

YOUNG MEN RESISTING SYSTEMS

An anthropological-systemic perspective on resistance of young men and their peer groups in families, communities and institutions

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INTRODUCTION

1. The Issue

Preventive and intervention programs around incarceration, psychiatric hospitalization, secured care, school drop out, homelessness of boys and young men, even after almost a century of research, have not yet proven to be enduring effective and successful. Numerous studies have outlined that young men's imprisonment is not effective in helping them to desist from crime. Interdisciplinary, gender and culture-ethnic sensitive, research paradigmas seem to be missing. In their 'coming of age' young men in the Netherlands, as elsewhere on a daily basis, balance their their personal interests with those of families, peer groups, communities and those of educational, psychiatric, and correctional institutions¹ in which they find themselves. Resistance rises when they feel that their personal interests are at the wrong end of the equation. But in the end most of them become full-fledged members of these larger social systems. The disappearance of resistance after entering adulthood implies a learning process. Resisting is unavoidable connected with conforming and complying with larger social entities to become part of it.

Anthropologically seen social systems and institutions reproduce new generations of adults. Producing and enculturating offspring is a main survival drive in human communities. Resisting of young men is a central dynamic in processes internalizing social codes, values and norms of families and encompassing communities. This process of cultural transmission also occurs in educational, youth care, and juvenile institutions. Young men perform their resistance in 'hierarchized' social systems. Shifting from resistance to compliance depends on hierarchical structures rooted in age, class, generational, gender, kinship- and ranking positions. Hierarchy implies directing (domination) and obeying (subordination). So, inequalities, are part and parcel of social contexts and of young men's interactions and communications. This does by no means justify destructive exertion of dominance and power, such as racism and sexism resulting in humiliation and exclusion.

A major effort of families, communities and professionals in educational, psychiatric and correctional institutions is redirecting and transforming young men's resisting in order to integrate them as members of these social 'nationalizing' systems and turning them into 'good citizens'. Verbal resistance can also deepen, and become counter-productive, even destructive to themselves and to the contexts in which they come of age. And turn into playing truancy, performing psychological, physical and sexual violence, drugs abuse, criminality, etc.

Nasjaro's experiences are exemplary for the ultimately counterproductivity of resistance. When I met him in 2009 he was twenty one, born in an Afro-Surinam (Maroon) family and living on his own in a small town in the middle of the Netherlands. With his mother he migrated at the age of three from Surinam to the former colonizing Netherlands. It took him eight years to balance his personal with family/community loyalties and shift from resistance to compliance, a process complicated by his incarceration. At 13 years old he was arrested several times, for shoplifting and burglaries with his peer group, and sent to a juvenile institution and incarcerated for eight years. During those years Nasjaro's mother filed six law suits against the state to get him back into the family. All were rejected. Nasjaro resisted efforts to resocialize him when the atmosphere on the group setting became excluding and humiliating for him. Provoked by racist remarks he went into a rage and started throwing and damaging furniture. He was transferred from institution to institution because he 'made trouble', with his big black features and proud unbending character he had difficulties to fit in Dutch culture. In an

¹ In this study we focus on the anthropological conception of institution: a formalized convention based upon one or more

emotional moment during our last contact he confided that just before he was sent into the juvenile circuit, he was invited to a scouting event at the Ajax youth soccer players academy. Being in correctional institutions for 8 years deprived him from a potential professional sporting career.

Young men's resistance can be conceptualized from different angles. Perhaps they resist entering adult life for different reasons. Aversion or fear for the obligations or incongruencies which they observe in adult males in their environment. But it can also originate in not feeling accepted or 'seen' as they experience themselves or point to unsafe contexts at home, in peer groups, in public places, at school and in other institutions. Resisting interaction patterns like those of Nasjaro became counter-productive during his years in primary school and even became self-destructive after he was diagnosed as being 'mildly mentally retarded' with having an 'impulse control disorder'.

Nasjaro, and other young men in our research showed me where and when they increased their resistance, when and where they (voluntarily) lowered and gave up their resistance. The first was the case when contexts became more unsafe: incongruent and threatening. Lowering resistance occurred when they were embedded in 'safe/warm' family, peer group, and community contexts. Their resistance temporarily disappeared too when they created spaces and moods in their peer groups which they coined as 'chill', 'lay back', 'lounging' moments. More active leisure contexts where their resistance lowered and even vanished were during 'in the zone' sport and 'battling' dance events. Drinking, blowing and sex interactions sometimes were part of these leisure activities. It seemed that they functioned and were used as transforming spaces in which their resistant 'communication' shifted into compliant patterns. The following features characterized these leisure activities: absence of adults, presence of girls, performing (non-verbal) bodily gestures/movements, showing individual (gendered) beauty, having a good time, experiencing individual/collective joy.

Their resistance in educational, psychiatric, youth care and juvenile institutions was mingled with those performed in their family, peer and local contexts. Reconnecting with family, peer group local/ethnic communal bonds, where the young men originated from, appeared crucial to them. For those coming from broken families, like absent father, bonding with their mothers in particular was important. Others, like the 'Amazigh' Mouradine and Dutch white elitist Mark, were more 'embedded' in safe (extended) family bonds including 'present' fathers. Mouradine seemed to indulge more in 'natural puberty bound' resistances being more resilient to humiliation and exclusion. Mark used his puberty bound resistance to venture into USA 'First Nation' (Indian) traditions. Older siblings, grandparents, aunts, uncles constituted spaces in which their resistance was at the same tolerated and limited when transgressing family-bound values and norms. These 'safe spaces' where resistance shifted into compliance within family and (ethnic) community contexts seem not enough for most young men in trouble. For most family members and professionals the varieties of resistant interactions still are intangible. Could their resistant behavior better understood when seen as messages to signal 'unsafe and threatening' social contexts in which they came of age?

With most boys serious trouble sets in when puberty starts and personal dreams, needs, desires, or ambitions conflicted with the contexts in- and outside family/community contexts like multicultural peer groups, schools and youth care agencies. The gap between 'home culture values' and 'Dutch national values' evoked part of their resistances has to be bridged. Resistance manifests itself in interactions of young men: conflicts at home and in their 'hoods', school drop out, playing dumb during hospitalization and incarceration, starting criminal and/or additional careers. Still most resistant and 'deviant' interacting disappeared when young men entered adulthood.

Looking more closely at resistance it was not only against, but also in favour of things or issues important to them. What are these young men protecting or longing for when they resist efforts of parents, teachers, police officers and other youth care professionals supporting them to enter adult worlds? Researching resistance from this angle seems to demand an approach with which to 'map and read' their resistant patterns and translate them into what they signal and need to shift from resisting to complying interaction and become adult family- community members and 'good Dutch male citizens' (Van Huis & Van der Haar 2013).

1.1 RESISTANCE CONCEPT IN ANTHROPOLOGY AND OTHER SOCIAL SCIENCES

The resistance concept is widely spread in numerous manifestations in the social sciences (Hall & Jefferson 1976/2006; Ferrel 1995; Cohen 2004). Most prominent are studies on resistance to colonial power (Bhabha 1994), the nation-state (Scott 2009), (male) hegemonic power (Williams 1977; Connell & Messerschmidt 2005) and male dominance (Spivak 1988; Bourdieu 2000; Ortner 2006). In youth (subcultural) studies the resistance concept got a class determining and class dividing connotation through the ethnographic research of the UK Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (Hall & Jefferson 1976/2006). Mary Bucholtz (2002) overviews past and contemporary anthropological youth studies. She argues these studies played a central role in anthropology in the first half of the twentieth century which resulted into 'still-thriving cross-cultural approach to adolescence as a life stage'. The focus on puberty as life phase however 'often obscures young people's own cultural agency or frames it solely in relation to adult concerns' (ibid. 503). In contrast, sociology 'considered youth cultures as central objects of study, whether as deviant subcultures or as class-based sites of resistance. Thus interdisciplinary approaches hold promises in studying resistance in 'youth cultural practice and its interest in how identities emerge in new cultural formations that creatively combine elements of global capitalism, transnationalism, and local culture' (ibid. 545).

Above conceptions of resistance however do not directly target analyzing young men's resistances/compliances in becoming part of families, communities and institutions. We need to reconnect with Emile Durkheim's work to find fitting conceptions on resistance. In his work the idea of resistance is connected to conformity and with both individual and societal change (1893; 1985; 1897; 1915). His theories focus on how societies can maintain their solidarity and coherence in modernity (Carls 2012). For him in modernity traditional social and religious ties were disappearing and endangering solidarity. He wanted to understand the new social institutions coming into being: wage labour, justice, health, education. His conceptual frame, an early version of functionalism, was fuelled by successes in biological sciences in the nineteenth century (Douglas 1986, 84-85). Durkheim borrowed the foundation for his functionalism from Spencer's analogy of 'society as social organism' (1895). Society is a 'human body' in which organs (institutions) and cells/social molecules (individuals) work together to make the body function (Barberis 2003).

Contemporary social science theories, trying to explain the influence of the individual in society and vice versa the influence of society on the individual, are still connected to Durkheim's assumptions (Douglas 1986, 33-34; Nuckolls 1995; Thompson 2004). Durkheim in 1915 in studying the function of religion as a central institution in society remarks:

..it is an essential postulate of sociology that a human institution cannot rest upon an error and a lie, without which it could not exist. If it were not founded in the nature of things, it would have encountered in the facts a resistance over which it could never have triumphed (1964, 2).

In Durkheimian conception individuals resisting 'organs' (institutions) of society (as social organism) have to deal with resistance of these 'organs'. The 'organistic' cooperation between the social institutions is indispensable for survival and 'functioning' of society. Individual members are indispensable for survival of society but they have much less influence than institutions to change society. Only a considerable 'clustered' numbers of citizens can make an 'organ' change if it is not functioning well. Durkheim is criticised for neglecting the role of dominant groups being actors within state power processes in modern society (Davis 1959; Emirbayer 1996, 115). The emergence and maintenance of 'modern' institutions like forced taxation, forced hospitalization, juvenile incarceration, forced education, and military drafting to which young men resist seems unthinkable without interacting dominant groups in society (Elias 1988; Bourdieu 1989; 2000).

Another close related conception of Durkheim of interest to the concept resistance is that solidarity is endangered by anomy: social disconnectedness. It denotes an emotional condition of society and of individuals characterized by the absence or rejection (resistance) of norms. Social isolation, committing crime and suicide were seen by Durkheim as a result of anomy and as forms of deviance and resistance against reigning 'pathological aspects' of conventions, norms and values. According to him deviance and crime as 'social facts' are inherent to all societies (Durkheim 1895, 98). These are even necessary for society to correct itself on the pathological aspects of institutions (ibid. 101). He considers deviance (resisting norms and values) and even crime as necessary for a society to function and change (1897, 102). Following up his foundational analogy of society as a human body he explains crime with pain.

Pain has likewise nothing desirable about it: the individual detests it just as society detests crime, and yet it is a normal physiological function. Not only does it necessarily derive from the very constitution of every living creature, but it plays a useful and irreplaceable role in life (1895, 107). Crucial for our study in Durkheim is the interconnectedness of resistance between individual citizens, families and social institutions. In his time he was attacked fiercely for the conception: 'a social group that generates its own view of the world, developing a thought style that sustains the pattern, of interaction' (Douglas 1986, 32). Douglas in her 'Why institutions think?' (1986) states that this idea met 'considerable opposition and has remained undeveloped to this day' (ibid. 10). Her conclusive thesis is that all human institutions develop classifications determining individual's thinking/acting as social cognition. To Douglas this means we should focus our research (and educational, psychiatric, correctional practices) on changing individuals being directed by thinking (classifying) institutions in both complex (modern) and small (traditional) societies (ibid, 126). She argues that institutions 'remember, forget and do have minds of their own' (Hacking 1986). For Douglas institutions create the classifications in which we think, act and interact.

..for better or for worse, individuals really do share their thought and they do so to some extent harmonize their preferences, and they have no other way to make big decisions except within the scope of institutions they build. (ibid. 128).

This perspective seems outdated and against the grain of today's dominant individualism in contemporary social science research (Putnam 1995; Lassiter 2000; Udehn 2002; Donati 2010). Focusing on 'institutions having minds and logics of their own' fits however our ambition to seek a framework to study young men's resistance in families, peer groups, (local/ethnic) communities and other institutions.

1.1 What is missing in existing approaches and theories?

Most early sociological and anthropological theories, end 19th and beginning 20th century, included interconnectedness between individuals, families, class, communities and ethnic minorities in their analyses of (modern) societies (Tylor 1889; Durkheim 1897; Thomas 1915). But somewhere along the road they seem to have lost this original ambition to include families as indispensable parts in their unit of analysis of local/ethnic communities and (modern) societies. In the first half of the 20th century in sociology (Durkheim 1915) and in anthropology (Malinowski 1918; Mead 1928; Benedict 1934; Levi-Strauss 1956) families were still present. Also the more recent processual and relational sociologies of Norbert Elias (Elias 1988, 178-205; Donati 2007; 2010; Gabriel & Mennell 2012, Demetriou 2012) Pierre Bourdieu (1990; 2000) offer theories in which families have their place. But still the self-generating and self-correcting nature of institutions, as we found by Durkheim (1897; 1915, Bateson (1936/1958; 1972, 1979) and Douglas (1986), are missing.

Durkheim's functionalistic biologism, coining society as a human body, has long left behind as outworn (Davis 1959; Donati 2010, 139-41). Douglas returned to Durkheim to save the child which had disappeared with the 'organistic' bathwater: institutions think and determine a great deal of social, and thus individual, cognition (1986). With her 'thinking institutions' she reopens a door to view resistance of individuals (young men) as 'social cognitive' determined by institutions. But the (extended) family, as mediator between individual, community and nation-state, is absent in her models. More recently this Durkheimian conception has been regained interest (Taylor a.o. 2002, 67-90; Donati 2010).

Existing conceptions of resistance do not address both the a) influence of 'thinking institutions' on resistant behavior and b) interconnectedness of individuals, families, communities and nation-states in manifestations of resistance (Ferrell 1995; Hollander & Einwohner 2004; Cohen 2004; Vinthagen & Johansson 2013). Anthropologists like Bucholtz (2002) and Ortner (2006) are close to our ambition and thesis while they focus on 'intricate social fabrics, processes and results' (Kastrinou-Theodoropoulou 2009, 3). In contemporary anthropology studies families are not all absent but are still focused too much on the individual agency (Seymour 2006; Ortner 2006), too much on 'all present power and oppression' (Scott 1990; 2009; Cohen 2004), too much on individual females (Abu-Lughod 1990). And for our ambition not enough on interconnectedness of complementary female-male worlds, with families, communities, institutions and nation-states as self-generating and correcting (sub)systems in their 'time and place located' contexts (Bateson 1972; 1979).

2. Research Question

2.1 Objectives and aims

Young men's resistances show a high variety as age, gender, family/peergroup/community and institution bound. During coming of age (13-24 years) young men have dreams, ambitions, expectations, desires and needs. Resistance taken as coming of age (life-phase-transition) bound enables to look at resistant interacting as part of biological, emotional and social changes. This study seeks to understand young men's resistant interaction in three researched (Dutch) contexts a) in their families-peergroups-communities, b) during psychiatric hospitalization and in-around juvenile incarceration and c) during initiatory (resistance lowering) events. If we reconceptualize resistance from an anthropological-systemic perspective we will be able to analyze and understand young men's resisting interactions from cross-cultural, interdisciplinary and multiple-perspectives (Lebel a.o. 2007; Allen & Eby 2011). In doing so this individual-family-community-national interests in shifting from resistant to compliant interactions will become more accessible to study.

2.2 Main thesis (110 words)

We take resistance as indispensable for young men in order to synchronize personal loyalties with interests of parents, families, communities, peergroups, and other institutions. Resistance scarcely has been conceptualized from an anthropological-systemic perspective (combining the three researched contexts) with which, next to 'resisting against', 'resisting to protect something' can be differentiated. Reconceptualising resistance in this way enables differentiating between a) 'puberty (coming of age) bound' from b) incongruent-humiliating-excluding (unsafe,) interaction and from c) tension-releasing and transforming factors during initiatory events. This differentiation results in constructing a conceptual framework with which resistances of young men in their families, in their peergroups and among institutional professionals in their contexts can be studied from multiple perspectives. With the concept of '**systems congruence**' the variety of resisting (and complying) interactions in different hierarchized systems can be detected and analyzed.

2.2 Demarcating and specifying the main thesis (50 words)

The main thesis is differentiated into three subtheses to be accounted for in chapter 1, 2 and 3.

Resisting and complying interactions of young men is reconceptualised at three levels:

Chapter 1 in families', peergroups' and (ethnic) communities' contexts,

Chapter 2 in institutional (Dutch national) contexts.

Chapter 3 in initiatory (resistance lowering) events.

In the conclusions differences and similarities in our analyses of the three contexts will be outlined.

3 Approaches

3.1 Which approaches and theories are fit to test the main thesis (review, 2000 = 2300 words)

With the Batesonian systemic, more specific a 'corrected' evolutionary, approach we reconceptualize young men's resistance in their families, peergroups, communities and researched institutions. We use Thomas Scheff's emotion theory to map young men's emotions/drives around resistances (Scheff 1997; Scheff & Retzinger 1997; 2000). Victor (and Edith) Turner processual ritual theory helps to unravel and translate ritual's 'active ingredients' in initiatory events of young men (Turner 1969). We will argue that we need to combine these three approaches to deal with our main thesis: reconceptualising theories and concept of resistance.

Bateson's System Theory

Bateson opens doors to look how wider systems (families/communities/institutions) towards young men's resistances. And vice versa: how young men shift from resistance to compliance and become part of larger social entities. And also: how their resistances are evoked by and do influence larger systems?

Bateson formulates the foundation of his conceptual outlook as follows:

On the one hand, you have the systemic nature of the individual human being, the systemic nature of the culture in which he lives, and the systemic nature of the biological, ecological systems around

him; and, on the other hand, the curious twist in the systemic nature of the individual man whereby consciousness is, almost of necessity, blinded to the systemic nature of man himself (1972, 440). His systems theory is both an analytical and epistemological paradigm. The way groups of humans (and thus scientist) conceptualize what they see influences how we see that world. When Bateson used the basic analytical concepts 'ethos and eidos' in his analysis of 'Naven' (boys' initiation ritual) in the New Guinean Iatmul community (1936) he realized, and corrected himself in his epilogue of the 1958 edition, that these concepts determined what he 'discovered' and 'found' (1936/1958, 281-86).

Resistant behavior in human systems, unpacking Bateson, is taken as communication, as interaction, as exchange of meaningful information. These levels will be elaborated in 3.4 when we outline our core concepts. Gregory Bateson developed an interdisciplinary systems theory (Bateson 1972; 1979; 1990; Rieber 1989; Visser 2003; Harries-Jones 1995; 2004; Keeney 2007; Krause 2007; Charlton 2008). He meant it as a conceptual frame for re-integrating disciplinary separations (including biological and social sciences) and solves epistemological errors (e.g. differentiating evolutionary and man-made dichotomies). His aim is to understand and explain humanity as one system/species within wider biological (evolutionary) systems and their contexts. Bateson's system theory looks at individual and collectives of humans as 'animal' subsystems embedded in ever wider and wider systems to which balancing resistance with compliance is a basic biological 'feedbacking' (self-correcting) characteristic.

With this approach analyzing synchronization biological with social changes becomes feasible. An individual organism, a young man, by interacting and communicating (exchanging information) has, while preserving its unique idiosyncrasy, to fit in wider systems in their contexts like families in neighbourhoods, local communities in cities/states, institutions in the Dutch nation-state in Western-Europe. At the same time resisting individual organisms are indispensable components in the self-correcting principle of biological, and thus in human, systems.

Bateson offers numerous case studies how systems like communities (packs, swarms, families, societies) integrate individual subsystems (young men, adult, men, and women) in a way that creates and preserves optimal chances for survival of wider systems (1936/1958; 1972).² Basic to wider systems, like a forest, a groups of whales, a New Guinea tribe, a nation-state, a global corporation, is that they have 'unconscious purpose': minds of their own. His normative stance, following up logical consequences of his approach, is: the more 'conscious purpose' - that is rational, technological progress/growth, individual driven - human thinking and action hampers and damages the more 'natural' (sacred) processes. 'Ecology of mind' was the idea he was trying to grasp in words. Outlining his position on self-correction of social systems by citing Darwin's companion in evolution theory Bateson states:³

Let me try to describe for you that order of complexity, which is in some degree a technical matter. Russell Wallace sent a famous essay to Darwin from Indonesia. In it he announced his discovery of natural selection, which coincided with Darwin's. Part of his description of the struggle for existence is interesting: 'The action of this principle [the struggle for existence] is exactly like that of the steam engine, which checks and corrects any irregularities almost before they become evident; and in like manner no unbalanced deficiency in the animal kingdom can ever reach any conspicuous magnitude, because it would make itself felt at the very first step, by rendering existence difficult and extinction almost sure to follow. The steam engine with a governor is simply a circular train of causal events, with somewhere a link in that chain such that the more of something, the less of the next thing in the circuit. The *wider* the balls of the governor diverge, the *less* the fuel supply. If causal chains with that general characteristic are provided with energy, the result will be (if you are lucky and things balance out) a self-corrective system.' Wallace, in fact, proposed the first cybernetic model. (1972, 428-29 italics in original).

Gregory Bateson never wrote explicitly on resistance and certainly not of resisting young men. This conceptualization of systems as self-generating and self-correcting (learning) within wider systems implies permanent action of trial and error to stay in tune with nature's (evolutionary) directives. Young men, in Bateson's conception, as individual humans are systems 'nested' in wider systems like their peer groups, families, (ethnic) communities, and neighbourhoods, public spaces and

² Bateson defines survival as: 'the maintenance of a steady state through successive generations. Or, in negative terms, I mean the avoidance of the *death of the larger system about which we can care*. Extinction of the dinosaurs was trivial in galactic terms but this is no comfort to them. We cannot care much about the inevitable survival of systems larger than our own ecology (1979, 234, italics in original).

³ Bateson's work is avoided, criticized and even ostracized but mostly neglected, for reintroducing 'god' in social science theories (M.C. Bateson 2008). He is consistent while his efforts are at seeking to close a western 'root dichotomy': physics versus meta-physics. This position offers him space to introduce concepts like 'beauty', 'grace' and 'the sacred' as central to understand communication among and between (groups of) trees, plants, animals and humans. Bateson, being around forty at the end of WW II, deeply emersed himself in networks of all kinds of scientists, seeking to understand the 'runaway' processes of arms races, genocides, double binding in families and self-destruction of nations. Then the USA, where Bateson as a British citizen worked at that time, dropped atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. His tenacious endeavor to develop explanatory models on interaction and communication (double bind and schismogenesis) of humans systems which cannot be disconnected from these experiences (see Charlton 2008).

schools. They certainly, being heterosexual, are inclined to nest with girls. These systems are interacting in and with the (Dutch) nation-state as a wider system. Here Bateson steps beyond the Durkheimian functionalism who, as we will argue in chapter 2, these institutions as parts in society who should cooperate as organs within bodies to avoid anomie. Bateson takes families and communities and other systems (institutions) as having ‘unconscious purpose’ to survive and regenerate. Families, neighbourhoods, villages, cities, communities, schools, armies, psychiatric and juvenile correctional institutions are self-affirming and self-correcting systems having ‘minds of their own’. Individual young men’s ‘minds’, including their resistances are conditioned by different, but interconnected, unconscious purposes of these institutions.

Victor and Edith Turner

Victor Turner, with his wife Edith Turner, has developed a processual theory on ritual and initiatory events with strong systemic connotations (1957; 1969). Affliction rituals and initiation rituals have a self-corrective, that is, a cathartic (tension releasing and transforming) function in communities (1969). Young men’s sexual, rivalling and aggressive drives are ‘socialized’ (made contextual social) in and He affirms Bateson’s epistemological carefulness in conceptual development but didn’t go as far as him in connecting biology with social science and elaborating on unconscious purpose and self-corrective characteristics of living systems (1985, 163). In his interdisciplinary approach Turner builds on Arnold Van Gennep’s (1873-1957) three phased model: pre-liminal-liminal-postliminal derived from cross-cultural research (1909/1960, 105). This parsimonious model claims to explain the workings of life phase transitions in all human cultures like birth, adolescence, marriage and funeral. Turner with a book and a number of articles/chapters on ceremonies builds a pioneering approach to analyse initiation rituals and initiatory events (1967; 1969; 1982). Turner’s processual approach to ritual is compatible with Bateson work (1977; 1982) and his approach has been used and tested extensively in and outside anthropological research (Deflem 1991; St John 2008; Horvath & Thomassen 2008; Szakolczai 2001; 2009). Turner, in particular, elaborates on the middle ‘liminal’ phase and the concept of ‘liminality’ which describes the condition in which people are on the threshold of losing their old and transforming them into new roles before entering a new phase in their life. Liminality is characterized by ambiguity, vulnerability, and indeterminacy (unconscious purpose). One’s sense of identity vanishes temporarily, bringing about confusion and disorientation. Turner’s approach complements Bateson framework in offering to dissect and analyse young men’s resistances in all three domain: families/communitas, institutions and initiatory event. Edith Turner, an anthropologist herself who was always in the field with her husband, lost her husband in 1984. She continued the work and published several books on the ‘active ingredients’ in initiatory events and rituals in western and non-western communities (1985). Recently she published an anthropological overview of the ‘experience collective joy’ which seem to come close to what young men seek in ‘feel good’ chilling, sporting, rapping and dancing events (2012)

Thomas Scheff & Suzanne Retzinger: emotion theory

Thomas Scheff, with his wife Suzanne Retzinger, produced an interactive and processual theory on human emotions (Scheff & Retzinger 1997; 2000). The connection with Batesonian systemic theory is implicitly strong but nowhere systematically elaborated.⁴ In their theory shame represents a crucial ‘master’ emotion functioning as a core dynamic in reproducing, constraining/enabling human relationships individuals and groups (Scheff & Retzinger 1997; 2000; Scheff 2005). They claim that shaming and priding are complementary emotional interactions ever present in everyday life of young men. According to them priding (making compliments) creates solidarity/cohesion and strengthens the social bonds (ibid.). To be ‘shamable’ is indispensable, but also tricky business, learning to comply in families, peer groups, classrooms and elsewhere. Shaming interaction can be differentiated in a) supportive shaming/shamed (promoting virtue) and b) damaging shaming/shamed in being humiliated (Scheff 2000; Scheff & Retzinger 2000). Damaging shame can build up in boys and men over the years. If this shame is ‘unacknowledged’, by the environment (social context) and the person himself, it can lead to all can of disorders, criminal and ‘unexplained’ violent outbursts (Scheff & Retzinger 1997). These (young) men can become dangerous if they are humiliated in public places or in love relationships if they are ‘transitional vulnerable’ and/or in ‘tender’ and ‘gentle’ states of mind.

⁴ Personal correspondence with Tom Scheff by email August 25th 2013. In Scheff’s book *Microsociology* (1990) Bateson is cited two times on the double bind. In other publication Bateson’s work is absent.

Incorporating young men as adults in families, communities and nation-states is impossible without developing 'contextual fitted' capabilities of feeling ashamed and active shaming others. Young men have fear of being shamed in all kind of situations but can be terrified to be shamed in 'unsafe', in 'incongruent' family, in public and in institutional interactions. Humiliation is always around the corner. Humiliation can lead to loss of face, loss of soul, loss of dreams, and loss of life-expectations. Shaming is culture-specific and thus can these interactions mean also loss of dignity and of honour. And in the end is being isolated, disconnected from the social bond. Part of young men's 'contra-productive' resisting seems to be connected with unsafe spaces and places.

Biological and social maturation

There are several initiatives to build intercultural, age and gender sensitive, approaches how human communities cope with resisting young men while synchronizing their biological and social maturation (Mead 1928; Bateson 1936/1958; Erikson 1959; Hirschi 1969; LaFontaine 1985). Criminologist Terry Moffitt developed the concept 'maturity gap' with which she researches and explains anti-social, deviant and resistant, behavior resulting from a dyssynchrony between social and biological maturation (1993). Anthropologist Van Gennep in 1909, when comparing initiation rites in many ethnographies, writes that: ...'physical puberty and 'social puberty' are essentially different and only rarely converge..' and '..initiation coincides with puberty and that this physiological phenomenon is the point of departure for all such ceremonies..' (1909/1960, 65). This idea of synchronizing social and biological development in puberty rituals, later on, was used by more anthropologists (Turner 1969; Cohen 1964; LaFontaine 1972; Meyerhoff 1982; Herdt 1982). The 140 years of anthropological ethnographical tradition offers a wealthy data base on this issue (Van Bekkum 2009). In many small-scale societies somewhere at the start of puberty young men are plunged in initiation ceremonies from which they cannot hide (Howitt 1882; Bateson 1935; Campbell 1949/1972; Read 1965; Young 1965; Turner 1969; Droogers 1980; Lewis 1980; Beidelman 1997; Silverman 2001). Recently in medical and biological research the interconnectedness of biological and social maturation during puberty is gaining momentum (Felson & Haynie. 2002; Campbell 2003; Patton & Vine 2004; Delfos & Attwood 2005). From these approaches we will distil and use a list of active ingredients to map and analyse the workings of initiatory events.

Constructive and destructive ethnocentrism

In above mentioned approaches resistance conceptualizations around sexism, classism and racism are not systematically integrated. We take an anthropological-systemic approach looking at racism, sexism, classism, colonialism as manifestations of ethnocentrism. This position was already prepared by Sumner who coined the term ethnocentrism (1907, 14-16). Initiatives to conceptualize exclusion as ethnocentrism can be found with 'clinical' anthropologists like George Devereux (1967; see also Giami 2001), by Arthur Kleinman (1975) and with some feminist anthropologist (Mullings 2005; Ortner 2006). In 1987 a seminal book appeared with sociobiological perspective which claimed that ethnocentrism has biological-evolutionary roots (Reynolds et. al. 1987) which fuelled more studies in this direction (Van der Dennen 1995; Hammond & Axelrod 2006). We will follow these initiatives to combine social and biological conceptions of racism, sexism, classism as ethnocentrism fit to differentiate young men's resistances.

3.2 Which approach do we choose and why? (400 words became 420 words)

We have selected Bateson's system theoretical approach and complement this with Turner's and Scheff's approaches to address our thesis. Bateson's approach offers opportunities to study young men's resistance in families, peer groups, communities and other institutions as interconnectedness self-generating, self-correcting systems having 'minds of their own'. Bateson also offers possibilities for re-entering of the family as indispensable to study how individuals become members of communities and societies. The vital role of the family (and kinship) in studies around citizenship in modern society has returned (Sahlins 2013) from where Durkheim (1890; see also Malinowski 1913) had positioned her and from where Douglas lost her again (Douglas 1986; see also Levi-Strauss 1959; Bynder 1969; Donati 2007).

Bateson's system theory is biological-evolutionary founded and therefore 'intercultural'. It covers for transitional, interactional, intercultural, verbal and non-verbal communicational, reproductive and intergenerational aspects of young men's resistance. The framework offers new

possibilities to reconceptualize how power (domination/subordination) loaded interaction influence young men's resistances. We will combine Scott's and Ortner's dominance concepts with Bourdieu's approach in 'Masculine Domination' (2000) to complement Bateson's conception of 'learning hierarchies in nature': functioning of wider (higher/older) systems determines the functioning of smaller systems (Bateson 1972; 1979).

We need Turner's theory on rituals and initiatory events to make sense of how young men shift from resistance to complying practices. Victor and Edith Turner's processual theory on ritual could make sense of (temporary lowering and transformation of resistant communication in chilling 'peer group' moments and during initiatory events. They developed cross-cultural framework on comparing rituals and pilgrimages in both western and non-western communities.

Thomas Scheff's and Suzanne Retzinger's theory on primary human, in Western research severely neglected, emotions of priding and shaming is needed to look on grave (gender and public violence) young men's sexual and aggressive emotion transgressions. We will use Scheff's (1997) emotion theory, in particular his concepts of secure and insecure relationships to understand and explain part of our young men's resistances. He claims that shaming can lead to damaging the social bond which he sees as a form of alienation (Scheff 2005). Holland embeds human relationships and communication (social bonding) in biological theories which support the Bateson systemic argument (2004). Their combined theories encompasses an array of emotions part of young men's resistances in the domain of sexual and aggression impulses.

We combine Benjamin's approach of mimetic faculty (1933) with Van der Dennen's (1987; 2005) sociobiological approach 'ethnocentric and mimetic reflexes' as twin concept to explain ethnic-bounded exclusion and humiliation among and towards young men in the researched contexts (Van Bekkum 1999; 2002).

3.2 **How runs our argument?** (300 words became 500 words)

Playing truancy, leaving school, developing learning disorders, drugs abuse, crime, domestic-school- and public violence can be seen as resistant interacting of young men. Young men in modern societies resist 1) against growing up in families, peer groups and communities as institutions, 2) against education, against being 'diagnosed as deviant', against psychiatric hospitalization and against incarceration in other kind of institutions. In all these manifestations of resistance young men also seem to protect something which they cannot express rationally and verbally for which in contemporary theories. We assume that young men lower, give up and transform their resistances into compliance when communication and interacting in these institutions become more safe and more (systems) congruent. This is also the case during, peer group-bound, initiatory events.

Contemporary approaches social sciences do not offer theories with which young men's resistances in families, communities, peer groups and other institutions can be studied as interconnected and hierarchized (sub)systems. Theories try to combine theories of young men's resistance as part of (social) institutions which have 'lives, logics and minds of their own' seem almost absent. Durkheim's conceptualizes deviant and resisting patterns of members of society are necessary for correction of pathology in institutions which determines decisively individuals. According to anthropologist Mary Douglas Durkheim's stand on institutions and resistance met in his time 'considerably opposition and has remained undeveloped to this day' (1986, 10). She lost the 'family' in her analysis and didn't construct a testable model/theory. Gregory Bateson offers a systemic a theory going beyond Durkheim and Douglas where individuals as organisms and subsystems and populations of organisms (families, communities, other institutions, nation-states) as systems are deeply interconnected having 'minds and logics of their own'. These systems can only be studied (and known) within their time-space located contexts (1972). Smaller subsystems are hierarchical embedded in wider, and again wider, systems which are self-generating, self-directing and self-correcting. Resistance in both individual and groups of organisms systems according to Bateson has corrective and system survival value (1972; 1979). This builds on Durkheim's conception of (groups of) individuals' resistance in order to change pathological aspects of institutions.

Combining Bateson's systems theory with Thomas Scheff's processual emotion theory and Victor Turner's processual ritual theory we expect to be able to differentiate young men's interacting into clusters of resisting patterns:

- a) 'puberty-bound' resistance/compliance against entering male adult worlds,
- b) resistance/compliance against, incongruent-humiliating-excluding (unsafe) interaction,

c) resistance/compliance as tension-releasing and transforming factors during initiatory events.

Bateson's systemic approach and theory is rooted in 'corrected evolution' and thus applicable in multicultural settings and resistance as part of a synchronizing process between biological and social maturation. This embeddedness in corrected evolution theory is expected to be gender- and cross-cultural-comparative sensitive. Despite Bateson never elaborated conceptualizations on sexism and racism we expect that 'ethnocentric reflexes', of which young men in multicultural societies are both passive/active target and passive/active actors, can be made more visible with his approach.

3.4 Which key concepts are going to be used? (2500 words became 2700 words)

Institutions, systems, patterns and contexts

We use both terms institution and systems as similar concepts for readability. Institutions is used as an anthropological concept denoted as a convention, a set of rules with which human organize their communities and societies over generations (Douglas 1986). But at the same time we use the term institution with reluctance while our central leading concept is 'system' as developed by anthropologist and cyberneticist Gregory Bateson. Confusion between the terms institution and system is around the corner. Anthropological 'institutions' (families, kinship, marriage, funerals) are mental constructs how humans organize their communities and should not to be confused with material objects like buildings. A psychiatric ward and a prison are not institutions but are materializations of how we in western societies deal with mentally disordered people and with serious rules transgressing members of our society. In Bateson's unit of analysis young men's resistance is always interaction, as communication, as information exchange in a system (family, peergroup, school class, prison) which gets its meaning in a context which situated in space and time (1972, 245-48).

Systems congruence

Systems (individual, families, peergroups, and community) have 'minds, lives and logics of their own' which are deeply interconnected. Systems can be incongruent within their contexts and among each other. Young men seem to start resisting interaction when incongruencies are too high to be comfortable in these systems in contexts. They feel unsafe and feel threatened if this continues and persists. When young men discover how to function within these systems and lower their unsafe feelings compliance could occur. Similar concepts of congruence are developed used in therapeutic (Satir 1967), learning (Visser 2003), pedagogical (Tosey 2006), organizational (Nadler & Tushman 1980) theories. The concept of systems congruence is derived by the author from Bateson's holism concept. If people and other systems communicate they exchange information. Understanding happens when each party 'contextualizes' her/his information and connects with reactions by contextualizing the incoming message. According to Bateson this is 'creating meaning'. Successful exchange of information happens thus by 'fast' vice versa feedback operations. Feelings of being connected, belonging, and joy 'prove' the successful interaction. Congruence is indispensable component in these processes.

Resistance and compliance

We use the concept of resistance to detect and map processes of becoming part/members of families, of communities and of societies. The numerous studies of resistance against domination in anthropology (Scott 1976, 2009; Bhabha 1994; Ortner 1995; 2006) touch only slightly on this conception. Durkheim developed and used concepts of deviance and resistance as efforts of individual members to correct 'pathological' institutions in order to avoid damaging of organic solidarity and against emergence of anomie (1893; 1897). The concept of resistance/resisting is always interconnected with compliance/complying when it is used in processes of new generations children becoming part of larger social entities like families etc. Durkheimian institutions resist the changing efforts of individual citizens and institutions react to help/force individuals to comply with the dominating codes and values. Resistance denotes then a dialectical process between individuals and institutions. This touches Bateson's conception of resistance in how systems change and resist change. His systemic approach is more processual and integrating than Durkheim's conception of institution.

Ashby has pointed out in rigorous terms that the steady state and continued existence of complex interactive systems depend upon preventing the maximization of any variable, and that any continued increase in any variable will inevitably result in, and be limited by, irreversible changes in the system. He has also pointed out

that in such systems it is very important to permit certain variables to alter. The steady state of an engine with a governor is unlikely to be maintained if the position of the balls of the governor is clamped. Similarly a tightrope walker with a balancing pole will not be able to maintain his balance except by *varying* the forces which he exerts upon the pole. (Bateson 1972, 124-25).

Producing 'samenesses' and 'differences'

Complying, confirming, conforming to contextualized cultural codes and values is 'producing sameness'. Resisting to conform produces difference. For Bateson human interaction is information exchange and change in systems is 'a difference that makes a difference'. In this framework resistant interaction of young men (in specific) contexts creates meaning by making a specific difference. When we look again to our argument in 1.2 (How is the phenomenon approached in anthropology?) we are reframing the resistance concept.⁵ Resistance originated in the 'root' concepts in early 20th century social science: **alienation** (Marx 1844), **anomie** (Durkheim 1893) and **acculturation**/culture contact (Bateson 1935; Herskovits 1938; Malinowski 1945). All three concepts in some way imply resistance (Devereux and Loeb 1943). Gregory Bateson never explicitly elaborated on conceptions of resistance but he built on these three root ideas. What Durkheim, in his functionalist analogy of organs (individuals/institutions) in organisms (societies), never took to its limits and, in my view, Bateson takes this a decisive step further. Resistance is indispensable to create difference in biological, thus in human, systems.

Single and double binds: congruence and incongruence in communication

We use the concepts of congruence/incongruence to differentiate between 'safe/unsafe' contextual interaction/communication in which young men resist and comply. We selected the concepts for the sake of simplicity (parsimoniousness) and borrowed it from a student of Bateson and family therapist Virginia Satir (1967). Bateson does not use the concepts of congruence/incongruence but his concept symmetry shows similarities with the concept of congruence (Hoffmeyer 2008). His concept of double bind is rather close to incongruent patterned communication among humans and animals (1972, 271-78). The congruence/incongruence concepts are also used in teaching/educational theory (Singer 1988) and in mental therapeutic theory (Gendlin 1959; Rashed 2013). According to Bateson symmetry is connected with beauty in nature and thus among humans (1979, 18). 'Single binds' are among people and groups who communicating congruently. The concept of the double bind uses Bateson for 'frozen' patterns of communication which can lead to schismogenesis (1969/1972). Double binds can develop in many contexts and on different levels. Not only between spouse but occur also between gender worlds in a family, community or nation. Even in whole cultures double binds occur. The concept has some epistemological flaws while it has a 'non-flux noun' character and it has pathological connotations from being wide spread in psychiatry. Bateson, in our opinion, meant that incongruent communication occurs once and in while in all human, as in nature's, communication systems. Things can easily go wrong. Communication is so fragile and receptive to errors it inevitable creates flaws which can become 'frozen' and then slides into double binds: 'patterned' incongruent 'unsafe' communication. Congruence in communication is seen as similar to symmetry and thus evokes experiences of beauty (Charton 2008; Weber 2016). Emotions of love and beauty, says Bateson, emerge when 'we recognize an-other mind within our own external mind' (1972, 465). Batesonian congruence emerges and heightens if, in human interaction and communication, recognition of each other's sameness, without forgetting differences, grows deeper and stronger. Congruencies happens all the time in our, and also in young men's, everyday lives (see Horvath & Thomassen 2008).

Schismogenesis: symmetrical and complementary communication

When incongruent (resistant) interaction persists and becomes patterned in contexts, like bullying in school classes, it turns 'schismogenetic' and has 'system damaging' consequences. Schismogenesis is an important processual concept which Bateson developed already in his study on the boys' initiation ritual 'Naven' (1935; 1936/1958) to denote 'structural systemic errors' in human systems and in human communication (see Houseman & Severi 1998; see Tomassen 2009). Social systems which shift into a schismogenetic process can 'runaway' and become destructive to themselves and to other (smaller and wider) systems. Edward Albee's play 'Who is afraid of Virginia

⁵ The concept of frame, framing and reframing as a 'shifting your perspective' tool in analysis was introduced by Bateson (1954/1972, 177-193) and extensively elaborated by Erving Goffman (1957/1961; see Scheff 2005).

Woolf' can be taken as an exemplary case of a nuclear family and a marriage gets into a 'runaway' state entangled in double binds and schismogenesis (1962). The out of tune communicational processes between husband and wife can be detected with the twin concept of symmetrical and complementary communication. When we return to the assumption above that core business of evolution is producing at the same time similarities (members of the same species) and differences (between individuals within species and between species) the concept of schismogenesis becomes more accessible. In symmetrical schismogenesis too much sameness and too less difference is produced. Participants in a family/social interaction are caught up in an escalating competition of words and arguments which easily leads to insults and humiliations. Adolescent brothers and sisters can get into patterns of 'sibling rivalry' which end in fighting and crying. Complementary schismogenesis denotes to producing too much difference (too less sameness) which creates, maintains and strengthens inequalities and dominating/subordinating relationships. These 'frozen' communication patterns can also and easily leads to destructive interaction like symbolic and physical violence.

'Natural' hierarchy between subsystems and wider systems

Bateson uses the concept of hierarchy to detect and dissect the workings of real animal and human (social) systems. He also differentiates hierarchies in levels of learning (1972, 249; Visser 2003). His encompassing concept of 'ecology of mind' implies that evolutionary older and wider systems determine more the functioning of younger and smaller (sub)systems. This is Bateson's systemic approach. To understand an individual organism we look and study the principle workings of wider systems. Bateson uses the term hierarchy too in his epistemological tool of 'logical typing'. A class can never be a member of a class at the same time and vice versa. And how the class functions determines more the functioning of individual members than vice versa. Children are not meant to become into the position of parent while the functioning of parents determines the functioning of the child more than vice versa.⁶ Enough 'disrupting' children can help parents and families to make a necessary change. Even if the family bonds are not practiced/consumed or family members have died this can be the case. Enough 'signalling' families may change 'freezing/frozen' communities. Enough resisting 'deviant' young men can help schools and other institutions to make a necessary change. When we translate the hierarchy in systems and logical typing into practice it runs like this: the more congruent (synchronized) our conceptions of hierarchy in and complementarity between systems and subsystems becomes the more we understand young men's resistances.

Batesonian levels of learning

Learning is at its peak in adolescence as transition from child to adult worlds. Separating this learning, for the sake of analysis, from learning in our western educational systems, Bateson differentiates three levels of learning simply coined as Learning I: learning directly by experience. These are mostly bodily-motor learning processes like riding a bike, learning to swim, to knit, and to play soccer. Young men develop every generation 'new' (Learning level 1) bodily patterns as their cultural expression of skill and beauty: capoeira, skateboarding, and break-dance, rapping, hip hop and recently 'free running'.

Learning II: reflexive learning in social communication. Bateson coins this level as apperceptive (perceptive of itself) communication (Bateson 1942/1972, 170).⁷

Learning III: 'aha' experiences. Therapists aim to create third 'order' learning in their interaction with a client to 'kick a habit' (Bateson 1972, 249). Bateson didn't explicitly make the step that rituals look very similar as Learning III level. Turner's descriptions of rituals with his concepts of liminality, structure and anti-structure and *communitas* resembles Bateson's definitions of Learning III rather close (1969). With the concept of distancing outlined above Scheff unintentionally supplied a fruitful concept close to Bateson's levels of Learning II and III. With the Learning levels concepts we will detect and unravel congruent and incongruent communication patterns around young men's resistances.

Individual and group life as a set of biological and social life transitions

⁶ Children taking on the role of parent to their parents, in theories and professions of family therapy, is not seen as morally wrong, but as source for dysfunctioning of the family system and thus causing dysfunctioning of one or more individual members.

⁷ Similar concepts have developed in different academic and professional disciplines like mimetic faculty (philosophy), perspective taking, empathy and role taking, (psychology and pedagogy). The 'reflexive urn in anthropology' can be seen as Learning II level.

The concept of (life phase) transition is ‘Batesonian systemic’ proof while it denotes movement and process; it hints at change and transformation and is compatible with decisive moment of change in individuals of other animal species. All individual organisms are born and die each with their own life-span. Collective organisms like human groups who share ‘sameness’ (species and subspecies) have their own ‘species-span’ too. Weaning, maturation and producing offspring are shared transitions too. Most mammals and birds cut the parental bond with their offspring during ‘coming of age’.⁸ Looking at the age-bound aspect of young men’s resistance transition is a core concept.

Birth, maturation (becoming reproductive), giving birth (becoming a [grand] parent) and death are biological transitions (see Szakolczai 2001). In humans these transitions need special attention while nature is not doing the work ‘automatically’ as in other animals. Overcoming resistances is connected with solving mismatches between biological and social maturation. In numerous medical, sociological and anthropological research the idea of synchronization biological and social maturation can be found but these are rarely brought together. Initiation rituals seem to do a rather good job at synchronizing biological and social maturation as we want to demonstrate in chapter 3 (Myerhoff et. al. 1987). We took Moffitt’s concept of maturity gap (1993), slightly modified it into bridging the ‘maturation gap’, to analyse shifting from resisting into complying.

Young men, Families and Communities

To conceptualize young men’s resistance in transitions logically we claim that they as individual organism prosper and reproduce optimally if raised in two (fathers' and mothers') families. Families can only prosper and reproduce optimally if embedded in wider communities. Here Bronislaw Malinowski (1929; 1939) among other ethnographers come to mind, like Raymond Firth, Meyer-Fortes and Bateson himself, who demonstrate that families are intricately interwoven in ‘tribal’ communities by interconnected networks of age-, gender-, occupational groupings. Bateson claims that all biological systems have ‘unconscious purpose’ (1972, 426-447). This means they have an evolutionary desire and urge to reproduce themselves. They are therefore self-generating and have ‘build-in’ self-correcting ‘subsystems’. Human systems have an reoccurring existential problem. They have to balance unconscious with conscious (rational) purpose. Part of young men’s resistances can be seen as ‘unconscious purpose’ self-correcting efforts. We will try to demonstrate that if their conscious minds are meeting their own and other systems unconscious minds shifting from resistance to compliance happens.

Initiatory events: active ingredients in rituals

Bateson himself wrote an ethnography on a male initiation ritual (1936/1958) but never used his later elaborated systemic theory, especially on beauty and grace, to re-evaluate this study. It was Victor Turner who builds on Bateson and explained the deeper (biological) workings of ritual. One ‘active ingredient’ in ritual is of particular importance for our study:

Unfortunately, however, anthropologists and other scholars have paid disappointingly little heed to what these rites do to people. We need to know how, in fact, culture is transmitted—not merely as a codified system of principles and messages, but as an intrinsic learning process, embracing experience so that, as Victor Turner puts it, one's duty becomes one's desire (Myerhoff et. al. 1987).

Turner in formulating: ‘one's duty becomes one's desire’ denotes, in my opinion, the core ‘active ingredient’ of a successful initiatory event. It corresponds with the transformation of resistance into compliance. Taking the three phased model of Arnold van Gennep (1909/1960) he elaborated on the concept of liminality which characterized the second (liminal phase). What Van Gennep discovered was that rituals in (small-scale) human societies studied by anthropologists showed a three phased structure. Following sentences are based upon Turner’s extensive description of rituals including boy’s initiation rituals (1974; 1979; 1982). Rituals are crucial and necessary but to reproduce and maintain communities. Rituals are executed outside of everyday life (habits and customs) structure as ‘anti-structure’ (Turner 1969). But they are also risky and tricky business. Success and effectiveness of ritual therefore are bound to ‘ceremonial leadership’ preparing, organizing and execution the specific form of the ritual which is prescribed and needed. Deconstructing Turner’s and other ethnographies on male initiation rituals led to ordering and selection of seven ‘active ingredients’ which will be outlined in chapter 3.

⁸ The German translation of transforming child-parental ties, (puberty weaning) is ‘*entnabeln*’ = to de-navel.

4. How to integrate our argument logically in chapters 1, 2 and 3. (planned 500 = 600 words).

4.1 Chapter 1: Resistance in families, peer groups and communities (130 words)

In this chapter we reconceptualize young men's resistances in families, peer groups and (local-regional-ethnic) communities from an anthropological-systemic perspective. With this approach we seek to differentiate a) puberty (coming of age) bound resistance from b) resistance against incongruent communication patterns and from c) resistance to protect 'systems congruence' of these contexts. Young men need to resist (and comply) in becoming embedded as adults in families, peer groups and (local-ethnic) communities. When these social entities are reconceptualised, from a Batesonian framework as interconnected 'hierarchized' systems, young men's resistance increases/lowers when 'system congruence' is endangered/enforced. It is argued that young men seek and need safe (congruent) spaces in order to transform their resistant into compliant interactions. Initiatory moments within these systems play a crucial role in these changes. This is demonstrated from four exemplary cases.

4.2 Chapter 2: Resistance in psychiatric and incarcerating (total) institutions (120 words)

In this chapter we reconceptualize young men's resistances in researched psychiatric (Barrett & Rappaport 2011), youth care and incarcerating institutions from an anthropological-systemic approach. With this approach we seek to differentiate a) puberty bound resistance (closing maturation gap) from b) resistance against incongruent communication patterns and from c) resistance to protect system congruence in psychiatric and incarcerating institutions. 'Mortification' (disconnecting family, peer group and community bonds) is the main characteristic of 'total' institutions. This 'schismogenetic' pattern of communication emerges as a main source for persistent 'destructive' resistance in psychiatric and correctional juvenile systems. When Bateson's systemic theory is applied these manifestations of resisting 'mortifying' efforts can be explained with the concept of 'damaging system congruence'. This is demonstrated from four other exemplary cases from our research sample.

4.3 Chapter 3: From resisting into complying during initiatory events (140 words)

In this chapter we reconceptualize young men's resistances during initiatory events from an anthropological-systemic approach. With this approach we seek to differentiate a) puberty bound resistance (closing maturation gap) from b) resistance against incongruent communication patterns and from c) resistance to protect system congruence during initiatory events. An initiatory event seems crucial to transform resisting into complying interaction and apparently occurs in 'safe' (congruent) spaces in social and (total) institutional setting and most often in peer group settings. Young men call these 'chill moments', 'being in the zone' and 'battling' events. These events or moments can occur within as outside the mentioned social and (total) institutional contexts. Screening anthropological ethnographies on male initiation ceremonies offers a list 'active ingredients' with which we analyse our fieldwork data. With four other exemplary cases from our research sample we demonstrate the transforming dynamics in initiatory events.

4.4 Conclusions (125 words)

In this PhD we reconceptualised young men's resistance from an anthropological-systemic conceptual framework to understand resistant dynamics in and between interconnected systems like families, peer groups, communities and other institutions (psychiatry and prisons). By applying Bateson's system theory we could analyse the variety of manifestations of resistance more from a cross-cultural, an interdisciplinary and a multiple perspective. We could also differentiate the variety of resistance and compliance interactions of young men in these different systems. Resistance appeared as partly puberty bound (closing maturation gap), partly connected with incongruity in communication patterns and partly with mortifying efforts in institutional settings. To integrate these different clusters of resistance the concept of 'system congruence' was applied. Male initiation ceremonies proved to be exemplary in detecting and constructing 'system congruence'. In our study reconceptualising resistance, with the help of 'systems congruence', facilitated redressing young men's resisting (and complying) interactions in different hierarchized systems and could be detected and analyzed in multicultural, gendered, localized, ethnocentric and mortifying settings.

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