THE SAILOR ABOARD SHIP: A STUDY
OF ROLE BEHAVIOR IN A TOTAL INSTITUTION

by

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ABSTRACT

The trend in social psychology is away from personality or situational variables alone as approaches to understanding the determinants of social behavior. Rather, the emphasis is on the interaction of personality-situational elements, framed in the perception of the actor.

New conceptual tools are demanded by such an orientation and it is thought that the concept of role, defined as a patterned sequence of learned actions or deeds performed by a person in an interaction situation, and including such processes as perception, reciprocity, and individual variation, will help to bridge the gap between individualistic and socially centered methodologies.

This study purports to contribute to such a theory of role by examining the individual's sailor role behavior in the total institutional setting of a naval recruit training center and aboard a naval vessel. Special attention is given to the individual's modification of the formal behavioral expectancies of the total institution. A total institution is chosen for the setting because no other social organization so clearly and rigidly presents and controls formal member activity.

The author accumulated data as a participant observer while serving as an enlisted man in the United States Navy from 1955 to 1959. The tour of duty took him through a naval recruit training center, basic and advanced naval technical schools, shore duty, sea duty, and through six of the seven basic ratings for enlisted men.

The data are analyzed in a theoretical framework drawn from appurtenant material in the literature of role theory, organizational theory, social psychology of the military, social psychology of groups, total institutions, naval organization, traditions, and customs, parallel studies, and other relevant studies.

INTRODUCTION

It was then and still is my belief that any group of persons--prisoners, primitives, pilots, or patients--develop a life of their own that becomes meaningful, reasonable, and normal once you get close to it, and that a good way to learn about any of these worlds is to submit oneself in the company of the members to the daily round of petty contingencies to which they are subject.¹

Compared with other areas of interest to the discipline of social psychology, there seems to be a marked lack of research and, consequently, of research literature dealing with social psychological phenomena in the military organization. Though the behavior of men in uniform has traditionally been a favorite of the novelist, the scientist of individual-in-group behavior seems to direct his empirical efforts elsewhere, choosing, for example, to analyze the small group in the laboratory setting, worker adjustment in a newly automated factory, voting behavior, attitudes, etc. What work has been done by psychologists and sociologists on men in the military is largely with regard to the Army, and mostly deals with individual cases of maladjustment, methods of leadership, morale, or readjustment of the veteran to civilian life. Very few studies have been conducted on the normal process of the civilian's assimilation

¹Erving Goffman, Asylums (1961), p. x.

into the new and different world of military life.

Perhaps the reason for the limited literature on this potentially fruitful subject is the alleged schism between the military "dogmatic" and the scientific "impractical." Some of the difficulty may also rest with the relative inaccessibility of the military for study. Whatever the reason for the lack of study, the lack is apparent and, it is here assumed, a loss to behavioral science.

The trend in social psychology is, generally, away from personality variables alone or situational variables alone as approaches to understanding the determinants of social behavior. Rather, the emphasis is on the interaction of personality--situational elements, framed around the perception of the actor.

New conceptual tools are demanded by such an orientation, and it has been hypothesized that the concept of role will help to bridge the gap between individually and socially centered methodologies (Sarbin, 1954; Parsons and Shils, 1951). The use of such a concept calls for some working definitions. This paper will lean heavily on the role theory put forth by Theodore Sarbin, and will draw its consistency of terms from his work.

Sarbin differentiates between sociological role theory, which is interested only in the reciprocal action between persons, and social-psychological role theory, which is interested

in the former, but also seeks to explain the interaction between role and self. Role is defined as "a patterned sequence of learned actions or deeds performed by a person in an interaction situation." Role "centers around the organized actions of a person coordinate with a given status or position." Position (status, office) in a social structure is described in terms of the "actions expected of the occupant of the position by the organization. (Sarbin, 1954, p. 225) In other words, the organization defines what it expects from a person in, for example, the position of "Vice-President-in-Charge-of-Sales." The individual perceives the position as desirable, interprets the role expectations that the company has defined for that position, coordinates these expectations with his expectations of himself, the company, and of significant others, and, as a result of this complex computation behaves in a certain unique way around the defined role (with "role behavior" or a "role enactment" of his own), thus validating his occupancy of the position.

Sarbin points out that a person cannot enact a role for which he lacks the necessary role expectations, and that these must be acquired through experience. This experience, leading to the acquisition of role, takes place by (1) intentional instruction (formalized culture carriers in the society teach prescribed acts and provide rewards and punishments accordingly, and by (2) incidental learning (the individual adopts the ways

of others in his environment--watches for, sounds out, and adopts the prevailing pattern). Once the expectations are clear, "role behavior, or role enactment, includes, among other segments of behavior, gross skeletal movements, the performance of verbal and motoric gestures, posture and gait, styles of speech and accent, wearing of certain forms of dress and costume, the use of certain material objects, the wearing of emblems or ornamentation, including tatoos, etc." (1954, p. 232.)

There is, according to Sarbin, a continuum of role behavior, ranging from a differentiation of role and self (minimal involvement, few organic systems aroused, little effort engendered--e.g., role of customer in a supermarket) to a state where role and self are undifferentiated (maximal involvement, entire organic system involved, much effort engendered--e.g., role of accursed in Voodoo death). (1954, pp. 233-234).

Role conflicts can occur when a person occupies two or more positions simultaneously, and when the role expectations of one are actually incompatible, or are perceived by the actor as incompatible, with the role expectations of the other. (1954, p. 229).

The concept self has already been mentioned several times, and inferred almost constantly in the text above. Role theorists have, by plan or by accident, done a great deal to solidify the place of self in social psychology. Some entity must desire

the "position," perceive the "role expectations," and manifest "role behavior." Some unity must be aware of and resolve "role conflict." (See figure 1)

There are many important philosophical and psychological questions which can (and must) be asked concerning the "what," "how," and "why" of the self. However, it is not within the scope of this paper to deal with the theories of the nature of the self. Rather, it will be assumed here that when the individual presents himself in a given social situation (for example, when he presents himself to the Naval Recruiting Office), he presents a being with "a phenomenal experience of identity, not all of which can be communicated verbally--an inference arising from his experiencing with things, body parts, and other persons. (Sarbin, 1954, p. 238) Self, then, is referred to by the actor when he uses the referrent; "I." To an observer, aspects of the self of another might be inferred as "ego," "trait," "attitude," "habit," or some other observed central or enduring characteristic of the person. The self, as considered in this paper, is a cognitive structure, though, if you will, influenced by unconscious processes, that has developed out of interaction between the organism and stimulus objects and events. It is subject to the principle of constancy--that is, the person tries to hold his perception of self relatively stable in the face of new evidence to the contrary (Sarbin, 1954, pp. 250-251).

FIGURE 1: Process of Role Enactment

This paper is less concerned with how the self develops, whether it is built on a tabula rasa, or is framed around an essential human nature, than it is in accepting the assumption that at any given time the human person has some sense of being, some sense of identity, a self concept. If at that given point in time the individual is presented with a role perceived as desirable, that self and that role, those previously learned personal referents and expectations of self and of others and those role expectations relevant to the position concerned, must meet and merge, or somehow adjust. The resulting role behavior will be seen as human conduct, brought about by interaction between self and role.

The military, more than any other societal complex, holds out opportunity for research in the organization's method of structuring positions and defining role expectations and the individual's perception of and enactment of the role. This paper will deal, in particular, with the naval recruit training center and the naval vessel, as organizations which demand a rapid, unquestioning, and relatively complete acceptance by the individual member of a very rigidly defined set of behavioral expectations concerned with the role of sailor. It will be demonstrated that these organizations have the characteristics of and, in fact, are, total institutions, a concept defined by Goffman as "places of residence and work where a large number of like-situated individuals, cut off from the wider society

for an appreciable period of time, together lead an enclosed, formally administered round of life" (Sarbin, 1961, p. xiii).

Some general characteristics of a total institution are:

1. All aspects of life are conducted in the same place and under the same single authority.
2. Each phase of the member's daily activity is carried on in the immediate company of a large batch of others, all of whom are treated alike and required to do the same thing together (about 70 in each boot company).
3. All phases of the day's activities are tightly scheduled, with one activity leading at a pre-arranged time into the next, the whole sequence of activities being imposed from above by a system of explicit formal rulings and a body of officials.
4. The various enforced activities are brought together into a single rational plan purportedly designed to fulfill the official aim of the institution.
5. There is a sharp split between the supervisors and the members, with social mobility between the two groups being highly restricted.
6. Information concerning the fate of the member is often withheld from him.
7. The work structure in the total institution, geared as it is to a twenty-four-hour day, demands different motives for work than exist in the society-at-large.
8. There are usually real or symbolic barriers, indicating a break with the society "out there." (Goffman, 1961, p. 5).

Goffman lists five approximate groupings for the total institutions in our society:

1. Institutions established to care for persons felt to be both incapable and harmless (blind, aged,

orphans, indigent).

2. Those established to care for persons felt to be both incapable of looking after themselves and a threat to the community (TB sanatoria, mental hospitals, leprosaria).
3. Those organized to protect the community against what are felt to be intentional dangers to it, with the welfare of the persons thus sequestered not the immediate issue (jails, POW camps).
4. Institutions established the better to pursue some worklike task and justifying themselves only on these instrumental grounds (army barracks, ships, boarding schools, work camps).
5. Those designed as retreats from the world even while often serving also as training stations for the religious (abbeys, monasteries, convents, cloisters). (1961, p. 4)

It is with an institution in the fourth general type, those justified on instrumental grounds, that this paper concerns itself.

In our society, the individual tends to sleep, play, and work in different places, with different co-participants, under different authorities, and without an imposed over-all rational plan. The central feature of a total institution can be described as a breakdown of the barriers ordinarily separating these three spheres of life (Goffman, 1961, pp. 5-6).

Some industrial organizations, especially those which are predominately bureaucratic, demand rigid adherence to role expectations, and sometimes control personal areas of the worker's life (e.g., whether or not junior executives will

wear hats, etc.). But this influence does not usually extend beyond the eight-hour work day, and certainly doesn't extend around the clock. The total institution maintains role expectancies for every minute of the twenty-four hour day--a demand which greatly modifies the general societal pattern for work-payment, and the pattern for family living, both of which have been aspects of the earlier socialization of the individual.

To the total institution comes an individual who has built up, over the years, a tolerable conception of self and a set of defensive maneuvers (in order to maintain the constancy of that self) which he exercises at his own discretion for coping with conflicts, discrediting, and failures. He comes to the total institution with a "presenting culture," a "home world," a "way of life and a round of activities taken for granted" (Goffman, 1961, p. 12). As he becomes a member of the total institution, as he is assimilated into the organization, he finds that most of his previous bases of self-identification are ignored, that he is subjected to "abase-ments, degradations, humiliations, and profanities" of self, that he is stripped of the support of social adjustments it has taken him his life thus far to acquire (1961, p. 16). His previous patterns of living are no longer reinforced by the dominant society. So insistent is the total institution that the member should play the role as defined by the organization, so intent is it upon suppressing those role expectations

that he has lived with for all of his pre-member life, that the individual begins to doubt the picture he has had of himself. With its role expectancies, the position offered by the total institution looks inviting, rewarding, and may seem less conflicting with his re-evaluating of self. Perhaps he maintains his pre-member view of self and adopts only the trappings of the member role, taking every opportunity to demonstrate self-assertion, but conforming enough to gain the rewards of playing the role.

In summary, the individual, when confronted with a total institutional situation in which role expectations are rigid and are perceived as contrary to the role expectations he has of himself and others in the society-at-large, must somehow adjust to a challenge, to self. This adjustment will take place as he enacts the role in accordance with his perception of the situation, his skill in taking roles, and the present organization of the self (Sarbin, 1954, p. 254).

Because of its rigidity of structure and high degree of control over members, the total institution is a "forcing house for changing persons". Each is a natural experiment on what can be done to the self" (Goffman, 1961, p. 12).

As total institutions, the naval recruit training center and the naval vessel define a unique social-psychological climate in which the behavior of the individual, in a self-role context, can be studied.

This paper, then, will examine the concept of role in social psychology and the theory of total institution in sociology by describing and analysing the individual's sailor role behavior in what is presented as the total institutional setting in (1) a naval recruit training center and (2) aboard a naval vessel. Special attention is given to the individual's modification of the behavior expected of him by the total institution (his role behavior, or role inactment).

Data for this study were collected by the author while he was on active duty as an enlisted man in the United States Navy from January, 1955, to January, 1959. The tour of duty took him through a naval recruit training center (9 weeks), basic and advanced naval technical schools, shore duty, two and a half years aboard ship, and through six of the seven basic grades for enlisted men.

This study is, of course, subject to the limitations of a retrospective analysis of field note data, and of the selective nature of memory. Although several officers were numbered among those with whom these data were discussed, this paper is written from the viewpoint of an enlisted man, and largely about enlisted men. The two and a half years of sea duty were spent by the author aboard only one vessel, a guided missile ship, with a complement of 500 officers and men. This, however, is less of a disadvantage than it might at first seem. The organization, formal (as described by organization

charts, chains-of-command, and standard operating procedures) and informal (the unwritten, personal, social patterns), of all naval vessels is essentially very similar, varying only in non-essentials. Homans points out that the Western world has had more experience with ships than with any other form of elaborate work group, and, as a result, "the organization of any warship is essentially that of every other ship in the fleet" (1946, p. 295). The ease with which experienced sailors accept transfer after transfer to various ships testifies to the similarity of organizational structure. Discussion with sailors of long service and from many ships convinced the author that such similarity indeed exists. The same is true for similarity among the naval recruit training centers. The author underwent boot training at the San Diego Naval Training Center, San Diego, California. There are, at present, two other such centers--one in Maryland, and one in Illinois.

The few relevant naval studies found by the author (Berkman, 1946; Homans, 1946; Warren, 1946; Turner, 1947; Dornbusch, 1955), all of which will be referred to in this paper, have also been of the participant observation type, mostly by behavioral scientists who served in the military during one or more of its wars. These works are largely descriptive, usually about officers, and show little interest in weaving their reports into a theory of role. No reports have been made on role presentation, perception, and behavior

in a naval recruit training center, and no reports have been made describing and analyzing behavior in the normal and total progression from civilian to sailor, through "Boot Camp" to and then in the midst of shipboard life.

Data involved in this description and analysis will, hopefully, help to broaden the understanding of self and role, and further clarify the concept of total institution.

BOOT CAMP: PRELUDE TO THE SHIP

"A recruit is not worth a damn until he has been broken!"²

"Boot, you'd better give your soul to God, because your --- belongs to me!"³

No "landlubber" civilian can go from the recruiting office directly to duty as an enlisted man aboard a United States Navy vessel. He must first spend nine weeks (sometimes less in time of war) at one of the several naval training centers situated throughout the country. There he will undergo the time-worn "Boot" indoctrination process that will, upon successful completion, qualify him for a place in the fleet. ("Boot" is the argot name for the recruit. The term originates from the leggings, resembling boots, worn by recruits as a part of their uniform. Naval recruit training centers are, therefore, called "Boot Camps.")

Every man who joins the Navy comes to it with a "presenting culture," an elaborate set of values, beliefs, roles, norms, and expectations which lead him to behave in certain ways with regard to certain perceived social stimuli. Always in peace-time, and largely in war-time, the Navy consists of

²August B. Hollingshead, "Adjustment to Military Life," Amer. J. Of Sociology (March, 1946), Vol. 51, No. 5, p. 442.

³Company Commander, Company 014-55, San Diego Naval Training Center as found in Field Notes.

volunteers. Thus, we might expect that the individual who enlists for a tour of active duty (four years) has already begun the process toward enactment of the role of sailor. In the main, however, because he really doesn't know the expectations of the Navy, he is largely a "civilian" person, sees himself as such, and plays his roles in life accordingly.

The day-to-day conduct of a civilian, with relative freedom of decision, etc., cannot be tolerated in a total institution, if it is to maintain itself as such. Therefore, the first and major task of the training center is to "de-civilianize," or role-disposes, the individual.

The enlistee, while he is going through the paper-processing stage of joining the Navy, will probably not notice any radical changes from his usual civilian interpersonal and interorganizational experiences. He will have several forms to fill out, some examinations, physical and mental, to take, but the officials still call him Mr. Jones, and he may still decide, for example, the time and day he wishes to report for other parts of the enlistment process, and when he wishes to go on active duty.

After all the paper work has been finished, and the scheduled day for formal enlistment arrives, the individual is shown, together with several other enlistees, into a room, on one of the walls of which is a large American flag and, usually, a copy of the oath of service.

Before I administer the oath of service to you, gentlemen, are there any of you who wish to reconsider? If so, please feel free to speak up. No? Very well, gentlemen; I will give you the oath. Raise your right hands, please, and repeat after me:

I, _____, do solemnly swear that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the United States of America, and that I will serve them faithfully and honestly against all their enemies whatsoever, and I will obey the orders of the President of the United States, and the orders of the officers appointed over me according to the rules and articles for the government of the Navy.

Now, Boots, you belong to the Navy! Knock off the chatter and get your scrawny butts into that bus! (Field notes)

De-personalization has begun. The "Boot," now in the charge of the physically largest of the enlistee group, who has been given the position of leader, boards the transportation which will take him to the naval recruit training center--the "Boot Camp."

If the criteria discussed in the preceding chapter are applied to the naval recruit training center, it is seen that the center qualifies as a total institution. All aspects of the Boot's life are conducted in the same place (the training center) and under a single central authority (the center commander or, more broadly, the U. S. Navy). The recruit does everything in company of others, and the expectations for his particular recruit behavior are the same for all his fellow recruits. The day's activities tick off by the numbers, everything done at the proper time in the proper place, according

to a schedule rigidly defined by the Commanding Officer (see Figure 2). There is a single rational plan (to create sailors out of civilians) purportedly designed to fulfill the official and instrumental function of the institution (to supply the fleet with manpower). The supervisors have their own quarters, are allowed to leave the training center, and cannot be approached by the recruit without strict adherence to the "chain of command" and to "military courtesy." A supervisor is anyone who is not a recruit. The boot seldom can be certain what is in store for him from one moment to the next. He is told to fall in, to march, and finds out his destination when he gets there. The work structure is based on a twenty-four hour day, and the recruit is reminded that he "belongs to the Navy even when sacked out" (field notes). The barriers separating the training center from society-at-large are not simply symbolic. They are tangible, in the form of barbed wire and armed Marine guards.

During his first three weeks in Boot Camp (if the session is nine weeks long), the recruit is assigned to "R and O" (Receiving and Outfitting). In "R and O" the boot lives in a section of the naval training center (usually the oldest section) which is veritably isolated from the remainder of the center. "R and O's" (as they are called by the staff and by non-R and O boots) have their own mess halls, their own medical facility, their own "grinders" (marching fields), and

FIGURE 2: Sample of the Daily Schedule for Recruits in the Naval Training Center.

RECRUIT TRAINING COMMAND PLAN OF THE DAY FOR WEDNESDAY, 6 MARCH 1963

RTC COMMAND DUTY OFFICER EXT 232 LTJG HARRIS
 REG I DUTY OFFICER EXT 750 CWO D. C. BROWN
 REG II DUTY OFFICER EXT 524 CWO MULLINS
 RECEIVING DUTY OFFICER EXT 814 GORDON, SHOM

SUNRISE: 0612
 SUNSET: 1749

UNIFORM OF THE DAY: WHITES, LEGGINGS, DUTY BELTS, WHITE HATS. (INSPECTION UNIFORM FOR 6-2 DAY CO'S DUNGAREES WITHOUT LEGGINGS AND DUTY BELTS; 5-1, 5-5 & 8-3 DAY CO'S WITH NECKERCHIEFS UNTIL 1200). UPON COMPLETION OF EVENING MEAL SHIFT INTO UNDRESS BLUES WITH LEGGINGS AND DUTY BELTS.

DELETE 9-5 THRU 9-3 DAYS OF TRAINING

DAY	BATT	CO
LTJG	SCOLARI	(EXT 697) 62
9-2	62	*643 644
9-1	62	*645 646 647
8-5	62	*648 649
8-4	62	*650 651*652
8-3	62	653 654
8-2	E-1	001*002
8-1	E-1	003 004 005
7-5	E-1	*006*007
7-4	E-1	008 009 010
7-3	E-1	011 012
7-2	J-2	*013 014
7-1	J-2	015 016 017
6-5	J-2	*018 019
6-4	J-2	020 021*022
6-3	J-2	023*024
6-2	K-3	*025 026
6-1	K-3	*027 028*029
5-5	K-3	030*031
5-4	K-3	032*033 034
5-3	K-3	035 036
5-2	M-4	037 038 039 040

PRE TRA SCHED: 119
 #1100 119 SWIM TEST (1) P-2
 1200 NOON MEAL
 1330 BATT CDR FORMING LECTURE

RTD CO 5005 CARRY OUT 1-3 DAY SCHED OF 30 APRIL 1962.

NOTE I: 652 DO NOT EAT BREAKFAST
 0630 LOAD BUSES, CC WITH CO 652
 0800 DONATE BLOOD, NAV HOSP 652
 1100 RETURN TO NTC CO 652
 1200 NOON MEAL
 1330 CIT (4) BLDG 294 CO 652
 1425 CIT (5) BLDG 294 CO 652
 1520 CC REVIEW CO 652
 1610 LOOKOUT (3) TV CO'S 651 652

NOTE II: PICNIC COMPANIES

9-2 DAY CO 644 RPT TO REG II 1100
 9-1 DAY CO 647 RPT TO REG II 1100
 8-4 DAY CO 651 RPT TO REG II 1100
 7-3 DAY CO 012 RPT TO REG II 1100
 5-3 DAY CO 035 RPT TO REG II 1100

NOTES:

COLOR COMPANY 018
 FOREST FIRE COMPANIES 021 & 022
 SECURITY INF TEAM CO'S 078 THRU 094
 DISASTER CONT TEAM CO'S 095 THRU 100
 ACTING BATT CDR CWO HARRIS
 KNOT OF THE DAY DOUBLE BECKET BEND
 * CC ATTEND ALL CLASSES WITH COMPANY
 # MUST CLASSES
 @ MESS COMPANIES
 COMPETITIVE SPORTS, 1630, PHYS TRA
 TRAINING GROUP 02

DAY	BATT	CO	DAY	BATT	CO
5-1	M-4	041 042 043 044	2-1	A-9	096 097 098
4-6	M-4	045 046 047 048	1-5	A-9	099 100
4-5	H-5	049 050 051 052 @	1-4	B-10	101 102 103 104
4-4	H-5	053 054 055 056 @	1-3	B-10	105 106 107 108
4-3	G-6	057 058 @	1-2	B-10	109 110 111 112
4-2	G-6	059 060 061 @	1-1	C-11	113 114 115 116
4-1	G-6	062 063 @			
3-6	G-6	064 065 066	BATT	CDR	EXT
3-5	G-6	067 068	ALFA	CWO HARRIS	611
3-4	E-7	069 070 071 072	BRAVO	CWO D.C. BROWN	711
3-3	A-7	073 074 075 076	CHARLIE	CWO HUNTER	797
3-2	B-7	077 078 079 080	DELTA	CWO OGLEY	761
3-1	C-8	081 082 083 084	ECHO	LTJG SCHRAMM	654
2-5	C-8	085 086 087 088	GOLF	LTJG RICCI	686
2-4	A-9	089 090	HOTEL	CWO L.R. SMITH	661
2-3	A-9	*091 092 093	JULIETT	LTJG KIMBLE	436
2-2	A-9	094 095	KILO	LTJG THOMAS	438
			MIKE	CWO ALBIN	223

CARRY OUT MASTER SCHEDULE OF 30 APR 1962 WITH THE FOLLOWING EXCEPTIONS:

9-1 DAY 0910 DECK GEAR (5) CLASSRM 3 REC CO 647
 1005 CHAR ED (5) BLDG 330
 1230 DECK GEAR (5) STDS 1 REC CO YN
 RPT TO BLDG 306SL CO'S 645 646

8-5 DAY 0730 ADV (5) BLDG 294
 1330 CC REVIEW

8-4 DAY SEE NOTE I

8-3 DAY 1425 RPT TO CC SCH WITHOUT PIECES

8-2 DAY #0730 HAIRCUTS & SHOTS, C.L.
 0815 CC REVIEW
 1330 RPT TO CC SCH WITHOUT PIECES

7-5 DAY 0730 ADV (4) BLDG 294
 1005 ALL 80 DAY RES RPT TO BLDG 215
 1005 & 1100 RPT TO CC SCH WITHOUT PIECES

7-3 DAY 1230 CC REVIEW CO 012

6-5 DAY 0815 RPT TO CC SCH WITHOUT PIECES
 0910 CHAR ED (3) BLDG 330
 1520 CC REVIEW CO 018

6-3 DAY 1425 INF DRILL, BAIN CT.

6-2 DAY 1100 ORD (5) R-3 BLDG

5-3 DAY 1100 CC REVIEW CO 035

5-1 DAY 1005 CO PIC BLDG 306 PATIO

4-3 DAY 1425 CC SEND BAQ GROUP TWO

4-2 DAY CO 060 CARRY OUT 4th CO 3-6 DAY SCHED

3-5 DAY #1005 CASH CHECKS C.L. PAY FOR CHIT BOOKS
 1100 BAG INSPECTION
 1330 DRIVER (1) TV

3-4 DAY 1330 DRIVER (1) TV

3-3 DAY 0910 RPT TO CC SCH WITHOUT PIECES CO'S
 075 076
 0910 CO'S 073 074 CC REVIEW
 1005 CC REVIEW
 1330 DRIVER (1) TV

(OVER)

3-2 DAY 0715 ASSEMBLE GR
1330 DRIVER (1) TV

3-1 DAY 1330 DRIVER (1) TV
1425 HAIRCUTS C.L. CC SEND BAQ
GROUP TWO REC TO BLDG 294 RM 23

2-5 DAY 0910 ADV (3A) BLDG 294

2-2 DAY 0815 ADV (3) BLDG 294 CC TO REU

2-1 DAY 1425 ADV (2A) BLDG 294

1-5 DAY #1330 HAIRCUTS & SHOTS, C.L.
1425 CC REVIEW

1-3 DAY 0910 & 1005 CC REVIEW
1425 MARLINSPIKE (1) STDS #3

G. A. WELLER
LT USNR
SCHEDULING OFFICER

FIGURE 2:

Sample of the Daily Schedule for Recruits in the Naval Training Center.

RECRUIT TRAINING COMMAND
USNTPC, SAN DIEGO 33, CALIFORNIA
EFFECTIVE 30 APR 1962
WEDNESDAY
SCHEDULE

RECRUIT TRAINING COMMAND
USNTPC, SAN DIEGO 33, CALIFORNIA

MASTER SCHEDULE
EFFECTIVE 30 APR 1962

WEDNESDAY
SCHEDULE

SECOND WEEK OF TRAINING

THIRD WEEK OF TRAINING

2-1
0715 CO STAFF TO BAIN CT
0730 ASSEMBLE GR
0815 SWIM (2) POOL #1
0910 SWIM (3) POOL #1
%1005 WATCHES (1)
%1100 MAINTENANCE
1200 NOON MEAL
1330 ADVANCEMENT (2) BLDG 294
1425 ADVANCEMENT (3) BLDG 294
1520 PAY (2) BLDG 294
TOD - RATE, RATING

2-2
0715 CO STAFF TO BAIN CT
0730 ASSEMBLE GR
0815 RANKS (1) BLDG 294 CC RPT TO REU
BLDG 272
0910 U C M J (2) BLDG 294
%1005 WATCHES (1)
%1100 MAINTENANCE
1200 NOON MEAL
1330 CC CUSTOMS (2)
1425 INF DRILL NIMITZ
1520 INF DRILL NIMITZ
TOD - HITCH, BITTER END

2-3
#0715 NON SWIMS TO POOL #1
0715 CO STAFF TO BAIN CT
0730 ASSEMBLE GR
0815 PHYS TRA GR
0910 INF DRILL NIMITZ
%1005 WATCHES (1)
%1100 MAINTENANCE
1200 NOON MEAL
1330 U C M J (3) BLDG 294
1425 INF DRILL BAIN CT
1520 INF DRILL BAIN CT
TOD - GROUND TACKLE, WINDLASS

2-4
#0715 NON SWIMS TO POOL #1; CO STAFF TO
BAIN CT
0730 ASSEMBLE GR
0815 PHYS TRA GR
0910 CC CUSTOMS (3)
%1005 WATCHES (1)
%1100 MAINTENANCE
1200 NOON MEAL
1330 U C M J (4) BLDG 294
1425 CHARACTER ED (1) BLDG 330
1520 CAREER (1) BLDG 294
TOD - AYE AYE, COLORS

2-5
#0700 INF EVAL BLDG 284 SELECTION OF
COLOR GUARD BLDG 284
#0815 CLASS INT LECT R-4 BLDG
0910 RANKS (2) BLDG 294
%1005 WATCHES (1)
%1100 MAINTENANCE
1200 NOON MEAL
1330 BAG INSPECTION
1425 INF DRILL BAIN CT
1520 INF DRILL BAIN CT
TOD - RANK, LINE OFFICER

3-1
#0715 NON SWIMS TO POOL #1; CO STAFF
TO BAIN CT
0730 ASSEMBLE GR
#0800 CC SEND REC TO MEDICAL SURVEY
BLDG #6
0815 PHYS TRA GR
0830 CC VERIFY & SUBMIT CO ROSTER AT
BRIGADE BLDG 315
0910 CC REVIEW
1005 ORAL HYGIENE (1) R-4 BLDG
1100 ORAL HYGIENE (2) R-4 BLDG
1200 NOON MEAL
1230 CC & CO YN RPT TESTING, BLDG 290
TOPSIDE
%1330 DRIVER (3)
1425 CC REVIEW; CC SEND BAQ GR TWO REC
TO BLDG 294 RM 23
1520 BATT CDR ADV. TRA. LECT
TOD - BRIDGE, UNDERWAY

3-2
#0730 HAIRCUTS, C. L.
0815 HYGIENE (2) R-3 BLDG
0910 ORDNANCE (2) BLDG 290
1005 CITIZEN (1) BLDG 294
1100 NOON MEAL
1230 CAREER (2) BLDG 294
%1330 DRIVER (3)
1425 U C M J (5) BLDG 294
1520 CHARACTER ED (2) BLDG 330
TOD - HALYARD, PAD EYE

3-3
#0715 NON SWIMS TO POOL #1; CO STAFF TO
BAIN CT
0730 ASSEMBLE GR
0815 CC REVIEW
0910 PHYS FITNESS EVAL REG I
1005 PHYS FITNESS EVAL REG I
1100 U C M J (6) BLDG 294
1200 NOON MEAL
%1330 DRIVER (3)
1425 SWIM (4) POOL #2
1520 SWIM (5) POOL #2
TOD - SIDEBOYS, QUARTER DECK

3-4
0730 ORDNANCE (3) BLDG 290
0815 MARLIN SPIKE (2) STDS #1 REC CC SEND
BAQ GR ONE REC TO BLDG 294 RM 23
0910 MARLIN SPIKE (3) STDS #1 REC
1005 REC CO HISTORY BOOK EXPL STDS #2
REC, CC W/CO
1100 CITIZEN (2) BLDG 294
1200 NOON MEAL
%1330 DRIVER (3)
1425 INF DRILL BAIN CT
1520 INF DRILL BAIN CT
TOD - RIGGING, SMALL STUFF

WEDNESDAY

RECRUIT TRAINING COMMAND
USNTPC, SAN DIEGO 33, CALIF

MASTER SCHEDULE
EFFECTIVE 30 APR 1962

WEDNESDAY
SCHEDULE

THIRD WEEK OF TRAINING (CON'T)

3-5

0730 ASSEMBLE GR
#0815 INF EVAL BAIN CT
#0910 SHOTS C. L.; CC PICK UP CHECKS
1005 BAG INSPECTION
#1100 CASH CHECKS AT C. L. EXCHANGE &
PAY FOR CHIT BOOKS
1200 NOON MEAL
#1330 DRIVER (3)
#1425 WEEKLY TEST BLDG 290 CC RPT TO
BRIGADE
1520 WEEKLY TEST BLDG 290
TOD - PAY DAY, SCHUTTLEBUTT

3-6

1st CO

#0715 CLASS INT BLDG 334
0910 CC REVIEW
1005 PHYS TRA
1100 PHYS TRA
1200 NOON MEAL
1330 CC REVIEW
#1425 FOOD HANDLING LECT R-3 BLDG
#1520 PHYS EXAM, CC W/CO R-3 BLDG
#1600 RPT TO MESS HALL

3-6

3rd CO

0730 ASSEMBLE GR
0815 PHYS TRA
0910 PHYS TRA
#1005 CLASS INT BLDG 334
1200 NOON MEAL
1330 CC REVIEW
#1425 FOOD HANDLING LECT R-3 BLDG
#1520 PHYS EXAM, CC W/CO R-3 BLDG
#1600 RPT TO MESS HALL

FOURTH WEEK OF TRAINING (SERVICE WEEK)

4-1 CC RPT TO BOAT DOCKS, E.P.O. RPT TO
BLDG 294 ATHLETIC P.O. RPT TO NORTH
ATHLETIC AREA
1300 CO YN RPT TO RTO

4-2

4-3 1300 CC SEND BAQ GROUP TWO REC TO BLDG
294 RM 23

4-4

4-5 1600 TRANSFER NON SWIMS TO 4012

4-6 0730 DENTAL AVAILABILITY

0800 CC SEND BAQ GROUP ONE REC TO BLDG
294 RM 23
1300 CO YN RPT TO RTO WITH MODE OF
TRAVEL SURVEY

NOTE

4-5 DAY BECOMES DENTAL AVAILABILITY
DAY FOR CO'S JUNIOR TO AND
INCLUDING CO 244

3-6

2nd CO

0730 ASSEMBLE GR
0815 CC REVIEW
#0845 CLASS INT BLDG 334
1005 PHYS TRA
1100 PHYS TRA
1200 NOON MEAL
1330 CC REVIEW
#1425 FOOD HANDLING LECT R-3 BLDG
#1520 PHYS EXAM, CC W/CO R-3 BLDG
#1600 RPT TO MESS HALL

3-6

4th CO

0730 ASSEMBLE GR
0815 PHYS TRA
0910 PHYS TRA
1005 CC REVIEW
1100 NOON MEAL
#1230 CLASS INT BLDG 334
#1425 FOOD HANDLING LECT R-3 BLDG
#1520 PHYS EXAM, CC W/CO R-3 BLDG
#1600 RPT TO MESS HALL

FIGURE 2: Sample of the Daily Schedule for Recruits in the Naval Training Center.

RECRUIT TRAINING COMMAND
USNTC, SAN DIEGO 33, CALIF

MASTER SCHEDULE
EFFECTIVE 30 APR 1962

WEDNESDAY
SCHEDULE

FIFTH WEEK OF TRAINING

SIXTH WEEK OF TRAINING

5-1

6-1

0730 ASSEMBLE GR
#0815 HAIRCUTS & SHOTS, C. L.
0910 CO HISTORY BOOK PIC BLDG 306SL
(W/NECKERCHIEF CC W/COAT, CO YN
BRING 3 CORRECTED ROSTERS)
1005 CO PIC R-3 BLDG
1100 BAG INSPECTION
1200 NOON MEAL
1330 INF DRILL BAIN CT
%1425 ORDNANCE (4)
%1520 SHIP'S CHAR (2)
TOD - HATCH, DOG

0730 ASSEMBLE GR
#0815 WEEKLY TEST BLDG 290
0830 CC VERIFY & SUBMIT CO ROSTER AT
BRIGADE BLDG 315
0910 SHIP'S ORGAN (2) R-4 BLDG
1005 BAG INSPECTION OR CC REVIEW
#1100 INF EVAL BAIN CT
1200 NOON MEAL
1330 DAMAGE CONTROL (5) BLDG 284
1425 DAMAGE CONTROL (6) STDS BLDG 283
1520 DAMAGE CONTROL (6A) STDS BLDG 283
TOD - INBOARD, FANTAIL

5-2

6-2

0730 DECK GEAR (1) BOAT DOCKS
0910 DAMAGE CONTROL (1) BLDG 284
1005 CITIZEN (3) BLDG 294
1100 NOON MEAL
1230 ABANDONSHIP (1) R-3 BLDG
1330 CC REVIEW
%1425 ORDNANCE (4)
%1520 SHIP'S CHAR (2)
TOD - GUNWALE, FORWARD

#0700 SMALL ARMS 1 THRU 6 SMALL BORE
1200 NOON MEAL
#1330 RPT C&SS BLDG 43
TOD - MAIN BATTERY, FIRE CONTROL

5-3

6-3

0730 ASSEMBLE GR
0815 DAMAGE CONTROL (2) BLDG 284
0910 ABANDON SHIP (2) R-3 BLDG
1005 SWIM (6) POOL #1 (W/EXTRA
WHITE TROUSERS)
1100 SWIM (7) POOL #1
1200 NOON MEAL
1330 CC REVIEW; CC NOMINATE HONORMEN
%1425 ORDNANCE (4)
%1520 SHIP'S CHAR (2)
TOD - FORECASTLE, BELAY

#0715 LOAD BUSES REAR BLDG 290
#0815 FIRE ELLIOTT "A" RANGE
1200 NOON MEAL
1330 RETURN TO NTC
1425 ORDNANCE (5) BLDG 383
1520 INF DRILL BAIN CT
TOD - CHAIN OF COMMAND, REQUEST MAST

5-4

6-4

0730 ASSEMBLE GR
0815 PHYS TRA
0910 PHYS TRA
1005 DAMAGE CONTROL (3) BLDG 284
1100 DAMAGE CONTROL (4) BLDG 284
1200 NOON MEAL
1330 WATCHES (3) R-3 BLDG
%1425 ORDNANCE (4)
%1520 SHIP'S CHAR (2)
TOD - SCUPPER, LIFELINE

#0700 FIREFIGHTING 4 THRU 8
1200 NOON MEAL
#1330 FIREFIGHTING 9 THRU 11
1520 INF DRILL BAIN CT
TOD - COMPARTMENT, TOPSIDE

5-5

6-5

0730 ASSEMBLE GR
0815 INF DRILL BAIN CT
0910 INF DRILL BAIN CT
1005 CC REVIEW; SEND CO YN & 1 MAN
W/CO HARD CARDS TO PIO BLDG 202
1100 NOON MEAL
1230 DECK GEAR (2) STDS REC
1330 DECK GEAR (3) STDS REC
%1425 ORDNANCE (4)
%1520 SHIP'S CHAR (2)
TOD - BITT, CHOCK

0730 ASSEMBLE GR
0815 CHAR ED (3) BLDG R-3-1
0910 CC REVIEW; CC PICK UP CHECKS
#1005 HAIRCUTS & SHOTS, C.L.
#1100 CASH CHECKS AT BANK & PAY FOR REC
HISTORY BOOK, PAY FOR CO PIC, C.L.
1200 NOON MEAL
1330 FIRST AID (4) R-4 BLDG
1425 INF DRILL BAIN CT
1520 INF DRILL BAIN CT
TOD - SMALL STORES, HOLIDAY ROUTINE

WEDNESDAY

9: WEEK SCHEDULE

SEVENTH WEEK OF TRAINING

EIGHTH WEEK OF TRAINING

7-1

8-1

0730 ASSEMBLE GR
%0815 FIRST AID (5)
%0910 FIRST AID (6)
#1005 INF EVAL BAIN CT
#1100 WEEKLY TEST BLDG 290
1200 NOON MEAL
1330 BAG INSPECTION
1425 PHYS TRA
1520 BRIGADE DRILL
TOD - GUN MOUNT, BROADSIDE

0730 ASSEMBLE GR
0815 BAG INSPECTION OR CC REVIEW
#0910 INF EVAL BAIN CT
#1005 WEEKLY TEST BLDG 290
1100 NOON MEAL
%1230 LOOKOUT (3)
1330 CC REVIEW
1425 CC REVIEW FOR FINAL ACH TEST
1520 BRIGADE DRILL
TOD - MARLINSPIKE, WEATHER DECK

7-2

8-2

0730 ASSEMBLE GR
%0815 FIRST AID (5)
%0910 FIRST AID (6)
1005 SOUND POWERED PHONES (3) REC
1100 SOUND POWERED PHONES (4) REC
1200 NOON MEAL
1330 PHYS TRA
1425 PHYS TRA
1520 BRIGADE DRILL
TOD - GENERAL QUARTERS, AMIDSHIPS

0730 ASSEMBLE GR
0815 CHAR ED (5) BLDG 330
0910 SWIM (8) POOL #2 (YN RPT
W/CORRECTED ROSTERS)
1005 SWIM (9) POOL #2
1100 NOON MEAL
%1230 LOOKOUT (3)
#1330 HAIRCUTS C.L.
1425 CC REVIEW
1520 BRIGADE DRILL
TOD - FLAG OFFICER, FLAT-TOP

7-3

8-3

0730 ASSEMBLE GR
%0815 FIRST AID (5)
%0910 FIRST AID (6)
1005 CC REVIEW
1100 NOON MEAL
1230 CHAR ED (4) BLDG 330
1330 CC GENERAL ORDER 21 (2)
1425 CC REVIEW
1520 BRIGADE DRILL
TOD - BEARING, FATHOM

0730 ASSEMBLE GR
0815 WATCHES (4) STDS #2 REC BRING
WQ&S BILL
0910 WATCHES (5) STDS #2 REC
1005 MARLINSPIKE (4) STDS #3 REC
1100 NOON MEAL
%1230 LOOKOUT (3)
1330 BATT CDR TAILOR INSP
1425 CC REVIEW
1520 BRIGADE DRILL
TOD - BULLNOSE, FREEBOARD

7-4

8-4

0730 ASSEMBLE GR
%0815 FIRST AID (5)
%0910 FIRST AID (6)
1005 HYGIENE (3) R-3 BLDG
1100 NOON MEAL
1230 DAMAGE CONTROL (8) BLDG 284
1330 PHYS TRA
1425 PHYS TRA
1520 BRIGADE DRILL
TOD - DRAFT, CHAINS

0730 ASSEMBLE GR
0815 CC REVIEW
0910 CITIZEN (4) BLDG 294
1005 CITIZEN (5) BLDG 294
1100 NOON MEAL
%1230 LOOKOUT (3)
1330 CC GENERAL ORDER 21 (3)
1425 CC REVIEW
1520 BRIGADE DRILL
TOD - SIDELIGHTS, KNOT

7-5

9-5

0730 SECURITY OF INFORMATION
BLDG 294
%0815 FIRST AID (5)
%0910 FIRST AID (6)
1005 PHYS TRA
1100 PHYS TRA
1200 NOON MEAL
#1330 DRIVER TEST BLDG 290
1425 CC REVIEW
1520 BRIGADE DRILL
TOD - PITCH, ROLL

0730 ADVANCEMENT (4) BLDG 294
0815 CITIZEN (6) BLDG 294
0910 CC REVIEW
1005 DECK GEAR (+) STDS #1 REC
1100 NOON MEAL
%1230 LOOKOUT (3)
1330 DECK GEAR (5) STDS #1 REC
1425 CC REVIEW FOR FINAL ACH TEST
1520 BRIGADE DRILL
TOD - LIBERTY, SHORE PATROL

NINTH WEEK OF TRAINING

9-1

0730 SWIM (10) POOL #2
0815 ABANDON SHIP (3) POOL #2
0910 CC REVIEW CC VERIFY & SUBMIT CO ROSTER AT BRIGADE BLDG 315
1005 CC REVIEW
1100 NOON MEAL
1230 CC REVIEW CO YN RPT TO BLDG 306SL
1330 CC W/CO TOUR NTC MUSEUM BLDG 30
1425 BATT CDR LECTURE
1520 BRIGADE DRILL
TOD - POLLYWOG, SHELLBACK

9-2

#0730 FINAL ACH TEST BLDG 290 1ST & 2ND CO'S
0815 CC REVIEW 3RD & 4TH CO'S
#0930 FINAL ACH TEST BLDG 290 3RD & 4TH CO'S
1005 CC REVIEW 1ST & 2ND CO'S
1100 NOON MEAL
1230 CC REVIEW CO YN RPT TO BLDG 306SL
1330 CC W/CO TOUR NTC MUSEUM BLDG 30
1425 CC REVIEW
1520 BRIGADE DRILL
TOD - BROW, LEE

9-3

0730 TURN IN PIECES
#0815 OVERSEAS TRANSFERS RPT TO R&O LAB FOR SHOTS
0815 CC REVIEW
#0910 HAIRCUTS C.L.
#1030 TRANS SERV RPT CC W/CO
1200 NOON MEAL
1330 BATT CDR PERMS INSPECTION DECATUR CT; DRESS BLUES W/LOW CUT SHOES
1425 BATT CDR LECTURE
1520 CC BAG INSPECTION
TOD - PLAN OF THE DAY, OOD

9-4

0700 JUMPERS TO TAILOR SHOP
0730 RPT TO REG II GEAR LKR IN DUNGAREES
0800 CC TURN IN KNOT LINES
1200 NOON MEAL
1600 TURN IN LEGGINGS & DUTY BELTS
#1930 MOVIE R-4 BLDG; TRAFFIC SAFETY
TOD - LEAVE, BEAR A HAND

9-5

SHIFT TO DRESS BLUES AT REVEILLE
#0730 TURN IN BLANKETS, MATTRESS & PILLOW COVERS
0745 CO YN RPT TO BRIGADE BLDG 315
#0800 SIGN & PICK UP ORDERS, RTO; CC LOG IN AT RTO
0815 CC PICK UP CHECKS
#0900 CASH CHECKS AT BANK
#0930 PICK UP TICKETS, RTO
1030 RETURN TO BARRACKS & PREPARE FOR DEPARTURE
1200 RPT TO REG II HDQTRS FOR DEPARTURE
TOD - SHOVE OFF

19

WEDNESDAY

are not allowed access to the center-at-large (recreation facilities, etc.). Ostensibly, the purpose of this three-week isolation is to guard against an invasion of contagious diseases, while at the same time issuing the new men their clothing, giving them an extensive physical examination, administering General Classification Test Batteries, giving them haircuts and shots, and getting them acquainted with the general rules and schedules, and with marching as a group. But something more than these obvious performances of organizational design is happening. It is during this "R and O" phase that the challenge to the civilian self is begun in earnest.

From the point of view of the training center, the boot has come through the gate with a well-developed personality, a civilian frame of reference, and a set of cultural values and expectancies that are not compatible with the center's objective or organization. The adjustment problem for the recruit consists in reorienting his behavior from a civilian frame of reference to the military standard. Such an adjustment is, in the light of the demands of the training process, no easy task.

Those behavioral scientists who have discussed the threat to self posed by the military training center (all of them with regard to the Army, but definitely applicable to other branches of the service) have expressed some of their observations in the

following ways: The new recruit is a "lone individual, hopelessly insecure in bewildering newness and complexity of environment . . . powerless . . . subjected to 'shock treatment'" (Stouffer, 1949, pp. 411-412). He is taken "away from civilian life contacts and abruptly placed into a new routine, without customary individualistic responsibilities and dependent upon superiors for orders (The recruit) becomes depressed and disorganized" (Weinberg, 1944-45, p. 272). The process of recruit training is "analogous to major crises in childhood, puberty, and adolescence (It is) a strict discipline plus the end of opportunities for self-expression and impulse gratification (It engenders) mass frustration" (Jarvis, 1945, p. 159). The method of indoctrination in such centers is one of "rigid discipline . . . (and) is feudalistic" (Rose, 1946, p. 363). The fact that the institution is "governing the life of the individual when he is not on actual work duty . . . (is a sharp) contrast to normal civilian social controls Aspects of daily life considered by civilians to be solely within the realm of private discretion are regarded as fit subjects for regulation" (Anonymous, 1946b, p. 366). The training center not only requires of its recruits a

. . . lapse of civilian occupations and avocations. . . (but also) involves the increasing decline of the social controls of the family and the neighborhood (There is a) knifing off of past experiences . . . nothing in one's past seems relevant. . . . (The recruit

is) thrust into a completely alien role
 he experiences feelings of isolation . . . atom-
 izing . . . impersonality . . . personal degrada-
 tion" (Brotz and Wilson, 1946, pp. 372-374).

During the first part of recruit training "so much happens to the person in such a short time that his reactions tend to be confused The perfectly trained member of the military organization is one who has had his civilian initiative reduced to zero" (Hollinghead, 1946, p. 440).

Dornbusch, in a paper on the assimilation of the new cadet into the Coast Guard Academy, reports that the "swab" (the Academy's equivalent of "Boot") is, for the first two months after his arrival, not allowed to leave the base or to engage in social intercourse with non-cadets. This process purports to provide, within a short period of time, a "clean break with the past" and a "loss of identity in terms of pre-existing statuses" (1955, p. 317). Thus, the individual is "softened up" and made receptive to the role expectations of the organization of which he is a recruit.

In general, the pressures of the recruit training center challenge four areas in the boot's life that have much influenced his understanding and acceptance of himself as a "civilian," and which have provided a foundation for and reinforcement of, his concept of self: (1) autonomy of action (self-determination, responsibility for own behavior, feels relatively free to express himself and to make choices, feels personal integrity); (2) personal economy of motion (feels free to move spontaneously toward,

away from, or against a given experience according to his preference, can set own activity pace, can control and vary own rate of locomotion); (3) privacy (has opportunity for physical and mental privacy, has places where he can be alone and "get away from it all"); (4) individual's picture of himself as a physical person (sees himself in his usual choice of clothing, degree of neatness, tonsorial demeanor) (Goffman, 1961, pp. 237-238).

The following are some examples of challenges encountered by the newly arrived boot in the training center to each of these four "self" sustaining entities:

Challenge to autonomy of action:

(a) Forced social relations--cannot choose the people with whom everyday life will be experienced--the boot will be a "shipmate" to anyone assigned to his recruit company.

(b) Hours for sleeping, hours for eating, hours for the use of the head (toilet facilities), frequency of shaves, and other similarly previously autonomous actions are now rigidly scheduled.

(c) The recruit is told that he will write a letter home each week, thus a measure of control is established over his autonomy of interaction with the original primary group.

(d) All clothing, all bedding, and all personal gear must be stored in exactly the prescribed manner. Anyone's deviations result in punishment for the entire company of recruits. In controlling the condition and position of the boot's personal effects, the authority strengthens its control over the condition and position of the boot, who

has invested some element of himself in his belongings.

(e) "You have been issued five pairs of shorts. Put one pair on each shoulder, one pair in your teeth, and hold one pair in each hand. Now, do you have a pair of shorts on each shoulder, in your teeth, and in each hand? Good! Put them in the sea bag . . ."

(f) Every morning, all the R and O's must stand inspection for clothing, shaves, shoes, etc. One of the positions assumed during the inspection ritual consists of a rigid stance at attention, the left hand holding the white uniform hat bottom side up at elbow's length, the thumb of the right hand hooked underneath the collar of the undershirt, turning the material outward, so that the inspector can check both your hat and your undershirt in one quick glance. Thus, a challenge to the recruit's responsibility for personal cleanliness.

(g) "All you have to remember is the number of the square on which you are now standing. I'm going to let you fall out, then have you fall back in. Return to the same numbered square. Understand? Ready? Fall out!"
(Field notes)

Challenge to personal economy of motion:

(a) "When I give the command 'Attention!' you will bring your heels together sharply, toes at a 45 degree angle. Your hands will be by your sides, in a natural position, your thumbs lined up with the seams in your trousers. You will pull your stomach in, push your chest out, keep your shoulders back and your body straight. I don't want to see any daylight between your knees. Keep your head and eyes forward at all times. And keep your ----- mouths closed. If I haul --- for a week-end liberty, you had ----- well be here, in that same position, when I get back!"

(b) "When the Captain comes by your position for inspection, don't blink and don't breathe! Make that uniform look good!"

(c) Everywhere the boot goes, he must march in formation. If for some administrative reason he must go somewhere alone, he will be given a "walking chit" (permit), stating his point of origin, his destination, a time limit, and who has given him permission to walk independently.

(d) The boot is constantly kept active and moving. The pace never seems to slacken. "You're not standing around on corners now!" He does not pause for rest unless the company is ordered to fall out.

(e) "When they walk, when they sit, sailors are tall!" (Field notes)

Challenge to privacy:

(a) "There's a folder up in the administration office. We know more about you than you do!"

(b) "Remove all of your clothes, sit over there on that bench, and wait until you are told to line up facing the doctor."

(c) "Get a load of the ***----- perfume on this one, guys! It's from his girl!"

(d) "You with the dreamy look in your eyes! What are you thinking about!"

(e) "Hey, mate, throw me your soap, will you?"
(Field notes)

Challenge to individual's picture of himself as a physical person:

(a) Within a matter of hours after arrival at boot camp, the new recruit is told to remove all of his civilian clothes, his jewelry, religious medals, etc., and place them, along

with wallets, combs, key rings, etc., in the shipping box that has been given to him. He stands there, nude, and wraps and addresses the box containing the accouterments of his civilianity. When finished, he proceeds through a line where he is issued his naval attire.

(b) There is nothing at all distinctive about the clothes he now puts on. The blue dungarees and blue chambray shirt (R and O's are not allowed to wear the Navy blues or whites they have been issued), the identical underwear, the white hat, the black socks and shoes, look exactly like everyone else's. The clothing is untailed, and will remain so for about two more weeks. "It's not that the clothes don't fit you, boot. You don't fit the clothes! We'll shape you up!"

(c) The haircut takes about thirty seconds. Full length mirrors are conveniently placed around the barber shop. The reflection of the shorn head, the baggy clothes, the drawn features, makes its point--you are a boot!

(d) "You boots with lard ----- will knock off at least twenty pounds and you beanpoles will gain at least twenty before you get off these grinders!"

(e) "You're going to discover that you've got muscles you never knew you had before!"
(Field notes)

Assault after assault is made on the new recruit's "presenting culture" self. It seems that many of his responses to situations, which had served him well in civilian life, now are inappropriate and ineffective. He seems to be unable to do anything right. Everywhere he goes, everyone he must deal with, reminds him that he is an "R and O" boot--the lowest of the low. Even other recruits, those who are on the other side of the R and O isolation fence, shout derisions at his

clumsiness, his appearance, his confusion. The new recruit's company is marched over to the end of the isolation area which faces the main drill field. There he and his company mates stand in their ill-fitting dungarees, arms still burning from shots, heads cold and itching from the shearing, tired, lonely, and befuddled. On the main drill field, company after company of sharp-stepping, cadence-singing seventh- and eighth-week recruits smartly parade by to the thundering drum rolls of the center band. "Someday, maybe, he . . . too"

In the society-at-large, the civilian compartmentalizes his roles. He can be student, son, sweetheart, part-time grocery clerk, and he understands a set of reciprocal expectations for each of these roles. Similarly, he comes to expect compartmentalized authority over him. The professor may be able to set down limits for his classroom performance, but the professor cannot tell him what, where, and when to eat.

In the naval training center, the boot has a single role (the expectations of which are, at first, painfully vague), and the authority over him is not compartmentalized. Any member of the staff can correct him for any offense at any time.

It was Sunday, and I was marching a detail of my company mates to church. What could be more divorced from R and O life than Sunday and church? We were all relaxed, out of step, chattering. I laughingly commanded "Detail, sloppy left--TURN!" From out of nowhere, a chief petty officer, whom I had never seen before, descended upon me with a ten minute tail-chewing that would have done justice to the memory of Captain Bleigh" (Field notes).

During the R and O phase of recruit training, the boot has been pushed, pulled, and badgered from five in the morning until ten at night. He has been challenged in his previous expectations of autonomy of action, personal economy of motion, privacy, and with regard to his picture of himself as a physical person. He has found the confidence he had in himself as a civilian individual is mistaken, that in this training center environment his previous pattern of behavior leaves him powerless, isolated, in conflict with the sanctioned norms, and makes the most of the day-to-day events in the center appear meaningless. In short, if the purposes of the center have been realized, the recruit's phenomenal experience of identity has been muddled, the comfortable feeling of knowledge of himself has been taken away, and he begins to reject his earlier conception of self and civilian expectations as being ineffective. If the R and O process is fruitful, the boot should be somewhat of a de-personalized and role-dispossessed shell, searching hungrily for the security and certainty of a sanctioned role which he can enact.

During the R and O phase, the role of sailor has been constantly presented--in the physical environment, in the example of the company commanders (drill instructors), in the glimpses the R and O gets of advanced recruits. But the organizational emphasis was on role-dispossession, and the major result, from the point of view of the recruit, is confusion

rather than role enactment. Hollingshead points out that, in the training center, though the opportunity to attain military status is present, the meaning of military status (and the meaning of the role expectations) does not grow clear for some time. When the recruit realizes that he is in a military situation and that his old civilian life is behind him (that he is "in the Navy now"), the "self will begin to appraise itself in relation to the new situation, and to adjust, or to figure out ways to evade the situation" (1946, p. 442).

Hollingshead adds that

. . . the recruit does not comprehend the significance the objective military situation has for him. When this happens, the self suddenly realizes that it must adjust to the situation or escape, and escape at first seems impossible. At this point his pre-existing personality traits will begin to influence actively the new social life. From this point on until the end of his military career the recruit tends either to adjust to the military situation as a normal . . . or to seek escape through the use of the psychological and social devices he learns as he becomes better oriented to the life around him. (1946, pp. 442-443).

It would not be correct to say that for every boot the R and O phase represents de-personalization and role-dispossession, and the advanced recruit stage (last six weeks) represents clear presentation of the center's role expectations meant to fill a created gap in the boot. Rather, role dispossession and role enactment exist on a continuum, varying in time and degree for each individual. However, examination of the structure and scheduling of the two phases of recruit training

points to an understanding of the R and O period of the process as functional largely in de-civilianizing the recruit, while the advanced period is functional largely in clarifying the expectations of the sailor role.

Upon the completion of R and O, the recruits move to new quarters, in the main area of the training center, shed their dungarees for blue or white uniforms (depending upon the time of year), and are issued a colorful company flag. Their company is now in official competition with the other advanced recruit companies for the weekly honors awarded with great ceremony at the Saturday brigade review. The boot begins to see himself and his mates in a different light. Where before there was confusion, clumsiness, individual isolation, and general uncertainty, now there are the "men of Company ABC." The company becomes the center of orientation. Hollingshead posits that there is a group substitute for the shattered civilian self (1946, p. 447). Brotz and Wilson observed that "the complete severance of accustomed social relations finds compensation in part in the acquiring of 'buddies'" (1946, p. 374). To the recruit, the term "buddy" applies to every man in the company. The hours of drilling and exercising together, the constant exhortations to "move as one man," work as a unifying discipline. Marching may be joked about points out Warren, but let another man get out of step as the company passes in review and the in-step recruit "curses under

his breath" (1946, p. 205).

The low status held by the recruit in Raand 0 makes the new uniforms, the company flag, the new quarters in the main part of the training center, and the place among the advanced recruits seem like a giant step upward. Dornbusch observed a similar phenomenon in the Coast Guard Academy where the assignment of low status to the "swab" was "useful in producing a correspondingly high evaluation of successfully completing the steps in an Academy career" (1955, p. 317).

The recruit finds himself united with his mates in Company ABC to "bilde the other companies" for the weekly honor prize (which is symbolized by a streamer displayed on the company flag. The flag is carried by the guide-on bearer who marches at the head of the company). Together the men watch from the windows of their new quarters and laugh at the Marine recruits marching in the sand some distance away. In speaking of this phenomenon in infantry training, one observer reports:

By sharing experiences, they have a feeling of closeness and begin to feel that they form a select group. This esprit de corps reinforces their new conceptions of themselves because the rifleman gets collective support from the sense of belonging with others" (Anonymous, 1946a, p. 378).

Air Force men are "sloppy," "airdales," "flyboys." Marines are "jarheads," "jungle-bunnies," "gung-ho." Coast Guardsmen are "fresh water sailors," "lighthouse keepers." Soldiers are

"dogfaces," "female marines." (Field notes). But we are sailors, the men of Company ABC. Heels pounding in cadence unison, company flag snapping in the breeze, Company ABC now takes its turn marching fiercely past the R and O company standing in ragged lines on the other side of the chicken-wire fence.

Got no women, got no dough,
But at least we're not in R and O.
Sound off! Sound off!
Cadence count!

(Field notes)

Goffman states that the member of the total institution regains stability of self as he learns the institutional privilege system. This system is presented by formal (classroom and field demonstration) and informal (example of staff and of recruits in more advanced weeks, "bull" sessions) instruction, and makes possible a clearer understanding of the role expectations involved in the role of sailor, thus providing a framework for personal organization.

The boot now attends daily classes in naval tradition and customs, in gunnery, first aid, seamanship, naval history, military conduct, shipboard organization, etc. He finds himself proud of his knowledge and likes to demonstrate his prowess in sailor skills, such as knot tying, flag signaling, etc. Warren reported this kind of behavior when he observed trainees in naval officer candidate schools "competing with each other on shipboard knowledge" during off duty hours (1946, p. 205). The boot is a member of a boat crew, a fire-fighting

team, a rifle squad, and a watch section--in each of which he clearly knows what is expected of him and what he can expect of his teammates. He learns naval argot, and finds that he can communicate with the "real sailors" who are his instructors. Automatically, now, the floor is a "deck", the ceiling an "overhead," the flight of stairs a "ladder." It is not "right and left" but "starboard and port," not "front and back," but "fore and aft," not "behind," but "abaft." He comes to be familiar with many of the physical objects around him, which previously had civilian names, in terms of naval argot. Various events and sequences of behavior unique to the military are understood by the recruit in single terms: "taps," "AWOL," "liberty," "square away," "field day," etc. F. Elkin demonstrates that the acceptance by the recruit of military language patterns reflects an image of solidarity and an admission of a break with civilian society. The use of so-called "tabooed" language is significant of a freedom from certain restraints of the civilian culture. "The most significant feature of such expressions is that . . . they give . . . a unique universe of discourse which helps distinguish him (the member of the military), and thus they become a binding-in-group force" (1946, pp. 414-415.). Some authors vividly describe the obscenity of the language of the military man, and explain it in terms of expression of aggression, traumatic regression to an earlier level of impulse gratification,

rebelliousness, negativism, need to express virility in the threat of a purely masculine society, etc. (Janis, 1945, pp. 172-174; H. Elkin, 1946, pp. 408-413). These certainly may be factors in the frequent use of tabooed language by the member of the military, but the importance of role expectations must not be overlooked. Frederick Elkin points out that the obscene terms come into universal and relatively indiscriminate usage, and thus lose their original sexual significance. The words become merely the language of a social group (1946, p. 419). There seems to be no one emotion expressed by a given obscene term. One given word can be used positively, negatively, or as a neutral expression. Sometimes the obscenity will be an adjective, sometimes a noun, sometimes a verb, and sometimes an expletive. Such terms may come at the beginning of sentences, at the end of sentences, between words, or even between the syllables of words. Such lability of use indicates a probable social variable as well as the psychodynamic variable engendering the use of such language. The sailor is expected to swear. As Warren points out, the assuming of the language patterns is "the thing to do" (1946, p. 204). The boot, then, observing the language habits of "real sailors" picks up the use of obscenities along with "bulkhead" for wall and "scuttlebutt" for drinking fountain or rumors. Ceremonies and rituals become less strange and more a part of everyday life. The Company Commander seems less fearsome now, and seems so much

less "different" somehow. Isolation among the members of the company diminishes, replaced by fraternization as the company develops acceptable counter mores and finds new "others" with whom they can contrast themselves. All these occurrences present the boot with a clearer definition of the role he is expected to enact in the training center, and the role the training center will play for him. "You boots keep winning those weekly honors, and you just might turn out to be sailors!" (Field Notes).

As was mentioned before, there is a continuum for role enactment, ranging from complete differentiation of role and self to a state where role and self are undifferentiated. Goffman describes four ways that an individual undergoing role dispossession-repossession in a total institution might react: (1) situational withdrawal; (2) intransigent role; (3) colonization; and (4) conversion (1961, pp. 61-63). These four categories of behavior can be observed in the total institutional setting of the naval training center.

In the first type of reaction, situational withdrawal, the training center's challenge to the comfortable civilian self of the recruit encourages him to retreat within the walls of his civilianity--to shut himself off from the threat of de-personalization. Such an individual may be administratively discharged from the Navy during the R and O phase. If not, he suffers internal torment for the first three weeks of boot

camp, and then, as the rest of the company members enact their new role in the second phase, he suffers additional torment as an ostracized "other."

In the second type of adjustment discussed by Goffman, the boot becomes an intransigent. He vociferously verbalizes his gross discontent with the Navy and its ways, but becomes, in fact, deeply involved in the total institution. His careful study of institutional expectations, so that he can protest them, serves to contribute to his enactment of the very expectations he is admonishing.

Colonization, the third type of reaction, sees the recruit "finding a home in the Navy." The individual's previous experience with civilian society has been one marked by deprivation, and Navy life provides him with the first real security he has ever known, or with relatively more security than he has ever known.

I left the cotton fields and joined this man's Navy. They gave me a place to sleep, good clothes, and all I could eat. Then, one day, they paid me, and I thought they were crazy! (Field notes)

The fourth method of adjustment is conversion. In this case the individual becomes "gung ho," a "red hot," etc. He more or less completely accepts and performs the role expectations defined by the naval training center. He identifies more with the staff than with his company mates.

These four reactions presented by Goffman fit on the continuum of role-self interaction. In situational withdrawal,

the self can't tolerate the threat, and interaction is avoided. In overt behavior, the intransigent may appear to have a large degree of role-self differentiation, and the colonizer and the convert to have role and self essentially undifferentiated, but covertly, their role-self interaction could be anywhere on the continuum.

Each of the boots comes to the recruit training center with a unique self, based upon an individual organization of his past experiences. He has some needs that differ from those of his peers, and some that are similar to their's, but all his needs express themselves through his uniqueness. Every recruit has a different facility for enacting roles--a different degree of toleration for threats to and demands for change of the self. When the R and O phase of boot camp calls for dispossession of the civilian role, each recruit, in accordance with his unique self, with his perception of the role expectations and possible role conflicts and role-self conflicts, and with his level of flexibility for role enactment, will work out a solution for adjustment. Perhaps this adjustment will occur in the R and O phase. Perhaps not until the last six weeks. Perhaps never. The recruit might react in a pattern following one of Goffman's four types of reactions. Inevitably, however, if adjustment takes place, the role enactment will fall somewhere along the line of role-self interaction continuum.

If the level of role-self interaction is less than undifferentiated, then the recruit often finds it necessary to rationalize his enactment of the role. Some types of rationalization observed in the recruit training center were:

- (a) "Well, you see, there was this girl"
- (b) "My father was out of work, and there were nine of us"
- (c) "I'll be damned if I was going to let the ----- Army draft me!"
- (d) "Me? I want to see the world."
- (e) "I didn't join the Navy. I bought the G.I. Bill!"
- (f) "I figure I had to do it sooner or later. I'm just putting in my time." (Field notes)

The training center staff is not concerned about the individual's motivation for or rationalization for performing the role expectations of the "sailor"--just so the expectations are met. As Janowitz points out, when a general gives an order, specifying advance or attack, he doesn't care why the individual soldier fights, just so he does fight! (1960, p. 174).

The naval recruit training center, then, as a total institution, rigidly controls the environment of the recruit. During a nine week period, the center challenges the boot's entering civilian self, attempts to de-personalize or role-disposes him, offers to him a sanctioned role of sailor,

hoping that he will enact this role during and especially after boot camp, and gives him the opportunity to rationalize his role enactment, if he finds it necessary. The role expectations are presented to the recruit both intentionally and incidentally, formally and informally. Most of the evidence cited thus far has been demonstrative of the intentional or formal teaching of role expectations. Rose believes that "informal organization never existed under the rigid discipline of training camp" (1946, p. 363). It may be true that informal organization is limited in the naval training center because of the pace of activities and the fully scheduled days, but this author does not feel that informal organization never existed. However, close analysis of the informal organization in a naval setting will be reserved until the section of the paper dealing with the naval vessel.

After completion of the ninth week of training in the center, the recruit graduates. The graduation ceremony is dramatized by drums, flashing swords, banners, "Anchors Aweigh," speeches of the "now you are a man" type, and is culminated with the recruit's stripping off his boots and hurling them into the air.

At last, splendid in his pressed dress blue uniform, arm heavy with two shiny white stripes (seaman apprentice), and seabag on his shoulder, he is ready to go "down to the

sea in ships."⁴

⁴Following recruit training, many sailors are sent to naval service schools, at which they are prepared for certain job specialties (ratings). A few of these schools train sailors for highly technical ratings (Guided Missilemen, Nuclear Weaponsmen, Fire Control Technicians, Electronic Technicians, etc.). These schools are of long duration (about 1 year), and are often located in or near large cities, and sometimes maintain close contact with the civilian contractors. The students attend classes for the eight hour work day, and are relatively free during liberty hours. The educational techniques of the technical schools are more civilian than military. It would seem likely that the sailor attending one of these schools would undergo a certain amount of re-civilianization. If not that, then he would certainly identify his technical specialization with the more relaxed, less traditionalized environment in which he learned it. This might cause him to see himself, in the role of technician, far less "military" than his non-technical, non-service-schooled shipmates. Gaining prestige from his technical knowledge, he may reject the rigid authoritarianism of traditional military command, and reject those who have no other course but to perpetuate it. The technician coming aboard ship for the first time is apt to "rock the boat." This factor, plus the high salaries offered to technicians by private industry, may be instrumental in the low technician re-enlistment rate.

THE SHIP

"As you, from this day, start the world as a man"⁵

As it was pointed out in the Introduction of the paper, the ship can be considered to be of the type of total institution that justifies itself on instrumental grounds--the pursuit of some work-like task. The formal (designed and officially stated) purpose of the Naval vessel is one with the formal purpose of the Navy itself, to serve the cause of national defense. But this paper proposes that the more immediate purpose nearer to understanding of the crew (and thus what can be called the informal, or implicit purpose) is simply to sail "our ship" somewhere for something. The Army constantly reminds its personnel of the importance of the "mission." "Mission," or the accomplishment of the assigned task, is important to the Navy, also, but to the men afloat it would seem that the more important (and more immediate) task is to bring their ship through a successful mission. Thus, it would seem that the instrumental purpose which, ideally, would guarantee the functional unity of the ship as a total institution would exist on two levels: (1) the formal purpose, as

⁵Lord Nelson, to a group of men going into service aboard ship for the first time as found in The Ship on the Desert, U. S. Navy Public Information Officer, Eleventh Naval District, 1942.

dictated by the higher authority in Washington, to serve in the interest of national security, and to accomplish missions thereto related, and (2) the informal purpose, as understood by the crew, to "bring her through" an assigned task. The formal purpose would be reflected in the formal organization of the vessel (chain-of-command, plans-of-the-day, standard operating procedures, codes, regulations, etc.), while the informal purpose would be reflected in the informal organization of the vessel (the unwritten, personalized, traditional, and social organization).

It is interesting to note that the ship is the only piece of war machinery existing in the military that is awarded campaign ribbons of the type worn by the personnel themselves. These ribbons, made of metal and about three feet long, are welded on the outside of the flying bridge, and represent theatres of campaign, special citations, etc. The ship, then, is anthropomorphized, not only in being honored for performance in the line of duty, but consoled when "wounded," and mourned for when sunk. When a ship goes down, men feel sorrow not so much for the loss of a fight as for the loss of a good friend.

Checking the ship against the criteria for a total institution, it is seen that all aspects of life aboard vessel at sea are carried out within the limits of bow and stern, beam to beam, and bilges to foretruck. Authority, personified

in the form of the Captain, is absolute (all skippers of naval vessels, regardless of their actual rank, are called "Captain"). Every action aboard ship is either for or against the rules he promulgates or reflects. He has total responsibility for and to the men and the ship. His influence spreads over all activities of the crew. The Captain is the "logos," the word, and nothing he says or does is taken impersonally (Homans, 1946, p. 295). The sailor salutes other officers aboard only the first time he sees them during the day. He salutes the Captain every time he sees him--because he is the Captain both of the ship and of his "sailor" person.

It is almost impossible for the sailor to be alone. He goes through each day's routine in company of his shipmates. Physical closeness is inevitable, even more so than in Boot Camp. For the first time in his life, the individual can read a newspaper over a shipmate's shoulder--while using the head.

Each day is tightly scheduled by a "plan of the day," mimeographed and posted on bulletin boards throughout the ship. The "POD" specifies all the day's activities from reveille until taps: what and when ship's work will be, what uniforms will be worn during which time of the day, what time you will eat, what time you will rest, who will be on duty and who will be at liberty, what the evening's shipboard entertainment will be, what time sunrise and sunset will be

(the Captain can actually modify the latter time, to fit the ship's schedule). At the bottom of each POD are listed those men whom the Captain has seen fit to promote, and those whom he has seen fit to punish.

The official aim of the institution, the formal goal, is presented in terms of defense or deterrence, and the mandatory activities of the formal organization are justified in this light.

The officers live in their own section of the ship, which is painted green (the rest of the spaces are painted white or gray) and called "officers' country." The chief petty officers have their own area, called "Chiefs' Quarters." No enlisted sailor may enter these areas without expressed permission, and then only with hat removed. The Captain takes his meals in his stateroom, served by his own cook. The officers eat in their "wardroom," the chiefs in the Chiefs' Mess, each served by their own cooks. (If enough Warrant Officers are aboard, they also will have their own living and eating facilities). First class petty officers (if the ship is large enough) have food brought from the general mess to their own eating compartment. Second class petty officers eat alone in the general mess, thirty minutes before the rest of the enlisted crew is fed. (These arrangements differ according to the size and function of the vessel). Watch assignments, liberty, and work details are a function of rate and seniority. Social

contact between officers and enlisted men is formally forbidden, and in practice actually highly restricted. The social distance between chiefs and lower rates is less rigid, but still existent. All petty officers maintain a degree of social distance from the non-rated seamen and seamen apprentice. The usual stereotype phenomena engendered by supervisor-member split is evident.

"What can you expect from an En-swine (ensign)!"

"He's just another salty old Chief!"

"They say that Master-at-Arms put his own brother on report once!" (Master-at-Arms is a police watch served by petty officers. To be put "on report" is to have one's name turned in to the Executive Officer for punishment).

(Field notes)

On one ship, all personnel below the rating of petty officer third class had to stand weekly inspection for venereal disease. Apparently, the "crow" (insignia of rate) on sailors arms warned off contagion.

The sailor usually doesn't officially know the destination of his ship until well out to sea. He is, similarly, usually not formally aware of the fact that he is to be transferred until handed his orders.

The ship at sea is, of course, totally isolated from society-at-large. There are, however, more subtle barriers to the civilian world. For example, no civil authority can come aboard a naval vessel at sea or in port without the expressed

permission of the Captain. Civilian clothes, for enlisted men, are usually forbidden aboard ship--not even to be stored in lockers.

The work structure is on a twenty-four hour basis, and the sailor is reminded so often that Uncle Sam is paying him "even when flaked out" that he begins to wonder why he shouldn't approach the waking hours with the same somnolence. Drills and training exercises (at unannounced times of the day and night) are, in part, purported to break up the endless flow of sea hours.

Formal Organization of the Ship

The formal organization of the ship is described in the ship's published regulations, which are reflections of the regulations of higher authority. With modifications to suit the size of the ship, the number of personnel aboard, and, expecially, the function of the ship, all naval vessels follow a similar organizational structure (see Figure 3).

The general task of a ship, whether it is to be a combat vessel, a support vessel, a flagship, a patrol vessel, etc., is decided by the Department of the Navy and, of course, by its architectural configuration. Periodic inspections by higher authority remind all aboard a given ship that they are a part of a larger element, and must live up to the expectations of the Commodore, the Admiral, etc. It is most interesting to observe that every naval ship large enough to spare the

FIGURE 3: Approximate Formal Organization of a Naval Vessel with a Complement of Five-Hundred Officers and Men:

Depending upon the size and function of the ship, the departmental structure may expand or contract. On a small ship (such as a destroyer), there may be only four departments: Gunnery, Navigation, Engineering, and Supply - with no division breakdown. On a large ship (such as an aircraft carrier), some of the divisions listed above may become departments in themselves.

If the Captain and the Executive Officer were incapacitated, the Gunnery Officer (regardless of seniority of rank of the officers on board) would assume command - then the First Lieutenant, the Navigator, the Engineering Officer, and so on.

The enlisted ratings shown above (there are approximately sixty-four separate ratings, or job specialities) are also set in a hierarchy of formal precedence: Boatswain's Mate, Gunner's Mate, Torpedoman's Mate, Quartermaster, Guided Missileman, Signalman, Fire Controlman, Mineman (in war-time, all of the foregoing ratings wear their crow's (designator of rate or pay grade on their right arms, indicating line command), Radioman, Metalsmith, Sonarman, etc. Thus, formally, a third class Boatswain's Mate would take command of, say, a lifeboat, over a first class Sonarman.

The hierarchy of enlisted rates is, in ascending order: Seaman Recruit, Seaman Apprentice, Seaman, Petty Officer Third Class, Petty Officer Second Class, Petty Officer First Class, Chief Petty Officer.

(Field notes)

space has an "Admiral's Cabin," which is kept clean, functional, and vacant--in the event that an Admiral comes aboard. An "Admiral's Barge," a motor launch, is also kept in perfect order for his use. These quasi-monuments serve to remind the crew of the breadth of command and the atmospheric heights from which authority ultimately emanates.

The formal role of the men is determined by:

- (1) Rate and rating for enlisted men, rank and specialty for officers.
- (2) Shipboard assignment during working hours.
- (3) The Watch, Quarter, and Station Bill (assignments for Collision, Fire, Special Sea and Anchor Detail, Atomic, Biological, or Chemical Attack, and General Quarters).
- (4) The Uniform Code of Military Justice (codified articles of conduct, discipline, and punishment).
- (5) The Plan of the Day.
- (6) The Captain's policy (as executed by the Executive Officer).
- (7) The department and division policies.

(Field notes)

The sailor's enactment of the role expectations presented to him by the formal organization will be called, after Goffman, "primary adjustment." Primary adjustment occurs

. . . when an individual co-operatively contributes required activity to an organization and under required conditions he is transformed into a co-operator; he becomes the "normal," "programmed," or built in member. He gives and gets in an appropriate spirit what has been systematically planned

for, whether this entails much or little of himself (Goffman, 1961, pp. 188-189).

A good start on primary adjustment, the "how" and "to what," is provided to the recruit in Boot Camp. What are only partially learned, or not at all learned, until taking a berth aboard ship, are the expectations of and operations of the ship's informal organization. Warren has observed that despite the training received in Officer's Candidate School, the new ensigns were "bewildered" when they reported aboard and took part in the activities of a ship (1946, p. 206). Dornbusch reports the same phenomena, a sudden realization of the disparity between the way a job is envisaged before beginning work and the actual work situation, and he calls it "reality shock" (1955, p. 321).

Again, the self of the now graduated recruit is subject to challenge. Proud of his accomplishments in boot camp, the taste of being a "Ninth Weeker" in the training program still lingering, comfortable in his knowledge of the center's expectations, the individual reporting aboard ship finds himself on the bottom of the hierarchy, unproven, unfamiliar, and uncomfortable. His boot camp experience will serve him well, however. It will not take him long to expand his understanding of the role expectations of "sailor" to include the broader formal demands and the powerful informal demands of shipboard life.

Informal Organization

The term "informal organization," as it will now be used, does not merely refer to social networks which serve to provide the individual with an opportunity for behavior which will defy the expectations of the organization and give him some element of control over his membership situation. This phenomenon can rightly be called a significant part of the informal organization, but is considered in this paper to be only a part of the shipboard informal structure. Included in the term as it is used in this paper are those great bodies of tradition, custom, ritual, initiation, and myth that play a vital part in the daily life of the sailor. These informal entities are not explicitly codified by the formal organization, but are tacitly understood and accepted by it. In fact, these rather "formalized" informal elements serve to enhance, preserve, and implement the functions and structure of the formal organization. They are much like what Williams calls "patterned evasions," regularized ways of getting around the demands of the formal organization, usually with the result of accomplishing the formal expectations in a quicker and more efficient way (1960, p. 379). Other observers, reporting on expectations of the informal organization in an Air Force enlisted training program, concluded that the Air Force seemed to expect its trainees to indulge in "patterned evasions" (Sullivan, Queen, and Patrick, 1958, p. 663). The formal

organization had, they reported, given tacit approval to that aspect of the informal organization. "A large part of the customs of the informal group," reports another, "supplemented or implemented the official regulations and relationships" (Anonymous, 1946a, p. 369). This "large part" of the informal organization expectations, those which are silently endorsed by the formal organization, shall be discussed now (enactment of these expectations by the sailor can still be termed primary adjustment). The other part, those behaviors which are not sanctioned explicitly or implicitly by the formal organization, but seem to be defensive of self, will be discussed later (and will be termed "secondary adjustments").

Some examples of operations of the informal organization that modify the formal organization (to its advantage) are:

- (a) Chain-of-command bypassed. Communication will exist between staff "A" and staff "B", rather than from staff "A" to his officer-in-charge to the officer-in-charge of staff "B" and then to staff "B" himself. This facilitates such operations that might be aborted or delayed by "red tape."
- (b) "Scuttlebutt" (grapevine). Mouth to ear advanced information about ship movement, new assignments, etc. Tenses the crew, gives them a preparatory set which increases efficiency when the order is officially given.
- (c) "Jury-Rigs." Using unofficial, pirated, or home-made parts to maintain machinery, etc., in full operation.

(Field notes)

With its myths, traditions, rituals, customs, and, especially, its initiations, the informal organization makes

available to the new man the expectations of a seagoing sailor. In return for his enactment of this role, the informal organization gives him acceptance into the social group, which, in the military, is crucial. One investigator emphasizes this, observing that "the offending member of a street corner gang may find refuge in a rival gang. The offending machine politician may sell out to the rival machine or an entirely different social world." The member of a military group, he goes on, "rarely has such an alternative. He belongs to the informal social group or he is isolated" (Anonymous, 1946a, p. 369).

Enactment of the formal role, it would appear, is sufficient to link a man to the Navy as a whole. Only the informal, however, can blend him into shipboard society.

As has been mentioned, the ship is a total institution justified on the grounds of instrumental purpose. For the formal organization, the purpose of the ship is to put to sea, and bring the ship through some task or to some destination. If a ship is not at sea (or preparing for sea), its informal organization, devoid of purpose, would become dysfunctional. (The contrary might be true if the ship were in an unfamiliar or hostile port, where the men didn't know what to expect). If the informal organization did, in fact, completely break down when a ship was in port, then the formal organization would most likely lose much of its power over the men. However, the informal organization does not completely break down. It

merely extends itself ashore by the neat expedient of including in its expectations, the role of "liberty hound"--the sailor who always goes ashore when the ship is in port.

To get a closer look at the informal organization, it might be fruitful to follow a sailor, just graduated from boot camp, up the gangway and aboard his first ship. The ship, a vessel usually much at sea, has been tied up at the dock for about a week. The sailor reports to the Officer of the Deck, and as his papers are being recorded in the log (thus making him a member of the formal organization) he looks around. What he sees is not very impressive. This "ship" that he has heard so much about in boot camp, this supposedly living, breathing, vibrant ship that the instructors spoke of with a far-away look in their eyes seems to be a figment of their imaginations. All he sees is what appears to be a huge hulk of dirty gray machinery. Rusty wire curls snakelike across an oil-splotched deck. Tools, metal chips, stumps of welding rods, and buckets of odd parts are strewn about. Raw splashes of red-lead paint cut and gash across the gray bulkheads and hatches. This certainly is not like the U.S.S. Recruit, the neat, clean, and organized mock ship at boot camp. This is nothing but a cold, iron shell. There seem to be no people on board but two bored watches and an uninspired Officer of the Deck. Berkman describes an armed guard merchant ship as being "no ship at all" when in port. The vessel is "allowed

to appear to go to pot, much as a temporary bachelor may allow dirty dishes to accumulate, the bed to go unmade, and dust to gather before his wife returns and his family is re-established" (1946, p. 380).

To the new man reporting aboard, this is certainly not what he has learned to associate with "shipshape." This is no "taut ship." There is certainly no evidence of a total institution. In fact, there is no evidence of a social unit at all. Social interaction seems to go no farther than "I have the watch, sir." "I have been properly relieved, sir." The new man is shown briefly around his living quarters, given a liberty card (pass), and told that he might as well go ashore.

The new addition to the ship's roster reports back as she is making preparations for getting under way. Behold! A transformation! Men are bustling around, laughing and jabbering, performing tasks that they seem to have been performing for five hundred years. Things appear "shipshape," everything and everybody seem to be in their proper places. There is a tension, a "tautness" in the air. Everyone is making the right moves, and takes for granted that his shipmates will do likewise. Each sailor is a member of a unified group whose boundaries are distinctly defined (1946, p. 382). They are secure in the knowledge of what is expected of them in their role of sailor. Their routine is established. As they steam away from shore the squawk box snaps on and a "This is the Captain speaking!" reminds

all hands that the authority is aboard and in full command. They are enacting a familiar and almost habitual part of their role. Here and there are heard "Man, it's good to be at sea again!" "Sailor, do I need a rest!" "Yea, I'm flat broke." (1946, p. 383; field notes).

Berkman sums up this transformation when he observes that "social stability and unity reappear with the re-establishment of routine that is meaningful in the light of ship's operations" (1946, p. 384). The informal organization of the ship has regained its purpose.

As the ship cruises out of sight of land, the men go below and shift into their "steaming uniforms" (a "steaming hat"-- snow white, but frayed with age and use; "steaming dungarees"-- clean and pressed, but the blue chambray shirt is bleached almost white, and the material neatly patched in several places.) The metamorphosis is complete.

In the midst of all this activity stands the new sailor. Everyone seems to know what he is doing but him. The passageways seem like mazes, the noises are frightening. He cautiously goes down ladders that others bound down. He can't even walk correctly on the pitching, rolling deck. He feels very alone and very conspicuous, and for a moment, old feelings from "R and O" clutch him. The ship heads into rougher water, and the deck begins to roll and pitch more violently. The new sailor is not to be isolated from shipboard society for long,

for his initiation into the informal organization is about to begin.

According to Berkman, some of the processes which "sailorize" the new man are: rough weather and "sea leg" acquisition, shipboard initiatory ritual, standing watches, general quarters, and shipboard discourse (1946, p. 380). These elements of shipboard life are instrumental in clarifying for the individual the role expectations of the informal organization, and give him a wider understanding of the total sailor role.

When rough weather develops, the ship takes agonizing rolls and long, lurching pitches. The new man has great difficulty moving about, and may find rather disconcerting the odor of spare ribs and sauerkraut wafting through the ventilating system from the galley where they are being prepared. There seems to be a common belief among sailors that pork, or the greasiest meat possible, is served by the cooks during rough weather (field notes). All eyes are on the new man, now. As he walks by, little discussion groups stage-whisper "This will probably go on for days!" "I knew a guy turned so green they used him for a starboard running light!" If he asks for advice about the seasickness he fears is seizing him, he will probably get one of two general kinds of answer:

(a) Philosophical:

"Hang on, lad, this will make a sailor out of you!"

"It's really not that rough a sea, mate,
I can remember one time when"

(b) Medical:

"chew gum" - "chew crackers"
"drink tea" - "drink salt water"
"stay in the pad (bed) - "keep walking around"
"eat a lot" - "eat a little"
"don't look up" - "don't look down"

"Next time you come aboard, son, come
aboard gassed--and stay gassed for at
least four hours after we get under way.
then, by the time you sober up, your sea
legs will have grown to the deck."

(Berkman, 1946, p. 385; field notes)

"Go to the doctor and ask him for a piece
of salt pork. Tie a rope yarn to it and
hold it in your hand. Stand by for a surge of
guts to the head and when you feel it surge,
swallow the pork, but hold on to the lanyard;
the pork will drive it back and with every-
thing quiet below, pull the pork back out
with the lanyard" (Harlow, 1928, p. 122).

If the new mate becomes visibly ill, he finds great
sympathy from the older hands. They take his watches for
him, muster for him, etc. He is rapidly becoming one of them
through a rite of initiation. If he does not become ill, he
may be held suspect for a while, but nonetheless is considered
to have run the first gauntlet.

As soon as the new man has passed the ordeal by sea, he
is subjected to several lesser, but firmly established, initi-
ations:

"You've got the mail buoy watch, sailor." There
are supposedly "mail buoys," containing mail for the
personnel aboard, scattered about the ocean. The

victim is given a boat hook, and stands on deck scanning the horizon for the appearance of one such buoy.)

"Run down to the post office, lad, and get me some sea stamps!" ("Sea stamps" are said to be necessary for letters mailed from ship to shore).

"Go down to the paint locker and get some striped paint (or, white lampblack, numeral paint, red oil for the port running light, a bucket of steam, etc.)".

"Congratulations! You've earned fourth class liberty!" ("Fourth class liberty" means putting on the dress blue uniform, standing on the fore-castle, and staring at the shore through binoculars).

(The following is heard over the loudspeaker system): "Now hear this! A sea-bat has been captured and caged on the fantail. All hands interested in seeing it, lay aft." (The "sea-bat" is housed in a low box, with a small open door in the front. As the victim bends over to peer into the cage, he is smartly bashed on the rear with a broom or two).

(field notes)

Berkman points out that "the very fact of this ribbing indicates a measure of acceptance. Furthermore, it represents an addition to the nautical experience and lore that the new sailor is acquiring and further helps to distinguish him from civilians or from any new man who may subsequently report aboard" (1946, p. 385).

Initiations are also held every time a sailor is promoted. Only those who hold a rating equal to or above his can serve in the initiation, which consists of a chase, a capture, and a tossing overboard (if possible) or a dunking in a large tub. His crow is also "pinned on" his shoulder with a series of hefty fists. In return for this recognition, he must give

all his peers and superiors cigars. The ritual of initiation for chief petty officer is far richer, calling for the initiates' wearing of some ridiculous costume for twenty-four hours before the ceremony, various ridiculous kinds of watches, etc., and the reading, with all hands at quarters, of a document which acknowledges the older chiefs' acceptance of this initiate into their ranks).

The most impressive and the most complete initiation ceremony of all, however, is the elaborate program involved in crossing the line.

The night before the ship is scheduled to cross the equator, a colorfully costumed "Davy Jones" crawls, amid a glare of spot lights and great fanfare, out of a hawse pipe (where the anchor hangs), and demands to see the Officer of the Deck. He quizzes the OOD about the name of the ship and its destination, then demands to see the ship's Captain. When the Captain comes to the bridge, Davy Jones reads him a summons from Neptunus Rex, the King of the Sea, ordering the Captain to prepare for a visit from his Royal Highness on the following morning. Davy Jones then takes his leave.

On the following morning, Davy Jones reappears and announces that Neptunus Rex is about to make his entry. The Flag of Neptunus Rex is run up, the ship is stopped dead in the water, and all hands are ordered to fall in at quarters for muster. Neptune makes a grand entry with his retinue: Amphritrite

(his wife), the Royal Baby, the Royal Chaplain, the Royal Navigator, Neptune's Officer of the Day, Judges, Attorneys, Barbers, Doctors, Bears, and Police. The discourse between the Captain and Neptune might be something like this:

Neptune: Allow me to present Royal Navigator Shellback who will relieve you. I am gald to be with you again, Captain, and have prepared a busy day in order to make your landlubbers fit subjects of my great sea domain. (Those who have previously crossed over the equator in a Navy vessel, and who have been initiated, are called "Shellbacks," and have certificates to prove their membership. Neptune and all his staff are Shellbacks. Those who have not crossed the Equator previously, and thus who have not been initiated, are called "Polywogs," and are in for a hectic day).

Captain: May I invite your attention to the fact that I have several young officers and members of the crew aboard who have not been in the service long enough to have had an opportunity to visit your domain and become Shellbacks. I beg you to be as lenient with them as possible.

Neptune: Ah! Captain! I will be as severe as I can--as severe as I can.

Captain: Neptune, I turn over my command to you for such a time as you wish.

(Lovette, 1939, p. 235)

Neptune then ascends his throne, and the initiation ceremony begins. Summons usually have been issued the night before, ordering the landlubber to appear before the court of Neptunus Rex and answer specific charges (often dealing with personal idiosyncracies of the victims). A procedure much like a kangaroo court is then held and sentence imposed (all Polywogs are found guilty). The sentence consists of such

things as dunking into a large canvas tub filled with salt water and garbage, having one's hair clipped, being thrown overboard, kissing the Royal Baby's stomach (he is always the fattest man on board), etc. After the ceremony is completed (usually by noon of the same day), all hands on board are shellbacks, and the initiates are given certificates of membership. The spirit of unity is apparent everywhere. This event will be talked about--indeed, relived--many times in the future, and each time that it is it will reinforce the unity of the informal organization of the crew.

So important is this occasion to the sailor, that squadrons of ships have been known to sail for days just north of the line, waiting for favorable initiation weather before crossing (1939, p. 273).

Here is an operation of the informal organization that is wide enough in scope to encompass the entire vessel, and to "usurp" the power of the formal organization. It is seen, however, that this ceremony is given full cooperation of the formal organization, for every unifying agent that ties the crew more closely together leads to cooperation--which is a sine qua non for the fulfillment of the purpose of the formal organization.

One ship's Captain, writing aboard a U. S. Navy vessel over a hundred years ago, says of the ceremony:

Its evil is transient, if an evil there be;
while it certainly affords Jack a topic for a
month beforehand and a fortnight afterwards;

and if so ordered as to keep its monstrosities within the limits of strict discipline, which is easy enough, it may even add to the authority of the officers, instead of weakening their influence (1939, p. 238).

Such role reversals, which allow subordinates to play an imitative role of their superiors or, at the least, temporarily blur the status distinction, help to clarify mutual role expectations. The enlisted man who plays Neptunus Rex (and he is always a leader of the informal organization) broadens his understanding of the sailor role when he temporarily relieves, and is, the Captain of the ship. Dornbusch reports a similar phenomenon in the Coast Guard Academy on the traditional "Gizmo Day," on which the "Swabs" and their hazers reverse roles. The swabs are given a fuller realization of mutual expectancies (1955, p. 319).

Standing watches "sailorizes" the individual by virtue of the responsibility he is given and the communication network into which he is tied. When he is on lookout, he is much influenced to be aware that the sleeping crew members are depending, in part, on his diligence. If he accepts this responsibility, he can't help but identify with the crew. While on watch, he wears a set of headphones that connects him with the bridge and with all other men on watch, above and below deck. He hears the men make reports, the OOD give engine speed and direction changes. He hears the background noises of a ship alive. This is a team, and he does not, he cannot, feel alone (Berkman, 1946, p. 386).

When a ship goes to General Quarters (in peacetime this is a drill exercise), he knows and feels that all hands are involved in the operation. Every single man on that ship is at his post and will, if need be, do his part to protect the ship and the crew against attack.

These activities, involving as they do a sense of group feeling and a degree of loss of self in the collectivity, are extensions of a lesson that was taught in boot camp. Hour after hour was spent marching together, exercising together, being rewarded and punished together, until, if the lesson was successful, the group became more important than the self, or became identical with the self. Time and time again the sailor will be reminded that he is expendable if the crew can be saved, his ship is expendable if the fleet can be saved, etc.

Shipboard discourse is, certainly, a key factor in the "sailorizing" of the individual. A start toward building a vocabulary of Naval argot was made in boot camp, but while the climate of the training center might be such that a "stairs" instead of ladder would be corrected, but understood (because you were, after all, learning), the climate of the ship is such that a similar confusion of a civilian term with a shipboard term would bring silent looks of disbelief and ostracism. Learning an argot system is not so easy as picking up a few slang terms, as can be seen in the following selection from

a British seaman's letter to a friend:

Dear Pincher:

I am sorry to hear that you got a bottle for serving out a drink to Jack Dusty for not taking that straight rush up to the galley at stand easy. He ought to have known better than to leave that fanny full of his messmates bubly in the Rec' Space like that.

I suppose he thought it was a green rub when he got line up by the Jaunty in front of the Bloke and got weighed off with four teen pennorth. A spot of jankers will make him a little less stroppey perhaps.

I heard the sky pilot taling to Jimmy the One and the Custard Bos'n the other day, and they all agreed that it was too bad of that sloshy to unhook the Crusher's caulker from the cooler to get his head down on. The Chief Buffer has got a howl on now because he got a blast from Torps, as so many of the part of the ship hands were doing a never on the messdecks instead of working main derrick. He dripped to Tommy the Bos'n about it, who told Guns that he though the Skipper ought to give a make-and-mend or Pipe-down occasionally, so that the troops could have run up the line

(Burgess and Blackburn, 1943,
p. 356).

The argot of the American Navy is perhaps a little less rich than that of the British Navy, but it is still very challenging to the new man aboard ship, and failure to learn it means a breakdown of communication with the "old hands." The sailor doesn't get up and make his bed, he "heaves out and trices up." "The smoking lamp is lit," means that he may indulge in a smoke. Sailors who work in the engine-rooms are "Snipes." Those who work on deck are "Deck Apes."

Electronics Technicians are "twidgets" and Guided Missilemen are "ginches." "BUPERS" is not a disease, but the official abbreviation for the Bureau of Naval Personnel, which ultimately decides the sailor's fate. And so on, for several thousand words.

Tall tales, or "sea stories," are an omnipresent part of shipboard discourse. The majority of these deal with feats of daring or comedy while at sea or aboard some other ship, or feats of alcoholic or sexual accomplishment while ashore. Once again, the question can be raised concerning the reason for the emphasis on sex. Could it be the shipboard deprivation of genuine affection, or the co-identity of sex and affection that encourages the sailor to have a "girl in every port"? Could it be a virility threat generated in an all-male society? Perhaps these factors are significant. But also significant is the fact that the role expectations of the informal organization include that of the "jolly tar." Civilians, also, seem to promote expectations of this kind of sailor behavior, as manifested in their slang expressions, "Drunk as a sailor," "wild as a sailor on shore leave," "she's sailor bait," etc.

The sailor has been convinced by his naval training that he is "in the Navy," and as such is divorced from the usual societal demands and role expectations of a civilian. As one chief petty officer put it:

One thing I know, mate, that no matter what
I do on the beach (on liberty), no matter how
----- up (drunk) I get, or how broke I get,

I've always got my chow and my rack.

(Field notes)

Whatever the complex of reasons underlying the behavior, the sailor talks about his conquests of women and alcohol as he leaves a port, talks about what his conquests will be as he enters port, and talks about what his conquests might have been as the ship passes by a port. According to Berkman, the most verbally outspoken sailors actually are the most active when on liberty, constantly searching for new adventures with which to spellbind their audience (1946, p. 385).

The informal organization's liberty expectations are presented, thus, to the new man. He has undergone all his initiations successfully up to now. The final test is upon him--is he or is he not a "liberty hound" (one who makes maximum use of his permission to go ashore, and arranges "deals" so that he can get ashore more than the average). The ship is closing on port, and "channel fever" sets in among the crew (1946, p. 382). There is rash of clothes pressing, shoe shining, showering and shaving. An advance scout has been sent foreward to guarantee that liberty cards are forthcoming. There is a general restlessness throughout the ship. Each sailor not in the duty section is thinking of one thing--liberty (the men are usually divided into three watch sections, one of which is on duty, the other two free to "hit the beach"). The unity of the informal organization seems to break down.

Here and there smaller groups shape up--liberty groups. The ship has not even touched a heaving line to the dock, and yet the men are forming lines at the point of offloading. The ship is tied up by the duty part, the gangway is affixed, the word passed for liberty to commence, and the men rush ashore, scattering in all directions. The shipboard society is gone. The purpose of the informal organization, to sail our ship, has become dysfunctional. It is the task of the liberty expectations to sustain the power of the informal organization over the men while ashore. Rusty wire and oil splotches begin to appear here and there on the deck. The ship, having lost its soul, awaits resurrection.

The individual has now come a long way--from civilian role dispossession to a degree of enactment of the sailor role in boot camp, from "reality shock" and confusion to a broader and more practical understanding of the expectations of the sailor role through the education prerequisite to his taking a place in the complex informal organization aboard a naval vessel. He has gone through states of intentional learning (mostly in boot camp, where the formal organization is dominant) and incidental learning (mostly aboard ship, where the informal organization is dominant) of the role expectations of the Navy. Every opportunity has been given to him for enactment of the role of sailor in accordance with the organizational definitions of that role. For such an

enactment he is provided with the rewards of social acceptance, promotion, medals, and the maximum amount of the limited freedom available in the military. But is a painstaking and often reinforced clarity of role enough to encourage enactment of it as defined? Will the individual, if he clearly perceives how he is supposed to behave, be that "model" sailor? Perhaps, if the predisposing factors in his person have supported an undifferentiated state between role and self, or if he has provided adequate rationalizations to allow him to go "through the motions" in an unblemished manner. But if there is any disparity or differentiation between the role and self which has not been resolved, or if there is an unresolved conflict between a previously held role and the sailor role, then it is likely that the individual will not be the complete sailor. Rather he will strive to maintain integrity or constancy of self, and manifestations will be observed in his daily behavior. These manifestations will be called, after Goffman, "secondary adjustments" (1961, p. 189).

Goffman defines secondary adjustment as the way that the "member employs unauthorized ends or means to get around organizational assumptions as to what he should be and what he should get." It consists of "those ways in which the individual stands apart from the role and the self that were taken for granted for him by the institution" (1961, p. 189), and is much like Williams' "personal or idiosyncratic interpretation" of social norms (1960,

p. 381).

Secondary adjustment can be considered a part of the informal organization. There would seem to be, then, two levels or poles in the informal organization around which a role-self interaction takes place. One level, the more institutionalized (the tradition, the initiatory rites, etc), is closer to the "role" part of the interaction. The other level, that of secondary adjustment, is closer to the self part of the interaction. The former usually serves to enhance the formal organization. The latter, since its purpose is to serve the self, may coincidentally serve the formal and the role level of the informal organizations, but often does not, and, in fact, may conflict with their purposes.

It might, at this time, be fruitful to broaden the application of the continuum proposed by Sarbin, (role-self interaction exists on a continuum from complete differentiation of role and self to total undifferentiation of role and self.) Putting this into the terms of this paper's discussion so far, a continuum might be plotted of role-self interaction in the setting of a total institution. At one end of the continuum would be the formal organization (completely in terms of role expectations, with no regard for the individual self, and to which primary adjustment is to be made). At the other end of the continuum would be the self organization (where the role expectancies of the formal organization are

relatively unimportant, and by reason of which secondary adjustment is made). Stretching along the middle of the continuum would be the informal organization (one level closer to the formal organization and the phenomenon of role, thus closer to the demand for primary adjustment; another level closer to the self organization and the phenomenon of self, thus closer to the need for secondary adjustment). (See Figure 4).

It may be difficult to pinpoint where enactment of role expectations defined by the complex of the formal organization and the role level of the informal organization leave off and adjustment to a role-self conflict begins. The self, the perception of the role expectations, and role behavior are dynamically interrelated in a single person, whose uniqueness blurs arbitrary lines of division. Also, it is difficult to say at what level a given behavior is in relation to a role expectancy. It can be seen that the Naval organization has taken steps over the last two hundred years to "formalize" certain aspects of the informal organization (by tacit encouragement) that would contribute to the achievement of the purpose of the formal organization. Initiations might at one time have been disapproved of by the Command which, later, realizing that such ceremony did more good for shipboard efficiency than it did harm, gave implicit approval. "It's good for the men." "Let's them blow off steam." "Makes for a taut ship," etc. Similarly, there are elements in the informal organization

FIGURE 4: Levels of Interaction of Role and Self in a Total Institution

Note: The above figure refers to observed behavior, inferring interaction between self and role, and fit into a theoretical framework of organization. It is possible that an individual who, psychologically holding himself aloof from the role of member, will "play" the role perfectly, if he has developed a suitable set of rationalizations for such an enactment. Therefore, his observed role behavior might put him at the level of role acceptance of total role, but his psychological level of role acceptance might be closer to zero.

that seem to be codifications of past methods of secondary adjustment, and which have been woven into the expectations of the role of sailor. At onetime the sailor might have defended self against his conflicting naval role by complaining bitterly about his fate, and expressing hope for the day when he could "get the hell out of this canoe club". Now, however, the "bitching sailor" behavior is very much a part of the role expectations of the informal organization. "A sailor isn't happy when he's not griping." Furthermore, actions which are performed to maintain a constancy of self are always performed in the context of a social situation, in which a role may be implicit.

Understanding these possibilities for confusion, this paper makes bold to report certain behaviors observed in the total institutional setting of the naval vessel which, because of their apparent nearness of function to an expression of individuality and their conflict with the purposes of the formal organization and with the role level of the informal organization, can be called secondary adjustments.

Goffman states that the most fertile areas for secondary adjustments are those which provide for individual needs: The clinic (sick bay), the supply center, the kitchen (galley), and the technical shops (1961, p. 190). The following are some examples of secondary adjustment within these areas as they exist on a naval vessel:

The sailor:

- 1) "Works a deal" with the Master-at-Arms to get a good bunk and locker position for himself (not so low that he must continually endure dust and a cramped back, not so high that the steam pipes keep him awake at night).
- 2) Makes arrangements to get his dungarees pressed neatly by the laundry (laundry aboard ship is free, but is returned in an unironed condition).
- 3) Arranges to get better food for "mid-rats" (snacks given to those standing the 0000-0400 watch--usual snack consists of, for example, a bologna sandwich. An "arranged" snack might be cold fried chicken, etc.)
- 4) Sees to it that the barber takes special care with his hair (haircuts are free aboard ship, but are rapidly done, and in "white side wall" fashion).
- 5) Has a yeoman friend in the administrative office to insure that his requests, etc., get processed before others.
- 6) Gets in the watch section with the most holidays.

(Field notes)

These "arrangements," "deals," etc. are made possible either through a personal friendship or by means of a very basic, almost primitive, barter system of goods and services. The keynote of the barter system, however, is not the materials acquired, but the interpersonal relations that are involved. As Turner points out, the exchange system is to be used "personally, not impersonally. The assumption is that the goods acquired are secondary to friendship" (Turner, 1947, p. 346). The process is spontaneous, and the individual feels that he has, for a moment gained control over his

environment. The total institution, for a moment, is bent to meet his expression of self, instead of the usual vice-versa. In the primary adjustment to the formal organization, an observer sees only collectivity, the group. In primary adjustment to the role level of the informal organization, the observer still sees a collectivity, though now a little looser in form. In secondary adjustment, however, in those adjustments where the self, conflicting with the role of sailor, comes to express itself, the observer begins to see individuals, trying to "make out" in a very structured situation.

A veritable network of interpersonal relationships exists throughout the ship, friend helping friend to achieve some bit of control over his own situation.

We were assigned to a shipboard shop which was fully equipped with electronic testing equipment and electronic components. As such, we became the radio, T.V., and electrical appliance repair center for those members of the crew whom we considered to be our friends. In return for parts for and services to the personal property of the crew members who came to us, we were rendered what goods and services they could supply. One of the cooks gave us fresh ground coffee for the perculator and hot plate one of the electrician's mates had given us. A yeoman saw to it that our leave papers were always processed rapidly. One of the storekeepers made certain that our spare part bin was always full, and not only with components called for in our formal inventory. The medical department, ordered to give us a certain amount of pure alcohol per month for the cleaning of antennas, had a chief petty officer who was the "buddy" of the chief petty officer of our shop, and who would never ask questions

when we returned for a refill before the end of the month. We, in turn, would treat two of our bos'n mate friends to a little something extra in their coffee, and they, reciprocating, would have their work details take extra care with the maintenance of our work spaces. If an officer whose TV we had repaired was the inspecting officer for the week, we could expect an "excellent" inspection rating" (Field notes).

Turner observed the same phenomenon among officers, and he reports that the officer whose duty it was to assign the staterooms found it easy to get extra food in the galley. Similarly, the ship's photographer provided the ship's service officer with personal pictures (made, of course, with Navy materials), and in return was allowed to have something he desired--first choice of a new shipment of fountain pens arriving in the ship's store. Turner tells of an interesting event which took place aboard ship on which he served. A new ship's store officer decided that he was going to reduce the inequities in the availability to the crew-at-large of the most popular items in the store (which inequities, he felt, developed because of the "deals" various crew members had worked with their friends in the ship's store). He arranged a drawing by lot method for first, second, etc., options to buy things like watches, lighters, and radios. (Ship's stores have only a limited inventory, determined by space and by restriction because their merchandise can be sold tax free when outside the continental limits of the United States. When the items are gone, the store must wait for a period of time before

supplies can be replenished.) The response from the crew was overwhelmingly negative. The sailors preferred to maintain this modicum of control over the formal organization (1947, p. 346).

On one ship, the number of packs of "sea store" cigarettes that a sailor could take ashore with him was limited to two. It was felt that if he was allowed to go off the ship with larger quantities of the cigarettes, he would be tempted to sell them for a profit ("sea store" cigarettes are tax free, thus about one-third the normal retail price). Most of the men did not like this restriction, had no intention of black marketing the cigarettes, and felt that "they're mine, I paid for them, and if I want to take some home to my family, that's my business " (Field notes). As a result, many individuals resorted to sneak tactics to get more than two packs of cigarettes off the ship. The favorite method was for the individual to tape a carton of cigarettes to the inside of his leg, his pants thus concealing the smuggled loot (Field Notes).

Often activities planned by the formal organization were used by the individual for purposes other than those formally intended. Encouragement for attendance at study groups or night school could be used as ways of escaping duty. Competing in league sports was a good way to get off the watch list.

If the sailor had good friends among the "snipes" or the Bos'n mates, he might gain access to an unused compartment or

"locker" for his private poker games, bull sessions, or study.

An interesting phenomenon is the high incidence of "appropriating" naval property, and making it one's personal property. The individual does not consider smuggling off the ship parts for the maintenance of his car to be "stealing." As a matter of fact, he even has another name for this "acquisition." He calls it "to comeshaw" (spelling is an estimate), which connotes a "By God I deserve it" attitude, and provides the individual with a sense of being able to manipulate at least some element of the rigid environment in which he is expected to live and to which he is expected to conform.

Another example of secondary adjustment might be the sudden appearance of "kicks" and "fads," or removal activities. There are times when everyone on board seems to have a pipe jutting out from between his teeth, when everyone is a member of a bowling team, when everyone is playing acey-deucey (with a mechanical dice shaker--apparently no one trusts an old salt with dice), or pinochle, or pedro, or bridge. There are verbal puzzle kicks, crossword puzzle kicks, and now, in this modern world, plug-in-the-ear transistor radio kicks. (The area of kicks and fads can be seen to blur with the general role expectations of the sailor, but there are still strong indications of secondary adjustment in them--especially in those

whomake an effort to start such kicks.)

In our shop there were two graduate engineers and three liberal arts types who had been trained as guided missile technicians (and not one of whom intended to stay in the Navy beyond the first enlistment). The two engineers were frustrated by the fact that their jobs consisted of missile assembly, check out, launch, and telemetry, but no design, no opportunity for creativity and expression. One of the liberal arts types suggested a program of design--using paper airplanes, but going through the drawing board, prototype, tactical and obsolescence stages of actual rocketry. Every detail, to the countdown and launch (from one of the highest points on the ship) and the stop watch timing of the flight, was painfully considered. Elaborate names were given to each model, and to classes of models. Records were kept, and competition was keen (the record is 1 minute and 58 seconds to splash) (Field notes).

Modifications of the regulation uniforms and of the physical person offer additional opportunities for secondary adjustment. Uniforms, though outwardly appearing to be the same, may have elaborately colored embroidery (called "dragons") on the inside of the cuffs, under the collar, and on the flap of the thirteen button pants. The uniforms might be tailored to fit tighter, the bells on the bottom of the trousers widened, additional pockets sewn inside the jumper or the pants. (It is interesting to note that most of these modifications are performed by new men. The sailor with but a short time in the Navy would be relatively close to the time when he had been a civilian, and had the choice to arrange his clothing as he saw fit. The "old salts" actually look askance at those who modify their uniforms in a non-regulation manner, stating that

such individuals need to be "squared away" (Field notes).

It would seem that the longer a man is in the Navy, the firmer his intention to be a "career man," the closer he gets to the formal organization end of the continuum.

Though it might be argued that tatoos are a part of the sailor role, they can often manifest secondary adjustment. Most tatoos are not reproductions of the Constitution or emblems of the U. S. Navy. Most of them are memorials to primary group relationships: "Mother," "Mabel," etc. Such inscriptions are testimonials to the importance for the individual of affectional relationships outside of the formal organization.

Beards and mustaches, if trimmed by the individual to suit himself, can be means of self-expression. The commanding officer of one ship permitted all hands to grow beards so long as they were clipped neatly in any fashion that the sailors desired. Approximately 200 of the 500 man crew sported some variety of growth. A new Captain later took command, and on the next sea voyage ordered that only those men could grow beards who had submitted and had approved a request in writing, and that these men would NOT trim their beards, but just let them grow. They could not, before the end of the voyage, shave off their beards. Only nine men out of the five hundred grew beards. The individuality, it would seem, had gone out of the behavior (Field notes).

Pets, though illegal, are often kept aboard ship, and it becomes a personal challenge to keep the animal's presence

aboard unknown to the formal organization.

If the purpose of the formal organization (to serve in the interest of national defense) and the purpose of the informal organization (to bring "her" through some task), became lost or vague, and there was no opportunity for the expediency of the "liberty hound" role as a sustaining mechanism for the informal organization, the crew might, atomizing from their relative collectivity, adopt secondary adjustment as a primary goal. In other words, if social control breaks down because of lack of organizational purpose, the individual, now in an ambiguous situation, tends to interpret the environment more in terms of self-organization than in terms of defined role expectations.

One would expect that a ship could, during some of the unbelievably boring and tedious assignments in war, come to be seen by the men as lacking in purpose, formally and informally. Similarly, liberty could be an impossibility. However, no reports have been made about behavior in such a social situation, nor is it within this author's experience to so report.

Thomas Heggen and Joshua Logan have written a play, "Mr. Roberts," which describes behavior aboard a naval vessel that has come to be perceived by the men as a purposeless "bucket," (1948). It is interesting to note the authors' descriptions of organizational and social breakdown (the play was technically advised by an officer in the United States

Navy).

The action takes place on a Navy cargo ship, in the back areas of the Pacific Theatre, Second World War. For over a year the ship has been either anchored at sea or steaming around in a tight little circle, dispensing "toothpaste and toilet paper" to other Naval vessels. During this year, the men have completely lost sight of the purpose of the formal organization and the purpose of the informal organization. They have had no liberty for over a year. The scene opens with reveille:

"Reveille! Reveille! Hit the deck!" (in a bored, sing-song voice.

"Okay, Chief," (a voice from the sleeping quarters)
 "You've done your duty, now get your big fat can out of here. Go back to bed and stop bothering us."

"The Chief goes back to bed.

(Heggen and Logan, 1948,
 p. 3)

The ritual is carried on, but with no vitality, no meaning, no purpose. There is a great problem with fighting among the members of the crew. There is much daydreaming about "getting off this bucket." Routine tasks are assigned compulsively and done without personal involvement (or not done at all). The only thing that keeps the crew going at all is the running vendetta between Mr. Roberts, the Cargo Officer, and the Captain (manifested by verbal, written, and practical joke attacks on the Skipper). At these times, Mr. Roberts becomes the epitome of secondary adjustment, lashing out at the formal

organization as a means of maintaining some integrity of self.

Roberts submits to the captain that he will stop being an antagonist if the men are allowed to go on liberty. When the crew goes ashore, Roberts comments:

. . . for the first time I'm seeing a crew.
Before, they were just a hundred and sixty-seven
separate guys. There's a big difference . . .
Now these guys are bound together.

(Heggen and Logan, 1948,
p. 57)

The liberty element in the informal role expectations was re-established. The social structure became less ambiguous. Individuals who had previously enacted the role of sailor were able to slip back into a familiar social niche. The formal organization was reinforced, because the informal organization, at the role level, was doing the job that the former was tacitly encouraging, channeling the men up the continuum from secondary adjustment in terms of self to primary adjustment in terms of role.

The sailor role had come alive.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of the paper is an attempt to broaden the theory of role and self, and to enlarge the scope of the organizational concept of total institution, by examining the individual's role behavior in the total institutional settings of a Naval recruit training center and a Naval vessel.

Role and self are defined, and the process of role enactment or role behavior described and charted.

The characteristics of total institutions are discussed in general, and a set of criteria to be met if an organization is to be considered a total institution is established.

A naval recruit training center is described in terms of the criteria for a total institution. The author, employing data gathered by participant observation, analyzes the training center's challenge to the recruit's presenting civilian self, its attempts to role-dispossess the individual, and its insistence that the recruit enact the sailor role for which it rigidly defines the expectations. The individual's reactions to this challenge are discussed.

The Naval vessel is similarly analyzed in terms of the criteria for a total institution. The formal organization and the informal organization are discussed, pointing to differences in structure, function, and purpose. The new man (the recently

graduated recruit) is described as meeting with "reality shock", and again challenged to adjust to a broadening of expectations of the role of sailor. Adjustment is stated as existing in two forms, primary and secondary--primary adjustment to the role expectations of the formal organization and to the role expectations of the informal organization, and secondary adjustment to the demands of the self as challenged by the expectations of the formal and informal organizations. Secondary adjustment is discussed as being a level of the informal organization closer to the self. A continuum for role-self interaction in a total institution is presented.

Several examples of secondary adjustment, drawn from the author's participant observation and from relevant studies, are reported.

Some speculations are made on the reactions of the crew of a naval vessel when the purposes of the formal and informal organizations are perceived as being lost.

The conclusions may be summarized as follows:

(1) The general process of role enactment can be graphically described.

(2) The naval recruit training center is a total institution.

(3) The civilian self of the recruit in the naval training center is challenged, and he enacts the role of sailor in a degree dependent upon his interpretation of the role expectations,

his facility for enacting new roles, the amount of self-role and role-role conflict perceived, and the rationalizations he can provide.

(4) The naval vessel is a total institution.

(5) The formal organization and the informal organization of a naval vessel have different structures, functions, and purposes. The purpose of the informal organization is more immediate to the crew.

(6) The informal organization exists at two levels--the first level, that of tradition, custom, ritual, initiation, and myth, is closer to the formal organization (role expectations). The second level is closer to the self organization (self expectations).

(7) Primary adjustment is made to the formal organization and to the role expectation level of the informal organization, and secondary adjustment is made to the self expectations as challenged by the expectations of the organizations.

(8) Role-self interaction in a total institution can be depicted on a line from self organization, secondary adjustment, and zero role acceptance to formal organization, primary adjustment, and total role acceptance.

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