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A STUDY OF MISSOULA YOUTH: BEHAVIORAL CHANGE
OF A TRIP-TO-TRIP GROUP

BY

AUDREY ATKINSON

B.A., University of Montana, 1971

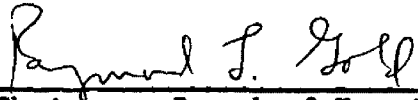
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for the degree of

Master of Arts

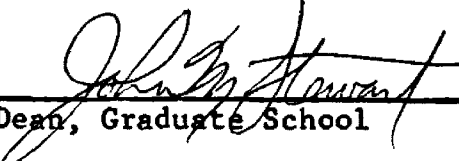
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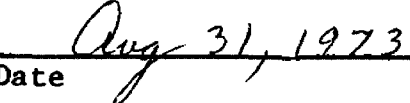
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

I promise you that in joy and laughter
of the festival nobody will . . . dare to put
a sinister interpretation on your sudden return
to human shape.

Apuleius¹

This study was done in Missoula, Montana and was the outgrowth of two adventures of a small homogeneous group of young drug users who turned to Christianity. More importantly, the social group made rules which defined situations and the kinds of behavior appropriate to them. It was being exposed to patterns of behavior of the individuals in the study which had impressive power -- and even greater potential -- of models, peers, and group forces in influencing their self-concept and behavior with subsequent development of a counterculture. The drug users-Christians developed full-blown ideologies leading to behavioral change.

The sociological validity of this report might be questioned by many contemporary scientists since a mystical element was examined. However, the data in this report indicate that mystico-religious experiences, no matter how subjective, become objective reality when they are shared and made normative. Drugs, particularly the psychedelics, produce strange mystical experiences

¹Phillip Slater, The Pursuit of Loneliness (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1970), p. 119.

which alter the individual's awareness of himself and the world about him. By taking such drugs, an individual found that he could exercise a capacity present in the human psyche but not ordinarily used. This capacity can be defined as the power to transcend temporal limitations -- or the ability to think in other categories.

After using drugs to a great extent over a period of time (the individuals in this group took drugs consistently for no less than one year, and up to, and including six years), young people began to realize that the misuse of drugs actually was depriving them of spiritual growth and mental development; they found that their early "kicks" were being replaced by frightening experiences and illusions perceived as demonic spiritual forces. Because of these bad experiences, it was not uncommon for youths to have psychotic symptoms, such as thoughts of suicide. In a response to a need to be cleansed from these bad experiences, many young people chose religion as a means of escape from the drug scene. Again, they restricted the full development of their potential, nevertheless, their lives became more meaningful and purposeful.

As a subject of study, the counter culture reflected by this group of drug users-Christians demands recognition. The adopted culture of the youth, which is based in alienation, mysticism, drugs, communal experiments, and a new religious experience, accepts values which radically diverge from those that have been accepted in the mainstream of our society. The values and norms of the counter-cultural group play an important part

in shaping the behavior of its members as they change from drug abusing individuals into religious individuals. The group's beliefs in redemption from their experiences in the drug scene to a life free from suffering and death are interests that directly affect the group's behavior.

The group consisted mostly of middle- and upper-class individuals in their late teens and early twenties, who were detached from the mainstream society, sensed purposelessness, and almost universally lacked direction in their lives. In their quest for meaning and purpose, crises arose that caused them to search for alternative values and norms to govern their lives. A Christian sect provided these alternatives. The sect formed by the counter-cultural group studied was a small exclusive group. It focused on strictly personal experience trends such as the belief in prophecies, speaking in tongues, and rebirth. It is common in sects to require some type of religious experience as a prerequisite of acceptance, and this group placed primary importance on the religious experience of its members prior to their fellowship with the sect. It rejected an official clergy and preferred to trust the guidance of lay inspiration, especially from their more knowledgeable young peers, rather than from theological experts. The counter-cultural Christians sought to sever, as much as possible, the bonds which tied them to the common life of the larger society and preferred isolation rather than compromise of beliefs.

There were noted differences in the concept of religious values and norms as defined by the larger society and those that

were distinguished as special values of the group. The young people held in contempt impersonal attempts to obtain salvation such as endowment of money to Churches (conscience money), and external obedience to the commands of the Church. In their opinion, religion was a day-by-day process of internalizing the words of the Bible and living by God's teachings. They did not believe that God willed them to labor for materialistic gain, but rather He wished them to express brotherly love by withdrawing from those obligations and securing, instead, inner peace. The group's belief in salvation by faith is rich in affective virtues, but adds little motivation for contributing to the larger society.

Through focusing on behavioral change in the counter-cultural group of drug users-Christians, understanding was sought by studying how religion can satisfy a need for a way out from "shooting up or mainlining," "popping downers or uppers," "snorting cocaine," "doing a bowl," or "tripping" in general. In the process of forming a new self, there is the element of personal relationship of individuals to each other which plays a considerable part, perhaps the dominant part, in the social organization of these young people. A new life style with counter-cultural values and norms emerged with the role of the peers being crucial. At no point in time have young people been as peer-directed as they are today, and the group studied sensed little responsibility to adjust to the prescribed patterns of society, but only to the new patterns formed by themselves. It must be emphasized that the young people studied were in a

minority, and that most of these statements do not pertain to the majority of the youth who are adjusting to the problems and responsibilities facing them, even though they too are perceiving the impact of peer-directedness and the indignity of conforming to unbelieved ideologies.

The reasons for a few of today's youth to embark into the drug scene included more than a taste for the mystical and the magical, although these were of marked interest to the individuals. Other grounds were, discontent over the Vietnam War, political and social injustice, pollution, and parental guidance, to name a few.

The young people needed a unifying experience, some deeply-felt focus in their lives which they could not find in traditional ways. There were no universally compelling goals that acted as motivations for them, and they turned to drugs in response to the void. Drugs furnished a mystical quality to life. At the same time, the shared experience and novel ethos were important aspects of their religiosity. Description of the process by which behavior changed in the drug-using group to the Christian group is the essential aim of this paper.

THE SOCIAL PROBLEM

The informants in this study reported two ways of getting "high": via drugs or by the emotionalism contributed by religiosity. There are a number of young people in Missoula

who are seeking alterations of consciousness by means of a variety of illegal and medically unsupervised drugs. There is a substantial number who have had mystico-religious experiences while using drugs and found the personal relationships in a newly formed Christian sect an exit from the drug scene; an implication that other treatment programs for social salvation (that is, other socially approved alternatives to chemical means of altering states of consciousness) should be implemented for those using drugs. The data indicated this phenomenon was a primary reaction to social upheavals and peer-group influence, thus leading to the event of "dropping-out" of mainstream society by both types of counter-cultural groups -- the drug user and the Christian. This was significant in that there was a wide divergence from values and norms of the larger society and the formulation of new values and norms which were the basis for the formation of a counter culture.

Effective role performance and health, two values held in high esteem by the larger society, were little thought of by the group studied. The young people sensed little responsibility in effective role performance as defined by society, but rather thought society had a responsibility towards them. Lack of concern about their health, too, was a problem, considering the mental and physical impairments that can be directly attributed to drug abuse. There is contradicting literature published by scientists regarding drug usage and mental health and by comparing the literature to the findings, it will be found,

contradictive or not, it all pertains to the accounts of the young people. For example, Asher, a well known psychologist, noted that drug abuse (especially that of the psychedelics) could make one "crazy" by creating a short-term psychoses, directly resulting from experimental drug use, and which could result in psychotic admissions to hospitals and to deviant, irresponsible social behavior.² Watts, on the other hand, implied that transcendental or visionary experiences caused by drugs (psychedelics) are conducive to personality change and are a means of awakening the inner self to levels of consciousness rarely known to man.³ Characteristics such as a genuine fear of dying, suicidal tendencies, loss of weight and appetite, euphoria, important insights of self, and a sense of beauty which had hitherto been unknown -- an amalgam of the statements made by the scientists above -- were described by the informants during the course of the study.

In the drug users quest for meaning, crises arose that precipitated their decisions for alternative symbols to govern their lives. The Christian sect provided these alternatives and became a refuge as they underwent behavioral changes from drug abusers to religious sect members.

²H. Asher, "They Split My Personality," Saturday Review, XLVI, June 1, 1963, p. 39.

³W. David Watts, Jr., The Psychedelic Experience: A Sociological Study (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1971, pp. 71-108.

It appears that the problem is not only the groups' repudiation of the larger society, their lack of desire to contribute, and the feeling that society is indebted to them; but what can society do to aid young people reclaim purpose and direction in their lives.

OBJECTIVES

The purpose of this study was to increase our understanding of the process of behavioral change in a group of young drug users who turned to Christianity as a means of escape from the drug scene. Because of the counter culture's divergence from the larger society's values and norms, the genesis of the former will be described, including the social roles of the youth and the values and norms which evolved from their newly formed life style. Information will be drawn from two contexts, that of the drug user and that of the Christian.

Based on natural accounts from the group studied, three main activities will be analyzed: "dropping out," "turning on," and "quest for salvation." Dropping out analysis will take into account the social phenomenon of abandoning the larger society and the development of a counter culture with new values and norms. The analysis of turning on will involve the drug experiences of the youth, mental torment, and the need for salvation. Quest for salvation analysis will include knowledge regarding the counter cultural Christian sect, religious beliefs, values and norms, and mysticism and conversion.

THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

My attention and interest, directed toward formulating the analyses noted in the "Objectives" portion of this report, stemmed from a Field Observation course that I took in the Spring of 1971. My group chose to study Shalom (where I was a counselor), an organization in Missoula which was open to youths with drug problems. For a period of about seven weeks, I spent considerable time at Shalom observing what the youths were doing, both individually and collectively. The social world of those involved and their everyday experiences opened my eyes to a problem in which I was very much interested. I studied this problem, off and on, for over a year and found an abundance of information regarding drug abuse and its manifestations, a new religiosity, and a quest for salvation.

I could not find previous literature that directly related to the process of drug abuse, mystico-religious experiences, and the quest for salvation. Becker's⁴ and Yablonsky's⁵ studies gave accounts of the beliefs and ideologies of the drug user, and these studies, as far as they went, correlated well with the data found in Missoula. Two classifications used in this study, viz., "dropping out" and "turning on," were borrowed from

⁴Howard S. Becker, Outsiders (New York: The Free Press, 1963).

⁵Lewis Yablonsky, The Hippie Trip (New York: Western Publishing Co., Inc., 1968).

Yablonsky⁶ who had adopted them from Timothy Leary's psychedelic creed.

I was not convinced at the onset of gathering data that a counter culture actually existed. While analyzing the data many of the values expressed by the informants specifically contradicted the values in the dominant culture. It was also a fact that these youths withdrew from the larger society in order to maintain drug use and the social relationships resulting from such use. The social phenomenon of the counter culture has allowed me to give full attention to the interactions of the group members, including peers and a few adults interested in their drug problems, and the creation of new forms of normative systems. The works of Yinger,⁷ Cohen,⁸ and Matza and Sykes⁹ bring the idea of a counter culture out extensively. Roszak, whose report was especially useful in the formulation of many of my ideas, stated that interests of college-age and adolescent young were part of a counter culture that radically diverged from values and assumptions of mainstream society in the psychology of alienation, mysticism, drugs, and communitarian experiments.¹⁰

⁶Ibid., p. 57.

⁷J.M. Yinger, "Contra-Culture and Sub-Culture, American Sociological Review, XXV (1960), p. 625.

⁸Albert K. Cohen, Delinquent Boys, the Culture of the Gang (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1955), pp. 24-37.

⁹David Matza and Gresham M. Sykes, "Juvenile Delinquency and Subterranean Values, American Sociological Review, XXVI (1961), pp. 712-719.

¹⁰Theodore Roszak, The Making of a Counter Culture (New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1969), pp. 1-41.

Both Roszak and Riesman mentioned that today's youth are other-directed, a dominant mode of insuring conformity to the peer group. The peers become the internalized source of direction for the youths' guidance, thus the goals toward which the other-directed person strives shift with that guidance. Among the young persons whom I studied, there was an exceptional sensitivity to the actions and wishes of others. The youth aimed to keep up with each other, not so much in the external matters but in the quality of their inner experience.¹¹ Further evidence of this sensitivity appears later in this report.

A short summation will be given of Riesman's two other types, the tradition-directed and the inner-directed, to mark the differences in the emotional sanction or control in each type and to emphasize the other-directed typology. The tradition-directed person, too, is influenced by a small number of persons in that he must behave in an approved manner. The sanction for behavior tends to be the fear of being shamed. This social order is relatively unchanging and reflects on the membership in a particular age-grade or clan whose patterns have endured for centuries and are modified only slightly as one generation succeeds another. The culture provides ritual, routine, and religion to orient everyone. The major difference between the

¹¹David Riesman, The Lonely Crowd (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1950), pp. 19-24.

tradition-directed and the other-directed persons is in the ability to adapt to the familiar and the strange. Only the familiar is natural to the tradition-directed, whereas the cosmopolitan other-directed person is capable of rapid transitions and can respond to everyone.

The inner-directed person has a "psychic gyroscope" which has been implanted by his parents and others who resemble his parents. He obeys this internal piloting and if he gets off course there may be a sense of guilt. This person is capable of stability since principles are internalized from a small number of people. The inner-directed person can act alone much more than the other-directed person whose actions are heavily influenced by social circles that send him behavioral signals from far and near. The other-directed person was compared to a "radar" for this reason. The other-directed person's psychological lever is anxiety -- the mechanism of control.¹²

The other-directed youth reported here, sought respect and affection from their jury of peers. They also looked to their peer group for norms. Their refusal to accept long-term goals stems from their sense of uncertainty of life in our day and opens the possibility of more individual choices. The group studied tended to avoid any goals, personal or social, that seemed out of step with peer-group aspirations.

¹²Ibid., pp. 11-26.

The term, other-directed-expressive, was adopted from two theoretical approaches, Riesman's and Blumer's, and is the theoretical orientation of Stage One -- Dropping Out. Riesman's other-directed typology is an intergral part of the stages of dropping out, turning on, and the quest for salvation. Blumer's analysis of expressive movements could pertain to both stages, but conversion seemed a more powerful explanatory idea for analyzing the second stage.

The expressive crowd had no goal or objective and sought tension release in more expressive actions. Expressive behavior may have profound effects on the personalities of the individuals and on the character of the social order. It is the analytic categories in Blumer's "fashion movement" that Stage One deals with: the manners, clothing, and philosophy of the group. The expressive movement is inclined toward novel experience, a desire for distinction coupled with conformity. It is a means of developing tastes and dispositions of the group into a fixed and unifying experience. The fashions selected by the young people were in response to new subjective demands and provided a means for the expression of those dispositions and tastes. Fashion helped the youth in constructing a common subjective life and laid the foundation for a new social order.¹³

¹³Herbert Blumer, "Social Movement," Principles of Sociology, ed. R.E. Park (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1939), pp. 272-277.

Stage Two, "The Quest for Salvation," deals with similar and also different characteristics. They were similar in that there was other-directedness; they were different in their mutation of the conscience regarding the sentiment and practice of religion, thus the other-directed-conversion theoretical orientation. Sante de Sanctis discovered in his studies in religion that individuals undergo experiences of suffering, and that the appearance of an urgent moral need with a new psychic disposition of the subject leads to conversion. Fear of death is also a cause for conversion¹⁴ and, as will be explained in both Stages One and Two, fear played an implicit role in conversions described in this study.

Because, as Durkheim,¹⁵ Simmel,¹⁶ and Weber¹⁷ have noted, religion provides unifying experiences, the genesis of a religious sect enhanced what the observed youth already possessed. The beliefs in rebirth, of hope, of being cleansed of their sins are universal in the group studied, and the chance for salvation makes the difference between a life in which the keynote is resignation and a life in which there is hope.¹⁸

¹⁴Sante de Sanctis, Religion Conversion, trans. Helen Augar (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., Inc., 1927), pp. 29-51.

¹⁵Emile Durkheim, The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life, trans. Joseph W. Swain (New York: The Free Press, 1915).

¹⁶Georg Simmel, Sociology of Religion, trans. Curt Rosenthal (New York: Philosophical Library, 1959).

¹⁷Max Weber, The Sociology of Religion, trans. E. Fischoff (Boston: Beacon Press, 1963).

¹⁸William James, The Varieties of Religious Experience, (New York: The Modern Library, 1902), p. 516.

Mead's analysis of social process provided a powerful tool for analyzing the development of a religious self. The interaction of different individuals, their cooperative activity, forms selves.¹⁹ The explanations of Mead will be delved into more in depth in the "Methodology" section of this report. Complementing this analysis is Cooley's point that affective experiences directly shape attitudes toward other persons.²⁰ Mead's and Cooley's analyses of the social process by which selves arise and are expressed help to explain such changes as the conversion from a drug-abusing self to a religious self, from despair to social salvation.

In this section I have attempted to provide a basic theoretical rationale applicable to and supportive of the many topics I have selected to investigate in order to generate the theories mentioned in "Objectives." The information cited was used only to point to areas which would be further studied along the lines of the report. The analyses derived from this study are based directly on the data given by informants' natural accounts and not from any of these previous works. Similarities, however, may be seen in comparing the literature cited with the analyses presented in this report.

¹⁹George H. Mead, Mind, Self and Society, ed. Charles W. Morris (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1934), p. 165.

²⁰Charles Horton Cooley, Human Nature and the Social Order, (New York: Schocken Books, Inc., 1964), p. 25.

CHAPTER II

RESEARCH METHOD

DATA COLLECTION

A qualitative approach (as against a quantitative approach) was used in carrying out this research. I did not deduce propositions from a priori assumptions but generated them from the data collected during the course of the study. Primarily, in line with Glaser and Strauss, the qualitative method was used as an effective way to obtain data in this particular area of social life. The crucial elements are often found best with a qualitative method for building sociological theory from data concerning consequences, deviances, norms, and patterns as is often the most "adequate" and "efficient" way to contend with the difficulties of a particular empirical situation.¹ The flexibility of the qualitative approach was needed to inspect the generic character of the group studied and to develop an accurate picture of their empirical social world, the world of everyday.

Missoula, Montana, located in a rural State, was chosen as the research site for these reasons:

¹Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss, The Discovery of Grounded Theory (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1967), p. 18.

- 1) The knowledge that there was drug abuse problems in the city similar to those found in urban areas.
- 2) The youths who had been drug abusers, now Christians, agreed to cooperate.
- 3) The impact of the University of Montana was apparent in drug usage and provided more unique variables in the study.
- 4) The expense of gathering data was minimal because Missoula was then my home town.

Data were obtained by a series of tape-recorded interviews with informants of high school and college age. The interviews were combined with other sociologists' views which were valuable in aiding me to generate propositions. Of prime importance were those ideas proposed by Blumer and Mead in conceptualizing self as a process, the act, social interaction, objects, and joint action.²

As was previously mentioned in Chapter I, the pre-test was done over a year ago when I interviewed and observed several young people in their teens and early twenties at Shalom³ in Missoula. These youth were drug abusers and were, at that time, searching for a way out of the drug scene. There were approximately a dozen core group members who had been using drugs and were proselyting for a new religious group. Seven members of the Shalom core group were re-interviewed this past spring and were valuable in leading me to various Christian communes where other interviewees were found.

²Herbert Blumer, Symbolic Interactionism: Perspective and Method (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969), pp. 61-77.

³See p. 9 of this report for description of Shalom.

I worked from a list of topics on which each informant was questioned.⁴ However, the questions were flexible and could be phrased or reordered in a manner to fit the characteristics of each informant. This flexibility allowed a greater degree of freedom in gathering the data. Interviews were usually conducted during the evening in my home in an informal, friendly manner. The youths were busy during the day with their tasks at the communes and were busy in the early evening hours with prayer meetings and Bible studies. I would generally pick one or two young people up in the car about 8:00 P.M. and the interview would last anywhere from one to two hours.

The first few interviews were used as a basis for further interviewing. The numerous articles that I had read concerning drugs did not relate directly to the new religiosity expounded by the youth. Therefore, topics of inquiry that I was not aware of were discussed in later interviews and stimulated interesting discussions on the part of many informants and elicited important information about topics in which I was interested. Some questions, for example, pertained to the informants' dropping out of mainstream society and their change of behavior concerning society, sex, education, drugs, and work. Many of the questions referred to specific kinds of goals, present and future. These goals related to basic beliefs about the world, self, activity preferences, values, and behavioral styles -- indicators that

⁴See Appendix II for sample list of questions.

actions are guided by beliefs. Questions were also asked relating to the fear perceived while taking drugs and those mystico-religious experiences which had led to the quest for salvation. This, in turn, led to questions concerning "rebirth" and the new religiosity which they were practicing.

✓ Participant observation was also used. The youths were aware of my research and, therefore, I was able to assume the role of researcher listening to what was said, and questioning the youths over some length of time.⁵ Participation enabled me to understand their language and their culture more fully.

This rapport enabled me to interact closely with the young people on many occasions. One Christian commune invited me to dinner along with twenty-four young people who were ex-drug users. On another occasion, I had the opportunity to go to the prison in Deer Lodge with a group of Christians. The meeting was held in a large room called the "Cottonwood School" with forty-five inmates present. I talked with several of the inmates while having cake and coffee at the end of the "Prayer Meeting." At another time, I attended a "pot" party. It was mentioned to a youth that I would like to observe a "pot" party and he arranged for me to go. It was quite an experience to watch their behavior after they were "stoned."

In addition to the above, I also attended several rites of reaffirmation where the youth would talk about their drug

⁵Howard S. Becker and Blanche Geer, "Participant Observation and Interviewing: A Comparison," Symbolic Interaction, A Reader in Social Psychology, eds. Jerome G. Manis and Bernard N. Meltzer (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1967), p. 109.

experiences and how the Lord had saved them. These events made me very aware of the social group, their problems and areas of interest. Because of my growing awareness of the meaning of subjects that some informants were unable to formulate clearly, I was able, through observation, to connect my knowledge with these half-communications. As Becker and Geer stated, this wealth of information sensitized the participant observer to subtelties such as communal living and marijuana smoking which might pass unnoticed in an interview and forced me to raise new and different questions.⁶

After I had done a few initial interviews and observations with ex-drug user Christians, questions for the subsequent interviews were derived from dominant themes appearing in the initial interviews. These additions allowed me to pursue topics that needed further clarification. At this time, a pattern began to appear and I was able to generate statements concerning the picture of the data and to test the informants' reactions to these.

By asking the informants to talk about their experiences, I was able to derive a classification scheme applicable to a small homogeneous group of drug users who chose to become Christians. There was a definite process in the change of their behavior and in their self-image. These topics are discussed in Chapters III and IV.

⁶Ibid., p. 118.

CLASSIFYING THE DATA

A natural classification scheme of topics was developed from the transcribed interviews. Each interview was coded on the margins and compared with previous incidents coded in the same category. This served as the key through which propositions and definitions were directly derived. The analysis of interviews was a continuous process. The responses were studied repeatedly and the questions reformulated to make them more applicable to the informants' real world. All of the statements made by the informants are verbatim accounts of my conversations with them. Glaser and Strauss speak of these accounts and comparison of them as the constant comparative method.⁷

After the interview transcriptions were coded, passages were cut and stapled to cards and placed under their particular categories and properties, such as psychoses, flashbacks, prophecies or doctrines. This method enabled me to keep track of the incidents and also helped me to pick out the most saturated categories easily. The categories of "dropping out," "turning on," and "quest for salvation," were the informants' definitions of their situation and were substantiated by Yablonsky's findings as mentioned in Chapter I.

Comparisons were made among the same group because of the diverse evidence in the process of changing self-behavior

⁷Glaser and Strauss, op. cit., pp. 105-108.

from a drug abusing self to a Christian self. As Glaser and Strauss point out, comparison of groups is conceptual, and comparative analysis takes full advantage of the "interchangeability" of indicators for categories and properties.⁸ Use of this method was aided by symbolic interactionistic attention to the principal elements of social acts, such as the role taking and role playing aspects of behavioral change and self.⁹ Together with these Meadian concerns, the constant comparative method aided in developing a broad range of acceptable indicators for categories and properties. The group studied, through comparing the two stages of the members' behavior, evidenced throughout its development such features as peer influence, alienation, permissiveness, values, goals, roles and work -- to name a few.

The comparisons were useful in generating propositions through facilitating discovery of parallels, not only between the drug users and Christians, but also between the observed group and some reported in the researched literature. As stated before, Yablonsky's notions, dropping out and turning on, were used as major categories. However, these categories were mentioned time after time by the informants; thus a comparison was made of the data and the literature. Suggestive data in the form of quotations from the informants was also used extensively in the analysis of Chapters III and IV.

⁸ Ibid., p. 49.

⁹ George H. Mead, Mind, Self and Society, ed. Charles W. Morris (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1934), pp. 49-161.

While developing the categories, the properties were systematically explored. Again, comparative materials were used and at every step propositions emerged and were integrated with each other. For example, as the youth talked about their fear for mind and body, comparison was made with the literature concerning this matter and aided in showing that combinations of personal, social, and medical problems emanate when drug usage produces injury to the health or well-being of the youth.

My conceptual scheme focused on four basic elements of the informants' behavior: interaction, sentiment, activity, and values and norms.¹⁰ These concepts enabled me to describe the behavior of the youth. For example, the interaction concept was used in describing the "rap" sessions, peer influence, and the relationships between the youth and adults. Sentiment included such issues as fear, love and tolerance experienced by the informants. Activity was taken up in the explanation of communal living and religious activities. Values and norms unfolded throughout the report and consisted of such matters as mode of dress, work, sex, drug usage, and witnessing. There were so many categories and properties found in the data that they could not be dealt with all at once. It was therefore analytically helpful to sort the data into categories and properties and then describe the events in a step-by-step process, or a procedure of successive approximations.¹¹ The categories and

¹⁰George C. Homans, The Human Group (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1950), p. 43.

¹¹Ibid., p. 43.

properties were in many instances independent of each other and could have made an interesting study in their own right, but in describing the process of behavioral change and emerging norms, some of these categories and properties were seen to be interdependent in the context of the society studied.

It is evident that, in trying to attain my research objectives, my methods of gathering and classifying data were specifically geared to develop grounded theories, classifications, and definitions from the natural accounts of the informants. Glaser and Strauss note that grounded theories should provide clear categories and hypotheses so that crucial ones can be verified by further research. I was not interested in testing existing theories but gained fruitful insights from existing theory which became a component in the comparative analysis used to generate grounded theory. Comparative analysis gave an integrated, grounded, substantive theory applicable to the "real" world of the drug abusers and Christians.¹²

The categories and properties generated from conversations with Missoula youth are the bases for this report.

¹²Glaser and Strauss, op. cit., pp. 252-256.

THEORETICAL SAMPLING

It was known before research was begun that there would be ex-drug users, Christians, and commune members in the sample. These social categories were known but their relevancy to the study was not previously known. Knowledge of their relevancy emerged from the data, as did related categories.

The group of young persons who were drug users and turned to Christianity had diverse beliefs which were counter-cultural. Comparing beliefs of the drug user and the Christian revealed behavioral changes.

Glaser and Strauss called the kind of sampling done "theoretical sampling." Theoretical sampling is done in order to discover categories and their properties, and to suggest a theory by analyzing the interrelationships. In contrast, statistical, or random, sampling is done to produce accurate evidence on particular distributions among a population of people in order to make accurate inferences in descriptions, measurements, and verifications. To understand what constitutes an "adequate sample," one has to understand the type of research in which the sampling is done.

The adequate theoretical sample, Glaser and Strauss went on to say, is judged on the basis of how widely and diversely the analyst chose his groups for saturating categories according to the type of theory he wishes to develop. The adequate statistical sample, on the other hand, is judged on the basis

of techniques of random and stratified sampling used in relation to the social structure of a group or groups sampled.

The researcher who generates theory need not combine random sampling with theoretical sampling when setting forth relationships among categories and properties. These relationships are suggested as hypotheses pertinent to direction of these relationships, not tested as descriptions of both direction and magnitude.

Furthermore, once discovered, the relationship is assumed to maintain its present direction no matter how biased the previous sample of data was, or the next sample is. Only if the hypothesis is disproven do biases in the sample come under question. For generating theory these biases are treated as conditions changing the relationship, which should be woven into the analysis as such.

The depth of theoretical sampling refers to the amount of data collected on a group and on a category. In quantitative studies of verification and description, it is typical to collect as much data as possible on the "whole" group. Theoretical sampling, though, does not require the fullest possible coverage on the whole group except at the very beginning of research, when the main categories are emerging -- and these tend to emerge very fast. Theoretical sampling requires only collecting data on categories, for the generation of properties and hypotheses. The general idea is that the sociologist should sample a category until confident of its saturation,

but there are qualifications. All categories are obviously not equally relevant, and so the depth of inquiry should not be the same for each and every one. All categories should be saturated until it is clear which are the core categories.¹³ Various community leaders, known and trusted by the drug-abusing Christian youth of Missoula, provided help in determining the theoretical sampling.

THE INFORMANTS

I drew heavily on the knowledge of Reverend Dan Simmons, a Missoula minister; Keith Nickerson, the director of Shalom; and Dale Streit, a minister and head of a local Christian commune, for the choice of young people to interview for this study. Reverend Simmons has focused many of his activities on working with drug users and is proselyting support of the new religious views to which they are presently adhering. He was instrumental in setting up Shalom and the Bible studies for new Christians. Since "Father Dan" (Reverend Simmons) counseled many drug abusers, they, in turn, are aiding him in counseling other youth with drug problems. Both Father Dan and his counselors (Deacons) made helpful suggestions of persons to consider for the study. Keith Nickerson and Dale Streit were the older "others" significant in helping youth with drug problems. They, and the youth themselves, also aided in choosing interviewees.

¹³Glaser and Strauss, op. cit., pp. 62-71.

The sample provided a wide range of people, male and female, and was representative of all social classes. I had rapport with the youth and began to understand their actions on the basis of the meanings of the objects that comprised their world.

Empirically, the group was distinguished as drug abuser or Christian, not only according to the way people such as Reverend Simmons viewed them, but also according to the view they had of themselves. Their responses to interview questions regarding societal dissatisfaction, drug usage, fear for mind and body, and Christianity revealed an ongoing process -- a continuing matter of fitting developing lines of conduct to one another. The fitting together of the lines of conduct is done through the dual process of definition and interpretation.¹⁴ The Christians emerged from this same group of drug abusers which had had mystico-religious experiences while under the influence of drugs. Through a process of conversion, alterations in states of consciousness created a new religiosity. The natural definitions posed by the young people themselves have given insight into a drug problem and have led to a religion based on their common sense ideas. An objective of this study is to understand the attendant behavioral changes. These are discussed in Chapters III and IV.

¹⁴Blumer, op. cit., p. 66.

It was not realized just how many youth were involved in this social problem when the study was started. However, as I proceeded in probing for informants and began interviewing and developing categories, I found that not all the young people on the list were needed. Forty-three interviews were conducted over a period of a year; all of which included the social phenomenon of drug abusers turning to Christianity. I found no need for further interviews as I had reached a point of theoretical saturation of my categories. Saturation means that no additional data are being found whereby the sociologist can develop properties of the category. As similar instances appeared over and over again in the interviews, I felt confident that the category in question was saturated.¹⁵ The core categories were suggested by the informants in the interviews and were especially useful in formulating the analysis found in the subsequent chapters.

Few problems were encountered while conducting the research. The initial concern that not enough informants would be found to make the study valid was unfounded. The young people were honest, open, and willing to talk about their experiences. Finding a convenient time schedule for interviewing was a problem but the informants' willingness to spend time in the late evening conversing eliminated this problem.

I soon became acquainted with the language of the ex-drug user Christian. In many instances, terms that I considered

¹⁵Glaser and Strauss, op. cit., p. 61.

ordinary would have to be defined for the youth so it was imperative to speak in very real and concrete language that was applicable to the drug user's frame of reference and range of acquaintances. Some youths were invaluable in spending their time defining terms and teaching me the language.

The interviews became a forum for explaining the many variables that caused these young people to drop out of society and form a counter-culture that demands much social analysis and attention.

CHAPTER III

STAGE ONE: DROPPING OUT AND TURNING ON

Or will not else
thy craft so quickly grow,
that thine owne trip
shall be thine overthrow.
Shakespeare - 1601

INTRODUCTION

The analysis of behavioral change of a minority group of middle- and upper- class youth who were, at one point in time, drug abusers, and then turned Christian, is presented in two stages: 1) Stage One concerns their dropping out of the larger society and turning on to drugs -- almost simultaneous phenomena; and 2) Stage Two concerns their quest for salvation. Stage One emphasizes the experiences the youth had while on drugs, especially the fear for mind and/or body -- and sometimes, life itself -- which necessitated the need for an exit from the drug scene. Stage Two, the quest for salvation, concerns experiences evolving from drug usage, particularly a new religiosity and membership in a Christian sect. Specific points which will be of particular interest in both stages of behavioral change are peer influence, counter culture, values and norms adopted by the group, and role playing.

The analysis of Stage One is intended to describe the behavioral change of drug abusers; a short cut to happiness through herbs

and chemists' concoctions. The words used by Missoula youth are closely linked to their social world and become the basis for classifying two almost simultaneous phenomena: dropping out and turning on. Dropping out refers to actions leading to formation of a small other-directed-expressive group who abandoned mainstream society and formed a new life style, a counter culture with new values and norms. Turning on refers to using chemical means to a greater psychic end, only to find mental torment and a need for salvation.

Stage One brackets this compelling fact: a counter group abusing drugs needs a means of escape, in this case, Christianity. The youth go from one adventure to another in the process of which the trip-to-trip group and trip-to-trip culture emerge. Other essential facts that will be dealt with in Stage One include the following:

- 1) "Peer pressure" leads a young person to conform to a particular life style in behavior, dress and drug usage.
- 2) There are numbers of youth who have lost faith in the prevailing social system and are dissatisfied or disillusioned.
- 3) Expectations of other and cultural surroundings have much to do with the context of drug use.
- 4) Mystico-religious and bum trip interpretations unite the drug users and Christianity.

Dropping Out

There are three cultural segments that will be defined for clarity and understanding of the analysis. Concerning the largest segment, the 'counter-culture,' Yinger argues that "the conflict element is central; many of the values, indeed, are specifically

contradictions of the values of the dominant culture."¹ The counter-culture does not necessarily include drug usage and the term will be used in a broad sense for comparative analysis. The second segment is the 'drug culture,' a part of the larger counter-culture, which consists of those whose lives center around drug use. The third segment is the lifeway of the group studied and will be known as the 'trip-to-trip culture.' It is a subset of both of the above two segments and therefore cultural, and social. Drug usage information obtained from various studies of the counter- and drug cultures also apply to the trip-to-trip culture; however, as we shall see, the "trip-to-trip culture" contains unique characteristics which differentiate it from the others, especially in that drug usage is left behind in moving toward a religious outlook toward life.

It became obvious at the beginning of my research that a counter-culture was involved. The counter-culture I speak of here, the largest of those cultural segments to be discussed, embraces only a strict minority of the young and a handful of their adult counterpart. The informants of this study were fully aware of all the tensions born of disorganization, privation, and injustice which are currently unsettling their lives. Yet, instead of doing something constructive about a "counterfeit" life, they chose to drop out via the route of drugs.

Early in the research on the trip-to-trip group, the data revealed two types of "trippers." One group seemed to be searching for traditionalism, the old pattern of life to social goals, in order

¹J.M. Yinger, "Contra-culture and Sub-culture," American Sociological Review, XXV, 1960, pp. 625-629.

to build a new society instead of fortunes. The second group wanted to abolish the old pattern itself and saw no need to create a better world. The first group will be taken up in Stage Two; the second group will appear as Stage One unfolds.

The group that will be reported upon in this section of the thesis displays behavior pertaining to the sociology of alienation, mysticism, psychedelic drugs, and communitarian experiments--phenomena often encountered in counter-culture research. The group is counter cultural in that it evidences a radical divergence from values which have been maintained by the mainstream of American society. There are divergent cultures other than the drug culture, such as the Christian culture described in Stage Two. The Christians are as adverse to the larger society's beliefs, in many instances, as those using the drug culture. The group that is presently being evaluated is other-directed-expressive. Its interests are maintained by responsive contact with drug users, and its members fashion their morals and customs after the others in the group.

Riesman elucidates a mental picture of happenings which is helpful for understanding today's counter-culture. The other-directed person cannot "go it alone" and is, in a sense, "at home everywhere and nowhere, capable of a rapid if sometimes superficial intimacy with the response to everyone."² Because the other-directed person is capable of receiving signals from far and near, Riesman reports

²David Riesman, The Lonely Crowd (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), p. 25.

his control equipment as "being like a radar." The great stability of the inner-directed person that was reported on in the theoretical framework section of this paper is a contrast to the behavioral pattern of the other-directed person whose life is pattern after his contemporaries as the source of direction. Riesman maintains that the peer source is "internalized," and dependence on peers for guidance and life is a process of paying attention to the signals from others.³ Some of these points have been previously mentioned but their importance to the thesis justifies repeating them.

Peer Influence

There are several dimensions found in the composite of the counter-culture; however, peer influence could be deemed the element with the most influence. Elements which make up the whole symbolic universe of the peer group, such as mode of dress, hair, life style, drugs, and language, are a means of communication. Mead pointed out that "what is essential to communication is that the symbol should arouse in one's self what it arouses in the other individual."⁴ Such symbolic behavior allows persons in the trip-to-trip group to recognize others as members, and as brothers.

³ Ibid., pp. 17-25.

⁴ George Herbert Mead, Mind, Self, and Society, Charles W. Morris, (ed.) (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1934), p. 149.

About one-half of the informants were from states other than Montana, and yet the dimensions of their protest made the diverse collection a group. They entered the group for various reasons such as "kicks," "getting it together," "finding a pattern in life," or to avoid feeling "like a robot with an 8 to 5 job." None of the youth joined this society through force; it was a matter of preference (and peer pressure). Although the youth maintained they had a choice and chose the "hippie way of life," peer suggestion was a dominant factor in their dropping out. Three reports from informants illustrate this other-direction:

Informant E (a daughter of a psychiatrist):
Your friends are smoking dope and trying to figure out how to get it together. You think, well, that's far out and you try the dope.

Informant D (the son of a dentist): I think it was pretty much because a friend of mine had started smoking dope and stuff that I did. I didn't want to lose her friendship. The only thing that really matters, it seems, is your relationships.

Informant G (the daughter of a high school counselor): Finally it just got to the point where everybody else was getting on drugs and saying how much fun they were having and I thought, well, I'll just try them.

The next portion of the thesis will report on the plastic world of the drug counter-culture in which the youths involved themselves and will attempt to show the process of behavioral change. Through their drug experiences, they found a real need, or reason why they should exit from the drug scene. "Societal Dissatisfaction" describes the trippers disenchantment with certain kinds of relationships within a technocratic system and their ways of adapting, instead, to the trip-to-trip society.

Societal Dissatisfaction

Large numbers of American youth are scrutinizing their own society through doubtful eyes. They feel parental pressure for them to have a fulfilling life, but the youth are born into a technological society where all they see is push, push, push for materialistic gain. One informant expressed his dissatisfaction with society by saying, "We can't see man's progress and what great work man has done. All we see is this mess kind of thing." The young people disapproved of the "games being played" and the competition; thus they dropped out and moved into groups using the drug culture. The games mentioned were varied, but a sincere disillusionment with former ideals, especially concerning the welfare of humanity, fashioned a dropping out. A youthful student, whose father was a lawyer, approached the subject in the following manner:

Informant H: My liberal idealism was projected into the drug scene. You could see how the liberal new deal upbringing could be projected into a radical new left. I began to see so many failings in the whole structure, the whole system, it took me a long time to look for alternatives - from a structure to an alternative. You establish parallel structures and move into them and move right on. I kept talking about revolution out there until the more I became aware for the need of revolution and change, dynamic change, the more I began to be aware that revolution wasn't the answer. I began to see people out there and I kept asking, how can they be this way? It came right back at one. I sort of filtered as much as I could take and I couldn't take very much. I saw all of these really horrible things. Why not enter the drug scene - it was a way out.

The youth in the trip-to-trip group are suffering from a drought. There is a famine in this country which increases the bending toward

drugs. They are not interested in the materialistic life style, the games being played, the competition, so have chosen another self-deceiving road to follow -- the path to self destruction, in many instances. Also traveling this road were many friends under the same circumstances who had an abundance of various drugs for them to "do" -- and they "did" them.

Along the way the youth succumbed to the powerful and wide spread temptation to abdicate self-direction. They were avoiding the decision-making process which Slater described when he stated, "Perhaps the major problem for Americans is that of choice: Americans are forced into making more choices per day, with fewer 'givens,' more ambiguous criteria, less environmental stability, and less social structural support, than any people in history."⁵

Being dissatisfied with the status quo and the feeling that "things are tumbling" because whatever "man is touching is crumbling" is a reality in the trippers' minds. Social realities are difficult to cope with when one is young, has little formal education, is disappointed with conventional life, and is saturated with the anxiety of other-directedness. As against the guilt-and-shame controls already mentioned in the "theoretical aspects" of this report, the "prime psychological lever of the other-directed person is a diffused anxiety." The youth, because they are other-directed, can't "go it alone." Riesman states, in essence, that the border between the familiar and the strange - the border clearly marked in societies

⁵ Philip Slater, The Pursuit of Loneliness (Boston: Beacon Press, 1970), p. 21.

depending on tradition-direction - has broken down.⁶ Such a breakdown is obvious from the experiences and ideas of Vietnam veterans interviewed.

Several young men were interviewed who had been in the military service and all had a general discharge under the drug amnesty law. "I got a general discharge for drugs. They didn't like my habit," was a common remark made by the six informants who reported on their stint in the service. One of them said he even forgot he was in Vietnam because his "mind was so skipped out." The youth were not anti-establishment before entering the service and only one of them used drugs before he joined the service. Societal dissatisfaction was felt intrinsically because of the "unjust" war. Five persons were heroin addicts and one a "speed freak" whose normal weight was 165 pounds -- but upon discharge weighed 105 pounds.

The drug usage phenomenon noted concerning young men in the service will not be described. It was mentioned because these six youths constituted approximately 12 percent of the informants and their experiences illustrate the existence of a very real problem that has had devastating results concerning human behavior. An interesting phenomenon to note is the anti-establishment attitudes that developed while they were in the service and the hatred which grew from a lack of confidence in their superiors. The young people would voluntarily go to a psychiatrist for help because of their drug problem and he, then , would turn them in. Other superiors would "bust" the youths

⁶Riesman, op. cit., p. 25.

with the information given by a person (who, under most circumstances, would keep the conversation and the problem private) after "casing" them until they were found possessing drugs.

The "new scene" as defined by an informant described what both veterans and non-veterans alike wanted to acquire. It is indeed ironic that the "good life" that Americans have sought should be rejected by the youth - and in a heartfelt manner.

Interviewer: Could you define the new scene that you want to acquire?

Informant N: Peace of mind. I don't want any material things. I want enough to eat two or three times a day and a roof over my head. I don't want a lota money or anything like that, cause that just causes more pain when you have a lota money when you think about it, cause you get hung up in all of your things.

Another couple, graduates of an Ivy League college, described the situation as "a bunch of shit." All they wanted to do was to run their small yarn shop and build small items of furniture. The twenty-eight year old man is an architect. The woman is an English major. Their parents are upper-class Americans, one being an executive with a \$40,000 per year income and the other employed by a foreign embassy earning approximately \$30,000 a year. This couple has a small Christian commune which will be described in Stage Two.

Materialism, the Vietnam War, disrespect of politicians, technocracy, and lack of confidence in changes they felt were needed were basic reasons given for societal dissatisfaction and, thus, dropping out. The technocracy referred to is a power structure wielding vast material influence; a social form in which an industrial society reaches the peak of its organizational integration. Technocracy is

an ideology of modernizing, updating, rationalizing, and planning for an efficient system of mechanization for ever higher levels of affluency. Issues pertaining to politics, education, leisure, entertainment, culture as a whole, and even unconscious drives: all these become the subjects of technical scrutiny and technical manipulation.⁷ The importance of these variables are pointed out because they help explain what led the informants to try forming a new society and a new culture.

The youth were not only rebelling against a technocracy which encompasses mainstream society, but against society's culture. The trippers' actions were unacceptable to the larger society and the attempt to mold them into some peculiar specialization was unsuccessful. Since human beings are malleable within limits, the molding is for the most part successfully achieved, yet, some learn not to laugh, some not to cry, some not to love, and some not to hate in situations in which these reactions might appropriately be expressed. This group, as will be seen in Stage One and in Stage Two of this report, adopted a culture that included all of the previously mentioned sentiments that are embedded in human behavior.

The youth studied were incorrigibles rebelling against a technocratic society and its culture which they thought was depriving them of pleasure and freedom as human rights. Dropping out was a formidable gesture of dissent. Societal dissatisfaction caused by our technocratic society bred an unhappiness in the youth which was conducive to rebellion

⁷Theodore Roszak, The Making of a Counter Culture (New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1969) pp. 1-35.

and alienation by the youth as discussed in the next segment of the report.

Rebellion and Alienation

Rebellion and alienation are criteria found repeatedly in an analysis of the drug culture. Merton's definition of rebellion and alienation was found to agree with the informants' descriptions of their own alienation.

When rebellion is confined to relatively small elements in a community, it provides a potential for the formation of sub-groups, alienated from the rest of the community but unified within themselves. This pattern is exemplified by alienated adolescents teaming up in gangs or becoming part of a youth movement with a distinctive subculture of its own.

Rebellion and alienation are results of the societal tension and unrest felt by the group and became a role model for the trippers' ideology. Rebellion and alienation have tremendous implications with regard to the kinds of behavior displayed by the youth. Actually, rebellion itself is part of the process of development in molding the young people into the trip-to-trip group.

The excessive preoccupation of the larger society with material production and the unrestricted pursuit of profit is also being rebelled against by this group. They regard this aspect of society as an enslavement of the spiritual and aesthetic sides of humanity from which they are struggling to escape. By rebelling, the trippers become more and more attached to the opinion of the group and its alternative life style. Young people found they were not "free or happy" being in the

⁸Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structures (New York: The Free Press, 1968), p. 245.

"Great Society." The lack of social cohesiveness in the larger society is being displayed by the group studied. Is it any wonder that Allen Ginsberg's Howl landmarked the announcing of the war of the generations in 1951, and it remains a significant social phenomenon today?

The ethos of dissent is creating an agonizing disorientation of the young. It makes one ponder, and then turn "sick," at the frustrations, and then the rebellion, that become obvious through talking with the group. Certainly, one cannot condone their dropping out, but a look at the problems of the larger society makes it somewhat easier to understand the youths' disenchantment. Social criticisms abound in rhetoric today enlarging the struggle of the generation. Possibly we had better not lose sight of our important source of dissent, as it is bringing to light problems that many of us would have pushed to the deep abyss of our minds and, whenever they began to come forth, would have attempted to push them a little deeper.

Roszak, in discussing the counter-culture stated:

Whenever we feel inclined to qualify, to modify, to offer a cautious "yes . . . but" to the protests of the young, let us return to this fact as the decisive measure of the technocracy's essential criminality: the extent to which it insists in the name of progress, in the name of reason, that the unthinkable become thinkable and the intolerable become tolerable.⁹

But, the trip-to-trip group was found to be progressing from nowhere to nowhere. Many of them were rebels at one time but retreated into "nowhere land" because their tolerance and reason lacked the essential technocratic element - goals which would steer them on their pursuit of profit and a materialistic life. One informant said:

⁹Roszak, op. cit., p. 47.

Informant A: I couldn't find a purpose in their life either. It was either a social game or working 40 hours per week for things I disapproved of. The real purpose, the environment, helping the poor people, etc., wasn't there. It was just games.

Another aspect of rebellion and alienation was pronounced in this fashion:

Informant B: I guess I was escaping a way of life. There was the rebellion that I felt. I felt that nobody was going to put me in any bondage to that kind of life - a life where you did this and that or you weren't a respected citizen, you know. I was just trying a way of life that society didn't approve of and I identified with it.

Another source had the following to say:

Informant H: I just couldn't go any further. I guess it was the way everything was going - my surroundings, my -- I can't pinpoint it right now; it was just life, I guess, to a certain extent, you know. I just couldn't hold on anymore. I was getting fed up with what I couldn't understand. I have to understand what's going on - to know. I really got into drugs, one of the social things, into a lot of people, a lot of people's problems, and a lot of people's lives. Eventually, you know, I started withdrawal from people into myself. There was an emptiness in American society. I started seeing this and the acting people did when I was pretty young, when I was in my early teens.

Interviewer: Is this why you dropped-out of the larger society?

Informant H: Yah, cause I wanted to do my own things. I wanted to be happy, like everybody else does. I wanted peace and meaning to my life. I was just getting nowhere the way I was.

Spoken by another reporter:

Informant K: I am in a total confused and destructive path. I need a goal to strive for. I'm like a leaf floating in the wind instead of one being nurtured by the plant. I backed away from striving for anything. I didn't realize that one's life, one's dealings, one's associates,

were judged by his work. I have little fruit to brag about. I don't think I'd make anywhere a permanent home. There's nothing to cause me to plant my feet. I'm in a shaky position but I'm young. Even though I've lived a worthless life, I have age and time on my side. I live from day to day, take things in stride. I do have hope but hear about the bleak outlooks for a man to work, use his hands, and this is difficult to cope with.

Many Americans won't agree with the philosophy just unfolded.

It is apparent that parents have a difficult time encountering the types of social and psychological problems talked about in the preceding paragraphs - even though their own children exhibit these symptoms. The family unit will be described in the next segment of the report and it becomes apparent that the youth are ignoring advice and aid for role-performance. Social values -- expectations concerning health and role performance, in particular -- are factors which shape the norms of drug use. Cohen suggests that "a pervasive drive that is singularly human is the need to alter reality, to be beside ourselves for awhile."¹⁰ Drugs promise, whether by virtue of being illegal or because of some other inherent characteristic, a different form of life from the everyday -- a life that the drug user believes is in preparation for something better. This life, of course, is incompatible with the expected behavior patterns of family life.

Family

Because the drug culture is other-directed, it could be surmised that a type of conflict would ensue. The youth are ignoring their families' desires and are making their way without family sponsorship

¹⁰Sidney Cohen, The Beyond Within (New York: Atheneum, 1966), p. 10.

and encouragement. An ominous question looms, as far as the larger society is concerned: Why have the youth retreated into a sub-standard position? Ninety-five percent of the informants were from upper- and middle- class families and their rejection of the "American Dream" was emphatic. Yablonsky remarked . . .

Most of these people within a matter of twenty-four hours could return to the America of fine apartments, two cars, and all other standard material possessions and advantages. Yet they voluntarily chose to drop-out into scenes that Negroes and other minority groups have been trying to escape from for more than a half a century.¹¹

This was true of the group studied and the life style they chose would be termed sub-standard by many Americans.

The youth's ideologies were different from their parents. The youth have dropped out to the extent that they have no purpose in life. They are ignoring parental advice and aid. The informants described this aspect in various ways:

Informant D: My parents were fairly moral and believed in trying to keep a good name, you know, to keep in good standing, and they were fairly religious. Everything that I was doing was going completely against what they believed. They were against long hair, they were against drugs, and I completely ignored what they thought. My mother was very much against my smoking and I went against that. She was very much against awful clothes, and I went against that. I just completely turned around. It was really a hard thing to do - to love them.

Informant E: I really don't think anymore that just because you are a blood relative or something, that that ties you that much. The family unit is so broken down in today's society and my parents have never been very strong at parenthood, you know. It was like, "oh, do your thing, kid." I think that was a lot of the

¹¹Lewis Yablonsky, The Hippie Trip (New York: Pagusus, 1968), p. 26.

reason that I did dope and stuff because I was kind of daring them to care.

Informant G: My parents were saying one thing and all my friends were saying completely the opposite. I was ending up saying, well, I don't know what to do, so I guess I'll go along with everybody else.

Informant N: Well, we have to get back to this girl I was going with. We went together for about a year and when I returned to New Jersey from Montana, when I got home, she was living with my father. Put that in your book, man. I got into drugs again and started drinking a lot.

Interviewer: What are your feelings for your father now?

Informant N: I really couldn't -- I really don't have that much respect for him, you know. I s'pose, well, I was going to murder both of them and just bury them in the back yard and forget about them, and then I decided that that wouldn't be very cool.

The remarks made regarding discipline caused soul searching. The youth desired more discipline and upheld Richard H. Blum's accusations "that parents err by being 'permissive.'" He found that children who regularly use drugs consistently view their parents differently than children who eschew drugs. In essence, Blum avers that permissive parents show the way for their offspring to engage in behavior which is frightening to say the least.¹²

The parents and the trippers are polarized. Possibly one reason, among others, that the youth are alienated from their families is because of permissive child-rearing habits. Many parents read and followed Dr. Benjamin Spock's endearing latitudinarianism (avoid the

¹² Richard H. Blum, "A Study Explodes Old Logic," The National Observer (June 24, 1972), p. 1.

heavy discipline, go easy on the toilet training) and "spoiled" their children.¹³ The youth apparently are not prepared for the real world and seem to be fleeing from, instead of toward, responsibilities. This small minority of youth is a cultural phenomenon seeking to transform themselves by altering consciousness through drugs. The parents are left worried and bewildered about what has happened.

The trippers' values and goals are not only different from their parents' but from the larger society's. The next segment of the paper will describe shifts in values and goals -- another step in the process of behavioral change of the young people.

Values and Goals

The enormous ideological shift of competitiveness is symbolic of other-directedness. The inner-directed person had tremendous competitive energies; delayed gratification was a truism for at least a century in America. Success was measured by money in the bank, a nice home, education, and material possessions such as two cars, television, and clothes. Consumption is no longer strived for solely, but "people and friendships are viewed as the greatest of all consumables; the peer-group is itself a main object of consumption, its own main competition in taste."¹⁴ Popularity ratings are extraordinarily important in the other-directed person's life, thus the competition for peer-group approval. Riesman claims there is

¹³Roszak, op. cit., p. 30.

¹⁴Riesman, op. cit., p. 81.

"antagonistic cooperation" based on competition, for "one must repress one's overt competitiveness."¹⁵ The peer group becomes the measure for all things. The competitive drive for achievement is rechanneled into the drive for peer approval.

Lipset declared in The First New Nation that America had two basic values, "achievement and equality," which stem from our revolutionary origins.¹⁶ Under these auspices, the need to get ahead, to be successful, seems to be accompanied by a powerful difference of opinion today. A tug-of-war between the old type of achievement and the new type of achievement is evident in today's youth. The small society that I observed has rejected the achievement value as having no meaning.

Blumer's depiction of expressive movements was helpful in explaining the role played by the observed youth. The expressive crowd is introverted. It has no goal or objective - its impulses and feelings are spent in mere expressive actions, which may have profound effects on the personalities of the individual and on the character of the social order.¹⁷ Characteristics of the expressive movement are found not only in the drug-using society but also in the Christian society. The drug-using group was introverted, being very self-centered and egotistic. One informant expressed this by saying . . .

At first, we were the first weirdos with long hair and we finally quit associating even with the drinking crowd. We withdrew even to the point where

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Seymour M. Lipset, The First New Nation (New York: Doubleday & Co, Inc. 1967), pp. 115-158.

¹⁷ Herbert Blumer, Principles of Sociology (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1969), Alfred McClung Lee, (ed.), pp. 82-120.

we had our own apartment and place to go. We wouldn't go to the places where everybody hung out. We just didn't play that game anymore. We had our own girls to relate to. We identified with our kind of people; those who fit into our bracket.

Goals and objectives amongst the hard drug users came to an abrupt end. The self took on new characteristics stimulated by different and newly-perceived outlooks. Such a change of goals and objectives can be illustrated in the following paragraph.

Interviewer: What occupation are you particularly interested in?

Informant M: When I was in the world I was going to become a commercial artist. I majored in it when I was in high school. I was going to go to an art school but as I progressed more into drugs it really didn't matter anymore. A lotta kids drop out or pull back and take a look at their values and think 'what's going on here?' They reroute things a little bit for peace in their minds.

Impulses and feelings were spent in mere expressive actions as will be shown in the succeeding sections on sex, work, and the drug "trips" themselves.

The only goals voiced by the informants were for self-fulfillment, peace, happiness, freedom, and "having others provide for them." Speaking for many, one youth commented, "The biggest thing in my life was when I opened myself ~~to~~ to things. People are the biggest education for me - talking to people and opening myself up to ideas." Goals were very seldom spoken of; values in Stage One were such a hodge-podge of sexual promiscuity, spiritual experiences, and homosexuality that all that could be deciphered was a break-down of the values which many people esteem.

Values change drastically in Stage Two, the Quest for Salvation, but achievement, defined as monetary success, was still not an objective in their lives. Drug experiences altered the trippers' values and norms drastically and posed social and medical problems. Goals shifted from work or gaining a higher education to an interest in personality development and growth. Peace of mind and a high degree of freedom were important goals voiced by the youth.

The next two segments of the paper will describe the sex and work roles of the trippers and the social relationships taken into account by the youth. The change of values and norms becomes apparent, especially in the area of sexual behavior.

Sex. It seems as though Americans are concerned with the control of emotional and sexual expression, but sexual freedom is a part of the drug culture - it's a part of being "cool." An informant remarked that "all you do in a commune is drugs, drink, eat, and sex."

The behavior pattern which was embedded in the data was the willingness to swap sexual partners, even with whom they were not acquainted. Sexual actions of the youths were very overt and fell under the heading, "anything goes." The sex act is expected in the drug users' society along with "all sorts of other perversions" which become a part of their culture. Sexual freedom is part of being "cool" and when "you're stoned and stuff, you kind of drop out of your conscience." In one commune there was two girls and nine boys; the two girls "experienced sex that one didn't even dream about." You'd go to bed with anyone in the commune who wanted you to." Since these young people have turned to Christianity, many of them remarked

about the deep psychological damage that was done because of their deviant sex acts and hoped that God would cleanse them of their deeds. More will be said about this in discussing Stage Two of the behavioral change.

The questions aimed at sexual freedom were in regard to sex being more acceptable while "tripping" and the amount of sexual promiscuity experienced. Two of the informants, a psychiatrist's daughter and a dentist's son, answered the questions thus:

Informant E: Sex is part of being "cool." It was always really a battle for me; I'd go do it and then I'd really condemn myself because I knew it was wrong. But then I'd justify it by thinking, ok, I'll just be "cool" for awhile. A lot of it is your peer group and when you're "tripping" - what the hell! You can hear that little voice but being stoned gives you more freedom.

Informant L: You can meet a person on the street, something like a hippie or a long-hair, and an hour later you can be in bed with her. I've never compared it with regular people, how do you do it? It's a lota fun - meeting people and being free enough that if you do want to go to bed that people agree on something and they do it. I mean, why not? I don't see why you should have to go through this date thing - have a drink and get to know each other and all this other stuff. Sometimes you just happen to want to go to bed and when you meet somebody else like that, I think it's really "cool." I don't think people should call girls whores because they want to go to bed a lot either. Lots of times these girls are Scorpios.

Homosexuality was common among the trip-to-trip group and could be termed another "sort of perversion" that was mentioned previously by an informant. The youths claim they no longer have homosexual tendencies since becoming Christians.

The effect of doing drugs on sexual activity was discussed by the informants. Marijuana was preferred over alcohol for its relaxing and uninhibiting effects. LSD, also, produces a loss of inhibition and there have been reports that mescaline tends either to enhance or depress interest in sexual intimacy. In addition to substantial changes in sexual values and norms, the youths expressed altered views of the work ethic which will be discussed subsequently.

Work. To participate in this trip-to-trip society, one must not work unless it is really necessary. The philosophy of the group is expressed in one youth's statement: "I'm going out to the woods and live on the land." Many high school youth interviewed were given enough money by their affluent parents to facilitate their acceptance of the drug culture; one person would always have money and would provide drugs for the others. "Marijuana just made me not care, really," was an often heard observation. The peer group's disapproval of those who worked was a related reason for the young people to "push" drugs and to steal "anything I could get my hands on." The younger group, those in high school, would "push" drugs to their friends and there was "always something around" which enabled them to do everything from marijuana to heroin.

An acceptable way for the out-of-high school group to earn "bread" was to open a small shop and become a merchant - but only if it was necessary.

Informant F: There's a cool way that you can do these things - there's a cool way that you can have a job and still be part of the drug culture. If you at least pretend that you're detached from the job, a free person, it is permissible to earn bread. What it is is kind of a reversed kind of pride. You must be humble and peaceful. It becomes

very, very shallow because at many points you're just screaming inside yourself.

The 40 hour per week job was mentioned by many of the informants and they "didn't want any part of it," but they "felt empty, had a need, and drugs seemed to fulfill that need." Joining a commune and depending on others was a way to get out of work and deeper into the drug scene. The drug abuser values his drugs and his experiences much more than performing roles and tasks for which he was socialized. All of the trippers I contacted tended to value self-fulfillment in aesthetic and religious pursuits much more than work role performance, a finding similar to Blum's.¹⁸ The lack of interest in conventional role performance is described by an informant who was on "speed."

Informant K: Drugs really make a guy lazy. I really liked mechanics and now I don't care about that anymore. After I was on drugs for a while, I was really hyper -- I could go 36 hours without any sleep and accomplish nothing. In fact, I couldn't sleep. I still have to be super tired before I can go to sleep. If I rest, I can't sleep the next night. I try to get tired or I lay for hours, worrying, which wasn't common before the drug scene.

The unwillingness-to-work syndrome is related to the change of value orientation from traditional society to becoming involved with new values and norms. As will be seen in later analyses of "Turning-On," the trip-to-trip group values hedonistic and religious self-fulfillment just as the larger society values health and effective role performance.

¹⁸Richard H. Blum, Utopiates: The Use and Users of LSD-25 (New York: Atherton Press, 1966), p. 103.

In a social-psychological sense, traditional American ideals were to be "able to lead an alert, intelligent life: the most urgent task the destruction of spontaneous, impulsive enjoyment, the most important means was to bring order into the conduct of its adherents."¹⁹ The drug society's rejection of productivity as a measure of personal worth compares favorably with contemplative mysticism, which is not at all prone to "proving one's faith in wordly activity;"²⁰ nor would it accomplish any "rational transformation of the mundane order on the basis of a methodical pattern of life directed toward external success."²¹ The forms of behavior that are sanctioned in the dominant society are reversed in the drug society. Work is negatively sanctioned unless necessary, while religious experience is highly valued. Again, this shows how the drug society is exploring the opposite end of this and other continuum positions occupied by the larger American society.

Behavioral rules are an integral part of the drug abusers' society. The norms of the drug society can be understood only with reference to the relationship of the group to a surrounding dominant society. An analysis of this phenomenon will follow.

Rules and Role

It has been established that the normative system of the trip-to-trip group is counter to many norms of the larger society, especially

¹⁹Max Weber The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, trans. Talcott Parsons (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958), p. 119.

²⁰Ibid., p. 121.

²¹Max Weber Sociology of Religion, trans. E. Fischhoff (Boston: Beacon Press, 1963), p. 176.

concerning drug use. (This will be expanded to a greater degree in the "Turning-On" section of the thesis.) Within the larger society it is considered deviant behavior to be sexually free, to take illegal drugs, to be anti-goal oriented, and to choose religious experience over effective role performance. The conflict between the traditional and the drug-using cultures can be described through the conceptions each has of the other. For example, one informant conceived "straight society" as hypercritical with respect to drug use: "What do you think of people who are going down the highway after having a few beers? Do they want out? I'll bet they're enjoying it." While traditional society tends to view drug users as a bunch of "dope freaks," the latter consider straights to be dishonest and two-faced. Without much question it can be said that each conceives of the other in derogatory terms.

The term trippers is here used to refer to members of the trip-to-trip group. They are characterized by bizarre dress, long hair, drug use, swearing and dropping out in ways already mentioned.

Informant E: Dress - that's very important. Jeans, long hair - that was a rule. You had to dress apart from the social order. We had to rebel. You really got to rebel; be open and swear a lot. Swearing becomes a part of you. Swearing is rebellion. The competition was terrible; more intense. Much more.

Another informant described rules and role this way:

Informant G: There were rules from dress to drugs. It was founded on role playing. Someone pointed out in a Christian magazine how doing acid is no different than your 45 year old man who sits in front of the boob tube every night. It's much the same kind of thing. You associate with what goes on there on the tube and in drugs you do much the same thing - you project yourself into so many situations. You play them out. You act them out. You're doing instead of just sitting

there. It's like a sport. Instead of observing some sport, you're acting it out.

It isn't only dealing in drugs, but the competition to be super cool, you know, and you have to dress a certain way -- the dirtiest clothes you can find -- and you have to be stoned so much of the time, and you have to be able to play mind games with stoned people so people would look up to you. You don't realize how much it is a part of you until you are into yourself. Until you are freed of it. This is an important sociological aspect of Jesus Christ.

Another rule described by an informant was in regard to acceptance.

Informant H: Another thing about the counter culture; the biggest thing they started out with is in this culture anybody can do anything and be accepted. But boy, I'll tell you, you cut your hair and get a job - you're not accepted - not at all. You're so put down. You might think you're free but you're really bound.

The norms found embedded in the above descriptions pertain to sexual freedom, dress, long hair, drug usage, playing the role of a tripper and swearing. The norms can be understood by reference to those in the larger culture, a point noted in the preceding paragraphs.

Another interesting phenomenon is the norm pertaining to the distribution of drugs. Drug distribution is encouraged, while the sale of substances falsely purported to be drugs is also sanctioned as can be seen by the following description:

Interviewer: How did you get money to care for your habit?

Informant N: Selling guitars, or anything I could get my hands on - TV's.

Interviewer: Where did you get these items?

Informant N: From people's houses. Another good way to make money is to make your own heroin

out of milk sugar or just plain salt and sell it to people that don't know what they're buying. That's mostly what we did. It's called "burning" people - just selling it to them and then just worrying about whether they are going to beat you up. You can buy catnip and just put seeds in it and sell it for pot - it's pretty easy. That's a good way.

Interviewer: Did you sell it for a good price?

Informant N: Yah. You can do it with anything. We took capsules of instant coffee and made mescaline out of it cause mescaline looks like instant coffee -- I sold enough of that! You sell it to people that are really young and are just getting into drugs and so you help them and you make money at the same time.

By "helping them," the informant meant that he wasn't actually giving them drugs, therefore, they wouldn't become physically or psychologically addicted. He also reported that this was done "pretty often" by the group.

The question was then asked if they ever tired of playing the role of the drug "freak." The answers by the following informants formed a basic pattern described by the youths generally.

Informant B: One day I just grew up. I didn't want it anymore. I just felt like I was old. I thought I just can't take that anymore. It was while I was on acid that I was going through a "bummer." The night before I had "tripped" and decided that I wanted to get off better so I did a double dose. We are our own chemists, you know. I figured that if I took that much that I would really get off good, but I really got bummed out.

Interviewer: Did you have fear?

Informant B: Yah, yah. I got to the point that I was just so lost that I couldn't talk to anybody. I was just totally freaked out. It was like picture frames, you know. You'd look at somebody and everything is so

jittery and you would try to say something and it just wouldn't come out. You would try to be nice to a person and it just wouldn't come out because you aren't there. I was at a point, I was with another friend, and we were both so lost, you know, that we didn't know what to do. We didn't know how to get things back together.

Interviewer: Did you fear for your life?

Informant B: I thought I would never come back alive. I think that the realization of where I was was through God.

The dropping out phenomenon has been discussed at length and leaves no doubt that a counter culture developed into a distinctive way of life with values and norms of its own. It is an extreme group that, as Becker reported, develops a full-blown ideology explaining why they are right and why those who disapprove of and punish them are wrong. ²²

SUMMARY

The small minority of youth who dropped-out of the larger society had the unique characteristics of a counter culture and were named the trip-to-trip culture to distinguish them from members of other counter cultures. The trippers wanted to abolish the old pattern of society, yet saw no need to create a better world. Many aspects of behavior pertaining to the sociology of alienation, mysticism, drug experiences, and communitarian experiments were noted in the counter culture and described as "Dropping Out" phenomena. They will be described more fully in the "Turning On" section of the report.

²²Howard S. Becker, Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1963), p. 3.

Other-directedness, or peer influence, was the most influential element in the trip-to-trip group. Peer pressure played a role in membership in the group and peer suggestion was a dominant factor in their dropping out.

Living in a technological society was viewed in a negative way by the trippers. They were aware of the tensions born of disorganization, privation, and injustice. Rebellion was a standard way of displaying their displeasure. Withdrawal from the mainstream society was akin to an expressive movement with no goals or objectives. The attitude of not choosing a career had implications with regard to the kinds of behavior displayed toward traditional actions. The emphasis on personal revelation and personal consciousness exhibited the importance of the willingness of the trippers to try new things. The openness of the youths had its greatest effect along peer-group lines.

Values and goals of the larger society are contradicted by the trip-to-trip group. The small society has rejected the achievement value as having no meaning, with peace of mind and a high degree of freedom taking precedence.

The dropping out phenomenon is significant in the process of change in behavior. "Dropping out" and "turning on" are almost simultaneous occurrences. The trippers continued to reformulate their personalities through drug experiences which will be described in the "Turning On" section of the report. "Turning On" is especially significant for the correlation of one trip to another via the vehicle of drugs - a central topic of this report.

TURNING ON

Introduction

As was said, dropping out and turning on occur almost simultaneously, which is the reason they weren't presented as two stages. With the merging of the counter culture with the drug culture, the trip-to-trip culture evolved. This section of the study describes the trip-to-trip culture and, at times, compares it to the larger counter culture. The drug abusers who were interviewed were drop-outs from the dominant society and "turning on" was an integral part of their life style. Members of this small, minority group are known as the drug "freaks," and it was common for them to designate themselves as such. To "turn on" is to use a drug and to get into the new scene; a drug "freak" is an individual for whom drug usage has become a regular occurrence and has been used in excess - in many instances every day.

Both a social and a medical problem arose within the group. The social problem was explained to a degree in the discussion of the dropping out phenomenon, where it was shown to result from a clash between values and moral standards of the drug users and the non-drug users. The social problem will be expanded in this portion of the report and the medical problem will be sketched. The medical problem emerges when drug usage produces injury to the health or to the mental well-being of the user. Informants' descriptions of their attempts at suicide, their psychoses, and their torment will be introduced to document the subjective reality of the medical problem.

If Roszak's proposition is accepted ("[If] the counter culture is, essentially, an exploration of the politics of consciousness, then psychedelic experience falls into place as one, but only one, possible method of mounting that exploration"),²³ the drug experience must be understood in terms of using chemical means to achieve a greater psychic end. The observed group was in the process of attempting to inflate the psychedelics to the size of an entire culture. Their version of "mind expansion" was the method by which they were reformulating their personalities and establishing what and where people were in their society. Self-identity emerges, as Mead has illustrated, by an individual becoming "an object to himself by taking on the attitudes of other individuals toward himself within a social environment or context of experience and behavior in which both he and they are involved."²⁴ Because the group is other-directed, the social identity of a drug user is greatly influenced by the others present and the experiences of the user are validated and interpreted by the others no less than by the user. The psychedelic experience develops self-fulfillment through a deeper understanding of self and other people. The empirical existence of the experiences which the young people reported cannot be questioned. It is true that their experiences may seem unreal or highly subjective but, assuming even a modicum of personal credibility in their accounts of behavior, they have certainly had experiences which I found to be empirically predictable and verifiable. Their vivid re-telling of these drug

²³ Roszak, op. cit., p. 156.

²⁴ Mead, op. cit., p. 138.

experiences revealed that these young users, rather than achieving self-fulfillment, enslaved themselves to the various chemicals.

Bondage

The group of young drug users who had not yet turned to Christianity was in the bondage of drugs²⁵ either physically or psychologically-- sometimes both. The various desires to "search," "escape," get "kicks," achieve "highs," and "find self" through mind expanding drugs became common experiences. The tendency of the group to seek chemical solutions only exacerbated their problems. In the words of one user:

Informant C: It's an awful bondage. There was no way out for me. Even when I quit using drugs over a period of time, like my mind was so messed up that I was stoned 24 hours a day without having to use drugs. Like grass is supposed to last about 4 hours and I would be stoned for 4 days on some grass because I really was in bondage to it - I was totally lost. I was so mixed up that I didn't think I'd ever gain my right mind back again.

The informants remembered the euphoria or the "high" that the drugs afforded and all thought in terms of gaining this "high" again. Roszak made this comment about the definition of addiction:

Whether or not marijuana, LSD, and amphetamines are addictive remains a moot point - largely because of the ambiguity of the term "addiction." Are fingernails addictive? We all know people who bite them constantly and compulsively. Is chess addictive? There are players who will go without food or drink rather than abandon the board. Where does the dependency of compulsive fascination leave off and addiction begin?²⁶

²⁵See Appendix I for information on the various drugs used by the group and the implications of the used drugs on mind and body.

²⁶Theodore Roszak, op. cit., p. 160.

Bondage and addiction are similar characteristics as will be seen in the informants' descriptions. One informant's remark that "at first we tried to control the intake of drugs but pretty soon we didn't care anymore," is indicative of the bondage to drugs. Yet, as Roszak pointed out in the above statement, there remains the question, where does addiction begin?

An informant who had had over 300 LSD trips explained bondage thus:

Informant G (the daughter of a high school counselor): I think I spent 299 trips trying to redo the first trip. The first time I dropped LSD, it was really fun. I still remember that night as a really fun night. Maybe it was because I was with a girl that I liked; we didn't have communication problems and we were just sort of exploring what it was and we laughed and laughed and it was really fun. I wanted to find this love and I couldn't find it anywhere. What I was doing was literally killing myself.

Another type of bondage was described by thinking the trip would always be better. This young man was on heroin.

Informant H: I was enjoying heroin. I think that enjoyment is always there because it's always better -- it's better the next "hit" or you think it's going to be. After awhile I could see that my mentality, my power, was being destroyed. I couldn't hold onto myself any longer. I was just falling apart and I still took another "hit."

One cannot interpret a clear difference between the psychological and physical addictiveness by comparing the above two reports. The informants were as much in bondage to marijuana and LSD as they were to heroin. An informant's observation, that "all drugs are hard drugs when used in excess," refers to a truism in the drug abuser's society.

The trip-to-trip group described several effects of drug usage that they experienced. Apathy, mind expansion, and "kicks or highs" are the features described in the next three segments of the paper. The process and renewal of psychic life are a behavioral response of the trippers. The process of forming a religious self starts to become evident in the following pages of the report. The essential core of the trippers' religion may be found in the mystical consciousness and direct experience with the supernatural which will be described in the above-mentioned segments but will be delved into in greater depth in Stage Two, Christianity.

Apathy

Misuse of drugs allows the users to evade goal orientation by escaping from themselves. To postpone until later the "get up and go" motivation of the larger society is common among the group. Indifference is not characteristic of the larger counter group but is a familiar trait amidst the trip-to-trip group. The latter group, because of its inability to cope with the social demands of modern life, has taken an apathetic stance toward the features explained in the preceding discussion of "Dropping Out."

An informant from a middle class family who had tripped on LSD "three or four or five hundred" times described his indifference:

Informant B: I know it affected a lot of my ways. I started getting really irresponsible; I just quit caring about anything. I didn't care what was happening. At first we tried to control it, doing it once a week because of this thing about chromosomes, but pretty soon I didn't care anymore.

Indifference, or apathy, is a form of alienation. Alienation seems to grow as apathy increases into a psychological malaise while the youth attempt to satisfy themselves. In the "Dropping Out" section, it was shown that the counter group dropped out because of various factors such as societal dissatisfaction. The "Turning-On" section showed the trip-to-trip youths to be different in the respect that the youth do not care anymore because of drug abuse. An informant, when asked if dope had anything to do with not caring, answered:

Informant E: Oh yah, that was everything. Marijuana just made me not care, really. I just didn't face reality -- it's true, you really don't. You're very apathetic about everything. Like this close friend of mine, she was really flipped out about school; she always wanted to get good grades and stuff. I just couldn't understand that, you know. It just didn't seem important.

This is a polar opposite of the inner-directedness in "old" middle class society in Riesman's typology. "The puritan inner-directed man was made to feel as if he had constantly to hold on to himself; that without ceaseless vigilance he would let go and drift -- on the assumption that one can let go if one wills or, rather, if one stops willing. . . . In fact, the inner-directed person testifies to his unconscious awareness that his gyroscope is not his but is installed by others through his chronic fear that it will stop spinning, that he is really not a self-starter, that life itself is not a process and renewal but an effortful staving off of psychic death."²⁷ The inner-directed man justifies his existence by what he has done and what he will do. This is not true of the other-directed person who

²⁷Reisman, op. cit., p. 124.

is freer, friendlier and is uncertain of himself and his values. Objects, events, and values that were held in high esteem by the "old" middle class WASP are not necessarily characteristic of the "new" middle class American. The other-directed persons of the group needed to be liked by their peers, especially in the quality of their inner experiences, and this is a process and renewal of psychic life. It seems probable that, because of these facts, the search for psychic experiences through drugs could be a logical behavioral response. The trip-to-trip group is indifferent to the American values concerning good health and effective role-performance. Their symbolic universe which includes apathy is a social reality. Apathy is a part of a different form of life, a life which they believe is in the process of becoming better. "Letting go" and "drifting," which the inner-directed fought against, are transformed by the trip-to-trip group into desired and esteemed behaviors. Besides apathy, the youths sought means of escape to evade the goal orientation of the larger culture.

Search and Escape

The trippers wanted to find fulfillment through some way of escape. A common response to the question, "Do you think dope helped you search?," was:

It really taught me a lot. It was just an experience and it made me grow up really quick.

An existentialist view that an individual can find himself only within and by himself is not favorably regarded by the other directed group. The others play a big role in the search for fulfillment and the escape

from the life of the dominant society. Because the trip-to-trip group chose other directedness, the self-image and what others' think of him became extraordinarily important. Cooley's concept of the "looking glass self" suggests "that the imaginations which people have of one another are the solid facts of society, and that to observe and interpret these must be a chief aim of sociology."²⁸ In short, the search rests upon (and must be understood in terms of) these facts of self and others, and a kind of rebirth through drug experiences is noted by the trip-to-trip group. The group had a life style with which they were satisfied.

Informant E: There are some people who just are really conscious of their search and what their fate is and are not just in it because it's neat or because it feels good. They're in it for that too but they really are heavy searchers.

Another informant described the search for human relationship:

Informant L: I think to be fair, you know to ourselves and to anyone else, young people that are into drugs, I think is part of their search for meaning and relationship with other people, or a relationship with God - I think this is the real basis for trying drugs. We tried to break through the normal barriers that we had between God and drugs -- the formal relationships like hand shakes and the kinds of formalized ways we said things to each other. I really think that people that have had drugs has possibly something to do with this. There really isn't any reason for doing that and it really worked around into doing your own thing deal. Your chances are greater with spiritual aid and happiness. An inner starvation is why so many are searching. Drugs helped them to obtain this happiness.

A leading sociologist, Orrin Klapp, argues that youth lack a symbolic self-reference to be found in "ritual for emotional

²⁸ Charles Horton Cooley, Human Nature and the Social Order (New York: Schocken Books, 1964), p. 121.

intensification and self-definition, which contribute to the sense of emptiness in modern life."²⁹ This is another reason, it appears to me, that the youth were seeking emotional gratification and self-fulfillment in the drug scene. As one youth said, . . . "it's not just finding happiness in drugs but it is finding it in the Lord." It is the feeling they have from their religious experiences while tripping that they were able to get out of the drug scene and are feeling a new kind of happiness. A new kind of search begins which will be taken up in the discussion of Stage Two. For the moment, a review of the characteristics of the youths' drug-induced mind-expanding experiences will underline a major influence in the process of their adoption of a new religiosity.

Mind Expansion

A sociology of drugs usage, especially with regard to the trip-to-trip group, would be insignificant without an overview of the drug abusers' experiences. The desire for an alternative form of reality and for a fullness of life's experiences are inclinations which perhaps contributed to the use of illegal drugs. From the brief resume given in "Drug Information,"³⁰ an assumption can be made that illegal drugs are pleasure-giving to some degree. All such drugs affect the mind and body. The effects that the youth experienced enabled them to discover fairly fast that drug dependency was "blowing" their minds and that they needed a socially acceptable way out of the drug scene.

²⁹Orrin E. Klapp, Collective Search for Identity, (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1969), p. 20.

³⁰See Appendix I.

Christianity was the mode they chose. Although the information claimed fleeting benefits from heroin, cocaine, and the barbiturates, using these chemicals led nowhere but to a real fear for mind and body. In contrast, it was through the usage of the psychedelics (LSD, mescaline, peyote, and psilocybin) that the users had searching experiences which helped some to achieve religious enlightenment. Value of life itself became important and was a determining factor which guided the youth to live a more worthwhile life as defined by Christianity. The recognition that the quality of life under drugs was low and degrading, the mysticism involved in drug usage, and the terrible fears the youth felt were forces which contributed to trying a Christian way out of the drug scene. (More will be related about this aspect in Stage Two in regard to Christianity). These facts are segments of the trip-to-trip thesis that the mystico-religious experiences had by the youths while using drugs were the vehicle to Christianity, and without them the trip-to-trip group would not be a reality. There is little doubt that a search for fulfillment via the usage of drugs reformulated personalities, for behavior patterns revealed by the informants while abusing drugs are distinct from the behavior patterns revealed after becoming Christians.

This segment of the report will describe the illegal drugs and the amount used. The experiences while on drugs will be delineated in a later portion of the thesis. The other-directed-expressive theoretical orientation is embedded in the data.

The daughter of a counselor described drug abuse in the following manner:

Informant G: I met my cousin and he was smoking marijuana and he told me it was really different - really opened your mind and that you could play with your mind. I thought gee, maybe that's a way out and I started smoking grass and immediately started on drugs (sophomore in high school). It's a tool of the enemy, that's what it is. I knew what I wanted and I was having fun and had met someone who was searching. All my other friends were on the cheer leader thing which I completely rejected. I ended up doing drugs until last year (about 6 years). I tried everything.

Interviewer: What do you mean by trying everything?

Informant G: Well, I "popped" LSD over 300 times, and used lotsa marijuana and hash, speed, and cocaine. The LSD they're selling now isn't pure. What they're making now is made from strychnine and with speed. After a few times of doing this, I started having backaches. I also drank about a pint of whiskey a day toward the end of my taking drugs and before I became a Christian.

A young man from a lower middle class family talked about drugs and the mind?

Informant H: You really refrain from a lota things like, well, you are conscious of yourself, it's really an ego thing. You worry about things like when you were a kid, little quirks you have, you could really see it like it really is. I really could see some things that were wrong through drugs. They were magnified and that's why you see so many young people rejecting these things because of the drugs - they're really magnified.

Interviewer: Did you ever smoke pot?

Informant H: Uh huh, every day, every hour of the day. If I didn't have anything to do I had a "J" in my hand.

Interviewer: What other drugs did you use?

Informant H: I've tried LSD a bunch of times. I started speed when I was in the service

on guard duty. It kept me awake. I wouldn't get much sleep sitting around smoking and just carrying on with the other guys and like we'd have to go out on guard duty and wouldn't get any sleep so we'd drink speed - they had it in bottles. It was for losing weight but it passes with a pretty good punch.

Interviewer: Did you notice a decrease in your appetite and weight?

Informant H: Uh huh. I noticed this especially when I started heroin.

Interviewer: How often did you shoot heroin?

Informant H: Quite a lot. I got so heavily into pot that it was just like a cigarette, you know. I wasn't getting anything out of it -- a little buzz once in awhile if I slacked off for 3 or 4 hours. I reached out for something more powerful.

Interviewer: Explain your experience while on heroin.

Informant H: I was sick the first time I tried it. I really got sick but after that, well, I can't analyze it as a high feeling like pot would give you, or any other high. It's like everything was just numbed out. I felt like I didn't have a body at all. I felt weight, like I was carrying a lot of weight, so I did most of my tripping on heroin on the ground or just lying down somewhere. I just wasn't thinking. I just couldn't dwell on a thought too long. It's really hard to explain the feeling. Physically, it was really something because of the "rushes," like if you would just move a muscle your blood pressure would push right to your brain and you would get so sick. You adapt yourself to the "rushes" and to the really high feeling.

An upper-class couple who dropped out and lived in a commune with their son (they turned him on when he was 2 1/2 years old) for five years took mostly marijuana and LSD. Drugs were a "part of [their] growth or search for meaning in life." LSD "gives you a sort of a different vision of the world."

Interviewer: How often did you smoke pot?

Informant L: Well, we started out pretty quickly smoking it several times a week and before we quit we were smoking it several times a day - we were pretty much stoned all of the time.

Interviewer: Why did you smoke so much marijuana?

Informant L: Well, our vision of it now, you think it's going to give you some answers to the needs you have. There's a need for love and a need for God. Of course, you can't find this by smoking marijuana and so you try something more powerful so that you can have a much more accelerated journey, wherever you're going.

Interviewer: What did you do for your accelerated trip?

Informant L: Mostly LSD. We did it frequently and over a period of several years. It makes you more sensitive. It's like a big ego trip; it just blows your mind right up and consequently you are tied to drugs.

This couple has a Christian commune in Missoula at the present time. Their life style has changed from the "long-haired drug trip" where they "couldn't find freedom in drugs" to a "fellowship with Christians." It was a painful experience for them to relive the drug scene. I realized this when the informant said, "God, it is really hard for us to go back and relive old times." Although they felt it was good for them to remember where they came from, it became obvious that belief in the Lord brought them back from nowhere land.

The other forty informants' reports were comparable to those of the above three. All were heavy drug abusers and all had trip-to-trip experiences.

The experiences in mind expansion and the resulting adoption of Christianity can be considered as essentially two kinds: 1) the psychedelic drug experience and the mysticism involved, and 2) the confrontation of death and the fear occurrence. Becker writes that . . .

One self-justifying rationale or ideology which unites the users is a mystical interpretation of the psychedelic experience and social reality. Mysticism functions as both an interpretative scheme and a normative structure, maintaining the drug experience as a social reality for the user, as well as strategic rhetoric for the justification of drug use.³¹

On the other hand, Koestler argues that . . .

Experience originates in the face of the ultimate nada. The confrontation with death changes the mystic's self." . . . the groundwork for a change in personality was completed.³²

In the trip-to-trip group, the loss of the mundane self in the mystical experience is a death that produces a changed person in its rebirth. Christianity is a reality by which the young people felt cleansed and were reborn into a better person. This renewal will be examined more fully in Stage Two when the youth talk about their experiences as having been religious or supernatural -- especially with their descriptions of the demonic experiences. The drug users studied attributed their adoption of a renewed, christian life to the strong influence of their drug-induced mystico-religious experiences.

³¹ Becker, op. cit., p. 38.

³² A. Koestler, The Invisible Writing (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1954), pp. 352-353.

"Kicks" or "Highs"

Many of the youth linked their assimilation with the counter group with "fun," "kicks" or "highs." One could state that without feeling some benefit from drug usage, the drugs would not have been continued and therefore doing drugs for the fun involved is not as significant in analyzing the trip-to-trip group as their mystico-religious experiences. This distinction is worth mentioning because many informants talked about the "fun" had while tripping but such responses would be more significant in describing the occasional drug user or the week-end user. The trip-to-trip group were drug abusers who liked euphoria, orgasmic perceptions, or a high feeling. Their strong desire to expand the senses was conducive to their continuing the use of drugs. It was heavy abuse, a physical or psychological dependence, that caused the youth to search for a way out of the drug scene after having mystical and fearful experiences.

In the beginning of the drug scene, life was a party and as one informant said, "You have so much fun on your first trip that you trip 299 more times to try and recover the experience." Most of the informants tried to control their intake at first but continuing the drugs caused an "I don't care" attitude. One informant described how he became a "speed freak."

Informant B: I did speed a few times in Michigan but when I went out to California I met up with J_____ and I lived with him and another friend from high school. He really got into speed. He was running it and he would preach it and praise it and let you know how great it is, you know. I always tried to stay away from the needle so I just did the dexedrines. We would be up 3 or 4 days at a time. They'd route it or do dexedrines too.

Another informant took drugs for "kicks" and then:

Informant b: When I first went on drugs, I just wanted to try them for "kicks" but I kept on doing them for a couple of years. I can't do math now and I can't comprehend what I read; I just don't retain anymore. I don't feel I could get through college now.

Another informant described his similar difficulty with learning:

Informant n: After I got off drugs, it was really hard for me to learn. I had to be told three or four time before I could remember anything. I really couldn't concentrate. Before I took drugs and was in school, they could tell me something once and I could remember. After I took drugs, I flunked chemistry twice and when I'd play the guitar, I would play three notes and couldn't remember the fourth.

This was a common experience, essentially starting drugs for fun and the subsequent feeling that they could not learn as well or as quickly after abusing drugs.

In order to understand another facet of the drug culture two terms used, "to burn" and "burned-out" should be distinguished from each other. They have completely different connotations. "To burn" means selling a "drug" to people under false pretenses. The so-called "drug" might be milk sugar, catnip, or instant coffee and sold for a good price. Many of the informants sold such pseudo-drugs to make money for their habit. To be "burned-out" is completely different. This is a feeling, as described by the informants, of being unable to think, make decisions, or retain thoughts as well as they did before consuming drugs. A regularly shared fear was that of being burned-out. The informants felt they "needed their intelligence" and although they weren't "overly concerned for losing control," they were afraid of damaging their minds.

More research should be done on this aspect of drug usage. If what the informants feel is true, documenting mind damage could be one of the most important break-throughs that scientists could make in regard to drugs and their effect on the mind to determine, if in fact, the damage is permanent.

Taking drugs because it was the "hip" thing to do was the beginning, in many instances, of addiction. An informant remarked:

Informant j: I took it because it was the "hip" thing to do and it was fun. Then I couldn't get along without it.

The search for kicks or a high in many situations was followed by a search for a "better high" through using harder drugs. It was not uncommon for the informants to remark: "If I hadn't tried pot, I wouldn't have gone on to other drugs." This immediately arouses the fear that if a person finds marijuana so attractive then he is prone to further drug abuse. Most marijuana smokers do not progress to stronger substances. Some, such as the trippers, do. It would appear that the trippers had an emotional need to seek other kinds of drugs and to try them repetitively. There is a vast difference between "potheads," the category the trippers fit into, and the occasional marijuana user. It must be remembered that the trip-to-trip group was a small minority and their experiences caused from drug abuse were reality to them.

The search for a fulfilling life by abusing drugs gave way to psychological and physical fears, the subject which will be analyzed in the next segment of this report of the trip-to-trip group.

Courting Death

The preceding analysis reveals how the trip-to-trippers engaged in behavior which is antithetical to the American values of good health and effective role-performance. The users' own reports make it clear that fear of dying from drug usage is for them a social reality. Fear establishes a need for a means of escape from the drug scene. Because of the mystic experiences introduced by drugs, Christianity becomes, for some, a way and means to avoid occasioning drug abuse. Death is inevitable and dying is a part of life, however, coping with death when one has just begun to live is an experience few youth have encountered. There is very little sociological literature on the attitudes toward dying while young. Bernstein and Dana noted that the teen-ager understands the meaning of death, but may find it difficult to accept personal death.³³ My data show that young drug abusers become acutely aware of courting death and that when they reflect on their risky behavior, they tend to feel terribly afraid of its probably deadly consequences.

Drug education is far from adequate. I believe that in many instances youth would not have achieved the courting death syndrome if they had been properly educated in regard to drug abuse. They learn from their peers and it is probable that information is misconstrued in many instances. An informant was asked:

Interviewer: Is there anything you can tell me about drugs that might be helpful to others?

³³ Lewis Bernstein and Richard H. Dana, Interviewing and the Health Professions (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1970), p. 159.

Informant N: Well, I wouldn't recommend using a needle that anyone else did, or if your methedrine has turned to jelly, I wouldn't use it either. Never cook it down because your valves turn to jelly. Never use hot water 'cause it clots your blood. That's just about it.

This information is true as far as it is carried out. The youth, until they turned Christian, never mentioned facts that should be known about drugs and their incapacitating properties. They found out the hard way -- when they courted death itself.

There are various references to death in this report. A body without a mind awaiting rebirth, contemplation of suicide, and mental torment caused by "freak-outs" and "flashbacks" are factors included in the courting death segment of the youths' experiences. In other words, many felt one must die to be reborn. "Death," accordingly, is a necessary condition for rebirth but, alas!, not a sufficient one.

Psychoses

A common declaration in the various reports about drugs read for this thesis is that "they'll make you crazy." This declaration should be changed to a more realistic conclusion: drugs may make you temporarily crazy. Many studies which have been done on LSD agree that the drug produces a psychotic-like state which is frightening to the drug user. Depersonalization, dissociation and delusions are symptoms of mental illness and serve as models to delineate experiences while under the influence of drugs.

Depersonalization was noted in the informants' talk. Guttman and Maclay defined it as a subjective condition in which the patient feels that he is no longer himself.³⁴

An example of depersonalization was a symptom in the following account:

Informant D: I had an awful lot of these experiences. I went by this mirror in the hallway where I was and I thought my throat was cut. The whole night I thought I was dead and I kept screaming over and over that I was dead. I remember when I was going into this thing, just at the beginning of the trip, I'd look at the guys and their voices would change and their appearance would change.

Dissociation is closely related to depersonalization. Cohen defined dissociation as a selective change in consciousness so that ordinary waking consciousness is markedly altered.³⁵ Amnesiac dissociation and a splitting of selves were both noted in the stories of the informants. For example:

Informant B: I got to the point that I was just so lost that I couldn't talk to anybody. I was just totally freaked out. It was like I was in a picture frame, you know, looking out and trying to say something and it just wouldn't come out because you aren't there. I was so lost and didn't know what to do. I didn't know how to get things back together. I thought, what can I do? Shall I kill myself? Is this the only way out of it? It was just so horrible and finally I just laid down and then my friend tried to talk to me and every time there would be such a clash, you know, we just couldn't relate. After awhile, I went for a walk and I passed out because everything was

³⁴E. Guttman and W.S. Maclay, "Mescaline and Depersonalization," Journal of Neurology and Psychopathology, XVI (1936), p. 194.

³⁵Cohen, op. cit., p. 13.

going all over the place and I was so weak. I just laid there. Then, all of a sudden I started remembering who I really was. These things that would sound familiar, places that should be familiar, but I couldn't remember why. Why do I know these things? T_____, yah, yah, and I would be someplace else. Then I started remembering, way back then, I did some acid, and I did some grass, and I did some opium, and I did some of this and that and it seemed like ages ago and I thought, oh, that's what caused this. I started coming back and remembering things.

Delusions of persecution were common among the trip-to-trip group. Stockings found that drug intoxication can be accompanied by the presence of morbid suspiciousness and often of fully developed delusions and ideas of reference.³⁶

Informant D: I think I was having trouble with demons. It was like demons of suicide and things like this. I know I had demons. There was a pain in the back of my neck - it was like there was something back there and whatever this thing was, I don't know if it was a demon in me or what, but it was just like it represented death. I can't explain it but this thing did represent death. It's real heavy and a real scary thing. I went to Pastor D_____ and told him about this thing in the back of my neck and explained to him that it was death, that's all it was.

There are many instances of similar descriptions of psychotic experiences. I have been using reported examples of drug psychoses to show how they are experienced as specific mental illness symptoms. It is granted that there may be technical differences between drug induced psychoses and mental illness, per se, but it is a reality that the youth felt that they "were going crazy" and their accounts

³⁶T. Stockings, "Clinical Studies of the Mescaline Psychosis with Special Reference to the Mechanism of the Genesis of Schizophrenic and Other Disorders," Journal of Mental Sciences, LXXXVI, (1940), p. 29.

verified that there was a temporary psychosis to contend with. Many of the experiences were given mystico-religious interpretations and these will be talked about at length in Stage Two, "The Supernatural." The delineations of the various mental health illnesses indicate that they are valid models for understanding drug experiences and I found them helpful for analyzing the data. The mental problem was mentioned in various ways by over 90 percent of the informants. The other factors, such as suicide, "flashbacks," and "freaking out," will be reported on under separate headings in the next sections of the report.

Suicide. One form of psychosis displayed by a certain segment of the trippers was suicide. Suicide was not only thought of but was actually attempted by some of the informants. A young woman, 20 years old and a "smack freak," had tried suicide three times. She slashed her wrists two different times and cut her upper abdomen at another time. She wanted to "give up [her] life completely" and each time she attempted suicide she was having a "bad trip." An interesting point made by this young person was the fact that individuals in the commune stitched her up. Because of her addiction to heroin, they were afraid to take her to hospital or to a doctor for fear that it might involve the group of drug abusers that were living in the commune. Her description of attempted suicide follows:

Informant j: I had an over-dose of acid and I had a really bad trip. It hit me like a bomb in about ten minutes. Everybody's faces kept changing in shapes and colors. I felt like I was in hell. I knew I was in hell and I wanted to kill myself but I thought I was already dead. I would have killed myself if my boyfriend hadn't held me down. A lota times you will hear voices that tell you that things

will be better when you die. A lot of us were saved by walking with the Lord.

Another informant spent nine days in the hospital after a suicide attempt. He described his experience thus:

Informant D: I thought a lot about suicide because I was mixed up in my mind - my mind was so messed up. I didn't have any sense of size, or time or, like cars, I couldn't tell how fast or slow they were going. My mind was completely warped. I was hearing voices all of the time and I'm pretty sure that they were demonic. I was constantly hearing voices and there was one voice that came to me on trips that was always trying to tell me to commit suicide. It was just screaming at me all of the time. I just really lost my mind 'cause I was so scared. I just kinda hung on sometimes.

Interviewer: Did this happen more than once?

Informant D: Yah, a lot of times. I had a counselor at the time and I saw him about everyday sometimes to keep from doing it - for a long time.

Interviewer: Was this a school counselor?

Informant D: He was with the emergency service. It really helped because it kept me from doing these things - it suppressed the thing, you know. It didn't end it. They worked with the Open Door Clinic, although some people involved in it were on drugs. I started going there; I started spending all my time there and that's where I really got heavy into drugs. It was through the Open Door Clinic. They had an awful lot of drugs.

Durkheim observed that suicide can occur in a state of insanity. The special form of his typology which fits the above description of suicide attempt is manical suicide.

This form of suicide is due to hallucinations or delirious conceptions. The patient kills himself to escape from an imaginary danger or disgrace, or to obey a mysterious order from on high. . . . One state of mind is instantly replaced by another.

Such, too, are the motives of manical suicide; they appear, disappear, or change with amazing speed. The hallucination which suggests suicide suddenly occurs; the attempt follows; then instantly the scene changes, and if the attempt fails it is not resumed, at least, for the moment.³⁷

The informants' testimonies for suicidal attempt were devoid of any real motive but were determined by imaginary motives. The youth who contemplated suicide were prone to believe it was a way out of a horrible experience. Drugs possibly produced the homicidal tendencies in the youth but the terrible fear of death probably kept them from committing the actual act.

It becomes easy to recognize the need for community services such as the Crisis Center; for the people involved in such centers, among other accomplishments, try to talk the youth down from a trip. We need to realize that each life is an emergency and the "saving" justifies care and effort.

In addition to suicides many of the youth exhibited another form of psychosis, less serious than suicide, but nevertheless a frightening experience. This phenomenon, the flashback, is the subject of the next section of this report.

Flashbacks. Flashbacks are characteristic of the drug abuser. The "flashback" is a phenomenon that has not been satisfactorily explained by scientists. It is most commonly experienced by people who have used LSD or similar drugs repeatedly. "It consists of a sudden

³⁷ Emile Durkheim, Suicide: A Study in Sociology, trans. John A. Spaulding and George Simpson (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1951), p. 63.

recurrence, in the absence of further drug intake, of perceptual and emotional reactions similar to those which occurred during the drug experience.³⁸

Some of the informants claimed that flashbacks of bum trips brought them to the Lord. In some instances, they felt it was the Lord who caused them to flashback, thus bringing them to Him. Flashbacks of bum trips were such as the following:

Informant D: There were a whole bunch of things, like falling off bottomless cliffs and just being aware of the fact that I was falling down the side, you know, like it was actually happening and not being able to do anything about it, you know, just like going down this cliff for ever and ever. It was really a heavy trip. It was a flashback from this that brought me to the Lord.

During flashbacks, it is not uncommon to also feel suspicious of others. The eighteen year old that described the above flashback described this experience at the start of his flashback:

Informant D: All of a sudden I started going into this same trip, you know, and as soon as I felt the rushes coming on, I knew what was going to happen again. I just stood straight up and didn't say a word to the other kids but walked right out the door and started walking toward Shalom. Along the way it started getting worse and worse. I had a fear of having drugs slipped to me and I had just eaten before I had this flashback and I was wondering if I had been poisoned and I was going to Shalom just scared half-to-death; afraid that I was going to die before I got there. I knew it was a pretty messed up deal but I knew that it was like the Lord telling me that I had to choose which I wanted - Him or the drugs. So I got to Shalom and ran into this kid and I told him that I was having a flashback and that I was pretty sure that it was the Lord.

³⁸ Harold Kolant and Oriana Josseau Kolant, Drugs, Society and Personal Choice (Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press, 1969), p. 35.

The manager of Shalom talked to the young man and prayed with him. Upon awakening from a deep sleep, the youth decided that he "wouldn't touch drugs again." He had used drugs for three years but has not taken drugs for over a year. In fact, he reported that he had become a disciple for the Lord.

The terrifying fear of death brought on by adverse reaction to drugs symbolized much of the trip-to-trip movement for many of the young people. It was closely correlated with experiencing what is here conceived as "The Supernatural" in Stage Two of the movement, wherein informants are searching for something better away from the drug scene.

Flashbacks are a frightening experience because of loss of the individual's self-control. It is difficult during such an experience for an individual to be "talked down," but he can be reassured that he is having a flashback, thereby alleviating some of his torment. The flashback takes its course and, as some scientists believe, is a conditioned response to unrecognized environmental stimuli which are unconsciously associated with the perceptual changes during earlier drug experiences.³⁹ Another perceptual change described vividly by several of the youth was the panic state of "Freaking Out."

Freaking Out and Music. The informants reported that it is important to be in the "right state of mind" before taking a trip. If, in fact, the state of mind isn't correct, freaking-out is common. While tripping, the drugs might provoke a panic state or the onset of a psychotic reaction. This is commonly known as a "bum trip" or "freaking out" and can be overcome by "talking down" which is a differentiation

³⁹Ibid., p. 35.

from the above mentioned flashback. Many youth sought reassurance from sympathetic peers or from Shalom (when it was open) or from the Crisis Center. The panic state was probably triggered by the drug rather than caused by it in people with preexisting mental problems; in such instances it may, in fact, outlast the drug experience. Freaking out is a more mild form of psychosis. A person who was freaked-out and could be "talked down" was probably not in fear of going crazy, thus differentiating the experience from more psychotic ones. The "bum trip" or "freaking out" was accepted as a rare occasion of tripping.

Music in combination with drugs was a variable talked about which sometimes induced freaking out. An informant described her experience at a rock concert:

Informant E: I think it depends a lot on the person. For me, sometimes I would get squirrely, but then other times I would get stoned and it would be just a body stone and you just sit there and feel weird. Like I can remember once that I was sitting on the floor at a rock concert and I kept seeing things they were singing about and it felt so weird that I kept wanting to freak out. It depends a lot on what you are doing.

This young girl exhibited self-control and was probably with a peer group that gave her reassurance. A body stone is a physical intoxication which may be brought on by marijuana and is characterized by a rapid heart beat, increased respiration, and hunger (even though the stomach might be full).

It can be said, with a fair degree of validity, that what is happening in the music scene is like a macrocosm of the actual inward experiences of young people. The individuals get stoned and the music answers questions that everyone is wondering about. Informants remarked that they identified with music and musical groups when they said:

Informant B: Music had a lot to do with what I identified with. Like Neil Young, I don't know if it had anything to do with it but I really identified with Neil Young - the sorrow and the loneliness. (The musical group was Crosby, Stills, Nash, and Young).

Informant E: Music plays an integral part in a lot of growing up because once you're stoned and in that medium of music, all of these different people, like James Taylor, you know, you're searching and asking questions about nature and all sorts of different things about society and you find answers in the music.

Some of the informants found answers to their search through the medium of music and drugs while others freaked out. Yet drugs and rock music in their various forms supply the means of identification, the primary vehicles for conceptualization of meaning, and the impetus for living. Shepherd remarked that "When one is under the influence of drugs, rock music can appear to beat out colors and other sensory stimuli. The combination of music and drugs can cause one to alter ordinary attention patterns so that things are attended to differently."⁴⁰

The results of the combining of drugs and music are important in that they are shared, generally occur in a group situation, and give rise to the counter culture previously explained.

SUMMARY

I believe it would be legitimate to assume that there is in the observed youths' nature a resistance to technocracy. I perceived a deep feeling for a reemergence of a "Gemeinschaft" small group communality

⁴⁰William C. Shepherd, "Religion and the Counter Culture," Sociological Inquiry, 42:1, 1972, p. 7.

and a fierce disillusionment with American bureaucracies: governmental, educational, corporate, and military. I also think the data supports the assumption that such drastic changes, as have taken place since World War II, create an estrangement from the self, and generate a need for a new identity. The process of change was not smooth in the trip-to-trip group but was convulsive and explosive. It became a time of seeking self-fulfillment and freedom through a medium of counter culture and drugs -- an endeavor which failed miserably.

Other-directedness, and other perspectives fostered by the tripper's peer group, had remarkable power in shaping his behavior and in at least changing his personality. With the new identity came the assimilation of the individual into a group which stripped him of past values and flexibility. The individual behaved in a particular manner condoned by the others in the group and had to achieve and preserve the uniqueness of his situation by internalizing the values and goals of the trippers. The expectations of others involved in the trip-to-trip group were significant in promoting drug abuse. With drug abuse and a new life style, the American value system was threatened. There is no doubt that role performance and health standards changed drastically as was demonstrated in the analysis.

The physical or psychological bondage to drugs was, if not actual addiction, closely related to it. Characteristics of drugs abuse such as apathy, mind expansion, kicks, and a search for a fulfilling life were factors which stimulated the process of behavioral change.

The trippers' fears for mind and body produced by drug usage are manifested in such consequences as drug psychoses,

suicide, flashbacks, and freaking out. Many of the experiences were given mystico-religious interpretations which made Christianity a logical means of exit from the drug scene.

There is a close link existing between hard rock music and drug usage. One informant remarked that, "Where you find rock, you will find dopers and dope pushers." The informants further related that at rock concerts there is a plentiful supply of dope and much dope use. Rock musicians, as described in the report, are in a sense heroes to the susceptible young people and constitute a factor in encouraging and supporting drug use by the trippers.

Smoking pot and taking drugs do provide the users with a ritualistic status and greatly reinforce their sense of belonging. There is evidence that drug users are more free and open, an indication of their unitary view of life and the feeling of joy and peace. The psychedelic drugs, especially, furnished a supernatural experience which was significant in the religious orientation of the group. The informants' symbolic universe was socially real insofar as they considered it so.

The trip-to-trip youth were drug abusers whose symbolic universe was built around their interpretation of their drug experiences. Religious and mental interpretations, hedonism, communal living and free sexual encounters characterized the life experiences of trippers whose dissatisfactions with life led them to make changes in their own life patterns. They were not politically oriented; they seemingly saw no need to better the world. An alteration in their behavior will be reported in Stage Two to show what happened when the groups interests changed and a divergence of values and norms emerged.

Mystico-religious and bum trips predisposed a need for a new social reality -- that of Christianity. The experience of the youth added a new dimension to their lives: the desire not to be an adherent to religion or even a church in the traditional sense, but to be practicing Christians.

The preceding section presented a description of the first adventures experienced by the trippers. Their quest for salvation which evolved from their drug experiences will be described in "Stage Two: The Question for Salvation," the second body of adventures of the group.

CHAPTER IV

STAGE TWO: THE QUEST FOR SALVATION

INTRODUCTION

The first stage of behavioral change was analyzed and a definite change in life style was noted, as was the need for an exit from the drug culture. This same group embarked on a new adventure -- a trip that might be characterized as a new religious radicalism. The repression of religious sensibilities in our culture has been an adjunct of social and economic necessity -- now all of this is changing. There is a strange, new religious culture emerging which refuses to respect the conventions of secular thought and value. The religious renewal which will be analyzed in Stage Two of this report is neither trivial nor irresponsible, but proves that for some people, at least, God is not dead.

The bonds of solidarity that were felt among the trip-to-trip group indicated that the group had the ability to survive and develop a new set of behavior patterns. The counter culture group will now be viewed as a religious sect with a new religious style of life.

The new Christianity cannot be defined in exclusively Western terms. There is a deep belief in God but there is little consideration for traditional religion and the ritual of going to church on Sunday while wearing the nicest clothes, doing penance for sins, giving money because it is expected -- and then spending the next six days not

caring about one's fellow man. Fellowship is practiced by the group seven days a week.

Sectarian Christianity is the new religiosity¹ professed by the youth and they consider it as being different from ordinary religion for the reasons mentioned above and as was noted in the "Introduction."² The new Christians do have a religious system however, a system of rituals and symbols functioning in such a way as to provide social cohesion for a reasonably well-defined group. They also have distinctive values and behavior patterns. Hall suggests that the culture of the system surrounding an organization has a major impact on the way the organization operates. Also, culture permeates the organizational boundaries through the expectations and actions of the personnel. Norms and behaviors that work in one setting are likely to be ineffective or even counter-productive in another.³ It is edifying to observe just what is transferably when a group changes its life style from the highly negative social deviance of those who use drugs heavily to the highly positive social deviance of those who completely embrace Christian ideals. This is the essential point of the present thesis: to observe a group of young people who chose to drop out of society first through abusing drugs, then through adopting a new religiosity as a means of escaping from the drug scene -- and, in a sense, more effectively accommodating to basic values of the larger society.

¹For clarification of new religiosity, see p. 106.

²See page 3 of the "Introduction" for characteristics of the Christian sect.

³Richard H. Hall, Organizations: Structure and Process (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1972), p. 305.

The trip-to-trip group had many experiences -- good and bad -- during Stage One. The honest fear they felt for their minds, and life itself, in addition to their self-fulfilling religious-like experiences from drug usage, gave them occasion for a new quest, that of salvation. The drug user's culture presents an effective interpretation of his experience through shared understanding. This includes the informant's definitions of the typical effects of drugs, the typical course of the experience, the permanence of the effects, and the method of "talking down" someone who has suffered an anxiety attack. Howard S. Becker in his discussion of psychedelic drugs had basically the same conclusion concerning how such definitions are learned and shared.³

An overall view of Stage Two reveals a search for traditionalistic scheme for depicting and reaching life's social goals, in order to build a society which is likely to be more congenial to them than the success-oriented world which the youths previously experienced. The pattern is quite different from Stage One where the youths were so involved in drug abuse that they saw no need to better the world. A society of new trippers is seen to emerge.

The Supernatural

Mystical interpretations proliferated among the "trippers." To understand the behavior of the group, I have chosen the models of mysticism and conversion caused by illegal drug usage. By describing mysticism, I hope to give insight into the value system and ideology of a defined group. It was not unusual for the youth to refer to death itself in conjunction with rebirth of the soul. In many instances,

³Howard Becker, "History, Culture, and Subjective Experience: An Exploration of the Social Bases of Drug-Induced Experiences," Journal of Health and Social Behavior, VII (1967), pp. 163-176.

I interpreted this phenomenon as youth attempting ego death, which would allow them to transcend into the life of "cosmic consciousness."

Drugs were the device used to achieve the supernatural and transcend the world of everyday. Schutz claimed this is done by the creation of references of a high order called symbols. He defined symbolization as "an idea which transcends our experience of everyday life."⁴ The illumination of the mystical symbols experienced by the youth expresses a conviction that they are "among the chosen few" who will preserve a Christian society and are convinced those who are not among the chosen few are certain to go to hell. I will now report what the youths said about getting on what they considered to be road to salvation.

The Devil's Tool

Satanic forces were experienced by the "trippers." As the youth, who were bound by drugs, would humble themselves to the Lord to be delivered, they escaped the drug culture and entered the new religiosity culture via the vessel of drugs. One informant described his deliverance from drugs in the following way:

Informant F: While I was on drugs, it was like I was pressed right up against a glass. There was a round wheel of spokes and everytime I took acid I went from one spoke to another, to another spoke, and everytime I dropped acid I went to another spoke. Finally, I dropped acid and got on the last spoke on the wheel and I spun off the wheel and went down lower, lower, and lower and I descended to a place where I saw a bunch of fire and I saw a big glass between the fire and myself and I was pushed right up against that glass. Just when the glass was ready to break, something way down inside me said, "Lord, help me." I saw a hand or something come down and grab me

⁴ Alfred Schutz, Collected Papers I: The Problem of Social Reality (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1971), p. 331.

and take me up. I was on the gates of hell and was saved by the Lord.

Interviewer: Did you use drugs after this experience?

Informant F: No. I'll never touch drugs again.

Another informant talked about the supernatural by saying:

Informant A: This one time, this one night I did some LSD and I saw the devil and all the time I knew that God was trying to tell me something; you see, God has allowed this to happen. He has allowed Satan to use all of his forces to destroy you. Now, I'm thoroughly convinced that any kind of drug is the devil's tool to destroy young people's minds and their bodies. I'm living proof that there is a God and that God loves me and that he cares for me. If that wasn't the case, I would be dead. You wouldn't be talking to me.

Interviewer: Did the mystical experience of seeing the devil on your trip have anything to do with your turning to Christ?

Informant A: Yah, it had a lot to do with me not wanting to do that anymore. I knew that God was trying to get through to me. God allowed this to happen for me to learn. There was a real evil influence. It scared me.

The symbols reported represent a transcendence to a higher order -- an experience different from everyday life. The experiences, are considered by the youths to be a part of the process of their salvation. Mind expansion, in those particular instances, brought about a fear of the unknown and through the experience the youth saw their escape -- the Lord.

When asked about supernatural adventures, another informant answered:

Informant G: Oh yah, I had them. Let me put it this way. God used it, but he didn't mean for me to continue it. I do not recommend

it. It brought me out of it. I ceased seeing men as men, I went into large spiritual experiences. I was doing things in school but that isn't what mattered to me; it was what was happening inside myself, where I was involved. For about a month, I began to reconsider Jesus and then after I quit drugs, I had Jesus. That was a year ago Easter.

The preceding report was by a young man who is presently a deacon at a church which practices the philosophy of the new religiosity (there is one church in Missoula that does this). He counsels many youth who are in the drug scene and his philosophy has changed from drug induced spiritual experiences to "you don't have to get into the drug thing to find Jesus or to find God" attitude. Young people listen to their peers and my informant reported that he did not feel there is as much drug abuse because of the youth who experimented and are now counseling other youths. The youths' other-directed approach is as operative in Stage Two as it was in Stage One. This deacon-informant is going to a seminary soon. Most of the youth are contemplating this type of goal. More will be said about such goals in a later section of Stage Two.

Other informants explained their spiritual experiences as vibrations.

Informant K: I just did drugs for a kind of peace. I s'pose, unconsciously, that doing drugs was a motivation for religious things. We usually went out in the country and had really long talks and was really serious. I started to get this oneness with the country and stuff like that. There was this one time when there was a spiritual manifestation, but I don't understand it to this day. It was just like, everybody had gotten stoned on acid and we were in this little room and I never felt so weird -- really heavy. I don't know what was going on but we were all holding hands and shoo, I think that was the heaviest spiritual

manifestation - just like before I started walking with God. I've seen other things but this was the heaviest thing; I can't even explain it to you. It was just weird. It wasn't anything visual. It was like whooo, vibrations. I was being zapped. That's the way to put it. I was across the room from this guy and it was like this guy was trying to give me something -- trying to screw your head to do it. It was like something demon-like.

Drugs can be a part of growth and a search for meaning in life. Drugs opened the youths' minds to the fact that there is a supernatural realm - which includes forces that they could not see, touch, or feel. Drugs provided a link with religion as has been related by the informants. One informant remarked: "When we look back on our lives we can see that we were going pretty fast without him (Jesus), but we were coming to him."

Much more could be said about the mysticism, its association with religion, and its influence on the youths' acceptance of Christianity. Such supernatural experiences, according to the informants, marked the first step in generating their process of salvation. The next step explains the social processes of the development of religious self through subjective experiences and an alternate symbolic universe.

Exchanging One Trip For Another

Religiously significant experiences as a consequence of drug use often resulted in behavioral changes. The data supporting this assumption comes from responses to the question that asked the informants to describe the exchanging of one trip for another. Mystico-religious experiences in the latter trip constitute an "alternative symbolic universe."⁵

⁵Thomas Luckmann, The Invisible Religion (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1967), p. 44-47.

The trip-to-trip experience is closely correlated with the behavioral change analyzed in the preceding section but, in the present context, I want to emphasize that the individuation of consciousness is a possibility of the human being which is realized in and through social processes. These social processes, "are the basis for detachment that is presupposed in the construction of interpretative schemes 'transcending' the flux of immediate experience."⁶ Detachment from the flux of one's own experiences results from participation in the experience of others in which the subjective processes of one person are shared and become observable to the others. Ongoing experience becomes meaningful to the individual and to the group for they both have had a distinct and a memorable past and have an open future with alternative choices of action. These social processes represent the development into an individual self of the "trippers." Certainly, without accounting for change of events and alternative choices, the counter culture of this small society could have explained little more than such vague notions as "drives" and "needs," which would have been an inadequate description of development of self. It is of special importance in describing the trip-to-trip group to consider the sharing in the subjective realm of their interpretations of mystico-religious experiences and the consequences for self which resulted from this sharing.

Mead's ideas of the "self and the subjective" also fit into this scheme of social process, and aids in denoting the 'form' the "trippers" developed. He observes, "When we reach

⁶Ibid., p. 46.

a self we reach a certain sort of conduct, a certain type of social process which involves the interaction of different individuals and yet implies individuals engaged in some sort of co-operative activity. In that process a self, as such, can arise." ⁷ The youth, in their co-operative activity and their development of self, used drugs, but subsequently saw an alternative choice and a means for escape from the drug scene. An informant said:

Informant E: I think Christianity often starts out like a trip and the trippiness fades away -- it kind of falls off. You go through trials and you find that the trippiness of it isn't going to make it, so you have to find Jesus.

God was working. I don't think we really knew Jesus yet, but we were having experiences that were leading us to him. We were getting mixed up in different things.

You see, Jesus is the combination of your search. Drugs were a part of the search and they're there and you do it. You keep on trying things here and there -- trying to fill the hole inside and finally you're kind of -- when Jesus is shown to you, when you meet him, it changes your life. That trip right there, wham, you've found what you're looking for.

An almost unanimous consensus regarding the trip-to-trip development was voiced by the group. Human behavior changed and the social processes were the bases for detachment in the construction of interpretative schemes 'transcending' the flux of immediate experience. Another report by an individual shows this characteristic transcendence and the need that Christianity fulfilled:

Informant F: I accepted Christianity as a way out of the drug scene. I knew it just wasn't another trip and that it wasn't just a cop-out because people were telling me it

⁷George Herbert Mead, Mind, Self and Society, ed. Charles W. Morris (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1934), p. 162.

was a cop-out for a long time. When I started to go to J_____'s and S_____'s, I saw that they were really living and that Jesus was really life for them. I really didn't think that I needed it for myself but I thought it was a cool thing to do. I finally did see it as a need for myself and that I wasn't as together as I thought I was. I remember going to a friend of mine and telling her that I wasn't as together as I thought I was and that all my coolness was just going down the drain. There were things that I didn't think were right and I was seeing myself as a cold, hard person. That went on for awhile, this feeling of not being together and really restless in my soul. I was what the Bible calls "ripe." There was still a lot of trippiness that I can remember. Images that you would see instead of Christ, and stuff. For awhile, I was playing religion, I was being cool. God doesn't allow that to go on. I just know that I'm not playing a game with Jesus now.

The process of being saved, of being renewed from the debasement of drugs and sexual freedom is an exchange of one trip for another. The Christian trip is one of conformity, as was the drug abuser's trip, but drugs were replaced by a new religiosity of shared meaningfulness and fellowship. The experiences related were emotional rather than cognitive phenomena and represented the earliest experiential phase in the development of self. Cooley found affective experiences "are social in that they concern directly our attitudes toward other persons."⁸ Other-directedness, manifested in what informants call "fellowship," is brought out in interview comments, such as the following:

Informant G: It took me awhile before I made up my mind. I knew I had exchanged drugs for Jesus at first. I thought I could drop off gradually, so they did fall off gradually.

⁸Charles Horton Cooley, Human Nature and the Social Order (New York: Schocken Books, 1964), p. 25.

I replaced the drugs with Jesus. It was in fellowship that this became clear very quickly. I then gave my life to Jesus. It's only until I see him in other people and submit myself to that that Jesus is not a trip. Life goes on, the responsibilities. I ran from responsibilities when I was on drugs. The last place that I thought I'd be would be in a house, you see I had to accept who I am; I am a product of my society and cannot break from my past. I left my old past behind but that's different. Instead of rejecting everything, I realize I have to pay taxes; I have responsibilities in the world, but I am not in bondage.

The process of change involves taking on a new pattern. Although the above informant is in the minority in accepting responsibilities of the larger society, he nevertheless exhibits a different concept of self. Most of the youth have a rather apathetic view of society and have little desire to participate in a constructive way. Those using the Christian counter culture are dynamic in upholding their emerging values and norms, in dissolving the fears founded on drugs, and, by in large, are transcending the flux of immediate experience. It cannot be said that drugs have caused Christianity to evolve in a more lively way, but it can be said that youthful informants who have used drugs are turning to Christianity. For example:

Informant C: I saw my face change into something really terrible. It was very demonic. When I saw my face, I felt fear, great fear.

Interviewer: Did fear have anything to do with your turning to God?

Informant C: Definitely. It was a fear of dying, of losing my life. I remember before I had any experience with Jesus, before he reached down and touched me that I had religious experiences when I took drugs. I know now that they were counterfeit, but I did have these experiences.

I saw something within that was better than drugs. I had Jesus Christ. I have no fear of death anymore because there's no death in me. Christianity delivered me from the drug scene. It saved my life.

The "trippers" are making a distinction; tripping with Jesus is a life saving device while tripping on drugs, in some instances, causes fear of death and sometimes death itself. The American value of health is also a value of the new Christians, but as will be related in the "New Christianity" segment of this report, the value takes on a connotation different from that of the larger society. This too, signifies the growth and development of self.

Another facet of this trip-to-trip process and the changing concept of self is expressed by a young person who tells of his deliverance from drugs and homosexuality:

Informant D: About three nights after I met the Lord, I was baptized into the Holy Spirit. I was a homosexual and I had a lot of jewelry and everything that went with it. When I was baptized into the Spirit, I just started taking all my jewelry off. Somebody called me a hippie and I didn't want to be called anything by anyone but Jesus and I went down and had all my hair cut off. A few days later, the Lord moved on me and after a little rebellion on my part, I left the communal thing and moved back home. He kept taking away all those old desires and replacing them with new.

Interviewer: Did you feel you were exchanging one trip for another?

Informant D: Well, I definitely think it is a need that brings you to the Lord in the first place -- you have to know that there's an emptiness there. A lot of trippy things that were in me carried over into the meeting of the Lord; they were definitely a lot of trippy things that I was doing when I became a Christian. The closer I got to

Jesus, the more I saw those things for what they were and they began to fall off as I got closer to the Lord. There were a lot of false things in me when I came to the Lord and also, deep inside, there was a need that I knew was there. Finally, the trips fell away. I saw that I had something that I spent my whole life searching for.

The reality that the "trippers" found in drugs has been called false by one informant and counterfeit by others. Death trips are not fantasy but are real experiences as described by the youths. The alterations of trip-to-trip are part of the social process of developing a Christian self. The new adherents are convinced that the role of Christian is not playing a game, but is a social reality. For them, renewal, or rebirth, is part of the reality:

Informant G: I freed myself from the bondage of drugs and all that goes with it. A new creature is born when you believe in Jesus Christ. You're free from the old man. The old man is more than your old self -- it's your culture, your old way of thought, the roles we played, and the life style. I really don't know what had happened. I knew it was God, but I started looking around me and I'm sure it was him opening my eyes and I started looking at the games, the role playing. I knew I wanted to find God, because it made me happy. It's hard to allow yourself to be continually renewed -- to be transformed.

With renewal comes happiness and freedom, said the Christians. The alternative symbolic universe is significant in the group's religious conversion. The belief that "drugs make you more sensitive, make you more loving, and generally change you for the better" is exchanged to a belief in fellowship with Christians, and a different type of search for happiness and love. Many young people cross the line from one trip to the other over night. An informant said, "My life is so changed because of Jesus

that I can't believe it. Scientifically we treat the unknown as unknown until tested. My test is my life and the transformation of self to God."

"Jesus is the only way to fly" as new lives are created and nurtured by fellow Christians. The group, by exchanging one trip for another, has a change for a fulfilling life. They have "security without having the material things" and have found that "acid and God just do not mix."

The process of the development of religious self and of conversion has been described. Interepretive schemes have been offered to explain the informants' accounts of trip-to-trip experiences. The subjective processes of recollection were shown to be woven into a pattern of memory shared with others. The subjective experiences of a religious phenomenon and individual actions were revealed to be integrated into a distinguishable social process of a religious self.

"Meeting the Lord" is the next step in the process of salvation. It explains the change of behavior by comparing the Christian and the drug "trippers."

Meeting the Lord

Following the trip-to-trip transformation, Jesus is no longer an abstract entity to the youth. He is a person and is alive in spirit. It was amazing to hear the youth talk about their relationship with Jesus and how their opinions have changed since embarking their journey from drugs to Christ. The rebellion they felt in Stage One was not rebellion (they now think), but "a crying out for love." The youth perceive they have been disciplined by God.

Informant G: God really spans me when I get out of line. He really spans me good. It hurts, but I can sit back and look at what he's done and if he hadn't done it I'd be so lost, so messed up. It's such a loving thing to do -- he loves me that much to want to keep me with him and in line. It's just wonderful.

Interviewer: Why does he spank you?

Informant G: Oh, when I want material things, or when I have thoughts of drugs. You know, spirituality is a far higher value than the satisfaction of material needs.

Behavior has changed. As an informant said, "In the light of what I was doing a year ago, it's inconceivable to think that I would be doing this now."

It is appropriate here to mention conversion and its significance in explaining the new religiosity phenomenon. De Sanctis stated that "conversion implies 'mutation' of the conscience, regarding the sentiment and practice of religion."⁹ De Sanctis, through many case studies, discovered that before a person self-consciously turns toward religious faith, he must have undergone the experience of suffering. If this is in fact true, the "trippers" would fit this model. Internal crises were abundant in the youths' reports and I believe had a profound influence on their conversion. De Sanctis remarked that "conversion is suddenly ushered in by a complete alteration of character, or else by the appearance of some urgent moral need with a new psychic disposition of the subject."¹⁰ Stage One described the youths' delusions with America and the need for love. Stage Two describes alteration

⁹Sante De Sanctis, Religious Conversion (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., Inc., 1927), p. 29.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 47.

in behavior because of a definition of situation accruing from collective striving to discontinue a life style that was personally destructive and frightening and to create one that offered more viability and hope. In the second stage there was also found to be a recognition of emotional tumult antecedent to their conversion. Fear of death is another cause for conversion and the youths had an acute case of this fear. De Sanctis notes:

Since in unexpected and fulminant conversion the declaration of the immediate cause is always emphasized, the convert believes that 'grace' is manifested in the determining cause, no matter what sort it may be; a vision, or a trauma, an exceptional circumstance, or even an ordinary occurrence.¹¹

The immediate cause, drugs, that precipitated fear and supernatural experiences, was redefined as a manifestation of grace, reported the following informants:

Informant M: As far as drugs go, I still have access to them in Missoula and there's still some drugs and that, that are at my house, that I've got to get rid of one of these days. They're where they've been for the past seven months and I have no desire at all to use them. As a matter of fact, there is four bottles of beer sitting in the refrigerator and it has been there for about three months. Ya know, I can't comprehend God's grace. Wow, you never quit learning about God - it's a relationship with him which evolves knowledge and wisdom. When I met Jesus, I fell in love and I don't know how. Everytime I ask him to be there, he's there.

Another informant described his conversion:

Informant A: It's like now that God has made it very clear to me that he's taken me out of all the stuff I was in. In the Scripture it says, "from the pit from whence he has been dug." I'm considering that pit that I was dug out of,

¹¹Ibid., p. 51.

you see, and now I can sit back and watch all this stuff going on and not have any opinions pro or con, necessarily. I'm not being apathetic about the whole thing but those social things don't mean that much to me anymore.

The informant just quoted made an important point concerning a significant feature of the Christian group: "Social things don't mean that much to me anymore." This was a universal feeling of the group and another of its perceptual and definitional shifts.

A Better Life

"God helped me out of the drug scene and my life is so much better" is a common reply to the question, "Has Christianity helped you out of the drug scene?" A definition of a "better life" is included in the following statement:

Informant E: I don't know how he did it, but God helped me out of the drug scene. My sister and her husband started going over to J_____'s and S_____'s house. There is a bunch of Christians who live together in this house and my sister and her husband went over there and they met Jesus and he kinda patched up their marriage and stuff and they kept urging me to come over. So, I'd go over a few times and see what they were doing. They'd sing songs and I thought that was far-out, and they would pray. Finally, one night I went over for dinner. I just kind of broke down and told them I wanted what they had. S_____ said, "all you have to do is ask Jesus. Ask him to come into your life." I guess in my cheerful way, I don't remember what I said or anything, I asked Jesus to come into my life and he did. It wasn't a psychological thing that I was appeased where I was but he really came in. He just kind of gave me a whole new life -- he changed it and he's still changing it. Like doing dope and stuff and having sex immorally, and stuff like that is just a symptom and they just fall away -- right away, once you become a Christian. It is obvious

that it isn't any good; that it's a cop-out and that it's Jesus that you're really looking for. They fall away, these symptoms, and it's the roots inside of you -- your loneliness and fears. That takes time. We're not perfect all of the sudden. It's like he's tempering us.

Meeting the Lord has made a more wholesome life for the young people.

Informant H: Never in my life have I had less fear. There's no more running. I just have a tremendous purpose in my life. A tremendous purpose, knowing what I want to be -- the person I want to be.

The group made a choice: they gave up their old value system and life style -- their old hang-ups -- and acquired a new value system and life style. They discovered they had to make a choice, for the values of the old and the new were not meshing. More will be said about values and norms in "New Christianity" which is the following section of the thesis.

New Christianity

To understand the sociology of new Christianity, a brief resume regarding its doctrines, prophecies, and teachings will follow. As was stated previously, the new religiosity is different from traditional Western religion. The Christians felt the churches do not have the power of God and saw little need for a physical church. They preferred small gatherings in homes where face-to-face interaction can ensue.

Before going on, I would like to clarify the difference between religion and religiosity terms used extensively in the analysis of Stage Two.

The experiences man encounters in a certain inner mood stir relations, meanings, sentiments, which of themselves are not yet religion, nor do their realities in any way conform to the religion of a differently attuned soul; but divested of this reality and forming in themselves a sphere of objectivity, they become 'religion,' which here means 'the objectified world of faith.'¹²

In other words, religion does not provide religiosity, but religiosity generates religion and the new concepts for the Christians. A statement made by an informant regarding churches follows:

Informant C: A lot of Christians out here are serving anything but Jesus -- they're serving their churches which is just as big as serving drugs. It's the same thing. I know that people can't see it; they think that a church is a good thing. These people are serving something that is dead. Truth was rerouting my life and God did the whole thing.

The informant's view of traditional religion is counter to the larger society's view. Many of the values are different as will be seen as the Christian counter culture unfolds. As was mentioned, the youth shared a preference for small gatherings which usually took place in a Christian commune.

Informant G: We began to have these small home groups on the biblical basis. You could meet at homes in small groups and there was an easiness of sharing. It led me to hate rebellion in spiritual terms. It made us aware to see perhaps that at some certain points we might be trying to gloss over our hang-ups in spiritual terms. There is a neat thing about community -- one person doesn't dominate and put people into bondage there. I was shown that what I saw might not be spiritual, it might be unspiritual. We should be careful that it isn't cultural or that it's subcultural or of the larger cultural pattern; such as, people worship in a certain

¹²Georg Simmel, Sociology of Religion, trans. Curt Rosenthal (New York: Philosophical Library, 1959), p. 11.

way in a middle class church. That doesn't mean that they don't love the Lord. They might be in need of being reprimanded but I can't do that by saying my subculture is right. The community feeling is growing; it's a closeness and sharing. It's really nice.

Interviewer: What is it about the small groups, other than sharing, do you need?

Informant G: To get us to exist, really. To give us motive. You see, without the small group, we would fall apart.

Interviewer: Did you need a leader?

Informant G: A leader, right. This was our personal security and this is what God really needs to do is to lead us to that feeling of security -- you know, self-fulfillment for things hoped for. It's like we don't see our community in operation; we see up-tightness, hassles, for what we do. With the eyes of faith, you see Jesus. Without faith, you would see Jesus as a historical figure, a charismatic leader, or he would be a person who would have good social teachings for me. With the eyes of faith, he becomes a living person.

Community, and a new approach to religion, is the heart of Stage Two. As the youth filtered from the drug scene, they found the security and fellowship which encouraged motivation through the small groups existing in Missoula. Here again, the peers are sources of direction for the individual, or other-directedness. As Riesman stated in his explanation of character:

The goals toward which the other-directed person strives shift with the guidance; it is only the process of striving itself and the process of paying close attention to the signals from others that remain unaltered throughout life.¹³

¹³David Riesman, The Lonely Crowd (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), p. 21.

This mode of keeping in touch with others allows a behavioral conformity through a sensitivity to the actions and wishes of others.

Niebuhr demonstrated the importance of distinguishing differences in the sociological structure of religious groups in the determination of their doctrine:

The primary distinction is between the church and the sect, of which the former is a natural social group akin to the family or the nation while the latter is a voluntary association. The difference has been well described as lying primarily in the fact that members are born into the church while they must join the sect. Churches are inclusive institutions, frequently are national in scope, and emphasize the universalism of the gospel; while sects are exclusive in character, appeal to the individualistic element in Christianity, and emphasize its ethical demands.¹⁴

The new Christian group fits well into the description of sect as related by Niebuhr. The next segments of the thesis will emphasize the importance the group places on teaching and sharing its sectarian views.

Teaching

The new Christians emphasized their belief that organized religion is wrong. That God is preparing them for the return of his son, Jesus, and that the destruction of the earth is bound to come are universally believed by the youths. The informants get this information from the Bible as they do other teachings. An example follows:

Informant B: Then as I read the Bible, we really started to understand the religious world; how wrong it is, how lost it is, and

¹⁴H. Richard Niebuhr, The Social Sources of Denominationalism (Hamden, Conn.: The Shoe String Press, 1959), p. 17.

how it has just become a structure that God left a long time ago. A lot of people are just tied into it, but there's no life, no salvation in it. It was an explanation for your mind, or a religion, and not a real salvation inside. We're really on this thing now, how wrong the Catholic Church is and all the other churches and how they've received all the organized religion, you know, and so when we saw God, it was on our own.

Along with this interpretation from the Bible were many others. The group believed in their reality. For example, the expectation that the Lord will appear on earth again was proselytized to the group as reported below:

Informant A: Time is very short now before the Lord comes back. I can see all these things going on, you see, and just say, well, God said all this stuff was going to happen 3000 years ago. He prophesied that. I can see all this stuff happening in front of my eyes. I just sit back and say, wow!

Interviewer: What makes you think that the end of the earth is coming?

Informant A: There are many signs. There are prophecies that are being fulfilled in these last days that God prophesied many years ago.

Interviewer: Do you believe the earth will be totally destroyed?

Informant A: Yah, the whole system. The system will be demolished. It's because of our own negligence. It's like pollution and stuff like this -- that's all prophesied about. These things that are going on are not by chance, believe me. They are happening because God wants them to happen. I really believe it too. Nothing ever happens unless God is directly involved in it or permits it to happen.

Interviewer: Do you think the people of God will be saved?

Informant A: Sure they will. God promised me that. The Bible says, "He that endureth until the end, the same shall be saved." . . . I've never seen Jesus Christ, but I know the man. I walk with the man. He walks with me. God is giving us a choice, "either be for me or against me. If you are luke warm, I'll spew you out of my mouth." God doesn't condemn you or anybody who doesn't know Jesus Christ because you are already condemned. You are already living in death. God, in his own free will, is extending this gift and is saying, "Here, here is my son, Jesus Christ; will you accept him or will you reject him?" Many people are being apathetic.

A cultural pattern was beginning to be revealed that was as extreme as as that exhibited by the "trippers" on drugs. The same young people who did not "want help 'till they hit rock bottom" have gone to the other extreme of being "destined by God." Also, God is the all-powerful ally of the trippers in demolishing the larger society's system. The adherents could and/or would not attempt to destroy the system when they were drug abusers. The Bible is their textbook, and God is their instructor -- and they are tripping, in a sense, as much as they were while on drugs; thus the trip-to-trip group.

The youth were emphatic about the living death of non-Christians as the above informant implied. They included all non-Christians, even parents in this "condemned" group, as the following example exhibits:

I don't condemn my father or my mother for what they've done because God doesn't condemn them for what they've done. Their situation is this, they are already condemned. They're living in death. They're not Christians.

This extremist view regarding the end of the world has not been uncommon over the centuries, it has not been uncommon in contemporary

history either. The youths view of the non-Christian is one of pity because the Christians sincerely believe they are the chosen few.

A phenomenon worth mentioning is in regard to the youths' goal orientation. Two of the youths wanted a higher education; one intends to attend a seminary and the other is enrolled at the University of Montana because the sect intends to institute a school for their young people and they want him to teach. Forty-two of the youth were only interested in being witnesses for God. Intellectuals were difficult to convert, therefore "the simpler you are in your mind, the easier it is for you to accept Jesus Christ because his doctrine is simple." Their philosophy was stated in the Bible, thus:

My brothers, think what sort of people you are, whom God has called. Few of you are men of wisdom, by any human standard; few are powerful or highly born. Yet to shame the wise, God has chosen what the world counts folly; and to shame what is strong, God has chosen what the world counts weakness. He has chosen things low and contemptible, mere nothings, to overthrow the existing order.

"The First Letter of
Paul to the Corinthians"
1:25-28

An informant interpreted the belief regarding intellectualism:

Informant A: The hardest people to convert are the people who don't think they are down and out. They think they don't need God.

Interviewer: Why is it easier to accept Christianity when you are down and out?

Informant A: He chooses the foolish things and the weak things of the world to confound the wise. I could probably stump a guy with his Ph.D. God could trip him in his own intellectualism. I have never attained knowledge; for what this is worth,

I have 158 IQ. All of men's wisdom is utter foolishness before God. It's so stupid. Trite.

Interviewer: What is your view of individuals with certain capabilities? Do you believe God endowed certain skills on people and intends for them to use these aptitudes?

Informant A: God has promised that all who live in Jesus will suffer persecution. I'm destined by God; I don't know the time, the place, or the situation, but all the God's kids are destined to come before kings, presidents, and all kinds of stuff, and be a witness of what God is doing and where God is. My intelligence will not get me by. I cannot possibly -- the only things that my intelligence will do is mess me up. God says, "Don't worry about what you're going to say I will give you the words to say at that moment."

The belief that is taught against intellectualism is probably the reason so few of these young Christians chose to go on for a higher education. The young people do not believe in serving man but are committed to serving God.

Along the same line were these remarks:

Informant C: God has put man on this earth for one reason and that's to reconcile him unto himself.

Interviewer: Do you believe God is selfish?

Informant C: You bet he is. He's jealous and he's selfish. He doesn't want us to love anybody but him. All your love for other people will not do a thing for them. Take a social worker, any of these set-up deals, they take people in their environment and then they take them out of their environment and give them a job, clothing, food -- but that person is still spiritually in just as bad a shape as they were.

Interviewer: Don't you think he's in better shape than he was?

Informant C: No, he's not. He's still a child of the devil.

Interviewer: Don't you believe that men like to work and find it rewarding to make a living for their family?

Informant C: You take a man like that who is spiritually poor and put him into an environment where he's rich and you've made him twice as bad as he was. You've taken away from him what God could do in him. This is where God works -- where people are poor spiritually. You do this to a man and chances are that he sets his heart on the very things that you think is good for him and you're killing that man spiritually. You may not agree with me, but I'm telling you the truth.

Interviewer: Don't you believe that God wants equal opportunity for his people?

Informant C: The intent of your heart to help people is not right with God. It's rags -- filthy righteousness. It can't be compared to God.

The interpretation of not helping others also carries over into their own group of "trippers" who are not Christians. An informant remarked:

Informant L: We are not cold. We are told specifically not to have fellowship with people who persistently and willfully refuse God, or sin. We are told to withdraw our fellowship from them in hopes that they will come around. I feel that way about dope. It's sinful for anyone who knows what sin is. It's sinful -- it's self-indulgence, and you know, it's idolatry, it's serving idols of the world.

It is obvious that these new Christians had abandoned their former drug trips for a new phase of tripping, their religiosity.

The social conditions mentioned in Stage One seemed to promote a dropping-out phenomenon and a subjective sense of individual existence which has carried on into Stage Two. The relation of the individual to their social order was recognized as "religious" and that an internalized system of symbols formed the basis for a new identity and a new religiosity. A new social form of religion, with new beliefs and teachings, was replacing the institutionalized church in the trip-to-trip group. The new beliefs are definitely counter to the larger society's and are becoming a pattern for values and norms of the counter group. Role performance, as defined by the larger society, takes on a new connotation by the "trippers" as was previously explained. Luckmann reported, "The effective social basis of the modern sacred cosmos is to be found in neither the churches nor the state nor the economic system . . . but is essentially a phenomenon of the 'private sphere.'"¹⁵ He went on to state that "individual religiosity in modern society receives no massive support and confirmation from the primary public institutions. Over-arching subjective structures of meaning are almost completely detached from the functionally rational norms of these institutions."¹⁶ Luckmann's statement correlates with the preceding analysis of the data.

There are more teachings that will be briefly talked about under specific headings which refer to emerging norms within the Christian group.

¹⁵Thomas Luckmann, op. cit., p. 103.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 105.

Doctrines

The new Christians have many doctrines, but two, essentially, differentiate them from the beliefs of traditional Christianity; the baptism of the Holy Spirit and speaking in tongues. To be converted, or to receive grace, denotes the process of becoming unified. The informants' experience in being converted illustrate their inner alterations as they begin to express their faith in Christ, their change of interests, and their change of ideas. James said that "emotional occasions are extremely potent in precipitating mental rearrangements. Hope, happiness, security, resolve, emotions characteristic of conversion . . . seldom leave things as they found them."¹⁷ An implication of an emotional situation which altered a "trippers" life was:

Informant C: A fellow was there and he said, why don't we ask Jesus into our heart?" I thought, why not; what have I got to lose? I looked up, not expecting a thing to happen, not building myself up emotionally for this thing. I reached up and said, "Jesus, praise Jesus" and God just did this thing and I was made to know there was a Jesus because all of a sudden, whoosh, I was just cleansed -- I was cleansed, something happened and I was new. I knew I was new, All of a sudden I was just crying and this peace came upon me, and this joy, and God just poured everything out on me. He doesn't do this to everybody, I know that, he poured his spirit out on me and he manifested the speaking of the tongues through me and I just yielded myself to God. I had no inhibition. I gave my mind completely. God had my heart completely ready for this thing. When it started happening inside, my mind just yielded. This is why people don't receive the gift of the Holy Spirit and the manifestation of tongues because their mind is blocking it.

¹⁷William James, Varieties of Religious Experience (New York: Random House, 1902), p. 195.

It doesn't fit into what they have. This sets people free -- it sets them free from themselves. It sets them free from their own mind. Instead of being a part of your own understanding you become a part of him and are free from all of the rest of it.

This experience could be interpreted as a relationship with God and a renewal of mind and body which is a significant phenomenon of the youths' salvation after their experience with drug abuse. Another informant reported that the experience was a salvation.

Informant E: Christians are having a renewal. They are being saved when they meet Jesus by receiving the spirit. It's just part of it. It isn't that salvation is over here, and over here is the baptism of the Holy Spirit -- salvation is a continual process. You see, you don't have any reason to fear Satan anymore like we did while we were on drugs. All you have to do is claim the power. There's so much power in the name of Jesus and Satan will just flee.

The above testimony explains the trip-to-trip process quite well. The youths' quest is a social reality as are their beliefs of their new religiosity. The seriousness of such a quest depends on the existence of some shared fundamental assumptions about values and norms which are the bonds of social solidarity felt among the young counter cultural group. Much like Durkheim, Simmel discovered an integrating and unifying element in religion. Religion welds human society together and comes to the front in social behavior, in customs and social interplay. "For different beings with different needs there exists a different 'reality' in religion . . . because their condition of life required different actions, i.e., actions based on different considerations."¹⁸

¹⁸Georg Simmel, op. cit., p. 4.

The coming of the Holy Spirit was explained in the New Testament in today's English version:¹⁹

"Suddenly there was a noise from the sky which sounded like a strong wind blowing, and it filled the whole house where they were sitting. Then they saw what looked like tongues of fire spreading out; and each person there was touched by a tongue. They were all filled with the Holy Spirit and began to talk in other languages, as the Spirit enabled them to speak . . .

Turn away from your sins, each one of you, and be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ, so that your sins will be forgiven; and you will receive God's gift, the Holy Spirit. For God's promise was made to you and your children, and to all who are far away - all whom the Lord our God calls to himself.

Save yourselves from the punishment coming to this wicked people! . . . They spent their time in learning from the apostles, taking part in the fellowship, and sharing in the fellowship meals and prayers.

Believing in the baptism of the Holy Spirit and speaking in tongues are doctrines which the youth believe "God wants them to have." The acceptance of new religiosity cleanses the youth of their past sins and "with the power of God, you can remain sinless, even in mortal flesh."

The youth mentioned continuance of drugs until they received the Holy Spirit or the speaking in tongues. The power to turn away from drugs came with the actual calling. An informant defined the doctrines thus:

Informant I: Baptism is the putting away of our old selves and how you would receive the gifts of the Holy Spirit, the speaking in tongues when you came out of the water. (They believed in total emersion of the body.) I

¹⁹The Acts of the Apostles, Good News for Modern Man (New Jersey: The Free Bible Society, 1966), Chapt. 2, pp. 294-297.

believed it, and so we went down to the river. I held my nose and R_____ prayed and he said "K_____ is baptized in the name of Jesus Christ and wash her of her sins." I went under and when I came up, I went "wow" -- it was beautiful, like God just hit me the second I came out of that water. My hand just flew up and I yelled, "hallelujah." I received the gift of the tongues and I started praying in tongues and I received the Holy Spirit. God accepted me.

The doctrines are a part of the continuing process of salvation. The belief in Christianity seemingly grows with experience and the baptism of the Holy Spirit. Prophecies, too, become part of the youths' life style and are closely integrated with the Bible. They will be taken about in the next segment.

Prophecy

Any discourse delivered by a prophet under divine inspiration in a Biblical sense is a prophecy. As part of a great revival, many young people are turning to God in order to be saved. Their quest for salvation was a process of saving self from fear and the tribulations of the drug scene. The youth are convinced that God is speaking through his people -- the prophesiers. Because the young people have faith that time is growing short and that a seven year tribulation has begun before the coming of the Lord, it cannot be denied that a special ideology is creating the aura of salvation. The world has known many exceptional mystics (saints, prophets, or heroes). The mystics and prophets who have won popular favor today should be accepted with caution. It seemed as though I could decipher a fear-tactic through the experience of this informant:

Informant A: D_____ T_____ said that "in August of this year the devil will take hold of

our minds and twist them and bend them. All the people who are not in Christ will not stand. That's when we put on the mind of Christ. Jesus has victory over Satan and that's why we are to put on the mind of Christ in order that we will be victorious over Satan. I can see heavy, heavy, things that God is doing. By 1973, in this country, we, the witnesses of Jesus will be beheaded in this country for the witness of Jesus Christ -- for what we believe.

The Book of Revelations in the Bible reveals the prophecies that are being prophesied by today's prophets. The youth accept as truth that the "Lord God gives his Spirit to the prophets" and the prophets will show his people what will happen very soon. As one youth said:

All of man's ways are going to perish.
The only thing that's going to be left is
God and those that have been reconciled through
Jesus Christ.

Some prophecies that were talked about by a prophet who traveled to Missoula from Portland, Oregon were real to the youth. An eighteen year old described the prophecies preached at the Sentinel High School Little Theatre during a week in July, 1972.

Informant D: I had the fear of the Lord in me that I had never known before. I had seen the power of God. He had in the past prophesied about the mining disaster that took place in the United States and right after that there was another mining disaster in another country where several hundred died. Right after the disaster in Kellogg, he prophesied that there would be one much, much greater than that one. He prophesies planes going down; I know that some of the things he sees visions of, you know, he will prophesy the plane going down and how many people are in it and he will prophesy all kinds of disasters and things. What it is is God's judgement coming down upon the world and he is pouring out his wrath on the people who are turning their backs upon the Lord. He is saying to his people these are the last days, so get on the stick. He had been fasting and an angel

of the Lord came to him and told him that the things in some chapters in the Bible would be fulfilled by April of 1977 and if the Lord desired, the angel would come back and tell him what was going to happen next. He's also prophesied that the whole axis of the earth is going to change, you know, like where the poles are now will be the equator, and where the equator is now will be where the poles are and this is suppose to happen within the next ten years. Scientists are already worried about it happening. They can see signs that it's going to. Along with this, there will be huge earthquakes and tidal waves as a result of the earthquakes. Something in the middle of the earth is going to shift and cause the whole earth to shift, you know. There will be earthquakes and tidal waves and the tidal waves will be 500 feet high and they're going inland on the coast as far as Portland - that's 70 or 80 miles from the coast. Within the next few years, one-third of the world's population will be dead from famine. In November, the whole government system of the United States is going to begin to collapse. He has visions of the Christians being heavily persecuted in 1973. Everything he has prophesied to date has come to pass. You are already beginning to see these things, you know.

Interviewer: Do you think the prophet will be right?

Informant D: If there is a God, they're right. There's a lot of false prophets around, like J_____ D_____. Moses set down the rule in the Old Testament, he said "prophecies are of God, and are true, but if they're not of God, they're false." Satan has power too. Satan is working at the same time this Christian renewal is happening; it is happening just as deep with Satan. The fear of darkness is pouring out.

The rationale of this statement is two-fold: 1) if the end of the world comes and if the Lord appears, the prophecies are from God, but 2) if these events do not happen, Satan is showing his power. They can not lose, either way.

I will briefly discuss another aspect of the new Christianity; the Lord provides food, money, good health -- all the materials

which the "rich" pursue, but which the followers of God acquire through prayer and sharing.

The Lord Provides

Roszak decries technocracy and the peculiar power it has over us because of the myth of objective consciousness. "There is," said Roszak, "but one way of gaining access to reality -- so the myth holds -- and this is to cultivate a state of consciousness cleansed of all subjective distortion, all personal involvement."²⁰ The group, like Roszak, does not believe in an objective consciousness but is more prone to a feeling, a speculation, or subjective reflection in their personal involvements. The group values its symbols, not in the technocratic sense of callous objectivity, but in an inner perception of joy, peace, and a naive openness to experience. Healing, as the group sees it, is subjective when compared to objective consciousness. Their beliefs in faith and miracles are not the same as the "objective" minds of the larger society. An example:

Informant a: I had been 75 percent deaf for as long as I could remember. I prayed to the Lord that I had enough faith so that he would return my hearing. I was reading a pamphlet on faith while sitting on the "john" and when I flushed the toilet, I could hear. It was the first time I had ever heard a toilet flush. I hear a big difference in my voice now and I don't have to talk so loud to hear myself. Miracles like this happen often.

Some of the group believed that prayer will heal. This belief is against the larger society's objective consciousness but "God is

²⁰Theodore Roszak, The Making of Counter Culture (New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1969), p. 208.

real since he produces real effects."²¹ An informant who had gone to Portland to listen to an evangelist prophesy said:

Informant D: I wasn't used to this sort of thing, I was used to a quiet thing and all of a sudden, here was this evangelist down in the audience speaking the word of the Lord, you know, telling people that they had a big black spot on their lung, or that bladder ailment you've got is well right now, and I just prayed for that kidney condition that I see there, and he would lay his hands on them and the people would fall back over their chairs with their feet up in the air. The power of God was so heavy and he was doing all sorts of miracles. There was another man there that had an empty eye socket and he was seeing through it. There were all sorts of weird things and I couldn't handle it. By the time he was prophesying, I was down on the floor because I had the fear of the Lord in me that I had never known before. I had seen the power of God. I knew he was real in a way that I had never known before.

Interviewer: Would you go to a doctor if you had appendicitis?

Informant D: I would be prayed over first. I've seen a lot of this healing stuff. I've seen a cripple walk and my mother had a stomach condition and she needed major surgery; she had an esophageal hernia. We prayed for her and it went away. There was another woman in Missoula, Mrs. F_____, who had cancer and they prayed for her. They got her on the operating table and opened her up and everything that was on the x-rays had disappeared. I'm not worried about appendicitis.

The groups' consensus that "this is the way God had it planned for them and they're going to heaven anyway" was not universal. A few thought going to a doctor was the "wise thing to do, after being prayed over first." "Faith," one said, "is a gift of God and everybody doesn't get a big wallop of faith."

²¹William James, op. cit., p. 507.

Everything is possible with God, including the provision of material things for sustenance of physical life. It was common to think that by giving your life totally to the Lord that "all of these things will come to you." If God wants them to have a car, plane ticket, lodging, or food, he will provide these needs. They believed they did not have to work; for example:

Informant B: We thought the Lord was our provider and that's what the Lord did, provide. I believe that he provides through man and they didn't give to us because they thought we were beggars. I don't think that. The Lord did it. I look at what God wants me to do.

Another informant expressed this phenomenon:

Informant b: I have no use for money. I believe in the Lord strong enough that he'll provide me with what I need. He'll provide me with food, transportation and a place to sleep. If the Lord wants me to have a car, etc., he'll provide it for me.

This is an eccentric notion but the mood the group portrays did win sustenance from the larger society. This philosophy is still held but some in the group do have jobs now and are providing their own livelihood. The jobs are not of the effective role performance condoned by larger society, but are tasks performed and accepted by the groups' standards. There is a consensus that one can not strive for money and possessions but can strive to "make ends meet." The group judges people more on the religious realm than on the social because they do not believe they can change the larger society. They are not in bondage to the larger society but find their security in the Lord.

A counter culture has been described and it has been compared to the counter culture in Stage One and, in some instances, to life

in the larger society. The counter cultural group has a life style with different values and norms than the larger society and members of the group are some of the happiest people with whom I have been involved. The group is no longer using or abusing drugs but has substituted a behavior just as extreme on the other end of the continuum. As one of the youth remarked, "It's like eating an ice cream cone that you really like, and really digging it." The next segment of the report will describe the final step of the process to salvation.

Rebirth

The most obvious evidence of salvation takes the form of renewal or rebirth of self. Life in the drug scene, its fears, and mystico-religious experiences, evolves onto a life "more wonderful," a life founded on religious salvation. The Lord, they believe, now cleanses them of their past sins and dangers in a day-by-day process. "He (Jesus) chooses not to remember what happened yesterday because love covers a multitude of sins" was one informant's version of philosophy followed by the Christians. "To be saved is to know salvation and to know God, and each day is a day of salvation" was another's. Yet another informant described the process:

Informant M: I've thought a lot about it. I have no doubts that when I die that I'll go to heaven and I will see the Lord. I was baptized in November in the Bitterroot River. This was just after I'd come to know the Lord and accept him, and as soon as I was baptized it was like my sins and my whole past life were washed down the river -- and that's where I started all fresh and new.

Cleansing of the group from their past and starting life anew was an unanimous experience. Many of the youth have been cleansed so thoroughly that they do not remember their drug experiences, as the following testimony signifies:

Informant E: My drug experience started in my sophomore year in high school. I don't know why these years are so vague, but they really are. I try to think about them and try to correlate what's happened in the past, but it's just not there. I just can't remember anything back then. It's just not there because it is the Lord, because he's had his hand in it. It was really weird.

Being cleansed and protected by the divine and having a new chance for life is the renewed state of the "trippers." As James said:

For practical life at any rate, the chance of salvation is enough. No fact in human nature is more characteristic than its willingness to live on a chance. The existence of the chance makes the difference between a life of which the keynote is resignation and a life of which the keynote is hope.²²

The day-by-day process of "being saved from myself, from Satan, and from the world" is considered by an informant in these terms:

Informant G: I have been saved from myself. I have been freed. I have been saved from what I was doing to myself. I have been freed from the hold my friends had on me -- the squeeze that had on me and the mold I was conforming to and the pattern I was following. It was a literal salvation.

Understanding this day-by-day process will be helpful to consider Durkheim's description of salvation. He said, in essence, that Christianity is inconceivable without the ever-present idea of

²²William James, op. cit., p. 516.

Christ and his ever-practiced cult; for it is by the ever-living Christ, sacrificed each day, that the community of believers continues to communicate with the supreme source of the spiritual life.²³ The day-by-day process of giving self to Christ is part of the doctrine of the Christians.

A "tripper's" description of deliverance from former fears depicts a process in the change of self-salvation:

Informant C: Here I was in drugs, in fear and in fear to the extent I was afraid for my life. God came to me and said "J_____, do you want this fear?" In my heart, I said "no," so I chose truth. God led me further, he led me to the place I was looking for -- salvation in Jesus Christ. I was looking for a way to save myself. God had planted a seed inside me and it started to grow and I thought, "I'm not going to steal anymore either." Stealing is wrong. I decided I was going to change my life.

Reorganization of the individual's conception of self as a social actor is exhibited in the above report. It is encouraging to note the group's progress from the drug scene. The symbolic universe of the drug user was exchanged for an alternative symbolic universe an exchange which was defined as salvation by the group. Although the genesis of the Christian philosophy was mystico-religious experiences had while taking drugs, prejudice should not endanger what they have at the present time. As Simmel so aptly said:

Genuine and deep love for a fellow being must not be contested by belated recognition of roots. Such love will show its most triumphant strength by proving that it has survived without scars the death of all these former roots.

²³Emile Durkheim, The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life, trans. Joseph W. Swain (New York: The Free Press, 1915), pp. 47-48.

Equally, the whole strength of subjective religious feeling is demonstrated by the very certainty on which it rests and by which it judges its own depth and sincerity, regardless of its origin.²⁴

Intended Future

There is a concordance of goals and interests presented by the group. They are striving for the same end, and each individual can achieve this end through co-operative effort of the group.

A portion of salvation can be described by "collective consciousness" of the intended future of the group and their hope for a "whole" life. The futures of the group are related here as part of the process of salvation. Durkheim's thoughts verified the data insofar as:

Believers who lead the religious life and have a direct sensation of what it really is . . . feel the real function of religion is not to make us think, to enrich our knowledge, nor to add to the conceptions which we owe to science others of another origin and another character, but rather, it is to make us act, to aid us to live. The believer who has communicated with his god is not merely a man who sees new truths of which the unbeliever is ignorant; he is a man who is stronger. . . . It is as though he were raised above the miseries of the world, because he is raised above his condition as a mere man; he believes he is saved from evil, under whatever form he may conceive this evil. The first article in every creed is the belief of salvation by faith.²⁵

The goals the group reiterated might be rich in affective powers, but adds little to the role performance as defined by the larger society.

For example:

²⁴Georg Simmel, op. cit., p. 76.

²⁵Emile Durkheim, op. cit., p. 464.

Informant C: Everyday I get up and I walk the walk that God has prepared for me. That's all I do. If I yield to him, if I obey him and yield to his will, then God is able to make you know his will. He's able to lead you.

Interviewer: Don't you want to do anything but the day-to-day thing?

Informant C: Right. I have no goals other than what I apprehend in the Lord Jesus. I want to be found in him when he comes.

Another informant said:

Informant F: My hope and my goal is to be as my master, my Lord. I know that he has called me to the ministry. It isn't the kind of ministry that is involved in church but it is the kind of ministry that Jesus had -- being a witness, just manifesting God's life and just being a light.

A youth reported:

Informant I: I kick the idea around once in awhile about going to Bible school. I don't know about that. I don't know if God wants me to do that. I can see now that God wants me to learn just from him; by his Spirit. If I were to learn from a man, a man would tend to add his own interpretations and his own ideas. That's when people get in the way of what God's trying to do. That's how some men pervert the gospel.

The goals of the youth have changed from doing nothing, as was described in Stage One, to ministering for God. This is a fact for those who have finished their higher education, those who have some higher education, and those who have or have not finished high school. Although some youth have contemplated attending a seminary or a Bible school, their goals are religiously oriented. They consider themselves disciples or witnesses and do "what God is calling" them to do. The group takes one day at a time, and they "try to stay open to Jesus and ask him each day to show them what he wants

them to do." As was previously noted salvation is faith in Christ as the teacher, and not as education on a diploma basis. Theirs is a different ideology than that professed by Marx when he said:

The social organization and the state constantly arise from the life-process of definite individuals, of those individuals not as they or other people imagine them to be, but as they are really, i.e., as they act, as they materially produce.²⁶

The ideology of the group with its doctrines and belief of the imminent arrival of Jesus is not concerned with material production, but is encouraged by faith that they have found as "something that fills the soul for salvation." The affective domain of the youth is filled with consciousness of, and feeling for, fellow man, be it fellowship with the Christians or pity for those who do not profess the same ideology as they. As an informant reported:

Informant D: All you have to do is plug into the Top Dude - the Creator, and have the side-by-side Christianity that allows the Lord to pour out his Spirit. I'm not making any plans, he makes them for me. We glorify God by being men and women, and God will take care of us. Faith is ACTIVE. You see, he took all my burdens away and I'm free -- free from the vicious circles. The disciples were happy and they were full -- they had spirit. He walks with us in the same way He walked with them. I had doubts, but His personality is neat -- He's heavy duty, man. Jesus is cool. He is the living word. Why fool around with creation when you can go right to the creator?

How these new Christians practice the faith they have found and especially how they share their renewed life with others is the subject of the next section of the study.

²⁶Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, On Religion (New York: Schocken Books, 1964), p. 73.

Others

Emergencies in a modern society help recreate social forms into which people can with justification pour their energies. We need to realize that each life is an emergency, which happens only once, and the "saving" of which, in terms of character, justifies care and effort. The other-directed Christian does not think of his life as an individualized career. He seeks not fame, but the respect and affection of his peers. The "trippers" are not committed to long-term goals as their day-by-day philosophy employs. This lack of concern could be the result of the uncertainty of life so prevalent in our day which has been discussed. It could also mean that a more individual and satisfying choice was made which is indicative of the other-directed person. As a result the behavior of the group looked to the peer-group for its values and norms for their desires and formed a counter culture with their "radar" activated for new membership. The group was united and they had protection from the outsiders.

There were others in the Christians' lives that were not peers. They were older, yet had the same interests, and played a significant role in altering the group's behavior. One such man directed a Christian commune and was able to command much respect and affection from the Missoula group. The significance of the man played an important part in the lives of the youth as is explained in the following report.

Informant A: It reminds me of something in the scripture that says my sheep shall know the sound of my voice; a stranger they will not follow.

In a natural herd of sheep, the sheep follow the shepherd. The lambs follow the sheep because they know that the sheep know where the shepherd is at. That's the same thing that is going on with us. I follow D____, not that I'm being conformed to his image, but in the sense that he understands more about God. God has put him up as a teacher.

Others also aided the youth in getting out of the drug scene and into the Christian life.

Informant D: I knew D____ through the Bible studies that he taught. I think definitely that a lot of the trips that I was into when I wasn't a Christian, he led me out of those. He was teaching us about having a close relationship with Jesus.

The older men who were Christian leaders had much charisma. Another thing noted was the Jesus image they portrayed with their beards, longer hair, and their claims that they "were gifted with a particular power," the power of Christ. The following interview excerpt makes this point:

Interviewer: Do you feel you are gifted with a particular power?

Informant F: Definitely. Christ is in me and he is the only power. He's like a catcher's mitt, you know, because he's inside of me and I can receive anything from him that he wants to entrust me with. Everything that God has, he's giving me. Everything that the apostles in the Bible did, we will be entering into as we determine our purpose. There's two worlds, the spiritual and the natural. As I enter into the spiritual world, we need weapons. When you go out to fight a carnal war, you take a gun or something -- well my weapons are spiritual weapons and the Lord just starts building these things into me, arranging me and adjusting me so that I will be putting armor on, becoming fully clothed and along with this, I receive more power. So, under certain circumstances, certain gifts that are in me just turn on like a computer or something. When I get in trouble, the word of

knowledge comes forth and tells me things. It tells me peoples' names, tells me where I should go, gives me full warning like a vision or something. God gives me this knowledge that can speak life to the Christian, to the ungodly people or to the sinners [a sinner is a person who has back-slipped]. I feel more called to do teaching than anything else. I just really thank the Lord because he believes in my salvation.

It is crucial that the "trippers" have emotional ties with these significant others in their quest for salvation. Shibutani defined significant others as "persons directly responsible for the internalization of norms."²⁷ Shibutani's definition of significant others is not basically different from Mead's "other" or Cooley's "imagined other." The significant others, the older persons who are "teachers," cultivate abilities, values, and outlooks in the group. The significant others, or the others, participating as commune leaders, provide the youth with vocabulary, including the most basic concepts of the new religiosity. When asked how a leader helped, an informant answered:

Informant L: Wow, he helped us -- but not as much as Jesus. I think every brother and sister in Christ has helped. We all help each other just as members of your family always help each other. Of course, the older ones are going to play a greater role because they teach you and help you to grow. They've known Jesus a long time and you learn from them -- they help a lot.

An informant expressed his respect for a significant other by saying?

Informant H: You know, D _____'s an ordained minister but you wouldn't know it. He was just himself and he accepted me. You know, a whole

²⁷Tamotsu Shibutani, "Reference Groups as Perspectives," Symbolic Interaction: A Reader in Social Psychology, Jerome G. Manis and Bernard N. Meltzer (eds.), (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1967), p. 168.

lot of these people that are ministers and pastors are so -- it's like there's a wall there and they have Christ as a pacifier and they're behind a shield. D_____ 's in the open; he's right down where I am at. He had power and the strength of God was in him. That's the one thing I admire about him. That's one of the reasons that I hung on to him more strongly than to anyone else. I felt an acceptance from him, and a power to overcome the things that were in me.

Interviewer: Do you consider D_____ a type of God?

Informant H: Yes, He's being elevated from a minister. He's in such a position that his functioning on a higher level.

One could not help but admire the others who were interested in helping the youth. One man said:

Informant a: I really get mentally exhausted when I counsel the kids who are "ripped out" on drugs. After an hour of trying to say and do the right thing for an individual is more tiring than manual labor. I try to walk my own walk and try to be an example for them to follow. Christ is the way to help them.

The significant others and the peer group had an important role to play in the phenomena of individual behavior in Stage Two. The evangelists could also be categorized as significant others as was described in a preceding segment of the paper entitled, "Prophecy."

The arena in which the peer group and significant others could interact meaningfully became, for most of these new Christians, a commune.

Christian Communes

Communes could be considered the environment of the "trippers." The environment is constituted largely of objects and represents a plan for action. This is true, Mead points out, by virtue of the fact that objects arise, and are present in experience, only in the process of being indicated to oneself (and, hence, explicitness and implicitness, to others).²⁸ The definitions of the group involved symbols by which they designated aspects of their world. The commune was a place to carry out a plan of action and became a significant element in the quest for salvation. The Christian family was "security, joy, and love" in a mutually sustaining group. Fellowship in the commune was involved in the process by which life was saved and different behavior evolved. It was within the arena of the commune where the youth communicated and shared their beliefs, and these beliefs furnished an implicit role in their salvation. An informant who lived in a commune and considered himself a "fisher for men," said:

Informant q: We listen and we speak. It is not you who really speak, but the spirit within you. We are here to cast out a line to those who need help. People are looking for inner peace and joy -- that's reality -- being real. If someone talk and listens, the kids will work out their own problems.

The following testimony relays another opinion of communal living

Informant M: I don't know how long I'll stay here at D_____'s. I have to let God take care of that. I think that God wants me to stay here. If I was to go back home, I would

²⁸ George Herbert Mead, op. cit., pp. 77-80.

destroy a witness. If I would go home, it would reopen some wounds that are being healed. God wouldn't want me to do that.

Another example of communal living and the spirituality emitted was given by:

Informant H: The most important thing about the commune is the relationship with God and these people mean that (relationship). Also, it is important in how they minister that relationship to us. You see, you become spiritual by praying a certain way - a whole spiritual life is at the commune with Jesus. I am thankful that I am living at the commune and that I am living with brothers and sisters and that I'm living in love with people and peace. There's peace underneath it all.

Not all of the group lived in Christian communes but they were unanimously involved with them. Some of those in high school were living at home but had a commune in which they found fellowship and could interact with others. The youth beyond high school age were living in the various communes that were open to the younger persons. The communes were a means of escape from the drug scene and led to a more fulfilling life for the youth.

The youth have been saved through concepts of collective representation. The process of salvation of the trip-to-trip group has been described and interpreted by the "trippers." A particular meaning of Christianity arose in the process of interaction by taking the actions of others into account, thus forming a religious self.

SUMMARY

The process of developing a religious self was a day-by-day process of salvation. In general, all the problems of man, spiritual

and physical, disappeared and life was enjoyed by the faithful in the sect. There are three points that were emphasized in Stage Two: 1) there are persons who are proselytizing and are gaining the attention of the young people who are accepting the doctrines and prophecies explained in the preceding segment of the thesis; 2) the Bible is a source of spiritualistic literature which has promoted conversion of the "trippers"; 3) the sect supports faith through drawing on the mystico-religious experiences of the counter cultural group and denies traditional conceptions of the larger society. The unfolding of this pattern was seen in Stage Two of the report and such factors that were presented provided a sufficient cause for conversion to occur.

Christianity was a means of salvation for this defined group. The description of their dropping-out, turning-on, and their quest for salvation was a process for changing the content of self. The Christian society reflects control of individuals' behavioristic expressions and "is in a sense merely an extension and ramification of those simple and basic socio-psychological relations among its members upon which it is founded, and from which it originates."²⁹

Christianity, viewing it from the standpoint of its subjective characteristics, involved the successful completion of the social process. The religious attitudes, values, and norms of the "trippers" evolved from their mystico-religious experiences in Stage One and served to identify self with the others. New religiosity benefited the group; they were in trouble and their new behavior patterns proved

²⁹George Herbert Mead, op. cit., p. 229.

to be a means to convey satisfaction from their own acts. It was brought out in the report how similar the interests of the group are and how this type of social relationship represents Christianity as defined in the Bible.

The pure religious and ethical doctrines have, in many instances, been lost to the larger society because of its materialistic view. The youth, however, have taken on an effective religious attitude that identifies self with the other by "assisting him, saving his soul, aiding him in the world or the world to come -- an attitude that is salvation of the individual."³⁰ The group's attitude was profound in their feeling for others and went beyond the mere impulse of helping others. An informant's report on this subject said:

Informant E: You can tell the difference between people love and God's love. I feel much closer and stronger toward some Christians than I do toward my parents. The bond of Jesus is so much stronger.

Fellowship of the other-directed group is a strong social relationship. Closeness and sharing by the brothers and sisters is "living in love with people, God, and peace."

³⁰ Ibid., pp. 296-297.

CHAPTER V

A SUMMARY

OVERVIEW OF FINDINGS

This paper has been a report of my research conducted during the Spring of 1971 and Spring of 1972. It is an exploratory study, the aims of which were cited in Chapter I. I feel that I met these major goals, as indicated in the context of this paper, through the natural descriptions and interpretations made by the youth themselves as they talked about dropping out of mainstream society, drug abuse, and quest for salvation.

The central purpose of this study was to develop from data an understanding of a youth counter culture and to account for change in human behavior. In discovering different categories and properties pertaining to activity, interaction, sentiment, and values and norms, the purpose was accomplished.

Without reliance on preconceived theory to select relevancies in concept and theory prior to research, numerous inferences were drawn from the individual interviews and participant observation. While the generalizations were based on noted similarities and differences among young drug abusers Christians in their process of behavioral change, findings can be assumed to have arisen from and to have remained grounded in the youths' empirical world.

Based on natural accounts of a small minority group of drug abusers Christians in this study, findings have been developed and explained in the context of this report. While these findings clearly apply to those studied, they are hypothetical when applied to comparable others:

- 1) "Peer pressure" leads a young person to conform to a particular life style in dress, behavior, and drugs.
- 2) There are numbers of youth who have lost faith in the prevailing social system and are dissatisfied or disillusioned.
- 3) Expectations of others and cultural surroundings have much to do with the context of drug use.
- 4) The trippers have rejected larger society's values and norms and have adopted their own, thus forming a counter culture based on self-fulfillment, support from others, sexual freedom, and drug usage.
- 5) There is a willingness to swap sexual partners, even with whom they are not acquainted.
- 6) Because of other-directedness and heeding their peer's advice, the trippers and their families are polarized.
- 7) People and friendships are viewed as the greatest of all consumables, thus the competition for peer-group approval.
- 8) A medical problem results when drug usage produces injury to the health or to the mental well-being of the trippers.
- 9) The trippers were in bondage to drugs that produced apathy and mind-expansion experiences. Ultimately, the trippers courted death before their "rebirth" as Christians.

10) The drug abusers could not and/or would not attempt the destruction of the larger society and yet, under the auspices of being a Christian, they have the all-powerful ally, God, to do the destroying for them.

11) Courting death, for the drug abuser, involves a body without a mind, contemplation of suicide, and mental torment caused by freak-outs and flashbacks. Rebirth from the risky behavior of courting death is functional for a new life in Christianity.

12) Drugs are the device used to transcend the world of everyday. Ego death allows the youth to transcend into the life of "cosmic consciousness."

13) Drug-induced mystico-religious experiences were the impetus in giving the youth a means of escape from the drug scene and uniting the drug abuser with Christianity.

14) Religiously significant experiences, as a consequence of drug use, result in behavioral change.

15) Christianity is an alternative choice of action by which ongoing experiences becomes meaningful to the group for they had a distinct and memorable past and an open future.

16) The shared situations in the subjective interpretative realm of mystico-religious experiences perpetuate the process of development of religious self.

17) Tripping with Jesus is a life-saving device while tripping on drugs caused fear and sometimes death.

18) Close interrelationships with peers gives the trippers a growing community feeling. Security and fellowship encouraged motivation and reason for existence.

19) The relation of the individual to his social order is recognized as "religious" and an internalized system of symbols formed the basis for a new identity and a new religiosity.

20) Acceptance of the new religiosity cleanses the youth of their past sins and conversion precipitates mental rearrangements and rebirth.

21) Extremism, by the drug abuser and the new Christian, is a common approach to behavioral practices.

22) Salvation is faith in Christ progressing in a day-by-day process of conversion from mystico-religious experiences to an acceptance of a sectarian philosophy.

23) Long-term goals are not being employed by the Christian youth. They are not seeking fame but are seeking the respect and affection of their Christian peers.

24) Significant others are responsible for the internalization of Christian values and norms.

25) Others who counseled and listened to the youth perform an implicit role in their salvation.

26) Religion is beneficial for the youth who were abusing drugs and it proves to be a means of conveying satisfaction with their own acts while they are undergoing the process of behavioral change.

27) Often it is the "liberated" individuals who seem most vulnerable to a confusion of values and to every temptation and desire.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This study was directed to the process of behavioral change as was listed in the "Objectives." It was an exploratory study whose results was based completely on data obtained from young ex-drug abusers in Missoula and augmented, where appropriate, by the work and findings of other sociologists. The drug problem in Missoula is very real and the knowledge contributed by this empirical study could aid those involved with drug research and prevention. Any new, natural, grounded theories made by the informants themselves are vital to our understanding the reason why so many young people are using and abusing drugs, their goals, and their lack of wanting to contribute to society. Therefore, a contribution of knowledge has been made to the field of sociology as well as to members of society whose task it is to deal with drug users and abusers or who are in a position to help them in coping with their problem and with making plans for the future.

The drug abuser is searching for an exit from the drug scene and religiosity has furnished a means of escape. The new religiosity studied was a transference of a psychedelic, kaleidoscopic life style to another counter cultural adventure. Here again, the youths' natural, grounded theory elicits concrete knowledge of a small society.

As has been discussed throughout this report, values and norms of the counter culture group played an important role in shaping human behavior as individual members went through a process of changing from a drug abusing self to a religious self. Religion functioned as a rational process for furnishing a way out of the drug scene into a life with some maturity in ethical judgment.

Social upheavals and peer-group influence were significant because they led to the event of dropping out of mainstream society. Unable to find satisfaction with traditional forms of moral and social life, the young people expressed a "sickness of soul," alienation, rootlessness, even moral nihilism. The youth were very much aware of the bombing in Vietnam, the pollution of the atmosphere through increased industrial growth which threatens to cause irreversible damage to the life-support system of the earth, the lack of food to support the escalating world population, and the scarcity and maldistribution of natural resources to sustain human civilization. Abusing drugs, in this study, was symbolic of the vulnerability to the disruption felt by the youth.

Most Missoulians had an indifferent attitude toward user's of the drug culture and their reasons for taking drugs, an indifference which cannot make the crisis any less imminent. Indifference, in fact, cannot work without totally corrupting American society. What a waste of the human resources of those who sensed purposelessness in the materialistic life style of the technocratic power structure.

An important point for planning rehabilitation programs for ex-drug users is the tendency to value self-fulfillment in aesthetic and religious pursuits much more than role performance. It is conceivable that religion will come forth as a prime impetus in drug rehabilitation and prevention. More effort needs to be waged by adults in Missoula to help the youth who are on drugs; such effort could, in turn, retard others who are in the experimental stage of drug use. It was found while gathering data that there were very few adults who were willing to help the youth who were abusing drugs. The importance of

this finding is significant and is a factor that should enter into planning action programs to reduce drug abuse and its ramifications. The battle against drug abuse must be waged, not only by the few churches involved, but by implementation of action programs in the Missoula community, and by parents.

The process of behavioral change was also significant. The drug abuser's fear for physical and mental well-being and the positive feeling of a deep sense of meaning and purpose furnished by the Christian sect would be difficult to repudiate. Knowledge of this feeling could be useful to parents, student counselors, teachers, administrators, and student leaders in helping them know about and/or deal with behavioral change. Thus, a good point for those designing drug education programs is that young drug abusers become acutely aware of courting death and that when they reflect on their risky behavior, they tend to feel terribly afraid of its probably deadly consequences.

Mystico-religious experiences had while "tripping" are significant in understanding the religiosity achieved via the vehicle of drugs. This knowledge should be useful to members of society whose task is to deal with drug users and abusers and who are in a position to help the members of the counter culture in coping with their problem and in making plans for the future.

Also, the study has been an invaluable personal experience. It has provided knowledge in interviewing, developing research methods, organizing data, and in writing a monograph about a topic in which I am interested and concerned.

These are some of the possible uses of this study which justify its significance.

FUTURE STUDY

There were several aspects found in this exploratory study which necessitate the need for further research. No attempts were made to generalize beyond the sample of youth interviewed and generalizing beyond this point was not one of my goals.

The learning and retention experiences following drug abuse indicated the need for further research. The feeling by the youth that they could not think as clearly, make decisions as well, or retain knowledge as well as they did before their drug experiences could be an important breakthrough for the social and physical scientists.

The need for drug education was mentioned by the youth. It was clear that there was no simple answer to the emergency of drug abuse. However, education provided in the earlier years of schooling concerning the effect of drugs might foster significant progress in helping to alleviate this social problem and could work as an important prevention measure.

The need for more parental discipline, too, need further research. The youth were polarized from their parents and believed they, themselves, would rear their children with more rigorous rules. Many youth mentioned that their liberal upbringing was conducive to drug experimentation.

For further research, many of the propositions and ideas accounted for in the report should be tested in order to indicate whether or not they may be generalized at all, or to what extent generalizing is possible. Statistical random procedures and exploratory research including a large number of drugs users are indicated in accomplishing this. Because drug abuse and attendant behavioral change create an urgent social problem, priority should be given to in-depth research on reclamation of the drug abusing youth. Such studies might aid in resolving the desperate crisis of drug abuse.

APPENDIXES

I. DRUG INFORMATION

Before embarking into the drug scene itself, a short resume of the drugs used by the informants should bring about a greater understanding of their society. There are a number of "illegal" drugs in the Missoula area and I will attempt to illuminate them with a brief description of the psychological and physical effects. The information used is from a drug information sheet for students (Cornell Daily Sun) and a federal source book, Answers to the Most Frequently Asked Questions About Drug Abuse.

Cannabis sativa or Marijuana. Marijuana was used extensively by the group. A common response to "How often did you use "pot" was:

Oh wow, often. There would be months at a time when I would use it everyday. You get up in the morning and you smoke a "joint." It was like life was a party. Everyday we were getting to the point where we wanted more and more. It was like every night, no matter if the apartment was paid for or not, we would always have the "weed" or whatever. It was everyday.

Marijuana is not physically addicting but chronic users become psychologically dependent upon its effects and thus it is classified as habituating. The drug is neither a stimulant nor a depressant because of its wide variance of effects. It is not known how marijuana works in the brain and adequate scientific research has not been done to determine any long-term physical effects. Most often the feeling one acquires from the drug is one of a passive euphoria or "high." It can affect the personality development of a young person because

of "amotivational syndrome," the loss of desire to work and to compete. There is no supportive evidence that marijuana leads to the use of other drugs but there are surveys that show that the extreme user of the drug tends to experiment with other drugs to achieve a better "high."

Psychedelics: The hallucinogens are capable of promoting changes of sensation, thinking, self-awareness, and emotion. Illusions, hallucinations, and delusions are variable and depending on the dose and the state of mind of the user can result in a "high" or a "bum trip." The psychedelics are the most significant in accounting for mystical experiences as statements from the informants described the phenomenon in Stage Two.

LSD is the most potent of the psychedelics and was tried by all the informants but one. Other psychedelics taken by the group were: mescaline from the peyote cactus and psilocybin from a Mexican mushroom.

Sensory perceptions can be interchangable. Colors may be heard, sounds may be seen, and thoughts visualized. Insignificant or ridiculous things may take on a profound importance. Because the perception of reality becomes altered, many people have had religious or spiritual revelations while tripping. Negative personality characteristics sometimes dominate the "trip." This phenomenon was explained in detail by many of the informants and was described in the "Courting Death" section of the report.

Amphetamines or Stimulants. These drugs were known as "uppers," "speed," or "pep pills," by the informants. They can be taken by

mouth or injected into the vein. The stimulants used by the group were dexedrine and amphetamine.

The amphetamines are medically used for suppression of appetite and for the reduction of fatigue or mild depression. Large doses of these drugs were common by the group. One informant lost 25 pounds and another 45 pounds while they were taking "speed." "Speed freaks" seldom eat or sleep and are much less sociable because "peace cannot be found." These drugs are considered to be physically addicting when taken in large quantities and withdrawal symptoms occur. Large doses cause delusions, hallucinations, euphoria and often paranoia. When the major effect of the drug decreases, it is usually replaced by a "crashing" which includes depression and lethargy, a feeling from being Superman capable of anything to a person physically exhausted and incapable of sleep. Prolonged use can be fatal.

Cocaine or Erythroxyton Coca. Cocaine is a powerful local anesthetic. Although cocaine depresses the functions of the nervous system when applied locally, it acts as a stimulant when "snorted" or injected intravenously.

There are conflicting views regarding cocaine's addictiveness. Some researchers believe that it is physically addictive while others think it is only psychologically habituating. Cocaine creates tolerance with extensive use.

Cocaine is frequently mixed with heroin ("speedball") to provide a better "high." In large doses cocaine produces hallucinatory and ecstatic effects. Overdoses are not rare and cause death from cardiac or respiratory arrest.

Prolonged "snorting" of cocaine leads to perforation of the nasal septum. Paranoid delusions can occur and often trigger compulsive, violent anti-social acts. These symptoms were mentioned by the informants.

Sedatives. Sedatives are physically addicting and withdrawal effects occur when the drug is stopped. The group consumed "downers" or "goof balls" when they had been "up" on "speed" and felt physically exhausted. Phenobarbital, amytal and seconal were the "sleeping pills" most mentioned by the informants.

Barbiturate dependence is more serious than the physical dependence of heroin. Abrupt withdrawal following excessive use often results in convulsions, stupor, coma, and death. To come down from "speed" by taking a "goof ball" may also result in mental confusion and disorientation. People in this situation need considerable medical and nursing support.

Narcotics. Only two narcotics were mentioned by the informants; heroin and methadone. Heroin produces a feeling of relaxation and of being "high." This is accompanied by an "awayness" or pleasant, dreamlike state. Persons develop a tolerance for heroin and though their "high" is often lost, they attempt to avoid "withdrawal sickness" by continuing to use heroin, often in larger doses.

A person does not trip on heroin and is more detached than when experiencing a marijuana high. One informant explained his liking for heroin this way:

The best way to explain it, you might think this is a little bit strange, but shooting a bag of heroin is like your whole body is having an orgasm at one time. That's why people get addicted

to it because it's such a heavy feeling. It's just like an orgasm exploding in every part of your body. That's what shooting heroin does.

The dangers of "smack" are many: Addiction, an overdose, hepatitis from dirty equipment, skin abscesses, and lung congestion are some of the symptoms. The life expectancy of the addict is much lower than that of the non-addict. The life of the "junkie" is deplorable. His waking existence is centered around obtaining money to buy heroin ("hustling"), making a connection with a pusher ("copping"), and trying to avoid withdrawal.

Being aware of the effects of drugs will make the sections of the thesis more understandable.

II. SAMPLE OF QUESTIONS USED IN INTERVIEWS

What is your:

Age
Formal education
Family's residence
Family's religion
Father's occupation
Father's yearly income (roughly)

What is your own definition of "dropping-out"?

Have you dropped-out of the larger society?

Why did you drop out?

When did you drop out?

Give your opinion of some of the problems or "hang-ups" on the new scene.

What is your viewpoint of the philosophy of the new culture you are involved in?

- 1) while abusing drugs
- 2) as a Christian

How do you feel about "American Society"?

Please tell me which of the following drugs you have used:

Pot _____	Used Often _____	Sometimes _____
LSD _____ # Trips _____	Used Often _____	Sometimes _____
Methedrine _____	Used Often _____	Sometimes _____
"Speed" _____	Used Often _____	Sometimes _____
Heroin _____	Used Often _____	Sometimes _____
Downers _____	Used Often _____	Sometimes _____
Other drugs (what kinds)		

When was the first time you used any drug?

How long did you use drugs?

What was the first drug used?

What were your experiences while under the influence of drugs?
(If the informant talked about mystico-religious experiences, "bum trips," fear, bondage, etc., these issues were pursued in depth).

What are your feelings about:

- Sex
- Family
- Work
- Communal life
- Drug usage
- Continuing education
- Baptism of the Spirit
- Etc.

Will you use drugs again?

What kinds?

How often?

Are drugs easy to get in Missoula?

Explain how religion helped you out of the drug scene.

How were the older individuals in the church and communes beneficial to your needs?

Do you consider yourself a witness or disciple for God?

What would you like to do in the future?

As each question was answered, the answers led to other questions. The average time for an interview was one and one-half hours.

III. SAMPLE INTERVIEW

SHARON & JIM 6/20/72

Would you please give me your ages?

J: We are both 28 now.

A: and your formal education?

J: Jim, 5 years of college (architecture, Cornell U.) Sharon, 1 year at Cornell

A: Where is your home?

J: Overseas, my father worked for the foreign service, so I lived in Japan, Okinawa, outside of Washington, D.C. for awhile, went to HS in Italy

S: I lived in Massachusetts

A: Your father was in the foreign service and what does your father do, Sharon

S: He is an executive (marketing)

A: What is the approximate income of your father's

J: About 20,000 - I'm not really sure. It's a gov't job.

S: Probably about 30-40,000/yr

A: Do you know what I mean when I say "dropping-out" of society? Could you define what you think "dropping-out" is?

J: Well, I think it's just removing yourself from the possibility and from the activity that most people know. Some people remove themselves without going to anything else. This is often the urge to find a pattern in your life or some real meaning rather than just performing whatever they expect you to perform.

A: Can you tell me why you "dropped-out"?

J: I think we dropped-out because we weren't satisfied. We felt there had to be some other part to our lives than just making money, buying a house and raising children and we thought it

had something to do with moving to the country, finding other people to share our lives with in a much closer way than we thought we could and under the circumstances we moved to Berkeley, Calif. I was working as an architect in San Francisco. We were into drugs at that time some, too.

A: Did that have any reason for dropping-out?

S: It definitely changed our lives at that time.

A: Would you consider it for the better, or worse? How would you consider it now?

S: That is a hard question, would we do it again. We are Christians now and have given ourselves to Jesus. When we look back on our lives we can see that we were going pretty fast without him, but we were coming to him.

A: Do you kids feel there is any correlation between drugs & finding Jesus? Did you, on any of your drug trips see an image or anything that led you in this direction?

S: I never did. Drugs can be part of your growth, or search for meaning in life. I really didn't believe anything, but drugs are not condoned by Jesus. He doesn't appreciate "dopers," and although he kept us out of danger, and it was different at the time, I think in only that sense were they a part of religion.

J: I think there is a little bit more to be said, in that for me, drugs opened my eyes to the fact that there are sorts of things in our lives beyond that which we can see and touch, and feel. There's a supernatural realm and that was an important step for me to be open to, you know it would have been a much greater step to just accept the supernatural and . . . I think it's possible that drugs were a link with religion but it's hard to say what would have happened if we hadn't taken drugs.

A: Do you think, Jim, that they leave to a greater sense perception?

J: I guess you would have to say this is true that it does work through the senses. It gives you sort of a different vision of the world, I think. Especially if we are talking about LSD.

S: They do make you more sensitive. Like people who are into drugs begin to believe that they make you more sensitive, make you more loving and generally change you for the better. I was thinking today that the whole drug experience in my life was that drugs were like a counterfeit a very subtle part, you know counterfeit, and not a true religious experience. The only true religious experience is with Jesus. It is a counterfeit, part of the enemy working in the world today. You can

say it is a spiritual experience but the main difference is that with drugs you have a bondage to your experience. With Jesus, you are free. You hear that drugs make you free, that you can love one another, and have a lot of experiences, but the drugs - they are all an illusion. [It divides people. It divides people with long hair and straight people. It's like a big ego trip - it just blows you right up and so consequently you are tied to drugs, and when they talk about freedom, drugs do not accomplish this.]

A: Do you think, Sharon, that doing your own thing, individuality, - that there is acceptance of everyone?

J: I think that they won't admit that. I think that is true because that thing about doing your own thing, and it's really subtle and really terrible thing to be doing your own thing because what it means there is no way to relating to other people - do your own thing, and if someone else is doing there own thing - well, as long as they don't lay it on you, everything is ok. There's really no basis for sharing your love. Sharing doesn't come out of this kind of a relationship and so love that the people are really talking about is superficial. [I think to be fair, you know to ourselves and to anyone else, young people that are into drugs, I think it is part of their search for meaning and relationship with other people, or a relationship with God, I think is really the basis for trying drugs. We tried to break through the normal barriers that we had between God and drugs - the formal relationships like hand shakes and the kinds of formalized ways we said things to each other. I really think that people that have had drugs possibly something to do with this. There really isn't any resource for doinging that really and it really worked around into doing your own thing deal. Here I am, I go to Alaska, or what do I do? Once you got to that stage you were blocked again.]

S: We have been studying the book of Romans about the brokenness of the world. It's just like they are trying to justify their way of doing things. It is through the rather brokenness of people's relationships - that is taking drugs.

A: Can you approximate the time when you "dropped-out"?

J: We literally "dropped-out" in November, 1969. It lasted for about three years.

A: Had you used many drugs before 1969?

S: Not near as many as we used afterwards. Grass and acid, drinking a little bit.

J: I think we started smoking grass in about 1967 sometime.

A: Was pot the first drug you tried?

J: Yes.

A: Do you think if you hadn't tried pot that you would have tried the other drugs?

J: No. I don't think I would have.

A: What is there about marijuana that seemingly does this to young people?

J: Well, our vision of it now, you think it's going to give you some answers to the needs that you have. There's a need for love and a need for God. Of course you can't find this by smoking marijuana and so I think people hope that by trying something more powerful that they will have a much more accelerated journey, wherever they're going. And then you find out that that isn't true either. I think that people that need love, who really, really feel the brokenness of their relationship would probably never admit that that is what it was. They're the people that go on.

S: Right into the gutter.

J: Into heroin - they have to because they keep looking and keep trying to get there.

A: Then you think that in many instances that kids are taking drugs for a religious experience?

J: The drive to take drugs comes from a need for religious experience.

S: I think when the drugs, that people were trying to justify drugs. You know like being able to experience. Now it seems there are people taking drugs that are college professors smoking grass, people that we call straight, rednecks, they were smoking grass, all the HS kids down into grade school were smoking grass so it has changed and people don't have to justify quite as much the reasons why they were taking it. It turned into just another experience.

A: How often did you smoke pot?

J: Well, we started out pretty quickly smoking it several times a week and before we quit we were smoking it several times a day - we were pretty much stoned all of the time.

A: How about LSD?

J: We didn't seem to use it as often as most people. Probably 5-6 times.

A: How about speed?

- J: We didn't take it too often. We preferred hash.
- A: Did you ever try heroin?
- J: No.
- A: Any downers?
- S: No we didn't pop pills.
- A: Did religion help you out of the drug scene?
- S: Well it set us free. We were searching and I think we had already realized that we couldn't find it in drugs, that it was almost a way of life at that time (drugs) but then when we met Jesus and came into fellowship with Christians and give our lives up to Jesus it really took away all of our interest in it. It wasn't even like a big deal, we just crossed the line - literally over night.
- A: How long have you been Christians?
- J: It was a year ago Christmas/ - just after Christmas. Here in Missoula.
- A: Did you have the baptism of the spirit and those experiences?
- S: Yes
- A: What do you think of LSD?
- J: God, it is really hard for us to go back and relive old times.
- A: I realize it really is painful, I've noticed that and really feel badly about it.
- S: It's good for us. We have to remember where we came from.
- A: Do you have any desire to be an architect again, Jim?
- J: Well, it has been a question that has come up in my mind. I don't really have a desire to be an architect insofar as carrying on the normal professional activities, not really, for a number of reasons. Although there was a time when I thought I would never want to sit at a drafting board again and I think I have overcome that. I did some drawings just last week for some guys and I'm open to it, I'll say that. I have more fun, I think, just building things and so . . . I'm interested in working and probably in something related to that but not necessarily architecture.
- A: You intend to use your training then?

- S: Oh yes. He couldn't leave that behind if he wanted to. He was really good at it. It is part of the talents that the Lord has given him.
- J: I think it would be wasted if I did something completely unrelated.
- A: Do you consider yourself an Apostle now?
- J: I don't know. Maybe we are disciples. I think apostles are those who go out and preach and are prepared to teach. I don't think we are quite ready for that. We don't keep our mouths shut but we aren't actively going out and preaching.
- A: Will you ever try drugs again? Would you consider smoking pot?
- S: No.
- A: In any of the religious groups in Missoula, are there any groups that you know of smoking pot?
- J: Not that we know of.
- S: I know that this happens. One of our brothers who has fallen away started again but we definitely know that when you go back to old vices you cut yourself from Jesus. As far as people remaining in an active fellowship, I don't think any are strong in drugs. You can't follow the teachings of God and take drugs.
- A: Would they be accepted, Sharon?
- S: They would be accepted and everyone would do what they could.
- A: If kids wouldn't do what Keith advocated they weren't allowed to stay at Shalom.
- S: There are hundreds of Christians from Shalom but we can't find them. If you don't follow through with the teachings, you lose them.
- J: We are not cold. We are told specifically not to have fellowship with people who persistently and willfully refuse God, or sin. We are told to withdraw fellowship from them in hopes that they will come around. I feel that way about dope. It's sinful for anyone who knows what sin is. It's sinful - it's self indulgence and you know, it's idolatry, it's serving idols in the world.
- A: Do you think these idols are real?
- S: They have power. They are spirits and we met some of them under the influence of drugs.

- A: You did have an experience with meeting the supernatural?
- S: Oh Yes. I met the evil spirits under drugs. I can look back and know that I had seen bad spirits. I think it's really amazing because after my first trip I thought it was mind expanding and reaching and could be beautiful but when it was all over, there were little gnome like objects dancing all around, laughing at me, and saying now we have you, now we have you. That's Satan, and he's counterfeit. He does something like this that you really build hopes on. He plays on that need that you have.
- J: People form images of what different powers and spirits are. One might picture Satan with a pitchfork and a red suit and I think this happens only on unguentine ads. It's just like anything that is super natural you have to deal with human understanding and I think that Satan's power is broken in the world as far as we're concerned, in truth, and doesn't have any power. People through their selfish desires and selfish motives in things that they do to themselves which more or less automatically excludes what they do with other people, those are the kinds, the desires of people a compulsion to do that - to live for themselves, to justify their life in their own terms and it's that that is in people that is Satan. Like God, you can abstract these things, but this is the truth. God is love, God is power, and this is truth. Satan is not just the powers of selfishness in the world but he also has a person.
- S: You can feel him, but you can't explain him. You know he's there.
- J: I think it is fair to say that you can see him manifested in man. You see him expressing himself through people. I'm sure that there are people who do see him that way, people who really. . . .
- S: I think that people on drugs see him that way.
- J: It's a sense of a person who represents brokenness in the world and it's really . . .
- A: Do you know if drugs are fairly easy to get in Missoula?
- J: We don't know.
- S: Things will get worse before they get better.
- J: I don't think we brought ourselves back, the Lord brought us back. There's a lota fanfare about drugs but in some ways it's misleading because it's taking us off the central problem which is the lack of relationship with God. It takes any number of different forms that can be just a deadly in a rich executives life that never comes near drugs, who hates them.

- S: Keith Nickerson was an ex-bircher. He accepted long haired people.
- J: Drugs aren't Satan - they are just another symptom. It is really important to make that distinction. No matter what worldly relationships that are being substituted for God, they are also pale, so dark, and so deadly by comparison that you could talk about any of them.

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