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The World of Youthful Drug Use*

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Introduction

This report presents the results of our efforts to establish a program designed to induce youthful drug users to abstain from further use of drugs. This program was conducted under Department of Health, Education, and Welfare Grants #65029 and #66022, and ran for a period of eighteen months.

The program was inaugurated on the premise that just as youths inducted each other into the use of drugs, they might be organized to use their influence on each other to desist in such use. We had been impressed by some success attending efforts of this sort in the case of older opiate addicts. We had evidence that a number of such older opiate addicts who wished to divorce themselves from their addiction were able through combined association and effort to have reasonable success in maintaining sobriety and in helping others to give up their addictive habit. We reason analogically that a similar kind of enterprise might be fruitful

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among youthful drug users. Accordingly, we devised and put into operation a carefully conceived program which sought to form a core of youthful drug users, enjoying prestige and respect among their peers. A detailed history of our efforts is given in a subsequent section. A brief resume of some of the major points of significance may be mentioned here.

We were able through ways that are subsequently outlined to establish continuing association with central figures using drugs in the youthful population in Oakland. These central figures came chiefly from underprivileged minority groups such as Negroes and Mexicans, but also included representatives from poor Caucasian groups and a few from the middle class and wealthy Caucasian populations. The drugs used by these youths were predominantly the "dangerous" drugs—marijuana, amphetamines, barbiturates, LSD, and crystal. Over a period of time, our staff established excellent rapport with these central figures, gaining their confidence and respect and working in close relation with them. We were able to have continuing group meetings with them, as well as close personal association—and we sought through both of these channels to form a nucleus group committed to abstinence. Our line of attack was to have full and frank discussions of their drug use and to seek to make them aware of the hazards to their careers that were set by drug use. We did not rely on moral exhortation or on abstract education, but endeavored to lead them through an analysis of their own experience to a realization of the dangers involved in their use of drugs. We sought to emphasize such dangers as personal deterioration or disorganization, health deterioration, becoming opiate addicts, dangers of arrest and of becoming marked as a criminal, breaking up their homes, and forfeiting opportunities to pursue a fruitful career. The conditions under which we sought to thus redefine their picture of drug use was far superior to anything that might be undertaken in the school, the church, the clinic, the welfare agency, the police station or the court; we had their trust and respect. They cooperated with us voluntarily

and not as a captive group, and we were dealing frankly with their own experiences and not with a remote topic.

However, while never giving up in our efforts, we found rather early that we were not having any success in developing a form of collective abstinence. It became clear that the youths were well anchored in their drug use and well fortified in their beliefs against all of the "dangers" of drug use. From their own experiences and observations they could refute the declaration that the use of harmful drugs usually led to personal or health deterioration; they viewed with contempt the use of opiates and rejected with evidence the claim that the use of harmful drugs led naturally to opiate use. They pointed out that the break-up of home life, with which many of them were very familiar, was due to other factors than the use of drugs; they were able to show that the limitation of their career opportunities came from other conditions than the use of drugs, as such. They met the fear of arrest by developing greater skill and precautions against detection in the use of drugs. Added to these stances was a set of collective beliefs that justified their use of drugs, so that such use resulted in harmless pleasure, increased conviviality, did not lead to violence, could be regulated, did not lead to addiction, and was much less harmful than the use of alcohol, which is socially and openly sanctioned in our society. Parenthetically, we would invited any group of educators, scientists, welfare workers or police officials to try to meet effectively the well-buttressed arguments, based on personal experience and observation, that our youthful drug users present in frank, open, and uncowed discussion. In sum, we learned that youthful drug users are just not interested in abstaining from drug use.

In finding that our proposed program was running against a wall of opposition, not on a basis of hostility, but of entrenched conviction, we realized the paramount need of a careful study of the world of youthful drug use—to lay bare its structure and to see how it was woven into the lifestyle of drug using youths. We

reasoned, obviously, that if one were to hope to do anything effective in the case of juvenile drug use, one would have to understand realistically the world of such drug use. Thus, we embarked on an inquiry, the results of which constitute the major portion of the present report. We believe that we have penetrated more deeply and fully into an analysis of the world of youthful drug use than is true of any published accounts.

Historical Account of the Project

Our project seeking to develop abstinence among youthful drug users was situated in Oakland, California. We chose as our immediate area the district known as the "flatlands," an area occupied primarily by lower-class minority groups, chiefly Negroes and Mexicans. It is an area of high social disorganization with a highly mobile and transient population, and a high rate of unemployment. It may be mentioned that Oakland was the only city west of the Mississippi to be officially designated as a "depressed area" in 1964. The "flatlands" epitomizes the most pronounced features of such a depressed urban area.

From police records and other sources we knew that it was an area of marked drug use, especially among the juvenile population. Our project was operated from two centers in the flatlands district; first in the Wesley Community Center, and later in a church in the sub-district known as Fruitvale. These two centers placed us in the midst of the juvenile drug-using population. Our centers had some recreational facilities which we used to help attract youngsters. We were able to draw hundreds of youths to the centers, the majority of whom participated in group discussions of various aspects of drug use. These youths ranged in age from under twelve years—those sniffing glue, gas, lighter fluid and other substances—to those in their mid-twenties, among whom were some heroin users. The bulk of the youngsters were in the middle adolescent period; they were primarily users of marijuana and amphetamine pills.

The first boys who came to our center were recruited from two street clubs that were already well known to one of our staff members. One of these was composed of Mexican boys, aged fifteen to twenty-one, and the other was an all-Negro group, aged eighteen to twenty-five. Soon members of other clubs and gangs were attracted to the center after our staff members became acquainted with their leaders or sponsors. We discovered that news of our operations spread quickly in the East Oakland district and subsequently to the West Oakland district. Many youths came without any solicitation from our staff, partly to sue the recreation facilities (basketball gymnasium, pool table, boxing gloves, etc.), and partly out of curiosity about our program of drug abstinence. Somewhat later, we established contact with drug-using youths in a large junior college in Oakland and drew a number of boys and girls from this source. Still later, we were able to provide employment to some twenty Neighborhood Youth Corps workers, selecting individuals who were knowledgeable about juvenile drug use in Oakland. These individuals informed youths in their own circles about the program and many of them came to the center. The youths who came from these various sources represented a good cross section of the juvenile population in the underprivileged groups. They included Negroes, Mexicans, Indians and Caucasians. There was a fairly high turnover among the youths who came to the center but a sizable nucleus of boys and a few girls were steady attendants.

Our progress consisted primarily of discussion meetings held three or four nights a week, numbering anywhere from a dozen to fifty youngsters, usually with a different group at each meeting. Attendance at the meetings was voluntary; individuals could use the recreational facilities without sitting in at the meetings. We had an iron-clad rule that no drugs could be brought onto the premises, and the cooperation of the youths was secured in enforcing the rule. We used the meetings to engage the youths in free and open discussion of youthful drug use, seeking to have them talk about their own experiences and observations. The

question-topics that were usually introduced at these meetings and returned to at subsequent meetings of the same group were:

1. What kinds of activities center around drug use in Oakland?
2. How do youngsters begin using drugs?
3. What would make some youngsters stop using drugs?
4. How does drug use alter one's pattern of activities?
5. What is the typical pattern of progression in drug use?

We endeavored to use the discussions to bring forth a realization of the risks, dangers and harmful consequences of youthful drug use. Thus, when and where appropriate, we sought to focus the discussion on such matters as the health hazards of such use, the harmful personality effects, the handicaps of such use in the development of fruitful careers, the injurious effects on family and community relations, the damage resulting from arrest and imprisonment, and the grave risk of becoming heroin addicts.

The meetings were used occasionally for the showing of films dealing with drug addiction or with juvenile life in city slum areas. These films included the standard array of educational films shown in different parts of the country. We also had talks presented to the youths by members of our adult Add-Center—former drug addicts with institutional records, who were now committed to abstinence and to helping other drug addicts abstain.

In addition to association at these meetings, our staff members cultivated the friendship of individual boys and spent a considerable amount of time with them on the street, at their meeting places, and in their homes. Most of the discussion at these times centered on drug use and was used to bring out the harmful results of such use.

Our objective in these various meetings and forms of association was to locate a number of the youths who might form the core of a group of users to become committed to drug abstinence. We were continually on the lookout for such likely prospects who could be fused into a strong nuclear group which could then spread its influence.

Although we pursued this objective vigorously during the first six to eight months of the project, and never surrendered it, we began early to recognize that our program of inducing abstinence was running up against a stone wall. Initially, we thought that this might be due to the belief that we were surreptitious "agents" of the police and narcotic enforcement agencies. We found that this belief was initially rather common, particularly among the newer and less well-known youths who came to the center. Immediately, we began to combat this belief through scrupulous preservation of all information, a detachment from the police, and through being vouched for by the boys who were well-acquainted with our staff members. We succeeded in destroying this suspicion and in becoming recognized as safe and reliable. But we still were having no success in achieving the objective of our program. So next we attacked the "pegging" of us as representatives of the "square" world—we realized very early that we were so regarded, and that, accordingly, we were open to being looked at askance and were being both deceived and "conned" in a quiet and unpretentious way. This was overcome in time as we showed ourselves to be knowledgeable about drug use and about their world and as we made it very clear, firmly but without hostility, that we recognized their "conning" and refused to be taken in by it. Parenthetically, we may say that had we relied on the information given to us during the first six months of the project, we would have a very distorted picture of the world of youthful drug use; this is shown vividly by comparing tapes of our discussions and interviews with the same person on the same topics after an interval of nine months or a year. But even after we were taken out of the category of "squares"

and identified as both trustworthy and 'straight' we got nowhere with our program of abstinence.

The real reasons for the lack of success were the strong collective belief held by the youths that their use of drugs was not harmful and their ability to put as effective arguments, based usually on personal experience and observation, against claims of such harm. They could cite case after case, particularly in the use of marijuana, of individuals who suffered neither deterioration in health, in personal organization, in school achievement, in athletic achievement, nor in career advancement along conventional lines. They pointed out that the breakup of homes and good community relations was usually due to other factors than the youthful use of drugs. They stressed that the use of marijuana was not addictive. They regarded those youths who became excessive users as weak-minded and disorganized, the difficulty lying in their make-up and not in the drug. The great majority of them viewed heroin users and addicts with disdain and vehemently disclaimed that the use of marijuana led naturally and inevitably to the use of heroin. And while they readily admitted to the hazards and peril of arrest because of using or possessing marijuana, they felt that such hazards should be met by greater precaution. Thus, our discussion along the line of harmful consequences of their use of drugs got nowhere. While interested in the educational films on drug use, they hooted at much of the content—and in the subsequent discussion of the pictures they readily pointed out what was distorted, exaggerated, false and ignored. They listened with much interest to what was said to them by the former opiate addicts but regarded them as "relics" of an old style of use; they dismissed these addicts as belonging to a remote, alien world which was not their world.

In short, the youth were effectively bulwarked against our proposed program of abstinence. While enjoying their confidence and retaining their respect, and frequently their friendship, we made no headway in locating among them any who were ready

to abstain. We were not able to form the nuclear group of abstainers that we had in mind. Consequently, we recognized the need of developing a much more profound knowledge of their world of drug use in order to better deal with the problem. Thus, we turned, with the cooperation of the youths, to an intensive probing of their world and their experiences.

We have described in the section on The Method of Study the procedures which we employed in probing into the life of youthful drug use. We would like to note in this historical account some of the attendant features of these procedures. We were much concerned with identifying and developing close relations with a number of boys and girls who were influential persons in a variety of different groups of youthful drug users in Oakland. We were seeking individuals who were acknowledged by their associates as being very knowledgeable and sophisticated about the use of drugs, who enjoyed respect and influence in their own groups, who circulated widely in the drug-using world, who had many divergent lines of association, who had extensive and typical drug-use experience, and who were articulate observers. As illustrative of such key informants—we call them "central figures"—we are listing below a brief characterization of some of them.

Description of Some Central Figures

Dave is an eighteen year old Mexican boy who has been president of a large street club for nearly two years. He is a high school graduate, attended junior college for one term, and is presently working in a factory. He dresses conservatively, and is known by adults as a "good boy." He seldom runs with large groups of youngsters, preferring to be with a girl friend or with small groups of friends. Yet, he knows the activities of most of the groups in East Oakland as he is the recipient of reports from many others.

Dave is not publicly known as a drug user. However, he is at the center of distribution and knows immediately where to obtain

drugs. His demeanor is open and friendly, yet reserved with individuals he doesn't know well. He is highly mobile, knows people all over the city, and is highly regarded by Mexican, Caucasian and Negro youngsters alike.

Joe is a nineteen year old Mexican, known as a "hip frat." He is accepted by the middle-class or upper strata students in his high school as well as the street clubs or more "rowdy" youngsters. He deals in large quantities of marijuana and LSD and is the contact for street dealers.

Pete is a seventeen year old Negro boy who is a former gang leader from West Oakland. He has musical ability, is a good fighter, and dresses conservatively. He has a good "line," several girl friends, both Negro and Caucasian, and has access to a wide variety of groups, both adult and juveniles, within the city. He is seen by non-Negro youngster, who usually express resentment against Negroes, as being "cool." He is extremely resourceful, can organize people for specific purposes, criminal and otherwise, without being identified as being in the center of activities. His arrest record is minimal. He maintains contact with his former gang friends, most of whom are drifting into criminal activities; many are known pimps, prostitutes, dealers and others in the "hustling" scene. He has been approached as a potential "trainee" for organized criminal activities. He recently left Oakland for the Job Corps, and has conventional aspirations.

Jim is a nineteen year old Negro boy. He is a good athlete, has musical ability and is extremely personable. He is very humorous and is accepted by a wide variety of youngsters from all backgrounds. He has been involved in the "hustling" scene, although he has no such aspirations. He is the "sidekick" of Pete and is somewhat subordinate to him.

Jeanette is a twenty-one year old Negro girl. She dominated a group of girls in one neighborhood, her apartment serving as the

area "social center." She knows the "scene" in Oakland, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and has a wide range of acquaintances among various prostitutes, pimps, dealers, and hustlers, including suppliers of pornography. She legitimized the staff's presence once she felt they could be trusted.

Fred is an eighteen year old white boy, classified as a "loner." He has done considerable time in CYA institutions. He is constantly "loaded," hustles pool, and deals in large quantities of crystal, marijuana and LSD. He has contacts with "the man" in Los Angeles and flies there to make buys. He is adept at "conning," and will "burn" any individual he feels has "crossed" him. He has engaged in extensive robbery and burglary. He is respected by other "loners" with similar institutional backgrounds and has an orientation toward criminal activities, quick money and "rowdy" behavior.

Albert was a twenty-four year old Negro boy, personable, talented and respected by various groups within the city. At one time, he was involved in a city-wide burglary ring. He was minimally involved in drug use, although he was part of the drug-using "crowd." He was one of the most valuable informants as he had insight into the workings of many groups. He was recently shot and killed during an evening of heaving drinking.

Richard is a twenty-one year old Mexican boy. He is former heroin addict, with several periods of incarceration in both juvenile and adult institutions. He knows a number of heroin addicts in the Bay Area, as well as "crystal freaks." He had spent several months in "Teen Challenge," a rehabilitation program sponsored by a religious sect. He has had wide contact with dealers and users and was able to manipulate agency individual including his probation officer. He is generally able to protect himself, although occasionally he would get involved in incidents which would lead to incarceration, such as knife fighting or carrying concealed weapons.

Charles is a nineteen year old Negro boy, respected within his group as a organizer of criminal activities. He has maintained an image of a "good boy" to the broader community. He is very competent, self-sufficient in new situations, very mobile and sought out by upper strata youth and adults. He has had extensive contacts with addicts and criminals in the Bay Area. He knows techniques of avoiding arrest, and has developed a complicated "game" with the police.

Nancy is a sixteen year white girl who is very attractive and personable. She comes from a middle-class family, although her friends are primarily from the "flats," and she has contacts throughout the city. She is considered "one of the boys," and is defended by boys from others who try to exploit her. She is very knowledgeable about the drug scene throughout the city, and was especially valuable because of her knowledge of middle-class users.

Anthony is a twenty-one year old Puerto Rican boy, formerly from New York. He had been a professional athlete. He is know by teenagers in East Oakland as a contact and his home is used for parties, during which extensive drug use is engaged in.

Rita is a twenty year old Mexican girl with a chaotic family background. She has had one illegitimate child, and has engaged in casual "love" relationships with a number of boys. Her demeanor was "hard," her language coarse and "to the point." She was widely known throughout the city by a variety of groups and was known to be trustworthy. She developed an intense loyalty to the staff, and defended staff members when they were criticized by others.

Billy is a nineteen year old Mexican boy. He is a member of a street club led by Joe, although he is more identified personally with Mexican culture. He has extensive contacts with the Mexican community, and an intense loyalty to him was exhibited by many

youngsters from the Mexican community. He was able to recruit many youngsters for the program, although generally on the basis of a promise of social activities. He was the only "core group" member who was able to sustain himself as a group leader.

Our staff members developed close relations with these central figures both in and away from the center by cultivating their friendship. Staff members accompanied them to parties and dances, went with them to eating places, occasionally visited their homes and invited them into their own homes and helped them in their scrapes and troubles. This association was used to get their own experiences and observations and to set up relations with other drug-using youths who, in turn, were interviewed about their experiences. In particular, we formed small discussion groups among the central figures—somewhat akin to discussion panels—having them talk about different aspects of drug use, discuss problems which we raised, and scrutinize critically our own observations and interpretations. We sought to pose matters which related to crucial phases of their drug-using experience, inviting them to come up with situations of such a crucial character. As an illustration, one of the boys proposed the following contrived situation:

Let's say that there are two broads, they're both boss, and you dig on both of them. One's a lush, she's always lushing it up, man, and you know how luses are, man. This other broad is like you, man, she smokes weed once in a while and gets high, man, you know. What one would you rather have?

The participants enumerated many reasons for choosing a "weedhead" over a "lush:" such as weed is not addicting as is alcohol, it helps you sleep, makes you "mellow," you don't throw up or have a headache, you don't have bottles lying around the house, it makes you more perceptive and able to understand others, and it opens up one's mind to new experiences rather than blocking them out. And as another brief illustration of the

kind of discussion in these small discussion meetings, again referring to drinking:

When you come home drunk and carry on if you drink too much you get sloppy and you're falling all over the place and you're throwing your guts out. Whenever I get high, I don't go home falling all over the place and throwing my guts out. It seems more refined, really, you know, you don't keep getting carried away and your mind functions correctly, it even functions on the double. You might think twice before you do something and in that way might prevent accidents in driving a car home. Some drunk joker gets behind the wheel and his foot turns to lead and you're flying down the street. Somebody gets loaded, he just puts it in drive and sits there, cruising down the street, because everything on the street is a big trip. There's this cat staggering down the street and you'll crack up on him, and you'll see a copy coming flying after him and you'll laugh and say, Hey, sucker, I'm loaded and you're not.

We also make some use of "role playing" in the sense of psychodrama to induce a casual and humorous atmosphere, drawing out youngsters who were not articulately disposed and seeing how the youngsters would act when they had to handle matters from the standpoint of those against whom they were opposed in their ordinary life. For example, one particularly "rowdy" boy was asked to take the role of a member of the Youth Authority board, which was to examine his case, with a staff member playing the role of the boy. Other youngsters sat on the panel, asking the "petitioner" about his behavior and commenting on their impressions of him. Such role-playing sessions led to fruitful disclosures of views and images and produced in turn lively discussions of matters which were close to the experience of the boys. These meetings foster intimacy between staff and youngsters, yet did not become a one-sided exchange of information, with the end result being an honesty which is rarely fostered by the stock approach of "I understand how you feel."

We were able through our various forms of association and procedures to bring the central figures into our study as eager and enthusiastic participants. They caught the spirit of the undertaking and thought of themselves as cooperating in a joint project. They became as interested as our staff members in forming an accurate and penetrating account of youthful drug use.

A few words should be added concerning the relations of our project to official agencies and groups in the community. We were careful to keep our project completely apart from law enforcement agencies since we had to avoid any suspicions of being regarded as informers. An explanation of our program was given to top police officials. Individual policemen visited the center on two occasions to investigate the program and talk to staff members. They were shown the premises and given an explanation of the program, although it was made clear that they would not be allowed to attend meetings or talk with the youngsters at the center. On several occasions staff members and youngsters observed plain-clothes officers in unmarked cars near the center. However, our program was not subject to any harassment by police, nor did any incident arise calling for police intervention. We appreciated this absence of any police interference. Our relations to probation and parole officers were closer; several such officers sought to place some of their parolees or probationers as participants in the program. Our staff obtained permission for and had fruitful interviews and discussions with boys serving time in one of the Youth Authority institutions because of drug use; subsequently, the staff was invited by some of the officials of this institution to give advice in organizing a drug recovery program there. Staff members were frequently invited to speak to various community groups. They gave talks before PTA groups, adult education classes, civil rights organizations, and different social clubs. They also appeared on television and radio panels.

Method of Study

Since our study did not follow the conventional protocol of a research design, we wish to state clearly the nature of the procedure which we employed and to explain why we used it.

While we had a clear picture of our general objectives, our study was necessarily exploratory and flexible in character. We wanted to develop a realistic picture of youthful drug use and ascertain how such use was incorporated into the general round of life of those who used drugs. Thus, we were interested in obtaining reliable information on such obvious matters as the following: how youngsters get into drug use; the conditions and the situations under which they use drugs; the variation of drug use between different types of adolescent groups; the lines of progression in the use of drugs with advancing age or with diverse bodies of experience; the different types of drug users and the different types of drug involvement; the way in which the users view the use of drugs; their conceptions of themselves as drug users; their experiences in using drugs, i.e., what they do after taking the drugs; what they say to one another in discussing drugs; their views of non-users; their experiences with family members, school officials and police official as relating to the use of drugs; their practices in obtaining and distributing drugs; the extent of their use of drugs; the place of drug use in the general routine of their life; and how they meet the fact that the use of drugs is illegal and exposes them to arrest and criminal prosecution.

It was obvious that such kinds of information could be secured only from the youths who were themselves in the drug using world. We could not rely on a questionnaire or a survey for two reasons: we did not know how to ask meaningful questions in light of their experiences, and we would have no assurance that their answers would be considered honest or accurate. It became clear that we would have to move progressively into their world of experience in order, redundantly speaking, to get their

experiences. It was especially necessary not merely to get their frank and honest accounts but to get them to examine their own experiences carefully and critically. It is important to note here several real obstacles that had to be overcome in order to get the kinds of information we were seeking: (1) the suspicion and distrust of the youths toward outsiders probing into their use of drugs; (2) their readiness to "con" such outsiders, either by deliberately fooling them or by compliantly supplying the kinds of answers they thought the investigators wanted; (3) their readiness, even after the first two obstacles were overcome and despite their sincerity, to give slipshod information because it was easy and represented what popped into their minds; and (4) their ignorance of many phases of their experience which they had never had occasion to observe carefully or examine circumspectly. These rings of obstruction to gaining accurate, meaningful information had to be broken through. According, our task on the side of procedure had to meet the following requirement: (1) establishing association with a variety of youthful drug users who were fully knowledgeable of the world of youthful drug use; (2) gaining their full trust and unqualified acceptance of our staff; (3) getting them to be serious and careful in the information they were supplying; and (4) leading them to probe exactly into aspects of their observations and experience about which they were hazy or ignorant. And to this we should add the paramount need of checking on that which was related to us in order to confirm its validity. Let me explain how we proceeded to meet these five requirements.

1. Selection of Key Informants

One of our staff members was already well known to many Negro and Mexican juveniles by virtue of his community work in East Oakland. In lodging our program initially in that area we were able to start with a number of boys who were known to be drug users. The recreational program which was instituted drew a variety of different groups of boys from East Oakland and

adjacent areas. Concomitantly, we held meetings with these and other youths to discuss drugs. There was a great deal of interest and curiosity in these meetings. Through these initial discussions and varying associations with the boys, our staff was able to identify those people in the center of the drug-using population in Oakland who were thoroughly knowledgeable in terms of their own experience and in terms of their vantage point of observation.

The staff developed intimate associations with youth in their full round of daily life, gained their unqualified trust and cooperation in reporting on their experiences, and were able to identify the boys and girls recognized by their friends as key participants in drug use and who were identified as particularly knowledgeable with regard to what was taking place in the drug-using population of Oakland. The complete study involved well over two hundred young people, ranging from seven to twenty-five years of age; however, the key informants with whom staff members developed intimate association included forty youngsters situated in different parts of the "drug community."

2. Gaining Trust and Respect

The gaining of trust and respect among our youthful informants, especially our key informants, was achieved by patiently following the sample principles that are always basic to such a relationship. Our staff members were candid and honest in explaining what we were seeking to do; they showed full respect for the informants, individually and collectively; they were resolute in not betraying confidence, they rejected politely but firmly efforts of the youths to take advantage of them; they showed full readiness to accept the youths, without demeaning them or regarding them as unfit to be brought into the outside circles of association of the staff members; they were generous in providing many forms of personal assistance and particularly in

befriending the youths at critical times of trouble; and they cultivated and established friendships.

Adherence to these principles was not easy, and the gaining of full confidence took a lot of time. It was necessary to make painfully clear that the project was not a police function and that the staff members were not spies or informers. We had to be completely honest in answering all questions and meeting all doubts concerning what we were trying to do. We had to make clear that we were in no way seeking to exploit the youths or "con" them to our own advantage. Correspondingly, we had to reject attempts to "con" us and to make clear that we recognized such attempt for what they were; this was particularly necessary during the early months of the project when our staff members were regarded as easy prey. We had to make the youths recognize that we did not fit their conception of "squares" who came from an outside world of naive and smug people; thus we had to acquire proficiency in the use of their jargon and show that we were knowledgeable about their world, and that we were sincerely interested in becoming even more so. We had to make clear that we did not look down on them or condemn their mode of life in any way. Our staff members brought them into their homes and into various circles of their association, and in turn entered into the homes and circles of the youths. Expressions of confidence were fully honored. Personal assistance was given to them individually, to the extent of appreciable sacrifice, when they were in trouble—advice, forms of material aid, appearing in their behalf before officials and courts, helping them secure jobs, and so forth. And we entered, when invited or allowed into many of their forms of convivial association.

As a result of these lines of effort, the members of our staff came to be identified as "right guys," and word to this effect was spread among their ranks. In addition, lines of close friendship were established between our staff members and many of our youthful

informants. Our staff members had been fully "tested" and were not found to be "wanting."

3. Gaining Sincere and Eager Cooperation

We found that we had to go beyond gaining the full confidence of the youths. There remained the need for making them careful and thoughtful in the information they were supplying, and willing to probe into aspects of their experiences and life about which they were hazy or ignorant. To meet this need we sought to make them recognize and feel that they were the researchers of our project, cooperating with us in trying to find out what was happening in the world of youthful drug use. They ceased to be "subjects" and came to see themselves as fellow participants and valued members in a joint enterprise. Once their confidence was gained, this became a relatively easy matter. The youths have a great deal of interest in their own mode of life. They have a great deal of lively curiosity and we suspect that they felt honored in being given status as fellow workers in a scientific study. We found that in response to such participation, the youths became genuinely concerned to see that they provided accurate information. They were willing to reflect critically on many areas of their experience which they had previously taken for granted.

4. Validating Accounts and Information

We regard our method of validating the information supplied to us to be the most important part of our procedure. This method consisted of running all such information and accounts through the gauntlet of collective scrutiny by the youths themselves. Our primary procedure was to present accounts of practices, beliefs, questions and problems pertaining to youthful drug use before panels of such youths and to invite them to examine the accuracy of the accounts, or to discuss before each other the questions and problems which were posed. Since the youths entered into such discussion zestfully and sincerely, the results were of unparalleled

value. As indicated above, the youths were very knowledgeable about what was going on in youthful drug use. They could not fool each other; they had to face the critical judgments of one another based on experience, and they were articulate and eager to get things straight. We found that in this crucible of collective scrutiny the fictitious and the exaggerated were washed aside. But more than this, we found that in stimulating each other and in testing their observations against one another, they were led collectively to become aware of aspects of experience and practice about which they were individually uninformed. Accordingly, these panel discussions became not only an effective device for testing the accuracy of accounts but also a most fruitful source of tapping and clarifying areas of experience and happenings that were glossed over in the ordinary run of their observations. It should be mentioned that all of the panel sessions were taped with the knowledge of the participants.

In addition, we secured valuable information in other ways. Extensive personal interviews were carried on (nearly always taped) with each of the central figures. These interviews delved into the life history experiences of the youths. We also made use of the thematic apperception test procedure, devising special pictures that set off accounts of drug use. Some limited use was made of psycho-drama to draw out some of the more reserved youngsters. And our staff engaged in a considerable amount of participant observation of the youths in their own circles of association.

The Composition of the World of Youthful Drug Use

There are two major features which must be recognized in order to understand the world of youthful drug use. One of these is that their world is not homogeneous in composition. Instead, it is marked by significant differences in types of users, patterns of use, views of drug use, entrance into the use of drugs, lines of progression in such use, and preparation for different careers.

Failure to see this prevents realistic understanding and blocks intelligent handling of the drug problem among youths. The second major feature is that the world of youthful drug use is in a state of continuous flux. Youngsters are moving through as well as within the confines of their world, meeting different situations, falling into different kinds of groups, having different runs of experience, forming different conceptions of themselves, becoming sensitive to different arrays of objects, developing new interpretations, and participating in different kinds of joint activity.

These two features indicate the operation of a vast selective process which differentiates youths at major points as they enter into and move through the collective life of drug use. That this process affects the youngsters and their careers can be seen in the variety of ways in which they enter the world of drug use, the patterns of drug use into which they fall, the various kinds of associations they form, and the varying directions along which they move.

We have found that the best way to analyze this selective process is to identify the major social types recognized by youthful drug users as making up their world. These social types are crucial in a number of ways: they represent different kinds of users, different sets of practices, different life styles and perspectives; they are equated with different social environments, they yield different runs of experience, and they orient youngsters along different career lines. The major "types" recognized by youthful users are the "rowdy dude," the "pot head," the "mellow dude," and the "player." We will analyze each of these groups extensively. As a preliminary remark to the analysis, we wish to mention that youthful drug users recognize two dimensions to their world—a "rowdy" dimension and a "cool" dimension. The "pot head," the "mellow dude," and the "player" are placed along the cool dimension.

The Rowdy Dude

Those who can be classified as rowdy dudes represent only a minor portion of those youths using drugs. The rowdy "type" represents the first stage of childhood drug use. He is usually to be found among the lower class, although he occasionally appears among adolescents in the upper social strata. The "rowdy" tends to become a segregated group in the drug-using world, and often orients the individual toward a career of criminal violence. In general the rowdy dude may be characterized as aggressive, boisterous, wild and undisciplined. He is disposed toward fighting, seizes on any drug, but prefers alcohol, and is ready to engage in the more serious and violent forms of delinquent behavior.

1. Emergence of the Rowdy type among pre-adolescent children.

We have made no direct study of these child drug users but have secured an ample account of them from adolescent users who live among them or who were themselves such child drug users. There is definite agreement in the following important points.

a) The social milieu of these children is characterized by acts of aggression. The tone of life is set by a primitive struggle for survival. This condition is illustrated by the following brief excerpts:

... I was a rough little dude when I was coming up 'cause we had to be to survive. You couldn't even walk from your house to the store without being chased back home by a gang of some sort.

... You couldn't even play in your back yard. Somebody come around. Hey you! What's wrong with you? Get away from here! What! Lift the gate off and come in and brutalize you ...

The children are accustomed to seeing violent quarrels and fighting on the part of adolescents and adults of both sexes in their neighborhoods.

. . . On weekends it would get so bad down there in West Oakland that police didn't want to mix in nothing. Even girls ran around knocking out dudes with their fists . . .

. . . Used to be rough down there. Cats shooting up them crystals (methedrine) and I used to sit around in the house hearing them say I'm gonna kill that dude, and all this, and you know what? They were really doing it. You'd actually find out about it. His head split open with a hatchet . . .

. . . The worst thing about my childhood is that I was so small and my brother made such a terrible reputation that everywhere I went when I spoke my last name I got jumped on . . .

They see a great deal of drinking and live in a milieu that has a high tolerance for criminal behavior. This pattern of aggressive behavior extends into the ranks of the children themselves to that, individually, they have to cope with it, engaging in it either as a means of self-expression or as a means of self-protection. There seems to be no question that the patterns become a significant part of the life styles of these children, either as a form of self-assertion or of defense:

. . . Everybody was mess-ups, all the kids in West Oakland. Fuck it man. 'Cause when I was small, it was me and my cousin. We're the same age and we were going to elementary school together and all the thought on my mind was just rule the school, man, rule the school. When I get in the sixth grade I'm gonna rule the school man, and that was my highest desire. I didn't care about anybody, and that's what I did. I ruled the school. I thought that was the greatest in the world. As far as we were concerned, we were the baddest in the school and I thought that was boss . . .

. . . The reason people was rowdy down there is because they had to be . . . or else they'll just get rat-packed . . .

b) Among these children there emerge individuals who are particularly bold and violent. They epitomize the pattern of aggression in their own ranks. They are easily spotted by children and adults in the community and are labelled as "rowdy" and "trouble-makers."

. . . They described me as that little kid is too much. He go around stealing and he gonna get into trouble, or, that kid's too much, he's so cut but too bad he had to be so much of a little troublemaker and all that . . .

One of the characteristic features of this group of rowdy children is that they try to "act big" and to be recognized as "bad" youngsters. Accordingly, these youngsters try to take on many of the external marks of older children and adults whom they regard as fear-inspiring persons.

. . . You just want to be bad. It's in the air. You see it man. Trying to be big and bad. It gets people some place I think . . .

Thus, they are led to engage in drinking, swearing, fighting and in escapades that give a sense of being bold and tough:

. . . They want to act older than they are, think its all big and bad and everything. They'd go out and beat up some kid on the street, just like violence . . .

c) It is in this group that the earliest forms of drug use appear. The most common and favorite form is alcohol—predominately wine and beer. However, the rowdy child begins to use a variety of toxic substances, such as sniffing glue, gasoline and lighter fluid. These are used frequently in conjunction with wine and beer when available. There are sporadic incidents of marijuana smoking when youngsters can pilfer "joints" from older brothers or sisters, but such use is rare.

. . . Like a lot of kids they catch their big brother getting high you now, and 'yeah well if you don't give me some

I'm gonna tell you know. And the big brother's gonna give it to 'em, and then get high . . .

. . . Let's see, I was about nine, yeah, and my sister was turning one. They were about fifteen. My older sisters they wanted me to get loaded, so they turned me on . . .

It seems clear from our accounts that the children who are using toxic substances such as glue and lighter flue do not see them as real drugs nor use them in any regular or habitual way. Their use of such toxic substances is sporadic and is essentially an expression of a bravado type of play and excitement:

. . . We'd go out and see who could sniff the most tubes of glue in the park, man. Had our little bottle . . . But the taste of that shit is really foul, guys cough and your throat's all burned up, so you ease down with it . . .

All of this points up, however, that a basis is being created for the incorporation of drug use into the rowdy style of life.

d) As has been mentioned previously, the rowdy child is already accustomed at his early age to engage in various kinds of delinquency. Petty stealing, robbery, vandalism, and physical assaults with weapons are a part of his life when the opportunity is offered and he is in the proper mood of excitement. It is important to observe that in this case the use of liquor and drugs is already beginning to be woven into a larger pattern of delinquent proclivities. It would be a gross mistake to attribute this delinquent behavior to the use of liquor and drugs; rather, the use of drugs is taken over as an integral part of the rowdy style which is being formed.

. . . Really we were in the alleys day and night. You never saw me on East 14th. You always saw us in Sonoma alley. Too much man. We used to go to church and leave and then we'd sneak up to the park and jump old drunks and everything, steal their money . . . and the guys would get the money to buy wine and we used to smash up aspirins and smoke 'em and put cigarette ashes in our cokes and

little stupid stuff . . . Then we stared sniffing glue and lighter fluid and knocking each other out and drinking hard liquor and get wasted and go around the park and cut off cat's tails and their ears and spatter its eyeballs or something. Used to cut off their balls and throw 'em up in a tree and light the cat on fire. Poor cat, went through hell when we was around the park . . .

e) Of interest and importance is the fact that the rowdy type is shunned and set apart by his childhood associates. This pattern of "segregation" becomes effective early in the childhood stage. Despite an environment of violence, most children of the lower classes do not fall into a rowdy pattern, nor do they use toxic substances. The majority of such children, either out of disapproval, or fear, steer away from the "rowdies." Thus rowdy youngsters are led to form their own groups.

2. The Rowdy type during early and middle adolescence.

Our study of the rowdy type concentrated on adolescent youths. It is convenient for purposes of understanding this type to deal with three stages of adolescence: early adolescence corresponding to the junior high school period; middle adolescence, representing the first half of the high school period; and late adolescence, covering the subsequent period.

It is in early adolescence that the rowdy style becomes most pronounced both in terms of numbers and conspicuousness. At this time the traits of the "rowdy dude" are most visibly expressed. The identifying features, as described by our informants, are impulsive and unrestrained expressions of violence, often in public, aggressiveness, drinking, and use of drugs. Physical prowess is aimed at "wowing" an adolescent audience. The "rowdy dude" is seen as trying to impress others, as seeking to evoke fear in those he encounters, and as engaging in repeated acts of violence.

... They're just punks man. Like they start out and think they're bad and they gotta run down the street and let the whole town know that they're on it. Now I use dope for the trip, but people who mess it up are the people who go wild and want to let everybody know how bad they are ...

It is necessary to distinguish between two classes of such rowdies in early adolescence, corresponding to different social strata. One of these classes consists of youngsters from the middle and upper strata in Oakland, the other from the lower strata. Those from the middle and upper strata are milder in their rowdiness and are not as seriously committed to it; rowdiness is more deeply entrenched and more violent in form among those who come from the lower strata. The first group of rowdy youth does not have a background of such behavior in their social milieu nor the same earlier engagement in this life style as children. Further, their first experiences with drugs occur during this early adolescent period and not in pre-adolescence. Also, their use of drugs, aside from alcohol, is less common than in the case of the rowdy type from the lower strata—consisting of isolated instances of glue sniffing, marijuana smoking, and an unusual amount of pill use together with incidental vandalism and pranks. One youngster with considerable mobility in different social strata gives an account of the types of rowdy activities among upper strata people:

... People up there at Skyline, they've got their cards, lighted streets, don't have to protect themselves and don't have the senses as people down here ... People up there they always got to do something like play little pranks, put a tack on the teacher's chair, or who can we make fun of today. Like babies on the average ... Yeah they drink and some of 'em are, you know, really rowdy, but they don't go out getting busted and robbing and stuff.

These two classes of rowdy youngsters remain fairly well separated from each other when in the same setting, as happens at several of the junior high schools. A limited amount of association may occur between individuals of the two groups

and there is some crossing over—chiefly in the form of a rowdy youngster from the upper strata moving into a crowd of rowdy youth from the lower strata. The following account of an upper middle-class girl who deliberately changed her dress style and behavior pattern notes how she came to participate in the lower strata crowd:

... First I thought why am I so different? Why can't I have friends? ... Then I started realizing well, I'd taken a few of the people that was big shots, laughing and stuff. Then I realized that their clothes (the clothes of the lower strata rowdy girls) was different than mine and I started seeing the whole picture ... So then I used to have to sneak out around the corner and change my shoes and hide the others in the bushes, and then I'd go to my girlfriend's house and change clothes ... finally it was in me you know ... and my hair was the highest and make-up the thickest, my eyebrows were straight up. Wore black tight skirts, you could never get me out of tight skirts and sweaters and vests with suspenders. Somebody just looked cross-eyed and I just knocked somebody apart. If I couldn't do it, I'd always have enough people to do it. Always doing something.

Since the rowdy type in the lower strata are numerically much greater, more involved in the rowdy style, and more definitely career-oriented as a result of this commitment, our discussion will be focused on this group of youth.

During early adolescence the character of rowdy activity among lower strata youth undergoes a change. It moves away from a spirit of sporadic play over to a more serious and sustained style of life. It is carried on in the context of a "school crowd" rather than in a gang or play group—in a set of youngsters with similar proclivities who hang together, particularly in the case of fun-seeking activities. Fighting becomes a more regular, and indeed, sought-after activity, occurring on the street, at drive-in movies, at hot dog stands, in parks, and in areas surrounding the school. The drinking of liquor increases and is extended to the new gatherings of parties and dances. Interest in sex emerges and

becomes a significant part of the round of life. Boisterous and aggressive behavior becomes more pronounced. Forms of delinquent behavior take on a more violent and sometimes vicious character—and encounters with the police increase. The character of rowdy life is recognized by our informants, both from their observations of others and their own participation in it, as basically wild and unrestrained with a readiness on the part of youths to fling themselves impulsively into anything that is exciting. We have to view their use of drugs within this context of intensified rowdiness.

The first point we wish to note is the readiness to use a wide variety of drugs. Although alcohol, especially wine, is the favored and most consumed toxicant, almost anything other than heroin is likely to be used; sniffing of glue, gasoline and lighter fluid are fairly common. The use of barbiturates and amphetamines begins to develop. The smoking of marijuana enters into the repertoire. If no drugs are available, the rowdy youngsters—at least some of them—seek out all sorts of substitutes. In the course of our study we obtained reports of youths using nutmeg or crushed aspirin in cokes, sniffing the vapors of burned plastic combs, consuming the cotton inserts from Vicks and Valo inhalers, smoking tea, injecting wine intravenously, “dropping” amphetamines, barbiturates and hypnotic compounds, sniffing paint thinner and a variety of unclassified materials.

The mere recital of the toxic substances that may be used suggests the reckless character of the early adolescent rowdy. In a quest for thrills or in response to solicitations from his close associates, he may engage in types of drug use which are unusual and indeed, irrational. His subjective experiences while under the influence of toxic substances frequently have a weird character and his actions at the time may take on a bizarre form. An appreciation of these aspects of rowdy life can be gathered from the following bits of experience related by a variety of your youthful informants:

... I like to sniff glue when I'm laying down. Get a sock and lay down. First time I used a paper bag laying down and burned blisters on my lips. So I quit using the bag and went to socks. You feel like you're on a roller coaster, tripping off on something, and then you go way up man. Then you come down real fast and go right back up again ...

... The best thing is to have coffee with Winamite (trade name for a benzedrine sinus inhaler) and then you get the container and take it and break it open and get the cotton out and just swallow it, the whole thing ... And you cut it in half, into pieces if you want ...

... Ever tried gas? Well, that's when you get to feeling animal, man. I ain't fooling man, you think you see red. Same with glue see. I've never heard no voice on glue, but Joe used to hear all kinds of stuff. And he used to shoot Winamite all the time too ...

... I was so messed up I was dropping my sister's pregnant pills, man. I wanted pills, and I just got to get loaded. And I was trippin' out of the world. I was droppin' these reds too and felt sleepy and sick ... Could see little holes in the sheets like bugs crawlin' around ...

... I was at my house with a bunch of friends, and these guys came over and were sniffing lighter fluid so we just went and sniffed it to see what it did to us. Just kept pouring it on the rag 'cause it sort of evaporated. I usually got a headache, ears were plugged, but it's not like being wasted ... This time I felt, you know, real energetic and everything ...

... I don't like to sniff glue, swallow inhaler things and all that stuff. It's foul, doesn't taste good. It doesn't smell good. Makes you sick. You get bad headaches, and get your sinuses all jacked up. It was really stupid man. We used to do all that shit and go through all that stuff just to have a high for a little while and then we'd go around for about a week doin' nothing and all jacked up from that shit ...

... You cut up the cotton and chew it. Gives a bad taste so you get some Certs and eat it right after to kill that taste. You start getting chills and your head gets bad and your eyes start getting dazes and you stare. Don't really know it's hitting you and then you just trip out ...

... Ok, well now I'm gonna tell you what I think. I've never been too much for reds or yellows but I have taken jackets three times, and each time that I've taken them the same thing happen to me. They put you on an unconscious drunk. I can remember taking them and the feeling when they first hit me, but from that point on I don't remember anything until I start coming down you know ...

... Me and him were just walking around sniffing glue, sniffed up about nine tubes that day. About four or five hours and that was wild man. And all of a sudden I just fell on the ground and I couldn't move. I couldn't hardly move. It was a big bummer man, scared the shit out of me. Just laid there, thinking I was dead. And thought that glue was eating me up 'cause I just flashed man and couldn't talk for a while. It was just blah blah blah. So when I got hip to weed, I just cut it loose, see ...

... He thought he was really boss and everything, too much man. He was starting to get skinny, been sniffing glue, and he couldn't even fight without his knife. The only way he could fight was with his knife and all of us were learning how to fight with knives then ... In the Dragons you know, the whole thing was dressing up to look bad, and playing the role, and having fun at the same time, running in the streets, sniffing glue and stuff like that ...

... They always make me hate and mean or something, those reds and yellow jackets. Drink a little bit behind it like I said and a person can look at you, just glance at you and you poke 'em off in their nose ... Grass doesn't make you hateful or nothing like them things do ...

... I been in cars with dudes man. You know we were going over to the beach over to San Francisco one night. So I'm sitting there and this dude's sitting next to me. Look at this guy man. I'm gonna shoot him in the leg. He shot him from the window. Flat out shot him ...

... I'll tell you, last time I got a bunch of reds, I got so fired up I almost went mad, and I'd get in fights and like we were drinking beer and I was loaded and there was a warehouse down the street. So I go over there and ripped the padlock

off and took a couple cases of beer and took some typewriters too. 'Cause you know I could get some money and then on the way out some security guard pulled a gun and he said Halt and I said alright, you don't have to shoot me and I had this thing and I let the old punk have it and he was afraid to shoot me. He might as well hung up his badge, cause he wasn't worth shit you know. I just got in the car and was about to catch it later but he got the license number and they busted me ... So that's what reds do for me. I mean you're really feeling down and it's a good trip but it gets you in trouble ...

One should not exaggerate the meaning of these accounts; they do not imply that the round of life of the early adolescent rowdy is a continuous succession of such irrational and violent actions. However, the accounts point accurately to the features of conduct which lead youngsters to identify some of their numbers as rowdies. The accounts also depict faithfully the kinds of experiences and behavior that may happen in connection with the use of drugs and liquor. The accounts point to the relative ease with which such drugs may be taken in a thoughtless and irresponsibly way and to the uncontrollable kind of behavior which may accompany such use. The accounts indicate that the rowdy "crowds" (the rowdies are both led and forced to concentrate their youthful association with youngsters like themselves) have no code or set of understandings that impose some form of sober control over their conduct.

This latter point is particularly significant for our concern with youthful drug use. Drug use among the early adolescent rowdies is essentially fluid and unstructured, with no commitment or attachment to a particular type of drug and with no shared scheme to control and regulate its use. While there is a definite preference for liquor, if no liquor is available there is a readiness to turn to anything else that is available or that may be concocted. The only exception to this is the use of heroin, which is practically unavailable anyway and which interestingly, is viewed with contempt and fear even by the early adolescent rowdies. The

reckless, irresponsible, and violent behavior of the rowdy type has, of course, obvious consequences in determining the way in which he is treated by others and, hence, in framing the career lines along which he may move. We wish to note three aspects of this structuring of his life.

First, youngsters of his own age group, and, for that matter, adults around him, shun the rowdy and do not wish to get involved in his activities. Thus, rowdies (who constitute a minority of youngsters) are pushed away from close association within the more common streams of life. They move in the direction of segregation groups inside the adolescent community. Outside of their own ranks they tend to be excluded from parties, dances, social gatherings and intimate association. Even youngsters fairly close to them will shy away from engaging in their escapades through fear of getting into trouble or being arrested. These forms of exclusion operate to keep rowdies within their own wild and undisciplined world.

Second, early adolescent rowdies are largely excluded from getting close to or participating in the "drug market" that exists to serve the early adolescent world. At first glance this may seem to be odd, if not contradictory, but it is definitely true. The explanation, of course, is that the rowdy, because of his reckless and irresponsible behavior, is far too great a risk to those who deal or sell in this market and to most of those who consume drugs obtained through this market. Dealers and users would unnecessarily expose themselves to apprehension and arrest by trafficking with the rowdy type. Thus, it is difficult for the rowdy to get hold of marijuana, even though other youngsters usually have a steady supply available. This difference in accessibility to drugs is not unrelated to the greater use of alcohol by rowdies, their more ready use of pills, and their disposition, as above mentioned, to resort to all kinds of wild concoctions.

Third, the early adolescent rowdy is a marked target for punitive action by authorities, particularly the police. His reckless, violent, and rule-breaking behavior accompanied by his disposition to make a public display of it readily exposes him to recognition by authorities who have to enforce laws. Thus, the early adolescent rowdy is likely to get into trouble in the school and have various disciplinary measures taken against him. Similarly, and in a more serious way, the rowdy is a special target for police action. The probability of his being arrested is very high and the impending prospect of being "busted" is an integral part of his world.

It is not difficult to see, in the light of the foregoing remarks, how the early adolescent rowdy from the lower strata is oriented along career lines by the structure of his world. He is definitely headed toward a criminal career. Indeed, many of these youths begin to serve time in custodial institutions during early adolescence. The attrition rate among them in the sense of dropping out of school and swerving away from the ordinary lines of development is high. The question is what happens to the rest of them.

There are three lines which may be taken by this group of early adolescent rowdies from lower class strata. One of these lines is for them to continue as they are; this is merely to postpone the day of reckoning when they come seriously within the foils of the law and begin prison careers. A second line is for them to become "cool" rowdies, continuing their style of life but becoming cautious and avoiding public display; we will discuss this type shortly. A third line taken by them is to cease to be rowdies and to become genuinely "cool dudes." To follow this latter line is to move over into the more conventional groups in their adolescent world.

We wish to note the chief conditions which youngsters say are responsible for this latter or third line taken by early adolescent rowdies. They stress: (1) being directed toward the "cool" drug

using group by older brothers and associates; (2) forming an attachment to a "righteous" girl; (3) coming to realize that they are being shunned and looked down on because of their rowdiness; and (4) managing, as in the case of an athlete, to ball in with a non-rowdy crowd.

3. The Rowdy type during late adolescence.

The rowdy who continues his behavior into late adolescence has to cultivate a certain amount of "coolness," reliability and self-control, otherwise he will be in the hands of the law continuously. Indeed, this latter condition is the fate of many of the older adolescent rowdies. However, a large proportion of the late adolescent rowdies manage to limit the extent of their run-ins with the law by avoiding public display of their rowdiness and by restricting it to given times and places.

Our informants recognize two sets of rowdies among this latter group. One is represented by motorcycle gangs, or, as they are frequently called, "low-riding clubs." Such low-riding clubs provide the means for a variety of rowdy acts, ranging from horseplay and mild forms of recreation to wild drinking parties and group sexual practices. One of our informants who belonged to such a motorcycle group says:

... They used to do weird things like playing chicken with knives, wrestle, and go on long rides down the coast, play cards all the time, make different kinds of booze and bourbon, walk up to some dude's broad and start messing with her, drink a lot of wine, smoke some dope, load pills, and things like that . . .

The other kind of older adolescent rowdy is the "hoodlum" type—the individuals who begin to specialize in strong-arm robbery, extortion, and body-guarding other "hustlers" on the street scene. They usually establish a string of arrests.

Drug use among older adolescents has several features worthy of note—some new and some an intensification of earlier aspects. By virtue of becoming cooler and more restrained, the older adolescent rowdy is able to establish connections in the drug market, something which he was previously unable to do. This opens the doors to a variety of available drugs. Further, as a result of some detention, jail or institutional experience, placing him in contact with older or more sophisticated drug users, he acquires a greater knowledge of drugs and he becomes encouraged to try them. One youngster in a reformatory says:

... Like every once in a while a bunch of us people just sit down and talk about trips and sit around in a little bullshit session and a kid comes around. He just sits down and the dude listens you know and he's thinking. You can damn near hear them gears going around. He's thinking all these people are doing it and these are cool people. They hold their mug and don't take no shit from the mass. There must be something to this. I want to be like that. I want to smoke dope. I want to shoot crystals. I want to get hold of some smack (heroin) . . .

Very often, wild stories about a variety of drugs are told during incarceration and youths can hardly wait to get out to try them.

Thus there is a great deal of switching back and forth between drugs in the case of the older adolescent rowdy. Also, the rowdies begin to use drugs instrumentally to prepare themselves for given situations—such as gang fights, committing robbery, or terrorizing people.

... A lot of dudes on the set will drop a roll of them reds (seconal) or yellowjackets (nembutal) and go out terrorizing . . .

... Well, see you know you don't feel no pain when you drop about three reds, smoke a joint. You done dropped the pills to make you feel nothing you know and you can go into a gang fight without shit. Let's get nitty-gritty and that's what I did . . .

. . . If you think you gotta run and get away fast then you shoot crystals or drop a few whites (benzedrine) . . . You got different dope for different fights . . .

Another new feature in the case of the older adolescent rowdies is their susceptibility to the use of heroin. The earlier attitude of contempt toward it changes to some recognition that it is used by cool and sophisticated types in the criminal world; and their previous fear of it gives way frequently to curiosity about it. These changes are likely to occur particularly while incarcerated in detention halls, jails, reformatories, and prisons.

In the light of these various features we can say that drug use in the last adolescent rowdy set becomes more varied, more entrenched, more a part of a criminal style of life and more likely to lead the individual in the direction of opiate addiction.

4. Concluding observations on the rowdy type.

The rowdy type constitutes a minority segment in the world of youthful drug use. Actually, the rowdy is practically the only type of drug user among pre-adolescent children. But he is overshadowed numerically by others in the use of drugs during adolescence. The rowdy type comes to its peak in early adolescence but declines during middle and late adolescence. This type does not exercise much influence over the bulk of the youthful drug-using population since the rowdy "style" does not appeal to the vast majority of youthful users. Their styles, as we shall see, stand pretty much in opposition to the rowdy style.

Among all youthful drug users, the rowdy type is more oriented toward a criminal career. Correspondingly, this type is the most difficult to turn in the direction of conforming to conventional society. This initial orientation and the forces which affect his experiences operate to reinforce each other, so that there is a kind of cumulative propulsion of him to a criminal end and to opiate addiction. There are, however, several vulnerable points

in the process of his formation that offer possibilities of keeping him from opiate addiction and which may even serve to deter him from a highly probable criminal career.

Finally, we should note that the picture of youthful drug use that is formed by police and by a large part of the general public is derived from experiences with the rowdy type. He is the one most likely to cause trouble for the police and the community and who is most likely to fall into the hands of the law. And the violent, irrational and frequently spectacular character of his law-breaking is more likely to attract the attention of the community. It is no accident, accordingly, that the image of the youthful drug user is usually shaped in terms of the characteristics of the rowdy despite the fact that the rowdy style of life and his use of drugs is quite different from that of the greater majority of youthful drug users.

Introduction to Other Types of Youthful Drug Users

All of our informants agree that there is a general scheme of life with a distinctive mode of demeanor in the adolescent world that is opposed to that of the rowdy. This is spoken of as being "cool." This style of life consists of a deliberate and self-conscious attempt to control oneself in all aspects of one's daily life. It means, generally, being unruffled in critical situations, keeping one's head, acting wisely, showing calm courage, controlling one's voice and behavior, being smart, not provoking trouble but being able to handle oneself calmly in troublesome situations, being well informed and wise as to what is going on in one's adolescent world, and being sensitive to one's appearance. This cool style is deeply embedded in adolescent life, carrying strong peer sanctions, buttressed by a body of justifying beliefs and convictions and involving a large reservoir of practical knowledge. It constitutes a formidable model that exercises both an attraction and a coercion on multitudes of adolescent youngsters. It is to be found in all segments of adolescent society, although it may be expressed

in different ways among different racial groups, in different neighborhood areas, and in different social strata of the population. The cool style not only represents an individual mode of demeanor, but gives rise to distinctive groups. These groups are termed "cool sets"—and are in contrast to rowdy sets. They should also be distinguished from the larger numbers of adolescents who follow strictly conventional lines and who are usually referred to as "lame."

As we shall see, the cool style of life exercises a prodigious influence on the nature of drug use in adolescence, differentiating users, leading to different patterns of drug use, producing different ways of viewing drugs, and giving rise to different group codes governing their use. This influence and its effects will be seen from our subsequent discussion of the three major cool types—the "pot head," the "mellow dude," and the "player." Before considering these types, we wish to state something briefly about the entrance of former early-adolescent rowdies into the cool world. The discussion of this line of entrance helps to bring out an appreciation of the power of the cool style, of the significant transforming influence which it may exert, and of the interesting way in which it changes drug use.

Passing from an early rowdy stage to the cool stage is a result, as the youngsters put it, of "lightening up" or of "becoming aware." It begins with an increasing awareness of one's dress and one's appearance. A Negro youngster who sees his older brother driving a new car and wearing sharp clothes may run up to his friend and say: "Say man. What you gonna buy to wear to school next year?" "Oh man, I'm gonna get me some Levis and big stomping boots, man." "Levis!" He thinks to himself: "I'm gonna be cooler than this cat. I'm gonna get me some slacks, some sweaters." At this time "everyone is trying to out-slick the slickers."

. . . When it's time to go to school, the first morning everybody falls out of the house about eight o'clock looking at each other to see the different changes. Hey, he's got his

hair dyed. Hey look, he has a permanent. Look at that dude there got some boss shoes man. Wish I'd gotten a pair. Hey look at that boss sport coat man. Then you fall out at lunch time, man, and you see a whole group got nothin' but Levis on, and then you look over at this other group and you find they got imported sweaters and sharp slacks and sport clothes on and you jump into that group . . .

Some youngsters who lead a rowdy existence and try to "be the baddest" are suddenly *forced to look deeper insider themselves and reflect on the consequences of their appearance and manner:*

. . . Every time I walked down the street I *felt like very cop was eyeing me just because I looked rowdy.* Going to a store, I could have money and the intention to buy something and next thing I know the floor walker's on my tail. I don't like that and I said this is no kinda life to go through. It's okay to go through a stage 'cause you learn a lot that way, but you can't keep it up so you slowly start changing. I don't want to put on this bad act. I don't want trouble and you've been in a lotta trouble, so you say cool it. That's if you got any sense . . . A lot of us have been a type for years now and we all lightened up . . .

This concern with appearance already reflects an interest in being accepted by an older "crowd" of cool youngsters who are regarded as "making it." An awareness that one doesn't belong may exercise great pressure on the youngster to change his appearance and demeanor in order to be accepted.

Another common way for a youth to begin cultivating a cool style of living is to experience *humiliation by a girl friend* who "ranks" him for being rowdy. And "older" girl and even an older sister may teach him how to "be sharp." Similarly, a "rowdy chick" will experience considerable pressure to "lighten up" if she wants to keep a cool boy friend. The following accounts illustrate the powerful influence of the opposite sex in changing one's patter of behavior and drug use:

. . . Then there's a whole bunch of 'em that are running around breaking windows out and being rowdy, malicious,

you know, go out: Look at this cat, man. He thinks he's bad. BOOM! But then the dude snaps. The women rank him, see. I'm too cool for you. Get back! And that makes him envious, see. He looks at other dudes then. Man he think he cool. I'm gonna jump sharp too. Then when his friends come around: Say let's go rip his suit up, break that window. And the dude'll go, No man, you're a big pooty. He'll say: Look here, lighten up man. That ain't where it's at . . .

Also, some of the more thoughtful rowdy youngsters begin to reflect on the fact that many of their earlier rowdy friends are in jail or dead, or getting nowhere with their violent style of life. Such reflections can give great incentive to moving over to a "cool" existence. The following accounts illustrate this.

. . . When I saw like everybody was going to jail and things. Like I don't want to be getting busted and doing time, see. They was getting sent up, man, all my friends. So I told myself: I ain't going to be a fish. I'm just going to lighten up and quit hanging around with them people. So we did, and we never got sent up . . .

. . . You know what, man? I grew up with a lot of people and there's only about two or three of them left around that I know and the other ones are all in the joint somewhere. They just vanished, whoosh, nobody there . . . I hear about 'em dropping out of school, girl having a baby in junior high . . . Lot of them rowdy people look like they been through hell, man. I had to hand 'em up because they didn't seem like they wanted to grow up, man. They're just thinking of the short run, not the long run. They didn't make it and these other people are still making it . . .

. . . I'm not gonna get all brutalized. The trend now is that if you ain't got a gun you're gonna get snuffed . . . A whole bunch of our friends were killed in accidents because of stupidity, you know, fighting going on. Just wasn't right to me, but I'm gonna take me a gun, have one around for protection 'cause I can't be going out there and letting a whole crowd rat pack me, beating me to their satisfaction, all brutalized and swollen head. So I just carry my piece and nobody gonna mess with me . . .

The passage from the rowdy type to a cool and mellow youngster, as it relates to the use of drugs, involves chiefly a shift to the smoking of marijuana. This is emphasized time and time again by the youngster in their individual accounts and in their group discussions. Their accounts and discussions also stress that the use of marijuana both produces and symbolizes a "mellow" mode of conduct that is opposed to that associated with rowdy behavior. They place great weight on the "socializing" effects of marijuana use, declaring that its use not only leads youngster away from violence but has the effect of changing them into sociable human beings.

Below is a series of excerpts from different informants which reflect these various attitudes.

. . . See, people I know, after they got hip to weed, they just climbed out of that rowdy trip. They squared off completely, you know, wanted to jump sharp, enjoy themselves and be mellow instead of getting all brutalized . . . You don't hear much hear much about gang fighting anymore even. People getting hip to weed.

. . . What happened to me was I was sniffing glue and got to smoking weed, you know. I got busted in tenth grade behind sniffing glue. Sitting in back of the drug store with big old bags . . . Glue messes you up man, jerked my mind and I didn't want to sniff glue, you know. Then I got loaded and this guy started getting me loaded and I dropped glue, see. But you know, if I were to have met somebody else that didn't smoke weed, maybe some rowdy cat, maybe I would have went somewhere else. I don't now what would of happened . . . took another course . . .

. . . I can get loaded but there's a dude sitting right there I don't like, I hate his mother fucking guts, man, and if he says anything wrong when I'm loaded, man I can get up and hit him and think nothin' about it. But mostly people don't fight when they're loaded on weed. Weed slows you down and you don't think about fighting. You think about tripping. It's a big hassle to you, it's a big hangup.

... Little kids starting to get loaded, they see situations that are different, that ordinary kids, man, don't even think about. They start to analyze things, and you get a person thirteen years old that's getting loaded, he's thinking about the heat, about screwing some chick, and he's hip to it already . . .

... You feel real intelligent. It's a way of getting prestige. That's the only way I can figure it, man . . .

... Man, you know, parents seem to think: Well, my son is growing up too quickly. He acts more like a man, quiet and he likes to keep his self neater than most kids his age do and he doesn't like to run around playing games and climbing fences and trees like he used to. Maybe his mind has matured too quickly. You find little kids going to school passing every little mirror, wearing ties, spit shined shoes. They just trying to be mellow. They doing what they see the older dudes do, you know . . .

... Sometimes I feel like really being rowdy, you know. But I have to hold my cool. Can't ever get out of hand and this is where it'll louse up everything. If I started getting drunk, I'd want to go out and party and blow it, and he doesn't care too much for that. He'd start thinking all kinds of shit about me, and we'd have arguments and stuff, and I don't want to go into all that shit. So we just get high and party light, see . . .

... Seeing how broads couldn't maintain on drinks and stuff, They'd righteously blow it and look like ass holes, and you could smell that funky smell and how they looked like scum. And I said: Wow, that's a bad scene. And I never realized before that it looked crappy for a broad to get drunk, but usually I was so high I didn't realize it. But then I was loaded and whooo, this is it. I don't dig getting drunk. I liked it once, but getting tore up, even for a dude it looks bad, but for a broad it shows no class . . . Now when you're loaded on weed, you can always maintain and just it's mellow.

As these accounts begin to suggest, the use of drugs in the cool sets, they types of conduct associated with their use, and the effects of their use taken on a character markedly different than

in the case of the rowdy type. These matters will come out with greater clarity as we now begin to consider the "pot head," "mellow dude," and "player."

The Pot Head

The pot head or "weed head," as he is also referred to, is a youngster who is committed, essentially, to the sole use of marijuana. He differs in this respect from the "mellow dude" (the next type that we will consider): the mellow dude not only smokes marijuana but uses other drugs. The pot head differs also inasmuch as he is very much aware of what is happening in the adolescent world; he makes a point of keeping in close touch with what is going on. The mellow dude, for his part, is more interested in sociability and personal enjoyment. Also, the pot head participates more directly in the drug market, consciously seeking out marijuana, getting or "scoring" his own drugs, and sometimes even dealing on a small-time basis for a "connection" who handles larger quantities. As is suggested by these features, the pot head occupies a status of being "ultra-cool"—one who handles himself well, one who is in effective control of his use of drugs, one who knows what is going on, and one who has good lines of connection.

The average weed head among Oakland youth is respected by other adolescents from different social class backgrounds. In his daily life contacts he projects an image of a *calm*, sensible, solitary figure, soft-spoken and personable. He takes great pride in his appearance, always wearing sharp slacks and sweaters, spit-shined shoes and a *neat, inconspicuous* hair style. Many girls admire him, although he may have many steady girl friends. Interwoven with his speech pattern is a *colorful vocabulary* of drug argot, combined with slight hand gestures and facial expressions which make him appear loose, good-natured, and self-confident. When strolling down the street, his eyes continually dart about. His *sensitivity to police* is remarkable. Above all he believes himself to be colorful,

intelligent, daring, profoundly aware of the street scene, in complete self-control, and most important, a unique person worthy of respect. Although lodged in areas where violence may readily occur, he will resort to violence only if "pushed" or "sounded on" to the point where he must defend his self-respect. He participates in conventional life activities, keeping up his studies, sharing in school functions, perhaps engaging in athletics and working conventional forms of employment.

The use of drugs by the pot head, as mentioned, is confined to the smoking of marijuana. The typical weed head will "smoke a joint when he wakes in the morning." He will eat breakfast to satisfy his hunger and then light up another "joint" after he "eats his high away." After going about the business of work, play, or study, he will light up another "joint: after he "eats his high away." After going about the business of work, play, or study, he will light up another joint in the early afternoon as he is gradually "coming down." He will use marijuana to put him in the proper mood for a party or a dance, or to share in the sociability of a friendly gathering. He will use to make him alert in whatever business dealings or transactions he may be carrying on.

It should be mentioned that the pot head regards himself as the anti-thesis of the heroin addict or "dope fiend." He regards the heroin addict as one who has "blown his cool" and believes that morphine-like agents are for "fools" and for "rowdy people who are weak minded." One pot head put the matter in the following way, with the agreement of his fellows:

... You know what, man, people like myself, and even younger kids than me right now, they figure an addict is uncool. He's righteously uncool, man, strung out behind that shit. He's lame . . he's a chump to get off into that bag. He should know a little bit better that if he keeps fucking around with it, he's gonna get on it, he's gonna get hooked . . .

We are going to give a rather lengthy account from an intelligent and articulate pot head among our informants. The account is an excellent representation of the general round of life, the use of marijuana, views toward drugs, and incidentally, the difficulty of moving away from the use of drugs.

... It was kind of gas to go to school you know. I was getting loaded quite a bit in the tenth grade and I didn't know too many people, but in the eleventh grade I knew about everybody, and my brother was there before me, big football star and all that. I played baseball in my first year and then I met lots of people that way. Then *I got sort of reputation around school. Everybody used to call me Mr. Cool and stuff like that.* I wouldn't never let it go to my head, but I used to get loaded and go to school just to wig out on all the people, *just a big trip I was on all the time . . .*

... Like you just feel I'll take the day easy and get loaded after school, and sometimes you go to school loaded and start tripping, and pretty soon you get all *relaxed*. There's a lot of people who go to school really loaded and go to work too. Lot of people I know can work good behind weed . . .

... *You got favorite places to go.* Like in school say during the lunch period or before school starts, might go around by the hot dog stand or the swimming pool, smoke a few joints, get loaded, go back and sit in class, wait for the teacher to make a mistake just so you can debate on something. Or just sit there and trip off anything, man . . . After school you know everybody will be trying to find out what's going on, what's happening on the week end . . .

... *The baddest thing that can happen to you is just plain getting busted.* That's the biggest bummer man. Really. 'Cause every minute you see the heat you get a little shook up. You see the heat. You always got your eye on the kinds of cars around. Any car you see, Galaxy 55, well when you see one of those, you get shook up 'cause that's the only thing you got to fear is the heat . . .

... *I might be hooked on grass, but I think I'm pretty cool about it,* you know. I mean if another person was looking

at me, they might think I'm uncool because I'm hooked on grass, but myself I don't use nothing else, see. Like I know people about six guys, they all get together in their house and all of 'em are addicts. They're all strung out. Went over there with a friend of mine, you know, the other day. Man, it's disgusting. Man, it's sickening, you know. They don't give a shit about it. There is broads living there, man shacked up they don't even care. All's they think about is getting high. So I don't like to associate with 'em. Cause *if you want to get loaded and stay bright then the only way you can make it is smoking grass. If you drop a lot of pills and you shoot stuff, you ain't gonna make it man, 'cause both of 'em will get you.*

You can get busted for grass, but if you sneak in and get what you want and sneak out, keep it to yourself, you can make it. But you can't associate with them addicts man, 'cause sooner or later they can brainwash you man. I keep away from all them people . . .

. . . I don't try to get in nobody else's business. I don't want to snitch on anybody neither, and I know what's happening, and I know what's going on all over, and I don't like to fool around and do ridiculous things like some of my friends, terrorizing, running around in streets like crazy-ass punks, man. I don't want to do that 'cause people lose respect for you. They'll think you're a little kid you know. So I don't have too many enemies . . .

. . . Well squares or frats these people have more going for them in a way. They're ah smarter . . . See, I was pretty smart, and I was in a lot of their classes, and I hardly had any friends of mine you know from here in any of my classes. I was with THEM . . . I put everybody in two big bags, ever since I was in grammar school: US and THEM . . . So I was always with THEM. Now if I had to do it over again, I wouldn't have started back in the seventh grade cutting school and all this. I'd just change sides see. I'd stay with THEM, and I'd be able to do the things that I wanted to do . . .

. . . I could cut weed loose, but weed does something to you. Like it turns you into like a con man. If you know lot-a-dudes that went to jail I don't care who it is, if he's been in jail. Before he went, he might not take advantage of people,

but after he comes out, he takes advantage of people 'cause he has to. If he doesn't people are gonna burn him. He thinks people are gonna burn him. I always still have in mind this person, and I would be inclined to these people, see . . .

. . . I've tried not to get loaded, but my friends live right in the area, all around Oakland in fact, and everybody gets loaded, and it's hard for me to step outside, you know, go to the store and not have one person come up and give me this or that . . . So the hardest things if you wanted to quit getting loaded is to stay away from your friends. There's nobody like your friends, man. You know, you know 'em all your life. Go in some other clique, well, yeah, you can get along, you know but it's kind of a bum trip. You feel funny. Gotta get real interested in something, get wound up in some other trip see . . . But the way I see it, I mean there's a lot of people married, got their wives, and their wife gets loaded, the whole family gets loaded and become a housewife and a father you know. They're still smoking weed. You don't have no hassle with the heat when you're at home see . . .

The picture of the pot head which we have given so far applies to this type as it exists chiefly among the lower strata youths. The pot head among the upper strata takes on an observably different form, reflecting the radically different life situations in the case of higher social strata and a preoccupation with a different set of things. In the upper strata, the pot head fits into what the youngster's refer to as the "teeny bopper" style.

In the "teeny bopper" style, which incidentally has not "caught on" with Oakland adolescents to the extent that it has among Berkeley and other Bay Area high schools, the use of drugs represents a *more stylized form of protest*; LSD is the drug of increasing popularity; there is a strained and self-conscious attempt to be "real," tolerant of differences, *spontaneous*, and above all "hip," (experienced in the art of "blowing one's mind"). Simmons and Winograd look at these new "swingers" and capture their understanding of "tripping out" as the point where one reaches:

. . . a state of awareness so heightened and unmediated that it overwhelms and temporarily supplants one's ordinary

conceptions and perceptions of one's self and the world. This state of sensory, mental, and emotional amaze is called blowing your mind in hip circles . . . There is a feeling among many of the contemporary trippers that insight and self-integration can only be won after you have existentially learned the nature of pleasure and experience . . . !

The "teeny bopper" style reflects the way certain youth from more wealthy backgrounds seek out an intensified experience that heightens the present moment. This intensified experience is achieved by "tripping out" on different drugs. It must be recognized that such an intensified experience is merely "the way things are" naturally in the lives of youth living in poverty. Fear, death, the existential here and now, authentic reality, do not need to be discovered. Any youth living in a ghetto area of Oakland only need step outside his door and glance at his world in a state of perfect sobriety. He has experienced pain, suffering, the smell of death, and the ever present danger of incarceration from the time he was a child running in alleys drinking wine and learning to survive. Because of this different background of experience, pot heads among the lower strata youth are cautious about "blowing one's mind" and seek to control their experience. For the most part, they view "trippers" and "happeners" as fools—as dangerous and "uncool persons."

The key position which the pot head occupies in the youthful drug using world together with his general personal makeup raises very interesting questions as to what happens to him as he ages and moves into adulthood.

We suspect that many of these youths move into conventional society and become assimilated into it. As our accounts have indicated, they share in the general round of conventional

1. J. I. Simmons and Barry Winograd. *It's Happening—A Portrait of The Youth Scene Today*. Santa Barbara, California: Marc-Laird Publications, (1966), pp. 31-32.

activities in the adolescent world, and we would expect such participation to continue with advancement in age. Their personal traits equip them well for such participation. They are typically bright, energetic, well poised, equipped for meeting difficult situations, and ambitious. We would expect them to continue to maintain their cool style and to use their ingenuity in getting ahead. We suspect that many of them would continue with their education, marry, get conventional jobs and raise families. We would also expect many of them to steer clear of conflicts with the law. They are not troublemakers and they try to stay away from trouble. They do not engage in delinquent behavior—other than in their use of marijuana. What effect assimilation into conventional adult society would have on continued use of drugs is unknown to us. It seems highly unlikely that drug use would spread out to drugs other than marijuana. It seems likely, however, that their use of marijuana would decline and even possibly cease, in response to a new social milieu.

However, if such a conventional orientation is what we might reasonably expect in the aging of most pot heads, a different direction may be taken by some of them by virtue of participating on the fringes of the drug market. Many of them engage in minor or petty dealing and thus take a step which could lead them in the direction of developing a "hustle." We shall see this more clearly later in our discussion of the "player." Here, we merely wish to note that a start in minor dealing, particularly if it may yield significant income, can easily direct the pot head in the direction of some type of criminal entrepreneurship. Some idea of this possibility is conveyed by the following statement.

. . . Let me tell you man, life ain't nothing without weed. *I'm more aware with weed*, you know, like I go for fancy clothes, you know, vests, slacks, yeah that's my bag. When I'm high on weed, and I'm looking at my clothes, and I got on \$65.00 suede shoes and \$3.00 silk socks, \$5.00 silk shorts, you know, I got on this bad shark skin black suit, great big old diamond ring, this Omega watch, you know, and I'm loaded off this weed, I'm more aware of how good I really

am. I think: look how I got this, you know. I got it hustling, and my minds gets sharp. So by the time it say eight thirty on my watch, wow, I better get out there and game so I can get some more. You know, then, like when I'm at home watching TV, I can't enjoy the picture unless I'm loaded on that weed, because weed sets me *in* the picture, right in there . . . So the way I feel is that life is not nothing without weed. *I'm twenty now, and I got a long way to go, man, and I'm gonna make it, man. Weed is part of my progress . . .*

The Mellow Type

In contrast to the "pot head," a more common type of adolescent drug user is labeled a "mellow dude" or a "mellow chick." *Being "mellow" is by far the most prevalent pattern of drug use we encountered in the course of our study.* A mellow person is relatively game to "try anything once" and his quest for varieties of experience is carried out in a cool manner. A "mellow dude" expresses himself like other "cool people," but his foremost preoccupation centers around the *party*. He likes "to party" at any time, and his primary interest centers on *sexual conquest* and pleasurable sensations.

Although weed is the primary drug of choice, mellow people often use stimulant pills, LSD and crystal periodically. For the most part drugs are used for the "sex trip" and a number of myths (or facts) have developed around the "sexual boost" of various drugs. There is outstanding tolerance toward different people among the "mellow crowd" and it is common to see different racial groupings having fun together at the same party, in a sociable manner with no tension filling the air. There is also a tendency toward humanism, a striving for authentic interpersonal relationships, and a mockery of many conventional practices. However, such a drift among mellow people is not formulated into a working ideology as it is among different college age drug users in "hippie" or intellectual circles.

The crucial difference between the "mellow dude" and the "weed head" lies in the regularity of use and the degree of involvement in the adolescent marketplace for illegal drugs. *Mellow people do not "deal" for profit; rather, they pass drugs around as an expression of friendship and trust.* Thus, it is common for one to exchange "joints" with close friends, "bum" cigarettes for a period, and then give joints away; all the time "maintaining one's own," and "coasting" from party to party, ("making the scene"). A mellow dude is *often satisfied with buying by the "matchbox," with a few pills sporadically used, and periodic LSD "trips."* His drug use is *inexpensive and constitutes a small portion of his family routine.* Each one of these points will be examined in greater depth so that we may build up a picture of the generic themes interwoven in the cool existence.

The "mellow dude" distinguishes himself from the "pot head" in that he *does not often "go out looking for drugs," takes no special pride in using drugs, may use any number of drugs when the situation is "appropriate," and attributes sexual powers to different drugs.* Observe these themes running through the following accounts of experience:

. . . I'd say that I get loaded anytime when it comes my way, but I don't consider myself a pot head. If it comes my way, I'll smoke it, but I'm not going to go out of my way to look for it . . .

So you can have a couple of joints around for days and not even fire up. Like let's say grass is what's happening. A monkey could smoke grass, man. What's that going to make him? Just because you smoke grass don't be making you any better. You ain't never gonna find it through drugs. It's got noting to do with it. Maybe people like to think so, that this is happening, but they should do it for their own reasons . . .

. . . I'm, you know, just a quiet guy that gets loaded and sits around, likes to be with girls, you know. I'm a lover, kind of. Get loaded and trip, just love people, you know. I want to get a cool broad. If they're lame, hell with 'em! I make a

broad. Like one time I made a broad and got her loaded and made her a cool broad, outta sight broad . . .

When you got this weed, man, you really get down with it, and I mean you want this girl, and this weed's gonna make you want to pile right now . . . I mean there's you and there's the grass. It's you that wants her, not the grass. But you can sure rap to the broad when you're loaded . . .

. . . You could get loaded just about anywhere if you're cool, man. In a car, on your way to a party or something. You know, have friends drop over to my house, play few sides (records) or something. You don't need to be getting loaded, but it's boss when you're loaded . . . You can't really say a special place, 'cause we don't ever have the intention of just getting loaded, you know. It's usually just around . . .

. . . See, a user has to be more cool, naturally. But these other dudes, like the guys in our group, we're not thugs and street walkers and all that. This is their type. When we get high, we might use the same words, and it makes us think of weird things, and we just sit down and trip off weird music and books we don't even understand the words in. We can be drinking beer, sit around, trip off T.V. Don't go out for that rowdiness or taking advantage of anybody. Just mellow, you know . . .

The best things in life for mellow youngsters are "parties," but their parties stand in sharp contrast to the wild affairs described in the "rowdy set." "People mind their own business, getting loaded, tripping on different things." Everything is under control, no windows are broken, no fights, and the atmosphere is "out of sight." Because mellow people have remarkable mobility throughout all reaches of the class system, some individuals are able to describe the different styles of social affairs. Notice this rather interesting description given by a lower strata girl of "frat parties," which are "rowdy," as opposed to "cool parties":

. . . People with us, they don't get rowdy. There's some dudes that if they get rowdy everybody sits back and says, Go knock yourself out, there's the wall. But if we get mad enough everyone would just jump on him . . . Like one

time I blew so much grass and drank so much—you know, we'd been going for eight hours—and I just crashed on the floor. And at the time I was the only girl there and they laid me on the bed so nobody would step on me . . . Now if I'd a done that up there (hill area) a train would have been pulled (a group of boys having sexual intercourse with the same girl during the same night), and that's how come I can never let myself go up there. They scared me . . . I couldn't trust anybody. See, them people are like little kids, going through the rowdy stage we'd been through in junior high school. They have no class about it.

The importance of this comment is supported by staff observations of various dances and parties in different adolescent social classes. In the "mellow crowd," youngsters are amazingly sophisticated and casual, similar to adults at a cocktail party among very close friends. Discussions shift from topics ranging from sex to politics and society. During larger parties, youngsters will "get loaded" first in a car or at a particular friends' house. After they smoke a few "joints," they attend the party, initially sizing up the situation to see if there will be trouble. If things look "mellow," they will fall right into the "groove" and have a good time. Besides parties, *dances* held by different clubs and large *wedding celebrations* are the most enjoyable settings in which a mellow person can be "high." A mellow dude will calmly enjoy himself in an attempt to "rap" to a particular girl. If any trouble arises, he "splits the scene" to avoid any "hassle" or the possibility of arrest.

Mellow youths are preoccupied with the opposite sex most of the time. They use various drugs, but particularly marijuana, in various aspects of their relationships. It is used as a means of breaking through the timidity of making introductions and of allaying feelings of awkwardness and shyness. It is used between boys and girls to get into a mutual mood of sociability. It is frequently used as an aphrodisiac, to stimulate one's own desires or to arouse sexual desires in the other. It is employed to intensify the pleasures of sexual intercourse. In these respects the use of

marijuana resembles the similar use, and beliefs of use, of alcohol in other segments of society.

We should note also the way in which marijuana is connected with the use of enjoyment of music. The mellow dude places great value on the enjoyment and appreciation of *proper music*. During many social gatherings, while "getting loaded," he and different friends will bring out a few "sides" and "just sit back and dig the music." It is generally agreed that "you're not really *in* the music, alongside of it" unless you are "high":

. . . It (music) just goes straight to your head. It doesn't bounce when you're not high. You can listen to all the instruments, you know, just put your ears directly to the mood and the drummer over there . . . Cause when you're sober, you don't even think about them things, most of the records sound alike . . .

The *heightened sensitivity* to music is a common report among the adolescent marijuana users. Similarly, the favored type of music is Rhythm and Blues ("Soul Food"), Progressive Jazz, certain types of Latin music, and less frequently preferences for Folk-Rock. The portable radio is often standard equipment, especially among younger adolescents, who often are seen with portable radios as they walk down the street.

Mellow youngsters have *considerable mobility throughout different high schools and are able to establish friendships with youth in different adolescent social classes*. Although the style of drug use varies considerably among upper and lower strata youth, there are certain types of upper strata youth who will be accepted among the mellow crowd in the lower strata. Such youth are designated as "Hip Frats." The non-using upper strata youth who are preoccupied with more conventional interests are designated as "lame frats" or "poop butts."

. . . You got hip frats and lame frats, and this is way up in Skyline High and Piedmont, around in there. They come

down and score from the flats, see, go back and turn on one of their friends . . .

Many cool youngsters who occupy key positions in the adolescent marketplace for illegal drugs have made comments about the drug use patterns among upper strata youth who are ordinarily considered "lame." They say that certain types of upper strata youngsters are attracted to "cool people," and that it is not uncommon for members in the lower strata to develop friendship relations with youngsters in upper strata groups. This process of bridging normal adolescent social class differences takes place in high school when youngsters from different backgrounds are attracted by one another's ability to "maintain their cool." Being cool and "knowing what's happening on the drug scene become major channels of upward mobility for youth in the lower strata. This process is clearly indicated by the following comments by lower strata adolescents who observe their influence on "frats."

. . . Fraternities are too much now, man. It's not like it used to be, 'cause I know a lot of infiltrators and that's how it starts spreading. People from our cult go into other people's cult and they start getting them people loaded and everybody knows each other . . .

. . . I don't know how many people pass by me that never used to get loaded in junior high school. They was all lame. We had our own clique, you know. The kind that we were, bell bottoms and Friscos, suspenders, man, with big brims, the whole bit, man. They're just as rowdy but they wore different clothes, see. Then as soon as junior high school went into high school, everybody started catching up. We're all getting loaded and wearing good clothes all the time, real neat, pressed shirts, man, our slacks and shoes shined all the time with, you know, no toes coming out, and they started getting hip to us because they were still wearing their frat clothing. They started talking to us and we started getting them loaded. Then people go into the fraternities, got people loaded, and then people started getting other people loaded. That's why everybody's loaded . . . It all comes from us, these two groups from junior high school, man. Even the people that went into other schools, man, to

all other high schools, came from the same group of people.
The fellows spread it all over the schools . . .

We will examine later the process of being turned on for the first time and the types of relationship that are necessary in order to be introduced to various drugs; however, it is important to recognize the way in which upper strata youth are increasingly "getting loaded" and being brought inside of the mellow cool set.

It seems clear from the large variety of independent accounts that we have obtained and from the collective discussions of our youthful informants that the mellow youngster approximates a normal, fun-loving, sociable adolescent. He goes along very much with the "crowd" which operates within the prestige-laden cool pattern of life. Aside from his use of drugs, which is illegal, and the disposition of rejecting the authority position of elders he is essentially conventional in orientation. He is not a troublemaker, shuns rowdiness, and views the rowdy as an immature youngster. He stays aloof from criminal acts. His use of drugs is primarily for social purposes and he feels no strong attachment to them nor dependence on them. Also, he is not part of the drug market; he doesn't deal in them to earn income. All of these features suggest that the prospects of most mellow youths adjusting to conventional society as they age are promising—if they avoid the possible adverse direction that might come through arrest and incarceration.

The Player

The "player" is the remaining social type in the adolescent drug world whom we wish to consider. His role or position is a product of the drug market and his makeup is set by that role. It becomes necessary, consequently, to sketch briefly the elaborate market for illegal goods and services operating within the adolescent community in the East Bay area. In doing this, we are indebted

to the study made by Herman Schwendinger of the similar adolescent market in Los Angeles.²

We followed the leads laid down by Schwendinger and discovered that the major suppliers of marijuana, pills, small amounts of LSD and methedrine, together with stolen merchandise (primarily suits, portable transistor radios, jewelry, and pornographic literature) were older youths in the "cool crowd" who occupied key positions in the lower strata of the adolescent community. These youths also are responding to an increasing demand for marijuana and LSD emanating from youngsters in upper strata groups situated in the "hill" areas. Few adults participate directly in the adolescent market; certain youngsters are selected out as middle-men to mediate the flow of drugs from older adult dealers to various adolescent consumers. As Schwendinger hypothesized, "the model type of criminality-oriented delinquent is the delinquent of the adolescent marketplace" who is not fully integrated into illegal adult arrangements.³

The specific activities engaged in or the particular type of commodities handled by youth depend upon "prevailing differences in police pressure on different kinds of criminal acts, the available opportunities, and the current demands of the market. It also depends upon the degree of differentiation of the market."⁴ These and other factors operate to select out youngsters with the appropriate background experiences to fill various roles. A final point is the considerable variation in the types of illegal goods handled by youth. Yet, with increasing age, youngsters may commit themselves to a specialized "hustle" or may completely drop out of the criminal world.

2. See Herman Schwendinger, *The Instrumental Theory of Delinquency: A Tentative Formulation*. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1963, (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilm, Inc., 1964) p. 331.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 360.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 337.

The player in the adolescent drug world is one who engages in drug traffic for the purpose of monetary gain, securing drugs from higher sources of supply and getting them into the market. Whereas other adolescents, such as the pot head and the mellow youngster, are concerned predominantly with the use or consumption of drugs, the player, even though he uses drugs, is chiefly interested in the money he can gain by participating in their distribution. Thus, his approach to drugs is primarily instrumental—what they can yield him in the way of profit. When he begins using drugs, instead of becoming “mellow,” he will be on the lookout for opportunities to exploit their use for monetary gain. His disposition, as our informants say, is for him to view life “as a racket” and to believe that “everyone has a front and everybody is running a game.”

As one might suspect, the player, in responding to a desire to get ahead, is ready to spread out to other illicit means of getting income. Thus, he may begin to engage in the traffic of stolen goods, get involved initially in small-time gambling, begin pimping with girls or start any one of a number of hustles. A proper way to characterize the player is that he is in the initial stage of moving into a regular kind of illicit racket which may become a source of livelihood.

Our informants, including several players, recognize two types of “playing”—“hard playing” and “easy playing.” Hard playing refers to the more violent, more dangerous, and more physical forms of illegal activity taking place in the market—such as burglarizing, armed robbery, extortion, serving as a bodyguard, or inflicting physical violence for hire. Easy playing refers to illicit activities involving lesser physical effort, violence or danger, such as being a pimp, distributing stolen goods or drugs, or engaging in various kinds of gambling such as shooting craps or playing pool. These two types of playing should be seen as essential to the operation of the illicit adolescent market—satisfying the demand for drugs, stolen goods, and sex, and

providing adjunct services in supplying and protecting the operations.

The major roles or key positions in the operations of the market are occupied by older individuals—adults who are experienced in the more specialized roles. They are the bigger dealers and the “hustlers.” The “players” are the younger, or adolescent, types who are at the edges of these regularized “professional” operations. They are, so to speak, the novices who are beginning apprenticeship—those out of whose ranks will emerge the more professionalized dealers and hustlers. The players are beginning to go step into the regular careers that are formed in supplying the products and services around which the illegal market is organized.

As might be expected, the hard player almost always comes from the rowdy set of the lower strata. His previous experiences in fighting, vandalism, and various kinds of delinquency fit him for the kind of activities involved in heavy playing. However, the hard player has to learn how to “maintain his cool,” especially in public places. During school or on the job, he will often enact the role of a calm, passive, polite young man. In the evening he may be called upon to “snuff a dude,” bodyguard a “mackman” (pimp), pull armed robberies, burglarize department stores and warehouses, and generally engaged in “strong arm hustles.”

The easy player also usually emerges out of the rowdy set, representing a youngster who wishes “to advance himself.” Advancing implies becoming aware of different non-violent schemes for “making a few coins.” Games are selected which require little physical work and entail a minimal risk of serving “penitentiary time.” The “mackman” is an ideal form for many easy players, but few are qualified to carry out the enterprise of a successful pimp. Seemingly, the most frequent type of easy playing centers around a variety of gambling games.

The use of drugs among players, whether it be the hard player or the easy player, is quite pronounced. Our informants believe, however, that there is a tendency generally for these two types to differ in the kinds of drugs they will use. The easy player will usually use more marijuana; the hard player, while using marijuana, will favor pills and crystals (methedrine taken intravenously). The drugs are used by the players, not merely for sociable or pleasurable purposes, but as a mean of fortifying them in their playing operations. The hard player may use what is spoken of as “hustling drugs”—hypnotic and barbiturate compounds, sometimes methedrine crystal.

. . . I was wiggin' behind them crystals (methedrine) when I ripped off that warehouse, TV's and radios, you know. Woulda got away, but somebody copped. Don't know who it was yet, but got an idea, you know. I served penitentiary time for that, and I fell out and was steady pushing that dope (marijuana and crystals, not heroin). *I was beginning to play now, you know, I was trying to be sharp, trying to get myself together playing' hard . . .*

The easy player will frequently use marijuana to help him “game.” However, with his instrumental slant, he is primarily interested in seeing how he can extract some form of monetary opportunity from his participation in the drug scene. Such a player who attends a mellow party where everyone is having a good time will be looking for a chance to “make some change.” Thus, he may try to whip up a crap game in the kitchen or bedroom; by the time that everyone is “wasted” (in a toxic condition), he may leave and look for another game or party.

It is of interest to note that the players, even though they are thrown much closer to the world of heroin addiction, view heroin addicts with contempt—not because they use heroin, but because they are addicts. In their eyes, a heroin addict is one who has lost his cool—he has no respect for himself, he is dirty, he is quick to “burn” anyone, and he is a “dangerous” person. The following excerpts from the accounts given by players reflect this attitude.

. . . You know, I hate people that shoot dope. They steal from you and they just terrible. I don't dig 'em at all. In the joint you can take 'em because you know ain't no dope for 'em to get, no heroin, at least unless they shoot it in an orange and bring it to you. But I don't mess with nobody that shoots heroin on the streets. I hate 'em. And they hate me, yeah . . . Oh, they get you busted quick and, you know, 'cause they can't hold their cool. They foul people, man . . .

. . . These dudes that are strung out on smack, man. They don't know what they're doing. They'll steal for it, beat you for it, sell their bodies for it . . .

. . . When I see somebody that's running on stuff, man, I know they're con men, and the would con me into anything if they could. There's a guy on the street, man, by our house, he's a big con man, and he thinks he's conning me all the time, you know, he think's he's running a game on me all the time. So I just shine him on, you know . . .

. . . This big mack I was taking care of, dressing, you know. He had a gang of holes (women), a gang of holes. And you know what, man? He lost everything, man—his apartment buildings, his car, and all his holes. He was down, see, and it hurt me to see him like that, man. All he could do was sit there and talk that stuff. He'd say, I'm a dope fiend, and she's a dope fiend, and they all dope fiends, and we ain't doin' nothin' but making a little change to support our habit, man. Don't get in that bag, man. Don't get in that bag. But it was too late. I told him it was too late. I'm in that bag deep . . .

The latter excerpt is of interest because it is from a player who, despite his low regard for opiate addicts, had become “hooked” himself. As we shall explain later, the player is by fare the most likely of all adolescent drug users to become a heroin addict. We will try to trace out this process which may be thrown into play even though initially the player looks with great disfavor on the heroin addict.

As one examines the role and life of the player, it is evident that this social type has a very high probability of later entering into a criminal career. Most forms of "playing" are themselves illegal. However, their chief significance is in orienting individuals toward lines of illicit livelihood. Not all players become adult criminals. We do not know much about the selective process which weeds out a number of these and directs them toward acceptable conventional careers. We shall touch on this matter later.

Some Concluding Observations on the Types of Drug Users

The four types we have discussed—the rowdy, the pot head, the mellow dude, and the player—make up the overwhelming bulk of drug users in the adolescent world in Oakland. We may note that there are undoubtedly many individual adolescents who may on one occasion or another smoke marijuana or take pills without this constituting a genuine part of the adolescent drug world. They may do this on rare occasions—perhaps only a single time—without engaging in fairly regular use. We do not regard such casual and sporadic users as being in the youthful drug world; they throw no light on its makeup. There also are some other special drug types that may exist in the adolescent drug world, such as those that are labeled the "acid head," the "crystal freak," the "pill freak" and the "dope fiend." These types do appear rather conspicuously in the adult drug-using world. They are very rare in the adolescent world that we have studied—so rare as to not warrant attention.

The three types—the pot head, the mellow dude, and the player—call attention to the profound importance of the "cool" style of life among adolescents. The connection of this cool style to adolescent drug use is very intimate. It would be a mistake to say that an adolescent has to use drugs in order to be "cool" or to be identified as being "cool." There are many youngsters who qualify as genuine exemplars of the cool style without using drugs.

Nevertheless, on the basis of our evidence, it is clear that a close connection does exist between drug use and the cool pattern. The number of adolescents who are tied into both is sizable.

We believe that it is very important to recognize the impact of the cool style on adolescent drug use. The essence of the cool style is self-control: one cannot allow a situation, a substance, or any opportunity to reduce one to rash behavior. This cool style affects not only the type of drug used, but also the conditions and extent of use.

The cool motif serves to lead the youngsters—aside from the rowdies—to limit their use of drugs instead of becoming dependent on them. The youngsters themselves recognize the importance of this factor and speak disparagingly of those who "lean on the drug." Thus, the cool style presents an already existent system of built-in controls which act to prevent adolescents from becoming opiate addicts or otherwise enmeshed in a criminal way of life. This is an affirmative theme which could be developed advantageously in future programs concerned with adolescent drug users.

Recruitment Into Drug Use

We purposely place our discussion of the initiation of youngsters into drug use *after* our discussion of the world of youthful drug use. It is a mistake to think that youngsters first experiment with drugs and that later a world of drug use emerges. The opposite is true. One cannot understand the initiation of youngsters into drug use without first understanding the organization and operation of the world of youthful drug use.

The organization, codes, and practices of this world set the conditions under which youngsters are brought into drug use. This organization operates as a selective device, indicating the kind of youngsters who will be accepted at one point or another

and by the same token, the kind of person who will be denied access to drugs. Instead of assuming (as is done in most of the literature and in common lay thought) that drug use develops naturally from given kinds of emotional disturbances, personality deficiencies, or dislocations in the social structure, it is necessary to see that the conditions which govern access to, and participation in, drug use are the vital factors. We wish to outline these conditions by discussing four matters: (1) the exclusion of youngsters from drug use; (2) the development of a favorable image of drugs; (3) the interpretation of the experience of drug use; and (4) the character and role of motives in drug use.

The Exclusion of Youngsters from Drug Use

It is not possible to buy drugs in the same way that one would buy shoes; one cannot just go to an open, available source and make a purchase. It is necessary to know people who have drugs, and one must be able to establish connections with them in order to obtain drugs for use. This indispensable step brings into play a highly important selective process which serves to automatically exclude a large bulk of the youngsters from drug use.

In order to understand how youngsters are led to use drugs, one must first recognize how the juveniles themselves limit the types of people they will introduce to drugs. Although "mellow dudes," "pot heads," and "players" have easy access to the marketplace, any recent initiate who arrives on the scene, willing to try drugs, must fulfill a number of requirements. Furthermore, a certain trust must be established before the initiate will be "turned on."

To "turn someone on" means to introduce them to a drug, usually marijuana. To turn someone on is an expression of friendship, trust, and acceptance. Most youngsters are introduced to illegal drugs, in the normal course of living, by a close friend or relative. After they learn to use drugs for pleasure, being turned on and turning others on becomes an established social practice, similar

to the convention of buying a friend a drink or offering a drink to a guest when he comes to your home.

For the most part a youngster must present an image of being "good people" before he is allowed to enter into drug using circles, before he is able to establish "connections" with the traffic in illegal drugs, and before he will be turned on. He must establish himself in the eyes of his peers, and he must have a reputation of being trustworthy and of being someone who can always "maintain his cool."

Very few youngsters in the lower strata will turn on a stranger, or even a mere acquaintance, for the first time. In fact, many youngsters will not even turn on a close friend if they know he has ever used drugs. And it is rare indeed for a youth to actively seek out people to turn on. Nevertheless, there are exceptions to this general rule. "Rowdy dudes," for example, do not care who they turn on and might even deliberately give dangerous drugs to an unsuspecting person:

. . . I turn on somebody one night just to blow their mind. I had a bullet red Lilly cap, and I filled it full of five hundred mikes (micrograms of LSD-25) and just gave it to the broad, and she blew it, and just blew it, and just righteously blew it. Sat off in the corner and babbled incoherently all night. And I felt boss (good)

A more important exception to this rule arises in the case of family members in ghetto areas. In this situation it is a routine occurrence for a child to "catch" an older brother "getting loaded" on marijuana. If the child is "fortunate" enough to have a "cool" older relative, he will be introduced to marijuana early in life. It is very important to recognize that older marijuana users will often turn on their younger brothers to prevent them from sniffing glue, drinking wine, or risking the chance of being arrested. The following comments by two boys illustrate this remarkable use of marijuana:

. . . I found out a lot about my little brother sniffing glue, and I used to whip on him thinking he'll hang it up. But he wasn't gonna hang it up, man. You know, he got busted three times behind glue, and I couldn't reason with him at all, 'cause behind my back he would go sniffing glue with his younger partners who were all in that bag. So I says if there's anything gonna make he grow up and see the light it's weed. If he gets loaded, he'll stop sniffing glue and be more cautious. Start the time machine going, see, 'cause if you smoke grass you're bound to be with people that are older and more cool. So I started getting him loaded, and he's never sniffed glue since then, and he's never been busted again . . .

. . . When I get married and have a kid, if I ever catch him drinking wine, I'll beat the hell out of him and stick a joint in his mouth. That's what's gonna happen. And if the kid can hold his mug (keep secret) about it, he's gonna be alright, if he maintains, give him some dope.

In social circles of "cool people" a certain trust must be established before an initiate will be introduced to drugs of any kind. One must "prove himself" before he will be turned on. A variety of situations arise in the daily round of adolescent life where an initiate is "tested" to determine if he is "good people." Youngsters form concrete images of people who can be trusted and of people who are dangerous. If an initiate presents an image of being a "rowdy dude," a "lame," a "loud mouth," or a "snitch," he will not gain access to the market. On the other hand, if an initiate has a reputation for being "good people," drugs will literally be thrust before him.

Juveniles who are "rowdy" do not often have the opportunity to use marijuana. Very few adolescents in the cool set will risk "turning on a rowdy dude." His conspicuous behavior and tendency toward violence is the first indicator of who *not* to hang around. Young drug users in the cool set do not merely shy away from "rowdy" youth; they are careful to reject conspicuous people and continuously select their associates. Notice the

following observations about rowdy dudes made by some articulate boys:

. . . A person who always blows the gig at parties behind drinking (one who disrupts a sociable party while drunk), is gonna still do it behind weed. So you shine them people on (reject them) real fast. See, it's in *him*, not the drug. When a person goes haywire behind wine, you know he's gonna do it behind weed, because weed is an even better excuse. So these people are a sure bust (certain to attract the attention of police.)

. . . The rowdy dude won't listen; he won't accept things; he won't look around and see what's happening. They live in this world and don't know a damn thing about it. They don't understand nothing, how to make money, the value of money. You know, they don't know nothing about nothing. When I can detect this in a dude, fuck him. You know, man? I tell him, Say man, lookee here, you not righteous, you know, you ignorant, you know, you a damn fool; so just make it, man; I don't even want to talk to you
 . . .

If a person is viewed as "lame," it is also difficult for him to gain access to the drug traffic. As "lame dude" is a "mama's boy" in the eyes of "cool people." His parents exercise control over his associates and regulate his leisure time activities. If a "lame" youngster thinks about drugs at all, he believes that they turn the user into a wild, uncontrollable maniac or a degenerate addict. Normally, such youths spend their leisure time participating in church and community sponsored activities, doing homework, and many times perform exceptionally scholastically. A "lamer" is not turned on because he is likely to reject anyone known to use drugs and is likely to tell his parents about his unusual experience:

. . . Lame dudes, man, go home every night at nine o'clock and listen to teachers and get good grades in school and all that. They don't understand about weed, and they're just poop butts. Then, they're close to their peoples (parents) and talk to their mother, who calls the cops and says these

kids are all smoking dope. That'll be the first thing that comes to their minds. So you never even mess with them people. Nobody's gonna bother turning them on

Often it is not possible to determine whether a person is "lame" until he is put through a variety of *test* situations. In order for a person to "fall in the groove" with the cool set, he must react to a number of situations in a characteristic way, such as never to lose his cool during police encounters, and to know the proper language with which to communicate. The following brief excerpt illuminates the entire process of "sizing a person up:"

. . . Say you come along with a dude and I don't trust him. Yeah man, this is Joe, what's going on. Well, later on I start talking to him. Are you alright, man? What's happening? Like that. And he tells me the happening, and I watch him to see what he does, what his act is, see. Now, if I don't respect the dude, I keep an eye on him. When we're out cruising in a car and I see that he's lame, man, the hell with him. Make it, man, you're a lame sucker, I tell him. Then too, I'll look out for his partners, see. The dude'll see one of his partners and he won't just nod. When he's lame, he goes, Hey guys! You know, hollering out of the window. That there is a bust. Cop see that shit. Well, you know, the dude is lame. You know, he gets all panicked. If a bust goes down (being stopped and questioned by a police officer), this guy will go, What are we arrested for, sir? I didn't do nothing. Hey man, lighten up on that shit. So later on we get cut loose. I already swallowed the joint (ate the cigarette), you know, and I shine the dude. Man, don't let me see you around no more, man. Just keep away from my face. Then you mark him. A guy that's alright, see, he'll know what's happening, keeps an eye out for the police, sit down real cool like. What's going on, man? You know. Got anything, man? He's mello, and you give him a joint

The most severe threat to any adolescent drug user is the "snitch," or the "loud moth poot butt." Anyone perceived as a potential informer will be isolated from the mainstream of adolescent drug use. One who looks and acts "lame," who talks loud in public, who is considered to be "weak minded," or who does not

"maintain his cool" at the proper time is very likely to be viewed as a potential "snitch." Closely related to this theme is, of course, the ever present danger of arrest. Young drug users train themselves to recognize plainclothes police officers and to maintain their cool while being interrogated by police. Therefore, one good test of a person's worth lies in how he conducts himself while in the presence of the police. The "lame dude" or "loud mouth" is looked upon with suspicion as the type of person who might "panic" under the threat of arrest:

. . . The people that just might snitch are scared when they see the heat. Or they just don't seem like they can hold their cool, see. Like a lame sucker, he's under his people's supervision. You don't turn on them people 'cause if a bust goes down, they'll run off at the mouth fast and tell everything they know. Lot of my partners got busted from snitches

Even though a person is willing to try drugs, and lives in a neighborhood where use is high, there is no guarantee that he will gain access to the drug market. Various limiting conditions exist which determine whether or not a person will be initiated into the world of drug use. The youngster cannot be rowdy, lame, a potential snitch, or loud-mouthed in public. In order to establish a reputation as "good people," he must be calm, sensible, soft spoken, sharply dressed and personable. In general, the cool youngster will be casually curious about different "trips," as well as familiar with drug argot. Youngsters who are self-confident and cool in their demeanor will usually be admitted to the adolescent drug marketplace.

However, simply because a youngster is cool, it does not follow that he uses drugs. This factor raises several questions about adolescent drug use, such as: What experiences build up a willingness to try anything once? How do youngsters develop a curiosity about what lies behind the drug experience? How do young people form their images of different drugs which allow them the freedom to use?

The Development of a Favorable Image of Drugs

In order to be attracted to drug use youngsters have to have a favorable image of the drugs that are concerned. This condition should not be considered of little consequence. The way in which the drug is viewed by a youngster influences whether he begins to use it, assuming that he has access to it. A fair number of youngsters, even from the lower class strata, who are recognized as "cool" and who enjoy association with drug-using comrades still may shy away from the use of a drug because of an adverse picture of it. They may view drugs as very harmful and as reducing users to a state of degeneracy. As long as they retain such an image, they are very unlikely to begin its use, even though they may have access to it. Consequently, we have to consider the experiences which led them to see drugs and drug use in a favorable manner.

For many youngsters in the lower strata, the formation of a favorable image of drugs comes about naturally and at an early age, because of its sanctioned use in the home or neighborhood; age is the only limiting factor in their case. They may be "turned on" early by older siblings or by associates; they may never have had any adverse picture of drugs.

... I never thought nothing of it, never was scared of it, never even cared about it . . . I just grew up on dope. . . . When guys was getting loaded, I took it and never even thought about it . . . just happened . . . It's still no big thing to me

However, most youngsters, even in the lower strata, have no real knowledge of the use of drugs, particularly marijuana, and, as a result, most of them have reservations about its use. The following accounts from lower strata users illustrate these features:

... I had come from the store one day and heard 'em say, Well, Paul's holding this and a few joints, and I didn't know what "joints" meant. Well, what's a joint? A joint that holds

something together? But then I heard a guy I knew say, Let's get loaded, and I didn't know what "loaded" meant. Thought it meant get something to drink, you know. But then, after I tried it, I knew what it was all about and I could hit on other people (knew how to approach others and ask them for marijuana in the proper way)

... I refused to get loaded for years. As long as I thought, Well, if drinking was enough and I could get high if I drink, I don't need anything else. And when I first got my car, my partners used to get in there with me and all of 'em would be smoking weed, and I refused to get loaded. I guess I was really afraid to know what it was

... Like me, I was full of fear of the stuff, thinking about: What are those people gonna think of me? Like, I've been a good guy all my life, you know, and you don't want your reputation to suffer or anything . . . but after you get turned on, well, you always have this curiosity in your mind and, when you try it, you just fall in the groove. I'm with the fellas. You know. Right away you're on a trip

... I was around there for years (a particular neighborhood area of high drug use), and I refused it all the time, because it was instilled in my mind that marijuana was needles and a bunch of hassle. I heard it was supposed to send you on weird voyages, and you could murder people, and actually what it did was change your character and make a monster of you. This was my picture of it. You was a monster. You know, loud in public, jumping on people, biting and scratching. So actually, I was fearful of it. Really. And then too, when people used it and I was around 'em and they go on their trips, here I am, I'm not on no trip, and they look funny, and I'd be expecting them to change right away, see. So I'd get up and go, and really I'd miss out on what's going on. After I'd leave, I'd picture what's going on. Oh man, I bet they tearing that house up, fighting each other and biting. But then after I seen 'em when they was high and they didn't go through these changes, I just went on and tried it (marijuana), and it was mellow, you know

The question is: How are the early reservations about using drugs overcome and changed?

The most typical way of being led to use marijuana is to eliminate an older group, to be accepted into an older crowd. It is clear from our accounts that the majority of youngsters were introduced into marijuana use in this manner. They wanted to be accepted by those who were really "making it" and they consciously sought out the elusive quality of being cool. Some youngsters even spent *hours* in front of the mirror practicing their conversation, combing their hair, imagining themselves in a variety of encounters with the opposite sex, observing their posture, and looking at themselves from the standpoint of their image of "cool people." Some even wrote out "lines" and memorized passages to be verbalized during the day.

. . . That's what I did, and before I got turned on I wanted to be accepted by the older crowd. You know. I had everything going for me, lot of these chicks dug me, and I had lots of friends that looked up to me and respected me. I knew this because whatever I said was ace. But to these older people, I was just a young kid, I didn't know what was happening, and it was more like a desire to be like them. If they was getting loaded and the opportunity knocks, you're gonna step in. I stumbled on a guy getting loaded by himself and then he sounded on men (asked if he wanted to get high), and I wasn't gonna say I didn't get loaded. He'd think I was a chump, and I wanted to be accepted by him and his group. So once I got loaded with him, I could hang around him and be seen with him by his friends and then they would accept me . . . This is just what happened . . .

Some weight must be given to the play of curiosity as a factor that leads youngsters who have access to a drug-using group to experiment in the use of drugs. From our accounts it seems, however, that this factor is aroused or brought into play primarily by observations of drug-using associates, yielding a picture that belies the notion that the use of drugs reduces the youngsters to a wild, degenerate state. In the face of actual observation of their comrades during their use of marijuana, many came to realize that the horror images in their minds had no validity. So, many youngsters in this situation are led to try the drug to see what

its actual effect is. Incidentally, it is after such an initial satisfaction of their curiosity that curiosity really emerges as a potent factor; finding that the initial experience did not conform to their horror conceptions of the drug, they are ready to discount across the board the conventional scare-like images applied to a wide range of drugs. Thus, many of the youngsters are led to try a large variety of drugs on the ground that most other drugs must be equally harmless. This is one of the unanticipated consequences of the practice in the conventional world of depicting marijuana use as if it were a dangerously addicting narcotic like heroin.

Another way in which original apprehensions or reservations about the use of drugs may be changed is by being "talked out" of one's notions. This is essentially a form of proselytism. The amount of proselytism involved in the social interaction between an experienced user and a novice has been a great matter of concern among the general public. The impulse to share the drug experience with other like-minded people does in fact exist; however, such an impulse is not translated into active proselytism among "cool people." As we have shown above, there is considerable caution in turning on non-users. The best way to indicate how a skeptical or fearful initiate is persuaded to try drugs is to view the typical setting in which a "cool person" who does not use drugs may be persuaded to try marijuana. During a spontaneous social gathering between intimate friends, people may be casually enjoying themselves while smoking marijuana, listening to music, and "tripping" on a variety of things. A non-user might then comment "I don't see what you guys get out of that!" "We get loaded," a friend remarks, and everyone breaks out in laughter as they focus attention on the initiate. He then becomes a "trip." "Why don't you go on and try it, man? It's really not that bad, and it's not habit forming." And a fellow sitting next to him may proceed to tell him "Look at us. Do you see us ranting like wild animals, yelling in the street, poking needles in our arms, rolling on the floor sloppy drunk?" The skeptical initiate may then present the range of arguments against

the use of drugs—for his image of drug use is different from that of his friends—and he may be experiencing the feeling of isolation due to his inability to meaningfully enter into the peculiar atmosphere of the social gathering.

. . . This messes with his mind a bit, see, and as the guy is telling him about it; he tries to find a reason why he shouldn't be takin' it when, every time he finds a reason, the guy tears it down. It's against the law. Yeah, well, if you're as keen as you say you are, then you won't get caught. You supposed to keep yourself cool, man, like, you know, you don't do it in front of everybody, keep yourself clean (do not carry drugs around in public). You're supposed to take care of business (supposed to be able to carry out a perfectly normal life, perform any task, and meet ordinary responsibilities). Well, my people told me it was habit forming. But he's been knowing you get loaded and aren't hung up, so that's gone. And in the meantime he'll be catching the contact (inhaling the smoke-filled room from marijuana cigarettes) and be drinking a beer, and he won't know it, but he'll be half loaded already. So he'll take a couple of hits and pretty soon he'll be tripping and you'll have to convince him that he'd loaded. And when he starts hearing the music a little better, and he starts relaxing and getting mellow, then you know he's loaded

Although the setting may differ, and the number of people may vary, the type of interaction related above illustrates the essential features of being persuaded to "turn on."

Interpretation of the Experience of Drug Use

Even though youngsters may gain access to drug-using circles and overcome reservations about trying a drug, they may still not become users because of a failure to have a pleasurable experience. They may not learn how to use the drug properly, but above all, their experience may be profoundly affected by the scheme of interpretation which is brought to bear on the experience.

Howard Becker⁵ has outlined some essential features in becoming a regular marijuana user. In his discussion he notes that before a person is able to use marijuana for pleasure he must (1) learn how to use the drug "properly," a very simple process of holding the inhaled smoke in the lungs for a longer period than with a regular cigarette; (2) learn to recognize the effects of marijuana and associate them with being "high;" and (3) learn to enjoy the effects which he has experienced. If all three of these conditions are not fulfilled, a person will not be able to use marijuana for pleasure. The sequential model presented by Becker helps to illuminate the way youths come to experience the effects of drugs other than marijuana.

It is our belief that one cannot fully understand the meaning of drug use in human group life until one grasps the difference between the pharmacological effects of different drugs and the way these effects are altered by individual and collective interpretations. In short, the "trips" people take while under the influence of drugs depend on one's mood, the amount of trust and confidence established between associates in the same setting, the particular situation, the expected impact of the drug, the purpose for which the drug is used, and obviously, the amount and frequency of drug use.

The mood which a person is in at the time he is using drugs will obviously affect his experience. Mood can be pictured as a cycle with high points of euphoria and low points of depression and an average mood tone which varies according to a person's disposition and circumstances. Different drugs have a variable impact on one's mood, enabling one person to enjoy himself while intoxicated, while another is miserable from the same effects. A youngster in a depressed mood will often experience

5. See Howard Becker: *Outsiders-Studies in the Sociology of Deviance*, New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, (1963), pp. 41-78.

intensified depression while under the influence of marijuana, yet a sudden shift in atmosphere may bring him around to a pleasant state of peaceful relaxation and sociability. A "lousy party" is not made "good" merely because one is under the influence of marijuana, but "a boss (good) party is even better when you're loaded."

A "trip" can be anything which intensifies the present moment of experience, but it usually involves the shifting of attention and a re-perceiving of objects from a different vantage point. An object of attention can range from an experience of fear, an unusual impulse, the detailed threads of a person's sweater, to a conception of God. There are "good trips" and "bum trips," and the particular situation of the individual will affect the "trip." For example, youngsters report that during a casual social gathering among friends, if a person suddenly gets "paranoid" about the police, or suddenly gets loud and violent, the experience is a "bum trip," and people will say they were "bum kicked." The amount of trust and confidence in other people "on the scene" and the expected impact of the drug effects also alter a person's experience or "trip." Youngsters often report that when they are in the presence of strangers it is not possible to fully appreciate the effects of marijuana because of their inhibitions. While under the influence of LSD, the presence of a stranger can turn a "beautiful trip" into a terrifying experience.

As interesting "lore" is built up around various drugs in different drug-using circles. While sharing different experiences, it often happens that a group will associate particular "trips" with different drugs. It is as if an informal "road map" is constructed which plots the journeys people can take while under the influence of any particular drug. Among younger adolescents, "dope jokes" can be a stimulus to different trips. Notice how the following youth "trips" on pills:

... The way pills does with me, when I go on and drop a few, I start to trip myself. I'll just get some dope jokes together, you know, starting talking and tripping out; even though I may not be high, I'm throwing myself to it, you throw yourself into it. I think that's what anybody really waits for, is to get that sensation and feeling, and then they throw themselves to it

Although there is a great deal of shared experience while under the influence of drugs, there is an element of uniqueness and individuality in the way each person perceives the effects of the drugs. The expression "everybody has their own little trip" illustrates this fact. Naturally, these unique experiences have their roots in the personal biography of each individual.

All of the foregoing observations have been made to underline the point that the mere matter of having tried the drug does not make the youngster into a user. It is necessary, in addition, that the individual be inducted into a scheme of interpreting and framing his experience in a given way when using the drug. Some youngsters cannot make this passage and do not become users. Others make the passage with different degrees of success and, accordingly, vary in their extent of use and in their proclivity to use.

The Character and Role of Motives in Drug Use

We wish to comment, in the light of our foregoing discussion, on the efforts to account for recruitment into drug use in terms of pre-existing motives. Such efforts are widespread among scholars, research workers, and "experts." The tenor of their explanations is that drug users are led, if not indeed compelled, to engage in regular drug use because of certain pre-existing forms of motivation. This tenor is nicely illustrated by what seems currently to be the most popular conception of casual explanation of youthful drug addiction, namely, that resort to drug use is an effort to escape or retreat from reality. Another popular scheme that reflects this tenor is the view that drug use is a disguised

form of venting underlying hatred of society. Our huge body of empirical evidence gives no support whatsoever to these specific views, nor to the general underlying idea that induction into drug use is an expression of a well-defined pre-existing body of motivation. It should be evident from our foregoing discussion that induction into drug use is a developing experience that depends on the basic factors of access to drugs, acceptance by drug-using associates, kinds of images youngsters have of drugs, and the runs of experience that affect their interpretation of drugs. To ignore these basic factors by positing a type of motive that leads or coerces the individual to drug use borders on the ridiculous. So-called motives responsible for youthful drug use are formed in the course of the runs of experience and should not be regarded as antedating or determining such runs of experience. It is primarily the defining response of associates that leads to the formation of whatever motives may be attached to drug use, instead of pre-existing motives which lead or compel the youngsters to use drugs.

The dubious, indeed ridiculous, character of motivational schemes is best illustrated in the view that drug use is an effort to escape from reality. To the contrary, as our evidence shows overwhelmingly, the great majority of youngsters become users as a means of embracing reality. Youngsters who are growing up in an adolescent milieu that places a premium on being "cool," and who aspire to acceptance and recognition as being cool, will move over into drug use (if the channels are open to them), not as a retreat from reality, but as a positive effort to get into the major stream of reality as they see it. To be accepted by those who one admires, to have fun and sociable relations with them, to participate in their parties and their dances, to live up to their image of what to do, and to engage in their round of life is anything but an escape from reality. Drug use, especially in the case of marijuana, becomes for the vast majority of drug-using adolescents, a function of this socializing movement into a major

stream of adolescent living. It is to experience life as it is seen and not to run from it.

We need to note, in addition to the highly questionable character of using posited schemes of pre-existing motives to account for drug use, the important finding that the purposes for which drugs may be used can change and shift around a great deal after drug use has begun. Youngster may use the drug at varying times to have a good, "mellow," relaxed time with their associates, to become alert and sharp, to bolster up their courage, to feel good, and so forth. We have explained in earlier accounts how the drug may be used instrumentally, especially by the "player," for specific purposes other than for the mere experiencing of the drug. The following account—one of dozens—exemplifies this variable use of drugs for specific purposes:

... Like when I first started, I smoked weed just to be happy, you know, have fun and all. Then I began seeing that weed can do more, you know, like your eye. It seems like on the pool table your eyes are sharper when you're loaded. I get on that table and it seems that my nerves are calm, you know, and I'm straight and making cold shots, something that I don't feel like I did if I was normal. Then you see yourself and how the world really is and, you know, I seen people the way they was really fronting, and that weed makes me aware so I can game. If you're loaded, it seems like you do a lot of things other people can't do, 'cause they staggering around from that wine, and you feel gooder than they feel, and still you can hold your own. I think that they should rename marijuana *future*, you know, 'cause if I get loaded at one o'clock, I'm thinking about how I'm going downtown and boost (shoplift) at three o'clock. I'm not thinking about the past when I made that hundred dollars yesterday . . . I may sit down and think, When I get thirty, I'll own three restaurants, five apartment buildings, and three cafes, and have a gang of holes (prostitutes) out there, yeah . . .

It should be evident, we trust, that induction into juvenile drug use is a complex social process and not a simple matter of a

youngster just going out and getting drugs to satisfy any of such presumed motives as curiosity, or of "wishing to get away from it all," or of self-surrender to defeat. To seek an understanding and control of youthful drug use by resorting to such gratuitously posited motives is to pursue a false direction. One must view the recruitment of youngsters into drug use in the group context in which such recruitment actually goes on, and recognize that such recruitment is fundamentally a matter of being able to move into an already existing world and structure of drug use.

Career Orientation in the World of Youthful Drug Use

It is proper to conclude our analytical account of youthful drug use in Oakland with a consideration of the interesting question of what becomes of the drug users as they age and pass into adulthood. The scope of our project did not permit us to investigate this obviously important problem—between seeking to develop a program of collective abstinence on one hand and on the other endeavoring to probe as fully as we could into the world of adolescent drug use to know what we were dealing with, we had no time to study what is an important problem in its own right. However, we were able to amass a great deal of information which permits us to identify the directions in which youthful drug users were headed. We were also able to note some of the significant factors which facilitate or abet movement in one direction instead of in another. These are the matters which we wish to consider in this section.

We begin our discussion with the simple observation that youthful drug users are not oriented in the same career directions and do not move in a single common direction. Oddly enough, the conventional notion, in both lay and scholarly circles, is that there is a simple, natural line of progression followed by drug users—beginning with the milder drugs, such as smoking marijuana, moving to more dangerous drugs for greater "kicks," passing to the use of heroin, becoming an opiate addict, engaging

in a variety of criminal acts in order to support the habit, and ending up in a penitentiary. The conventional belief usually depicts this line of progression as operating with the finality of dominoes aligned on end in a row, knocking each other over. Our evidence indicates that this belief in a single, set line of progression is a travesty of what takes place in the case of youthful drug use. Just as youthful drug users and their drug use are differentiated into a variety of classes and patterns, so similarly are their career orientations and lines of movement differentiated.

Our materials show four primary career orientations and career lines which may be taken by youthful drug users as they age and move into adulthood. These are: (1) moving into conventional society as an ordinary conforming citizen; (2) moving into patterns of "hustling" on either an illegal or semi-legal basis; (3) becoming hard core opiate addicts, practically always in connection with "hustling"; and, (4) entering into a livelihood of criminal violence, leading ordinarily to prison careers. As we will show, these career orientations and career lines are tied respectively to different types of youthful drug users and to their different positions in the world of youthful drug use.

Moving into conventional society as ordinary conforming citizens

There are two reasons why it is necessary to recognize that a large number, very likely the greatest portion, of youthful drug users move into conventional society. One of the reasons is that the number of youths arrested in Oakland is drastically lower than the number of drug using youths who move into that age span. This fact alone compels one to infer that the drug using youths have either given up in some significant degree their use of drugs and other illegal acts, or else they have managed to conceal such use and acts behind a facade of conventional life; in either event there is a filtering of life into a conventional framework. The other reason is direct and not inferential, namely, that the

orientation of most youthful drug users is itself very conventional. We have outlined earlier the most common type of youthful drug user, the one labelled as the "mellow dude" and "mellow broad." This type, as we have seen, seeks to be "cool," to shun rowdiness and violence, to have fun and enjoyment in sociable relations, to avoid trouble with the law, to earn money through conventional employment, and to steer clear of criminal acts (other than the use of drugs). The general pattern of the life of the mellow person and his view of himself and the world have a fundamental conventional imprint. Barring bad runs of experience, we would expect the mellow person, and also to a large extent, the "pot head" to move into a conventional adult career.

Our actual evidence that mellow persons and pot heads move along this line is slim, only because we have not studied this matter. Let us present what evidence we have.

First of all we have a few accounts that show that such passage into conventional society, with an abandonment of drug use, does occur. We give below an illuminating instance of these accounts:

... This partner of mine used to carry a pack of joints around with him instead of a pack of smokes, and I knew him for about three years, man, and we did a lot of stuff together. Well, he met this one girl and married her and ever since then he quit (using drugs). One night he shocked the shit out of me. I don't know about anybody else man, but me, I smoked it for a long time, but you can just flat out quit. If you got good partners that are gonna help you, that's done it and they're making it, it's not all that hard. Anybody could quit. Well, I offered my partner a joint, you know how you do, and he was gonna beat he shit out of me, you know. I thought, Oh man, this punk! He's square now. He don't know what's happening, and I thought something happened to him. But deep inside my mind I knew the dude was right, and I *knew he was cooler than I was*, you know, and I knew he looked down on me for this. And I mean we were really tight you know, and I didn't want him to look

down on me. I wanted to prove myself to see why he did this to me. He said, No man, get your ass away, man, or I'll beat the shit out of you, like this, you know. And I hated that, because I thought I was cool you know, by offering him a joint, but I wasn't because here I had this shit on me and I wasn't supposed to have it on me. (It is generally considered uncool to be in possession of marijuana at the wrong time and place.) He's married and got two kids, and he ain't gonna touch it man. The only thing he takes is, the strongest thing is, I think, is about aspirin. He don't touch anything. Now this makes a guy feel bad, especially when he thinks he's on the right track and cooling it

When he did this to me, well I thought there is something higher. People who are cooler than me. Well, I just kind of followed in his footsteps you know. There was a lot of things that made me stop, but that was the one main thing. It was my own partner that turned me down and threatened to beat the shit out of me, and I knew he wouldn't do something like that unless it was good for me . . . Then after that it was nothing man. It's just the guy's will power. I mean if the guy goes around I'm bad, fuck it. I'm gonna smoke my joint, man, they're punks man. They don't know what's happening

See, you got two groups of people in the world, man. You got people who are cool and know what's happening, and they don't touch weed, and they have a good time, but they don't touch the stuff. These people are all right, you know. Then you got the people that get loaded that are cool, that hold their mug, that maintain, that know what's happening you know. They know how to handle it and don't get busted for it. Now, anybody above or below these people are punks, man. Like above them you got these dudes that are strung out on smack (heroin). They don't know what they're doing. They'll steal for it, burn (beat or take advantage of) you for it, sell their bodies for it. Under them you got the ones that are fucking it up for everyone. The dudes going out trying to be one of the gang. Out there robbing, terrorizing, lighting up (smoking marijuana) in school, trying to be the baddest . . . just righteous fuck-up, man, who get everybody busted

See, these people who I got to know they don't touch it, you know. They just leave it alone, you know they go out for football and these church things and everything. They tried to get me in one of them. You know, they're ordinary people, but they're real good, you know. Once you get to know 'em, they're really cool. I mean they don't touch it, but they know what's happening. There's different levels, I guess. These people were all right, and that was one of the reasons why I quit, you know, 'cause I was getting more of what you might call decent friends than I was these bunch of punks. So, I quit because of them, and my older partners were getting married, and they were laying off it, and showing me, you know. If they could do it, I can do it. So that's what I did

We also have several instances of our youngsters reducing their drug involvement because they found that drug use was no longer compatible with the new picture of normal life they were forming. As illustrative of this, we give the following account of a sociable user who at one time considered himself to be a pot head.

. . . I'm really breaking loose right now from it. In fact, you can say I only get loaded maybe every day but just smoke one joint. I don't hardly buy anything. Maybe spend five dollars every two weeks on a matchbox and pretty soon I expect I won't buy any at all. Maybe just get loaded at somebody's house. Yeah, let's get loaded, you know. It's all right. But I couldn't really say no, I'm not gonna be getting loaded anymore. It's gotta be a gradual thing and that's what it's working up to right now. It's really something that's getting less and less than what it used to be . . . 'Cause I still like it and it's a lot better than drinking a few beers. I mean, I wouldn't want to go to a bar and sit there and drink Tom Collins and Whisky Sours all night. That's really bad. I don't see how anybody can get any satisfaction out of drinking. In fact, I don't think anybody does to tell you the truth. I don't think there's a person in this world that likes the taste of whisky

But let's face it. It's been how long, 30 years, and it's not getting any better. I mean chances are it's not gonna be accepted, and I don't see any reason why I should go down with it. If I want to live a normal life, whatever people think

as a normal life, you know, have to go with the majority sooner or later . . . It would be fine if something could be done about it, and if people like it and accepted it, but I can't grow a beard and run around carrying a sign to legalize marijuana . . . I'm just gonna have to quit sometime sooner or later.

After maybe a couple of years when you really start coming to your senses, you think, well you still use it, but it isn't doing anything for you, and that's where I'm at right now. I think I could probably do without it. I think I would go with people that never heard of it, and fit right it . . .

We have also a larger body of materials in the nature of recognition and declarations by drug using youngsters that when they grew up to adulthood, they expected to give up the use of drugs. In our judgement, knowing the youngsters who gave them, these assertions are not to be taken lightly as mere expressions of youthful bravado or fanciful thinking. We give two accounts:

. . . When I get married, I don't want anything to do with drugs, because I, you know, it will be completely different picture, and as long as I'm not married, and if I'm still partying and stuff, things like that, then I'll do it, but let's say if I get married in a few months, I might still do it, but if I'm around twenty some, then I don't want to take drugs . . .

. . . In the recent future I'll keep getting loaded but then after I move out from my peoples (parents' home) and get my own home and all this shit, and I get what I want out of school, I think I'll just drop it altogether. Pills too, man, 'cause I got too much to risk. Like I got my whole education that I've gotten so far. I've got that to risk . . . I mean it's nothing really to knock the shit to one side on your chart, man. And I don't want to be losing anything because I worked too hard. Especially over that damn weed. Shit, I'd rather do without it, just do without everything completely than get busted . . .

Another set of relevant materials refer to an interesting observation which our staff members had occasion to make of a

group of youngsters who, during their summer vacation, had stepped up greatly both their use of drugs and the variety of drugs which they used. When school resumed and they returned to their studies and allied activities, they reverted to their earlier patterns, involving a marked reduction in the extent and nature of their drug use. This affirms what we have recognized for some time, namely, that to a large degree youthful drug use is a function or dependent variable of the context of the social situation or social circle inside of which youthful activity is carried on.

This leads us to note again what so many of our drug using informants have acknowledged time after time—that they were held to their drug by the very fact of their association with one another. It is in this association of friends that they continually turn one another on to the use of the drug. The implication is that as a drug using youth enters into a new set of associates with increasing age, as in marrying or getting a job, he is more readily able to break out of the fixed circle which holds him to drug use. The following accounts illustrate the binding influence of drug using associates:

... I've tried not to get loaded, but my friends live right in the area, all around Oakland in fact, and everybody gets loaded, and it's hard for me to step outside, you know, go to the store and not have one person come up and give me this or that . . . So the hardest thing if you wanted to quit getting loaded is to stay away from your friends. There's nobody like your friends, man. You know, you know 'em all your life . . .

... It's a big temptation 'cause they (friends) might just stop over at your house and maybe your wife went shopping, and they were having a party and wanted to borrow a punch bowl, you know. They come over and they're high already, so they say, you want to get loaded?, and pull out a joint and maybe my wife is down on it, but I'm gonna get loaded . . .

... I never did anything in my life before. I'd never been in jail before, and I was, you know, I didn't steal or knock

people over the head. I just got loaded, and I had so much at stake when I went to jail, that ah they screwed my mind, you know they were arguing my diploma. They were talking about putting me in jail for a long time. But I was only in there for six days . . . But still I couldn't stop getting loaded. I've been doing it for so long, you know. I'd rather have a joint than a beer. Things seem more interesting and I talk a little bit better, and I like it. Most of all I like it. You got too many friends to cut it loose even if you wanted to, man.

The foregoing forms of evidence fit together to strongly suggest that there is a movement of given kinds of youthful drug users into the conventional world of conforming citizens. It is clear, certainly, that the *orientation* of a sizable number of drug using youths, especially the mellow user, is in this direction.

Moving into patterns of "hustling"—semi-legal and illicit schemes.

A second broad career avenue taken by youthful drug users is that of becoming a "hustler" in some type of "racket," illegal or semi-legal in character. The activities or "hustles" engaged in are various, covering such particulars as trafficking in drugs, procuring young girls to serve as prostitutes, engaging in gambling and con games, directing gangs of shoplifters or burglars, and spreading out later to legitimate undertakings. Hustling appeals to many youthful drug users as the road to an elite type of existence; success, wealth prestige, luxury, together with a high level of protection against police harassment. Without recognizing the romantic pull of the hustling world, the seemingly colorful life of successful hustlers, and the game-like character of hustling activities, one misses a set of powerful conditions which beckon juvenile drug users toward a criminal career.

For youthful drug users, the gateway to hustling is the role of the "player" which we have discussed earlier. We have seen that the player is one who is alert to the possibility of using the drug

market as a source of monetary gain. Thus, he enters the drug market as the intermediate supplier of marijuana, pills, methedrine crystal, and other drugs, as well as "hot" merchandise. He stands between the adult hustler and the adolescent consumer. Players are older youths of the cool set who combine and practice of petty dealing on the lower level of drug traffic with their use of drugs. Success in gaining money through this practice whets their appetite for expanding it; and their observation of the seemingly superior life of the adult hustlers with whom they are thrown into contact reinforces their orientation toward a career of racketeering enterprise. The player is a young entrepreneur in the real sense of the term—one who is seeking to exploit the economic opportunities of the adolescent world in which he moves.

A player becomes a hustler when his "games" are converted into the polished "works" of the craftsman. Commitments to his action gradually shift from "play" and preoccupation with the immediate present to "serious business" and preoccupation with a master crime scheme for the future. This changing criminal commitment is illustrated linguistically: A "player" runs down (engages in) a variety of "games"; a "hustler" goes to "work" at specialized schemes for making money.

On the basis of his experience, a good hustler believes that "life is a racket" and "everyone has a front." Any man who laboriously works for a regular salary is not only a "fool" but a legitimate "vic" for a "sting" (victim to be exploited). All hustlers strive for a life of conspicuous wealth, luxury, and leisure time. Visible evidence of a hustler's success is communicated by first showing no visible means of income. At the same time, the successful hustler will drive an expensive car, wear gold watches, diamond rings, alligator skin shoes, and mohair and silk suits which are changed twice daily. He carries a large bank-roll of one hundred dollar bills and a bodyguard protects him. He is always alert for new techniques which can be incorporated into his working

"games." His preferable hustles are those schemes which yield the most cash profit and also carry the shortest jail sentence. The "big time dope dealer" holds the top position in a hustler's prestige hierarchy. The "mackman" or pimps and "con artists" rank second. Hustlers are ranked on a fixed hierarchy of prestige based on their "money-making power," ingenuity, and versatility—people who go after "straight cash," hold the top position in the hierarchy. Those who deal in heroin and crystal by the ounce, "mackmen," and "fakes" (short con men) rank high. Till tappers and money burglars also demand respect. Those who go after property (boosters, merchandise burglars, and fences) occupy a lower lever in the hierarchy. Strong-arm robbers and thugs are not respected.

It is noted of course that during "working hours" on the street, a hustler will not dress conspicuously or wear flashy jewelry; but during social gatherings and parties he will conspicuously display his wealth and occupational success. A successful hustler who owns a number of apartment buildings will invest his money through a working family member. He may have two or three parties at his home each month. During such exclusive parties a variety of drugs are literally "served" to guests. A match box of marijuana and a roll of pills for each guest is not uncommon. The outstanding feature among drug-using hustlers is their frequent claim to use "different dope for different hustles." The various hustling games are not at mutually exclusive. An incipient hustler may engage in three or four games at the same time. Thus, a young "pot head" who thinks of himself as a "game artist" may spend most of the day in a local pool hall, have two girls working part time for him out "turning tricks" (prostituting) and may "deal weed" on a small time basis. Similarly, a "righteous dope fiend" may boost up and down a particular street with three women during the day, burglarize a warehouse at night, and collect money from his "bitches" (women) in the morning. In spite of the prestige allocated to a hustler, a large part of the hustling enterprise is anything but pleasurable and romantic, and

few hustlers see themselves living the life of conspicuous leisure they often dream about. Nevertheless, it would be a serious mistake to believe that the life of a hustler is merely a dream. Few youngsters who live in ghettos can avoid seeing or hearing about the success of particular hustlers. In fact, some hustlers even become "legends" in certain neighborhoods. This is partly due to the contrast between the hustler's life and the routinized existence of ghetto residents. One can appreciate the attraction of the hustling world and the desire to develop a lucrative "hustle" by noting the enthusiasm and zest with which adolescent players describe their life goals and working philosophy:

. . . You got to jump sharp man. The thing here is to be mellow. Then you develop maybe a little hustling scene. You know you might me macking (pimping) or shooting a little pool, or little burglarizing, or start dealing weed and pills, and you know everybody's got their game. Everybody's got a front and you're gonna get yourself some nice game . . . Now weed made me game for different things. Every time I'd get loaded it seems like I'm in another world, and to me these people are going different ways and still they're coming back to the same place. Ain't making it nowhere. I was calling them people fools and would laugh at 'em see . . . Now the reason I went into it (drug use) was because of games. It would make me see life better, because seemed like every drug I went on, it tell a little more for me than the other drug . . .

Playing, and then, hustling in the adolescent drug market begins by taking advantage of the petty dealing opportunities existing at lower levels of the marijuana traffic. Among "mellow dudes" and "pot heads" in the cool set, youngsters can buy a match box of marijuana for five dollars. After emptying the contents and cleaning it, they can roll about fifteen "joints" (cigarettes). In turn they sell the joints to their close friends for fifty cents each, get their original investment back, and have five extra cigarettes left. Usually they smoke these or give them away by "turning on" a friend. When their supply runs out, they will count on being "turned on" by others in their particular crowd. This pattern

of circulating drugs throughout the adolescent population makes it relatively inexpensive for cool people to use marijuana socially. However, a "pot head" will be more fully involved in the traffic and will normally have a larger number of connections than the average youthful drug user. The "pot head" usually buys marijuana by the ounce ("can" or "lid") or in half-pounds; although it is very common for a number of youths to pitch in their money to buy a pound of marijuana which is sufficient to last them for quite a period. When they do pool their money in this manner, the "pot head" will often be the one to "score" (make the purchase) because he has the proper connections at the next level of the traffic. It is at this level that the risk of arrest is greatest, but if a youth is "cool," as pot heads are, he will make very few purchases, try to buy the largest amount possible, and will avoid too many contacts with dealers. In turn, he will deal to a very small number of intimate friends who have been known for years and can be trusted to "hold their mug" in case they are arrested.

Generally, these youths are not interested in making a profit from drug use. In time, a youngster may suddenly come to the realization that he can make money by being a "scorer" or "connector" with other drug markets. As he comes to know different people in dealing, his prestige within his particular circle of peers will increase; being able to "score" at will brings considerable respect and admiration in drug using circles. In fact, many youths actually distinguish between "classes of pot heads" based on the ability to score large amounts of marijuana. The following account is a penetrating observation made on the entire subject:

. . . There are different classes of pot heads, and my class of people like good things, good music, and fine women, and all that. Now there are some people that are not in my class, and I consider them lower than myself. They try to act like they're above me. The just talk. Talk is cheap. Like today some dude hit on me, Do you know where I can get five kilos? I said, No, I don't know where you can get five kilos. I know where you can get two. You know, I'm telling him

the truth, but he ain't telling me the truth. He's just fronting in front of me like he's a big head. He wouldn't know what to do with five kilos. So I know the cat's jiving me. I told him that he can get 'em cheap, you know, that you can get a kilo for \$120 for one kilo. No, I want five. Well there's no cat around that wants five kilos and can pick up one for \$120 and have plenty of grass left for himself. He should know that. So I know the cat is just front . . .

The "pot head" may arrive at a point where he begins dealing for profit, usually when other youths view him as "the man." Although he is still relatively low in the drug traffic, he is now in a position to step in and reap gain. Dealing for profit is usually preceded by a series of deliberations, and will often involve handling drugs other than marijuana:

. . . I've been thinking about it, getting a stash and hustling weed. You know weed and acid and crystals, cause I can make a lot of money if I can do it. Right now I'm the go between, and bet I could be making the bread myself. So I don't know. Hustle in school. That's bad if you get caught, but you can hustle in school and take it easy and get rich . . . Like where I'm the run between and I'll get another dude to be the run between. Cause I'm taking all the chances now, just scoring for everybody and not even making nothing . . .

If a youth begins to deal in pounds and kilos, he will have reached the upper levels of the adolescent traffic in marijuana. He may take periodic trips to Los Angeles for pick ups. This is fairly easy when a youth has a relative living in Los Angeles and has a large number of connections, but for the most part "runners" are adults.

. . . I was paying ah, let's see it was kind of ridiculous. I'd turn over (sell) a kilo for a hundred and a quarter . . . I'd pay fifty for it, sometimes eighty. That was only after I made the sale. My brother'd tell me where to get them 'cause he wasn't dealing no more. So he'd tell me where to pick up a couple of bricks (kilo of compressed marijuana) and I'd go to this dude. I never watched where he kept his stash but he'd come back having four kilos wrapped up or have a

couple of bricks. I'd split and sell all the kilos at least turn 'em over for a hundred and a quarter . . .

The player is to be seen, then as an enterprising member of the adolescent drug world, alive to opportunities to get money by small-time dealing in drugs, ready to engage in a variety of other illicit sources of monetary profit, and strongly attracted toward moving into a full time job of hustling. He strives, typically, to get cues and a fuller working knowledge of hustling by associating with hustlers and learning of their hustling practices. It should be noted here, that the most effective way of getting such practical work knowledge is through prison experience. If he is incarcerated he is likely to be thrown into contact with older and more experienced hustlers who, if they identify him as safe and acceptable, are almost certain to pass on accounts of their experience.

. . . Well, if you're weak minded on the street, and you go to jail they'll fuck you, take your manhood, but if somebody takes you under their wing and hip you to what's happening you get the fine points and you come out a man. This is when you got it made on the streets . . . If you got any kind of hustling in you at all, getting busted will make you cooler, most definitely. Like say all the good white dudes that's got a little soul in their mind they hang around together and all the brothers the same way, and the chicanos the same way. They all in the hustling bag, busy running' their games down . . . Now then you got your off brands you know obscene, bitter. They dumb and they blow it all the time. They not cool, and this is the way we break up our cliques see. There might be six here together and the other stone outs over there. They're not actually stone outs, but they got their rowdy bag, while the four dudes over here they got their hustling bag. They want to fight and we want to go home and get out there and game . . .

We suspect that prison incarceration is more decisive than any other happening in riveting the player in the direction of a hustling career.

The player stands on the doorstep of the hustling world. To understand how he may move effectively into it and get at least an initial foothold in it requires a substantial account of its composition and operation. To present such an account lies beyond the province of our present inquiry, although we have secured a considerable body of information on this matter. We merely wish to state that the organization of the hustling world, particularly as it relates to the distribution of drugs, sets a variety both of opportunities and obstacles to the entering young hustler and may be fraught with discouraging as well as encouraging experiences with bitter as well as gratifying consequences. It is this type of knowledge which offers some promising prospect of influencing players away from a commitment to a hustling career.

One can appreciate the problems of trying to work with youthful drug users who are oriented toward a career of hustling. We had no success in diverting the careers of players toward more conventional living patterns. However, we have only recently learned the full extent of the hustling world and its impact as a major career alternative in slum areas of the Bay Area. It is our opinion, based on our present information, that the early stages of hustling can be a major point of effective work with players among adolescent drug users. The player as a social type is not yet committed to the hustling world, although he becomes increasingly aware of its attractive opportunities without appreciating its negative results. In many cases, young players are attending school and can be encouraged to "make it" in conventional society. When we recognize that players represent bright, versatile, energetic and potentially productive youth, we can realize the value of steering them into conventional channels.

Becoming hard core narcotic addicts

Popular conceptions of youthful drug use almost always presume that youthful users move along a line of development ending in heroin addiction. Our evidence offers no support to these

conceptions but, instead, largely contradicts them. Before tracing the line of experience which may lead some youngsters to heroin addiction, it is in order to remember, as our earlier discussion has indicated, that most youthful drug users look with disdain and frequently with fear upon the use of heroin. Most "mellow" users—the largest group among adolescents—and most "pot head" view heroin addicts as having "lost their cool" and as being weak-minded; they apply to them such derogatory labels as "punks," "burn artists," and "snitches" and say that they are "dirty," "uncool," and "untrustworthy." This kind of characterization of heroin addicts, which is genuinely believed, does not bespeak any inclination or favorable orientation to heroin use. But of much greater importance than this is the apparent fact that the majority of youthful drug users have no association with heroin users and no access to heroin. Without such association and access, youthful drug users cannot enter the arena of heroin use. We wish to outline what seems to be the way in which access to heroin use may be established; this way is open to only a portion of adolescent drug users.

Outside of a jail or prison situation, the major way in which youthful drug users come into association with heroin users is by way of engaging in hustling practices. Adolescents, particularly in the lower strata, may indeed know individuals who are opiate addicts but such acquaintanceship does not provide basis for association on the level of heroin use. However, when a youth begins to associate with hustlers on the level of their hustling, the chances are very high that he will be exposed to heroin use. Thus, we find that access to heroin use is fairly well limited to the type of adolescent drug user that we have discussed as the "player." By virtue of their place and role in the adolescent world of drug use, players are by far the most likely group of youthful drug users to ever come close to heroin use.

The mere opportunity to associate with heroin users under conditions where one can observe, or talk with them about their

heroin use does not signify that the player will automatically try heroin. Our player informants testify from their experience and observations that such use may not take place. Other players may make an initial try at its use and go no further. But others may be led to try the drug with some repetition, thus entering the initial stage of use that is spoken of as "chipping." In this stage, use of heroin is intermittent and is frequently confined to weekend parties. During the "chippy" phase of opiate use, players often change their conception of opiate use. Some are surprised by particular hustlers who appear to support a habit as a "luxury"; others are impressed by the hustling ability of some of the addicts; and some may get involved with a "dope fiend" who "pulls them down."

For the most part, the players who are "chipping" with heroin think that they have their heroin use under control and do not believe that it is possible for *them* to get "hooked." Usually a player is moving fast in the streets, hustling, and supporting a "weekend habit." But when he shortens the intervals between shot, tolerance develops and he may increase the dose of heroin to receive the initial effects of the first shot. After going without the drug for a while, he feels "sick" and awareness of addiction clutters his thoughts. He may "fight the yen" (craving for opiates to eliminate withdrawal symptoms) in a state of confusion. But if he "fixes" again to prevent himself from "getting sick," he will realize that he is "hooked"; addicts often comment that heroin "sneaks up" or it "grabs." If a person does, in fact get hooked, the "chippy phase" is over. Thereafter, he may try again and again to "chippy," believing that he is controlling his habit, but is bound to end with full dependence on the drug again. The following three cases illustrate this:

... It seems as if every junky starts out, goes through a stage of feeling that he can take it or leave it alone. I have yet to meet a hope-to-die fiend that started out to get hooked. I'm not going to be the one to get snatched up by this thing and they proceed to chippy again. I did ... But you know, I have never been able to chippy since the first time ...

... After I got hooked, the years of "social drug addiction" were over, man. I could never ever go back and use again the way I'd use that first seven months when I could take it or leave it alone. After I had once been addicted, I'd go back and use again and figure I was going to cool it and by the end of the week, I was using as much as I could get my hands on. I was always pumping as much stuff into my arm as I could hustle ...

... It's funny that you should know this you know? Yeah, anyone who thinks he can chippy is sadly mistaken after he been hooked. I know this for a fact. I felt that I could chippy, but got myself hooked after the second fix. When you start using the stuff you fix three days in a row, twice a day, twice the next day, and then forget it for a week. And then the same thing eight days later, and then forget it for a week. But now, if you try fixing twice a day or twice tomorrow after you been hooked. You cannot chippy once you've been hooked.

The foregoing discussion suggests several important points in relation to diverting the career lines of a youthful drug user away from opiate addiction. First, the need for such diversion does not seem to arise in the case of the vast bulk of youthful drug users. Second, the problem is lodged primarily in the case of the "player" type and, indeed, is acute in his case. Third, even though the player begins to "chippy" with the drug, he is still retrievable during the early stage of such chipping. These observations offer some help in indicating the focal points which should be addressed by a program seeking to prevent adolescents from becoming opiate addicts.

Entering into patterns of criminal violence leading to prison careers

A final broad career line taken by youthful drug users is becoming a confirmed criminal, one who becomes essentially committed to forms of violent crime as a means of living. This group is distinguished from the opiate addicts and hustlers in that there is often contempt between the two groups in that criminal acts are

not undertaken to support a drug habit, and in that violent criminal acts are often selected as opposed to the more subtle "hustles." It is common for this group to view hustlers as "sneaky" types of people without any "heart." That is, if any man wants money, the easiest way is with a gun.

Once again, the entrance into this career line requires a special set of conditions with a special run of experience. Those who enter it are almost always recruited from adolescent "rowdy" gangs. However, others may also be led into it by the way in which their lines of experience are shaped. These lines of experience are laid down not only by the differentiating process taking place inside the world of youthful drug use, but also by the types of action taken by disciplinary agencies such as the school, police, the courts, and the prison system. Prison experience is a particularly vital element in forming a career of a confirmed criminal. Since this type of criminal career is extensively discussed in the literature, we shall merely acknowledge its existence without elaboration. It is by far the less frequent type of career taken by adolescent drug users. Among the hustling population on the streets, this type of career is reserved for "thugs," "punks," "rowdy dudes," and failures. Few hustlers would "stoop" to such activity because violent crimes do not involve the ingenuity, finesse and sport-like challenge required for a good hustler. Nevertheless, a thug is in demand by some hustlers who need protection and these types are often called on to enforce the informal sanctions against "snitching."

Observations on careers lines

The presence of several major career orientations in the world of youthful drug use and, correspondingly, of several significantly different career lines that lead out of this world, should invite reflection. The recognition of such career orientations and lines of movement reveals again the profound error in viewing and approaching the adolescent drug world as a homogeneous entity.

More significantly, the recognition offers a better map for programs aiming to handle the problem of youthful drug use. It suggests which types of youthful drug users set a serious problem, and indicates in the case of such types the differential character of the problem. It also directs attention to the points at which efforts might be made to change the direction of career lines with some reasonable chance of success.

Summary and Conclusion

We are presenting in this final section several of the more important observations and conclusions.

1. Youthful drug use in Oakland is an appreciably extensive and deeply-rooted practice, lodged primarily in the lower strata but currently expanding into middle and upper class strata. It is woven into a round of adolescent life as a collective practice and does not exist as a series of isolated episodes of individual youths. It carries peer sanctions, is buttressed by a body of justifying beliefs and convictions, involves a repertoire of practical knowledge, and incorporates a body of precautions and protections against apprehension or arrest. Drug use constitutes for the users a natural way of life and does not represent a pathological phenomenon.
2. The drugs that are in use cover toxic substances such as the sniffing of glue, the use of pills of the amphetamine and barbiturate type, the use of crystals, and the use of marijuana. Marijuana is the most frequently used drug. In pre-adolescence, toxic substances are used; this practice is confined to the lower class strata. The use of the other drugs emerges in adolescence. Recently, LSD is entering into use, mainly in the upper class strata. The use of heroin is very narrowly limited in the adolescent drug-using world, being viewed with disdain. It is inaccurate to view adolescent drug use in the imagery of heroin use or opiate addiction.

3. Because adolescent drug use is a collective practice, supported by sets of justifying beliefs, such use is highly resistant to the conventional array of methods used to prevent or eliminate it. Users reject the contention that such drug use is harmful and easily cite evidence to support their contention, especially in the case of marijuana use. Moral exhortations carry no weight, particularly in the light of the sanctioning by society of the use of alcoholic drinking, which is seen as much more odious. Police arrest and court conviction are feared but generally are seen as something to protect against, rather than as conclusive ground for refraining from drug use. Efforts to induce abstinence fall in the face of the collective character of drug involvement, in which youngsters support each other's beliefs and practices.

4. The world of youthful drug use is divided into two broad operating styles—the "rowdy" style and the "cool" style. Different major types of drug users emerge within these styles. Each type involves different patterns of drug use, a different position in the drug using world, a different way of viewing drugs and their use, and a different orientation toward society. There are four major types: the "rowdy," the "pot head," the "mellow dude," and the "player."

The rowdy type begins to appear in pre-adolescence, chiefly in the lower class strata; this is the type that is likely to use toxic substances, such as the sniffing of glue, although the use of alcoholic beverages (chiefly wine) is and remains the major intoxicating substance through both the pre-adolescent and the adolescent periods. Physical prowess, violence, delinquency, and public displays of drinking and drug use are the primary marks of the rowdy, used in large measure to impress others and to evoke fear. The rowdy is always getting into trouble and is particularly likely to be arrested and institutionalized.

The pot head exemplifies the generic features of the "cool" style. He uses no drugs other than marijuana and may even prefer soda-

pop to drinking alcohol. He is respected by other adolescents, presenting an image of a calm, sensible, solitary figure, soft-spoken, personable, and thoroughly knowledgeable about what is "happening" in the adolescent world. He takes pride in his appearance, always wearing sharp slacks and sweaters, is interested in taking things easy, having a good time, and fostering relations with the opposite sex. He is likely to be involved in conventional life activities, participating in various school functions, athletics, and conventional work.

The mellow person is the most common type of drug user in the adolescent population of "cool people." This type is interested primarily in parties, social gatherings and sexual conquests. Although marijuana is the primary drug of choice, he will often use stimulant pills and crystals. He differs from the pot head in that he does not supply drugs to other adolescent consumers on a regular basis or for profit. It is more common for him to exchange cigarettes and pills with class friends, to "bum" drugs for a period of time, and then to give cigarettes away. His use of drugs is relatively inexpensive and constitutes only a small portion of his round of life. He seldom goes out looking for drugs, and takes no special pride in using drugs, as does the pot head. The mellow user is a sociable person seeking to act in accordance with the standards of propriety in his circles.

The player also falls into the cool style. He is distinguished by a more instrumental approach to the use of drugs, being on the lookout for ways to make money. He is essentially an entrepreneur. He views life as a racket and views himself as a "slick operator." He is the youth who is disposed to enter into dealing at the lower levels of the drug market as well as engaging in other forms of illicit rackets that will yield money. He is, accordingly, an incipient hustler and begins to extend his association to hustlers. He thus stands on the fringe of commitment to crime. However, he does not become a hustler until his illicit "gaming" is converted from mere play to serious

work, taking on the aspects of a source of livelihood. Players not only use drugs for pleasure; they tend to incorporate their drug use into the variety of criminal schemes in which they engage, even using different drugs for different "games."

5. The world of youthful drug use is so structured as to exclude "rowdy" people, potential informers, and the more conventional youths. A number of conditions must be fulfilled before a youth is allowed entry into drug-using circles. He must be recognized as "cool," as trustworthy, as reliable, as one who will not "panic" before police, and, of course, as one who is sociable. In a major sense he has to qualify for admission into drug use. It is erroneous to think that youngsters who are curious about drugs or who have some proclivity to use can get access to drugs in the way that one can buy bread at a store.

The chief entrance into the drug using adolescent world is to get into a "cool" set which is using drugs. What is being sought is not the drug but acceptance by the cool set; the use of drugs is merely a part of the much larger mode of life of the given cool set or "crowd." The basic interest is that of sociability. The character of this process of recruitment throws the gravest doubt on current notions that the use of drugs is an "escape from reality," or a retreatist form of defeat, or an inability to live a normal life, or an expression of personal pathology.

6. The differentiation of adolescent drug users into different types with different positions in the drug using world signifies different career orientations and different career lines along which adolescent users are likely to move as they age and pass into adulthood. The mellow user, who represents by far the larger proportion of youthful drug users, is conventionally oriented and is likely to move into positions in conventional society as ordinary conforming citizens. To a lesser extent this is true also of the pot head, although his greater commitment to marijuana

and the likelihood that he may engage in petty dealing may expose him to a greater risk of arrest; arrest and incarceration may give a new direction to his career line. The player, by virtue of his disposition to engage in illicit entrepreneurship, is inclined toward a career of hustling and thus of crime; the player, also is more likely to move in the direction of opiate addiction, because of all adolescent youthful drug users he is most likely to be thrown into association with heroine users. The rowdy is most likely to be turned toward a career of crime; he moves in the direction of violent or strong-arm crime. This picture of differential career orientations and career lines is opposed to conventional notions that youthful drug users move along a single line of progression towards becoming heroin addicts.

7. The picture of differential career orientation and career lines in the world of youthful drug use suggests the feasibility of a program designed to help youngsters move in a conventional direction and away from a criminal direction. There are vulnerable points in each career line where individuals may be turned in one or the other direction. It is our belief that these focal points invite both study and efforts to redirect youthful drug users along proper lines.

APPENDIX

TYPES AND EXTENT OF DRUG USE AMONG JUVENILES IN OAKLAND

Types of Drugs Being Used

1. Combinations of Toxic Substances

The use of a variety of toxic substances occurs among childhood play groups in the course of seeking out thrilling experiences. When alcohol is not available, pre-adolescent children living in deprived areas will consume substances such as plastic and cement

glues, gasoline, paint thinner, and virtually any substance that can be found or manufactured on the spur of the moment. Types of glue are obtainable at selected local grocery stores, dime stores, and toy shops. The content of several tubes is poured into a handkerchief, rag or plastic bag. After the rag is saturated, it is held in front of the nose and mouth while the fumes are inhaled until intoxication results.

The subjective experience of these substances vary radically; however, the most frequent experiences reported were those similar to severe alcoholic intoxication. Feelings of heaviness, drunkenness, periods of unconscious stupors, slurred speech patterns, nausea, headaches and stomach upsets, frequent episodes of impulsive behavior, delirium, illusions and auditory hallucinations (sound of bells, thunder, voices, etc.) have either been observed or reported during our study. Vicks, Valo, and cotton inserts from sinus inhalers are swallowed after cutting them out of containers. The subjective effects are similar to amphetamine compounds, resulting in rapid flights of imagination, increased physical activity, and long periods of sleeplessness.

2. Stimulant Drugs

The use of amphetamine compounds or "pep pills" occurs among early and middle adolescent youngsters. The most frequently used pills include benzedrine, ("whites," "bennies,") dexedrine, and methedrine crystal ("crystal"). Amphetamines are usually taken orally in the form of tablets; although methedrine crystal is injected intravenously after being dissolved in a solution. Methedrine crystal is more frequently used among older adolescents and "hustlers" involved in criminal and quasi-criminal enterprises.

The effects of stimulant drugs are experienced differently depending on the amount taken, whether they are "dropped," or "shot" (taken orally or injected intravenously), and depending on the emotional and physical condition of the user. The most frequent experiences reported range from increases physical activity, mental alertness, increased confidence and mild euphoria, to sudden "flashes," agitated depression, exhaustion, rapid flights of unrelated ideas and free associations, paranoid delusions, extreme hypertension and hallucinations.

Youngsters often control the negative side-effects of amphetamines by mixing them with barbiturate compounds and continually interspersing seconal, benzedrine, and alcohol. It is common for "hustlers" to use marijuana together with small doses of amphetamine pills before going to work at shoplifting, burglary, prostitution, pimping, pool playing, gambling, and selling cheap jewelry on the streets to willing buyers. However, certain patterns of excessive amphetamine use are identified by youth as characteristic of stimulant or crystal "freaks" who are unable to control the drug effects.

3. Sedative Drugs (Barbiturates, Hypnotics, and Tranquilizers)

Adolescents often use sedative drugs in combination with alcohol and amphetamine compounds. The most frequently used sedatives include seconal ("reds," "red devils"), nembutal ("yellows," "yellow-jackets"), amytal ("blue-heavens"), chloral hydrate, and a variety of bromides.

The subjective experience of different sedatives resemble those of alcoholic intoxication. When large dosages are taken, youngsters experience drowsiness, lack of muscular coordination, dream-like states with intervals of unconsciousness, paranoid

delusions followed by frequent episodes of violent outbursts, and disposition toward violent behavior. The negative side effects of barbiturates are often controlled by interspersing amphetamine use with alcohol consumption. Thus, barbiturates are consumed to counter-balance the effects of amphetamines, to intensify the effects of alcohol or marijuana, or in alternation with opiate drugs and their synthetic analgesics.

Among certain older adolescents who engage in patterned and repetitive criminal violence, many report the use of barbiturates when anticipating gang fights or any fear-arousing experience such as strong-arm robbery.

4. Marijuana ("Weed," "Pot," "Grass," "Hash")

Marijuana, a highly controversial drug even among "experts," is by far the most popular among Oakland youths. It is smoked in a variety of different drug-using circles, social classes, racial groups, and neighborhood areas. For the most part, adolescents view it as a "socializing drug," which lends itself to different uses depending on the situation. Pre-adolescent children often see its use as a chance to "be older." Some junior high school youngsters view its use as a way to reinforce one's reputation for being a "bad dud," while many high school youths employ it as an instrument for "maintaining a cool" presentation to other adolescents. Youngsters in upper strata groups within the adolescent community see it as "hip" when engaging in stylized forms of protest. "Hustlers" on the street scene incorporate the drug into their daily work at criminal schemes. Some minority group members consider its use as common as eating a good morning breakfast.

The subjective effects of marijuana are experienced as mild, so mild that many youngsters had to be "trained" to recognize the effects before they could experience pleasure, and regular users often quit for periods of time because of their inability to

recognize when they were "high." The most frequent experiences reported were pleasurable kinesthetic sensations, distortions of space and time, sensitivity to musical sounds, colors, and focused attention on details, feelings of confidence, and prolongation of sexual gratification. Incidental effects were increased appetite, dryness of the throat and lungs, drowsiness, and mild intoxication. Many youngsters held the conviction that regular marijuana use decreased violent and aggressive disposition, although many recognized that "weak-minded" people may experience paranoid delusions and hallucinations which could lead to violent episodes.

5. Hallucinogenic Drugs

Many adolescents have experimented with LSD-25 ("acid"); however, very few used it regularly. It is used periodically among certain upper strata adolescents, but relatively infrequently among lower strata adolescents, who perceive its effects as "too serious," and "dangerous."

The subjective experiences of LSD are variable, ranging from reports of mixed sensations, (feeling sounds, smelling words, hearing colors), different visual and auditory hallucinations, such as viewing monsters, experiencing the deformation or loss of bodily organs, being attacked by normally inanimate objects and extensions of the self to include plants, animals, and indescribable forms. All experimenters reported and intensification of colors, voices, music, and geometric forms.

Other hallucinogenic drugs which were used by selected older adolescents included morning glory seeds, DMT, and psilocybin.

6. Opiate Drugs and Synthetic Analgesics

Very few adolescents under eighteen were found to be addicted to heroine. In the course of our study we encountered only four adolescent addicts; however many had experimented with heroin.

The most frequent opiates used by the older or adult drug users on the streets of Oakland and San Francisco include heroin ("stuff," "smack," "gow," "medicine," "heavy"), dilaudid, and codeine. Common synthetic analgesics include Demerol, Methadone, and Percodan. Although there was "talk" about the use of morphine, its use is admittedly rare.

Among adolescent "hustlers" there is a wide-spread belief that they could use heroin occasionally as a "luxury" without becoming addicted. For the most part, however, adolescent drug users are completely out of touch with the heroine traffic, and use is limited to isolated episodes. There is considerable stigma associated with its use and adolescents on the whole view addicts as "weak-minded." Nevertheless, they tend to view heroin in the same light as other "controllable" drugs.

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