

AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF THE TRANSITION
INTO THE DRUG SUBCULTURE

A Thesis
Presented to
the Faculty of the Graduate School
University of Houston

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Barrance Vey Johnston
December 1970

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ABSTRACT

This study has sought to explore and describe those mechanisms operative in the transition from the major American culture to a deviant subsystem described by the mass media as "Hippiedom." Methodological techniques utilized were the case study and participant observation. Inquiry was focused on those factors which tend to catalyze transition as well as on a description of the life style exhibited by self-acknowledged members of the hippie movement. Analyses of the data suggest that several factors predispose the individual toward transition into the deviant life style. Of importance here are alienation and anomie, the drug experience and the accessibility and acceptability to ego of role models who are themselves active members of the deviant subculture. The suggestion is also made that the transitional process is an incomplete one with the deviant actor maintaining social relations within both the dominant and deviant systems. Descriptive materials are presented to illustrate the complex of social relations maintained by individuals who have occupied such a marginal position.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Among the many occurrences in the United States during the 1960's was the emergence of the hippie. With his beard, long hair, beads, and multicolored clothing he leaped out of the pages of Time (October, 1967; December, 1967; January, 1967), Newsweek (January, 1967; February, 1967; January, 1968), The National Review (August, 1967; November, 1967) to confront the American public. By some he was viewed as a cavalier hero out of the past, by others he was met with hostility, but the majority just felt a bit bewildered. Who was this hippie? What did he want? What did he do? Where did he come from? These and many other questions were being asked by the American public during the sixties.

From whence the hippie came will probably never be known, but the jazz movement, the beats, pop art, and rock and roll via the Grateful Dead (and not Elvis) probably had something to do with the beginnings of the movement. A key to the movement may also be found in the pharmacological revolution which produced the psychedelic drugs.

The beats as represented by such figures as Allen Ginsberg, Lawrence Ferlinghetti, and Jack Kerouac had long been attuned to the merits of marihuana. The psychedelics,

peyote and mescaline, first made their appearance in New York's Greenwich Village around 1957. With the synthetic development of mescaline the beats were no longer tied to nature "[Man] turn-ons could [now] be manufactured."

(Hinckle, 1967:18) LSD is said to have appeared in the Village during the winter of 1961-62 and was so inexpensive that resident "heads" began to "turn on" new people to "acid" as fast as they could give it away. The news of LSD spread rapidly through the North and in due time Dr. Timothy Leary (B.A., University of Alabama; Ph.D., University of California) was making a less than graceful exit from Harvard University. It appears that the good Doctor was experimenting a little too widely with LSD among the undergraduate students. (Hinckle, 1967:19)

By the summer of 1964, Lysergic acid diethylamide had reached the San Francisco Bay Area and the Beatles were on the scene with a new sound, the alive, electric psychedelic sound. Ken Kessey, author of One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest and Sometimes a Great Notion, became the West Coast spokesman for the psychedelic movement. Kessey decided to carry on the "turn on" tradition of the North by creating a new, if short-lived, American institution, The Acid Test. (Hinckle, 1967: 12) The first acid test was conducted at a Unitarian conference in the Big Sur during August, 1965. A unique feature of this test was that no one had been told before hand that LSD had been placed in their drinks.

As Kessey traveled throughout California conducting acid tests, he gathered around him a group of "fellow travelers" and a rock band known as the Grateful Dead. Kessey with his entourage, which he called The Merry Pranksters, roamed around the state for about one year.

The acid test was one of California's favorite pastimes until October 6, 1966, when the state legislature passed a law prohibiting the manufacture, sale or use of LSD. By this time, however, Haight-Ashbury had become the center of Hippiedom and thousands of neophytes flocked to the area each year. Kessey remained the most influential man in the movement until his fateful address to four hundred hippies in which he advocated the abandonment of LSD by members of the movement. By this action Kessey "had committed the one mortal sin in the hippie ethic: telling people what to do." (Hinckle, 1967:11) For his sin Kessey fell from favor and chose to completely isolate himself from the movement. By the time of Kessey's address the hippie movement was already a national phenomenon. The Haight had grown in popularity to such a point that it was a routine stop for many of the sightseeing tours which go through the Bay Area.

The popularity of the Haight-Ashbury region was catalyzed by the new life style being developed and practiced there by American youth. The many tourists who passed through the area often left both shocked and outraged. Here was America's youth living in the squalor of a slum, often

walking, eating and sleeping on the street. They would approach and without shame beg for spare change. They advocated individualism, drug use and free love. They cared little for work and less for education. They spurned the Great Society and all its "plastic accoutrements"; they chose instead "to do their own thing."

Occasionally one of the tourists would spot a well dressed, middle aged couple talking to several of the youths lining the sidewalks. This couple often would be requesting information concerning a runaway son or daughter. They looked prosperous and respectable, yet it was children like theirs who made up the bulk of the Haight's population. The tourists often left the Haight with a question: Why and how do these youths come to live this way of life? The following paper is an attempt to deal with that question.

STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

The objective of this study is to explore the process through which individuals disengage themselves, partially, from the mainstream of American life. As a consequence of the individual's disengagement from the larger society, he relinquishes certain rights and embraces another set of norms which often appear to conflict with that held by individuals who choose to remain self-acknowledged members of the "American Society." In vernacular terms, the process of disengagement from the larger society is described as

"dropping-out" and its adherents as drop-outs or hippies. In tandem with the general objective of the study the more delimited question asks, "What is the common legacy of a small group of people who have chosen to disengage themselves from the mainstream of American life and follow the subcultural dictates of a life style labeled by the mass media as "Hippiedom" and its practitioners as "Hippies"?

This work will focus on examining the disengagement process in terms of changes in group memberships and the accompanying if not catalytic changes in values concerning work, drugs, sex, and religion or mysticism. The assumption is not made here that the disengagement process is a complete one, but rather it is a process in which former ties, for example, with members of the nuclear family and high school and college peer groups change in nature and/or intensity. As older social relationships change, new ones may be formed with associates who themselves are outside of society's mainstream. Hence, the dropping-out process is one of engagement as well as disengagement. As the individual relinquishes his membership in certain groups, the assumption is made that he will create ties with other individuals who share his developing orientations. Another assumption made here is that a prime factor catalyzing the disengagement process is the drug experience.

This study will not attempt to prove a causal relationship between the drug experience and the withdrawal

from certain aspects of society. This study will instead serve as an exploratory attempt to describe the subcultural life style and provide hypotheses for that type of withdrawal exhibited by members of the hippie movement.

In this exploration of the disengagement process emphasis will be placed on the changes that occur in group memberships of informants while undergoing the drug experience. No attempt will be made at causal specification. Instead, by use of partial biographies, a chronological record of an informant's transition from one life style to another will be presented. By utilizing this approach it is hoped that sufficient description of the disengagement process will be gained so as to allow formulation of hypotheses, which through further testing will lead not only to an understanding of the hippie movement and drugs, but also the relationship of both to the larger American society.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Among several authors who have given their attention to the hippie and his life style (Wolf, 1968; Von Hoffman, 1968; Wolfe, 1967; Simon and Trout, 1967; Berger, 1967; Davis, 1967), the work of Lewis Yablonsky is perhaps the most comprehensive. Yablonsky's work was centered on urban hippies residing on both the East and West coasts of the United States. Although Yablonsky (1968:22) notes that the drug experience pervades all aspects of behavior that he

witnessed, he concludes that the individual's disengagement from society is essentially caused by alienation and anomie. This structural explanation for the genesis of the hippie is, however, not completely satisfactory.

The concepts of alienation and anomie are highly problematic not only in definition, but also in measurement. Igor S. Kon maintains that "The concept of alienation is one of the most common and withal one of the least defined concepts in modern sociology." (Kon, 1969:146) Kon follows a similar line of inquiry as that pursued by Lewis Feuer (1963: 127-147) in an earlier article on alienation. The development of the concept of alienation is traced by both authors from pre-Calvinistic times to its present usage within the discipline. The argument is developed by both writers that the concept takes many different guises, in different societies and at different points in time. (Feuer, 1963:139) Kon states that, "One and the same term may denote the estrangement of the individual from human environment, the forced alienation from man of the products of his labor, the independence of power from the ruled and so on and so forth." (Kon, 1969:149)

The fact that alienation is a generic term with its meaning often implied rather made explicit appears to be the crux of the problem. Kon (1969:150) noted that the main point involved here is whether alienation is considered as an objective or subjective phenomenon. The Marxists have

developed arguments which imply that it is "a tangible social process which exists regardless of the degree to which people take cognizance of it." (Kon, 1969:150) The subjective or psychological interpretation of alienation is represented by authors like Melvin Seeman (1959:783-791) and Dwight G. Dean (1969:145-55). Alienation in this case is expressed in the individual's feelings of powerlessness, normlessness, meaninglessness, isolation and self-estrangement. It is this psychological interpretation of alienation that currently dominates empirical sociology in the United States. (Kon, 1969:150)

Kon and Feuer both conclude that the value of the alienation concept to modern sociology is indeed compromised by the lack of conceptual clarity which surrounds the concept. (Kon, 1969:167; Feuer, 1963:145-146) However, advocates of the psychological approach feel that the concept can be stated with sufficient clarity to operationalize its components and measure them on scales. This is the position taken by Dean for the development of his alienation scale which purports to measure powerlessness, normlessness, and social isolation. (Dean, 1969:146-155) Feuer, however, objects to the Dean scales as a measure of alienation "precisely because the [alienation] experience can be found in every direction of human experience--among the powerful as [well as] the powerless, the normful as [well as] the normless, the socially involved as well as the isolated." (Feuer, 1963:142)

Yablonsky's argument (1968:322) that individual's disengagement from society is essentially caused by alienation tends to obscure more than it illuminates. If Yablonsky's conception of alienation is similar to that of Merton (1938: 672-82), then the hippie movement would most likely approximate Adaptation IV, i.e., retreatism. This state is characterized by a rejection of both the culturally-defined goals of a society and the institutionalized means through which they are obtained. There can be little doubt that this state is manifested by many individuals involved in the hippie movement, but the amount of objective knowledge gained by such a diagnosis is indeed limited. Continued analysis of the hippie phenomena through this perspective would result in a description of the social system rather than a description of the disengagement process of an individual from society's mainstream. A further objection to Yablonsky's argument focuses on the fact that a sufficient definition of alienation or an instrument by which to measure its presence and intensity does not appear in his work. These limitations compromise his argument to the point of making his conclusion acceptable only as a hypothesis and not as a statement of a causal relationship.

The literature which has accrued on the hippie movement in the United States since 1967 can be easily separated into two general types. The first concerns itself with the general nature of the movement, its historical

antecedents (Bangs, 1967; Hinckle, 1967; Berger, 1967), present status (Wolfe, 1968), and its potential for future development (Davis, 1967; Mandelkorn, 1967; Mandelkorn and Gooding, 1967). The second tends to focus on the individual and have him tell his own story (Wolf, 1968; Von Hoffman, 1968). To a degree The Hippie Trip (Yablonsky, 1968) attempts a synthesis of these two perspectives, but in the final analysis is not successful. The main reasons for this failure are inadequate conceptualization of the problem and lack of a standardized research procedure.

The major limitations of the more general works are that they tend to be more subjective than scientific and in the greater number of cases are based on little or no actual data. The articles which attempt to trace the historical antecedents of the hippie movement place their emphasis on the specification of specific traits which have been carried from the past into the present. There is little effort made to understand the functioning of these traits within the context of the movement itself. This characteristic tends to make these articles more speculative inquiry than sound historical research.

Von Hoffman (1968) and Wolf (1968) both approach the hippie phenomenon from the opposite perspective. Here the attempt is made to have individual respondents tell their own stories. This tactic appears to be a valuable one and yields much descriptive information on life styles. The major

limitation, however, is the lack of a systematic collection of the biographical materials. The diffuse character of much of these data makes it difficult to arrive at a clear understanding of hippie life styles.

The major deficiency in the literature that purports to deal with the hippie is the lack of a synthesis of the above perspectives. There can be little doubt that such a synthesis would greatly enrich not only our understanding of the hippie, but also of modern youth in mass society. To achieve such a synthesis would call for the utilization of that quality of mind described by C. Wright Mills as the "sociological imagination." This quality enables its possessor "to grasp history and biography and the relation between the two within society." (Mills, 1959:6) Through its use the literature of the social sciences would be greatly improved.

The focus of this present research deals with the changes in group membership exhibited by individuals who are undergoing or have passed through the drug experience. There is little in the literature that bears directly on this problem. However, certain works exist which tend to illuminate certain characteristics of the drug experience. Yablonsky points out very early in his work that the most common drugs used by the hippie are the marihuana and LSD (Lysergic acid diethylamide). (Yablonsky, 1968:22-3) To this list one could also add DMT (Dimethyltryptamine), STP

(2,5,-Dimethoxy-4-Methyl-Amphetamine), Psilocybin (from the mushroom *Psilocybe mexicana*), and Peyote and mescaline (from the cactus *lophophora Williamsii*). Though the above are not used with the frequency of marihuana and LSD, all are widely used. (Cohen, 1969:12-48) To a degree hippies may also use methedrine, but it tends to be a generally accepted rule that "Speed kills" and hence most tend to avoid its use. Various opiates, particularly heroin, also tend to be avoided not so much out of fear of addiction, but because the drug is expensive and considered to be a "downer." (Cary, 1968:40)

According to Cohen (1969:13-47), of all the drugs used by the people in the hip movement the two most recently discovered are LSD (1938) and STP (about 1965). Dimethyltryptamine (DMT) has a long history of use by the Mura Indians who took the drug by nasal inhalation (Cohen, 1969:46). Peyote, the only legal hallucinogen in the United States, is used by members of the Native American Church of North America, but only within the context of their formal religious ceremonies. Mescaline, which can be extracted from peyote, is now manufactured synthetically for distribution. (Cohen, 1969:47) Although many of the drugs used by the hippies have been around for a long period of time, they have never had the popularity that they possess today. With the exception of marihuana, most were unknown to the American public.

Of all the available literature in sociology on the topic of drug use and addiction perhaps the two most relevant sources to this inquiry are the works of H. S. Becker on marihuana (1963) and James T. Carey (1968) on the psychedelics. In Becker's article, "On Becoming a Marihuana User," he lays down the three essential conditions which must be satisfied by a neophyte if he is to continue in his marihuana usage. These fundamental conditions are of such a basic nature that they are applicable not only to marihuana usage, but also to the use of the psychedelics. Becker states that the neophyte must first learn to use the drug in such a way that it will produce real effects. Secondly, he must learn to recognize the effects and connect them with the drug. Thirdly, he must learn to enjoy the experience. (Becker, 1963:58) These fundamental conditions must be satisfied by any individual if he is to continue in the use of drugs. Yablonsky's comments on drug use among the hippies indicate that they have acquired sufficient experience so as to be advanced beyond the neophyte stage. Indeed, they show a good degree of sophistication in the matter.

The most current and scholarly work on the use of psychedelics is that of James T. Cary (1968). This work was conducted under the general sponsorship of Professor Herbert Blumer and financed through grants from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, grant nos. 65029 and 66022. Cary's study was conducted mainly on college drug users in

Berkeley, California. Berkeley, however, is also one of the major areas populated by urban hippies; indeed, Telegraph Avenue can be considered one of the most important "stems" in the hippie world. Carey's sample included not only college students, but also those who had dropped-out and were participating fully in the drug subculture. Carey maintains that a sense of disillusionment with society is manifested by all who choose to disengage themselves from its mainstream, but alienation itself is not sufficient to explain the disengagement process and the accompanying use of drugs.

For an alienated person to resort to drug use two other conditions must be met. The person must be in a setting where drugs are available and he must be introduced to the drugs by someone he holds in esteem. (Carey, 1968:48-52) These two intermediate steps illuminate part of the initial disengagement process. It is noted that the initial experimentation with drugs usually takes place in a group made up primarily of the neophyte's friends. If the neophyte is to become a regular drug user, he will have to expand his number of associates who are involved in drug use. The explanation here is simple; if one is to use drugs on a regular basis it is necessary that he have several sources of supply. To depend solely on one source would seriously curtail usage. The individual has reached an important turning point when he decides to have his own supply rather than depend on his friends as his source. At this point he accepts the risk

involved in the more systematic use of drugs. (Carey, 1968: 56-58) When an individual decides to maintain his own supply of drugs and foster a network of social relations independent of his former friends, it can be said that he has passed through the neophyte stage.

Carey's work generally is useful for understanding the creation of social relationships within the deviant subculture. However, he tells us little of what changes have occurred in older social relationships maintained by the informant. In short, we have some understanding of the process of engagement within the subculture, but little actual information on the disengagement from the larger culture. This author believes this to be the major limitation of Carey's work.

RATIONALE

The literature which deals with the hippie movement in contemporary United States is seriously compromised by the lack of systematically collected descriptive materials on the process of an individual's disengagement from society. There seems to be little clear understanding of what changes occur in the group memberships of an individual who is withdrawing from society's mainstream and entering the hippie movement. The role of the drug experience in this transition from one group to another is not described systematically, nor is it

juxtaposed to changes in peer and family relations through time. A description of value and behavior differences of the various groups of which ego becomes a member while passing through the disengagement experience would also be of value. It is to these objectives that this study will address itself.

This research is confined to an exploration of those dimensions of the disengagement noted above. The goal here is to present a process heretofore obscured by the literature and make it explicit. Consistent with the design of this research is the observation that no specific hypotheses are to be tested. Instead, the logical work which precedes such testing will be accomplished.

Chapter 2

METHODOLOGY

The research design is intended to function as a set of guidelines for gathering partial biographies of the informants involved in this study. The characteristics associated with different points in the transition process are not intended as hypotheses per se, but rather as mechanisms to aid in the systematic collection of the data. Though these mechanisms solicit certain types of data, they are not so rigid as to compromise the spontaneity of the informant and thus may allow new and germane information to come to light. It is intended that this design gather not only systematic data, but allow the informant to tell his own story without loss of integrity or distortion due to the research instrument. The quality of the data gathered will thus serve as a measure for the effectiveness of the instrument.

RESEARCH DESIGN

The design of this study focuses on the exploration and description of the transition from one life style to another, particularly that chain of events which results in an individual becoming a self-acknowledged member of the hippie movement. Initially an attempt will be made to

describe the life style of the individual and some of the value orientations, especially those related to work, drugs, sex, and religion or mysticism, that he held prior to the beginning of the disengagement process. This previous way of life will be studied in the context of the nuclear family and the various primary and secondary groups of which the informant was a member at that time. Changes in group memberships or in interaction patterns with members of former groups will be examined through time. More specifically, the approach can be presented as follows.

Time 1: Pre-drop-out Stage

This period is conceptualized as one in which there is unquestioning acceptance of those cultural definitions and mos which characterize the American social order and a willingness on the part of the individual to participate in such a culture. The particular areas for investigation during this period are:

1. The informant's particular orientation to life in society, his behavioral predispositions to work, drugs, sex and religion or mysticism
2. Family relations
 - a. The structure of the nuclear family
 - b. Orientations to work (school), drugs, sex and religion or mysticism held by members of the nuclear family

- c. The nature of the relationships which the informant maintains with members of the nuclear family
- d. Major occurrences or crises within the family during this period
- e. Social and demographic characteristics of the family

3. Social groups

- a. Structural and demographic details
- b. Group's orientation towards work (school), drugs, sex, religion or mysticism.
- c. Nature of the informant's relation to other group members
- d. Kinds of activities shared, and with whom: work, school, dating, sports, etc.

Time 2: Introduction to Drugs

This period is conceptualized as one in which the informant maintains a recreational relationship to drugs. At this time the drugs he uses are largely tangential to the main avenues of his life. Usage tends to be restricted to particular social occasions and takes place within the confines of a relatively close-knit social group usually made up of the informant's close friends. Ego will advance to the next stage of drug usage only if he finds the drug enjoyable and desires to repeat its use on a regular basis. If this condition is not met, it is likely that drugs will not play

a major role in his life. Particular points for investigation here are:

1. The social context in which initial drug use occurred
 - a. Who was present
 - b. Who initiated the act
 - c. Particular predispositions of the informant towards or against use
 - d. What drug was used
 - e. Where did the act take place
 - f. What was the informant's reaction
2. Was use repeated and if so, within what context (repeat above queries)
3. Under what conditions or for what occurrences were drugs used during this period and with whom
4. What changes occurred in the informant's social relationships
 - a. With the family
 - b. Friends (male and female)
 - c. What new friends
 1. Types of activities shared
 2. Demographic characteristics of new friends
 3. What were their orientations to work, drugs, sex, religion, or mysticism
 - d. What, if any, changes occurred in the informant's activities (work, school, etc.)
 - e. What major changes occurred in the informant's orientations toward work, drugs, sex, religion or mysticism, family, former friends, school, etc.

Time 3: Entrance into a New Style of Life

This is conceptualized as the process through which the individual repudiates the authority of the conventional mos to dictate his behavior and seeks an alternate way of life which is more suitable to his personal goals. This entrance into a behavioral subsystem may involve profound changes in peer and family relations. It is suggested here that there is a rejection of the conventional attitudes toward work, drugs, sex and religion or mysticism and a re-interpretation of these phenomena accompanied by the development of different mos to guide behavior and legitimize the new interpretation. These subcultural interpretations of social institutions may function as the value structure of the emerging life style.

Areas for inquiry here are:

1. A history of the informant's drug use, the type of drugs he used, how often, and their perceived effects
2. The informant's attitudes toward society and self at this time
3. Informant's orientation toward work, drugs, sex, religion or mysticism
4. Family relations
 - a. Nature and frequency of interaction (what changes)
 - b. Family's knowledge of and reactions to the informant's style of life

- c. Changes in family's orientations to work, drugs, sex and religion or mysticism
- 5. Informant's activities at this time
 - a. Where, how, and with whom did the informant live
 - b. How did the informant maintain himself
 - c. Were there any major crises at this time
 - d. A note on who made up the informant's social groups
 - e. What were the orientations of the new group toward work, drugs, sex, religion or mysticism and how did they live and maintain themselves
 - f. What were the major occurrences at this time (sex, love, arrests, etc.)
 - g. What changes occurred in your sphere of social relations or geographical location during this time
- 6. Informant's relations with formerly close friends
 - a. Maturity and intensity of interaction
 - b. Former peers' knowledge of or reaction to the informant's life style
 - c. Informant's evaluation of former peers.

Time 4: Present Activities and Social Characteristics

- 1. Informant's present orientation to life
- 2. Informant's present activities and orientations to

- a. Work or school
- b. Drugs
- c. Dating and sex (with whom)
- d. Religion or mysticism
- e. Living arrangements
- f. Social relations
 - 1. Friends: Who are they and what are their social characteristics? What type of activities do you share with each?
 - 2. Family relations: The relation of the family to the informant and the nature and intensity of the interaction
 - 3. Relations with former peers: With whom are relations maintained and what is the nature of the relationship?
 - 4. Summary and comments

METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Out of the many approaches available to the social scientist there have emerged four major orientations to the study of behavior which is considered in some ways deviant. A study may be designed in such a way so as to facilitate the association of a personality type with a given deviant act. (Carey, 1968:1) The emphasis here is on those psychological characteristics of the actor which predispose him toward certain forms of deviant behavior. The tools used are clinical data, test scores, and other indicators of personality type. This psychoanalytical approach to deviant behavior tends to isolate the individual from his social milieu and analyze the

salient aspects of his personality in terms of psychological theory. Because of this emphasis the psychoanalytical approach is not amenable to the goals of this research.

Another popular approach to deviance focuses on the specification of those social conditions which tend to produce deviant behavior. As noted earlier (Carey, 1968:3), this approach often leads to analysis of the social system rather than to a description of an individual's disengagement from society's mainstream. Related to this structural explanation of deviance is another approach which takes into account the structural features of deviancy but does so from the standpoint of the actor. To effectively utilize this approach the researcher should have some knowledge of the process which produced the actor's present orientations to his situation. To obtain this type of information requires the use of a broader and less commonly used approach, mainly that of a complete or partial biographical record of the informant's transition into the deviant life style. This more general approach provides a fuller context for consideration of the actor's orientation to his present social situation. It also provides a broad developmental sequence and suggests hypotheses for more detailed study within their structural context. The autobiographical approach furnishes a record which allows for the understanding of the actor's present orientations to aspects of social reality. As such it seems a logical first step toward a more structural understanding of deviance.

The case study as a research technique is probably best suited to exploratory or descriptive types of investigation. (Young, 1949:265-82; Simon, 1969:276-8; Selltitz and others, 1959:59-65)

The aim of the case study is to gather information and gain understanding about the entire life cycle or a definitive process in this cycle of an individual unit--a person, a family, an institution, social group, or community. (Young, 1949:266)

The case study or life history technique provides one with a vehicle for describing a total or partial process. If this description is thorough and insightful, it provides a framework in which further analytical research can be conducted. As such a vehicle it is logically prior to analysis, but need not be devoid of it.

Any investigation which would utilize the case study technique is subject to several limitations. The first and probably most far-reaching is the lack of a basis for legitimate generalizations from the cases studied. (Selltitz and others, 1959:64) This limitation is fostered by the fact that rarely in case studies is sampling considered and hence, any generalizations may be based on atypical cases. Regarding the present research this limitation is most applicable. Because of the amorphous nature of the hippie movement and the lack of previous objective research, the parameters of the hippie population have not yet been established. Due to a lack of clear understanding of the limits and characteristics of the

population, no attempt was made in this study to employ sampling techniques, other than subjective ones.

The group of people presented in this study were selected because of the extent of their experiences in the drug subculture. As experienced members of the deviant subsystem, they are not representative of the total movement. Instead, they tend to approximate only one of the ideal types presented by Carey; they are or have been "heads." (Carey, 1968:145-71) A head may be defined as one who uses marihuana on a daily basis, is a regular user of LSD (at least once every two weeks), and for whom the drug experience serves as a reference point for his day-to-day life. That is, he interacts mostly with those who have a similar sophistication and orientation to drugs.

Although heads are more difficult to interview than the novitiate in the drug culture, it was felt that their experiences would best illuminate the process of engagement and disengagement which comprises the transition into hippie life. The novice tends to romanticize his life style in an attempt to impress the researcher. The head, because of his maturity, usually in years as well as in the movement, can often be more objective in his observations after rapport is established.

The informants presented in this study were selected after a three month period of observation by this researcher. They were selected not only because of their willingness to

participate, but because after several checks on the validity of the information they presented the researcher, they were found to be reliable and honest informants. One cannot attempt to present these criteria as completely objective, but only as the salient guidelines that emerged from the field experience.

The records presented by these respondents are also subject to distortion of memory, particularly in recalling their earlier experiences. In order to deal with this, the respondents were asked on occasion to reiterate part of their life history. When results were discordant, a careful attempt was made to have the informant recreate the circumstances surrounding the event. It is felt by this researcher that such incongruities were the result of elapsed time rather than attempts to deceive. At times it was possible to further check on an informant's testimony with another member of the group who knew him at the time in question. When this alternative availed itself it was fully utilized.

Any attempt to research a hitherto uninvestigated area is of course fraught with difficulty and bounded by methodological limitations on the findings. However, the investigation of such phenomena carries with it its justification. If inquiry is to be conducted only on the well-trodden path, then stagnation is sure to follow. No claim is made for the generalizability of this study. The data that is to

be presented is intended to furnish the general descriptive materials and hypotheses from which more exacting forms of inquiry can begin. Therein lie the contribution and limitations of this study.

The following chapters contain the partial biographies of John Porters, Dick Stephens, and Carol Carter. These are presented as illustrative materials to demonstrate the disengagement process.

Chapter 3

JOHN PORTERS

The first section of this chapter deals with a chronological record of the disengagement process of an individual from the mainstream of contemporary society. The aim here is to have the respondent tell his own story. The biographical data presented is grouped under three general headings with subdivisions where necessary. The first general heading concerns itself with the respondent's activities and particular philosophical orientations prior to his entrance into the drug subculture. The second general heading will deal with the transitions into and life style during that period in which the informant was a self-defined member of the drug subculture. The third general heading will report the respondent's present activities and any significant changes which may have occurred in his behavior or attitudes.

The second section of this chapter consists of a summary and comments. In this section the respondent's report will be summarized and attempts made to show important stages or transitions within the portion of his life history which was presented.

The case to be presented here is that of John Porters, a 25-year-old Naval veteran presently residing in Houston,

Texas. John is employed as a lab technician and resides with two male roommates in an apartment central to the University of Houston. He is of medium height and quite athletic in posture with sandy brown hair and rather piercing eyes. At first impression he appears to be a fairly tough and hostile young man who would be most difficult to get along with. John states that this has been a useful facade to him several times in his life.

FAMILY AND EARLY YEARS

John spent all of his early life in Clearwater, Florida and came to Houston in 1969 after his discharge from the Navy. In Florida he attended Holy Redeemer Catholic School and later Wilson High School and the University of South Florida. As a grammar school student, John did not tend to excel and his lack of scholastic interest caused him to repeat the fifth grade. However, while at Holy Redeemer he tended to be a very devout Catholic and recalls that at times he would chastise the other children for their bad language and general lack of piety. During breaks in classes he was also fond of making visits to the church and praying while the other children played. John's attention to religious matters found support at home. His mother was also a devout Catholic and his family, with the exception of his father, regularly attended Sunday Mass as a unit. Perhaps a logical culmination to John's religious fervor was that

he began to think of a priestly vocation. This matter was discussed with the local priest who taught religion at Holy Redeemer and with his parish priest, but other than these discussions there were no plans made to enter a preparatory seminary.

John remembers his early home life as being very similar to that of the children he met at school. His father, a union carpenter and high school graduate, provided well for the family and it had not been necessary for his mother to work since their marriage. His mother, due to illness, had only completed the seventh grade and had later worked as a hair dresser prior to meeting and marrying his father. John is the eldest child in the family and has one brother and a sister. His brother, Mike, is now twenty-two years of age and has completed his Naval service as well as one year of junior college. John's sister, Ann, who has been physically handicapped since birth, is now sixteen years old and a full-time student. Due to periodic stays in the hospital, however, she is several years behind her cohort group in school. John recalls his early family life in Clearwater as being happy with no major crises occurring. Due to his religious ideals he remembers having no close friends during grammar school, most of his time then being spent either at school, with the family, or at church.

Although John remembers his family as being fairly close-knit, they did not share in many group activities.

Primarily there was church on Sundays and an occasional outing to the beach. The central authority figure in the family was John's father, though authority was often mediated by his mother. During this period as well as later in his life, John felt closer to his mother although he both loves and respects his father. Family life in Clearwater was pleasant and the children were trained not only in Catholicism, but in the acceptance and dignity of work and middle class life. John's home life was secure and these grammar school years passed quickly enough. After graduation John matriculated at Wilson Public High School from which he was to graduate four years later.

HIGH SCHOOL

During John's first year at Wilson High he became active with a rather small group of friends. At Wilson he met and was befriended by Tom Larimer, Jim Samuels and Burt Collins. John shared all his social activities with these friends during high school. John, Burt and Tom obtained part-time jobs through Tom's older brother at one of the local supermarkets. They worked there in the afternoons and on Saturdays. This job allowed John to earn the money for his first car and to finance his social life in high school.

Wilson, like many high schools of that time, was composed of about three different groups of students. There was, according to John, a group that came from families with

better than average incomes and another that came from middle class families. The third group consisted of people who came from widely diverse backgrounds, but shared a common identity as "thugs." John stated that he was a member of the middle segment and had little if any contact with the other two groups.

The only member of John's group who participated in any school sponsored extra-curricular activities was Tom, who was in the school band. Although John was the eldest of the group, Tom tended to be its informal leader. Most of the boys' meetings took place at Tom's home, and Tom was the first to start dating as well as the first to have a sexual experience. Of all the group's members, John felt that he had the closest relationship with Tom. Although John, Burt and Jim lifted weights together and went to dances and drive-ins frequently, John did not have the intimacy with them that he had with Tom. Tom's father travelled much of the time and John developed a warm friendship with Tom's mother who enjoyed having the boys come to visit.

John characterizes his former friends and himself as being rather naive middle class kids who did not question the legitimacy of the society around them; instead they worked, went to school, and prepared for college. All hoped to earn a college degree and obtain a good job later. Although they agreed on the value of a college education and good employment later, they did so to different degrees. Tom was the

most career-oriented and always had been. Jim and Burt both wanted a good career but were not as ambitious as Tom. John also desired a career, but one that was unusual and exciting. Even though the rest of the group were interested in business related careers, John desired to become a diver or perhaps do something in archeology. Although the career choices of the boys had not yet been clearly articulated, John felt that he was the most indecisive member of the group.

The high school years tended to pass very quickly and the boys soon started dating, smoking, and sneaking a little liquor on the side. They double dated frequently but they did not tend to date a particular group of girls. Most dates were to a drive-in movie, a dance, an athletic event or just driving around the Clearwater area. The boys did not date regularly until the latter part of high school, and hence most weekends were spent together looking for something to do. As a group their orientation towards sex was a combination of naivete and confusion. John, being a Catholic, felt that if one respected a girl he should not have intercourse with her before marriage. Jim and Burt were both confused about proper sexual conduct, but felt that it was not correct to have a sexual affair with a girl prior to marriage. Tom, the "playboy" of the group and the first to have a sexual experience, managed to resolve the conflict of Catholicism and biology by abandoning the Catholic teachings regarding sex. John states that at this time he was having some doubts about

the Catholic orientation towards life and, though he continued to go to church on Sundays, he was no longer as devout as before. Religion was coming to play a less important part in his life.

Although he dated regularly during high school, John only had two relationships which continued for any significant amount of time. The first with a girl named Carolyn Pall was a normal high school interlude made up of dances, movies, handholding and a chaste good night kiss at the door. The second with Donna was of a more serious nature and lasted from the senior year in high school to the end of John's first year of college. Although John and Donna dated for a long period of time, they were never more intimate than some heavy petting. John states that he never had intercourse with Donna "because I had too much respect for her," a statement which illustrates the impact of the Catholic doctrine on John's personal actions at this time. John's and Donna's romance terminated when she became psychologically dependent on John and desirous of a future marriage. John states, "I really loved her," but due to her bad home life (a psychotic mother and a homosexual brother) and his own personal uncertainty, he decided to terminate the affair. As noted, this occurred well into the first year of college.

John and his friends, though given to dating and occasional drinking, had no contact or knowledge of drugs. They had all read articles about drug use by Puerto Rican

street gangs in New York, but this was the extent of their knowledge. No one that they knew or heard of was using drugs and it was never a topic of serious conversation for them.

The high school years came to a close and after graduation the boys spent their summer working and preparing for college. They dated, went to movies, and spent some of their evenings drinking the forbidden beer and cruising the streets and drive-ins of Clearwater. All in all, it was a pleasant summer and in the fall they matriculated at the University of South Florida.

THE COLLEGE YEARS

The University of South Florida is a small four-year school located in Tampa. The fact of its location coupled with the low cost of tuition made possible John's attendance. At this time as well as in the years to follow, John himself earned the money to finance his education. Although his family was strongly in favor of his attending a university, they were not secure enough financially to give him full support. They did, however, provide him with a home and all the small pleasant little extras that such a facility can offer.

John began his college career with enthusiasm, but within a short time the poor scholastic habits of the past reasserted themselves and he became increasingly more casual toward academic affairs. He managed to complete his courses the first semester, but his performance was only mediocre.

His lack of academic interest flowed not only from a casual boredom with the subjects of his course work, but also from a developing ambivalence toward the worth of a college degree and a good solid career later. This conflict was not to culminate until nearly two years later when John left college for the Navy.

The first year at the University was not significantly different for John than the last year of high school. He lived at home, worked at the same grocery, dated Donna, and still spent his leisure time with Tom, Jim, and Burt. If anything had changed at all it was that he did not see his friends as frequently. Jim and Burt's work and school schedules tended to curtail outside activities. Tom, in the meantime, was developing a very collegiate type of life style and tended to interact with his friends from high school less frequently.

It was during the latter part of his first year that John began spending more and more time at the campus coffee shop. Here he developed casual associations with several people who spent a good portion of their time there. As John's interest in his classes declined, the amount of time he spent with various people in the coffee shop increased. His poor performance in class, combined with his confessed laziness and inability to make himself work depressed him, and at this time he began to seriously question whether he wanted a college degree or not. All John's life he had been

taught to desire a degree because of its employment value. As doubt of the efficacy of a college degree increased, it tended to metastasize to the career implications, and it was during his second year that this conflict increased.

It was at about this time that John's relationship with Donna was terminated, and this added to his depression. Nothing was developing as he had thought it would; instead of things getting better with college, they were becoming increasingly worse. Finally the summer arrived and a temporary surcease was effected on his academic worries. The summer passed quickly for John. He worked on a construction crew and spent his evenings drinking with Carlos. Carlos was to be his closest friend for at least the next year. Carlos was a friendly fellow from a family of teachers and spoke five languages fluently. However, Carlos' intellectual prowess was offset by his physical plainness. He was a tall, thin young man with very long dirty hair and in John's words, "just plain ugly." Carlos was completely disenchanted with society and the idea of work, his only real commitment being to archeology which he was studying in college. John found in Carlos a confidant of a sort and between them they began to rationalize away John's already declining religious beliefs. They spent their summer in long discussions about society and religion coupled with evening drinking and dart throwing matches at a local bar. Although both were under age, Carlos managed to buy beer at the bar by use of false identification.

At summer's end both John and Carlos returned to college and John's old ambivalence appeared again. The first semester was passed in the coffee shop with Carlos and some other people, and John's depression began to increase. As his academic performance weakened, he also began to have problems with his mother. She wanted her son to do well in college and his performance was poor. She wanted to know why. John did not really know the answer himself, so another source of tension descended upon him.

John had enlisted in the Naval Reserve during his junior year of high school and was presently still active in the Reserves. As his depression and tension over college work increased, he began to think more about going on active duty with the Navy. This alternative, however, was not one to which he looked forward. Experience had taught him that the Navy was a less than ideal place to spend two years of his life. As the situation stood, however, it was either improve in college or go on active duty with the Navy. The dilemma was resolved the following semester when his grades took a dip toward the academic probation line. John then made the decision to go into the Navy. Within two weeks of this decision he was standing on the deck of U.S.S. Royal, a destroyer out of Charleston.

THE NAVY

The Navy was as he suspected, and during the two years of his enlistment he made only one close friend. His cruises took him to several parts of the world--Japan, the Caribbean and Viet Nam--but his shore leaves were spent mostly in local bars not too far from where the ship was docked. He had been assigned to the Royal as a basic seaman, but within six months had worked into a position in "ship stores" primarily due to his ability to type. The days in the Navy were long and a routine of work, reading, and long social-philosophical discussions with his friend Dave was established. It was during this period that John read the works of Aldous Huxley and Ayn Rand and their thoughts became mingled with his own. He and Dave spent many hours on their cruises discussing these works and John became increasingly disenchanted with planning for college and a career after active duty. During this period John made three major decisions. Through time he had become less fervent in religious practices, but now he resolved that he was completely through with religion in general and Catholicism in particular. He also decided that he did not wish to participate in any career effort beyond what was necessary for continued existence. Along with these he resolved never to participate again in the "dating game" which characterizes courtship in American culture.

John did not fully apply any of these resolutions until the latter part of his stay in the Navy. The last few months of his enlistment were spent in Jacksonville, Florida, where the Royal had put in for repairs. As repair on a destroyer is a long and involved process, the Royal stayed in Jacksonville past the time that John was discharged from active duty.

Naval life in Jacksonville was different than that at sea in several respects. First, ship work by the crew was at a minimum and there were nightly passes for those who desired them. John and two of his shipmates, Barringer and Wilson, decided to find an apartment in town and spend all their free time away from the ship. John also owned a large motorcycle during this period and used it to get around Jacksonville as well as to and from the Royal.

On his overnight passes John hit the bars as soon as he was finished with dinner and stayed there until the early hours of the morning. While doing the bars, John met Sandra, a twenty-seven-year-old divorcee with five children, who earned her living as a bar maid. This was to be John's first steady sexual relationship and lasted until near his discharge in December of 1967. John usually stayed around the bar where Sandra worked until she got off work. Then they would spend the rest of the night at her apartment. As he usually had to be at the ship early in the morning, he became extremely fatigued after a few weeks on this schedule. One

afternoon when he was particularly tired after working all day, he obtained some amphetamines from a shipmate and got really "stoned" on them. Although a couple of his shipmates had used marihuana to get "high" while at sea, they had never initiated John in its use. Thus the amphetamines were John's first personal contact with drugs, but he had lost most of the minimally negative beliefs that he had earlier held about drugs due largely to his shipmates' use of marihuana.

John's active duty came to an end in December, 1967, and he returned home to Clearwater for Christmas.

DISENGAGEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT OF A SUBCULTURAL LIFE STYLE

Within a week after his return to Clearwater, John found a job with a construction and maintenance company. Part of the company's service included underwater work, and John was employed to do some diving along with his other tasks. The job paid well and was interesting enough to make John fairly happy. By this time he had renewed his friendship with Carlos and encountered some of the people he had known prior to active duty. However, he did not see either Jim or Burt and only once in the next two years was he to see Tom.

After work John started meeting Carlos and the old group at a Clearwater bar called Rasputin's Den. The Den had become the gathering place of the emerging drug subculture in Clearwater. One evening a friend of Carlos introduced John to a young lady named Judy. John, who had been drinking

heavily, saw her in the bar a few nights later, overcame his shyness and asked her out on a motorcycle ride the next day. The day of the outing was a beautifully clear Florida Sunday which they spent riding up and down the coast. John learned that Judy, a tall blond with a very serious face, had left home at age fifteen and was presently working and studying anthropology at the University of South Florida.

The motorcycle ride culminated in John's moving out of his parents' home and in with Judy. The family's reaction to this was extremely negative and John was to have poor and infrequent associations with his family for the next two years.

Sandy, an English major, also shared the apartment with John and Judy. The apartment was located in the older section of Tampa about ten minutes from the University of South Florida. John's days were passed in work and evenings at Rasputin's Den or at the apartment. John's initial marihuana experience took place during the first week that he and Judy lived together. One afternoon while on campus, John met Frank Southern, an old acquaintance from his Naval Reserve days, who was now attending the University. After talking for awhile, they left the campus and went over to Frank's trailer about six blocks away from the university. They were sitting around listening to music when Frank offered to "turn on" John. The offer was immediately accepted and a "joint" (marihuana cigarette) was rolled and passed between them.

Shortly after finishing the first "joint," a second was rolled and smoked. John states he had no apprehensions about marihuana because of his shipmates on the Royal and because his brother had "turned on" and told him it was a completely satisfying and enjoyable experience. These observations, combined with the fact that Judy often used marihuana and was just waiting for some to become available so she could turn him "on," made him more than willing to accept Frank's offer.

John remembers that he felt no effects until he had left Frank's and picked up Judy at the University. As soon as she got in the car, he began to blather. Judy thought this was quite funny and they laughed and kidded about it all the way home.

Shortly after this episode, marihuana became available and Judy bought a quantity for herself and John. From that point on a routine was established of "turning on" nightly and then going out to the bar or just sitting around the house. Many of their friends from the bar started to drop over evenings and anyone who had some "grass" (marihuana) would turn the others on.

Among those who dropped around most frequently were Alan and Gracie. Alan had been using drugs for the last seven years, but had managed to finish his degree and was then teaching school. His wife Gracie was also a teacher and specialized in the training of retarded children. They both

were then working during the day and were "doing dope" on evenings and weekends. They had one child, a little girl, and spent a good amount of time with John and Judy. There were many other people who John saw frequently, most of them full-time workers and/or students who had been friends of Judy, and were involved in the new drug subculture. Among these were Paula and Chubby, a couple who were dating at this time, but later married.

The first six months after his discharge, except for the trouble with his parents, were very happy ones for John. He enjoyed his new group of friends and his use of drugs. Life with Judy during these months had also been pleasant and he was forming a real attachment to her. The only thing that really bothered him was that he felt he was making no progress and his life was going nowhere in particular. This lack of direction troubled him some, but was not to be problematic until a few months later. Until then life was passed in work and relaxation. His sex life with Judy was gratifying to them both and he no longer was bothered by the moralism that had governed his earlier relationships. He, like other members of the group, both male and female, believed that sex was to be enjoyed and not something people should feel paranoid about if they were not married. Although there were no homosexuals or lesbians in the group closest to John, he knew many who lived in the area. On the whole, there was an atmosphere of sexual tolerance.

The main characteristic shared by John's friends and other associates at the bar was that they all were active drug users. Alan had used marihuana, peyote, speed, mescaline and a variety of other drugs for a good number of years. Judy had been into marihuana and mescaline for two years when John met her. Alan's wife, Gracie, also enjoyed the use of "grass" and other drugs. Sandy, the girl who shared the apartment with John and Judy was also an active user. Most of the group's leisure time was spent either at home or at Rasputin's Den, but regardless of where they were they were usually "stoned."

About the seventh month that he lived with Judy, John became increasingly disenchanted with himself and his lack of direction. This disenchantment stemmed also from his work which he was finding more and more tedious as of late. A personal conflict with his boss tended to compound the dismal situation and John began to think of quitting and trying something else. He became increasingly moody at home and trouble began to develop. John states that the more depressed he became, the "bitchier" Judy was and soon they were spending a good amount of time quarreling and at "each others' throats." John felt that his frustration flowed from not knowing what he was going to do with his life. He had been swept into Judy's life, her friends, her apartment, and her style of living. He was slowly losing track of himself and this caused the frustration to intensify. He compensated for his

emotional turmoil by slowly withdrawing from Judy and into himself. The moodiness increased and so did the fights with Judy. They no longer took pleasure in each other's company and the situation at home became very tense. The situation was finally resolved very quietly one evening and John moved out the next morning. John and Judy kept in touch with each other, but never resumed living together. After about a year Judy left Tampa for Chicago, and they continue to communicate to this day. At this writing John intends to meet Judy for two weeks this summer (1970) to see if they can now work things out. He looks forward to the meeting, but is not overly optimistic about its success.

John left Judy because he wanted to get "into himself" and try to decide what to do the rest of his life. However, as fate would have it, he went to the opposite extreme of doing nothing and avoiding any serious thinking about his future. - After his exit from the apartment, he moved in with a long haired "Hemingway type" who lived on the outside of Tampa. By this time John had quit his job with the construction company and was working on a city surveying crew. He became bored with this job quickly and quit. His only source of employment was doing yard and tree work with a friend named Dick. When John moved in with Dick, he began to do drugs on a daily basis and for the next eighteen months, drugs were to be the focal point of his life. He and Dick would get up about eleven o'clock in the morning and after

eating some breakfast they would "turn on." The rest of the day would be spent smoking more grass and getting higher. During the evenings they would go over to see Jaime and get "stoned" again, sit around and play guitars for the rest of the night. John and Dick would spend the majority of their afternoons at a local swimming pool usually "stoned out of their minds." They worked only when it was really necessary and they needed the money to buy some more grass or pills. After two months of this, John's weight dropped to 140 lbs. and he suffered a mild case of malnutrition. His cheeks began to sink in, he became listless and totally without energy. The continuous marihuana usage had caused John to neglect his diet. He ate only about once a day and that was usually only a sandwich or two. Compounding the difficulties of the malnutrition, John developed an extremely bad case of pyrrhea and his gums would start to bleed whenever he tried to speak. John treated himself for these maladies by the use of vitamin pills and a special toothpaste for the gum trouble. He combined these efforts with sound dietary practices and in about six weeks the symptoms of both maladies abated.

During that summer (1968) John spent every moment that he could "stoned." As he states, "thinking at this time was difficult for me and getting stoned was simple, so I got stoned." The main source of John's conflict at this time was his inability to make a success of his life. He thought that he had put society's guidelines for living behind him,

but in his more honest moments he realized this was not the case. There was no way that he could rationalize the way he was living, so he avoided the confrontation with himself by staying continuously under the influence of drugs. During the week he stayed stoned with Dick and Jaime. On weekends long marathons at Jaime's house, spent doping and playing the guitar, made the time pass. The main drugs that John used at this time were marihuana and biphphetamine-30's which Jaime procured by prescription. Biphphetamine-30 is a high-powered amphetamine known to people in the drug subculture by the pseudo-name of "speed." (This is not the same kind of "speed" as methadrine, however, which is also known as "speed" but is a much more powerful drug and is usually injected.) The use of this drug is what John feels caused his poor health at the time.

Toward the end of the summer John tired of Dick's company and moved back into his parents' home. They had departed for Texas and needed someone to take care of the house until it was sold. At the time of his return home John borrowed some money from his brother to go to school. Come September he was back at the University of South Florida as a full-time student. Upon his return he entered a work-study program on campus and found another part-time job cleaning up Rasputin's Den seven mornings a week. In return for his labor at the bar, he was given all the food and beer he could eat and drink. John was again troubled by his poor

study habits and finished the semester on academic probation. When January, 1969, arrived John had decided to withdraw from school permanently and go to work as a foreign car mechanic.

All during the semester he was in college he had still kept up with drugs and until he developed kidney trouble, he was also drinking quite a lot. In the eighteen-month period described here, John had had over twenty-five LSD trips and he states that "you could count on the fingers of one hand the days that I didn't turn on with something."

A vacation trip with his parents, who were concerned about his welfare, resulted in John's coming to Houston to live and work. By this time he was tired of getting "stoned" and forgetting. He did not want to live a life similar to his parents, nor did he want to go on as he had been. Thus he came to Houston to see if he could straighten himself out.

ARRIVAL AND PRESENT ACTIVITIES IN HOUSTON

Within a week of his arrival John found his present job as a lab technician with a local Houston firm. For a while he continued to live with his parents, but as soon as his finances permitted he moved into Houston. His first residence in the city was a large house not far from the University of Houston which he shared with four other people. The people were also "heads" and the old pattern of turning on every evening reappeared. John had seriously curtailed his drug use. John states that during the next few months he

"really got into doing yoga" and after a period of time his nightly drug use declined. He found that through yoga, exercise and the right foods he could still get high, but it wasn't an escape type of high. He began to spend more and more time thinking through his past problems and working some of them out. To John it became very important to return money he had borrowed from his family. Every pay day his first expenditure is a payment on the family loan.

Although John's use of drugs has declined significantly since coming to Houston, he still "turns on" occasionally. However, during the last few months John has not turned on more than once a week and usually confines himself to marijuana, avoiding the use of "speed" and "acid." To the question of why? he answers, "I no longer need acid. I have gotten my head in a good place and no longer need it." Though his own use is minimal John still advocates the use of most psychedelics stating that when used correctly, they may do something for the individual.

John has not yet made his peace with society. He feels that society "wants to make everybody like everybody else," and this he resents. He will continue to work because it is a practical necessity, but he will also continue to violate the drug laws when he chooses. He presently exists in a state of hostile symbiosis with society. Still very much a member of the hip subculture, John refuses to accept the social dictates regarding work, drugs, religion and sex.

He finds the thinking of the deviant subculture more to his liking and as a member of this subsystem he confronts and participates in American culture.

SUMMARY AND COMMENTS

John Porters' history of drug use may be seen as a cyclic phenomenon. After his return from the Navy he began to use marihuana recreationally although heavily for about eight months. When his affair with Judy terminated, he became intense in his drug use and expanded his experiences to include LSD, biphetemine-30's, mescaline, peyote, and psilocybin. Drugs during that period were the focal point of his existence. However, within one year after leaving Tampa, he had seriously curtailed his drug use without any serious expenditure of will power because his "head is in a good place" and he no longer needed them. While in Tampa, John used drugs heavily to avoid thinking about his personal problems and failures. When John came to Houston, however, he utilized drugs to help himself to clear up part of his past conflicts. . . .

It is suggested here that heavy use of the psychedelics at one time does not imply continuous usage, nor does it imply physical or psychological addiction. John's case shows that one may become psychologically dependent on the psychedelics, but this dependency need not become chronic and pathological. However, substantiation of such an observation is a task for further research.

It should be noted that the degree of disengagement from the mainstream of American life varied directly with the intensity of John's drug usage. The fact that he did not become "addicted" to the psychedelics made it possible for John to participate not only in the drug subculture but later, to participate in life on the periphery of the American social structure. John's attitudes toward work do not allow the pursuit of a career objective. However, these attitudes have sufficiently adapted to the larger culture in order to allow John to maintain himself while pursuing personal goals more important to him.

An analysis of John's biographical material illustrates the following process of disengagement from and reengagement to the mainstream of American society. During his early years prior to his discharge from the Navy, John was well adapted to the mos of conventional society although in some cases he questioned their legitimacy. After his discharge from the Navy, John spent several months in transition from the larger system into the deviant subsystem. During that period, contact with family and former peers decreased. John took up membership in groups whose ideology differed significantly from that of the dominant culture. John's own attitudes toward work, sex, drugs, and religion changed most profoundly as his degree of drug usage and identification with the deviant subcultural system increased. However, John's feelings toward his family and his personal evaluation that his

life at this time was a failure indicate that he was not completely divorced from the ideology and social units of the larger American system. John's biography suggests that disengagement need not be complete and in his case, never was.

This observation raises the question of the nature of the interactions between the deviant subsystem and the larger culture, as understandings of these relationships would greatly increase present knowledge of the hippie phenomenon.

Chapter 4

DICK STEPHENS

The first section of this chapter presents a biographical record of an informant's transition into the drug subculture. The data will be divided into the categories specified in Chapter 3 in order to increase clarity and aid continuity for the reader. The first section is concerned largely with having the informant tell his own story, as he lived it and within the subjective confines of his ability to recall. The second section will consist of a summary and conclusions concerned with pointing out the salient features of the biographical record.

The case to be presented here is that of Dick Stephens, a twenty-five-year-old white male presently residing in Houston, Texas. Dick is a very tall, thin young man who earns his living by doing a variety of odd jobs. He is married and lives with his wife in an integrated community central to downtown Houston. Dick is a rather colorful young man who enjoys wearing mod clothing and is particularly fond of headbands. Although his clothing is quite lively, Dick is quiet and shy in disposition. He is usually very affable but does not make friends easily. At this writing Dick has only one close friend and though he knows many other people, his shyness inhibits the formation of other friendships. Dick,

like most people involved in the drug subculture, will stay in Houston long enough to get his finances straightened out. Then he and his wife will leave, hoping never to return except for an occasional visit to see his parents who presently reside in the city.

FAMILY AND THE EARLY YEARS

Dick's family came to Houston in 1959, when his father accepted a position as director of a local research agency. In addition to Dick, who is the eldest, there are two girls in the household. Dick and his family took up residence in the southwest section of the city, and he and his sisters graduated from Westbury High School. The present educational level of Dick's family is quite high. His father holds a Ph.D. in biology and his mother holds a master's degree in the same discipline. Both of his sisters have attended college and earned bachelor's degrees. Dick was to be the only one in his nuclear family not to earn at least one university degree.

Dick recalls his family life during high school as being pleasant, but not exciting. As the only male child in the household, he did not really enjoy his sisters' company and because he did not make friends easily, he spent most of his time alone in his room reading. The family as a unit shared few activities, the most important being the yearly summer vacation. The family income was sufficiently high

that he was not allowed to work during high school. His father believed that Dick could best utilize this free time for study. Although Dick's family are Presbyterian, they did not attend church regularly and religion was largely tangential to family life. The children were taught to behave respectably, but not particularly in accord with any given religious doctrine. The girls, Linda and Claire, were trained to be sexually pure "good middle class girls," although Dick admits they may have fallen a little short of the goal later in life. Dick does not recall religion ever playing an important role for any member of the family.

Life in Houston was pleasant enough and the high school years passed quickly for Dick. Dick spent his time fishing, hunting, working on his car, and reading, although he rarely interacted with his classmates outside school. At school he was in the band and played clarinet, "an evil woodwind that blows no good." Dick managed to keep himself busy, but missed the social life that the other fellows at school enjoyed. Even though he was in the band, he rarely attended the parties after football games and when he did, felt out of place. Because of his shyness he was unusually quiet and rarely, if ever, initiated activities for others. This limited social life caused Dick to feel somewhat an outsider for all of his high school career. Dick states that the thing he wanted and missed most at this time was contact with girls. The girls in his family had been socialized to sexual

abstinence, but Dick felt this restriction was certainly not incumbent on him. Hence, his problem was a practical one of procedure rather than an ethical one of right and wrong. His dates were few and usually consisted of a movie and hand-holding, hardly adequate for Dick's needs at the time. He recalls that he never dated any girl steadily and "completely missed out on" the high school romance that characterizes the lives of so many. His attitudes toward sex at this time were positive, although he still carried with him the idea that "nice girls didn't." His sex life in high school consisted of poorly timed lurches usually made at inappropriate times and places. Consequently, at his high school graduation Dick was a rather inexperienced eager young man who resented still being a "virgin."

During high school Dick does not recall ever having heard about drugs. He might have read something about them, but he did not give it much thought. Although he did not know any of his high school peers well, he does not think that any used or had extensive knowledge of drugs. The topic never came up at home, and he was completely naive about drug use and nomenclature until later in his life.

The high school years were a quiet time for Dick, and as the time of graduation grew closer, his routine of fishing, hunting, or working on the car changed very little. During his senior year some time was spent filling out the appropriate forms and taking the correct examinations for college

entrance. Dick never questioned the fact of going to college. His parents emphasized that college was a necessary component of success and his father's income and standard of living seemed to support their position. Consequently, Dick accepted the fact that he would go to college. He also expected to complete his university education and obtain prestigious employment later on in life. These were things he accepted; it would be a few years until he began to question seriously this way of life for himself. After graduation and the family's summer vacation, Dick left Houston to matriculate at the University of Texas.

AUSTIN AND THE COLLEGE WEEKS

Dick stayed at the University of Texas for only ten weeks, at the end of which he returned to his family's home in Houston. Dick states that he left for Austin with feelings of enthusiasm and excitement over beginning college, but that these feelings quickly waned. He found life in Austin still filled with loneliness, only now it was compounded. He knew no one and did not feel particularly close to his dorm mates. He was still shy and felt acutely at this time his inability to make friends and have some type of social life. Dick found his classes to be rather dull and soon lost interest. He became very lax in attendance. As the weeks passed he could see little reason for remaining in Austin. He had no friends, no academic life or interest, and really no sound reason for

remaining there. Dick states, "All I was doing those ten weeks was wasting my parents' money, and besides, I just didn't fit." It was in such a state of mind that Dick boarded a bus from Austin to return to Houston.

His arrival at home was first a surprise and later an outrage to his parents when they learned he did not plan to return to the University, but instead wished to go to work. Although they were not happy with Dick's decision, his parents did not force him to return to Austin. They instead sat down with him to discuss how he could best spend the next few years until he was ready to return to college. After a week Dick and his family reached a decision--he would go into the Army. This decided, Dick went down to the Army recruiter and enlisted. Within another week, he was on his way to basic training at Fort Hood, Texas. Dick states that he and his family had reached their decision on the assumption that he would have to fulfill his military obligation anyway, and this seemed like the best time to get it over with. He still wanted to have a college education and good career, but more than this he wanted a social life. He felt that the Army would allow him to mature a bit and meet some people with whom he could become friends. It was with these feelings that Dick reported to Fort Hood.

THE U.S. ARMY

Dick arrived at Fort Hood with two high school acquaintances from Houston and they began their basic training together. As a new trainee Dick states that he was extremely enthusiastic or "gung ho." He made a conscious effort to out-perform the other men in his platoon and would do things like run an extra lap or do additional exercises after the period of exercising had ended. The enthusiasm and willingness to perform made him the outstanding recruit in his training platoon. Both his commanding officer and platoon sargent thought highly of Dick, and it appeared that he would be one of the recruits to earn a private first class stripe right out of basic training. Just at the time Dick was doing so well, he became disenchanted with the Army. He got tired of the routine and lack of adventure, but even more important, he resented the isolation from the outside world. "I was still after a social thing and really thought I would find it in the Army." As Dick's disenchantment grew, his efficiency fell off and finally he decided to "split" from Fort Hood. He made this decision after being in the Army for twenty-eight days.

Dick recalls that he left camp at about two o'clock one morning and hitch-hiked through the Texas rain. After about ten and a half days on the road, he had made his way to San Diego, California. During his trip Dick began to have some misgivings about his actions and after spending a day in

San Diego, he decided to return to Fort Hood. He states that he did not want to spend a life-time running and waiting for the "clowns" to catch up with him. The next day Dick began to hitch-hike back to Fort Hood. Three days later he slipped back into camp and "magically reappeared." "They weren't impressed and I was court-marshalled." Punishment was assessed at a 75% reduction in pay and extra duty for the next forty-five days. "I felt that the punishment and harassment was too severe and began to disobey orders." This further angered the Army personnel and within a week he was tried twice more for disobedience to orders and confined to the stockade.

Six of the eight months of Dick's service time was spent in the stockade. Life in a service detention unit was boring and hard. Most of the days were spent on work crews under the direction of an armed guard. "We did the jobs considered too dirty for the rest of the camp." Dick originally was confined for only six weeks, but his continued rebellion against orders caused his sentence to be increased periodically. "Every time I was ready to get out, I would get mad about something and refuse an order or pop off." For his lack of obedience, Dick found himself on three different occasions confined to maximum security for a month. He also aided in the escape of other prisoners on several occasions, and for his actions received stiffer penalties. Dick made no friends in the stockade, but there was a sense of camaraderie

among the inmates. Most of his fellow prisoners were "Country Joes" with little to offer in the way of conversation, but they all felt that they were in this thing together. After Dick had been in confinement for about six months, his father called the post commander to see if anything could be done about his son. Through his father's intercession, Dick was released from the stockade and within two days he was issued an undesirable discharge from the U.S. Army.

TRANSITION INTO THE DRUG SUBCULTURE

Dick again took up residence with his family upon returning to Houston. Relations were somewhat strained due to the facts of his service record and general lack of direction. This dissension hastily increased when Dick argued for finding a job rather than returning to school. His parents, however, convinced him to try the last summer session at the University of Houston. Dick could not make the transition from the Army stockade to college life and hence withdrew from classes about the third week of the session. His parents were upset by this, but finally decided to let Dick get a job.

Dick went to work as an assistant to the purchasing agent in a manufacturing company and continued to live with his parents. His evenings were spent going to movies and driving around the city. He became friendly with one of his sister's friends, Carl, and they began going to Van's Ballroom, a "body exchange" in the southwest section of the

city. For the next few months Dick did a "booze thing" and spent many evenings at Van's looking for some action. He was largely unsuccessful with the girls at Van's, but started dating an eighteen-year-old girl, Janice, who lived down the block from his parents' house. They dated occasionally for the next six months, during which Dick lost not only his virginity but also his interest in Janice.

At this time Dick states that he knew that, ". . .the hippies in California were smoking something mysterious, but I thought it was special strange stuff and was surprised when a guy at work said he had some." Dick did not believe his associate, but finally his curiosity got the best of him, and he asked if he could buy some. After making the purchase (a matchbox), Dick called a girl he had met at the office who said she knew how to smoke it and asked her to show him how to "turn on." That weekend Dick and Nancy went to the woods around Alvin and "turned on." Dick believes that at this point in his life he had never sensed anything that would compare with "grass." "The stuff took me completely by surprise and I really got stoned." After this initial encounter with marihuana, Dick "turned on" as often as he could, but the problem of sources and availability seriously curtained his usage. His friend at work soon ran out, and Dick knew no one else that he could "score" from on a regular basis. For the next six weeks Dick and Nancy were able to "turn on" only twice and each time the "grass" was of a poor quality.

Dick had tried to find a steady source of supply, but was without success. At the close of the summer Dick was still enthusiastic about drugs, but had agreed to his parents' wishes that he attend college in the fall. As he had done a year earlier, Dick again packed his bags and set off for the University of Texas.

The fall semester of 1964 was no more successful than his first attempt, but Dick managed to endure the entire semester. Life in Austin was still lonely, and he made no friends either in the dorm or elsewhere. While in Austin Dick kept an "eye out" for some available "grass," but never located a source of supply. The time seemed to creep by at the University, but as it passed Dick was becoming more convinced that he did not want to be in college. At the end of the semester he returned home and convinced his parents to permit him to return to work. Dick's relationship with his father and mother had been tense for the last year. They wanted to guide his actions and help him find himself, but even though he tried he could not produce what they wanted from him. Reluctantly his parents agreed to let him work, but they felt that he was making a mistake in not returning to the University. Even though they allowed him to go to work and live at home they continued to encourage him to go to college.

Shortly after Dick's return home his grandfather died and Dick inherited fifteen hundred dollars. At first he was

determined not to spend this money foolishly and to do "something good with it." However, shortly afterwards he decided to get an apartment, a car, a job and move out on his own. He found a job as a draftsman's assistant and within a week moved into his own apartment. When Dick left home his relationship with his family had eased somewhat but they were still concerned about his welfare.

Dick enjoyed his job as a draftsman and was soon promoted to doing some of the more difficult jobs around the office. With things at work going smoothly he began frequenting a few night clubs in the evenings and doing "the gay bachelor scene." Most of his evenings and weekends were spent either at night clubs or at the movies. All his attempts at this time to locate and purchase some marihuana were unsuccessful. Finally Dick met a girl who knew of some sources from which marihuana could be purchased. His new friend, Bobbie, lived in the same apartment complex and they began to "turn on" frequently in the evenings. As fate would have it, within a few months Bobbie moved away from the apartment and Dick again lost a source of supply. Although he could no longer "do drugs" frequently he was more interested in them than before. He spent the next few months trying to find another source, but failed almost completely. Once, by accident, he managed to score "half a lid" (one-half an ounce) which he nursed along for well over six weeks.

Due largely to pressure from his parents Dick again returned to college in September, 1966. Instead of moving back home he found an apartment with some people who had advertised for a roommate. The apartment complex was near the University and inhabited almost totally by students. It was while living here that Dick met the only really close friend he has had to this date. Sam Walker was also a student and quite interested in the drug scene and hippie movement. Although he had never "turned on," Sam was favorably disposed toward drugs and was just waiting for an opportunity. When Dick learned this fact he quickly set out to rectify the situation and did so in short order. Soon after meeting Sam, Dick located a source of supply they both utilized fully for the next year.

The first semester passed quickly for Dick, but more time was spent on drugs than on the books and he found himself on scholastic probation. Although this bothered his parents, it made no real impression on Dick. He was now more concerned with other things.

Having located a source of supply, Dick's drug use expanded to include LSD. His first trip was made at his apartment and by himself. Dick states, "I learned from those first few trips that what I really wanted to do was get away from society. I spent the next few years trying to make it happen." By the end of the spring semester of 1966, Dick was again ready to leave college. He and Sam pooled their

money (about \$100), packed their bags, and took off for California in Sam's old Ford.

When the boys arrived in San Francisco, they found an apartment and set out to find some jobs. Dick says that although they were unable to find work, they were able to find all the dope they wanted. Fellow heads around the apartment turned them on without any questions and he and Sam stayed around for a couple of weeks "just grooving on the city." After two weeks of hand-to-mouth existence, Sam tired of the situation and returned to Houston. When Sam left, Dick moved in with a group of "dopers" who lived in the same building. Dick stayed for two months in San Francisco. He lived off his savings and with what little money his parents sent him, there was no need to work.

Dick spent these two months with some "real heads." Roger and Lynn owned the old apartment and had been "into dope" for about five years. They had migrated to California from New York and bought the apartment with money they had previously saved. Besides Dick, there were two other people in the house, Norm and Che. They were both from Louisiana and had been living in San Francisco for about a year. Everyone in the house was an experienced "doper" and "they really enjoyed turning me on," states Dick. As Dick was a novice in drugs, the others often enjoyed watching the effects that grass and acid had on Dick. By this time Dick's drug experience had further expanded. He was now not only

familiar with "grass" and LSD, but had also used peyote, mescaline, psilocybin, and speed. Dick states, "I was having a ball."

At the end of his third month in San Francisco, Dick was running seriously short of money. He withdrew the last \$90 from his savings account, said good-bye to his friends, and caught a plane to Houston. Dick moved back with his parents and found a job as a machinist's apprentice. The situation at home became even more strained when Dick told his parents that he was using drugs and planned to return to California. His parents' initial reactions were shock and disbelief that slowly ossified into rage. However, their anger passed when they saw it was having no effect on Dick except to make him more determined to follow the course he had outlined. Dick's parents were confronted by a serious dilemma and one they would not resolve until their son had returned to California. On the one hand, they were outraged by their son's actions and his refusal to abandon them; on the other hand, they deeply loved Dick and wanted to help him. Dick states that they finally came around to acceptance; this was in reality the only course open to them. They either learned to accept him as he was or they lost him completely.

Dick earned enough money in Houston to buy an old car and return to California. Upon his arrival back in San Francisco, he still had about two hundred dollars and decided to put off going to work for a while. He moved back in with

his old group and spent the next few weeks getting stoned, tripping, and seeing the sights. Time was passed at rock concerts, tripping on Telegraph Avenue in Berkeley, getting stoned while surrounded by the lush beauty of Marin County, and getting stoned, and getting stoned, and getting stoned. There were trips to the Big Sur, to Mount Tamalpais, to the Oakland and Berkeley hills, and hazy afternoons spent in Golden Gate Park tripping out, looking at the birds, and staring at the sea.

Dick spent his first few weeks back in California well, but the old specter money raised its pragmatic head and Dick had to go back to work. In the next few months Dick had several jobs, ranging from stock and sales clerk in a printing company to gas station attendant, but none lasted very long. The fact that he could not keep a job did not disturb Dick because he was interested in other things. He wanted to stay stoned and "look at the beautiful world" around him. He was tiring of San Francisco and longed to get out in the country by himself. Although the city and its colorful life still appealed to him, he wanted to be around fewer people, to do a "nature thing." Dick was not to realize this dream until almost eighteen months later.

The people with whom he lived were beginning to get on his, as well as each others', nerves and soon the group dissolved. Dick moved into an apartment by himself and Norman and Che left the Bay Area to travel. As soon as Dick

was on his own again, money difficulties became acute and he was unable to find work. Before, everyone had contributed to the group's support when they were working, and money was not a major problem. Now, the situation was different and Dick's inability to find work after a few weeks forced him to wire home for money. The money was sent, and in September, 1969, Dick returned to Houston. The months that Dick had spent in California were perhaps the best of his life. He had friends, was doing "social things," and really enjoyed himself. He felt completely free from the pressures of work, school, and society. His life was his own. The one sour note at this time was his lack of feminine companionship and affection. "There were no chicks except as friends." Dick states that his shyness was only partially responsible for this state of affairs. "The chicks that I knew then were experienced dopers and I was just a beginner." Dick feels that this was the main reason for his chastity during this period.

THE PRESENT

On his return to Houston, Dick had his final bout with higher education. His parents had convinced him to return to the University of Houston. Within a few weeks, however, he withdrew and he states that he will probably never return again. Dick has learned one valuable lesson from college--it's not for him. Dick believes that he is now completely free from the "ambition thing" and can lead

the life he has been "trying to make happen" for the past few years.

One evening when he and Sam were out, they stopped by to see one of Sam's girlfriends, "a chick named Jenny." They stayed around with Jenny and her roommate for a few hours getting stoned, listening to music, and having fun. All were having a good time except Sam who had become moody and quiet because Dick and Jenny were getting along so well. Finally Sam got angry, "flung a few curses and split." Dick states, "That night I moved into the front bedroom with Jenny and haven't left since." Dick and Jenny, who is just beginning to use drugs, were married that November (1969), and settled down to life in Houston.

Jenny is a college senior who is working full-time at night and attending classes during the day. She is outgoing and friendly, but "gives in to occasional bitchy spells." She and Dick appear to be very happy together. They share their home with three other people--a student, a carpenter, and a factory worker. Dick and Jenny's household expenses are minimal and Dick works occasionally to help over the "rough spots," but he generally spends his time working on the house. For a few months Dick grew marihuana in a home-made hothouse, but finally had to stop because of the increased number of "busts" (drug arrests) that are taking place in Houston. Every member of the household at present is into drugs and there is usually an ample supply available.

A few months past, Dick began to work at a series of odd jobs to "get out of Houston." By this time his parents have accepted the fact that Dick will not follow the common life style of their friends' children. They have also accepted his drug use, his plans, and his wife to whom they are devoted. For Dick, the main focus of his life is to learn about himself and to live a particularly simple life. He enjoys working with his hands, building things, and not being obligated to work. He has overcome his loneliness and now feels more secure with himself. Dick feels his present state is largely attributable to the drug experience. He does not think that he could be "this well together" had he continued to strive for the goals his parents desired for him.

Dick plans to continue his drug use and to live the life style labeled by the mass media as "hippie." It is in this life style that he has found the most freedom and the greatest personal security. He is happy and secure now and he states that he has not felt like this before.

At this writing Dick and Jenny have all their belongings loaded into the back of their Ford Bus and are on their way to Canada. It will be there that Dick will do his "nature thing" and if money permits, live a simple life in the mountains of British Columbia.

SUMMARY AND COMMENTS

Dick Stephens is presently a twenty-five-year-old man trying to make a life for himself and his wife in British Columbia. By the standards that evaluate behavior in our society he is a failure and a deviant, but certainly there is much more to his story than that. If one is concerned with the interaction of biography with historical process (Mills, 1959:6) then Dick Stephens' life takes on other dimensions that we will concern ourselves with here.

As mentioned earlier in this paper the genesis of the hippie movement may never be known, but one cannot deny that the movement is an active component of our present society. To state that Dick Stephens is alienated and hence he dropped-out begs the question of transition into a deviant life style widely practiced within American Society. Central to this deviant life style labeled as "hippiedom" is the phenomenon of the drug experience. In the ethos of American culture there is the widely held belief that drugs are the ruination of an individual's life... But does this belief about drugs really apply to Dick Stephens? It is definitional that Dick's utilization of drugs makes him and thousands like him social deviants. The issue here, however, is not to label, but to attempt understanding. In order to be objective and not ethnocentric about the role and influence of the psychedelics one must take a new perspective on drugs entirely.

Yablonsky (1968) has pointed out that the hippies' use of drugs has very little in common with the addiction problems of the old-line heroin users. Another fundamental difference between the hippie and the old-line addict is that the hippie is not physically addicted to the psychedelics he uses.

An immediate question here, however, is what do Dick Stephens' experiences tell us about transition, drugs and the hippie life style? It should be noted very early that when one drops-out he need not do so completely. In Dick's case, he consistently maintained his relations with his family. The relationship tended to change in nature through time, but was never severed. It is interesting to note that when Dick's parents became fully aware of his drug use it was they who had to adapt to the situation rather than Dick. In this situation it may be the case that when family relations are intimate and warm that the family will overlook the conventional stigma attached to one of its members in order to maintain the family unit. The extent and characteristics of family adaptation to a member's drug use are subjects for further and more detailed research. If one is to understand the social context of individuals involved in the hippie movement, then one must look at the social relationships maintained outside of as well as within the deviant subculture.

Dick's biography also suggests that the drug experience was a crucial factor in determining his life style in the years to come. Understanding of the effects

of the psychedelic drugs is still nascent, but perhaps sociologists and psychologists should develop their research in tandem with that of the biologist and pharmacologist to attempt clarification of the influence of the psychedelic drugs on personality and social behavior. The psychedelics play an important role in the hippie life style, and any knowledge gained concerning them may be most fruitful for the comprehension of the total phenomenon. The observation is made that Dick Stephens' attitude toward work, drugs, and society in general changed most rapidly after his initial exposures to LSD. This observation raises the question of possible effects of the hallucinogens on an individual's perception of self and society. In Dick's case he feels that the change in attitudes was catalyzed directly by the drug experience, but this is not a hypothesis that can be proven on the strength of one or two cases. Hence, further research would be required to substantiate or reject the hypothesis.

Dick's biography suggests that there may be within the hippie subculture a developing system of stratification based on sophistication and experience with the psychedelic drugs. Yablonsky (1968) also suggested the existence of such a system, but did not present any illustrative materials on its functioning in daily life. Dick's case points out that this hypothesized system may well be the factor that determines the intensity and nature of a relationship maintained by two or more people within the deviant subsystem. However,

the data to support or reject such a premise are at present inconclusive.

This partial biography of Dick Stephens suggests many areas for further research, but its main value is that it illustrates an individual's attempt to come to grips with the world around him, in essence the determining of personal biography within historical process. Sumner (1907:2) has noted that "the first task of life is to live," and this is the proposition to which Dick has addressed his efforts.

Chapter 5

CAROL CARTER

This chapter is organized along the same format that was delimited in Chapters 3 and 4. The first section deals with a chronological record of a segment of the informant's life history. The second section is a summary and comments of the individual case which was cited.

The chapter concerns itself with a partial biography of Carol Carter, a twenty-six-year-old white female presently residing in Houston, Texas. Carol, a native-born Houstonian, is presently a college junior and works part-time as a secretary. She is a short girl with long brown hair and very graceful mannerisms. Carol prides herself on her intellectual acumen and is in the scholastic honors program of a local university.

FAMILY AND THE EARLY YEARS

Carol Carter was born into a middle class family in Houston, Texas. Shortly after Carol's birth, her father and mother divorced and for about one year there was no male head of the family. When Carol was two, her mother remarried and has been married to the same man for the past twenty-four years. Carol's stepfather, Leo, is a union stereotyper and is seventeen years older than her mother. Leo Carter is a

hard-working man who takes his familial responsibilities seriously and does his best to provide for the family. Leo has only seven years of formal education, having quit school to begin working rather early in his life. Carol's mother, Bonnie, completed eleven years of formal education and is presently employed as a clerk in a downtown department store. There are three children in the family and Carol is the eldest. Her younger brother, James, is a high school graduate who has completed his military service and is presently employed by the federal government. He is twenty-two years of age, married, and resides in Cleveland, Ohio. Carol's sister, Dorothy, is also a high school graduate and married. She is twenty-one years old and is presently living in Germany with her husband who is in the United States Army.

Carol's family resides in the northeast section of Houston and has lived there as long as she can remember. The family has never participated actively in any church or community affairs. Carol's mother is a Catholic and her father a fundamentalist Baptist, although neither participates in his religion formally. Carol states that there was no attempt made by her parents to indoctrinate any of their children into the tenets of any formal religion. They did, however, receive the normal training in correct and respectful behavior toward themselves and others. Carol believes that the religious heterogeneity of the household was partially responsible for her self-identification as an

agonistic in her early years and later in high school and college.

The family may have been lax in the religious training of their children, but Carol feels that they were sufficiently enthusiastic in teaching the children the ideology of work. Both her mother and stepfather tried to instill in the children the belief that to work was a good and honorable thing and those people who would not work were to be looked down upon. Her parents believed in the value of education but to different degrees. Both, however, saw the main value of education as being the career opportunities that it provided. Carol's mother felt that a college education was necessary in order for a person to succeed in contemporary society. Her stepfather, however, felt that high school should suffice and that "there was something wrong with a person who spent most of their life in school."

Carol attended Reagan High School for four years and graduated in 1962. Her years at Reagan High passed quickly though she and her friends "despised high school." Carol had three good friends during her high school years with whom she spent the majority of her leisure time. The girls were Sandra Murphy, Georgia Collins, and Myra Smith. As a group they spent their time going to movies, dances, or picnics, occasionally double-dating. Sandra was considered "sort of a black sheep," and she and Carol would occasionally go to a few of the local bars. However, they did not begin

this activity until they were well into their junior year. Georgia was the most religious member of the group but did not "bother" the rest of the girls with her convictions. Myra was a "fun-loving sort," enjoyed meetings boys, dating, and doing as little as possible in terms of scholastic effort. All of Carol's friends were from the area immediately surrounding Reagan High School. Their fathers worked at various trades and the girls were interested in being "upwardly mobile."

Carol believes that most of her friends accepted the idea that one must work if she is to get ahead, but all preferred the idea of marrying a young man who could provide a good life for the both of them. Reagan High School is not located in a high income section of the city. The girls dated somewhat, but Carol does not recall any of them being serious at this time. Carol states, "The boys whom we were interested in at Reagan were not interested in us, and the boys that were interested in us were not the types we would have considered marrying."

Carol was not as interested in getting married as were the other members of the group. Her ambition at this time was to attend art school and become a commercial artist. As a high school student Carol learned that she enjoyed art and that she also had some talent. Having discovered this, she looked forward to attending art school and making a career for herself. Carol was not enthusiastic about work but "felt it was necessary."

A topic much discussed by the girls during high school was sex. They were all interested in sex, but none of them had any significant experiences during the first two years of high school. Carol feels that she and her friends were not really "hung up" about sex. They all believed it was a "good thing" but had not found anyone with whom they desired to be intimate. All the girls had been told at home that sex was something that should be enjoyed only after marriage, but none of them believed this to be true. Although Carol was not to have her first sexual experience until after high school, she was not particularly concerned with her parents' "moral teachings" about sex.

The girls had no real knowledge about drugs at this time. Carol does not recall drugs ever coming up as a topic of conversation. The girls knew about liquor and were not above drinking an occasional beer, but drugs were outside the realm of their experiences. Carol does recall having read about drugs and being negative about them, but she does not remember anyone in high school who used drugs.

Late in Carol's junior and all of her senior year, she became more aware of her situation at home. Her parents were not getting along well, and home life was somewhat tense. The family had never been very closely-knit and they shared few activities together. Both parents worked and the family was not often together as a unit. When discussing the nature of family relationships at home, Carol stated, "We

didn't really like each other very much." Carol spent a lot of time away from home but did not feel like she was "escaping." She just enjoyed spending time with her friends.

High school graduation finally came and Carol prepared herself to go on to art school. Her parents, however, informed her that they could not afford the high cost of training in art, and consequently, they were enrolling her in a local business college to be trained in the secretarial skills. Carol resented this, but she had never worked during high school at jobs other than baby-sitting and had no funds of her own to finance her education. Carol spent a rather listless summer going to movies with her friends, dating occasionally, and going on outings with her group. However, come September, she enrolled in the business school.

The year spent in business college has been described by Carol as "the most horrible year of my life." She made no close friends at the college, and she saw her old high school friends only rarely. They were involved in working, dating, and eventually in finding husbands and getting married. All of Carol's old girl friends except Myra married men in similar occupations as those of their fathers. However, Myra had decided she was going to marry a doctor and being a fairly determined young lady, she did. Life for Carol during this time was not as exciting. She settled down to a routine of work and study which she held to until her graduation from the business school. She does not recall having any dates

during this period and spent her leisure time at movies or reading in her room. Home life was still tense during this time, so she spent as much time as possible in her room either reading or studying.

After graduation from business school Carol found her first job as a legal secretary. Although the job was a temporary one and lasted only two months, she was earning three hundred and twenty-five dollars a month and thought herself rich. Carol continued to live at home after she had begun working. After the job with the attorney terminated, she found employment as a secretary with an insurance company and continued to live with her parents. Life for Carol during this time was dull. She had very few activities other than reading and going to the movies. There were occasional dates with people she met at work, but nothing ever came of it and she was bored with the situation. However, the quiet home life was not to last much longer.

For most of her life, Carol has been an avid reader, but few authors have captured her attention as completely as Ayn Rand. Carol believes that she remained a virgin until the age of twenty largely because of the influence of Rand. "I just couldn't find anybody worthy," she states. However, if Ayn Rand was the reason for her virginity, Rand was also part of the reason it was lost. Carol became aware of a series of lectures being given on Objectivism (Rand's philosophy) in the city. When Carol inquired of the date of the

next presentation, she was informed that the series had already been completed. The young man with whom she was talking on the phone informed her that he was a vice president of the firm that had presented the lectures and had made recordings of them. He volunteered to come by and get Carol so she could listen to them and she agreed. Carol had pictured the man as elderly and probably not too interesting, but she was in for a surprise. At the agreed upon time, a red Alfa-Romeo pulled up in front of her house and a tall good looking young man presented himself. Carol envisioned this young man from then on as "Francisco," a glorious figure out of Rand's Atlas Shrugged. They spent the evening at "Francisco's" apartment listening to the tapes and discussing objectivism. When Carol finally returned home at five-thirty the next morning, "a deflowered virgin," she was confronted by her parents and a crisis ensued. Carol decided that she was now a woman and thus free to make her own decisions. Her parents disagreed, and Carol resolved the conflict by moving out the next day.

Carol obtained an apartment of her own and the affair with "Francisco" continued for the next month. During the first two weeks Carol states, "I was in love," but after that the relationship began to decline. After another two weeks Carol and "Francisco" decided to terminate their affair and they have not seen each other since.

For the next few months Carol continued to live by herself, work, and carry on a limited social life. She had saved enough money to start studying art but was not enjoying the institute in which she had enrolled. The school work was dull and consisted more of copying than creating, and she began to feel that the institute was a "financial hustle." During the year that Carol attended art school and worked, she met a young university student named Howard Drake. She and Howard were to have an affair for the next three years, although they never cohabited. Carol states that it was "a very dramatic affair and started on the first date when Howard raped her . . . it was quite a flash." Although Carol and Howard spent a good deal of time together they also spent time independently with other people. "My relationship with Howard was mainly a sex thing," states Carol. "We enjoyed each other, but there was no serious emotional attachment."

Carol's life from 1964 to 1966 was a busy one. Between work, art school, her affair with Howard, and "just running around," the time passed quickly. The more time she spent at the art school, the more disenchanted she became with it. She decided to withdraw and start saving money to enroll at the University of Houston.

In the fall of 1966, Carol enrolled as a night student at the University. She kept her secretarial job and continued to see Howard. Although Carol's sexual philosophy and behavior had been liberalized in the last few years, she was still

naive about drugs. Neither she nor Howard had any friends who were "into drugs," and consequently her knowledge about them had not increased. During her first year as a night student, Carol saw none of her friends from high school, nor did she meet any new ones at the University. School and work kept her very busy, and she spent a good deal of her free time studying. College was going well for her, and her performance was well above the average in all her courses.

After two full semesters of night school Carol decided to work all summer, save money, and become a full-time student. She continued her affair with Howard during this time, but come fall, she quit work, enrolled at the University, and moved back with her parents.

The situation at home was still not a harmonious one, but her parents were glad to be of what help they could in aiding her to finish college. Carol enjoyed her academic affairs at school, and spent the greater part of her free time either at home or in the library studying. The change from part-time night student to the status of full-time day student was not accompanied by meeting new friends. Carol spent her days going to classes and her nights studying. On weekends and occasionally a week night, she would see Howard and they would spend some time together, but her social life was not diversified. School had captured Carol's interest, and she was doing a lot of reading above that required for her courses. After a time she became a bit bored because the

classes were not moving fast enough to keep her interested. She completed the semester's work with a Dean's List average.

At the beginning of Carol's second semester as a full-time student, she decided to move away from home and into an apartment near the University. Carol's finances were not sufficient to afford an apartment by herself, so she moved in with a girl who had advertised for a roommate. Carol received some support from her parents, and between her meager savings and a part-time job at the library, was able to maintain herself.

It was during the spring semester that Carol was to become aware of the psychedelic drugs. Her apartment was located in an area inhabited by many students, some of whom were drug users. The experiences at the apartment were supplemented by periodic trips to the Richmond area, where she and the roommate would watch people "trip on acid." Carol's feelings about drugs at this time were mixed. On the one hand, she was curious and on the other, frightened. Carol's fear was founded on the possibility that one "could go up and not come down again." Although she was exposed to many people who used drugs, she had never seen anyone "freak-out" (have traumatic experiences due to the effects of LSD). The fear of doing so, however, kept her from trying drugs.

During the year Carol spent as a full-time student, her attitudes concerning sex and work remained more constant. Sex was to be enjoyed, and work tolerated, but not glorified.

She had always believed that there were many things one could do with one's life that were preferable to working. Granted that work was necessary, there was really no good reason that one should "be fanatic about it."

The summer of 1968 was pleasant for Carol. She became involved with a group of students at Rice University who were conducting sensitivity sessions. Through this group she met several people who were involved with drugs, but did not let them rule their lives. These people were students, some working on graduate degrees, and they were also heads. The exposure to this group of people and their ideas did more to change Carol's reservations about drugs than any single event she can recall. The idea became clear to her that one could use drugs without drugs becoming the focal point of personal existence. From this it followed that she could "do drugs" and still continue in the academic life she enjoyed. By the end of summer Carol had lost most of her negative feelings toward the psychedelics, but it was several months yet before she would successfully indulge in their use.

TRANSITION INTO AND DEVELOPMENT OF A DEVIANT LIFE STYLE

Carol resumed her classes in the fall of 1968. Early in the summer she had applied for and had been accepted into the Honors Program and was looking forward to the more demanding academic curriculum. She spent a good amount of time

studying that semester but did not lose contact with her friends from Rice. It was during the first few weeks of the new semester that Carol purchased and tried her first "tab of acid" (capsule of lysergic acid diethylamide). After completing the purchase, she returned home and "dropped" (swallowed the capsule). Carol waited, but there were no effects other than an increased sensitivity to sound. Carol was alone the first time she tried LSD and the various other times that followed. In the next few weeks she had tried "acid" again several times, but "never got off. . . . I kept waiting and waiting, but nothing ever happened." Carol explains these occurrences by stating simply that, "It was bad acid."

Carol's first successful "trip" occurred when she and a group of her friends from the sensitivity sessions decided to take a weekend camping trip to the Austin hills. Upon arriving at their camp site, they set up their accommodations and everybody sat down and "dropped some acid." However, along with the acid they also used a large amount of marijuana. This time Carol "got off." Carol describes this first trip as an entirely "mystical experience," one of such profound impact that an agnostic of twenty years came out not only accepting, but believing and cherishing the concept of a god. After this first good "trip," Carol's drug use intensified and she became a full-time member of the group she had encountered that summer.

Carol's transition into the drug subculture was mediated and buttressed by her friends from the sensitivity group. Among these friends was Frank, an undergraduate student and part-time worker, with whom Carol was to have an emotional and sexual affair for the next several months. There was also Jim and his wife, Barbara. Jim, a graduate student in biochemistry, was then working on his master's degree and his wife was completing an undergraduate degree in biology. A third couple who completed the group's structure was Cliff and Dianne. Cliff was an undergraduate student and Dianne held a bachelor's degree in chemistry and was then employed by a manufacturing company. With the exception of Carol, they all lived in the northeast section of the city. The group tended to congregate at Frank's apartment and for a while, Jim and Barbara lived with him.

Carol describes her friends as "an extremely intellectual group of people," and she really enjoyed spending her time with them. As Carol's drug use increased, she began to be more casual in her school work. Carol was still strongly attached to the world of ideas, but was becoming more disenchanted with the formal methods of higher education. Carol states, "I did a lot of acid then and ended up losing a semester of school."

Carol continued to attend the University in the spring of 1969, but gave up her part-time job at the library. She financed her education by government loans and what support

her parents could provide. By this time Carol had moved into another apartment and her monthly expenditures for food and rent were under sixty dollars. Although she never moved in with Frank, she spent four or five nights a week at his apartment. They would sit around, "get stoned," and usually some of their friends would drop by for "rap sessions." The evenings tended to pass either talking with friends, going to movies, or just sitting around listening to music. But whatever the activity, the participants were usually stoned.

Carol realized that as long as she was "into doing drugs" she could not be a very successful student, even though some of her friends could manage the load. Carol resolved this difficulty by "blowing off school" (quitting or leaving something or somebody). Although she did not formally withdraw from the University, she stopped going to most of her classes. The semester was pretty much of a disaster for Carol, but toward the end other difficulties presented themselves. Carol's affair with Frank had been very intense for the last few months, but was beginning to become a "drag." Cliff and Dianne were also having problems, and everybody around the apartment was getting tense and "bitchy." Carol made a few attempts to salvage her relationship with Frank, but she was not successful. By the time that summer arrived, Carol was sufficiently depressed with the situation and she decided to "blow it off." Shortly after making this decision, Carol left Houston for California.

The trip to California was made with two guys and another girl. Because of the cramped car and continuous driving, tempers had worn thin by the time the group arrived in San Francisco. The first day in the Bay Area was spent looking for friends which they never found. Carol became increasingly discontented with her fellow travelers and asked to be let out in Berkeley. She departed from the group on Telegraph Avenue (a main stem for the hippie subculture in the Bay Area) and walked around for a while, "just grooving on the scene." While finding her way around the University of California, she encountered a young man who offered her food and a place to "crash" (sleep). "He sort of smiled at me and I smiled back. . . . I knew then that I had a place to stay."

Carol learned very quickly that it was not difficult for a "lone hip chick" to find free lodgings, food, and dope as long as she was not a prude. Carol's sexual attitudes at this time were liberal and "it was alright to ball someone if you liked him." Carol stayed "stoned" a good part of the first six weeks she was in the Bay Area. Her drug experience by now had expanded to include mescaline, psilocybin, peyote, and occasionally speed (usually methedrine), and large quantities of LSD and marihuana. Carol had learned that for her to "get off on acid" it helped to smoke "some grass while tripping."

For the entire six months that Carol roamed the states of California, Oregon, and Washington, she never became a

member of any one particular group. She did the majority of her traveling alone, "because this was the easiest way for a chick." When she reached a new town or area of the country, she would "look for the hip people." Once she found them, a place to sleep and food usually followed. In all her time in California and other states, she recalls spending only one night in a doorway, "and was determined never to let that happen again." She traveled from one place to another either with a particular group or by "hitch-hiking." Carol had difficulty with someone who picked her up only once and that was when two men picked her up while she was hitch-hiking in Texas. Most of her "rides" while in California and Oregon were either accustomed to female hitch-hikers or were curious, but Carol remembers none of them, with the exception noted above, as being offensive or demanding.

Carol's associations with other groups while traveling approximate the phenomenon described by Yablonsky (1968:293) as "near groups." Associations with diverse peoples were pleasureable and casual. The "groups" made few demands upon their members and they were usually of the sort that involved sharing of food, drugs, and shelter. These demands were usually never made explicit, but members were aware of their existence. Most near groups are characterized by an almost daily change in membership, with old members moving on and new ones coming in. This type of "group" phenomenon, according to Carol, is usually associated with a well-known "crash pad,"

camp site, or scenic area. Various people may be attracted to a particular locale and upon arrival, are in need of a place to live. These transients usually find shelter with other "hips" who have been in the area for a while and have a suitable dwelling. The dwelling, be it house or camp site, may be utilized by hundreds of different people in the course of a year. The site may remain constant, but the group membership changes. This phenomenon also approximates the "jungles" described by Nels Anderson (1923).

As Carol continued her travels, her drug use increased and she became quite aware of her mystical orientations. The universe began to take on unity and harmony which heretofore she had not been aware of. Carol states, "LSD has always been a mystical thing for me." Carol will also admit that as LSD expanded her awareness of a "cosmic unity," it also reduced the sphere of her social relations. "You can't communicate an LSD experience to someone who has never done acid." Hence, the sphere of an individual's social contact is limited to those of similar experiences.

During the time that Carol was on the road, she would occasionally make money by picking crops. Carol left the Bay Area after about six weeks in California. She roamed down to the Big Sur and back up the state again to Mill Valley and Mount Tamalpais. From Marin County she moved on to visit the large commune at Mount Shasta and spent a couple of weeks there. While at the commune she met a group of people who

were going to Oregon and then on to Washington to work the fruit crops. Carol thought that this would be a "flash," so she decided to go with them. The group stayed on the road for another six weeks, and Carol "got sick of fruit." The work was hard, the pay substandard, and the group often found themselves the target of hostility from some of the rural folk. After Carol had saved enough money from her wages, she left the group and returned to the Bay Area of California.

Once back in San Francisco, Carol made a couple of decisions. First, she wanted to live in California, and second, she would need money to do so. At this time Carol did not have a suitable wardrobe with her in which to seek employment. Also, the cold weather was beginning to settle in on the Bay Area, so Carol decided to return to Houston.

The trip back to Houston was made with little difficulty until Carol crossed the Texas border. It was early in the afternoon when a pick-up truck with two men inside stopped to pick her up. The men were driving to Fort Stockton and said they would carry her all the way there. Both men were rather large, but one was an amputee who had lost an arm in an industrial accident. Carol was told that they had picked her up because they thought she was one of those "queer hippies . . . and if she had been, they were going to beat the shit out of him." Apparently when the men first saw Carol, they thought she was a young man with long hair; they were not displeased, however, to find out she was

a girl. For the next hour and a half, the conversation stayed on sex. The men produced a pint of whisky early in the trip and were passing it between themselves. When Carol refused to drink, she was slapped around a bit and the bottle forced to her mouth. All this time the men used abusive language and told Carol they were going to give her "a screwing she would never forget." Carol recalls being frightened not only of the men's threats, but by the fact that she could not reason with them. After making the decision they would rape her, the men stopped at a drive-in to buy some hamburgers and ice. As soon as the car-hop materialized to take their order, Carol started making a ruckus. She created enough of a scene that the men became a little embarrassed and a bit frightened. She was allowed to get out of the truck and retrieve her back-pack from the bed of the truck. Carol waited for the men to leave the drive-in and then resumed her hitch-hiking back to Houston. "Those dumb rednecks thought I was intimidated enough to keep my mouth shut at the drive-in. . . . If they hadn't been so stupid, I guess I really would have been in trouble."

Carol arrived in Houston very late that same night and returned to her old apartment to "crash." She had had three more rides since the episode in the pick-up truck, but none had been as unpleasant. All had propositioned her but did not push when she declined.

Shortly after she returned to Houston, she looked up her old friends and spent several long nights "rapping about California." Although she saw Frank, they were not as close as before. Carol contacted her parents and went to see them a couple of times. Her relationship with them had never been a truly close one, and it was not to become so now. Within a week she had found a job as a temporary secretary and once again began to settle into life in Houston.

PRESENT ACTIVITIES

For the past year Carol has been living, working, and occasionally going to school in Houston. Within the last three months she has seriously limited her use of drugs, particularly LSD. Carol feels that the effects of "acid" have reached a point of diminishing returns. Her trips, although rare, are still mystical in nature and she feels freer and closer to a deity than she does to her fellow man. Living in Houston, Carol sees her family on occasion, but the relationship is not an extremely intimate one. Although her mother knows of her daughter's use of drugs, she has accepted it. She spends the majority of her leisure time with her old friends. As mentioned earlier, Carol still sees Frank, but her interaction is more intense with Jim and Barbara. Carol also maintains an active social life with her roommates, Patricia and Dave. These six people form a very loose-knit group and although relationships may be extremely intense and

personal at any given point in time, they usually tend to be casual. The one common characteristic shared by all six of these people is that they are "dopers." The group tends to persist through time and relations are maintained because it is with kindred souls that communication is easiest. Carol's work life is kept separate from her leisure time. There are no friends dropping in from the office periodically and her social life tends to be restricted to "fellow heads." As Carol states, there is no mystery or discrimination involved here, simply, "we have more in common with each other."

Carol plans to return to school as a senior student in the near future. A college degree will allow her to have a good income while living her life the way she chooses. She will work because it provides her with the means of maximizing her independence, but she does not take the idea of a career too seriously. Carol is not certain that she will go to school in Houston. If her finances permit, she plans to attend college somewhere in California. At this writing Carol is working and conducts her social life within the confines of the drug subculture. Because of the vast amount of experience she shares with other members of the drug subculture, she cannot visualize herself returning to the "straight world," although she realizes her life is inextricably interwoven with the larger society. She will participate in society but for her own reasons. Her drug experiences are the point of reference through which she

participates in the drug subculture and the larger society in which it is encompassed.

SUMMARY AND COMMENTS

Carol Carter led an essentially normal life up until her second year as a university student. It should be noted that neither she, her family, nor the majority of her peers held any strong religious commitments. Carol was not to be emotionally and intellectually involved with the concept of a deity until she had been initially exposed to LSD. After her first few trips, Carol was to become intellectually, philosophically, and emotionally involved with the concept of a "life force." She feels that this was one of the most profound effects that the drug experience had on her orientation to life.

Carol has never been a career-oriented individual. Neither she nor her friends during high school were committed to the "ideology of work." Today Carol works only to provide the necessities and not because of any belief in the "honor and dignity" of the work ethic. It should be noted, however, that the work relationship is the primary social connection between Carol and the society that surrounds her.

Carol's attitudes toward sex have always been on the "liberal" side. However, during high school her behavior tended toward the conservative. As noted earlier, this was related to the lack of availability of an acceptable male.

During the California trip and before, Carol's sexual behavior became more liberalized in practice. Carol considers sex to be a personal thing and thus the proper subject for individual, not societal, regulation. Sex is also viewed by Carol as a very personal means of communication and "if you can dig somebody, it's alright to sleep with him." Carol does not accept the larger culture's definitions of propriety and believes her own, although out of step with the dominant culture, are more relevant to her life.

In terms of drug use it should be noted that Carol began with LSD rather than any of the milder hallucinogens such as mescaline or psilocybin. Her initial experiences were also conducted by herself without any direction from close friends or associates. It appears here that the sequence of drug usage is not a constant one, going from the mild to the more potent forms of the psychedelics. The question arises of whether initial experiences with the more powerful psychedelics accelerate the process of transition into the deviant subsystem. Although this relationship can be hypothesized here, it requires further research in order to be substantiated or rejected.

Carol's case also points to the presence of the "near group" phenomenon described by Yablonsky (1968:293). However, further research is necessary if understanding is to be gained concerning the nature of interpersonal relationships within the deviant subsystem. The possibility that communes

may function in a way similar to the "jungles" described by Anderson (1923) can neither be supported nor rejected at this time because little is actually known about the functions served by communes within the context of the hippie movement.

Carol has stated that the nature and types of her interpersonal relationships changed once she became an active member of the deviant subculture. As her drug use and sophistication increased, communication with those outside of the system itself became difficult and restricted. The main avenues of communication between Carol and the larger culture are presently work and family. If she returns to college, another significant link in communication will be established with the larger society. We have at this time very little knowledge which would enable us to understand the adaptive mechanisms operative between the drug subculture and the larger society. Further research is needed to specify the role relationships that serve to integrate the deviant and conformist segments into a functioning social order.

Chapter 6

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

An aim of this study is to suggest approaches to the hippie phenomenon which may prove useful to future social scientists who wish to conduct research. In the first section of this chapter, a conceptual approach for understanding the relationship between the deviant subsystem and the dominant culture is suggested. The second section of this chapter is concerned with extracting from the data presented certain relationships or questions which may serve as hypotheses for future research concerned with understanding the hippie phenomenon in contemporary United States.

The methodology of this research is of such a nature that conclusions cannot be adequately supported. However, relationships can be noted and hypotheses offered to further explanation and understanding. These considerations are consistent with the methodological limitations of the thesis and germane to the goals of this study.

TOWARD A MORE HOLISTIC APPROACH

Yablonsky (1968:330) has argued that the "hippie movement constitutes a total denunciation of basic American institutions." This argument and its ramifications imply a good degree of isolation between the movement and American

society. The suggestion is made here that a more amenable framework would view the hippie movement not as "total denunciation of basic American institutions," but as a reinterpretation of these institutions within the confines of the subculture. This is not to say that there are no differences between the two, because there exist significant differences. However, to over-emphasize these differences is to obscure the interconnections between the subsystem and the dominant culture. The suggestion is presented here that "Hippiedom" is a component of a larger network of communications which may be labeled the American social system. As a subsystem within this larger network, it is not only subject to the laws which govern the system, but also derives a significant amount of its ideology from the larger society.

Eric Wolf (1965:86-87) has noted that when one is considering group relations within a complex society, it is useful to conceptualize groups as making up a web of human relations or communications with termini in the local communities as well as the national institutions. The hippie movement as we understand it today is a diverse movement not confined to any particular geographical locale. However, no matter where the developing institutions of the hippie way of life are located, they are usually in contact with institutions of the larger social order. A "tribe" or commune in any particular geographical locale may well be dependent upon a nearby city or town for employment, medical attention,

services such as water or lights, and the literal plethora of goods and services which characterize American life in the 1970's. The fact that a good number of hippies live a simple way of life does not mean that they are isolated from the material aspects of American society. The fact is that they do utilize such facilities, but usually to a lesser degree.

The hippie movement is still developing in the United States and its institutions, if they exist, are presently not well developed. Yablonsky (1968:321) has noted that the hippies tend to avoid authority in all forms. The possibility is suggested here, however, that the communes and other large bodies of hippies may well have developed an informal structure for mediation with the outside culture. Research at this time is not adequate to substantiate this observation. However, the possibility of the development of such quasi-institutions should not be ignored. In the opinion of this author the relationship of "Hippiedom" to the larger culture may best be conceptualized as one of dynamic interaction in which the developed institutions of the larger culture exert influence on the quasi-institutions of a dynamic subsystem. As suggested earlier, "tribes," "communes," and larger "urban crash-pads" may well come to serve as termini and buffers for the dispersion of information within the deviant subsystem. The main benefit derived from this conceptualization is that it allows the researcher to continue to conceive of society as an interrelated system. To posit an isolation and "total

denunciation of American institutions" is to imply that the hippie phenomenon continues its existence in a social vacuum, completely independent of the larger culture in which it exists. To the knowledge of this researcher, no community of people ever lived in complete isolation. A basic tenet of the social sciences states that man is a social animal and as such learns his culture from others. It is argued here that it would be a serious error on our part to treat the network of communications labeled as "Hippiedom" as another example of social isolationism. Instead, the suggestion is made that Hippiedom be treated as a complex adaptive system operating as a component of a larger complex system known as American society.

ANALYSIS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER INQUIRY

The focal point of this research has been the description of those mechanisms operative in the disengagement process. Also of interest has been the specification of those elements which may catalyze disengagement from society. Yablonsky (1968:322) has argued that dropping out is essentially caused by alienation and anomie. To the degree that Yablonsky's conception of alienation conforms to that of Merton (1938:672-82), that is, Adaptation IV or retreatism, the hypothesis is acceptable. However, the fact that not all alienated people adopt the hippie life style is evident. This research suggests two other factors which, combined with

alienation or independent of it, may have catalytic effects for disengagement. The suggestion is made here that the drug experience plays an important role in the individual's disengagement from society. The case histories presented illustrate the point that experience with the psychedelics may have a profound influence on group memberships as well as on previously held attitudes concerning work, drugs, sex, and religion. The data suggest that the effects the psychedelics have on attitudes and behavior increase to the degree that the individual is presented with and influenced by living role models who are themselves members of the deviant subsystem. Hence, transition is facilitated by the presence of role models who aid the individual in interpreting not only the drug experience, but the society around him in terms of the drug experience. If the individual is receptive to such guidance and accepts the deviant role models as legitimate, then the disengagement of the individual is facilitated. To the degree that the individual interprets his drug experience as a recreational diversion and is deprived of or rejects role models from the deviant subculture, his disengagement is retarded. The point to be made is that the disengagement process is catalyzed by the interaction of a multiplicity of events or elements and, at this juncture in research on the hippie movement, cannot be traced to any single causal element. Instead, the process should be viewed at this time as one involving multiple causes and effects without any

clear-cut causal sequence becoming evident. The specification of the exact mechanisms operative in the disengagement process and their degree of relative importance is a topic for further more focused research.

The data presented in this thesis also foster the observation that dropping out is an incomplete process. The individual who is undergoing transition may often be unable to fully reject the ideology of the larger culture. In tandem with this type of value conflict, one finds that familial ties are rarely, if ever, completely severed. Hence, the individual exhibits an incomplete disengagement from the dominant culture. Often this peripheral association with the larger culture is buttressed when the deviant actor assumes a work specific role which is conducted outside the context of the deviant subculture. The individuals in this thesis exhibited a state of partial association with the dominant culture as well as with the deviant subculture. This state is best described as one of partial disengagement from the larger culture and partial engagement within the deviant subculture. The observation is made that such an individual possesses three alternatives for action--he or she may remain in the marginal position described above or accept a set of social relations and values consistent with the dominant or deviant system. The mechanisms operative in resolving the dissonant situation are unknown and as such constitute an area much in need of further research if the parameters of a

hippie population are ever to be specified. Only through such specification will one obtain a conceptually precise definition of the term hippie. Such a definition and conceptual framework are needed in order to maximize the value of and guide further research. The suggestion is offered that if one is to understand the status of the hippie movement in the United States today, analysis should be concerned with individual ties maintained not only within the deviant subculture, but between the deviant actor and the larger system.

The data presented in this thesis also suggest that the drug experience may be the single most important agent of transition. Knowledge of the chemical, biological, and psychological effects of the hallucinogens is necessary for understanding their effects, or lack thereof, on the social behavior of those individuals within the deviant subsystem. Such research would provide a unique opportunity for interdisciplinary cooperation and might yield much in the way of useful knowledge.

A trend that has also been noted in the data is that as an individual's experience and sophistication with drugs increases, the heterogeneity of social life decreases and social life becomes confined to groups of like-minded individuals who are active self-acknowledged members of the deviant subsystem. The rationale given for this change of emphasis is that meaningful communication is optimized and more rewarding within the deviant subsystem. Lemert's (1967:41)

suggestion of secondary deviation to describe persons "whose life and identity are organized around the facts of deviance" may be applicable here.

It should be noted at this point that there is a serious scholastic need for careful ethnographic research focused on the hippie movement. Such research would provide knowledge of the social patterns which emerge out of the day-to-day lives of individuals involved in the deviant subsystem. Research of this type could also yield information concerning the function of "tribes," "communes," "crash pads," and other developing institutions, if they may be regarded as such, within the hippie ideational subsystem. Data might also be gathered concerning the mediational functions these nascent institutions serve, if any, between the individuals who compose the deviant subculture and the institutionalized hierarchy of the larger society. Such research would also establish the presence or absence of a system of stratification within the deviant culture and answer other questions related to the hippie life style.

If the hippie movement continues to draw support and new members from their following among the "teeny boppers," we may assume that the movement will have continuity through time. If such continuity is accompanied by growth of the movement, then it will become necessary that the larger American culture gain understanding of the life ways presently being developed by her youth. The point here is not that the

hippie movement should be considered as a pathological social problem, but rather as a developing life style which may capture the interest and desire of a large number of American youth. If such a situation ever becomes a point in fact, then it will only be through knowledge and understanding that a harmonious accommodation between the two styles of life will be realized. This thesis has been an humble attempt toward such an understanding.

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