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THE MELODRAMATIC FORM IN THE HARDY BOYS
AN ANALYSIS OF A POPULAR JUVENILE FICTION SERIES

LAURIE M. ROBERTS

Submitted to the Department of Criminology, University of
Ottawa, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Master of Arts.



Laurie M. Roberts, Ottawa, Canada, 1993



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ABSTRACT

An analysis was undertaken of 29 volumes of a popular juvenile fiction series, the Hardy Boys, in publication since 1927. Drawing upon Victor Turner's schema of social drama, this study sought to examine the degree to which the melodramatic form is employed in the texts. The distinguishing characteristic of the melodramatic form is the portrayal of a villain or villains who have breached the social order and who, upon defeat, are subject to a process of exclusion from the social order.

In addition, with its emphasis on crime and the pursuit of criminals, the series allowed for the analysis of changing images of deviance and social order in popular youth fiction over time.

Given the intent to examine the manifest content as well as the underlying frameworks and structures of the texts, both a content analysis and a linguistically-based structural analysis were employed.

Overall, the hypothesis that the Hardy Boys books are melodramatic in form was supported. In 28 of the 29 texts, characters who were portrayed as villains were, upon defeat, subject to a process of exclusion. Moreover, as further hypothesized, changing images of deviance and social order were reflected in the series over time.

Central to the findings of the present study was the role of ritual in the enactment of social drama. Ritual or ceremonial acts provide the means by which characters' positions within--or outside of--the social order are established in the texts. As such, this study demonstrates the degree to which ritual is integral to class stratification. It further suggests that the performance of ritual, in providing a mechanism through which the social order is maintained and legitimated--or alternatively, contested and subjected to processes of change--furnishes a stage for the enactment of hegemonic struggles.

ABSTRACT

The media provide us with many of our images and explanations of deviance and social order. Consequently, analyses of news media have furthered our understanding of popular conceptions of deviance, social problems and the role of ideological discourse in the legitimation of the social order. However, our knowledge of ideological discourses and their true complexity will likely be enhanced to the extent that our analyses embrace all forms of cultural processes and products.

One area of popular culture particularly deserving of analysis is children's literature. Entertainment represents the manifest function of juvenile fiction. However, the latent function may well be informal socialization and the reproduction of a given ideology expressing particular social and political attitudes and values. Accordingly, an analysis of a popular juvenile fiction series, the Hardy Boys, was undertaken in the present study.

In publication from 1927 to the present, the Hardy Boys series was selected for analysis in view of its popularity and longevity of publication. This series, intended for boys ages 10 to 14, has been published in several different languages, with currently more than 70 million copies of Hardy Boys books in print worldwide.

Moreover, with its emphasis on crime and the Hardy boys' pursuit of criminals, the series provides an opportunity for the analysis of conceptions of deviance and social order in popular youth fiction over time.

This study examined the series from a social constructivist perspective which further drew upon developments in the analysis of discourse and ideology. Starting from the premise that meaning--and hence discourse--is a social practice which itself must be historically contextualized, this analysis sought to identify the terms in which the the social world is described and explained in a sample of 29 texts from the Hardy Boys series. It further attempted to determine the ideological frameworks and classifications from which such descriptions and explanations are drawn.

Previous analyses of news media have demonstrated that media portrayals of deviance are not merely disjointed stereotypes of the normal and the deviant. On the contrary, such portrayals are often located within the coherent pattern or narrative structure of the morality play or melodrama. The distinguishing characteristic of the melodramatic form is the portrayal of a villain or villains who have breached the social order and who, upon defeat, are subject to a process of exclusion from the social order.

In recognition of the dialectical relationship between media/cultural representations and the enactment of actual

social relations, the concern has been expressed that the employment of melodramatic portrayals in the news media have served to legitimate increasingly repressive actions by the state. It would appear, therefore, that the aesthetic form we choose to employ in defining social order and disorder may have unforeseen and far-reaching consequences.

Accordingly, this study further sought to examine the degree to which the melodramatic form is employed in the Hardy Boys texts. Given the intent to examine both the manifest content, as well as, the underlying frameworks and structure of the texts, a methodological approach was adopted which incorporated both a content analysis and a linguistically-based structural analysis.

Overall, the hypothesis that the Hardy Boys books are melodramatic in form was supported. In all but one of the books, characters who were portrayed as villains were, upon defeat, subject to a process of exclusion, whether by death, imprisonment or impending imprisonment, or through interaction rituals in which the ritual destruction of selves was effected. In 28 of the 29 texts one or more of these means of exclusion were portrayed.

Moreover, as further hypothesized, reflections of conflict between cultural/political groups are evident in the texts. Similarly reflected in the series over time are changing definitions and images of society and its

institutions, deviance and morality, and motives ascribed to social actors.

Central to the findings of the present study is the role of ritual in the enactment of social drama. Ritual or ceremonial acts provide the means by which selves are constructed and affirmed or, alternatively, destroyed and degraded. Thus, it is through ritual acts that characters' positions within--or outside of--the social order are established in the texts. As such, the present study demonstrates the degree to which ritual is integral to class stratification. It further suggests that the performance of ritual, in providing a mechanism through which the social order is maintained and legitimated--or alternatively, contested and subjected to processes of change--furnishes a stage for the enactment of hegemonic struggles.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

In the Introduction to Doing Things Together, Howard S. Becker asks the question: "If you look at things from a sociological perspective, what can you see that used to be invisible?" (Becker, 1986:2). This intent--to render visible that which generally passes unseen--informs the present study. A similar purpose likely guides other forms of media analysis, such as that of Cohen and Young who, in their seminal work, The Manufacture of News. Social Problems, Deviance and the Mass Media, clearly demonstrated the value of media analyses for an understanding of popular conceptions of deviance and social problems and the role of ideological discourse in the maintenance of a given social order (1973).

While numerous studies like The Manufacture of News, and the works comprising it, have taken the news media as the object of analysis, other studies exploring the nature of ideological discourse have looked at cultural forms other than the news media (for example, Dorfman and Mattelart's (1984) analysis of ideology in the Disney comics, and Deirdre Burton's (1982) feminist-inspired literary criticism). Indeed, our understanding of ideological discourses and their true complexity will likely be enhanced to the extent that our analyses embrace all forms of cultural processes and

products. It was in recognition of this fact that Todd Gitlin, in his analysis of the 1960s media coverage of the New Left, proclaimed:

News is one component of popular culture; the study of news should ultimately be enfolded within a more ample study of all the forms of cultural production and their ideology...including popular songs, popular fiction (genre novels as well as magazine stories), jokes, and popular films...Let popular culture have its analytic due: we live in it. (Gitlin, 1980:17-18)

It is in such a spirit that the present research undertakes an examination of one area of popular culture deemed to be of considerable importance, namely, that of juvenile fiction. Entertainment represents the manifest function of children's literature. However, the latent function may well be informal socialization and the reproduction of a given ideology expressing particular social and political attitudes and values (Berger, 1982:96). Children's popular fiction thus deserves our attention. To rephrase Todd Gitlin somewhat: Let popular youth culture have its analytic due: our children live in it.

THE HARDY BOYS

Two bright-eyed boys on motorcycles were speeding along a shore road in the sunshine of a morning in spring. It was Saturday and they were enjoying a holiday from the Bayport high school. The day was ideal for a motorcycle trip and the lads were combining business with pleasure by going on an errand to a near-by village for their father.

The older of the two boys was a tall, dark youth, about sixteen years of age. His name was Frank Hardy. The other boy, his companion on the motorcycle trip, was his brother Joe, a year younger.

While there was a certain resemblance between the two lads, chiefly in the firm yet good-humored expression of their mouths, in some respects they differed greatly in

appearance. While Frank was dark, with straight, black hair and brown eyes, his brother was pink-cheeked, with fair, curly hair and blue eyes.

These were the Hardy boys, sons of Fenton Hardy, an internationally famous detective who had made a name for himself in the years he had spent on the New York police force and who was now, at the age of forty, handling his own practice. The Hardy family lived in Bayport, a city of about fifty thousand inhabitants, located on Barmet Bay, three miles in from the Atlantic, and here the Hardy boys attended high school and dreamed of the days when they, too, should be detectives like their father. (The Tower Treasure, 1927:1-2)

Thus, were readers first introduced to the Hardy Boys in 1927, in the first volume of what was to become a very popular series for young boys. Evidence of this popularity is to be found not only in its longevity--publication of the series spans the decades from the 1920s through to the present. But, as well, with a wide distribution in foreign markets, the series has been printed in several different languages, including: English, Hebrew, Dutch, Czech, Spanish, Portuguese, Norwegian, French, Swedish, and Polish (Greenberg, 1993). Moreover, in 1987, Simon & Schuster launched The Hardy Boys Casefiles, a companion series to the original Hardy Boys Mystery Stories series. All told, it is currently estimated that there are approximately 70 million copies of Hardy Boys books in print worldwide (Greenberg, 1993).

Success of the books is in great part likely due to the mass-production techniques and marketing strategies of the Stratemeyer Syndicate, originator of the series. Described as "a fiction factory" (McFarlane, 1976:27), the

Stratemeyer Syndicate also created several other popular series of juvenile fiction including, The Bobbsey Twins and Nancy Drew. In assembly-line fashion, the Syndicate produced plot and chapter outlines for books which were then assigned to writers whose task it was to flesh out these storylines which, upon completion, were then published by Grosset & Dunlap. In just this manner, Canadian author Leslie McFarlane penned most of the first 26 volumes of the Hardy Boys series, under the pseudonym, Franklin W. Dixon (McFarlane, 1976). Additional authors have since continued the writing of this series, always under the same pseudonym. This basic production format has remained in place to the present despite a change in publishers in 1979 when Simon & Schuster took over from Grosset & Dunlap. Currently, there are more than six authors at a time putting out new volumes at a rate of approximately 18 per year; however, the writers are now generally allowed somewhat more input into the creative process, providing their own storylines and undertaking research when deemed necessary (Greenberg, 1993).

Numerous efforts have been made to capitalize on the series' popularity, as witnessed in the production of four different television shows over the years, two separate sets of comic books, and a board game (Enright, 1981; McFarlane, 1976:206). Additional marketing strategies include the formation of 'The Official Nancy Drew/Hardy Boys Fan Club' and the provision of a mail-order form, at the back of the

latest books, encouraging the purchase of other titles in the series. This represents a somewhat newer and more aggressive marketing strategy than that previously employed. As Wasylyshyn notes with regard to earlier marketing efforts,

Some pressure to buy more of the books is put on the reader by the publishers. For example, on the back cover of each book since about 1940 (when the newer-style covers came out) is a paragraph which begins with the sentence: "All boys from 10 to 14 who like lively adventure stories, packed with mystery and action, will want to read every one of the Hardy Boys stories listed here." Further, there follows a list of every single Hardy Boys mystery, preceded by the question "How many of these books do you own?" (Dixon 1961). In addition to all of this, the spine of each book has its number (in the series) on it, and I can remember feeling a tremendous sense of incompleteness because I didn't have all of them. (Wasylyshyn, 1982a:117-118)

A similar marketing ploy was employed even prior to the period described above, for in earlier editions the series titles were listed, not on the back cover, but on the page preceding the frontispiece. When one obtains copies of these earlier volumes, the effectiveness of this type of marketing technique is immediately evident. No longer in print, the original editions of the first 38 books in the series are now only available on a second-hand basis. As such, these books frequently provide information regarding their previous owners and their likely reading habits. Appendix 2 is a copy of the page listing available titles in the Hardy Boys series, taken from the original edition of The House on the Cliff (1927). On this page are written the initials "C.J." and "D.G." (presumably those of two young

readers). Moreover, a number of titles from the listing have been checked off, again presumably those which were read by these two individuals. This particular--and not atypical--page from the past suggests that the books were shared among individuals and--as the publishers hoped--often readers were exposed to more than one volume of the series. Thus, an already vast readership is even larger than the sales figures suggest. This finding is further supported by other accounts, for example, McFarlane (1976), as well as personal conversations I have had with current young readers of the series, and by the fact that I acquired a number of the volumes for analysis from adult male acquaintances who had saved copies of Hardy Boys books from their childhood in order to share them with their own children. In addition, I also found that many used bookstores have a section of juvenile fiction dedicated entirely to the Hardy Boys series, again indicating the existence of an even larger audience.

Accordingly, given the wide readership amassed by the Syndicate's merchandizing campaign, the Hardy Boys series represents a logical choice for the analysis of popular juvenile fiction. Aside from its popularity, four further characteristics make the series a good candidate for analysis. For one, with its emphasis on crime and the Hardy boys' pursuit of criminals, the series provides an opportunity for the analysis of conceptions of deviance and social order and "the implicit view of society behind such

conceptions" (Cohen and Young, 1981a:13) in popular youth fiction.

Secondly, with the exception of the original editions of most of the first 26 volumes which were penned by Leslie McFarlane, the books in the series have been written by several authors. Accordingly, one is less able to attribute recurrent patterns in the portrayal of the social world to the idiosyncratic bias or style of a given author.

Thirdly, the series is currently in its eighth decade of publication. Fourthly, beginning in 1959 the first 38 volumes were all revised in an attempt to make them contemporary and to remove racial and ethnic slurs (Greenberg, 1993). As such, the series clearly lends itself to a trend analysis in which one is able to examine the changing images of crime, deviance, and social order as they are portrayed in the texts over time.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the Hardy Boys series has been the subject of previous analyses. Thus, for example, O'Connor (1970) sought to examine the extent to which racist attitudes were reflected in the texts. Similarly, Wasylyshyn undertook a neo-Freudian analysis of the series, based on the following assumption:

The fact that well over fifty million Hardy Boys books have been sold is a strong indication that the books are relevant to boys in the latent stage [of psychosexual development-L.R.] (Wasylyshyn, 1982b:112)

He also looked at changing social attitudes through a comparison of two texts--the original (1935) and revised

(1961) editions of The Hidden Harbor Mystery (Wasylyshyn, 1982a).

In contrast to the above approaches, the present study proposes to examine the series from a perspective which draws upon developments in the analysis of discourse and ideology. Starting from the premise that meaning--and hence discourse (Birch, 1989:15)--is a social practice which itself must be historically contextualized, the present research seeks to identify the terms in which the social world is described and explained in a sample of 29 texts (Appendix 1) from the Hardy Boys series. It further attempts to determine the ideological frameworks and classifications from which such descriptions and explanations are drawn. The intent, therefore, is to make explicit the various taken-for-granted elements and unstated premises and assumptions underlying the surface structure of the Hardy Boys texts.

Accordingly, Chapter 2 begins with a review of the major perspectives which have characterized theorizing on the nature and role of the media in society. Tracing the development of the mass society thesis, liberal-pluralist tradition, and critical paradigm, attention is then turned to the findings that the melodramatic form is frequently employed in media presentations of social conflict. The distinguishing characteristics of this narrative form are explored and the proposition, that the Hardy Boys texts are themselves melodramatic in form, is put forth. Finally, the

possibility of employing Victor Turner's schema of social drama to test this hypothesis is presented.

Chapter 3 then outlines the theoretical perspective which informs the present study. Adopting a social constructivist perspective and drawing upon Gramsci's notion of hegemony, it is argued that the concepts of morality and power are integral to an adequate analysis of media/cultural productions.

In Chapter 4 it is further proposed that such an analysis should examine both the structure and content of a given discourse, thus suggesting that a linguistically-based structural analysis be employed in conjunction with content analysis. The research design employed in the present study is then discussed.

The findings of an analysis of 29 of the Hardy Boys texts are presented in Chapter 5, noting in particular the role of ritual in the enactment of social drama, as well as, the need to locate ideological discourses within the wider social structure in which they occur.

Finally, Chapter 6 concludes with a discussion highlighting the major research findings and suggesting further areas worthy of investigation. In this regard, it is proposed that the analysis of ritual in modern society offers a promising avenue of inquiry, given the integral role of the performance of ritual in the maintenance and legitimation of the social order.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Once we see the persecution of heresy as social intolerance, the intellectual difference between one heresy and another becomes less significant. (Trevor-Roper, 1972:108)

When people are asked what comes to mind upon hearing the words 'Salem, Massachusetts', frequently among the responses received is the word 'witches'. Witches, as Bennett notes, are the "deviants par excellence of earlier, theological universes" (Bennett, 1982a:297). In modern Western industrial society, where we see ourselves as much more knowledgeable than earlier societies, those who are labelled deviant are rarely called witches. Our images have changed to, among others, that of the dope fiend, terrorist, and militant. However, the images and explanatory frameworks we employ may be viewed as merely representing a more

sophisticated demonology in a morality play which explains away cognitive and material disturbances in the consensual world, reasserting in the long term nemesis and the triumph of justice. (Young, 1981a:396)

Moreover, the media represent a major forum through which such categorizations and explanations of deviance, breaches of the social order, and in fact, the social order itself are provided.

Accordingly, the following discussion focuses upon empirical and theoretical research related to the media and their portrayal of the social order and deviance and the

processes by which such presentations are constructed. Furthermore, the frequent employment of the terms 'melodrama' and 'morality play' in the literature is examined. Finally, drawing upon studies in social anthropology and literary criticism, the utility of analyzing the narrative form of popular fiction in terms of social drama is explored.

MEDIA RESEARCH

In conjunction with changing theories of society, there have been major shifts in the conceptualization of the effects and role of the media in society. Following Hall (1982), three phases of media research may be identified and broadly classified: the mass society thesis, the liberal-pluralist tradition, and the critical paradigm. As with many theoretical models, these categorizations are not entirely discrete. Rather, commonalities are to be found among these three perspectives, with each approach stressing certain aspects or characteristics of the media over others.

It should be further noted that the depictions provided below of these three traditions are necessarily painted with broad brush strokes. Emphasis is placed on the distinguishing characteristics of each school of thought, glossing over the diversity which exists within each perspective. This qualification is particularly relevant to the critical paradigm as it continues to evolve in concert with a changing society and as efforts are made to

incorporate varied interpretations of the liberal-capitalist state. Lastly, while these different perspectives may follow a broad chronological pattern, versions of each still boast their own adherents and thus currently retain a measure of influence.

The Mass Society Thesis

From the early part of this century through to the end of the Second World War the mass society thesis dominated theorizing on the media and society. A number of factors contributed to the generation of this perspective. The development of new technologies--radio, film, rotary press--brought the advent of an unprecedented mass audience. Urbanization and industrialization were seen as resulting in the disintegration of society. Society itself was viewed as volatile and alienated and comprised of uprooted individuals with weakened ties to families and norms. Characterized by anomie, members of society were thus seen as being susceptible to manipulation by the media. In addition, the rise of fascism in Europe and the role of the media there in the generation and dissemination of propaganda raised concerns about the media's power, influence, and pervasiveness (Bennett, 1982b:30-41; Curran *et al.*, 1982:11-12).

This view of society as a mass of individuals--passive, defenceless recipients of the distorting and

corrupting images conveyed by the all powerful media--was mirrored in the vocabulary employed. As Bennett notes,

such terms as 'mass media' and 'media of mass communication' formed a part of a ready-built theory of society which answered in advance the more pertinent questions that might be put concerning the connections between the media and social processes. Between whom do the media communicate? Between the elite and the masses, the few and many: the answer is pre-given in the concept. (Bennett, 1982b:30-31)

Thus, in the left-wing version of this perspective, it is the ruling class who controls and uses the media to protect its interests through the deliberate distortion of reality and consequent manipulation and mystification of the public (Bennett, 1982b:33). On the right of the political spectrum is the view that the media are capable of corrupting the morals of the public and lowering cultural standards through the glorification of crime and portrayals of sex (Cohen and Young, 1981a:13; Parker, 1986). This was the stance adopted by the Roman Catholic Church's Legion of Decency, in its efforts to censor portrayals of criminals on screen.

Organized in 1934, its members pledged:

to arouse public opinion against the portrayal [in moving pictures] of vice as a normal condition of affairs, and against depicting criminals of any class as heroes and heroines, presenting their filthy philosophy of life as something acceptable to decent men and women. (Facey, 1974:144)

This view is similarly reflected in the reported censorship in 1928 of Leslie McFarlane's (ghost writer of the Hardy Boys books) portrayal of policemen in the Hardy Boys texts:

Stratemeyer [creator of the Hardy Boys series-L.R.] felt that the volumes already written suggested a grievous lack of respect for officers of the law! He regretted that I seemed to regard Messrs. Collig, Smuff and Riley as figures of fun. He did not think this was wise. The effect on growing boys must be considered. In future volumes it would be well to treat the Bayport constabulary with the respect to which they were entitled....I had been counting on the Bayport Bluecoats for at least four chapters of surefire laughs per book....However, I realized glumly that Collig & Co. would have to shape up and the Hardy boys would have to be polite to the cops if it killed them. (McFarlane, 1976:182-183)¹

No longer as dominant as in the first part of this century, the mass society thesis is nevertheless still influential. Indeed, there has been a recent revival of many of these concerns, especially with regard to the portrayal of violence in the media.

The Liberal-Pluralist Tradition

Following the Second World War and into the 1960s the liberal-pluralist perspective emerged as a critique of the mass society thesis. In contrast to the earlier, more

¹ I have quoted the above passage at length not only to illustrate the nature of the censorship but, as well, to highlight the danger of inferring an author's motivations from an analysis of the text alone. In this regard, I owe much to Robert Short who, in The Gospel According to Peanuts, cited the following cartoon script:

Charlie Brown - "This is a very nice drawing of a man, Linus."
 "I notice, however, that you've drawn him with his hands behind his back..."
 "You did that because you yourself have feelings of insecurity..."
 Linus - "I did that because I myself can't draw hands!"

(Schulz quoted in Short, 1965:31)

speculative approach of the mass society model, this second phase of media research adopted a more rigorous, empirically-based methodology (Curran et al., 1982:12; Hall, 1982:56-58).

The central question that concerned American media sociologists during this period was the question of the media's effects. These effects--it was assumed--could best be identified and analysed in terms of the changes which the media were said to have effected in the behaviour of individuals exposed to their influence. The approach was also 'behavioural' in a more methodological sense. Speculation about media effects had to be subject to the kinds of empirical test which characterized positivistic social science. (Hall, 1982:56-57)

In addition, in the pluralist tradition the nature of both the media and society was viewed more optimistically (Hall, 1982:58). A manipulative conspiracy on the part of a powerful, monolithic elite was discounted in favour of a view of society based on a broad consensus. Underpinning this perspective, therefore, is the assumption that within society,

[t]here would be a range of pluralistic conflicts of interest and value. But they could all be resolved within the framework of the pluralistic consensus and its 'rules of the game'. (Hall, 1982:60)

Furthermore, individuals were no longer considered to be as alienated as the mass society thesis had suggested. Rather, it was argued that society is composed of diverse small groups which provide individuals with stability and meaningful ties (Cohen and Young, 1981a:13-14; Curran et al., 1982:12-13). Nor were people seen as being passively subjected to the powerful and unmediated influence of the media. Instead, the findings of the positivist-based studies

revealed that individuals constitute an active, rather than passive, audience capable of selecting and attending to those aspects of the media most congruent with already established beliefs and opinions. Thus, the influence of the media is clearly attenuated--it is restricted to the reinforcement of pre-existing attitudes (Cohen and Young, 1981a:13-14; Curran et al., 1982:12-13). Rarely are people's attitudes changed through media influence; such changes are deemed to occur in daily social interaction (Cohen and Young, 1981a:13-14).

As well, within the liberal-pluralist tradition the media are seen--and the media's various segments see themselves--as catering to the wishes of the consumer, giving the public what it wants. Thus, the mass society thesis is turned on its head; the determination of media content resides less with those who control media organizations and more with consumer demand. In response to the varied tastes and preferences of different audiences, a diversity of opinions and sources is to be found in the media. This diversity is itself then looked upon as providing further support for the pluralist perspective (Cohen and Young, 1981a:13-14 and 1981b:17; Curran et al., 1982:12-13).

However, beginning in the late 1960s and 1970s the liberal-pluralist model came under attack from two main directions (Curran et al., 1982:13). First, from within the pluralist approach itself, research findings became a matter of contention. Earlier conclusions that the media had very

limited effects were found to be over-generalizations. Re-examination of the literature revealed that at times the findings did not support the conclusions reached regarding the limited influence of the media. Moreover, qualifications originally made to such conclusions had been ignored (Curran et al., 1982:13-14). Indeed, the findings clearly indicated that there are instances when the media may be significantly influential in terms of attitude formation or change, namely,

when audience attention is casual, when information rather than attitude or opinion is involved, when the media source is prestigious, trusted or liked, when monopoly conditions are more complete, when the issue at stake is remote from the receiver's experience or concern, when personal contacts are not opposed to the direction of the message or when the recipient of the message is cross-pressured. (Curran et al., 1982:13)

In addition, further arguments have been put forth that more research needs to be conducted into the influence generated by the nature of the medium itself, for example, television as opposed to print. As Marshall McLuhan (1964) cogently and succinctly argued, "the medium is the message". In a similar vein, Winn (1985), drawing upon recent neurological research, likens the effects of television to those of a drug and discusses the implications of "TV addiction" among children. Joyce Nelson, in The Perfect Machine: TV in the Nuclear Age, presents a view reminiscent of the mass society thesis, arguing that the medium of television has tremendous power over our daily lives. Television, she proposes, creates a mind-set that supports

and is supported by an ideology which places technological efficiency above all other concerns (Nelson, 1987). This aspect of Nelson's thesis, with its return to an emphasis upon ideology, more closely approximates the second major challenge to the liberal-pluralist approach, namely, the wide range of studies from which the critical paradigm arose.

The Critical Paradigm

During the 1960s and 1970s it began to be argued that the empirical communications research of the liberal-pluralist tradition--although correct in its refutation of a crude manipulation of the public--was theoretically inadequate in that it remained oblivious to the role of the media as ideological agencies maintaining class domination (Curran *et al.*, 1982:14-16). As Hall indicates, within the pluralist tradition,

[l]arger historical shifts, questions of political process and formation before and beyond the ballot-box, issues of social and political power, of social structure and economic relations, were simply absent, not by chance, but because they were theoretically outside the frame of reference. But that was because the approach, though advanced as empirically-grounded and scientific, was predicated on a very specific set of political and ideological presuppositions. These presuppositions, however, were not put to the test, within the theory, but framed and underpinned it as a set of unexamined postulates. It should have asked, 'does pluralism work?' and 'how does pluralism work?' Instead, it asserted, 'pluralism works'--and then went on to measure, precisely and empirically, just how well it was doing. (Hall, 1982:59, Italics in original)

Closer scrutiny of these postulates underpinning the pluralist view of society necessitated an examination of the role of power and social control in the maintenance of the social order. As a consequence, the fundamental notion of consensus that had been taken for granted in the liberal-pluralist tradition was rendered problematic (Hall, 1982:63). "[T]he question could now be asked whether the consensus did indeed spontaneously simply arise or whether it was the result of a complex process of social construction and legitimation" (Hall, 1982:63). The media's role in the process of the social construction of the consensus thereby became a central concern of the critical paradigm (Hall, 1982).

Indeed, one of the distinguishing characteristics of the critical paradigm is its conception of the media and their relationship to objective reality. According to the pluralist approach, objective reality is a given and the media "are merely a reflection of events in the real world as ordered by audience interest" (Young, 1981a:404). The mass society thesis also views reality as an objective given, but argues that the media function to deliberately conceal and distort that reality in order to manipulate the public and protect the interests of the powerful (Cohen and Young, 1981b:18).

The issue is much more complex in the critical paradigm, for from this perspective, reality is not simply

waiting to be captured on film or to be put into print. On the contrary, it is argued that

things and events in the real world do not contain or propose their own, integral, single and intrinsic meaning, which is then merely transferred through language. Meaning is a social production, a practice. The world has to be made to mean. Language and symbolization is [sic] the means by which meaning is produced. (Hall, 1982:67, *Italics in original*)

It is in this sense then that the media are viewed as agencies actively involved in the creative social construction of reality. Given that "meaning is a social process" (Veron, 1971:61), news is thus not so much reported as it is constructed. Journalists do not simply go out and gather news; rather, a number of factors come together in the selection of events to be reported and in their subsequent presentation. It is through their active involvement in this process of construction that the media and their sources set the agenda for the issues to be discussed, as well as the terms and frameworks under which such discussion will proceed (Cohen and Young, 1981b:18-33; Gitlin, 1980:249-292; Tuchman, 1978).

Among the factors important in the selection of particular events as news are those related to the commercial interests of the media, that is, their need to attract consumers. Chief among such factors is the somewhat intangible criterion of newsworthiness (Chibnall, 1977:13). It is the unusual or unexpected, the novel, that is selected for coverage. Immediacy, the notion that news is that which

has just happened, is another important aspect of newsworthiness (Chibnall, 1977:23).

Further analyses have revealed that certain bureaucratic practices and professional codes also play a major role in the selection of news. Thus, for example, Galtung and Ruge argue that, "the more similar the frequency of the event is to the frequency of the news medium, the more probable that it will be recorded as news by that news medium" (Galtung and Ruge, 1981:53). In other words, an event which transpires over a period of a few hours or within a day is more likely to be reported in a daily paper than an event which takes several days to unfold. Thus, bureaucratic schedules and organizational structures clearly intervene in the selection of news.

Once information has been selected for coverage, the journalist must then present it within some sort of conceptual framework in order to render it meaningful to the reader. From the critical perspective it is argued that journalists structure their accounts of events within an encompassing framework which at its base takes for granted a society based on consensus. It is a framework which sees the channels of government and procedures of the judiciary as the appropriate forums within which to voice discontent. Thus did Todd Gitlin conclude in his study of the media's portrayal of the New Left: "The complete message is: when there is legitimate ground for 'controversy,' it will be

defined and taken care of by authorities, not by marginal disruptors" (Gitlin, 1980:272).

Similarly, the diversity of opinions and sources found in the media is more limited than the liberal-pluralist model suggests. Alternative views and sources are contained within clearly marked boundaries. Although Ericson et al. (1987), in their study of news organizations, found a greater diversity of ideas and approaches in the construction of news than that generally reported in the academic literature, they too conclude that political dialogue in the news media is considerably limited (p.360), and moreover,

[m]ore than anything else, news visualizes people and organizations as out of step and disordered, and uses this view to generate discourse on how they may be made to fit with the political-culture template. Erased is any fundamental questioning of the template itself: whether instead of adapting initiatives to the order of things, the order of things might be adapted to meet the initiatives. (Ericson et al., 1987:363)

Thus it is that stereotypical representations of militant strikers as "criminals" and "thugs", for example, and media attention to incidents of violence or disorder, serve to delegitimize the actions and claims of workers who have chosen to voice dissent over class arrangements in the current social order (see, for example, Glasgow University Media Group, 1980). In the process of uncritically presenting the consensus as a matter of common sense, as a taken-for-granted aspect of social life, the media play a major role in the dissemination and legitimation of a

particular ideology--one which, though appearing on the surface to confront the divisions, contradictions, and inequities within the modern capitalist state, paradoxically masks these sources of tension and conflict.

THE MORALITY PLAY IN THE MEDIA

Media analyses within the critical paradigm discussed above, frequently describe portrayals of deviance or social problems in terms of drama. Although drama is a persistent theme throughout the literature, it is not always explicitly articulated, but rather, terms related to drama are often employed metaphorically without further explication:

From a potential cast of thousands the television news has the power to decide who are to be the principal actors on stage. (Glasgow University Media Group, 1980:97)

Much news is, in fact, ritual. It conveys an impression of endlessly repeated drama whose themes are familiar and well understood. (Rock, 1981:68)

Similarly, Graham Murdock, in his discussion of the press presentation of a militant mass demonstration, argues that in order to capture readers' attention, information is presented as a "dramatic performance in which the action is unfolded through the actions and speech of certain central characters and the conflicts between them" (Murdock, 1981:215).

Frequently, however, a specific form of drama, namely melodrama or the morality play, is seen as being characteristic of media portrayals of social conflict. Thus,

the Glasgow University Media Group observed, in their analysis of industrial news coverage, that "[t]hroughout Mr. Scargill [National Miners' Union leader-L.R.] was portrayed more and more like a devil in a morality play" (Glasgow University Media Group, 1980:81). Likewise, in a study of media presentations of drug users, Young states that, "[e]very day the same message is repeated, the same morality play enacted" (Young, 1981b:331). Cohen similarly notes the use of "melodramatic vocabulary" in the reporting of Mods and Rockers incidents (Cohen, 1981:265). With respect to the Senate Watergate hearings, Alexander argues that

viewers saw a highly simplified drama--heroes and villains formed in due course. But this drama was not designed to entertain; rather, ...it served to evoke a generalized morality. (Alexander, 1986:247)

Accordingly, as Young notes, media portrayals of deviance are not merely disjointed combinations of stereotypes of the normal and the deviant. On the contrary, such portrayals are often located within the coherent pattern or structure of the morality play (Young, 1981a:396).

One of the most insightful and forceful arguments regarding the use of the melodramatic form in the news media has been put forth by Robin Erica Wagner-Pacifici (1986). Her analysis concerns the 1978 Red Brigades' kidnapping and assassination of Italian politician Aldo Moro and the media's role in the unfolding of events. She argues that the Moro affair may be most profitably viewed as a social drama (drawing upon Victor Turner's conceptualizations discussed

below). More specifically, Wagner-Pacifici (1986) argues that one particular genre of drama--melodrama--predominated, and the narrative structure of this genre, with its polarization of good and evil, fuelled the no-negotiation stance of certain protagonists. In melodrama there must be a villain who, as an evil figure, must be cast out; there is no opportunity for identification with such an individual. Furthermore, there is no room for compromise or reconciliation and, to avoid contamination, expulsion of the villain from the social group is necessary (Brooks, 1976:13,17).

Thus, in the Moro incident certain groups, such as the Christian Democratic Party, insisted upon portraying the Red Brigades as alien and less than human and refused to grant the Red Brigades or their demands any legitimacy and adopted a no-negotiation stance accordingly. Wagner-Pacifici argues that the adoption of such a stance represented, in part, a struggle among the actors involved to ensure that a particular type of genre predominated, one which carried certain political advantages along with it.

Given the fractured nature of Italian politics, the unfolding of events in terms of melodrama offered these parties the opportunity to present a unified Italy allied against a common threat--the Red Brigades. The Brigades were thus at first portrayed as foreigners (despite their known Italian nationality) or as having been corrupted by

foreigners, and then later as subhuman and consequently situated outside the possible realm of negotiation (Wagner-Pacifici, 1986:138-141). In a similar manner Aldo Moro, in making requests for the initiation of negotiations, was himself subjected to a delegitimation process wherein he was characterized as being ill or as having been coerced, and as such, his requests were to be discounted. This is in spite of the fact that Moro was well known for a stance characterized by compromise. Indeed, the very individuals who so vehemently argued that the "real Moro" would never have considered negotiation an option were members of the Historic Compromise government engineered by Moro (Wagner-Pacifici, 1986:220-230).

Wagner-Pacifici argues that the stage for this drama was the media and further contextualizes the drama within the contemporary democratic capitalist state with its many inherent ideological contradictions. As such, she concludes:

[C]ertain types of social drama, namely melodrama, ...[attempt] to deny the heterogeneity and fragmentation of modern societies: the melodramatic surface plants a simple dichotomized vision onto the complex world and then simply expels the identified villain from the society (Wagner-Pacifici, 1986:278)

Clearly reflecting Durkheim's thesis that crime serves to reinforce the collective sentiment (Durkheim, 1933:102), the convergence of this view with that of Stuart Hall et al. in Policing the Crisis is striking:

Crime, then, is 'news' because its treatment evokes threats to, but also reaffirms, the consensual morality of the society: a modern morality play takes

place before us in which the 'devil' is both symbolically and physically cast out from the society by its guardians--the police and the judiciary. (Hall et al., 1978:66)

As equally significant as these attempts to confirm the homogeneous nature of society through the employment of the melodramatic form are the resultant parallel developments in increasing state control in both instances. Stuart Hall et al. claim that the melodramatic portrayals of muggings in Britain served to legitimate the control process and decreased opposition to the assumption of wider powers on the part of the state (Hall et al., 1978:74-77). Wagner-Pacifici describes a similar process occurring in Italy wherein repressive legislation was enacted during the Moro affair, such as that which allowed for the detention of "a person for up to five years and four months before the first trial, and for ten years and eight months before the final trial" (Lumley and Schlesinger, quoted in Wagner-Pacifici, 1986:288).

It would appear, therefore, that the aesthetic form we choose to employ in defining social order and disorder may have unforeseen and far-reaching consequences. Accordingly, a fuller examination of the nature of social drama, and melodrama in particular, is in order.

THE MELODRAMATIC FORM

Northrop Frye advises us that, "[t]otal literary history gives us a glimpse of the possibility of seeing literature as a complication of a relatively restricted and

simple group of formulas" (1957:16-17). In other words, there are a limited number of basic formulas or conventions from which a given narrative text may be composed. The formula or genre--as for example, the fairy tale--of a particular text may be determined through a study of that text's morphology, that is, "a description of the tale according to its component parts and the relationship of these components to each other and to the whole" (Propp, 1971:19).

In addition, a 'pure genre' refers to a basic narrative unit which "cannot be reduced to a more fundamental generic category" (Kent, 1983:10). Thus, for example, a pure fairy tale may be reduced to other basic linguistic components, such as a paragraph or sentence, but the integrity of the basic narrative unit or story cannot be reduced further (Kent, 1983:10).

A pure genre therefore follows certain clearly specified conventions. In the case of melodrama,

two themes are important: the triumph of moral virtue over villainy, and the consequent idealizing of the moral views assumed to be held by the audience. In the melodrama of the brutal thriller we come as close as it is normally possible for art to come to the pure self-righteousness of the lynching mob. (Frye, 1957:47)

Further, as noted above, melodrama requires the polarization and confrontation of good and evil, followed by the purging of the social order through the expulsion of the villain. As Brooks states in The Melodramatic Imagination, "The ritual of melodrama involves the confrontation of clearly identified

antagonists and the expulsion of one of them. It can offer no terminal reconciliation" (Brooks, 1976:17).

These characteristics of melodrama may be clearly distinguished from other genres, for example, the genre of tragedy in which,

The particular thing called tragedy that happens to the tragic hero does not depend on his moral status. If it is causally related to something he has done, as it generally is, the tragedy is in the inevitability of the consequences of the act, not in its moral significance as an act. (Frye, 1957:38)

Formula Literature

Given that a specific formula or structure exists, a pure genre form follows a predictable, standardized pattern which may be employed over and over through the substitution of certain elements (Cawelti, 1980:121-128; Kent, 1983:10). Consequently, the villain in melodrama may be cast in the character of a witch, terrorist, strike leader, thief, or murderer and the genre will retain its basic structure despite this substitution.

Popular fiction is often classified as some form of pure genre, given that it is highly predictable and follows specifically, formulated conventions--hence, the term 'formula literature' (Kent, 1983:10). Because the basic structure has already been provided and, therefore, fewer artistic decisions are required, formula artists are often extremely prolific. Formula literature is also popular with publishers, for it "provides a means for the rapid and

efficient production of new works" (Cawelti, 1980:124-125). Indeed, the Hardy Boys series is considered to be formulaic with approximately 18 books published yearly on average (Greenberg, 1993).

As formula books, they are also characterized by a style judged to be lacking in 'literary quality', a fact which led to the exclusion of the Hardy Boys books from public libraries until recently (The Ottawa Citizen, 1989). Judgments of literary quality are frequently based on whether a given text may be classified as some type of pure genre--and hence, predictable and formulaic--or as a hybrid genre, that is, a combination of genres. The literary masterpiece, unlike formula literature such as the Hardy Boys, is one which represents a unique combination of pure genre forms (Frye, 1957:50-51; Kent, 1983).

These aspects of literary analysis together with the finding that news media presentations of deviance and social order are often contained within a melodramatic framework, lend support to the view that the Hardy Boys books may be seen as morality plays. Victor Turner's schema for the analysis of the structure of social dramas (employed by Wagner-Pacifici in her analysis of the media's portrayal of the Red Brigades) provides a means for further examining this proposition.

SOCIAL DRAMAS

Victor Turner, a social anthropologist, initially derived his concept of "social dramas" from the analyses of actual processes of social life witnessed during his fieldwork among the Ndembu of northwestern Zambia. He claims that this unit of social process is:

cross-culturally isolable and...exhibits, if it is allowed to come to full term, a characteristic processual structure, a structure that holds firm whether one is considering a macro- or micro-historical event of this type....[and is considered to be-L.R.] the social ground of many types of "narrative".
(Turner, 1980:145)

Structurally, the social drama is composed of four phases: breach, crisis, redress, and finally in the last stage, either reintegration or recognition of schism. The social drama thus begins in the breach phase with "the breach of a norm, the infraction of a rule of morality, law, custom, or etiquette, in some public arena" (Turner, 1980:150). In earlier writings, Turner specifically excludes the commission of a crime as an action capable of constituting a dramatic breach of social relations:

In a social drama it [the infraction of a norm-L.R.] is not a crime, though it may formally resemble one...There is always something altruistic about...a symbolic breach; always something egoistic about a crime. A dramatic breach may be made by an individual, certainly, but he always acts, on behalf of other parties, whether they are aware of it or not. He sees himself as a representative, not as a lone hand.
(Turner, 1974:38)

Such an exclusion of the category 'crime' is extremely problematic given that what is or is not a crime is

variable in terms of both time and space. The reasoning on which this exclusion is based, by imputing a certain sacredness to laws whose violation constitutes a crime, negates claims for legitimacy by those whose unlawful actions challenge the status quo. Moreover, such a definition assumes that it is always possible to determine an individual's motives. C. Wright Mills' (1969) distinction between "private troubles" and "public issues" is also apt here, for at what point does one retrospectively accord legitimacy to the actions of those who at the time viewed their situation in terms of private troubles? Witness, for example, the plight of the vagrant prior to the abolition of vagrancy laws or that of the woman seeking an illegal abortion. Conversely, the claims of the terrorist--who, even prior to the commission of a criminal act, attempts to frame his/her actions in terms of public issues--are frequently discounted by defining these actions as resulting from mental illness. I would argue, therefore, that the category of crime must be included as a source of dramatic breach if we are to accord full recognition to the socially constructed nature of reality and the role of power in this process of construction. As Ben-Yehuda notes in his discussion of political elements in regular deviance as well as political deviance,

[t]he very act of defining a particular behavioral pattern as deviant is inherently political: it uses power to impose the view of one specific symbolic-moral universe upon other universes. (Ben-Yehuda, 1990:65)

Turner himself is clearly aware of the aspect of power inherent in social drama (1980: 152) and in later writings--for example, the 1980 text cited above--these qualifications with respect to crime are absent and I would concur with such a position. Indeed, I would argue that crime--along with the social reaction to crime--is precisely the type of event for which this kind of analysis is suited.

The second phase of Turner's schema, crisis, represents an escalation of the conflict in which sides are taken (Turner, 1974:38) and in which "overt conflict and overt antagonisms become visible" (Turner, 1980:150). This phase is followed by that of redress. At this third stage, certain formal or informal redressive mechanisms are implemented.

The mechanisms may range from personal advice and informal arbitration to formal juridical and legal machinery and, to resolve certain kinds of crises, to the performance of public ritual. (Turner, 1980:151)

Lastly, it is the fourth and final phase of social drama which is of primary interest in the present study.

Every social drama has its final act. And it is in this act that the final unmasking occurs....It is at this point that the drama's heroes and villains are most categorically recognized and, respectively, hailed or denounced. As well, most significantly for the society embroiled in the social drama, the final act declares the ultimate outcome of the initial breach as the society either joins itself back together or establishes the fact of an irreparable rift. (Wagner-Pacifici, 1986:205)

Thus, as Wagner-Pacifici indicates, two outcomes are possible in the fourth phase. On the one hand, there may be a process of reintegration involving a re-ordering of the social order

and the incorporation of the party or parties initiating the breach. Alternatively, one may witness the social recognition of schism, an irreparable breach between the contesting parties (Turner, 1974:41-42; 1980:151). Moreover,

[i]t is important to note the necessary presence of public ceremony or ritual in this phase. Such public actions symbolize the resolution of the social drama--regardless of the end result. (Wagner-Pacifici, 1986:207)

As mentioned, the melodramatic form necessitates the expulsion of the villain from the social order. Accordingly, if one were to employ Victor Turner's terms, the final phase of the melodramatic narrative must, by definition, be characterized by the social recognition of schism and an irreparable breach between the contesting parties. As such, Turner's schema of social drama may be incorporated within an examination of the proposition that the Hardy Boys books are melodramatic in form. Firstly, a given narrative will be melodramatic to the extent that a villain is portrayed and schism, as opposed to reconciliation, occurs in the conclusion. Secondly, where this schism does not occur, it provides a basis for identifying those conditions under which reconciliation occurs with individuals who have nevertheless breached the social order.

Chapter 3

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

The theoretical approach adopted in the present study views the designation of deviance as the enactment of social drama involving a process of confrontation between conflicting, historically-situated symbolic-moral universes (Ben-Yehuda, 1990). Moreover, it is argued that the concepts of morality and power are integral to this process which, I propose, may be characterized as a hegemonic struggle. Accordingly, an understanding of the roles of morality and power is also central to a coherent analysis of media/cultural representations of deviance, as well as processes of social change and stability (Ben-Yehuda, 1990; Bocock, 1986). This approach, to be discussed briefly below, therefore draws upon insights derived from a number of perspectives including, Victor Turner's schema of social drama, Berger and Luckmann's (1971) social construction of reality, Ben-Yehuda's notion of symbolic-moral universes, Gramsci's concept of hegemony, the labelling perspective, and Durkheimian theory.

MORALITY AND POWER

The concept of hegemony, as developed by Antonio Gramsci, may be defined as

occurring when the intellectual, moral and philosophical leadership provided by the class or alliance of classes and class fractions which is ruling, successfully achieves its objective of providing the fundamental outlook for the whole society. (Bocock, 1986: 63)

The concept of hegemony as the framework which provides "the fundamental outlook for the whole society" thus closely parallels Berger and Luckmann's conception of socially constructed symbolic universes. Within such universes

all the sectors of the institutional order are integrated in an all-embracing frame of reference, which now constitutes a universe in the literal sense of the word, because *all* human experience can now be conceived as taking place *within* it. (Berger and Luckmann, 1971: 114, Italics in original)

However, as Berger and Luckmann note, "*all* social reality is precarious" (1971:121, Italics in original) and may be threatened by alternative definitions of that reality. When a particular group or groups, who are not dominant in either the state or economy, initiate a breach in the social order in an attempt to have their interpretations of reality legitimated, a hegemonic struggle, or clash, ensues between these opposing symbolic-moral universes in an attempt to redefine the moral boundaries of the social order. Bocock contends that

[t]his struggle for hegemony will take the form initially of moral and philosophical argument in the media and in education, not primarily in the form of direct actions nor in actions of a narrow economic-corporate kind. (Bocock, 1986: 76)

Indeed, this process, with its focus upon moral argument as a force for social change, has been documented in

a number of studies such as, Spector and Kitsuse's (1977) analysis of the construction of social problems and Becker's discussion of the role of moral entrepreneurs and moral crusaders in the creation of deviance (Becker, 1963: 147-163). Similarly, Gusfield notes,

In its early phase the American Temperance movement was committed chiefly to moral persuasion. Efforts to achieve legislation governing the sale and use of alcohol do not appear until the 1840s. (Gusfield, 1967: 184)

Clearly this focus upon the reverse side of deviance, namely, morality, is not without historical precedent. Durkheim is often cited for his insight that deviance may also perform a stabilizing, cohesive function for society in that existing moral boundaries, which delineate that which is right and that which is wrong, are reinforced. "Crime brings together upright consciences and concentrates them" (Durkheim, 1933: 102). Thus, in classifying others as deviant we are defining who we are--members of a particular moral order from which others, through their actions or beliefs, have set themselves apart. Accordingly, an equation is established in which deviance equals immorality and irresponsibility, and nondeviant, conventional behaviour represents morality, right conduct, and respectability (Ball, 1970; Ben-Yehuda, 1990: 84).

However, which definition of reality achieves legitimacy ultimately lies not simply with the refinement of moral arguments demonstrating the superiority of a particular interpretation of reality held by a given symbolic-moral

universe. Rather, the dimension of power is necessary to explain how it is that a particular group is in a position to define another as deviant. As Berger and Luckmann state,

The confrontation of alternative symbolic universes implies a problem of power--which of the conflicting definitions of reality will be 'made to stick' in the society...Which of the two will win, however, will depend more on the power than on the theoretical ingenuity of the respective legitimators. (Berger and Luckmann, 1971: 126-127)

Nor is the issue merely one of theoretical differences between groups, for such confrontations not only threaten symbolic universes, but in doing so they pose a practical threat to "the institutional order legitimated by the symbolic universe in question" (Berger and Luckmann, 1971: 124). Thus, the social and material interests of those in power are also threatened. As Turner notes,

Social dramas are in large measure political processes, that is, they involve competition for scarce ends--power, dignity, prestige, honor, purity--by particular means and by the utilization of resources that are also scarce. (Turner, 1980: 152)

But power itself, unless based exclusively on the use of force, is intimately connected to the concept of morality, for "[p]ower must be legitimized, and moral universes (or morality) provide that legitimacy" (Ben-Yehuda, 1990: 13). This view clearly corresponds closely to the Gramscian concept of hegemonic leadership which

requires that millions of ordinary people come to accept, in the sense of really giving their free consent to, the political, economic and cultural policies being pursued by the dominant ruling group. This means that a political programme based upon a political-economic

social theory must be actively related to the moral values people understand and hold. If this is not done, people may well feel manipulated into having to tolerate particular policies pursued by ruling groups, or dominated and ruled against their consent, a situation which can lead to the use of violent coercion by the state. (Bocock, 1986: 76, Italics added)

Accordingly, although approaching the subject from two different perspectives, both Ben-Yehuda and Bocock reach identical conclusions regarding the issue of the active consent of groups to the political, economic, and cultural policies underlying the social order. Both authors conclude that if consensus is to be achieved, it must be related to moral values. In The Politics and Morality of Deviance (1990), Ben-Yehuda employs a non-Marxist conflict perspective and Berger and Luckmann's conception of symbolic universes, stressing the significance of morality in his usage of the term "symbolic-moral universes". In addition, he emphasizes the importance of power in the confrontation between conflicting symbolic-moral universes and the central role such conflicts play in the processes of social change and stability (Ben-Yehuda, 1985). Bocock comes to a similar conclusion in his discussion of the Gramscian concept of hegemony, arguing that the concepts of morality and power are central to issues of deviance and politics.

Moral and political philosophy cannot be made to disappear from the disciplines of politics, sociology, economics or history in the way positivists and relativists have attempted to do. The Gramscian concept of hegemony reminds us that this is so, and provides a foundation for renewing social theory. (Bocock, 1986: 128)

Thus, the concepts of morality and power, and their role in social conflict, must be incorporated into analyses of media presentations of deviance and social order. Indeed, as discussed in Chapter 2, analyses of media representations of social conflict indicate that such portrayals often take the form of morality plays. In view of the foregoing discussion with its focus upon the significance of moral argument in the achievement of consensus, it is not surprising that the melodramatic form appears frequently in media portrayals of social conflict. The employment of such a narrative form, which transforms discourse into characterizations of good versus evil, functions to delegitimize, and define as deviant, behaviour or beliefs which threaten the taken-for-granted reality of the dominant group or groups within society.

In so doing, media portrayals of crime and deviance may not only reflect the dominant, taken-for-granted symbolic-moral universe or hegemonic view, but may also help to shape and/or re-shape that universe.

The media become part and parcel of that dialectical process of the 'production of consent'--shaping the consensus while reflecting it--which orientates them within the field of force of the dominant social interest represented within the state. (Hall, 1982: 87)

Victor Turner is similarly cognizant of the dialectical relationship between media/cultural representations and the enactment of actual social relations through social drama.

[T]here is an interdependent, perhaps dialectic, relationship between social dramas and genres of cultural performance in perhaps all societies. Life, after all, is as much an imitation of art as the reverse....[S]o does the story feed back into the social process, providing it with a rhetoric, a mode of emplotment, and a meaning. Some genres...serve as paradigms which inform the action of important political leaders--star groupers of encompassing groups such as church or state--giving them style, direction, and sometimes compelling them subliminally to follow in major public crises a certain course of action, thus emplotting their lives. (Turner, 1980: 153)

As Turner suggests, there need not be a conscious and deliberate intent to this process. Rather, as Hall states,

ideology is a function of the discourse and of the logic of social processes, rather than an intention of the agent...The ideology has 'worked' in such a case because the discourse has spoken itself through him/her. Unwittingly, unconsciously, the broadcaster [author(s) in the present study-L.R.] has served as a support for the reproduction of a dominant ideological discursive field. (Hall, 1982: 88)

The present study therefore represents an attempt to determine the extent to which a dominant ideological discourse has spoken itself through the authors of the Hardy Boys series.

Chapter 4METHODOLOGYDISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Stuart Hall views the structuralist approach in linguistics--in which the focus shifts from the manifest content of a particular message to the underlying structure of the message--as providing "a fruitful way of reconceptualizing ideology" (Hall, 1982:71).

This move from content to structure or from manifest meaning to the level of code is an absolutely characteristic one in the critical approach. It entailed a redefinition of what ideology was--or, at least, of how ideology worked. (Hall, 1982:71)

Thus, insights drawn from structural and generative-transformational linguistics have been central to developments in the analysis of ideology and the media (Dijk, 1983:21-23; Hall, 1982:69-74). Media/cultural productions--including radio, television, books, newspapers--have come to be seen as forms of discourse or texts whose structure represents the proper object of analysis. Whereas content analysis may be seen as a means of delineating quantitatively the terms in which the social world is described and explained in a given text, structural analyses aim to identify the very frameworks and classifications from which such descriptions and explanations are drawn. In so doing,

structural analyses serve to illustrate how knowledge of our world is constructed.

Particularly crucial to these developments in media analysis has been the distinction between 'surface structure' and 'deep structure'. Within linguistics 'deep structure' was first employed to refer to the classificatory system underlying speech, that is, the rules of grammar, syntax, and semantics which allow speakers to produce an infinite set of novel yet completely intelligible sentences (Wardhaugh, 1972:104-108). In other words, "the terms 'deep structure' and 'surface structure'...refer respectively to the abstract structure and to the actually produced structure" (Wardhaugh, 1972:104).

Structuralist forms of analysis have since been extended to embrace levels and types of discourse other than the sentence, as seen, for instance, in the field of semiotics and in Levi-Strauss's study of myth. Indeed, the discussion of genres, narrative structures (including melodrama), and Propp's (1971) analysis of folktales (in Chapter 2 of this text) exemplifies the application of the structuralist approach in which the discourse as a whole is the unit of analysis.

At the cultural level these insights have been further elaborated in the analysis of ideological discourses. Thus, Eliseo Veron suggests that "'ideology' may be defined as A SYSTEM OF SEMANTIC RULES TO GENERATE MESSAGES" (Veron,

1971:68, Emphasis in original). Hall expands on this formulation, noting that

[n]ative speakers can usually produce grammatical sentences in their native language but only rarely can they describe the rules of syntax in use which make their sentences orderly, intelligible to others and grammatical in form. In the same way, statements may be unconsciously drawing on the ideological frameworks and classifying themes of a society and reproducing them--so that they appear ideologically 'grammatical'--without those making them being aware of so doing...The 'deep structure' of a statement...[may] be conceived as the network of elements, premises and assumptions drawn from the longstanding and historically-elaborated discourses which had accreted over the years, into which the whole history of the social formation had sedimented and which now constituted a reservoir of themes and premises on which, for example, broadcasters could draw for the work of signifying new and troubling events. Gramsci, who referred, in a less formal way, to the inventory of traditional ideas, the forms of episodic thinking which provide us with the taken-for-granted elements of our practical knowledge, called this inventory 'common sense'. (Hall, 1982:72-73)

One of the major purposes of the present study, therefore, is to make explicit the various taken-for-granted elements and unstated premises and assumptions underlying the surface structure of the Hardy Boys texts.

However, Hall does caution that the content of messages not be entirely ignored in the search for underlying or deep structures. To rely exclusively on a structural analysis "omits any consideration of how speakers themselves interpret the world--even if this is always within the framework of...shared sets of meanings...[and] discursive formations" (Hall, 1982:71). Thus, the content as well as structure should be considered when analyzing discourse, though advocates of content analysis have frequently taken

the opposite position. Indeed, it is frequently argued that media analyses should be restricted to the manifest or surface content of the data in order to rule out any subjective biases resulting from the individual researcher's interpretations of the document's "intended" meaning, as in the analysis of latent content (Holsti, 1969:12; Stempel, 1981:121). Such an approach, however, sacrifices depth and meaningfulness for specificity and replicability (Babbie, 1986:272). In addition, such a stance ignores the extent to which qualitative and subjective procedures are employed throughout various stages of more quantitatively-oriented research as, for example, in the initial selection and construction of categories in content analysis. Babbie suggests therefore that

[w]herever possible, the best solution to this dilemma is to use both methods. A given unit of observation should receive the same characterization from both methods to the extent that your coding of manifest and latent content has been reasonably valid and reliable. If the agreement achieved by the two methods is fairly close, though imperfect, the final score might reflect the scores assigned in the two independent methods. If, on the other hand, coding manifest and latent content produces gross disagreement, you would be well advised to reconsider your theoretical conceptualizations. (Babbie, 1986:272-273, Italics in original)

In response to Babbie's suggestion, one may further argue that there is necessarily an intrinsic difference between manifest and latent content. Moreover, it is precisely in the process of coding both types of content separately that such differences are delineated.

Accordingly, a given unit of observation need not, as Babbie proposes, "receive the same characterization" from both methods of coding. Rather, it is this very difference between the two levels of analysis that is often of significance and may be the focus of research, as in the present study. Consequently, content analysis and structural analysis might be most profitably seen as two methods of analysis which complement one another. David Birch makes a similar observation, though employing different terminology when he notes that, "[a]nalysis sets out to understand the whole of a text from its detail, and the detail of a text from its whole" (Birch, 1989:5).

The present study, therefore, adopted a methodological approach which examined both the structure and content of the text. The suitability of a given approach, whether content or structural analysis, depends upon which aspect of the discourse is being considered. The more qualitative structuralist approach clearly lends itself to the major aims of this project, which were to: (1) examine more closely the guiding proposition that the Hardy Boys texts are melodramatic in form; and (2) determine the extent to which a dominant ideological discourse had spoken itself through the authors of the series, and thereby make explicit the various taken-for-granted elements and unstated premises and assumptions underlying the surface structure of the texts.

Content analysis, on the other hand, is of considerable utility when making comparisons, as for example, between the depictions of various groups. Thus, to say that criminal characters were portrayed in a particular fashion in the texts is of little significance if one does not know the degree to which noncriminal characters were similarly portrayed. In these instances, quantification is indispensable. As Hall states,

[c]ontent analysis is at its strongest where manifest content is being analysed, and where the verifiability of any proposition with respect to content has to be supported by 'objective' criteria. (Hall, 1975:14, Italics in original)

Accordingly, I have attempted to present the results in quantifiable terms wherever it seemed most relevant to do so.

In other instances, however, such attempts at quantification represent the least applicable approach. "Content analysis assumes repetition--the pile-up of material under one of the categories--to be the most useful indicator of significance" (Hall, 1975:15). In structural analysis repetition is also considered to be an indicator of significance and useful in the identification of recurring patterns, but a further assumption guides the research. As Durkheim sought to illustrate,

the value of the facts is much more important than their number....[I]t is neither necessary nor always useful to heap up numerous experiences upon each other; it is much more important to have a few that are well studied and really significant. One single fact may make a law appear. (Durkheim, 1968:95)

Qualitative methodologies are clearly more suited to the analysis of data which, though limited in number, are highly significant theoretically.

In addition, qualitative, linguistically-based analyses do not always warrant the criticism that their interpretations of the data are less objective, given that many interpretations are derived from the analysis of actual language structures. This analysis may occur at several levels:

[A] rather rough distinction is usually made between "local" and "global" structures of discourse, with the former pertaining to sentences and immediate sentence connections and the latter to larger segments of the discourse or the discourse as a whole. (Dijk, 1983:24)

Thus, for example, Dijk cites how specific syntactic structures at the local level, as in the use of the passive rather than active tense, characterize media portrayals of violent actions by police (Dijk, 1983:31). As such, these interpretations are grounded in objective linguistic structures. As Birch states, linguistic analysis provides "a vocabulary to help explain a reading [of a given text-L.R.]" and it allows the researcher to "explain how a particular response was constructed linguistically" (Birch, 1989:32-33, Italics in original).

Finally, recognizing that a qualitative methodology may nevertheless be viewed as less 'objective' than other approaches, I have attempted to further address this issue by including numerous quotations from the texts in order that

the reader may more clearly view the perspective from which I have addressed the material and thereby evaluate my interpretations.

RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

Hypothesis 1

Given (as discussed in Chapter 2) the prevalence of the melodramatic form in media depictions of social conflict, together with Victor Turner's identification of 'social drama' as a unit of social process which serves as the "social ground of many types of narrative" (Turner, 1980:145), it is hypothesized that the Hardy Boys texts are melodramatic in form. Further, a given narrative will be melodramatic to the extent that there is a portrayal of a villain or villains who have breached the social order and who, upon defeat, are subject to a process of exclusion. Thus, schism--as opposed to reconciliation--will occur in the conclusion.

Clear parallels exist between the concepts of schism and reconciliation and the exclusionary and inclusionary modes of deviancy control discussed by Stanley Cohen in Visions of Social Control.

I described two opposed forms of deployment: the older patterns of exclusion, stigma and segregation, and the 'new' counter-ideologies of integration and absorption. This difference is captured (a little more vividly) in Levi-Strauss's binary opposition between vomiting out and swallowing up as modes of deviancy control...Let me convert this physiological metaphor into a spatial one.

The vomiting-out mode stands for the possibility of separation, segregation, isolation, banishment, confinement. I will call this simply exclusion: temporarily or permanently, deviants are driven beyond social boundaries or separated out into their own designated spaces. The swallowing-up mode stands for the possibility of incorporation, integration or assimilation. This is inclusion: deviants are retained, as long as possible within conventional social boundaries and institutions, there to be absorbed. (Cohen, 1987:218-219, Italics in original)

He later goes on to note the degree to which the process of classification is inherent in the concept of exclusion:

The nearest single word [to the concept of exclusion] is 'separation', which conveys not just the sense of physical or social exclusion but also the setting up of a separate, that is 'exclusive', category. (Cohen, 1987:267)

It would appear that Cohen, Levi-Strauss, and Turner are all speaking of identical social processes. Consequently, the examples of these two opposing processes, described above by Cohen, may serve as relevant indicators of schism and reconciliation in the Hardy Boys texts.

Hypothesis 2

Since the Hardy Boys series spans eight decades of the twentieth century and since many of the earlier texts were subject to revision, it is possible to undertake a trend analysis of these texts. Accordingly, given that the dominance of particular symbolic-moral universes is subject to change as a result of confrontations with alternative symbolic-moral universes, it is further hypothesized that the effects of such hegemonic struggles are likely to be

reflected over time (1) in portrayals of deviance which are clearly related to conflicts between opposing cultural/political groups, as well as, (2) in changing definitions and images of society and its institutions, deviance and morality, and motives ascribed to social actors.

RESEARCH SAMPLE

In an effort to reduce the volume of data to more manageable proportions, a sample was drawn from the over 200 texts in the Hardy Boys Mystery Stories and Casefiles series. Frequently, a random sampling procedure is employed to ensure that each member of the population has an equal chance of being represented in the sample. Such a method is applicable "when every source can be considered equally important for purposes of the study" (Holsti, 1969:130). However, there are instances, as in this study, where such an assumption is unwarranted and where a purposive or stratified sample may be drawn, as it is more relevant to the testing of the hypotheses. Since the present study represents a trend analysis, it was necessary that texts from each decade of publication be represented in the sample. Accordingly, a stratified sampling procedure was employed in which the entire population was first divided into decades of publication and then a random sample drawn from each stratum.

In addition, since the first 38 volumes in the series had been revised and a comparison of original and revised

volumes was to be conducted, a more purposive sampling procedure was undertaken to ensure that both the original and revised editions of a number of texts were selected for analysis.

Finally, as with all sampling procedures, availability of documents may influence the sampling procedures employed. In this case, when a selected volume could not be located, the next text published within that decade was chosen as a replacement.

This sampling procedure led to the selection of 29 texts (see Appendix 1). Of these 29 volumes, 26 were drawn from The Hardy Boys Mystery Stories series, and included a minimum of 3 volumes from each decade from the 1920s through the 1990s. In addition, 3 volumes were randomly sampled from The Hardy Boys Casefiles series which began publication in 1987. Also included within this sample of 29 texts were the original and revised editions of the following volumes:

The Tower Treasure 1927 (Revised 1959)
The House on the Cliff 1927 (Revised 1959)
The Missing Chums 1928 (Revised 1962)
The Shore Road Mystery 1928 (Revised 1964)
The Clue of the Broken Blade 1942 (Revised 1970)
The Crisscross Shadow 1953 (Revised 1969)

PROCEDURE

The analysis began with several preliminary readings of the texts, what Hall has described as "a long preliminary soak, a submission by the analyst to the mass of his material" (Hall, 1975:15). This immersion in the data led to

the construction of broad categories into which the data were recorded verbatim. At this stage, I did not attempt

to establish a clearly defined set of mutually exclusive categories, precisely because it is the interrelationships between the different categories, and the way their edges 'blur' into, and depend on, each other which is their crucial characteristic. (Morley, 1981:371, *Italics in original*)

This approach was adopted in order to let the material speak for itself, that is, to allow the relevant categories and findings to emerge from the data rather than specifying such categories beforehand. This method also facilitated the comparison and analysis of actual linguistic structures employed in the texts as well as the identification of recurrent patterns in the material and "interrelationships between the different categories". This stage led, in turn, to the construction of narrower categories into which the relevant data were then coded and which are presented in the findings below.

The present study therefore employs the research design proposed by Kirby and McKenna (1989), which is an adaptation of Glaser and Strauss's (1967) constant comparative method:

The general analytic design consists of examining how data items and groupings of data items generate specific and general patterns. This is done primarily through the constant comparison of data items with other data items until sections that "go together with" or "seem to help describe something" can be identified and located together in a category file. (Kirby and McKenna, 1989:130)

The above approach was employed for both the qualitative structural analysis and the more quantitative content analysis.

Chapter 5
RESEARCH FINDINGS

CHARACTER TYPES

For purposes of analysis, characters in the texts were classified into two major categories: 'criminal' and 'non-criminal'. The 'non-criminal' category was then further subdivided to include the classifications: 'respectable' and 'marginal'.

The 'criminal' category is self-explanatory and included all those characters portrayed as engaging in criminal activities of their own accord (thereby excluding those individuals who had been coerced into such behaviour and who were thus otherwise categorized as 'marginal' or 'respectable').

Characters defined as 'marginal' were those whose actions had set them apart from others or had placed them perilously close to the limits of tolerable behaviour. Included in this category, therefore, were individuals portrayed as socially isolated and eccentrics, such as the character described in the following passage:

[Miss Adelia Applegate] was as eccentric as her brother, and lived very much to herself, being seldom seen in the city.... She dressed in all colors of the rainbow, and her infrequent excursions into Bayport stores...had become historic on account of the wild and colorful garments

she would carry off with her. (The Tower Treasure, 1927:54-55)

Also included among marginal members of society were characters who behaved in a manner that, while not legally criminal, was clearly suspect or unethical, demonstrating a blatant lack of respect for others. Youths characterized as delinquent or potentially delinquent were similarly classified, for they had placed themselves close to the outside boundaries of tolerable behaviour. But due to their youthfulness and, as yet, incompletely developed characters, they could be pulled back from that line and enveloped within the community. Finally, also included among those existing at the margins of society were characters portrayed as mentally ill, as well as, transient members of society, as, for example, tramps and sailors.

Included in the 'respectable' category were those characters whose portrayals precluded inclusion in the criminal and marginal categories described above. Accordingly, this classification included the Hardy boys themselves, their family members, friends, and all other characters depicted as gainfully employed, and as active participants within the wider social order.

NUMBER OF CHARACTERS

It was not always possible to determine definitively the total number of characters--whether criminal or non-criminal--in a given text. For one, the names of criminal

characters were often not provided and such characters were often grouped together in portrayals without the actual number of individuals or their identity being specified:

Racing to the door, they wrenched it open and caught a glimpse of a furtive figure disappearing into the elevator. (The Bombay Boomerang, 1970:124)

Kitcher and several other men appeared in the light of the doorway and conversed with Slagel. (The Shore Road Mystery, 1964:124, Italics added)

Furthermore, there was evidence of some confusion on the part of the author himself as to the identity or number of given characters. Thus, for example, in the original edition of The Crisscross Shadow (1953), two men push the Hardy boys into the path of a train (p.91-93). When reference is made to this occurrence later in the text, only one man is mentioned:

"And one of your men pushed us onto the railroad track?" (The Crisscross Shadow, 1953:209)

In the revised edition of the text this error is corrected:

"And your men pushed us onto the railroad track?" (The Crisscross Shadow, 1969:173)

The analysis, therefore, often entailed a comparison of the number of instances in which a given factor was portrayed in the texts, rather than a comparison of the number of characters portrayed in a given manner. However, when it was possible and advantageous to do so, a comparison of portrayals of the characters themselves was conducted.

In order to provide the reader with a sense of the ratio of non-criminal to criminal characters in the texts, as

well as a basis on which to interpret the following results, a tally was undertaken of the number of non-criminal (NC) and criminal (C) characters to whom reference was made in 7 randomly sampled texts. The following figures represent as accurate an accounting as possible, given the qualifications noted above: The House on the Cliff (1927): NC-36, C-17, The Crisscross Shadow (1953) NC-95, C-15, The Tower Treasure (1959) NC-61, C-2, The Roaring River Mystery (1984) NC-48, C-7, The Case of the Counterfeit Criminals (1992) NC-56, C-8, Dead on Target (1987) NC-62, C-6, and Beyond the Law (1991) NC-68, C-6. Clearly, non-criminal characters vastly outnumber criminal characters in the Hardy Boys texts.

As the above tabulation indicates, often several criminal characters are depicted in a given text. Accordingly, in interpreting the following findings, it should be noted that not all criminal characters in a single text are subjected to identical exclusionary processes. Thus, for example, in the conclusion of While the Clock Ticked (1932), the reader is informed that "Jensen and his friend are in jail" and Jensen will "probably get a long term in prison" for robberies in other cities (p.213) while "there would be no need of police action in the case of the mad inventor" [Amos Wandy-L.R.], (p.206) given that he was fatally injured. Thus, in this particular text, exclusion from the social order is signalled by the imprisonment of two of the characters and by the death of the third.

THE SOCIAL DRAMAThe Ritual Construction and Destruction of the Self

Both exclusionary and inclusionary processes are clearly identifiable in the Hardy Boys texts, particularly in those instances in which a single individual is subjected to both processes, as when an innocent person is wrongly accused of crime and then later absolved from blame. Such is the case in both editions of The Tower Treasure (1927;1959) in which the character, Mr. Robinson, is mistakenly charged with theft. Much of the subsequent narrative revolves around the process of his exclusion and the social recognition of schism between him and most other members of society (the Hardy boys and their close acquaintances are among the few who realize the injustice that has occurred, and hence seek to rectify it by locating the real thief). This exclusionary process is depicted in a variety of ways, including comments regarding Robinson's anticipated imprisonment and views expressed that he is receiving his just reward.

"You'll have plenty of time to think," Mr. Applegate declared. "You'll be in the penitentiary a long time--a long time." (The Tower Treasure, 1959:59)

There was a great deal of public sympathy for the family, but little for the accused, as most people seemed to take it for granted that he would not have been arrested if he had not had something to do with the crime. (The Tower Treasure, 1927:69)

In addition, there are numerous references to his exclusion from lawful employment.

"But he'll be able to get another job somewhere."
 "I'm not so sure about that. People aren't likely to employ a man that's been suspected of stealing. Dad tried two or three places this afternoon, but he was turned down." (The Tower Treasure, 1927:79-80; 1959:68)

"But until they find who did take the stuff, Mr. Robinson is out of a job and nobody will hire him." (The Tower Treasure, 1927:109)

These events, in turn, lead to the creation of an actual physical distancing of Mr. Robinson and his family from their previous locale of residence to a more distant and poorer section of town and, eventually, to another city.

[S]he realized even more than Frank what it had meant to Mrs. Robinson and the girls to move from their comfortable home in the Mansion to the squalid and distant part of the city in which they now lived. (The Tower Treasure, 1927:114)

"I wish my husband could find a job. Since no one around here will employ him, he is thinking of going to another city to get work." (The Tower Treasure, 1959:96)

When, in the final phase of the drama, Mr. Robinson's innocence and lack of involvement in crime are proven, we witness a reversal of the exclusion process and conciliatory gestures being made. He is reinstated in his previous place of employment and attestations to the integrity of his character are forthcoming. Most importantly, "the necessary presence of public ceremony or ritual in this phase" (Wagner-Pacifci, 1986:207)--ceremony or ritual through which the social drama is enacted--is also clearly evident.

"Will you come back into my employ, Mr. Robinson?"..."If you will consent to come back to Tower Mansion as caretaker, again I will increase your salary, and I'll also insist that you accept back pay for the time you were away." (The Tower Treasure, 1927:205)

"I want to make a public apology to Mr. Robinson.... Robinson, if you will come back and work for us, we promise to treat you like the gentleman you are. We will increase your salary and we have decided to build that greenhouse you want." (The Tower Treasure, 1959:178)

People said that they knew all along that Mr. Robinson was innocent of the theft, and went as far out of their way to be nice to him as they had gone out of their way to be unkind to him and ignore him when he was accused of crime. (The Tower Treasure, 1927:208)

Furthermore, the increasing spatial separation that had been occurring may be seen as contracting in the symbolic gestures of movement closer to the previously accused man.

"Mr. Robinson, will you let me shake your hand?" Trembling, Henry Robinson stepped forward. (The Tower Treasure, 1927:204)

To everyone's amazement, Adelia Applegate arose and went to stand by the man's side. (The Tower Treasure, 1959:177)

Although a process of reintegration occurs, this is not viewed as refuting the hypothesis that social schism should result in the narrative's conclusion. Indeed, in the counterplot of the text, the character actually guilty of the crime--Red Jackley--meets his death, thereby achieving a permanent separation from the rest of society. Moreover, as long as Robinson was believed to be a thief, he was--as seen above--treated accordingly, and an irreparable breach existed under those circumstances. However, given that he was innocent of wrongdoing and, in fact, had not initiated any breach of the social order, virtue could only triumph with his being brought back into the social order.

What is of particular note, however, in this depiction of schism and reconciliation, and the moral passage of Robinson from "thief" to "gentleman", is the integral role of ritual or symbolic acts in this process. Indeed, as Mary Douglas maintains:

As a social animal, man is a ritual animal. If ritual is suppressed in one form it crops up in others, more strongly the more intense the social interaction. Without the letters of condolence, telegrams of congratulations and even occasional postcards, the friendship of a separated friend is not a social reality. It has no existence without the rites of friendship. Social rituals create a reality which would be nothing without them. It is not too much to say that ritual is more to society than words are to thought. For it is very possible to know something and then find words for it. But it is impossible to have social relations without symbolic acts. (Douglas, 1976: 62)

As a society, we have tended, as Douglas notes (1976:62), to speak disparagingly of ritual, as if it were characteristic of "primitive" society; however,

[o]ur own culture did not somehow separate itself from history as a "modern" form against which all the rest are "premodern"; we are an industrialized form of the particular rituals and emotional tone of Christianity. (Annett and Collins, 1975:182, Italics in original)

Recognition of this fact is necessary, if we are "to understand the full sense and significance of ritual activity in modern society" (Annett and Collins, 1975:162).

Thus, we would do well to accord ritual the full recognition it deserves when undertaking cultural analyses. Erving Goffman, drawing upon Durkheim's (1968) notion of the "sacred" and the "profane", has done just that in his work on interaction rituals (1967) and it is to him

we owe the insight that the long strings of obligatory rites that are normally associated with primitive societies have not disappeared: they remain on a less obtrusive scale in the ceremonies of day-to-day interaction. Man himself has become a little god, the object of ritual offerings as well as conveyer.

Goffman shows how the bourgeois emphasis on polite manners is a constant illustration of this principle. Deference is given to others in the form of a mutual exchange, allowing each individual the room to construct and uphold his own idealized image. Demeanor practices such as wearing the proper clothes, using the proper expressions and tone of voice are forms of respect given, as well as demanded, from others. A web of obligation and reciprocal contingencies is woven by the overlap between deference and demeanor: one is limited in the deference he can claim by the demeanor he is willing and capable of presenting. (Annett & Collins, 1975:162)

Moreover, in his discussion of the diversity of these demeanor practices and displays of deference, Goffman observes:

The acts or events, that is, the sign-vehicles or tokens which carry ceremonial messages, are remarkably various in character. They may be linguistic, as when an individual makes a statement of praise or depreciation regarding self or other, and does so in a particular language and intonation; [they may also be-L.R.] gestural, ...spatial, task-embedded, ...[or] part of the communication structure, as when an individual speaks more frequently than the others, or receives more attentiveness than they do. (Goffman, 1967:55)

It is through such diverse acts that the self--and, thus, one's position in the social order--is ritually constructed and confirmed. And, as with all social constructions, there is a certain tenuousness to these affirmations of self.

[M]oral solidarity and reality construction are microscopic and ephemeral things, not a property of some abstract system as a whole. Every time men come together, they must once again ritually reconstruct their ties....Legitimacy is not an absolute, but something to

be continually bargained for. (Annett and Collins, 1975:163)

Consequently, just as selves may be ritually constructed, so too may they be destroyed. Garfinkel explores this opposing process in his discussion of successful degradation ceremonies, stating that moral indignation--expressed through the public denunciation of an individual--"serves to effect the ritual destruction of the person denounced" (1978:142), and further notes that,

[i]n the statement that moral indignation brings about the ritual destruction of the person being denounced, destruction is intended literally. The transformation of identities is the destruction of one social object and the constitution of another. (Garfinkel, 1978:143)

Given that "the self is in part a ceremonial thing, a sacred object which must be treated with proper ritual care and in turn must be presented in a proper light to others" (Goffman, 1967:91), one can argue that an individual who has been subjected to a successful degradation ceremony is thus transformed from one who is sacred into one who is no longer worthy of--or capable of eliciting--the usual displays of deference. He/she is no longer a sacred social object, but rather a profane one capable of contaminating others. To avoid such contamination, his/her exclusion from the social order is a necessity. As Garfinkel notes, "the denounced person must be ritually separated from a place in the legitimate order, i.e., he must be defined as standing at a place opposed to it" (Garfinkel, 1978:145).

Goffman expands further upon this principle, noting in particular, the use of constraint as a means through which this ritual separation may be accomplished.

[W]e can reconsider some interesting aspects of the effect of coercion and constraint upon the individual. If an individual is to act with proper demeanor and show proper deference, then it will be necessary for him to have areas of self-determination....He must have freedom of bodily movement so that it will be possible for him to assume a stance that conveys appropriate respect for others and appropriate demeanor on his own part....When the individual is subject to extreme constraint he is automatically forced from the circle of the proper. The sign vehicles or physical tokens through which the customary ceremonies are performed are unavailable to him. Others may show ceremonial regard for him, but it becomes impossible for him to reciprocate the show or to act in such a way as to make himself worthy of receiving it. The only ceremonial statements that are possible for him are improper ones. (Goffman, 1967, 92-93, Italics added)

Moreover, he notes, with regard to "constricting devices" such as handcuffs, that "[t]he use of these devices provides significant data on the ways in which the ceremonial grounds of selfhood can be taken away" (Goffman, 1967:93). Accordingly, physical constraint of the individual represents one of the means through which the degradation of the self is executed and thus--to employ Victor Turner's terms--represents a means through which the social recognition of schism is achieved. As a sign vehicle, the use of constraint signals that the inviolability of one's person has been lost and, as such, that one has been classified as no longer worthy "to receive the deference from others due us by virtue of our membership in human society" (Ball, 1970: 339).

Indeed, it is one's very membership in human society which has been brought into question.

The depiction of such ritual or ceremonial acts-- through which the social schism characteristic of melodrama is enacted--is clearly evident in the final phase of the drama in the majority of the Hardy Boys texts analyzed. The use of constraint and the accompanying loss of self-determination and inviolability of one's person, represent the primary means of symbolizing the ritual exclusion of the defeated villain "from the circle of the proper". In 20 of the 29 texts sampled, the drama concludes with the portrayal of criminals being handcuffed, shackled, or otherwise described in terms denoting a state of being physically constrained or incapacitated:

He was seized, there was a gleam of metal, a click, and the auto thief was handcuffed before he fully realized what had happened. "One!" counted the sergeant. "Now for the others!"... "Two!" yelled the sergeant gleefully, pouncing on his prisoner. Another pair of handcuffs was produced, the chain was slipped through the chain of the other thief's shackles, and the pair were swiftly manacled together. (The Shore Road Mystery, 1928:197-198)

One of the officers brought up the rear, with Jensen and the other man safely shackled. (While the Clock Ticked, 1932:201)

The albino terrorist, now handcuffed and bound by his feet, thrashed in the sand. (The Infinity Clue, 1981:186)

Lincoln Metairie was standing in the doorway. His arms were handcuffed behind his back... From behind, two police officers grabbed his arms. (The Case of the Counterfeit Criminals, 1992:144)

This loss of self-determination is further conveyed in 26 of the 29 texts through two different linguistic devices identifiable in the syntactic structure of the sentences. First, the depiction of the loss of agency is accomplished through the use of the passive, rather than active, tense.

Guarded by police, the two men were herded back into the house. (While the Clock Ticked, 1932:192)

The prisoners were now taken away from the Pollitt home. (The House on the Cliff, 1959)

By now, Slagel, Melliman, and the rest of the prisoners had been led away to police cars. (The Shore Road Mystery, 1964:174)

Spike Hudson did not learn the facts...until he was returned to the United States some time later. (The Short-Wave Mystery, 1945:211)

Soon a squad car arrived and Blinky Haynes was taken away. (The Roaring River Mystery, 1984:35)

Secondly, the element of agency is further suppressed through the employment of a sentence structure in which the criminal is designated as the object of the verb, rather than the active subject. In other words, in the typical sentence structure of 'noun as subject'-'verb as action'-'noun as object', other characters serve as subject of the sentence and agent of the action, while criminals represent the object of such action, as seen in the following examples:

After the police had led the man away, the others walked toward the mansion. (The Clue of the Broken Blade, 1942:216)

Then they handcuffed Duke and led him to the police cars. (The Missing Chums, 1962:128)

Frank and Joe subdued their quarry without any further resistance. After they turned him over to the police, they drove back to the motel. (The Clue of the Broken Blade, 1970:177)

"[T]hey're [military police-L.R.] collecting our tied-up friend for delivery to British Intelligence." (Dead on Target, 1987:55)

The employment of the passive tense and the placement of the criminal character in the 'noun as object' role in the sentence structure in the final phase of the drama may be contrasted with depictions of criminals prior to their defeat, in which they are portrayed as more active agents, assuming the 'noun as subject' role:

Frank [Hardy-L.R.] and Duke grappled for the pail. Duke jerked it away and flung it at Joe [Hardy-L.R.]. (The Missing Chums, 1962:124-125)

He stopped in front of the room and listened carefully for any sound inside. Then he pushed open the window and climbed over the sill. (The Roaring River Mystery, 1984:34-35)

"Stay in your seats, and no one gets hurt!" the man commanded as he ran up the aisle. (Dead on Target, 1987:49)

Moreover, as the drama is resolved, the criminals are not only depicted in a more passive role in which the element of agency is removed, but as well, they are at times spoken of as objects, in terms more frequently employed in speaking of 'things' or 'animals', as opposed to 'persons':

[Police Officer Pat Muster speaking to the Hardy boys-L.R.]

"I was hoping some more of these tough birds would turn up and we'd make a bigger haul"

"We have one of them for you," Joe said, "all trussed up and ready to go."

Pat Muster chuckled. "I've got to hand it to you, boys," he said. "You always deliver the goods!" (The Missing Chums, 1962:126-127)

"I'm Frank Hardy, Detective Ackers,"..."My brother, Joe, and I have a present for you,"....Joe led the manacled Oates and Murray around from the back of the van. (Panic on Gull Island, 1991:112)

Frank and Joe Hardy present themselves as well-demeaned individuals capable of appropriate displays of deference found in everyday interactions as, for example, "shaking hands with Detective Ackers" (Panic on Gull Island, 1991:112). Their captives, however, are in no such position. Their self-determination has not only been lost--they are "manacled" and "led"--but as well, they are presented, less as persons, and more as objects to be passed among individuals. Thus, much information is conveyed regarding an individual's position within--or outside of--the social order by his/her presentation of self and by others' responses to such presentations. As Goffman aptly notes, "[t]he gestures which we sometimes call empty are perhaps in fact the fullest things of all" (Goffman, 1967:91).

As such, conventional conversational patterns may be viewed as being more than empty gestures, and consequently, the violation of such patterns may be seen as a highly significant symbolic act. As noted above, acts which carry ceremonial messages are considerably varied in nature and, indeed, may be "part of the communication structure" (Goffman, 1967:55). Accordingly, much is conveyed when the usual patterns of turn-taking and the adoption of the

listener's role in conversation are disrupted. Thus, when in the final phase of the drama, criminals are interrupted during speech or their attempts to communicate are entirely ignored, the message is clearly conveyed that individuals so treated are no longer considered worthy of the respect or usual courtesy accorded to other members of society.

The king of the smugglers, who had been silent for several minutes, now cried out, "You're crazy! There's not a word of truth in it! There isn't any boat offshore!"

The others ignored the man. As soon as he stopped yelling, Joe took up the story. "I have a hunch you'll find that your Coast Guard man is a prisoner on that cargo ship." (The House on the Cliff, 1959:174, Italics added)

"That's mine!" he shouted in anger, staring greedily at the gem. Paying no attention to his rantings, Werner continued. (The Infinity Clue, 1981:186, Italics added)

"I didn't want to hurt her, believe me--" "So you put that note in my jacket to throw suspicion on the butler," Joe cut him short. (The Masked Monkey, 1972:173, Italics added)

In such a way, criminals may again be seen as being ceremonially situated outside the social order in the final phase of the social drama in the Hardy Boys texts.

The preceding discussion has focused on the ways in which the exclusionary process is conveyed through interaction rituals in the Hardy Boys texts. Exclusion from the social order and recognition of schism is further reinforced by references to the imprisonment of criminals. In 25 of the 29 texts sampled, the criminals were: (1) actually portrayed as being imprisoned in the final phase of

the drama; and/or (2) mention was made of an actual sentence of imprisonment; and/or (3) prior to their capture, reference had been made to the fact that, upon capture, imprisonment was the expected fate of such criminals.

"The whole gang is locked up, even to Li Chang." (The House on the Cliff, 1927:209)

Although some of the gang stubbornly insisted on their innocence, the evidence against them was so complete that the state had no trouble in securing prosecutions against them all, and they were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment in the state penitentiary. (The Shore Road Mystery, 1928:205)

"We'll catch that rascal and send him to jail for fifty years." (While the Clock Ticked, 1932:73)

The swindler was lodged in jail that night. (A Figure in Hiding, 1937:207)

Later the Hardys gave testimony which the prosecutor said would send the swindlers to prison for long terms. And their trial for sabotage was yet to come! (The Crisscross Shadow, 1953:211-212)

"I'll get Max and Jensen behind bars before they know what hit them!" (The Infinity Clue, 1981:134)

"I heard you boys helped put Wolf Erskin and his gang behind bars." (The Roaring River Mystery, 1984:182)

"I think he'll be back among his friends in the state pen pretty soon." (Beyond the Law, 1991:144)

A more permanent separation from the social order was depicted in the case of 5 criminals who met with death, either by suicide or by accident. In a sixth case, death was presumed to be forthcoming as a result of capital punishment:

"What's going to happen to Snackley?"

"He'll probably go to the electric chair," answered Frank soberly.

"Why?"

"He murdered Felix Polucca." (The House on the Cliff, 1927:207)

Overall, the hypothesis that the Hardy Boys books are melodramatic in form has been supported. In all but one of the books, characters who were portrayed as villains were, upon defeat, subject to a process of exclusion, whether by death, imprisonment or impending imprisonment, or through interaction rituals in which the ritual destruction of selves was effected. In 28 of the 29 texts one or more of these means of exclusion were portrayed.

The Prime-Time Crime (1991) represented the exception to this pattern. Both criminals in this text were portrayed as having been defeated, but evidence of exclusionary processes, as in depictions of constraint and imprisonment, were absent. The reader is merely advised that the police "should be here any minute" (p.143) and while one may assume that upon their arrival, the criminals would be "handcuffed" and "led away" as in most of the other texts, this fate is not clearly articulated, rather merely implied. In addition, a temporary loss of self-determination was experienced by one individual as "his head struck a rock, and he sagged into unconsciousness" (p.141). However, this loss of agency is qualitatively different from the ceremonial work of interaction rituals in which an individual's self-determination is denied by others. Accordingly, while virtue certainly did triumph in this particular book, the hypothesis was not clearly substantiated.

Reconciliation

While the overall narrative structure of the texts was that of melodrama, there were, in addition, a number of instances in these texts in which a process of reconciliation was seen to occur with individuals who had nevertheless breached the social order. Reconciliation occurred in three major instances: (a) with young offenders; (b) with otherwise law-abiding individuals who had been coerced or misled into behaving in a criminal fashion; and (c) with criminal characters who were depicted as having undergone a complete change of character or "metamorphosis". These examples of reconciliation are not seen as refuting the hypothesis, given that the characters in the first two categories were not depicted as 'criminal' in the first place. Furthermore, in the third instance, while recognition is accorded the conciliatory gestures made by criminals whose characters have radically changed, the exclusionary process is not completely reversed, for these characters are nevertheless still subjected to certain processes of exclusion. However, these cases are of particular interest, for the manner in which the social drama is resolved in these instances provides information as to how threats to the social order are neutralized in the texts.

(a) Young Offenders:

Young offenders or delinquent youths are depicted in 5 of the 29 texts sampled. In contrast to the ultimate fate

of adult criminal characters, young offenders were, for the most part, subjected to an inclusionary process in which efforts were made to incorporate them within the social order. Thus, for example, in The Case of the Counterfeit Criminals (1992) the owner of a car which was taken for a "joy ride", had refused to press charges against Devin Porter who subsequently "got a job and started hanging out with a better crowd" (p.87). Similarly, it is suggested that another youth, Jerry Dresser, has seen the error of his ways and, as such, will henceforth adhere to society's norms:

"I hope your brother realizes he's making a mistake harassing Devin," Frank said.
Eric shrugged. "I think he does. This whole thing has made him realize a lot." (The Case of the Counterfeit Criminals, 1992:150)

In The Short-Wave Mystery (1945) exclusion from the social order is avoided in the case of Mickey, a youth who is left in the supervision of the Hardy boys, rather than being "sent away":

Judge Robertson, of the Juvenile Court, was to hear Mickey's case within the hour. He listened carefully while the Hardys, whom he knew well, told him what little they knew of Mickey and his background.
"He isn't really bad," Frank assured the judge.
"Very few of these lads are," the judge agreed.
"He's a neglected boy," Frank went on. "No one takes any interest in him. He's half starved, too..." "Frank and I'll take him in hand."
"I hoped you'd say that," smiled the judge. "Very well, then. If you'll take an interest in Mickey, I'll turn him over to you on suspended sentence." (The Short-Wave Mystery, 1945:72)

The Hardys proceed to provide Mickey and another potential delinquent, Jimmy, with part-time jobs and also ensure that

the two boys attend school. Commitment to work and school thus serve as a means to integration in society.

The importance of work is again highlighted in The Roaring River Mystery (1984) when, upon the basis of Tarn's good work habits, the decision is made not to report him to the police:

"I suppose now you're going to turn me over to the cops," he concluded in a hushed voice.
Ollie looked at the boy for a long moment. "You've been a good worker," he said. "I'm willing to give you another chance." (The Roaring River Mystery, 1984:138)

While a process of inclusion was adopted in the final phase of the drama, when Tarn's activities were first discovered, he was subjected to informal social sanctioning. As with adult criminals, he was denied the usual courtesies granted in conversation:

Tarn looked shocked. "I had no idea--"
Joe did not let him finish. "Why did you slash a hole in our canoe...?" (p.137, Italics added)

However, such sanctioning was not extended to a more public realm. Rather, in order to allow Tarn to continue to present himself to others as an individual worthy of respect and deference, it was agreed that others would not be informed of his past criminal activities:

"Okay, kid," Ollie said with a grin. "And we won't tell the others anything, don't worry." (p.138)

In this way, the exclusionary process of public denunciation, characteristic of successful degradation ceremonies (Garfinke1, 1978), was precluded.

In Mystery of the Samurai Sword (1979) public ritual was clearly evident in the portrayal of the Hardys' reconciliation with the Gung-Ho gang members who were depicted as being more in need of guidance than punishment.

[O]ne motorcyclist chuckled and stuck out his hand toward Frank. "Put'er there, pal!" Frank hesitated a moment, suspecting a trick, but then grinned and responded to the offered handshake. "Suits me."

Other gang members crowded around to join in the handshaking and smoke the figurative peace pipe. (Mystery of the Samurai Sword, 1979:166)

"Hey, Pop!" one said to Satoya. "Where'd you learn all those trick judo throws?"

"Aikido, actually," the Japanese tycoon corrected...."If you too wish to learn the art, perhaps it can be arranged. My company may soon open a plant here in the Bayport area. When this happens, I shall give orders for an instructor to be sent over as part of the staff. He will teach you young men to be true samurai--not dangerous jackals or bullies." (Mystery of the Samurai Sword, 1979:166)

In contrast to the other gang members, their leader, Len Boggs did not truly participate in the reconciliation and only "reluctantly came forward to shake hands with the Hardys" (p.166). As such, when he shortly thereafter set up the Hardys for an ambush by criminals, his behaviour was not out of character. So too, was he seen to receive his just deserts:

"Dad, you didn't happen to see a motorcyclist riding away from here, did you, or notice where he was going?"

"Matter of fact I did," said Fenton Hardy, "and the answer is nowhere--at least not for a while, till he spends some time under a pump, cleaning up."

"How come?" Frank queried.

"Because he ran into a farm truck and got trampled by a load of very annoyed pigs..."his sons burst out laughing! (p.179)

Justice was thus seen to be done, but it was not of a sort that was exclusionary in nature.

In the fifth text in which juvenile offenders were depicted, the delinquent youth was to be sent

to a Reform Home, where he would be away from bad influences and under the guidance of kindly men and women. (The Melted Coins, 1944:105)

As such, he was to be placed in an environment which, rather than excluding him, would facilitate his integration into respectable society, for clearly the company he currently kept was found lacking in this regard. The action taken is seen as being in his own best interests, rather than simply society's. Indeed, these interests are considered to be one and the same.

In each of the texts, therefore, the transgressions of youth do not represent true opposition to the social order; rather, such transgressions are seen as resulting from immaturity, exposure to bad influences, and a lack of proper supervision. Clearly, the message is that commitment to the social order and its norms would evolve naturally given the proper guidance and maturity and the opportunity for 'honest work'.

(b) Coercion:

Reconciliation also occurred with those characters who were otherwise portrayed as non-criminal, but had been coerced or misled into behaving in a criminal fashion. There were 6 occasions throughout the sample in which characters

were depicted as having been coerced or misled in this manner, as in the following examples:

"I guessed they were crooks."
 "You should have tipped us off," Joe said. "Why didn't you go to the police?"
 Mr. French said brokenly, "I had made the mistake of telling them my suspicions and who you were. They said they'd kill me and harm my family if I talked. I sent my family away for safety..." "Stark said they'd let me alone if I'd do two things for them." (The Missing Chums, 1962:166-167)

"The Pentagon wants us to get back the navy plan you stole," Joe explained.
 "I didn't steal it," Hunter protested. "I took the document, but I didn't steal it."
 "What do you mean?" Joe queried.
 "Joe Wickerson told me to take it. Later I realized that he had slipped me a mind-altering drug--..." "I'm not a spy, but I took the MASUB plan because Wickerson had me in his power!" (The Pentagon Spy, 1980:154-155)

"[T]here was also something about extortion and collecting protection money from local merchants." Collig focused on the ground. "I know all about that," he said quietly. "I was the bagman..." "I was a raw rookie, just off the farm, and I got chosen as partner by the hottest cop on the force...When he asked me to take over the collection for the Policemen's Fund, of course I did..." "I couldn't understand why all the storekeepers seemed so angry at donating to a charity fund..." "That's when I learned the Policemen's Fund was mainly a charity for one policeman--Ray Bozeman..." "I was sick to realize the racket I was involved with." (Beyond the Law, 1991:94-95)

Although they had engaged in behaviours which breached the social order, such individuals represented no real threat to the social order, for they steadfastly expressed their commitment to its norms.

(c) Metamorphoses:

In The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life, Durkheim notes that,

[the] division of the world into two domains, the one containing all that is sacred, the other all that is profane, is the distinctive trait of religious thought....In all the history of human thought there exists no other example of two categories of things so profoundly differentiated or so radically opposed to one another. (Durkheim, 1968:37-38)

Furthermore, he notes that the passage from one state to the other entails

a veritable metamorphosis....Now this change of state is thought of, not as a simple and regular development of pre-existent germs, but as a transformation totius substantiae--of the whole being. (Durkheim, 1968:39)

There are thus clear parallels between metamorphosis and the transformation of selves referred to, by Garfinkel, in regard to successful degradation ceremonies. Indeed, as Garfinkel states:

It is not that the old object has been overhauled; rather it is replaced by another....The other person becomes in the eyes of his condemners literally a different and new person. (Garfinkel, 1978:143, Italics in original)

An intriguing finding of the present study was that in two instances, criminal characters were depicted as having undergone a virtual "metamorphosis". Moreover, when this transformation took place, these characters--who had previously been portrayed as villains with whom reconciliation was not possible--were depicted as making conciliatory gestures.

Thus, in While the Clock Ticked (1932), the character Amos Wandy was portrayed throughout the text as a "madman" (p.169) who "burst into a fiendish cackle of

laughter" (p.179) and whose intent it was to murder the Hardy boys:

"There will be no trace, you see," chuckled the madman. "The bomb will explode, the gasoline will catch fire....There will be nothing left. No one can ever charge me with murder because no one will know that you died here." (p.175)

In the final phase of the drama, however, this "lunatic" regains his senses following a fall from a roof. Though the fall proves to be fatal, Amos Wandy lives long enough to repent and to repair the breach that his actions had caused.

"My brain is clear now. I am going to die. I am sorry for what I have done."..."I'm going to die....All I want is to be at peace with the world. I have wronged you, Dalrymple, and I'm sorry for it. You know I haven't been responsible for my actions. I've been a sick man. I think I must have been crazy." (p.193)

Thus, a character who had been vilified throughout the text, in the final phase of the drama becomes one capable of evoking the sympathy of others.

"What happened to Amos Wandy?" asked Mrs. Hardy. Dalrymple's face softened. "Dead."
"Poor old fellow," said Fenton Hardy sympathetically. (p.212)

The distance, and hence schism, which had existed between him and others may also be seen as symbolically contracting:

"He died quietly in the hospital," said Dalrymple. "He sent for me. I was at his bedside before he passed away." (p.212, Italics added)

A similar metamorphosis is seen in the revised edition of The House on the Cliff (1959) in the character,

Snattman, who had been depicted as a man with a "sinister face" (p.87) and "an evil ring in his voice" (p.148).

"I said I envy you, Mr. Hardy. It's because you brought up two such fine boys and they got swell friends. Me--I wasn't so lucky. My father died when I was little. I was pretty headstrong and my mother couldn't manage me. I began to make the wrong kind of friends....

"I know I'll have to do a long stretch in the pen. But I'm going to ask those executors to use my uncle's money to run this place as a boys' home--I mean a place where boys without proper home training can come to live."

The group listening to Snattman, king of the smugglers were too overwhelmed by his complete change of heart to say anything for a few seconds. But when the man looked up, as if pleading for his hearers to believe him, Mr. Hardy said, "That's a very fine thing for you to do, Snattman. I'm sure that the boys who benefit from living here will always be grateful to you."

The solemn scene was interrupted by the return of Chief Petty Officer Brown. (p.177-179, Italics added)

In both these instances, the adoption of the repentant role coincides with the moral passage of the individuals. Even though Amos Wandy passed away and Snattman was imprisoned, the sense is conveyed that despite this physical separation, membership in human society had finally been accorded them. A moral passage from profane back to sacred had been effected.

Finally, the adoption of the repentant role is of further significance for, as Gusfield claims:

Acts which represent an attack upon a norm are neutralized by repentance. The open admission of repentance confirms the sinner's belief in the sin. His threat to the norm is removed and his violation has left the norm intact. (Gusfield, 1967:180)

Thus, in the Hardy Boys texts it is through expressions of repentance that commitment to the social order is confirmed and a process of reintegration most likely.

The question then arises as to what is the nature of the social order to which such commitment is expressed. What are the terms in which the social world is described and explained in the Hardy Boys series, and furthermore, what are the underlying frameworks and classifications from which these descriptions and explanations are drawn?

THE SOCIAL WORLD IN THE HARDY BOYS

Gender of Criminals

With the exception of 3 female criminal characters, all the criminals portrayed in the 29 texts were male.

The first female criminal character was portrayed in The House on the Cliff (1927). This particular character played a minimal role and was not actually depicted as committing a criminal offense. Rather, her involvement in criminal activity was implied by her close association with a group of male smugglers. She was never given a name and was encountered at only one point in the story. No further reference to her or her fate was made in the remainder of the text.

This female character appeared again in the revised edition of The House on the Cliff (1959) and was depicted in essentially the same manner as in the earlier 1932 text.

Given her depiction in two separate texts, I chose to count the second appearance of this character as the second female criminal in the sample.

The third female criminal character to appear in the sample played a more active role than did her predecessors. This character, Leila, in Dead on Target (1987), was depicted as a hijacker who was a member of the terrorist group, the "Assassins". She committed suicide, by ingesting a cyanide capsule, following a foiled aircraft hijacking early in the text (p.53).

Finally, another female character, Leona Max, was portrayed as being involved with a number of male criminals in Panic on Gull Island (1991). However, despite the negative descriptions of this character, explicit reference was made to the fact that she was unaware of her male associates' criminal activities. Therefore, this character was not coded as criminal, though her behaviour and disregard for others did lead her to be categorized as marginal.

Accordingly, it is evident that within the Hardy Boys texts sampled, crime was portrayed as a predominately male activity. However, given that the first truly active female participant in criminal behaviour in the sample was encountered in a 1987 text, and that there has been a noticeable increase in the variety of roles of non-criminal female characters over time, it is likely that a greater proportion of criminals in current and future texts will be

female, reflecting the expanding roles of women in the wider society.

Characters' Vocal Expressions

As discussed above, the manner in which an individual speaks, represents one way in which a person may present himself or herself as a well-demeaned individual capable of offering, and worthy of receiving, displays of deference. Not surprisingly, therefore, the manner in which criminal characters were depicted as speaking in the texts appeared to signal an irreconcilable difference between themselves and non-criminals. Based on the preliminary analyses, three categories of vocal expressions were developed: 'Snarl', 'Hiss Threateningly', and 'Inappropriate Laughter'.

(a) Snarl:

Data were coded in the category 'Snarl' in those instances in which characters' vocal expressions were described in this specific term or its grammatical derivatives (for example, snarl, snarled, snarling). The analysis revealed that in 20 of the 29 texts, there were a total of 57 instances in which criminal characters were depicted as "snarling". This is in contrast to 2 instances in which non-criminal characters were so portrayed. In the first of these 2 instances, the individual depicted in this manner was a marginal character who had already been

subjected to informal, negative social sanctions by others for his offensive behaviour. In the second case, a police officer mistook the Hardy boys for automobile thieves:

[T]he door on Joe's side was wrenched open and a harsh voice snarled, "Okay, you punks! The chase is over. This is the end of the road for you!" (The Pentagon Spy, 1980:98)

This is clearly an example of an interaction ritual in which one individual signals that the other is considered to be no longer worthy of usual displays of deference. Thus, when the error is detected, an apology is immediately forthcoming:

"We're sorry about mistaking you for the thieves," the older officer said. (The Pentagon Spy, 1980:100)

(b) Hiss Threateningly:

Data were classified as falling into the second category, 'Hiss Threateningly', when characters were depicted as hissing in a threatening manner, as distinct from those instances in which characters hissed in an effort to be quiet and to avoid being overheard.

The woman whirled on Frank, hissing something in a language he couldn't understand. (Dead on Target, 1987:51)

"I want to take it away from him--after I tear him apart piece by piece."...He drew out a short but shiny and deadly Japanese sword.
"Piece by piece," St. Armand hissed. (Strategic Moves, 1990:104)

In the passages quoted above, there is no indication that the characters were attempting to be quiet and wished not to be overheard by others, in contrast to the following passage:

"Those mud stains on his pants," Frank whispered. The man's trouser legs were splashed up to the knees. Even his raincoat bore a few muddy traces. "Wow!" Joe hissed. "He could've been that guy on the hillside who snapped pictures when we were coming in from the airport!" Joe's muted exclamation carried farther than he had expected. The photographer whirled around and stared at the boys suspiciously. (Mystery of the Samurai Sword, 1979: 15 Italics added)

This distinction is relevant, for in the first two passages, use of the word 'hiss' carries a negative connotation and suggestion of threat by the speaker that is entirely lacking in the third example. In 6 of the 29 texts, criminals were portrayed as hissing threateningly a total of 7 times. In contrast, there were no depictions of non-criminal characters 'hissing threateningly'.

Taken together, there are 64 occurrences in 22 of the 29 texts in which criminals are portrayed as either 'snarling' or 'hissing threateningly'. In contrast, there are only 2 instances in the texts in which non-criminals are so depicted.

Significantly, in 9 of the 29 texts, animals were also portrayed as snarling or hissing threateningly, as in the following examples:

The huge dog whirled about and faced the group, fangs bared, eyes glaring. It snapped and snarled, threatening all within reach. (Footprints Under the Window, 1933:190)

It was a thick rattlesnake, more than two feet long. Hissing angrily, the reptile coiled and struck at Joe. (The Clue of the Broken Blade, 1970:104)

[T]hree snarling Dobermans, fangs bared, appeared from around the side of the house. (Panic on Gull Island, 1991:40)

Accordingly, with regard to the categories 'snarling' and 'hissing threateningly', the portrayal of criminal characters more closely approximates the depiction of animal characters than that of other humans. Membership in human society is thus further questioned.

(c) Inappropriate Laughter:

The category, 'Inappropriate Laughter', included those descriptions in which laughter was associated with greed, madness, evil, animal, or inhuman characteristics, another's serious misfortune, or the intent to harm another or oneself.

Bozeman's laugh didn't sound quite human. It was more the howl of a triumphant beast. (Beyond the Law, 1991: 138)

"[W]hat kind of fool do you take me for?" Snattman shouted. "If you three are such buddies, you ought to enjoy starving together."

The smuggler laughed uproariously at what he considered a very funny remark. (The House on the Cliff, 1959: 128)

There was a shrill, diabolical laugh from Louie Fong. (Footprints Under the Window, 1933:212)

The terrorist gave a wild laugh as he kicked out, pulling both of them over the [third-story-L.R.] railing. (Dead on Target, 1987:147)

There were a total of 84 occasions in 25 of the 29 volumes in which criminal characters were portrayed as 'laughing inappropriately'. In contrast, non-

criminal characters were described in this manner in only 3 instances in 3 of the books.

In all three cases, the individuals involved were depicted as marginal characters. Moreover, in 2 of the instances, the characters were subjected to exclusion shortly thereafter, as in the following example:

"That was really some show out there. Vernon made Old Man Collig look like a jerk." The kid gave a loud horselaugh. But instead of joining in, most of the kids in the shop were quiet. [Collig had been subjected to a smear campaign which had resulted in his suspension and criminal charges being wrongfully laid against him -L.R.]... "Hey, Charlie," Tony Prito said to the kid who'd been sounding off. "You finished with that slice? [of pizza] Maybe you'd like to take a walk in the mall." (Beyond the Law, 1991:54-56)

It should be noted that there are numerous instances throughout the texts in which non-criminals partake in laughter which occurs at the expense of others, and often themselves. But, in these cases no real harm is done or serious misfortune encountered, a fact which is often signalled by the fact that the laughter is shared by the individual whose plight is the source of the humour:

The boat gave a sudden lurch at that moment...and Chet wavered precariously for a few seconds, finally losing his balance and sitting down heavily in a smear of grease at the bottom of the craft...as the boys roared with laughter at their chum's discomfiture.... Then [Chet said], as he gingerly felt the seat of his trousers: "Another pair of pants ready for the

cleaners. I ought to wear overalls when I go boating." He grinned as he said it, for Chet Morton was the soul of good nature and it took a great deal more than a smear of grease to erase his ready smile. (The Missing Chums, 1928:2-3)

In other situations in which laughter occurs at another's expense, qualifying remarks are frequently provided which indicate that such laughter does not reflect a callous attitude. (Such qualifying remarks are completely absent in the portrayal of criminals' laughter.)

Chet burst into peals of laughter, and the others, in spite of their sympathy for the inquisitive one in his plight, could restrain themselves no longer. (The Shore Road Mystery, 1928:53, Italics added)

Laughter also occurs when an individual is seen to receive his 'just deserts' as, for example, in the case of the gang leader described previously who collided with a load of pigs (Mystery of the Samurai Sword, 1979:179).

Finally, in other instances in which laughter signals a schism between non-criminal characters, the situation is eventually resolved with a formal apology or explanation, as in the following example from The Roaring River Mystery (1984):

A chorus of loud, scathing laughter broke out among the crew. (p.81)...
[and later, in the final phase of the drama-L.R.]
"I know we were rather rude to you when you came here before. The reason was that we were warned by someone that you were spies who would try to sabotage our expedition." (The Roaring River Mystery, 1984:128)

In conclusion, the results of the analysis of the vocal expressions--'Snarl', 'Hiss Threateningly', and 'Inappropriate Laughter'---revealed that criminal characters employed these expressions in 148 instances in 26 of the 29 texts, as compared to 5 occurrences for non-criminals. This is in spite of the fact that criminal characters frequently had very limited amounts of dialogue or no dialogue at all in the texts, and moreover, were vastly outnumbered by non-criminal characters. Lastly, this means of portraying criminals has remained consistent from the 1920s through the 1990s.

Dining Rituals

Feasts the world over are given as celebrations of relationship among the diners, and also as expressions of order, knowledge, competence, sympathy, and consensus at least about important aspects of the value system that supports the group. (Visser, 1991: 27)

Margaret Visser in, The Rituals of Dinner. The Origins, Evolution, Eccentricities, and Meaning of Table Manners, argues that "[w]e use eating as a medium for social relationships: satisfaction of the most individual of needs becomes a means of creating community" (1991: ix). And indeed, this was found to be the case in the descriptions of non-criminal characters dining together, which occurred frequently throughout the 29 texts.

This means of expressing social solidarity was most conspicuous in the conclusions of 13 of the 29 texts, in which capture of the criminal(s) was followed by a celebratory feast or the sharing of a meal, or by an invitation to dine together in the near future, as in the following examples:

A little to their embarrassment and much to their delight, at a banquet of the Automobile Club, Frank and Joe were the guests of honor. (The Shore Road Mystery, 1928: 210)

"Let's drive up to Bud's for a victory lunch, and the boys can tell us how they captured Vollrath." (Panic on Gull Island, 1991: 142)

"You deserve every cent you get out of the reward." "We'll treat the whole gang to a feed as soon as we collect," Joe promised....
The Hardy boys kept their word. Soon after they had received their share of the reward, which was presented to them with many glowing words and congratulations from the federal authorities who had long been trying to put Snackley behind the bars, they gave a dinner in the barn that eclipsed any similar "feed" in the history of Bayport. (The House on the Cliff, 1927: 211)

Such scenes bring to mind Kai Erikson's analysis of the role of deviance in maintaining social order in seventeenth-century Massachusetts, in which he argues:

In a figurative sense, at least, morality and immorality meet at the public scaffold, and it is during this meeting that the line between them is drawn. (Erikson, 1966: 12)

I propose that this process was also evident in the Hardy Boys series, but that the dinner table had replaced the scaffold. Such a view is in agreement with that of Margaret Visser who states, "[n]othing so unites us as gathering with

one mind to murder someone we hate, unless it is coming together to share in a meal" (1991:33).

In the above instances, the emphasis is on the role of dining rituals in binding individuals together, rather than separating them. However, there were cases in the texts in which adherence to dining rituals resulted in the exclusion of individuals. In one instance, Fenton and Frank Hardy, who were disguised as "a newly-arrived foreigner" and his lame son, were at first denied admittance to a fashionable restaurant, despite their hunger.

The place was well filled with diners, but there were a few vacant tables. The headwaiter quickly stepped up to the Hardys. "I'm sorry, but we have no more tables," he snapped....

Mr. Hardy broke into a low laugh. "Frank we forgot about our clothes!" he whispered. Instantly father and son found themselves the center of all eyes. Conversation in the room stopped as the fashionable diners stared at them.

"You'll have to leave," ordered the waiter indignantly. "If you wish to eat, there is a hamburger stand near the station."

At this moment the manager came forward. One look at the faces of the Hardys told him they were not undesirable clients. While he could not blame his headwaiter, he did not wish to offend these people, so he motioned to them to follow him.

"I shall be glad to let you use this little room," he smiled....

The Hardys had finished their meal. As the detective paid the bill, he again thanked the owner for permitting them to eat and laughingly suggested that he let them out a side door. (The Clue of the Broken Blade, 1942: 114-117)

The above passage was quoted at length, for it provides some insight into the nature of the social order, and its maintenance¹ through social ritual, as it was depicted

in the Hardy Boys. It was taken for granted that, under the circumstances, the headwaiter had behaved as one might have expected. The practice itself of excluding individuals from a restaurant based merely on their appearance went unquestioned. The inference was that other individuals so identified would be similarly excluded, for it is through such ritual acts that one's standing in the social order is established. Indeed, as Annett and Collins note, "[r]ituals are...found at the basis of class stratification" (1975:163). Thus, the Hardys' situation was presented as regrettable, but in the main because their true identity, namely that of respectable individuals, was not immediately recognized. Clearly, there are those with whom we eat and those with whom we do not. In this instance the Hardys had been labelled as among the latter.

What is of further interest in this example, is the sense of pollution evoked by the images. Mr. Hardy himself was aware that his presence had this effect, as was seen in his suggestion that they exit through a side door. Designation as "immigrants" and consequently as being of "lower status" in comparison to the diners, was equated with the concept of contamination. The process by which lower status is equated with contamination serves as an example of the "link [which exists] between the person-centred criterion of morality and the collective ranking dimension of prestige or status" (Ball, 1970:340). In other words, assignment of

one's individual moral worth (or degree of sacredness) is often based on the status assigned to a given class or group in society of which one is a member. The assignment of individual moral worth on this basis, in turn, highlights the degree to which class-based problems may be portrayed as individual, characterological failings.

Wealth Equals Moral Worth

Preliminary analyses led to the construction of the category, 'Well-Dressed'. In this category were coded all explicit references to characters being well-dressed, in fashionable or expensive attire, dressed up, or distinguished looking. Included in this category, therefore, were descriptions such as, "a small, well-dressed elderly man" (The Clue of the Broken Blade, 1942: 75), and "He was wearing an expensive-looking tailored suit" (The Prime-Time Crime, 1991:36).

To minimize the effects of researcher bias, all judgments regarding the state of a given character's attire were those of the narrator. Accordingly, if a character was merely described, for example, as "wearing a grey suit" (The House on the Cliff, 1927: 99), with no evaluative comment forthcoming in the text that this character should be considered well or fashionably dressed, this description was not coded in the category 'Well-Dressed'.

Twenty-one non-criminal characters were explicitly described as well-dressed in comparison to 6 criminal characters so portrayed.

The first of the 6 criminal characters depicted as 'Well-Dressed' was initially described as a "heavy-set, well-dressed man" (The Shore Road Mystery, 1964: 34). However, further details of his appearance, noted by the Hardy boys, suggested not only that he had poor taste, but that he was not as well-dressed as initially portrayed:

"There's something fishy about him," Joe commented....
 "I did notice some things," Frank said...."that gaudy tie clasp" (The Shore Road Mystery, 1964:35)

An examination of the descriptions of the remaining 5 criminal characters depicted as 'Well-Dressed', revealed a rather intriguing pattern. In each instance in which the criminal was described as well-dressed, commentary--either by the narrator directly or in dialogue--immediately followed which suggested that a contradiction existed between the impression given by the attire worn by the criminal and his true character.

They were well dressed but sleek and sinister in appearance. (A Figure in Hiding, 1937: 18)

"He's a distinguished looking gentleman but a heartless fellow." (A Figure in Hiding, 1937: 85)

Two men stood outside. They had a tough look about them, in spite of their fashionably-cut clothes. Frank sized them up. "Plenty of money," he thought to himself, but a couple of slippery characters all the same." ..."Where do types like that get enough money to patronize the best clothing stores?" (The Bombay Boomerang, 1970: 15-16)

In each of the three quotes above the use of the conjunctions "but" and "in spite of" signalled a contradiction or opposition between the first and second phrases in each of the sentences. In other words, the grammatical construction of the sentences clearly implied that the two concepts 'well-dressed' and 'questionable character' cannot be combined in a single sentence without the presence of a conjunction marking the opposition of these two concepts.

These findings are further supported by the following description of a marginal character, Rod Vernon, in Beyond the Law (1991):

His blond hair was immaculately moussed and brushed into a shining helmet, and his WBPT news blazer was perfectly cut, but there was a nasty expression on his choirboy face. (Beyond the Law, 1991:27)

That this pattern occurred consistently and that the same concepts were set in opposition to one another suggests that in these descriptions we are witnessing some very basic taken-for-granted assumptions about the social world, namely, that wealth--as evidenced here by proper dress--is equated with that which is not evil, heartless, and dishonest. Thus, again we are seeing the degree to which individual moral worth is related to collective rankings of prestige or status. Upper-income people are by definition morally worthy and lower-income people are, in turn, morally suspect, until

they have demonstrated their moral worth through the display of appropriate attitudes.

This finding is further reinforced by descriptions in which the reverse concepts, 'poorly-dressed' on the one hand, and 'well-demeaned' on the other, are signalled as being in opposition, as in the following description:

Though dressed in tattered clothes, he appeared nevertheless to be young and pleasant. (The Clue of the Broken Blade, 1942: 66)

In this instance, the conjunctions "though" and "nevertheless" signalled the opposition. The terms employed clearly implied that one would expect an individual dressed in tattered clothes to be other than pleasant.

These examples thus illustrate the degree to which ideological discourses contain their own "grammar" or logic, as well as, the manner in which unstated and taken-for-granted assumptions underlie the surface structure of texts. As Hall notes with regard to such taken-for-granted propositions:

[W]ithout a whole range of unstated premises or pieces of taken-for-granted knowledge about the world, each descriptive statement would be literally unintelligible. But this 'deep structure' of presuppositions, which made the statement ideologically 'grammatical', were rarely made explicit and were largely unconscious, either to those who deployed them to make sense of the world or to those who were required to make sense of it. Indeed, the very declarative and descriptive form of the statement rendered invisible the implied logic in which it was embedded. This gave the statement an unchallenged obviousness, and obvious truth-value. What were in fact propositions about how things were, disappeared into and acquired the substantive affirmation of merely descriptive statements: 'facts of the case'. The logic

of their entailment being occluded, the statements seemed to work, so to speak, by themselves. They appeared as proposition-free--natural and spontaneous affirmations about 'reality'. (Hall, 1982:74)

It is in precisely this manner that an ideological discourse may be seen as having spoken itself through the authors of the Hardy Boys series.

The relationship of wealth to moral worth that is seen in the descriptions of well-dressed individuals, is further reflected in remarks made in the texts which imply that those who have money and power--and are thus of respectable status--have no need to be and are, therefore, less likely to be involved in crime:

"Why should Mr. Dalrymple steal anybody's stamps?" said Joe. "He's a rich man." (While the Clock Ticked, 1932:74)

"We were mugged," Frank said tersely, "And we think Mr. Jensen [a man described as having "made a fortune" (p.96)-L.R.] could have had a hand in it."
"I hardly think Mr. Jensen has to mug people to make money," the portly man told them, his deep laugh bubbling up again. (The Infinity Clue, 1981:81)

This view is again reflected in expressions of amazement when otherwise 'respectable' members of society (that is, gainfully employed and often wealthy) are found to have been engaging in criminal behaviour:

Putting his fingers under the chin part of the last mask, he wrenched it off. Everyone gasped in amazement. J.G. Retson! [Retson is a wealthy industrialist-L.R.]
"Caught red-handed!" Fenton Hardy declared. "You've got a lot of explaining to do, Mr. Retson." (The Masked Monkey, 1972:170, Italics in original)

The police chief was amazed when he recognized the members of the gang. "Joshua Korbo and Gaspard Clay were two of the most respected men in the county!" he exclaimed.

"That's how they got away with it," Joe pointed out.
 "Nobody suspected them, including us." (The Pentagon Spy,
 1980:178)

Moreover, within the texts sampled, from 1970 onward wealthy or 'respectable' members of society are more frequently portrayed as being involved in crime. In these instances, either their wealth is described as ill-gotten or often information is provided which offers an explanation for their involvement in criminal activities. Such information is not provided for less 'respectable' characters whose wicked and dangerous natures (as seen, for example, in their snarling and evil laughter) apparently are explanation enough. Furthermore, the accounts provided frequently suggest a 'weakness in character' or previous involvement in illicit activities. The implication seems to be that the behaviour of these particular individuals, and not their wealth--as is usually the case--should be taken as indicators of their true character.

Barnes had dug up some material on Wayne Jensen....Jensen had indeed made a fortune. But a great part of his earnings were either undocumented or suspect, and were centered around dealings with foreign concerns. (The Infinity Clue, 1981:96)

"I [a wealthy industrialist-L.R.] owed money to their loan sharks and couldn't pay it back. So they forced me to work with them." (The Masked Monkey, 1972:173)

"Why did Wickerson get into the spy business?"
 "He needed money," Korbo replied. "He lost a lot at the racetrack." (The Pentagon Spy, 1980:180-181)

"I needed the money," he [a bank manager-L.R.] continued,
 "because I had made some bad investments of my own--"
 "With the bank's funds," Frank put in.

Barcross nodded. "I--I just didn't know what to do." (The Roaring River Mystery, 1984:186-187)

The provision of such explanations for characters of respectable standing, suggests that crime among the 'well-to-do' is an anomaly to be explained and, as such, further reinforces the notion that wealth is normally to be equated with moral worth. Moreover, it projects the view that a differential propensity to commit crime exists among classes in society.

In contrast to these depictions of class differences, is the emphasis on the formal equality of individuals, seen in frequent references to the rights of individuals before the law:

San Marten and Grimsel were told that it was their constitutional right to consult with a lawyer before making any statements. (The Masked Monkey, 1972:150)

"I want you to understand that you don't have to answer without consulting with your attorney first." (The Pentagon Spy, 1980:178)

Likewise, within the texts the law is presented as being impartial, seeking only to uphold the social order. It is not up to individuals to seek revenge or to right wrongs done to them; that is the province of the law:

{Officer Con Riley to the Hardy boys-L.R.} He looked from Frank to Joe and added, "No vigilante stuff, you guys. You may think you know who was in that car, but finding and punishing them is a matter for the law. Understood?" "Yes, sir," Frank said. (The Case of the Counterfeit Criminals, 1992:97)

"Thanks a lot for sticking by me, fellows. I'll get Sutton!"

"Hold on there!" commanded Chief Collig. "You'll be back here for assault if you try that." (The Missing Chums, 1962:93)

[The head of British Intelligence speaking to the Hardy boys-L.R.] "I tell you frankly, I don't approve of people with personal axes to grind." (Dead on Target, 1987:78)

Within the texts, the resolution of this contradiction --between formal equality and the differential propensity of classes to commit crime--is accomplished in part through the depiction of class differences as being a matter of individual characterological failings. The extent to which class-based problems are defined in individual terms, is clearly seen in the 6 texts in the sample in which inadequate parenting was referred or alluded to as a causal factor in the development of delinquent behaviour. Such depictions--when contrasted with portrayals equating wealth with moral worth--clearly demonstrate the existence of "deep disjunctions and desperate tensions within social and cultural reproduction" (Young, 1981a:416).

As such, the following findings further illustrate the need to locate ideological discourses within the context of the wider social structure in which they occur. Given that, "[c]rime and deviance are prime sites of moral anxiety and tension in a society which is fraught with real inequalities and injustices" (Young, 1986:24), media portrayals of deviance may be seen as reflecting the tensions and contradictions inherent in Western industrial capitalist society.

Attitude versus Income

In the Hardy Boys series, Mr. and Mrs. Hardy were portrayed as being involved parents who had high aspirations for their sons. They had hopes that their sons might prepare themselves for professions in law and medicine, despite their interest in detective work (for example, The Shore Road Mystery, 1928:13). Fenton Hardy was depicted as an attentive father who

was never too busy to talk to his sons, and when they came in he put down the papers he was studying and leaned back in his chair. (The House on the Cliff, 1927: 52)

Moreover, in their absence from home Mr. and Mrs. Hardy ensured that responsible supervision was maintained.

Mr. Hardy's sister was keeping house in the absence of Mrs. Hardy, who had gone away for a visit, and she took her responsibilities very seriously. (The Short-Wave Mystery, 1945:4)

Such a portrayal is in direct contrast to that of parents of youths who were depicted as delinquent or potentially so, as in the case of Mrs. Gordon in The Short-Wave Mystery (1945):

Jimmy's home was a three-room flat, untidy and dirty. Mrs. Gordon was a discontented-looking woman with artificially blonde hair, but she was well-dressed and well-groomed....

"I'm just getting ready to go out to work," she said.

"I work part-time in a beauty parlor," she explained.

"A woman has to have a little spending money for clothes and entertainment."

"It must keep you busy, looking after things here and working too," said Frank.

"Mr. Gordon and Jimmy have to look after themselves," she said languidly. Glancing at the lad, she added,

"I'm going to the movies when I finish work, so you'll have to make your own supper..."

"Poor kid!" Joe burst out as the brothers reached the street. "What chance has he got with that sort of home life?" (pp. 82-84)

In contrast to Mrs. Hardy and the Hardy boys' Aunt Gertrude, who did not work outside the home, Mrs. Gordon was portrayed as a woman who did so, but only for her own selfish reasons, namely for her own clothes and entertainment. Given that she had time to go to movies, it was clearly a matter of choice, rather than circumstance, that they lived in an "untidy and dirty" home.

Furthermore, any suggestion that poverty was in any way related to her need to work outside the home was negated by descriptions of her behaviour. Indeed, the inference was that she had no legitimate need to work and thereby neglect her family, as her earnings were spent on personal luxuries.

However, the environment in which she resided told another story, one suggestive of poverty:

[T]he ramshackle flats where the boys lived were in darkness...Jimmy scrambled up the dimly lighted stairs of a shabby tenement. (The Short-Wave Mystery, 1945: 33-34)

But again, the role of poverty in accounting for her family's circumstances is refuted by the fact that Mrs. Gordon spent money on herself alone while living under such conditions. Clearly, the issue was not one of money, for money was certainly available. It was merely spent unwisely.

In The Roaring River Mystery (1984), inadequate parenting on the part of a father who deserted his family,

and a single mother--who due to illness was unable to provide for her family--similarly accounted for Tarn's involvement in delinquent activities .

"I got in trouble with the law when I was fifteen. A few buddies and I stole a car to sell for parts and make some money. My father had left my family when I was two. My mother was sick, there were six other kids, and most of the time we were hungry." (p.136)

So too, the criminal career of Felix Snattman in, The House on the Cliff (1959) could be traced to an absent father and an inadequate single mother.

"My father died when I was little. I was pretty headstrong and my mother couldn't manage me." (p.177)

In addition, Snattman's uncle--who might otherwise have assumed a reliable father figure role--abdicated his familial responsibilities by refusing to help provide for his nephew, following the death of Snattman's father:

"My uncle, who owned this place, might have helped me, but he was mean and selfish and never gave us any money". (p.178)

Such a display of a lack of 'proper family values' stands in contrast to the portrait of the Hardy boys' Aunt Gertrude who took her familial "responsibilities very seriously" (The Short-Wave Mystery, 1945:4)

That inadequate parenting was portrayed as a factor in Snattman's involvement in criminal activities is further seen in his decision to establish at his uncle's estate

"a boys' home--I mean a place where boys without proper home training can come to live." (The House on the Cliff, 1959:178, Italics added)

Although hunger was mentioned at times as a condition of these youths' lives, it was portrayed as resulting as much from neglect, or desertion by the breadwinner, as from poverty, as in the following passage:

"How about your meals?" asked Joe.
The three lads laughed scornfully. "We get our own--
when we get 'em!" (The Short-Wave Mystery, 1945: 30)

To the degree that poverty was suggested as a factor related to hunger, as in the case of Tarn above, poverty itself could be seen as directly resulting from the desertion of the family by an irresponsible father. Moreover, the mother had clearly borne more children than she was able to provide for or manage. Thus if poverty is indeed a relevant factor in these characters' lives, the implication is that its source is to be found in individual characterological failings, not the wider economic-social structure. There is, therefore, within the texts, a denial of class structure in the material sense. Rather, one's class membership is symbolically signalled by the values one possesses and the attitudes one displays. These attitudes, in turn, account for one's circumstances and position in the social order.

Such portrayals, in which the role of poverty is summarily dismissed, are decidedly reminiscent of James Q. Wilson's views on delinquency and crime expressed in his article, 'Raising Kids' (The Atlantic Monthly, 1983):

But the connections among economic circumstance, parental personality, and the child's behavior are not simple or obvious. The mothers in the Learning Center

program tend to be maladjusted personalities,...Their economic and marital difficulties may have contributed to this, or just as likely, their personalities have made it hard for them to succeed in marriage or in the labor market. (Wilson, 1983: 55)

Problems of personality, not income, account for individuals' parenting difficulties and, in turn, for the delinquency of their children. Indeed, this can be the only reasonable explanation in the case of the character, Mrs. Gordon, described above, for she was later depicted as having undergone a virtual metamorphosis. It was a change signalled both by her physical appearance and demeanor, as well as a new-found attitude regarding the responsibilities of a parent. Previously described as "a discontented-looking woman with artificially blonde hair, but...well-dressed and well-groomed" (p.82), the Hardys were later to be "amazed at her somber clothes and friendly smile" (The Short-Wave Mystery, 1945:149) and declaration that:

"Mr. Gordon and I were away from home a lot"...
 "If you boys hadn't taken an interest in my boy just when you did, there's no telling where he might have wound up. Since my husband has been home, he and I have had a chance to talk things over, and we've decided to be with Jimmy as much as possible after this." (The Short-Wave Mystery, 1945: 150-151)

That the problem is indeed one of attitude, not income, is clear, for there was no demonstrable increase in Mrs. Gordon's financial status. On the contrary, the family income had decreased--her husband had been at home because he was unable to work due to an injury. This change in

attitudes, in turn, implies a change in class membership--the elevation of the Gordons from the ranks of the lower class.

Once more we hear echoes of James Q. Wilson who, in his discussion of poverty, race, and community in, Thinking About Crime (1985), states:

A lower-income person, of course, is not necessarily lower-class; the former condition reflects how much money he has, while the latter indicates the attitudes he possesses. (pp. 38-39)...One could supply the lower class with more money, of course, but if a class exists because of its values rather than its income, it is hard to see how, in terms of the prevailing theory, increasing the latter would improve the former. (p.46)

This view--that class membership is symbolically signalled by the values and attitudes one possesses and not by one's material circumstances--is again clearly evident in the portrait below. In The Tower Treasure (1927;1959) the Robinson family was forced to move to a poor section of town after Mr. Robinson had been wrongly accused of theft and lost his source of employment. Despite the ostracism encountered and the Robinsons' reduced circumstances, their true characters shone through. Their innocence and honesty were symbolized by their cleanliness. In contrast, their neighbours lived in squalor. Once again, images of untidiness or lack of cleanliness are wedded together with those of criminality or marginality. These images, in turn, are then confounded with portrayals of poverty.

When at length they came to the street to which the Robinsons had moved they found that it was an even poorer thoroughfare than they had expected. There were squalid shacks and tumbledown houses on either side of

the narrow street, and ragged children were playing in the roadway. At the far end of the street they came to a small, unpainted cottage that somehow contrived to look neat in spite of the surroundings. The picket fence had been repaired and the yard had been cleaned up.

"This is where they live," said Frank. "It's the neatest place on the whole street." (The Tower Treasure, 1927: 111)

Accordingly, it is again implied that there exist clear distinctions between lower-class and lower-income individuals, distinctions characteristic of the writings of James Q. Wilson. Indeed, the similarity between the following two quotes is striking, the first is taken from the Hardy Boys and the second from Wilson:

"It's a shame, that's what it is!" declared Callie abruptly. "The Robinsons were always accustomed to having everything so nice! And now they have to live here!" (The Tower Treasure, 1959: 94).

The real price of segregation, in my opinion, is not that it forces blacks and whites apart but that it forces blacks of different class positions together. (Wilson, 1985: 37)

Clearly, one need not question the fairness of a social order in which some individuals, such as the Hardys, live in pleasant homes while others reside in ramshackle tenements, for each has found his or her proper place--just as there are those who dine at fashionable restaurants and others who eat at hamburger stands. Individual character--as reflected in one's attitude and demeanor--not money or income, is the deciding factor in the classification of individuals in the social structure.

Thus it is suggested that only in unusual circumstances--as in the case of the Robinsons who suffered unfairly due to the unfounded accusations against Mr. Robinson--were individuals to be found in surroundings unbecoming them. Even in this instance, however, justice and fairness prevailed, for the Robinsons' place of residence quickly reverted to one of more respectable standing when Mr. Robinson's innocence was proven.

Consensus Abounds

Issues of power and status are thus presented in terms of individual moral worth. Defined in individual terms, conflicts between the dominant culture and lower-class and working-class cultures are masked. Consequently, education, acts of charity, and the development of 'proper attitudes'--not the resolution of economic and structural inequities--will set things right. On the surface, no real political grievances exist; consensus abounds.

Indeed, the degree to which political motivation is erased from the equation is perhaps most clearly seen in the depiction of terrorists, that is, those who attempt to explicitly put forward questions regarding the use of power and the imposition of one moral view upon other symbolic-moral universes. These claims of political legitimacy are swiftly negated by portrayals of terrorists as mad and/or evil.

"He's a very dangerous man who takes a fiendish pleasure in inventing different types of bombs, and who has little respect for human life." (The Infinity Clue, 1981:48, Italics added)

"[P]unk kids playing with the wrong toys might blow themselves up. Especially kids who get involved in politics."
 "If you're trying to make us [Hardy boys-L.R.] look like a pair of political crazies, maybe you should talk to Chief Collig." (Dead on Target, 1987:17, Italics added)

As a member of the covert agency known as the Network, the Gray Man was primarily responsible for stopping terrorists before they acted on their mad impulses. (Strategic Moves, 1990:26, Italics added)

The consensus is thereby extended to the global social order. Substantive inequalities and conflicts between nations, arising from such inequalities, are ignored. These findings thus provide support for the first proposition of Hypothesis 2, namely, that confrontations between alternative symbolic-moral universes are likely to be reflected in portrayals of deviance which are clearly related to conflicts between opposing cultural/political groups.

THE HARDY BOYS OVER TIME

The findings of this research also provide support for the second proposition of Hypothesis 2, that confrontations between opposing symbolic-moral universes are likely to be reflected over time in changing definitions and images of society and its institutions, deviance and morality, and motives ascribed to social actors.

The Terrorist: A New Category

Once again, the portrayals of terrorists provide one of the most noticeable changes in images of deviance and morality, for terrorists are depicted as being outside the membership of "common criminals":

The two who attacked Petra and Ziggy couldn't have been international terrorists, Frank thought. They acted and talked more like common criminals. Terrorists would have used deadlier means than a blackjack and a switchblade. Terrorists would not have left without their prey, even if it had meant spilling blood. (Strategic Moves, 1990:29)

"Why don't you come with us?" Joe asked Chet.
"No way,"... "This time you're talking about foreign terrorists, the worst kind of bad." (The Infinity Clue, 1981:19)

Through their fanaticism and total disregard for human life, terrorists have become members of a category all their own, constituting a group with whom there can be no reconciliation. Moreover, their outsider status is further established through the numerous indicators that the individuals involved in terrorist activities are frequently foreigners.

"Al-Rousasa." Frank repeated the name. "What is that? Arabic?" (Dead on Target, 1987:63)

"So that's why you didn't understand when Joe made that crack about 'Kojak.' I wondered about that."
"Yes," said the unmasked terrorist. "I had to look that up. You see," he said, "we didn't have those television programs in my country." (Dead on Target, 1987:115, Italics in original)

"There are three things I don't like about you two," Fitzhugh said angrily. "You're brash, you're impertinent, you're noisy, and you're Americans."
"That's four," Frank said. (Strategic Moves, 1990:123)

In conjunction with these views of terrorists, there exists an altered view of society. The social order can no longer be purged by the exclusion of the villain, even through his death, for he/she represents only one of many members of a terrorist organization, and hence the threat to the social order remains:

"As long as there are Assassins, there'll always be more Al-Rousasas." (Dead on Target, 1987:152)

Such a view lends itself to a rather cynical and somewhat frightening vision of the social order, aptly captured in the following passages:

[T]he Hardys, the Gray Man, and the Network had teamed up more than once to stop a deadly terrorist group known as the Assassins whenever they tried to bring chaos and murder to the world. (Strategic Moves, 1990:27)

"I don't know what glass bubble you've been living in," the Gray Man said to Ziggy, "but the world isn't as sugar-coated as you would like to believe." (Strategic Moves, 1990:74)

Juvenile Correctional Institutions

A similar cynicism is evident in changing images of juvenile correctional institutions. In 4 of the 29 texts, references or allusions to juvenile correctional institutions were made. In The Melted Coins (1944) and The House on the Cliff (1959) the portrayal of such institutions is positive:

They [the police-L.R.] needed only one more offense from this urchin to send him to a Reform Home, where he would be away from bad influences and under the guidance of kindly men and women. (The Melted Coins, 1944:105)

"I'm going to ask those executors to use my uncle's money to run this place as a boys' home--I mean a place where boys without proper home training can come to live."... "I'm sure that the boys who benefit from living here will always be grateful to you." (The House on the Cliff, 1959:178-179)

In the third text, The Short-Wave Mystery (1945), a juvenile institution is merely alluded to when concerns are expressed that the authorities are "going to send [Mickey] away" (p.72).

However, the depiction of juvenile correctional institutions in The Roaring River Mystery (1984), stands in stark contrast to these earlier and more benevolent portrayals:

"I wound up in a juvenile detention center. It was a terrible place. I could tell you stories that'd turn your stomach. After a year, I managed to get out of there--escape, I mean....
"Believe me, a couple of times I was tempted to tell you the whole thing, Ollie, and be done with it. But then I thought of going back to that horrible place, and--and I just didn't have the nerve to do it." (The Roaring River Mystery, 1984:136-138)

Following Tarn's revelations, neither the Hardy boys nor Ollie express surprise at his assessment of the detention center, thus suggesting that this image of such institutions has become widespread.

Law Enforcement

The portrayal of law enforcement agencies and agents is rather inconsistent over time in the Hardy Boys series. The most striking changes observable are those between the original and revised editions of the following texts: The

Tower Treasure (1927 and 1959), The House on the Cliff (1927 and 1959), and The Shore Road Mystery (1928 and 1964).

Analysis of the texts reveals a considerably more positive portrayal of law enforcement in the revised editions. Portrayed in the original editions as incompetent, fumbling and confused, pretentious as well as rude and uncooperative in manner, the police clearly fulfill the role of "fool" as described by Orrin Klapp in his analysis of American characters (1962:69). Such depictions are absent in the revised versions, having been replaced by more positive portrayals, as seen in the passages below:

1927

Chief Ezra Collig, of the Bayport police force, was a burly, red-faced individual, much given to telling long-winded stories.

Usually, Collig was to be found reclining in a swivel chair in his office, with his feet on the desk, reading comic papers or polishing his numerous badges. (The Tower Treasure, 1927:26)

1959

They went at once to Chief Ezra Collig, head of the Bayport police force. He was a tall, husky man, well known to Fenton Hardy and his two sons. The chief had often turned to the private detective for help in solving particularly difficult cases. (The Tower Treasure, 1959:13-14)

Furthermore, in the revised editions, the police seem to have gained a mastery over the English language that is lacking in the earlier editions, throughout which the policemen's grammar is extremely poor:

1927

"The Polucca place!" exclaimed the chief, pursing his lips. "We-ll, you see, it ain't in the city limits." (The House on the Cliff, 1927:110)

1959

Chief Collig looked grave...."Of course you realize that the area where the Pollitt house is located is outside the limits of Bayport, so my men can't go there." (The House on the Cliff, 1959:78)

These changes in the portrayal of law enforcement officials represent one of the most salient differences between the original and revised editions. In comparing both editions, one is left with the impression that one of the main reasons for re-writing the texts was to alter the manner in which the police had been presented. However, as stated, the portrayal of law enforcement officers is inconsistent over time. Although somewhat less likely to be cast in the role of "fools" in later volumes, the police at times are portrayed as having a cooperative, friendly relationship with the Hardys and at other times the relationship is more competitive and antagonistic.

The boys returned the polygraph to the police. They thanked Chief Carton, who offered to cooperate with them in any way he could. (The Masked Monkey, 1972:29)

As the Hardys walked up the worn steps, they were greeted by a friendly face. It belonged to Officer Con Riley. (Dead on Target, 1987:15)

In a way, the Oxford police commander reminded Joe of a friendly Chief Collig back in Bayport. A friendly Chief Collig? Joe thought with a shudder. That's a contradiction in terms. Maybe I got hit in the head with that crowbar. (Strategic Moves, 1990:62).

Frank and Joe tangled with criminals, too, but they usually found themselves competing with the law.

Frank smiled. Chief Collig and the rest of Bayport's Finest found it hard to accept the idea of teenagers solving crimes. (Beyond the Law, 1991:2)

Lastly, with the introduction of the terrorist as villain, the question arises as to whether even the ranks of the local law enforcement, intelligence, and counter-intelligence agencies have been infiltrated by such individuals.

"What I don't get," Joe said, "is how you can have such a great record and pull off something like this. You're a cop and a terrorist?"

"I am an Assassin," Al-Rousasa said proudly. "Samuel Butler was a cop. But Samuel Butler is dead."..."I liquidated him and took his place." Al-Rousasa gave them his half-smile again. "That was easy. The hard part was finding a policeman with the right record, the right build, the right looks, and who was starting a new job. Samuel Butler was the perfect identity for me."

"But people knew Butler," Joe burst out. "There must be pictures of him."...

"The Assassins are very up-to-date on plastic surgery," Al-Rousasa said. (Dead on Target, 1987:116-117, Italics in original)

"I think what we've stumbled on," Frank said..."is the makings of a conspiracy. We're not looking for some clandestine terrorist group."

"We have found the terrorists, and they are among us," Joe quipped....

"Just the same, we can't trust anybody, not even the Gray Man. [a top intelligence official-L.R.] Agreed?"

"Agreed." (Strategic Moves, 1990:96)

Law enforcement agents at home and abroad are thus portrayed as those to whom one cannot confidently turn to ensure the maintenance of law and order and one's personal safety and security.

Clearly, as the preceding discussion has shown, changing images of crime and deviance, society and its institutions, and motives ascribed to social actors are

evident in the Hardy Boys series over time. Thus, as seen, a more jaded view of juvenile correctional institutions is evident in the series. In addition, within the texts sampled, from 1970 onward wealthy or 'respectable' members of society are more frequently depicted as criminal. In contrast to the usual portrayal of criminal characters whose wicked natures are sufficient explanation of their behaviour, additional motives are ascribed to these social actors. A further change in images of deviance and society is apparent in the presentation of terrorists. There is a sense of disjunction in their portrayal, likely derived from the fact that, although frequently depicted as mad or evil, these individuals do not truly fit this stereotype, being members of an oppositional culture.

However, in spite of these changes, the overall sense one derives from reading these texts is that they are all very much the same. And indeed, they are, for the same narrative structure is employed repeatedly, with the only difference being that the villain is cast variously in the roles of thief, kidnapper, smuggler, counterfeiter, saboteur, and terrorist.

Chapter 6CONCLUSION

The media provide us with many of our images and explanations of deviance and social order. Consequently, analyses of news media have furthered our understanding of popular conceptions of deviance, social problems, and the role of ideological discourse in the legitimation of the social order. However, it is argued, our knowledge of ideological discourses and their true complexity will likely be enhanced to the extent that our analyses embrace all forms of cultural processes and products.

One area of popular culture particularly deserving of analysis is children's literature. Although the manifest function of juvenile fiction is entertainment, the latent function may well be informal socialization and the reproduction of a given ideology expressing particular social and political attitudes and values. Accordingly, an analysis of a popular juvenile fiction series, The Hardy Boys, was undertaken in the present study.

In publication from 1927 to the present, the Hardy Boys series was selected for analysis in view of its popularity and longevity of publication. This series, intended for boys ages 10 to 14, has been published in several different languages, with currently more than 70

million copies of Hardy Boys books in print worldwide. Moreover, with its emphasis on crime and the Hardy boys' pursuit of criminals, the series provides an opportunity for the analysis of conceptions of deviance and social order in popular youth fiction over time.

This study examined the series from a social constructivist perspective which further drew upon developments in the analysis of discourse and ideology. Starting from the premise that meaning--and hence discourse--is a social practice which itself must be historically contextualized, this analysis sought to identify the terms in which the social world is described and explained in a sample of 29 texts from the Hardy Boys series. A further attempt was made to determine the ideological frameworks and classifications from which such descriptions and explanations are drawn, and thereby make explicit the various taken-for-granted elements and unstated premises and assumptions underlying the surface structure of the texts.

A review of the literature revealed that previous analyses of news media have demonstrated that media portrayals of deviance are not merely disjointed stereotypes of the normal and the deviant. On the contrary, such portrayals are often located within the coherent pattern or narrative structure of the morality play or melodrama. The distinguishing characteristic of the melodramatic form is the portrayal of a villain or villains who have breached the

social order and who, upon defeat, are subject to a process of exclusion from the social order.

In recognition of the dialectical relationship between media/cultural representations and the enactment of actual social relations, the concern has been expressed that the employment of melodramatic portrayals in the news media has served, in certain instances, to legitimate increasingly repressive actions by the state (see, for example, Wagner-Pacifici, 1986 and Hall et al., 1978). Hence, the aesthetic form we choose to employ in defining social order and disorder may have unforeseen and far-reaching consequences.

Accordingly, this study further sought to explore the extent to which the melodramatic form is employed in the Hardy Boys texts. Given the intent to examine both the manifest content, as well as, the underlying frameworks and narrative structure of the texts, a methodological approach was adopted which incorporated both a content analysis and a linguistically-based structural analysis.

Overall, Hypothesis 1, which postulated that the Hardy Boys texts are melodramatic in form, has been confirmed in this research. In all but one of the books, characters who were portrayed as villains were, upon defeat, subject to a process of exclusion, whether by death, imprisonment or impending imprisonment, or through interaction rituals in which the ritual destruction of selves was effected. In 28

of the 29 texts sampled, one or more of these means of exclusion were portrayed.

The findings of this study further support Hypothesis 2, which proposed that confrontations between conflicting symbolic-moral universes are likely to be reflected over time (1) in portrayals of deviance which are clearly related to conflicts between opposing cultural/political groups and (2) in changing definitions and images of society and its institutions, deviance and morality, and motives ascribed to social actors.

Thus, conflicts between opposing cultural/political groups were evident within the texts, in particular, in the depiction of terrorists, as well as, in conflicts between the dominant and lower-class cultures. However, issues of power and status were defined in terms of individual characterological failings, thereby masking (on the surface, at least) the presence of wider sources of structural conflict.

In addition, changing images of deviance and the social order were noted in the portrayal of terrorists, juvenile correctional institutions, law enforcement, and the increase in the number of wealthy or 'respectable' members of society involved in crime and the motives ascribed to such characters.

Two major lines of inquiry may be seen as evolving from the findings of the present analysis. The first

concerns the issue of inclusionary and exclusionary practices in criminal justice policy. As noted previously, clear parallels exist between Victor Turner's (1974) concepts of schism and reintegration and the exclusionary and inclusionary modes of deviancy control discussed by Stanley Cohen in Visions of Social Control (1987).

It has been widely argued that the employment of exclusionary practices in criminal justice policy has proven to be detrimental and self-defeating. As Erikson notes with respect to commitment ceremonies,

an important feature of these ceremonies in our own culture is that they are almost irreversible. Most provisional roles conferred by society...include some kind of terminal ceremony to mark the individual's movement back out of the role once its temporary advantages have been exhausted. But the roles allotted the deviant seldom make allowance for this type of passage. He is ushered into the deviant position by a decisive and often dramatic ceremony, yet is retired from it with scarcely a word of public notice...Nothing has happened to cancel out the stigmas imposed upon him by earlier commitment ceremonies; nothing has happened to revoke the verdict or diagnosis pronounced upon him at that time. (Erikson, 1966:16)

In reaction to the stigmatizing effects of such exclusionary practices, calls for the employment of inclusionary practices--in which the focus is on the reintegration of the individual within the community--are once again being made. Indeed, Cohen puts forth such an argument in his discussion of exclusionary and inclusionary processes:

The 1960s...were a time when the inclusionary impulse seemed to dominate. This was the positive as well as abolitionist message of the destructuring

movements....'Exclude less, include more' could have been the slogan of these movements.

The intentions might have been complex and even suspect, the visions naive and even misguided, the results paradoxical and even malignant. The inclusionary impulse nonetheless sensed what was wrong with the old (and now stronger) exclusionary system. If this vision of alternatives seemed attractive then, it is no less attractive now. Instead of forgetting, denying or repressing our original values, we must either explicitly repudiate them or, as I believe is still possible, cautiously reaffirm them. (Cohen, 1987:267)

However, central to the whole concept of inclusionary policy is the notion of the integration of the individual within the social order. Accordingly, such a concept stands in stark contrast to the real circumstances of individuals who are economically marginalized in a capitalist economic system which, by its very nature, produces superfluous populations (Spitzer, 1975). Thus, while alternative sentencing and policy choices can be implemented within the criminal justice system, it is to alternative employment policies in the wider economic system itself that we must also look if we are to successfully address the problem of crime.

The second major line of inquiry to be derived from the present analysis concerns the role of ritual in the legitimation of the social order. Central to the findings of this research has been the role of ritual in the enactment of social drama. Ritual or ceremonial acts provide the means by which selves are constructed and affirmed or, alternatively, destroyed and degraded. Thus, it is through ritual acts that characters' positions within--or outside of--the social order

are established in the texts. As such, the present study illustrates the manner in which rituals "not only create the self, but...[as well-L.R.] rank selves into different social classes" (Collins, 1985:157)

This research thus demonstrates the extent to which ritual is integral to class stratification. It further suggests that the performance of ritual, in providing a mechanism through which the social order is maintained and legitimated--or alternatively, contested and subjected to processes of change--furnishes a stage for the enactment of hegemonic struggles. As Collins notes,

Durkheim himself was in a good position to explain how ideologies are generated. His microsociology of rituals gives a mechanism by which the social group--not some disembodied society-as-a-whole--produces religious and other beliefs that cloak its practices with legitimacy. (Collins, 1985:141)

Accordingly, it is proposed that the analysis of ritual in modern society offers a promising means of reconceptualizing the notion of hegemony. Raymond Williams, in Marxism and Literature (1989), argues that hegemony is most profitably viewed as an active process, rather than a static entity:

A lived hegemony is always a process. It is not, except analytically, a system or a structure. It is a realized complex of experiences, relationships, and activities, with specific and changing pressures and limits....[I]t does not just passively exist as a form of dominance. It has continually to be renewed, recreated, defended, and modified. (Williams, 1989:112)

I therefore propose that a fruitful avenue of inquiry may be opened if Williams' and Collins' ideas are brought together,

and hegemony is reconceptualized as an active complex of relationships which are continually being negotiated and renegotiated through the performance of ritual or ceremonial acts.

In conclusion, to the extent that this study has focused upon the employment of the melodramatic form, it represents only one of many possible readings of the Hardy Boys texts and must be understood as such. Clearly, there are innumerable ways of approaching this series. In fact, the present study has examined only one aspect of the communicative process, namely, the message itself and its structure. While beyond the scope of this research, of equal importance is the effect of this message on its young readers. Lastly, it is hoped that this study has demonstrated that juvenile fiction is worthy of further such analyses.

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APPENDIX 1RESEARCH SAMPLEThe Hardy Boys Mystery Stories

- 1927 The Tower Treasure
1927 The House on the Cliff
1928 The Missing Chums
1928 The Shore Road Mystery
- 1932 While the Clock Ticked
1933 Footprints Under the Window
1937 A Figure in Hiding
- 1942 The Clue of the Broken Blade
1944 The Melted Coins
1945 The Short-Wave Mystery
- 1953 The Crisscross Shadow
1959 The House on the Cliff (Revised Edition)
1959 The Tower Treasure (Revised Edition)
- 1962 The Missing Chums (Revised Edition)
1964 The Shore Road Mystery (Revised Edition)
1969 The Crisscross Shadow (Revised Edition)
- 1970 The Bombay Boomerang
1970 The Clue of the Broken Blade (Revised Edition)
1972 The Masked Monkey
1979 Mystery of the Samurai Sword
- 1980 The Pentagon Spy
1981 The Infinity Clue
1984 The Roaring River Mystery
- 1991 Panic on Gull Island
1991 The Prime-Time Crime
1992 The Case of the Counterfeit Criminals

The Hardy Boys Casefiles

1987 Dead on Target
1990 Strategic Moves
1991 Beyond the Law

Appendix 2

Early Edition Page Listing of Series Titles

The HARDY BOYS Mystery Stories
BY FRANKLIN W. DIXON

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| _____ | The Mystery of the Flying Paper |
| The _____ | The Case of the Broken Boat |
| <i>The Secret of the Old Mill</i> | The Elusive Bank Mystery |
| <i>The Missing Chums</i> | <i>The Melted Coins</i> |
| <i>Hunting for Hidden Gold</i> | The _____ |
| The _____ | The Secret Panel |
| The _____ | The Phantom Knight |
| The _____ | The _____ |
| The _____ | The Sign of the Crooked Arrow |
| <i>What Happened at Midnight</i> | <i>The Secret of the Lost Tunnel</i> |
| _____ | The _____ |
| Footprints under the Wind | <i>The Secret of Wildcat Swamp</i> |
| <i>The Mark on the Door</i> | _____ |
| _____ | The Yellow Feather Mystery |
| The _____ | The Hooded Hood Mystery |
| _____ | The _____ |
| <i>The Secret Warning</i> | _____ |
| _____ | _____ |
| The Disappearing Floor | <i>The Mystery at Devil's Paw</i> |
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C.H. ✓
~~_____~~
D.G. ✓
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(The House on the Cliff, 1927)