was all we had.
It was a guy in the corner
Takin' a mean nod
One more nod
And he swore he was God.
It was a guy in the corner
Jerkin' off his dick
One more jerk
And he swore he was Saint Nick.
And all through the pad
I heard such a clatter
I went to the door
To see what was the matter.
And to my surprise
Five shinin' badges starin' in my eyes:
Four o' the guys
Decided to get rough
So I ran to the bathroom
To get rid o' the stuff.
I mained and I mained
Til I packed my vein
And all I don't cop
I threw down the drain.
They came in the house
An' they took me away
And that's how I spent
My Christmas Day.
They put me in jail
An' in jail I met a guy name Snake
Me 'n Snake sorted out a little jail break:
Over the walls and on the green grass
And they caught poor Snake
But I was too goddam fast.
I ran through rain, I ran through mud
I came to a place called the Bucket of Blood.
I said "Bartender, bartender, give me sumpn' to eat".
He gave me a rusty glass of water and some piece of fucked up meat.
He looked in my eyes and I looked at him
And I said, "Do you know who I am?"
And he said "No, and I don't give a good goddam."
He went for his knife and I went for my gun -
I shot that motherfucker and that's when he sprung.
His wife came runnin' downstairs and said, "Is he dead?"
I said "Is he dead? Count them motherfuckin' slugs I put in his
head!"

The Expression and Control of
Physical Aggression Among Members of Hangout Groups.

A dispute between Big-T and a Puerto Rican youth named Angel prompted by a remark of Angel's that Big-T interpreted as an insult, nearly grew into a gang fight between the Bosses and Angel's hangout group. Hearing of it, the principal ordered Big-T and Angel to come into his office, discuss their differences and shake hands like gentlemen. Angel resisted, saying that Big-T might pretend to forget his grievances but then later, he and his boys would be waiting to get Angel after School. The only way that Angel would agree to a discussion was in a meeting among himself, Big-T and Sabata. The principal invited Sabata to preside over their discussion and took them to an empty classroom where he left them, and a few of the other Bosses, to begin. The ensuing exchange, which Sabata asked me to record on tape, shows how the fight between Big-T and Angel started and how Sabata uses his verbal skills to resolve it.

BIG-T (to Angel): Check it, man. Like I thought we jus' gonna have a fist fight, man.

SABATA: Well. Hold it. Whatcha...what's the... what brung up the whole thing, fightin'?

BIG-T: He was...we came in the lunchroom...he had on a suit and I asked him was he goin' anywhere special. He said, "It's mah business."

ANGEL: Hold it, hold it, Big-T...you asked me why I had a tie on.

BIG-T: Yeah, a tie and a suit. And you said, "Well, it's my business, man." I wouldn't get smart with you, right?

ANGEL: I didn't get smart. I told you, "That's my business."

BIG-T: Well, did you have to say it like that, man? Hmmm?

ANGEL: Well, it was my business....

SABATA: Wait, hold up...

BIG-T: I'll just deck you Ange. Don' think I lie. And then when your boy tol' me "He's bringin' his gun to school, I ain't like it. So I went 'n tol' my boy.

SABATA: So watcha' all shoulda did, whatcha'all should do now, not whatch'all shoulda did, is really just sit and rap for a while, and see if y'all could come to some decision over the fight. An' like, y'know, I don' see no sense in fightin' over some heeby-jeeby like that. (Sabata starts to play the piano behind the table they are seated at.)

BIG-T: Like, like, like I don't mind jokin'. That's all I gotta say, man. But when somebody tells me, see...when you say you gonna be prepared for me, man...I jus' tol' my boys ...(Sabata playing chopsticks on the piano).

SABATA: Whatcha'all should do is jus' pull y'all two chairs up in the corner somewhere and talk. That's all y'all gotta do. Is talk. That's all you really have to do.

BIG-T: So, like I say, you wanna squash it?

ANGEL: Trouble is, I wanna know why you wanted to fight in the beginnin.....

BIG-T: 'Cause you gettin' smart, man. I asked you a simple question and then you talkin' about "Yeah, I'll be ready tomorra". And then when you boy come, talkin about you gonna bring the gun, you gonna shoot me in my back...

SABATA: Hold it...

BIG-T: He said you lef' school cryin'...you went to get the gun right then. I ain' like it from the beginnin'. So, like I said, if we gonna fight, we gonna use hands. But if you gonna bring the gun, I'm gonna bring one.

ANGEL: But did I bring a gun?

BIG-T: You haven's been to school.

ANGEL: Hold it! Sabata, was I in school Wednesday morning?

SABATA: He was here for one day.

BIG-T: And then I hear that you brang your brother 'n what-not aroun'. Like he 'poze to run us off!

SABATA (to Smokey): Hey, ah, close the door there, Smokey. (Then to Toby and Angel) The way I figure... Angel, you useta be down with us, man. (To the other Bosses): He'd be down with our party 'n everything. (This is in reference to a school dance). I figure ah...boom! He rap with us them, he can rap with us now. Sit down 'n talk...like, like...friends, y'unnerstan'?

ANGEL: Yeah, but Sabata...they told me you had brought your piece too.

SABATA: I did have my gun. I bring my gun to school just about every other day.

BIG-T: Sabata - my boy!

SABATA: And my man's my fella, my main man.

BIG-T: See, when we down, we down together. An' you wanna know what (to Angel)? He ain' got nothin' against you.

SABATA: But if you would've shot him, then I'd have somethin' against you. So y'all should be rappin' on what happened with this here. When this bob up.

BIG-T: Okay, we'll get down on that subject. (to Angel): But why you have to get loud with me?

ANGEL: The trouble is, I DIDN'T get loud with you. You said you asked me a simple question, right? And I answered you simple too.

BIG-T: You dind't get smart?

ANGEL: I didn't get smart with you. All I...look, all I told you was "That's my business."

BIG-T: I say "Yo man, y'all down in the suit! Y'all goin' anywhere today, special? He say "Isn't it mah business?" You was there too, right Spider?... (to Angel): And I'm hauled off and hit you. You coulda said "I ain' goin no place special, I jus' got tired wearin' dun-garees, or something." Or somethin'! But, y'know, like..."Isn't it my business?"

ANGEL: Well, is it?

BIG-T: Yeah, it's your business, but you ain't have to come out like...was I bein' friendly, man?

ANGEL: Alright, now tell me somethin...

BIG-T: I even had a smile on my face. When I asked him the question...am I right or wrong? I was smilin' when I asked him the question and then he gonna get all serious. "Isn't it my business?" I don't like it, man.

SABATA: So I figure that y'all should, ah just like make your peace, or whatever y'all wanta do, and the whole thing'll be over.

ANGEL: (to Toby): I'm gonna tell you somethin'...you coulda gotten in a lotta trouble 'cause the cops was lookin' for you.

BIG-T: For what?

ANGEL: For fuckin' around with me. Because, you know, the way they put that, that was an assault...'cause you striked at me and I din't strike back at you, see? Because even Buoy (one of the teacher-aides) told me that day...he told me "Why don't you go to Romero (the dean) and I'll Y.D. 'em myself? (Y.D. refers to recording a student's misdemeanor at the police department's Youth Division.) And then this morning when I was comin' to school around 10:30, he told me

"I heard about the trouble you in", and he told me, "Just tell me the guy and I'll take him upstairs and I'll Y.D. him. And I didn't."

BIG-T: See, I dind't like the attitude you came in with.

SABATA: All y'all gotta do is stop it.

BIG-T: Alright, I'm willing to stop it. I don't care if you're willing to stop it or not. But...

ANGEL: The truth is I've been tryin' to drop it since the beginning.

BIG-T: Okay, we gonna drop it. But I'm gonna ask you this now, and I ain't gonna say it no more. You and your friends, the next time you get loud with me, you can go to the President mother. Next time you get loud...

ANGEL: Okay, that's okay with me, 'cause my friends are different...

BIG-T: I'm talkin' to you...you probably go back and tell your friends, 'cause I'm gonna tell my friends what happened. You can go to the President mother, but next time one of y'all be loud with me it ain't gonna be no talkin' in it. It just gonna be pug all the way.

ANGEL: Hold, hold it, I'm wanta bring this out...I don't know if it's true or false, but a lot of times I'm hearin' shit about the "Ricans, somebody's always sayin' like, like sayin' 'Let's beat up these'Ricans' - and all this shit, you know."

SABATA: Now you know...you know we don't be loud with y'all.

BIG-T: We be playin' with you.

SABATA: You know, we be down with y'all...if we gonna fight, we all gonna fight...together.

Like Sabata, her counterpart in the Bosses, Jackie organized most of the Lovers' activities. However, although both Jackie

and Sabata were physically equal or superior to almost every student in the school, I never saw either of them engage in physical aggression. The first and only time I saw Jackie prepare to engage in physical aggression she was prompted by one of her teachers who inadvertently made a gesture--rolling up her sleeves--which members of hangout groups consider an invitation to fight that only a coward would ignore.

Miss E., the science teacher, had been having trouble with the Lovers, as had most of her colleagues, but she seemed to take it more personally. At first she tried to make friends with many of them, allowing them to smoke in her room and warning them if a dean approached. Eventually, her efforts at friendship undermined her attempts to discipline the Lovers. For several days she could be heard yelling at them in her room and finally the principal came to warn the Lovers that they would be suspended if they persisted in disturbing the science class. A few days later several of the Lovers surrounded Miss E. at the beginning of the science class and began talking loudly at her. Miss E., who was small and thin and wore glasses, tried to answer them back and, growing perspired, began rolling up her sleeves and loosening her collar as she spoke. As Miss E. was telling the Lovers that they were just ordinary students and ought to behave as such, Jackie, who had removed her coat, began to roll up her sleeves. "Come on", she said to Miss E., "I'm ready when you are. You want to fight now?" It looked as if there would be a fight between them but, at that moment, a

young male teacher entered the room. Standing between Jackie and Miss E. he said, "There's not going to be any fights between students and teachers in this school", or words to that effect. Rosalee, a member of the Lovers, tried to push him out of the way so the fight could begin, but he resisted her while talking calmly to Jackie, urging her to forget about the fight, and warning that she might get herself in serious trouble. Finally Jackie turned to Jeanne, who had by now begun to challenge Miss E. herself, and said, "Come on, sister, let's go." Jeanne continued to threaten Miss E. for another moment, while Jackie stood behind her, holding her lightly at the sides, and urging her out of the room. They left, followed by several other members of the Lovers.

Goldfinger's experiences on the street suggested that some ghetto parents encouraged members of older hangout groups to use aggression in order to discipline their juniors:

"In the summertime, the boys that I hang out with... we had a curfew. The older boys gave us a curfew. Our curfew was six o'clock..like we couldn't be in the street after six o'clock...even to go to the store...if you have to go to the store, don't let 'em see you.

Like, one night I was going to Schirmers...I was going to Signaters on Eighth Avenue, get me somethin to eat, and I walked through 147th Street. That's where everybody used to be at. Everybody used to be in that block. And, y'know, all the girls were sittin' on the stoop. So I stopped, y'know, and started talking and, y'know, all of us were down there. Den somebody said, 'Here comes Les and da fellas.' So, like we stops, y'know, like we didn' see 'em. So, like seven of 'em was comin' down the block...so we was trapped. Only way we could go was through the basement. And the door was locked! All we...if we wanted to get away we had to jump in the basement. And then, like when I...I was the first one to jump. I jumped into Les's hands. He caught me, so...like they beat me so bad that I

couldn't come out the next day. I stayed in the house.

So, like they could cut you in the mouth. They could make you bleed...y'know...and if you cry they get you even worsen. And, y'know, like the mothers useta tell 'em to do that. The mothers useta tell 'em, 'yeah, go get him on curfew.' And they...y'know, Les and dem... would bring you up to your house and den your mother said, 'You was out there, huh?' So, like that was it, y'know. And everybody knew everybody's mother, y'know. They mothers useta associate with ours.

Examples of questions used during informal interviews

I. Sports

1. Playing or watching
 - 1.0. What would you rather do, watch a game or play one?
 - 1.1. Which game? (or which position?)

II. Teen-age games and pastimes

1. Card games
 - 1.0. What card game do the cats play most around here?
 - 1.1. Gimme an idea of the rules you use.
2. Dice
 - 2.0. How do you play dice around here?
 - 2.1. Do fights ever start over cards or dice?
3. Slam Books
 - 3.0. How do you start a Slam Book?
 - 3.1. What kinds of questions do you usually put in?
 - 3.2. Do fights ever start over what people write in Slam Books?

III. Peer group

1. Group
 - 1.0. Is there a bunch of dudes (or girls) you hang out with?
 - 1.1. How many are there?
 - 1.2. Who are some of them? Names and ages.
 - 1.3. Do any of them speak Spanish?
 - 1.4. Do you hang out with any whiteys?
 - 1.5. Who are some of your best friends?
2. Leadership
 - 2.0. Is one cat the leader? Who?
 - 2.1. Is he the slickest, the biggest or the best with his hands?
 - 2.2. Is there a number two man?
 - 2.3. Is there one cat who sells woof tickets, but can't cash 'em?
 - 2.4. Is there a cat who cracks a lot of jokes?
 - 2.5. Where's your hangout?

IV. Recreation

1. Drinking
 - 1.0. What kind of taste do you like?
 - 1.1. Which taste gives you the best high?
 - 1.2. Ever get drunk? What went down?
2. Drugs
 - 2.0. Is a reefer dope?
 - 2.1. What makes some people junkies?

V. Trouble

1. Fighting
 - 1.0. Do fights ever start over girls or bread?
 - 1.1. What are the rules for a fair fight?
 - 1.2. What was the best fight you ever saw?
 - 1.3. Ever fight a dude that was bigger than you?
What went down?
 - 1.4. Suppose you drop a dude, and he says "I give",
could you walk away without watching your back?
 - 1.5. What would happen if you couldn't fight?
2. Girls Fighting
 - 2.0. Do the girls around here fight?
 - 2.1. Do they fight like girls, bitin', scratchin',
pullin' hair, or do they fight like boys?
 - 2.2. Did you ever fight with a girl? (or a boy?)

VI. Hip lexicon

1. Can you tell me the meaning of some words I've been hearing around here?

Booze	Taste
Chicken	Punk
Cool	Down
Blow the whistle	Drop a dime
Horse	Skizag
Blankout	Burn
Put fire to his ass	Sting
Put something on 'em	Peedee car and Y.D. card
Fly	Dry
Square business	Eat's your mind
Lame	Stud

VII. College

- 1.0. Do you know any kids who have sisters or brothers in college?
- 1.1. How would you get to college if you had no dough?
- 1.2. (If athletics mentioned) what if you got very good marks?
- 1.3. What do you think about open admission?

VIII. Aspirations

- 1.0. Work
- 1.1. What do you want to be when you grow up?
- 1.2. And how many years of training after high school does a person need in order to become a _____?

IX. Success

- 1.0. Who do you think has the best chance to get ahead for a kid in your neighborhood?
 - a. A cat who's slick?
 - b. A cat who slaves?
 - c. A cat that's lucky?
 - d. A cat who knows how to vine?
- 1.1. When you say "get ahead", what are you thinking of?
- 1.2. If you had all the dough in the world and you could spend it on anything you wanted, what would you do with it?

X. Models

- 1.0. Who would you most want to be like?
- 1.1. Why do you want most to be like him (or her)?
- 1.2. (if answer is "myself") What grown-up would you most want to be like?
- 1.3. (if answer is a parent) What grown-up outside the family?
- 1.4. Who was the most important person in your life? What was (is) he or she like?

A GLOSSARY OF NAMES AND NICKNAMES

The Bosses

Sabata
Goldfinger
Big-T
Smokey
Lefty
Spider
Cowboy
K.K.
K.K.

The Lovers

Jackie as Asia
Jeanne as Dusty or Jemel
Katie as Cola or Ebony
Sharon as Hashina
Ruby as Sharmain
Eva as China or Keisha
Sylvia as Sister or Sheika
Julie as Biggie or Uganda
Rosalee as Latissa
Clara as Cookie or Tawana
Theresa as Tea or Gerursur
Venus as I-asha
Libby as Makeba

Nicknames used by others

Boys: Bobo the Motion
Mandrake the Magician
Animal
Killer
Slick
Sly
Snake
Jaguar
Stay High
Black Boy
Country
Popeye
Dealer
Speed
Spade
E.J.Home
Money

Girls: Diamond
Foxy
Muffin
Poopie
Dizzy
Freshie
Apache
Eyes
Buttons
Sleepy
Lonely

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