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A STUDY ON GROUP DYNAMICS OF THE FORMAL-INFORMAL  
RELATIONS IN A PUBLIC REFORM SCHOOL (I)  
Social Psychology of a Coercive Organization II

by

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I. Problem and Method

Especially since the Second World War juvenile delinquency problem has come into the limelight of public opinion in Japan too. It deserves attention as a social problem, for the juvenile delinquencies augment in an alarming way and have become worse than ever. There are many of those people who either make their opinions public only by becoming excited or slightly comment on policies and philosophies of delinquency so as to warn or criticize only, while on the contrary there are people who get anxious about it more really and directly, still without expressly participating in the public opinions; namely people who willy-nilly put in any face-to-face practices of delinquents' control, such as to detect, investigate, judge, reeducate, guide, care, foster or advice, in some institutions, families or friendship-relations. These people of practices may rather form the nuclear portion of the whole array challenging the delinquents, even though they depend fairly on how and what to be maintained by those of opinion, while the latter can at first exercise pertinent influence on delinquents only through doing so on the direct and nuclear portion: they are, so to speak, the indirect portion of the array. But in order to be effectively proof against delinquency and challenge it strenuously, both the parts, direct or indirect, must be connected together in close by taking such a consciousness and conduct with them, as will enable them to reach actually beyond each limitation extensively for each other reality in which they have influence on delinquency mutually, and to grasp it objectively of their own accord, so as to make this real and broad self-recognition into the basic ground of their opinions or treatment-techniques, they may feel sure of, for they could, only by doing so, keep their role and position more effective in objective situations against delin-

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quency, and point themselves to a more real goal. And now social psychology has to go a long way, so as to give them such an objective reality, toward the two parts challenging delinquency as the sole positive science exercising objective investigation on dynamics of reciprocal process between person and society and culture; criminal social-psychology must have also the actual situations themselves of either practices or philosophies against juvenile delinquency as the most important subjects, as it has, as the subject, the functions leading up children to delinquency, for both are the mutual preconditions. Nevertheless social psychology, as well as criminal social-psychology, must discharge itself from the task devising treatment-techniques in practices and doing criticism on them or the philosophies, and it must never take any value standard excepting the methodological one on which it prefers giving up even any valuation, for social psychology might become otherwise exposed to danger of losing the characteristic and role of science consisting in grasping facts as they are. Informations from criminal social-psychology have to be so objective as will be useful to some ideologies and practices both for and against juvenile delinquency. But the informations, it is true, can get practically significant by becoming organized into techniques and philosophies, but the informations, for them too, must keep the role of objectifying them by focalizing both opinions and practices on the facts. Criminal social-psychology, also so as to be so serviceable for them, must take the standpoint where it is detached from practices and philosophies rigorously in providing its informations.

Now since 1950, the writers mainly have engaged themselves in the problem of criminals or delinquents as a very important one of social psychological topics. From the above mentioned standpoint, they have hitherto carried on some systematic researches into the etiology of crime or delinquency and the value-controlling dynamics of correctional institutions (prisons and reform schools) or that of the other various agencies for the criminals or delinquents. We would summarize here our 1953-1954 survey of the T. Public Reform School for Boys. In summarizing of this survey we keep it in our mind to search for some clue for elucidating some basic aspects of value-controlling dynamics within a coercive organization for juvenile delinquents, as a continuation of our previous English paper<sup>(14)</sup> on adult prison.

Now the T. Public Reform School under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Justice had, during this survey, about 300 juvenile inmates who had been judged and sent there by the Family Courts on the ground of social work studies by investigators at the Family Courts as well as psychological and medical examinations by specialists at the Juvenile Classification Homes amal-

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gamated with juvenile detention home in Japan. The school belonged to a middle grade one, consisting in receiving juvenile delinquents, ranging in age from 16 to 20 years, judged as fairly incorrigible; further as correctional institutions for juvenile delinquency under the jurisdiction of the M. of Justice in Japan, there are also some primary grade reform schools which receive delinquents, ranging in age from 14 to 16 years, judged as fairly easily corrigible, and moreover some special grade reform schools for those judged as very incorrigible, ranging in age from 16 to 20 years, and besides there are medical reform schools and some reformatories (youth prisons) for those in age from 16 to 20 years. Moreover, in Japan there are reeducational or therapeutic homes under the jurisdiction of the M. of Health and Welfare for children of not heavy misconduct ranging in age from 6 to 18 years.

Now this T. Reform School admitted the children by allotting to them five dormitorial cottages separately set on the site situated on a 20-acre tract of a hill-side in the suburbs of Sendai, a city with the size of about 420,000 populations. Besides on the same site it had facilities as schooling and workshop cottage, infirmary, classification and reception quarters, so-called "reflection rooms" in disciplinary wings in the quarters, office quarters and farms. And now we could grasp systematically this community life of the boys admitted there by classifying it into two parts: the schooling-workshop regions and the housing regions in dormitorial cottage. In the public reform schools in Japan, housing parts (the dormitorial cottage) in the rule include no solitude-cells, but only small dormitories with about 5-10 inmates, except a few solitary cells used for punishment, medical treatment or quarantine period in reception time, so as to avoid mental diseases from confinement. We, however, took the focus of our research on cottages' situation out of all its community situations, for that situation used to play the nuclear role in group dynamics within the school. This point forms a striking contrast with such an adult maximum security prison community, as was dealt with in our preceding report, where the nuclear region was in the prison factory. The dormitorial cottages in the reform school were a life region where boys usually spent not only three-fourths of a whole day but took three meals, slept and had only once free time. On the contrary, in that prison convicts' dormitories were only for sleeping, in some other places convicts took three meals a day and enjoyed a little recreation. Accordingly that place could accord the most basic incentive situation to the children in contrast with prisoners. And then the children could be more closely together with each other in informal relations here within the dormitory than somewhere else and be more free and easy here than in schooling or workshop situations, while in prison every dormitories were locked. Moreover dormitorial cottage groups were not formed in the way of grouping at schooling or workshop rooms as that prison, conversely the dormitorial groups formed a basic unit by which the formal groups were organized for the purpose of enjoying recreation,

dressing, and taking a bath. Besides, the groups went so far that they formed a constant frame of making and maintaining certain informal relations under other various formal grouping, while in the prison the assignment to a factory group laid a foundation for all the other grouping. And that in T. Reform School inmates usually ordinarily were not authorized to change their belonging to a certain cottage group from intake to parole unless it was decided to be worth removing in view of medical or custodial treatment. To boil down the question is that the nuclear region of every one's lifespaces usually was built on and pointed at keeping the subjective equivalence of the structure of needs system which is ready by ego to objective frame of reference willy-nilly limiting ego most intimately, most continually and most incentively, in real and also historical or expectable level. In coercive organization, controlling inmates expressly formally must be appeared so definitely and repressively, as to have to extort the lifespaces of inmates, for it didn't square with lifespaces which inmates had previously formed in the free community-life. So they must compensate somewhere what has been extorted in lifespaces. Particularly in correctional institution it was necessary, considering the possibilities of an organization's order being established and educational influence being achieved, only by coercively separating the delinquent or criminal lifespaces' structure, that is, inducing their socialized readiness by repressing their anti-moral and illegal readiness. On the other hand, delinquent or criminal inmates had to defend the ego structure of their own against such a formal or other inmates' pressure by openly making mask-behavior, and mutually maintaining secretly the nuclear ego within informal relations. The reform school's teachers must first lead inmates to make mask-adjustment and to be socialized in nuclear ego, attract them gradually to formal value, till the inmates lose their ego balance and change it. Therefore we had to find and take out of all the situations of a given institution, where there were nuclear informal relations, and where they could limit and keep the nuclear lifespaces. And then we must focus investigating on structure and function of nuclear informal relations most effectively. Then by restricting ourselves to dormitorial cottage situations, as before prison fatocry's. we must discuss here group dynamics of formal-informal relations within T. Reform School and then how and what of the mechanism permeating the correction-value to inmates through them.

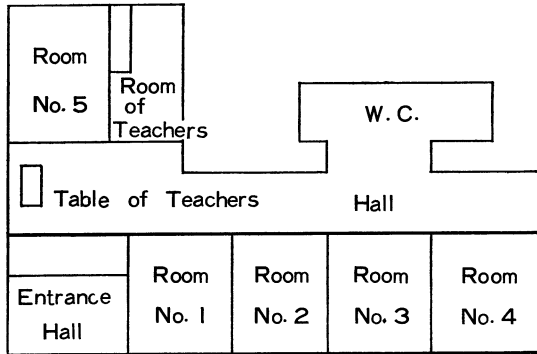
Beginning with 1952 for about two years we then engaged ourselves in the main research, after surveying as preliminary research the present attitudes of all its inmates by means of sociometric test. We carried on the test, during the main investigation too, at intervals of two or three months, referring to the diaries of cottage by teachers or inmates, the clinical case records examined by psychologists or physicians of T. Reform School or Classification Home from where the inmates were sent, then to the case work records done by social case

workers of Family Courts. And then psychologists of T. Reform School principally dealt with action research and observation of their usual life in close concerts with the teachers, while other psychologists chiefly interviewed with the inmates and were concerned with systematic action research too. We attached importance to the sociometric test—sociogram and atomgram—as a clue to grasping generally the basic frames of informal relations and their changing, so that we deepened it circumstantially by interviewing and objectified it thoroughly by free or systematic action research; we specially proved how really they were in such actions as represented in their result of attitude testing—sociogram and atomgram—by freely observing their actions without exciting their suspicion or engaging themselves in the systematic action research by controlling situations in such a way as will release the formal coercive one as follows; for instance, a cottage teacher said to inmates in free time, “Well, here are many sweets presented you by the visiting teachers as a token of their gratitude for your kind cooperation to their studies. They heartily appreciate your efforts. It is suggested that we should eat the sweets together with them. Well, I comply with their request. Now, I would like one of the visitors to act as chairman.” The cottage teacher maintained strongly free actions of inmates from formal side and then retired into a corner of the hall, so he charged himself with putting the observing on record without exciting their suspicion. A visitor as master in place of the cottage teacher requested them to form there in hall some circles to take the sweets together sitting around easily crosslegged and freely in rings with some boys whom they preferred, so that he distributed a plate of sweets to each circle and induced them gradually into a contest of singing or pantomime among representatives of every circle, further took pictures with other visitors and made tape-recording openly in memory. In this way we could prove reality of attitude by systematically corresponding to real action in various situations and the role and status within informal group functioning in a given social setting as well. Moreover, piled methods of daily observation and longrange case records on such ones we could grip some basic structure and function of coercive formal-informal relations through development or change of various phenomenological settings for about two years. In fine, all of us engaged ourselves in these investigations according to the same theoretical constructs and research design, and discussed together, then obtained some results.

## II. General Characteristics of the Structure and Function of Cottage Situations in T. Reform School: Part 1. General Aspects

Here we refer to basic frame of formal-informal relations unfolding really and historically, especially from the angles of general characteristics. Each cottage accommodated about 60 inmates and they were allotted so that the

distribution of inmates having each status differentiated from B2 grade to A1 grade by the standard of progressive free-system might be made to be equal in each cottage, further these inmates were assigned to five dormitorial rooms



arranged as is shown by the figure here inserted, in the order as follows; the more the inmates had to be supervised, the easier it must be to supervise their room from the point of view of teachers' controlling. For instance, in B cottage like any other, teachers allotted the room to each one, room No.1 to problem children, room

No.2 to the ones less in need of supervising, room No.3 to the obedient or the low levelers of delinquency depth, room No.4 to the weak, room No.5 to problem children or the senior. The teachers in charge of B cottage, like the others, consisted of one chief and 4-5 regular staffs. By bed time some teacher remained as a rule at his table in the hall, though after bed time he entered his room of the cottage, accordingly the gradually inclining gradient of formal pressure was made up from the central pressure region here to the most remote room. At night, as the teachers' forces were weakened, for many persons left the school, and the formal power was reinforced with each cottage locked by the personnel outside and supervised from the outside every 30 minutes by staffs patrolling around five cottages; a teacher within each cottage could never have a key, on account of the possibility of being rebbed of his key by inmates who wanted to run away. But under such a situation of the cottage, the teachers couldn't help taking a type of monitor or cadet system, by which older children were given authority over younger or larger over smaller in cottage group, for it spared cottage teacher the necessity of coming directly to grips with the real problems of his charges. While the ten called "Jichi-Iin"—members of self-governing committee—, were appointed for the necessity in each cottage unit from among those who were imminent at parole and treated as A1 in progressive free system and regarded as adjusting themselves to value-standards of T. Reform School, they were given formally assistant position of teachers as a chief or a vice-chief of each room group at recreation, schooling, sharing goods or somethings to eat with inmates, so that they came to have the position intervening formally or informally in the influences of teachers on every day life of children within reform school.

While each teacher came to control over the children by such a system, each child also came to hide criminal ego from formal pressure or to allow formal value permeation into the nuclear ego through informal relations mutually

established to magnify the free grade of their lifespaces and compensate their ego's extortion by formal or informal group pressure within monitor system. So, "Jichi-Iin" became the equivalence-focus of formal-informal relations; it appeared that the more Jichi-Iin an informal group had, the stronger group could be and at the same time the more Jichi-Iin devoted to a teacher he had, the more completely he could control the children.

Now while such relations however were established by value acting as intervening variable, the value also was concrete in "relations" only. Value and relation were both sides of the shield. Now inversely, we would like to inquire into structure and function of the school with priority given to the value-side, that is, demonstrate in A and B cottage the value-dynamics as to how and what the teachers received from the inmates and gave to them, and how and what the children did from teachers and to them. We could see the considerable contrast being there between the cottage A's life and the B's life, by observing them or investigating what the cottage teachers recorded. In A, formal pressure was put on the inmates through value standard attaching more importance to promoting personal value (character, attitude to human relation, attitude to correctional value) than to preserving peace within the cottage, while in B, by contrast, formal pressure through value standards laying more stress on maintaining group peace than personal value: the one on individual guidance, the other on keeping general standards and the one on observing by access, on the other on observing from remote standpoint.

Thus the two cottages through the above mentioned control system came to unfold informal relations along considerable opposite trends of formal value. In A, cottage teachers' guidance, however, was apt to be inquisitive as far as the nuclear ego of each child and to be so coercive, that it proved effectively enough to bring powerfully formal value home to his mind and ruin his anti-moral readiness. Nevertheless, on the other hand they came in effect to suppress considerably free-spaces and initiality of children, so that the informal group got stiff and became tense; while the informal group induced toward formal value was too fanatic, rigorous and devoid of pliancy as will be exemplified by the group by us called the "religious" clique infatuated with christianity; the other one keeping as usual criminal readiness also got still more into mighty cohesion to hide nuclear ego and gave rise to strenuous resistance against formal staffs or plus group, as the group alleged the "conviction" clique finding fault with formal value system or speaking ill of it. Accordingly they often resisted or opposed mutually among the informal groups and between teacher and child.

Next in B cottage, by the teachers' guidance type, it was easier for inmates than in A, to retain their own value system or criminal readiness within the informal relations if they only kept clear of committing the rule as the teachers' controlling power pushed coercively the formal value on the inmates through



the narrower and more definite channel focused only on the rigid discipline for maintaining security. Accordingly here the permeating of correctional value couldn't avert danger of being indirect and of not urging to destroy criminal readiness of their nuclear ego. But inversely here was equilibrium of inmates' ego particularly when they have status capable of extending free lifespaces in informal relations along the value outside the fence, for they avoided being urged to encounter reciprocally each nuclear ego between teachers and inmates. And then they are rather apt to assume an air of courteousness and officiousness along the personal action of teachers than in A cottage. Besides, there was less struggling among informal groups mutually resisting and opposing.

Now such a divergent coming in evidence of given formal value standards within each cottage took its rise in adjusting differentially to keep leadingly from the portion of the teachers their pressure pertaining to constellation of value-stimulation within the double structure of formal-informal relations. The formal value-standard, however variously the characteristic of each teacher gave several nuances or shadings to it, was never thoroughly determined with it, but each teachers' characteristics first could exert influence on the value standard within limits of possibility of adjusting themselves to objective frame of the situations. And in case there were the severer tensions between the teachers and children narrower still was the possibility of each individual characteristic. Moreover, the stronger the teachers become for adjusting themselves to the formal-informal situation, the more they could control over the childrens in a given situation, that is, the so-called "Situation zu herrschen." And then the less the teachers could approach the children's nuclear ego, the more the lifespaces of juvenile delinquents got vivified and increased in the informal grouping inside the fence, because, in coercive organization, they usually maintain conflictingly the ego against any heterogenous or opposite value standards in formal group. They couldn't change or shift belongingness from certain formal group regions to the other as freely and readily as outside the fence. Instead of it they took the balance of ego inside of informal groups. The coercive organization consists in it. But inclination of shifting given formal relations towards the other as nuclear ego is open to danger of being ruined, was maintained too vividly within coercive organization to regard it as quite dormant, for the coercive one, if we delved further, could be formed of the fact that it suppressed actualizing the inclination, so that delinquents were determined to adjust themselves to formal value in no conflict with correctional facilities with the intention of losing no time in passing through it, for the organization was the formal region before capture they never wished to approach and hoped after capturing to desert, and was maintained by utilizing his inclination of passing through it.

Accordingly if formal control was weakened, this inclination was severely actualized in T. Reform School too. For instance, before we investigated there,

a young teacher in charge of the reception cottage had firmly believed that to reeducate delinquents is to trust in delinquents, so before dark he had handed the cottage key to the inmates, so that the morning he did not find an inmate there. Let us cite another instance which happened after we investigated: All the inmates of it ran away, for informal minus group was too strong.

After all the formal-informal situations, to each teacher as well as each child in T. Reform School, must be coercive as one of middle class facilities. While teachers in each cottage must control over children to reeducate along such two different types of channels permeating the value, each child in other hand had to adjust himself to each channel encountered. But we could reach beyond such various phenomenological types three basic and genotypical types as follows: each child must react toward a given value-stimulating situation in plus type, minus type or plus-minus type. We could grasp here as plus type the one trying to develop his lifespaces by keeping equilibrium of the nuclear ego by showing active attitude in which he adjusted himself to formal value standards both within the formal relations and the informal. And next, we could grasp as minus type the one trying to unfold his lifespaces by keeping balance of the nuclear ego through maintaining his criminal ego by dint of either feinting along plus value against violent pressure on remote region from nuclear ego or expressly standing against severe pressure on the nearest region to nuclear ego or being high-handed to the weak-powered of them. We could seize a teacher in cottage A or B, who found considerable difficulty in controlling the inmates, for they not only used to be strenuously supported by the other minus informal one, but inversely to take a leading part newly in integrating a minus informal group, especially when connected with territorial relations of racketeers, as Sendai group, Aomori group: thus they formed the keynote of worsening climate of the whole cottage community, thus segregated plus type child from the whole informal relations so entirely, that he finally found it impossible to act in assisting teachers, however much they would him hold, while in the other hand they involved the plus-minus type children in minus type group. And thirdly as for the plus-minus type children, they proved to adjust themselves to situations by not onesidedly learning value whether plus or minus, but by floating repeatedly between both value systems, for many of them came to remain either in peripheral stratum of plus or minus informal group or in isolation from each informal group, for the sake of weakness on criminal readiness, personality and human-relation.

### III. General Characteristics of Structure and Function of Cottage Situations in T. Reform School: Part 2. Aspect of Time Perspective

We have summarized about some findings on general function and structure of adjustment types of the teachers and inmates to the coercive formal-informal relations through the investigation. But ultimately we must remark the inmates could never take a given position in frame of dynamics without time perspective and without the various depth of subjectively participating the formal-informal relations. A certain position obtained was set in time perspective and by it value standards also was objectively shifted and organized. But the perspective was not only individual, but group dynamical. Frame of reference on the cottage community was determined really as well as objectively by time perspective of the "stay." In T. Reform School the stay was regarded as a year in view of the formal group as well as the informal group. It formed such objective frame of reference according to which teachers or children reckoned the events like discharge commonly to be too early or too late. Moreover the whole frame established with time perspective of stay must make some standards differentiating status or role as recruit or senior, and also such standards of valuation: a behavior was indeed impertinent for a recruit, but reserved as a senior. Well, what concrete characteristics showed the side of the time perspective of the objective frame of dynamics here? To grip it was to grasp all the concrete structure of objective aspects to which inmates had to adjust themselves and inversely it also was to lay hold of how the whole forces were imposed on each subjective individual. We could differentiate the three aspects as follows.

1. First Period (for about 3 months after reception)

Both in the informal relations and the formal relations, the raw recruits were so indifferential and so instable in adjusting themselves to alike informal and formal value-standard, that they involved a risk of confusing formal life as well as informal stratification or informal force's distribution. In consequence both the controlling pressure put on recruits deserved to try to cut down their free lifespaces, that is, especially to stamp group-belongingness on them. Particularly in such a case as the minus type informal group flourished and as the formal controlling was narrow disciplinism, besides kept distance from inmates' nuclear ego, minus type informal group was apt to come to press excessively minus controlling on recruits. For instance, while in formal routine each inmate could go out of the room of his own to walk around among the rooms freely in free time within limit of a cottage, recruits could dare to do so only by committing the informal group's value-standard pressure under which his conduct was viewed to be just conceit. And then there was "haze" to recruits once. Till 5 or 6 years ago it used to be carried out at the day, when they were received into a room, ceremonially besides stealthily under the leading of bullies of informal minus type group. But no now this group violence was vanished by strenuous controlling of the teachers. Therefore teachers must conduct the

recruits to control by strong frame reducing their free lifespaces and to remove them from any uncalled-for pressure for maintaining the stable of their ego, particularly to discharge them from the unnecessary minus controlling by the informal relations.

In sum an inmate in this period had to be bound by definite channel for the sake of their ego's stability in still indifferential situation. Hence thoroughly adjusting himself to it along plus or minus value depended peculiarly on the fit personal readiness disclosing connected with the way how the pressure of the formal-informal relations was put on himself, specially on being of informal relation supporting and compensating insufficiency of his readiness.

For instance, recruits D, E, F, G acquainted with the senior A, B, C, initiating and keeping the greatest one of A cottage groups "Sendai City Clique" leading fairly the whole cottage community, and then inclined to oppose flatly the plus Jichi-lin group, combined with them and their clique very smoothly as very stably, as sociogram and action research show it. They were simply on the course of the acquaintance so early, that they couldn't get any perspective to formal value system. But such an instance that many acquaintances were all present in the same cottage, was rather rare. In ordinary cases, even if so, they could not combine with acquaintance in this period, unless they shared in the same room, so far as acquaintance did not visit them from the opposite since they could not yet go out of their own room and see the acquaintance received at the same time in the other room by informal pressure in this period, so to dare it meant that they were not more in this period or that they were too strong to be pressed, mostly not because of the personal quality but because of sustenance of strong informal group. Accordingly in this period children consist in the in-room. So, even if seniors came to a recruit, he was often impeded to combine in close informal relation with them, because he had inferiority-feeling in person, thinking he was put in so low status, as a recruit was repressed by formal-informal relations; in the first case, a senior was lower than him or equal to him, in the former acquaintance-relation outside the fence, and in the next, he, when again admitted, had disparity in status among the recruits between now and once and felt ashamed towards teachers. Accordingly recruits who reentered or stayed in the other reform school before, sometimes got into maladjustment for discrepancy between the new real situation and their readily differentiated set. While the recruits, in order to keep senior status instantly, must need plenty of maintaining by formal-informal relations, it was impossible in T. Reform School, since strict precaution usually was taken against them and they were criticized unfavorably by teachers, while the reentrant into prison would have been welcomed by prison officers, and we could never say that he was not so maintained by professional adult prisoners too, as was the case with very juvenile inmates, for such juvenile ones as were admitted in middle class reform school usually didn't yet belong to a close and strong criminal organiza-

tion outside the wall. And they were chiefly in this period kept within in-room informal relations, minus or plus. So recruits could adjust themselves to a given formal-informal situation by informal combining with in-room acquaintances.

But recruits having no acquaintances in room were apt to combine with the ones having some common experience here: relations of staying together in classification (detention) home or in reception cottage, relations coming out of the same community region, the same school or occupation. In fine, taking a side-view of the inmates, this period was such a one to make an known or unknown attempt of adjusting themselves to new situations in which formal-informal controlling pressure bent over them. In consequence, their adjustment was determined by existence or non-existence of perspectives corresponding to formal-informal pressure and then by either being devoid or not of actual relation maintaining his ego in personal readiness as well as his face-to-face milieu. A recruit had considerable displeasure, thinking that if his father had agreed probation with judge, he would not have ordered him to go to this school, as many complices didn't and discrepancy of perspective to correspond, that is, here is perfectly dissimilar to school of which the judge told him so and then others were not maintained by acquaintances or teachers and were very sensitive. One of them came simply into the situation of frustration such as aggressiveness, regressiveness and sulks and committed often planless runaway. But, taking a side-view of the inmates' relations themselves, this period was the one in which inmates' peripheral region was constructed; like other period member, recruits indeed were most ready to be enticed to combine with them by face-to-face relation, but became most instable according to change of their situation, on the other hand they were most apt to be persecuted and to extend by it senior's free-lifespaces. Viewed from teacher's standpoints, the period was the one in which teachers need most to take caution and control, but it was extremely easy to control by concrete situation and least fixed beyond the situation, so that teachers could control informal relation by shifting his room to the other.

## 2. Second Period (for about 6 months after the lapse of 3 months)

The inmates' characteristics of this period consisted in most stable and free lifespaces of inmates, since they personally by this period get a certain perspectives and learned somehow in outline how to behave to the whole formal-informal pressure while its pressure in objective circumstances too was relaxed, for one thing became of raised status of either formal relations by promoting B1 grade to A2 grade at progressive free system or informal relations by becoming fairly senior as well. For another it was essential to this period that their perspectives had neither opening nor closing, that is, there were no anxiety and confusion of beginner, nor new grouping and feeling of pressure

of duty to bear upon themselves as people who put an end to the past life region which must be followed by new region where they must charge up themselves with task of formal and informal leader as well; discharge from school was to them only a still remote goal and oppression given in recruit time deserved compensating in this period and then community's formal provision more or less could be recovered in future period. After all it was such a period in which it was possible to throw off the mask relatively frankly, so that they were apt to bully the recruits, to make "big row" with boys in the same period and to tease the senior with sparp question, against which seniors could never be throughly opposite so violently or quarrel, since it was necessary to them that they were obedient to formal value: if not, their discharge would be delayed. Accidents caused by committing provisions happened most frequently in this period, but runaway was caused least, for in this period perspective was formed in outline and got considerably real in contrast with the first period and there was not impatience on their part toward discharge as in the third period.

So, the most of their readiness fixed in life without the fence or in previous period within it was most manifestly made to give shape to orienting themselves toward a given value-system in connection with the whole formal-informal relations unfolding around themselves. Accordingly in this period it manifested that the inmates showed a given role and status also in informal relations subjectively and individually: one combined with seniors occupying high rank in formal-informal status, the one resisted the seniors of such a group, so that he combined with a new minus group, another kept superior rank in weak group and a third combined together with the persons of the same weak. And then each was determined whether to combine or to sever in this period alike in the case when many acquaintances were all present in the same cottage as well as Sendai graup above mentioned, so each supported his inclination to unfolding toward plus, minus or plus-minus value. And then this period, viewed from both the teachers' standpoint or the inmates', was the one in which their true character should be valuated, as they betrayed themselves, and besides, viewed from the informal relation itself, it appeared that children in this period vivified each informal group and varied the group formation. The more a group had of this period's inmates, the more vivified minus or plus became the group.

### 3. Third Period (for 3 months after about 9th month)

The general characteristics of this period consisted in the fact that discharge became present and the gradient to the goal was exceptionally steep, so that the formal force acting as force of "gate keeper" of discharge naturally came to strengthen its coersive pressure. Thus, the very coersive plus pressure produced

the various characteristics corresponding divergently to realization of a common goal which meant the basic end focus of forces urging inmates to plus or minus value since reception, in relation with readiness fixed by group dynamics situation of the preceeding period. One who developed himself to plus value in 2nd period showed a type of most stability, another who was inclined to minus value was apt to wear the mask, a third who nevertheless was not recognized became sulky, namely had given up coresponding to plus value, a forth showing equivalence to the plus or minus goal corresponded to plus, minus and plus-minus value, but often was apt to wear the mask of plus value.

In any case, to be pressed most strongly by formal pressure was a common characteristic in contrast with the previous periods, for the sake of the various intertwined urging of such forces, as hoping early discharge by recognition of "worth discharge" by the teachers as gate keepers, as feeling of duty to keep cottage in good condition as a senior and as limiting by the other as inmates remarking "what's the matter, senior as he is" etc.. It was very probable subjectively whether to gain Jichi-Iin status or not to gain it, accordingly it appeared that they were inclined to approach the plus group, deserting the minus group they belonged to till now.

Well, their action to gain high status in formal relation deserved colouring them formally. Accordingly, that there were many of such children in a group naturally, led toward plus value the characteristics of minus informal group.

Now the closing part of this period formed a peculiar region: it was a relaxing one after extraordinary tension in the rest part of this period. It began with visiting and interviewing with a member of Parole Committee, up to that time a teacher used never to tell him on the investigation by the committee lest it should give him anxiety, but there was, indeed, some expectation by the certain term of stay and by visiting with the children received at the same time as he. Not coersively did in this time came out his true character formed in the reform school, because formal pressure of cottage decreased considerably with new region in which he was to adjust himself and which was piled up more strongly on the region up to the present. A child threw off his mask, so that he stole and concealed clothing belonging to some other children or to this school for preparations, while another child, not coersively, worked hard in sweeping all day long, though there was now no necessity for work.

Moreover, maladjustment in this part of this period often showed getting into the most dangerous inclination, for he was deprived of reaching basic goal, though he came into the last end goal region with much trouble; such as being left alone behind in visiting for parole or postponed discharge after parole investigation. A child ran away and another attempted suicide. (Junkichi Abe)

In the continued part of this paper moreover we shall deal with general

aspects of formal-informal relations in the case where each cottage has been made homogenous, with children having the same grade by progressive free system, in contrast with the case in which each cottage has been made heterogenous equally as above mentioned, and besides with various adjustment types of both the individual informal group and the individual person developing himself subjectively through the general structure of formal-informal relations. (To be continued)