Dropouts and Wanderers of the Hip Generation:

Toward a Gestalt-Ecological View

James R. Allen

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Toward a Gestalt-Ecological View

On October 21, 1967, crews of antiwar demonstrators besieged the Pentagon. According to the *East Village Other,* their numbers included contingents of "witches, warlocks, holy-men, seers, prophets, mystics, saints, shamans, troubadours, minstrels, bards, roadmen, and madmen." Eventually they performed a great exorcism, casting "mighty words of white light against the demon-controlled structure." That mighty ziggurat did not rise into the air, but the demonstrators had given expression to a new form of political action, an ever-changing pageant and crusade, a motley mixture of politics and put-on.

The greatest difficulty in the study of members of this hip generation is a lack of solid data. Its members need to protect themselves from enemies, whether outraged neighbors, tourists, or flocks of would-be pilgrims. Researchers are likely to find themselves accessories either before or after some fact, and to discover it difficult even to grasp the perspectives of members of several life styles, let alone discover some higher level of abstraction that makes sense of them all. Citizens of this country have prided themselves in making the United States a great melting pot. The obverse of

this phenomenon is the very human tendency to treat difference not as difference, and therefore as an opportunity for growth, but rather as a battleground for self-esteem. "We differ" becomes "One of us must be right, and one wrong"; life is treated as a zero-sum game, where the gain of the winner is assumed equivalent to the loss of the loser. What is the division of people into "straights" and "hippies," "freaks" and "jocks," those over and those under thirty, but a new version of the categories of the elect and the damned?

Because of this paucity of solid data, descriptions of the hip generation are not unlike descriptions of Rorschach cards, more descriptive of the viewer than the viewed. Much depends on whether the phenomenon is perceived as a worldwide social movement, as the expression of geographically limited communities of deviants, as contemporary varieties of bohemian subculture, or some combination of these. Much depends on the degree of emotional disequilibrium the observer expects of adolescence and youth, and on the extent to which he accepts or rejects postindustrial Western society. The hip generation treats as unreal those very things the straights have taken seriously—security and power, status and position in hierarchies, and the "glories of our blood and state," in short, the attributes and manifestations of a society based on cadres of willing workers and willing consumers. Unlike deviant groups of the past, they reject many of the goals of the larger society and are ambivalent about the means: "The American way of life" one slogan

reads, "may yet be the death of us all."

Much depends, too, on the viewer's historical perspective, the extent to which he sees the past and future as continuous. Aspects of discontinuity have been expressed in frameworks that are philosophical, as in Jasper's "second axial period," theological, as in the noosphere of Teilhard de Chardin, historical, as in Toynbee's "etherealization," Reich's change from "Consciousness 2" (the New Deal and its concomitant attitudes of mind and way of life) to "Consciousness 3," and the revolt Roszak described against the irrational rationality of "objective consciousness." Within a sociological framework, a similar view found expression in Sorokin's concept of change from a sensate to an ideational or idealistic sociocultural order and in the Fromm-Bachofen hypothesis of change from a patriarchal to a matriarchal culture. In the anthropological literature, Margaret Mead described a change from configurative culture, where the prevailing mode of behavior is the behavior of contemporaries, to a prefigurative one, characterized by the young teaching the old. The framework for members of the hip generation, however, is more likely to be astrological; this is the "dawning of the age of Aquarius." Whether or not a new man really is aborning is probably less important than the vague uneasiness that he might be; the myth of Faustian man, which has sustained industrialized man since the Renaissance, seems to have run dry.

Dropping out, like running away or the taking of drugs, may be benign or malignant, and occurs in youth belonging to all categories of psychiatric classification, including variants of normal, a fact foreclosing generalizations except for those at such high levels of abstraction that their clinical usefulness is limited. These behaviors may be symptomatic of faulty development, or may be primarily defensive or adaptive, part of the separation and restorative processes of adolescence. Their roots may lie not in ideological movements, social disorganization, or in inner conflict alone but rather in their reciprocal complementarity at a time when the intellectual development elaborated by Piaget makes it possible for youth to think ideologically.

Difficulties in classifying behaviors and assigning them to given classes of individuals with specific psychological profiles or similar background are confounded by such hybrids as the "Jesus freaks," "high" on their versions of Christianity, and the "Christ Patrols," motorcycle gangs of evangelic "missionaries," and the troublesome fact that the young individuals in the same groups seem to demonstrate markedly differing forms of behavior. The defensive aspects of such alternations are inherent in the defense mechanisms described by Anna Freud in her characterization of adolescence; however, these aspects are probably also the outcomes of reciprocal interactions among inner needs, peer groupings, and social movements.

This chapter is a sketch of some of the more striking aspects of these

systems—ideological movements, social change, and the personality of youth —and their interdependent interactions. It ends with a brief description of two strands in the networks of treatment. In the space available, it cannot be complete, and the author has been content to sketch not the moon but only a finger pointing to the moon. Implicit throughout is an assumption of the desirability of phase congruence or balance between subsystems within the individual and in the symbiotic interactions between the individual and those systems that form his environment.

Ideological Movements

Dissent and Its Manifestations

Since there are as many forms of dissent as there are dissenters, any attempt to point out types runs the risk of oversimplification at lower levels of abstraction. Dissent is not synonymous with pathology, and normality is not necessarily conformity, an example of confusing statistical norms with health. Dissidence can be political, economic, cultural, religious, or any combination of these, but such terms as "hippie" are often used without regard to the actual goals or beliefs involved.

The width of the generation gap divides its observers. Most studies seeking to compare the political stance of parents and their offspring,

whether Young Americans for Freedom or Students for a Democratic Society, suggest that the young are merely extending the values of their parents. In their twenty-year longitudinal study of fifty-two children in Kansas, Toussieng, Morarity, and Murphy found that one-third of these youth had quietly developed values differing very markedly from those of their parents, yet none openly rebelled, protested, or took drugs. Based on criteria of openness to their own senses and experiences and on the nature of their value systems, they delineated five psychosocial categories along a continuum: (1) obedient traditionalists, (2) ideological conservatives, (3) cautious modifiers, (4) passionate renewers, and (5) awareness seekers.

The findings of the Gallup, Harris, and Fortune polls prior to the 1968 presidential election suggested that there is more disagreement among the young themselves than between the generations. The dissenters, however, are often highly talented and can succeed in making themselves and their goals highly visible. They arouse deep and ambivalent feelings—envy, guilt, nostalgia, repulsion, and admiration; they fall heir to what Anthony called our stereotypes of adolescence, persons dangerous or endangered, whom parents wish to eject, yet whose loss they mourn. It is from the atom that swerves that change derives: The number of the early Christians, for example, has not proven the same as their impact. Although perhaps a minority compared with their peers, the total number of young dissenters is great and appears to grow, a phenomenon complicated by the growing proportion of young people

in the general population. There are now in the United States as many people between ages fourteen and seventeen as between twenty and forty-three.

Although many young people remain largely uncritical of wider society, at least as manifested in conformity of behavior and outlook, the minority is highly visible. An obvious number break specific rules of society and are consequently perceived as deviant, but there are more who break the same rules but are not so perceived, and some who are obedient but perceived as deviant, the sheep in wolves' clothing. (At least one eight-year-old carries a "joint" in his wallet, not to smoke but to impress his siblings and his friends.)

The hip generation has inherited what Matza described as three subterranean traditions of youth: bohemianism, committed to expressive authenticity,-monasticism, and romanticism; radicalism, guided by apocalyptic vision, evangelism, and populism; and delinquency, manifested in aggressive celebrations of power, a spirit of adventure, and a disdain for work. Whether pursued with fiery passion or cold aloofness, bohemianism leads to unconventional art and unconventional personal experience; radicalism, to political activity; and delinquency, to victimization and status offenses, activities prohibited among juveniles but which, within limits, may be pursued by adults. The hip generation also embraces religious tradition, not in any narrow denominational sense but in the more general semantic sense of *re-ligare,* a "binding back" to basic aspects of the universe. This can

underwrite a variety of expressions, including the mystical and the occult, but it can also underwrite black magic and an "escape from freedom."

About Two Axes: A Psychosocial Classification

It is useful to consider dissenters of the left as psychosocially oriented at any given point in time, according to the interaction of two axes. The ordinate defines preference for how power and wealth should be distributed, ranging from those who, like some black militants, want a piece of the pie of industrialized society, through those wanting to keep the piece they have, to those who renounce the entire pie. The abscissa represents a distribution between two extremes, with political and social activism at one pole and internal transformation at the other, a continuum from revolution to reformation ranging, as Roszak suggested, from political activism arising from the New Left sociology of Mills, through the "Freudo-Marxism" of Brown and Marcuse, to the Gestalt-therapy "anarchism" of Goodman, and the psychedelic aesthetics and eclectic mysticism of Watts and Ginsberg.

There is not necessarily harmony between these groups: Militant blacks, Chicanos, and blue-collar workers in many parts of the country, for example, have not been happy at all with the hippies and their fellow travelers. Here are white, middle-class youth turning their backs on the very things the less affluent are striving to attain, and who, like the black rebels' parental

generation, make a patient, gentle adjustment to deprived circumstances.

In reality, these neat distinctions, however useful heuristically, bleed one into another. Many a communard has seen himself as beginning a new society: "If," some ask, "there is no one willing to be ruled, who can be the rulers?" The yippies and their followers at the

Chicago convention, for all their put-ons, were classified, like the "provos" in the Netherlands, as the political arm of the hippies. Marcuse, theoretician of the New Left, attacked the puritanical and methodological bases of industrialization on both sides of the Iron Curtain. In short, hip-bohemianism seems to be in the process of elaborating personalities and life styles that parallel, if not follow from, New Left criticism and that, in times of increased emphasis on law and order, may substitute for it.

Social Changes

Antinomianism: Gnostic Heresies and Growth Centers

The normal task of adolescence and youth of integrating the discrepancies between a past to be left behind and a future to be found is especially marked during periods of rapid social change. The requirements of the old order offer a satisfying world image to many young people; however, in every individual and in every generation there seems potential for the

reciprocal aggravation of individual conflict and social ill.

When external standards fail, the individual is forced to find some ordering principle within himself. In this light, many hip activities can be viewed as attempts to find a new orientation: astrology, magic, folk ballads, populism, and a glorification of childhood are all means of orienting oneself in a universe that is neither ordered nor absurd but just is.

We tend to overthrow the institution that represents the unbelievable or discredited and attempt to form new ones. It appears that many young people have lost faith in the ideals and political channels that have appealed to youth in the past; the best they can do to replace them is to grope toward some vague and usually unworkable form of participant democracy.

Rapid social change has a number of consequences. It makes traditional values less believable, perhaps less useful; past systems of power and meaning may seem no longer adequate, even in the absence of alternative systems. It also makes the future less predictable.

One means of adapting to these conditions is to concentrate on what is known, the present and the self, to turn attention to the "now," celebrate the moment, and search for some truth within, whether it be sought through direct revelation, intuition, or mysticism.

This particular mode of adaptation, the antinomian, has become prominent during other periods of great social change. During the early centuries of the Christian era, for example, the gnostic heresies arose. These cults rejected the authority of the church, turned inward in their search for truth, founded utopian communities, and practiced spiritual exercises to achieve union with the Holy Ghost. Some of their members engaged in civil disobedience, refusing military service, and spent their time denouncing the establishment of the day. Similar changes occurred during the Anabaptist movements of the time of the Reformation, and in the periods following the French Revolution and Napoleonic wars, the failure of the Russian revolution in 1905, and the defeat of Germany in World War I.

Today, at the level of psychotherapeutic practice and institutions, a comparable phenomenon can perhaps be seen in the current interest in self-actualization, sensory awareness, inner rhythms and inner selves, the founding of the American Humanistic Psychology Association, and the 200 "growth centers" that have sprung up across the country during the past five years.

Drug usage reflects and is reflected in antinomianism: Drug experience emphasizes the now and the self. In 1848, the drug was hashish; in 1870, absinthe; in 1967 it was a psychedelic, followed by epidemics of stimulants, depressants, and opiates. It is often difficult, if not impossible, to untangle the

extent to which chemical agents produce their changes by direct chemical action on the brain, by giving permission for change, or by merely acting as an explanation for change, as good and as bad as all explanations. At one time, many young people seemed to use the psychedelics in the hope of change, as frogs into princes; however, as time has gone on, more have come to use these drugs less in the hopes of change than merely to make their swamps more colorful.

Mobility, Fragmentation, and "Schizoid Factors in the Personality"

It has been reported that the average American now moves five times across state lines and changes his occupation three times. One of the concomitants of this mobility has been the breakdown of the primary community where a man was known as a total being. This has, in turn, contributed to our knowing others only in regard to one aspect of their personality and to their knowing us in only one role, that is, to the fragmentation of both the self and the other into roles and aspects that become more and more specialized. Such sociocultural factors reinforce the psychological characteristics Fairbairn termed "schizoid" and hypothesized as typical of all human beings at the deepest level of their psyches. *The Divided Self,* a related concept, has helped make Laing an underground psychiatric hero. Whether experienced within, or projected onto the environment, it can be difficult indeed "to get it all together."

Contemplatives, Futurists, and "Heads"

There are subtle ways in which each culture conditions its members to perceive and create their subjective worlds. Proxemics, the study of man's personal and social use of space as a means of structuring relationships, suggests that people of different cultures selectively screen out different sensory data; hence they inhabit different worlds and develop different sets of ideas taken as "common sense." Perhaps, as Tart suggested, the "normal state" of consciousness for any individual is the one most adaptive and appropriate to his particular time and place. Projecting our own psychology on all "normal" people, however, we tend to assume that our "normal state of consciousness" is exactly the same as that of all "normal" people.

As a baseline, there appear to be two subjective and functional modes of being-in-the-world: (1) an action mode characterized by clear boundaries between self and nonself, a lineal concept of time and consequent cause-and-effect sequence, and (2) a receptive mode, characterized by indistinct or nonexistent boundaries between self and nonself, timelessness and synchronicity.

Within Western culture, we have developed rather strong negative attitudes toward altered states of consciousness and have strongly favored the active mode of being-in-the-world. Our particular version of this mode is a spectator-spectacle world view, in which observer and observed can be

separated and reality is structured into sequential arrangements of cause and effect. As an essential aspect of the development of a technologized world, this view has served us well; it has also brought the threat of imminent ecocatastrophe to the inhabitants of spaceship earth.

In common, contemplatives, futurists, and "heads" share a questioning or an indifference to some of the basic unspoken assumptions of this "normal" waking state. These assumptions, at least in the United States, of the white middle class have included: (1) the assumptions of inevitable competition and a winner and a loser in all transactions, rather than the possibility of "double wins"; (2) the assumption that man is a species separate from other species and is lord of the universe; (3) the assumption that the bigger the better; (4) the assumption of lineal time; and (5) the assumption of the inevitability of the nuclear family.

The drug-user and the contemplative may have experienced other states of consciousness and other modes of being, each associated with alternative paradigms. While remaining in a "normal" state of consciousness, the futurist and ecologist may use a systems framework, while the militant rejects what he despairs he can never achieve or what he sees as inseparably bound to evil.

Living successfully in the twenty-first century is likely to depend on

different criteria than successful living in the Industrial Age, and so may our definitions of mental health. Even a person's relationship to reality cannot be assessed without delineating whose description of what reality is being utilized as the norm.

Youth

Members of the hip generation range in age from pubescents to adults. However, the majority fall within that period known as youth; Toussieng et al., for example, reported accelerated psychological development, a kind of telescoped and condensed adolescence. In the populations they studied, the *Sturm und Drang* had ended by the ninth grade. It seems characteristic of postindustrial societies that they have come to sanction this stage of development between adolescence and the beginning of adulthood, a stage defined sociologically by disengagement from society, developmentally by continuing opportunities for growth, and psychologically by a concern with the relationship of the self to society and the universe.

During this period, the young person may be subject to conflicts at a number of levels. Using the framework developed by Anna Freud and the Hampstead group, these may be listed as follows:

1. Developmental interferences consist of whatever disturbs the typical unfolding of development. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish

environmental demands and opportunities that do not fit for a youth from those that he experiences as unreasonable but to which his objections most likely represent his rationalization of oppositionalism, power conflicts, omnipotence, and moral absolutism. Our culture does not currently honor convincingly either its goals or the type of personality it creates. This, coupled with the disorganization of social structures, the gnawing unease that somehow systems have got out of control, and the corruption of professed ideals deprives young people of optimum conditions for the articulation of their potentialities. In the absence of a facilitating environment, youth must find its own raison d'être, and tends to celebrate what it can do.

Not infrequently, parents—and society—directly or indirectly encourage the young in the very things they later condemn; for years, one mother of a thirteen-year-old runaway had moaned, "Oh, you won't run away. If anyone does any running away around here, it will be me."

2. Developmental conflicts arise when environmental demands are made at an inappropriate developmental stage or when maturational levels are reached and are accompanied by psychological difficulties.

The period of adolescence and early youth is a period of destruction of the ties with parents and their internal representations, with subsequent periods of mourning or its psychic partners, denial and elation, and their

replacement by suitable new representations. Schechter suggested that in the more severe deviations from normal either (1) the parents are not given up but are kept inviolate by idealization, (2) the attachment to the parents is so completely withdrawn, and without replacement, that it is necessary for the young person to regress to pathological self-investments, or (3) the energy is directed toward inappropriate, unrewarding and often sadistic objects. When the partially lost objects are not replaced by another suitable or valued one, the young person may experience himself as moor-less, unattached, alone and apart, yet omnipotent.

Following the fate of omnipotentiality in youth, Mindlin noted that its distortions can lead to unquestioned and excessive identification with parental objects at one extreme and to excessive change and lack of commitment at the other.

Identity formation and heterosexual intimacy are tasks of adolescence and early adulthood. Yet, during times of rapid social change there may be serious disadvantages to their solidification too early. In his recent reformulation, Erikson suggested that the young person must pass through a phase of "ego diffusion," expanding the boundaries of his self to include a wider identity, cognitive certainty, and ideological conviction. If his efforts misfire and he is unable to work out a clear formulation of life and his role in it, he ends up in "ego confusion," which is usually accompanied by

retrogression to an earlier psycho-sexual state. Retrogression to the oral stage leads to a premoral position where morality is denied; retrogression to an anal stage leads to an amoral position of flaunting accepted standards; retrogression to an Oedipal stage leads to "anti-authoritarian hyper-moralism", while retrogression to a latency stage leads to "pre-ethical pragmatism."

Erikson suggested that an incapacity or refusal to conclude the stage of identity on the terms offered by the adult world can lead to group retrogression. In pathological states, mistrust may seem to submerge trust, shame and doubt to submerge autonomy, guilt to submerge initiative, and inferiority to submerge industry. However, because of their repression of a necessary minimum of distrust, members of the hip generation have frequently found themselves the victims of predators, pilgrims, and microbes. The negative revival of the second stage of infantile development becomes manifest in willful impulsivity, shamelessness, contempt, and defiance, characteristics not uncommon among members of motorcycle gangs. A negative revival of the phallic phase may result in hyper-moralistic antiauthoritarianism, seizure of the seats of power, and expectation of amnesty because it's "all in the family." Revival of the latency stage is manifest in a dropping out for the sake of doing "one's own thing"; in time, such people may erect a commune of superiority masking the sense of inferiority that is the residue of the school age.

In extending Piaget's account of the changes in the structure of moral reasoning, Kohlberg has defined three stages: (1) During the preconventional stage the concepts of right and wrong are defined in terms of what leads to personal gratification or that which one can do without getting caught. (2) During the conventional stage of development, good and evil are seen as absolute. (3) During the first phase of the postconventional stage, the concept of right and wrong is determined in the framework of a social contract. This, in turn, is supplanted by the highest postconventional phase, one in which the individual is devoted to personal principles that may transcend conventional morality. By age twenty-four, 10 percent of middle-class males have reached the highest postconventional phase, while another 26 percent are at the social-contract phase. The work of Smith and Kohlberg indicates that the same banners will be waved by people of several different levels of moral development.

3. Interstructural conflicts are conflicts between hypothesized personality structures, for example, between drive activity and internalized demands. At times, specific external factors may stir up conflicts latent within the personality which otherwise might have caused no distress. At times these conflicts may be initiated by regression of any of the hypothesized psychic structures; for example, superego regression may be precipitated by renouncing those who formed the internalized models. Between the ages of sixteen and twenty, Kohlberg reported, a number of individuals moving

toward postconventional morality regress briefly to the preconventional stage, the "Roskolnikoff syndrome."

4. Intrastructural conflicts are conflicts within hypothesized systems. Many a draft-eligible young man has been caught between two alternative moral frameworks: should he heed the demands of patriotism and duty or the call toward reverence for all human life?

5. Externalized conflicts are any of the above conflicts which may be projected onto the environment and fought there, perhaps intermingling with real developmental interferences. The sense of a generation gap, for example, can be a distancing device substituting ideological differences for inner conflict; on the other hand, as a sign in the London office of The Rolling Stone reads: "Don't adjust your mind, reality may be faulty."

6. Phase discrepancies between or within hypothesized psychic structures occur as a result of hypertrophy or underdevelopment of certain personality functions. Some young wanderers, for example, drift about because, however developed they may be intellectually or in other areas of functioning, they are not tied to family or friends by the usual emotional ties. Similarly, in some activists one may find a high degree of moral development, which leads to ruthlessness and destructive zealotry because it is not tempered by a concomitant development of empathy, compassion, or the

capacity to love.

Mental health workers vary significantly in the degree of disturbance they expect to find in adolescence and young adulthood. A shift from the study of troubled youth in the consulting room to the study of non-clinic populations in their milieu brings with it a shift of interest from psychopathology to syndromes of mental health and a concomitant emphasis on the processes of coping and adaptation. Whatever the internal psychological state of a youth, his passage to adulthood is likely to be relatively smoother in a society where there is a consensus in the value systems, meaningful rewarded adult roles, and clearly defined transition points.

The Hip: A Brief History

The term "hippie" may be a derivative of the old English wrestling term "on the hip"; if you get your opponent there, you have him under control. It may derive from "hipster," an underworld term for a burglar who "cases the joint" and therefore is "in the know," or even from "on the hip," the reclining position once favored by smokers of opium. In any case, in varying forms of "hip" and "hep," it passed through jazz and underworld circles before emerging as the diminutive "hippie."

It would be convenient if the hip generation and its counterparts were

card-carrying movements with elected representatives and clearly enunciated manifestoes. Moral, attitudinal, and behavioral criteria have been continuously drawn up and then changed. One of the characteristics of the true hippie of 1967, as described by West and I, was the reply, when we asked a resident of Haight-Ashbury to define a "hippie": "What's a hippie? Those are *your* IBM cards, *your* blinders. I'm a free man, or as free as anyone can be in this society." In a like manner, when historians begin scrutinizing the minutiae of history, they may quibble whether the Dark Ages ever did exist.

Today, however, the cultural constellations known as the "hip generation" are variegated, similar to those of the medieval crusades that acquired and lost members along the road of march.

By autumn 1966, the Haight-Ashbury district of San Francisco had emerged as a watering place of West Coast hippiedom. On the basis of psychiatric interviews with 100 street hippies, West and I delineated a picture of the hippies, or as they preferred to be called, members of the New Community, or in a more Teilhardian manner, a Conscious Community. They were middle-class, white, well-educated youth in their early twenties. They espoused a world view based on brotherhood, altruism, tolerance, and nonviolence. They tended to meet one another from the position, "I'm OK, and you're OK (or potentially so)," a position that not infrequently they felt they had reached through the use of psychedelic chemicals. Though most had a

gourmet taste for drugs, none were addicted, and some had gone to the nonchemical "turn-ons"—mantra chanting, meditation, and Yoga. They favored readings, music, and clothes that were exotic then by the standards of most of America; but these were not essential, and the beads, bare feet, and long hair were generally regarded as only the outward signs of inner grace. As one runaway phrased it, "You can have inner grace without the outward signs or all sorts of outward signs and no grace at all."

The latter were the so-called plastic hippies. While many flocked to Haight-Ashbury in search of part or all of the promise of the hippie myth— brotherhood, truth, love, sex, drugs, or a therapeutic community of sorts— moochers and entrepreneurs also arrived. Only a fraction of the pilgrims were hippie material. Similar findings were reported by Yablonsky, who surveyed 700 hippies in locations as far ranging as Galahad's Pad in New York's East Village and the Gorda Commune in Big Sur, California.

Careers in Hippiedom

By 1967, the West Coast hippie way of life seemed to evolve through a series of stages:

1. The state of dissatisfaction. Our subjects were predominantly intelligent, college-educated twenty-year-olds of white middle-class background, from which they sought an exit, less in anger than with feelings

of impotent disillusionment, the rather sad conviction that the world of their parents was unable to offer relevant models of competence. These were mostly thoughtful and sensitive young people with idealistic and liberal values, often articulated but less obviously practiced by their parents. A few could see themselves as having picked up the torch of humanism where their parents let it fall. Perhaps it was their parents' recognition of this that was sometimes responsible for their continued support. In many ways, they reflected a successful education: Given the freedom to think their own thoughts, to feel their own feelings, and to speak out, they now took a stand against the trappings of an affluence which they experienced as unfulfilling.

2. The search. The state of dissatisfaction was followed by a search for meaning in the light of a good educational background and from an initial posture of financial security. The mass media, hot and cool, underground and establishment, directed their search toward hippie enclaves; the media supplied the guidebooks and manufactured stereotypes for youth to live out.

3. The association. Association with other searchers who seem to have discovered a "way" is the next step. Specialized vocabularies reveal that they are acquired in interaction: The term "freak," for example, has a meaning for "freaks" that the bourgeois would never suspect, a linguistic celebration of the rejected, typical of expressive social movements. The terms "head" and "freak" take on a master status, constraining the recipient to structure more

of his identity and activity in these terms. Associating with other heads, the head is publicly labeled and treated according to the popular diagnosis of the cause of his alternative life style.

Harassment arrests and calculated degradation are not uncommon; in many areas, official action has legitimatized nonofficial action; after neighborhood programs, local toughs and vigilantes have assumed the role of defenders of the faith and of the system. On his side, the hippie may use techniques of neutralization valid for him and his group but not for society as a whole—to see himself as a kind of billiard ball, more acted on than acting; to concentrate on the harm of unlawful acts ("Who gets hurt?"); to disguise injury as moral under the circumstances (for example, to take from the rich, i.e., liberate, and give to the poor, Robin Hood style); to condemn the condemners ("hypocrites" and "pigs"); or to sacrifice demands of the larger society to those of the smaller. Lack of interaction with surrounding groups leads to unbridled fantasy and self-fulfilling prophecies on both sides.

Society is so integrated that activities and social arrangements in one sphere of activity mesh with activities and social arrangements in other spheres. This leads to the dropout.

4. The dropout. From the viewpoint of the middle class, this is the end; for the hippie, it is the beginning. Once he has dropped out he is likely to

participate in some loosely organized liaison with others, a primary group between himself and the rest of the world—a family, commune, tribe, or clan —which provides him with the set of perspectives and understanding about what the world is like and heightens a sense of common identity and destiny. A distrust of organization and structure make it difficult for any form of control or leadership to emerge; consequently, group memberships and allegiances tend to be ephemeral and shifting. In time, some find themselves trapped, maintaining a position and a set of beliefs that no longer fit, either because the would-be hippies equate change with recantation or because of drug effects, both psychological and legal. The integration of these people back into society, or society's integration into them (for their numbers grow) may be one of the great tasks of the future.

We have now witnessed a flowering of the life styles that are recognized by outsiders as hippie and whose participants experience a shared identity. The real threat of the hippie, in whatever is pushed under that label, is the attraction of his way of life rather than his immediate political potential. The message is carried by hundreds of underground papers, posters, rock music, collective gatherings, and above all, by word of mouth.

For the younger age groups today, there may be neither disillusionment nor search; the hip alternatives are part of their ambiance, and one of the few images of man toward which they can hope to grow without having to give up

a sense of enchantment and play, an image of man as man as opposed to a machine, and into which they can escape from a world that would be as shocked by the official rejection of moral principles as by their practice. It is also a style beneath which the crazed, the criminal, and those bereft of competence in dealing with the world may find both an identity and a protective shield.

The politicization of the Western mind can be traced through three major stages: (1) Opposition to feudalism culminating with Rousseau and the *philosophes.* (2) Marx, Lenin, and the German Social Democrats culminating with the opposition to capitalism. (3) Today, the machine is the evil and all earlier inequities have somehow fused with it into pyramids of power. The solution for some is to make up a community of those whom they love and respect and who share common goals. Ours has been the heyday of the nuclear family, but according to latest United States census reports, 51 percent of the population today no longer lives in families.

Translated into life styles in 1971, there are a number of ways of living the hip way of life. It is possible to live in a commune and beat the system at its own games, a path often followed by successful rock groups and a growing number of committed people, often over twenty-five or even thirty, who seek to cope in a more successful manner in our current society. They pool resources for investment, purchasing, shelter, and education facilities for

their children. It is possible to take a relatively low-paying job, such as in the post office, and follow the local version of the hippie life in one's spare time. It is possible to drop out and live on the border of things, participating in shadow campuses and free universities. It is possible to go underground in a more political sense. As the proponents of law and order make activism more dangerous, many have decided that political change must follow a reformation in life style. Yet, this too is political, for where else can we look for the beginnings of an honest revolution but in what Buber called "prerevolutionary structure making"?

At a time of escalation in man's wants, the *Gemeinschaft* way of life of the commune reverses this process. It takes a great deal of improvisation, using whatever examples one can find: French communities of work, the Hopi and other Indian tribes, seventeenth-century Diggers, American religious communities of the turn of the century, and the Arcadian and Utopian traditions. If they have truly dropped out, these people may see themselves as both sane and successful, having escaped the hang-ups of technology, and see those who remain as the tragic casualties of a doomed culture.

Communes are explicit social systems. Differing widely one from the other, they offer opportunities for experimentation in living. There are at least three major varieties of stable communes: religious, utopian, and those built around the desire to optimize coping capacity, a kind of cooperative

model. As a social system, each commune can be analyzed along a number of continua: boundary maintenance, the complexity and nature of the interaction of subunits, relationship to other social systems both horizontal and vertical, methods of socialization and social control, and locally relevant functions, such as production, distribution, and consumption. A significant recent development is the emergence of collectives of communes sponsoring a number of joint projects, such as a food-purchasing cooperatives.

Some experimental communities are highly planned; some, following Skinner's *Walden Two,* are even based on behaviorism. Others are more the outcome of a drifting together of lost souls, not infrequently recapitulating their families of origin.

In nonreligious experimental communities, celibacy is rare. Free-love groups are short-lived because the sexually uncommitted are usually uncommitted in general. The most general pattern seems to be non-promiscuous "swinging" with other members of the commune, or group marriage, a form where each of three or more participants considers himself pair-bonded with at least two of the others. Same-sex bonds between females seem the most frequent; but same-sex bonds between males seem more important to the success of the marriage.

For those who come to it with critical inadequacies, the tribe, commune,

or clan may be merely an heir to their discarded family; for some, such groupings offer a truly facilitating environment that facilitates both their being and their becoming. It is perhaps for these people that the *Whole Earth Catalog,* a listing of "how-to" books and designs for the communard, is dedicated: "You are as gods, and might as well get used to it."

The hippies have improvised rituals and rights that allow them to shout, to stamp, and to play; thereby, they may have created an approximation to Norman Brown's "politics of no politics." Preoccupation with self-actualization, however, can lead to domination by others. Mystic being in the moment may slip into hedonistic living for the moment. Doing one's thing, respect for oneself and others as they are, can become an advertising slogan for hip capitalism and hip consumerism, a new version of the culture of leisure and a euphemism for being "out of gear."

Persecutors, Rescuers, and Victims: From Byronism to Bonapartism

With the smoking of a marijuana pipe of peace at the great Human Be-In in January 1967, the peace-loving hippies of Haight-Ashbury and the notoriously violent "bikers" (motorcyclists) celebrated an uneasy alliance. Each group seemed intrigued to share vicariously in the life of the other, and each group more clearly defined itself by contrast with the other. Both were sensitive to violence, but in outwardly opposite ways. In common they shared

a fluidity of identity, anti-intellectualism, ambivalence toward technology, and scorn for what they regarded as the hypocrisy of the straights. The motorcyclists in Haight-Ashbury were arranged along a Great Chain of Being, with the Hells Angels at the top. At the bottom were the street commandos, who could not afford motorcycles but only the exoskeleton of denim, leather, and dirt. For them, there was no righteous wrath and no target; the act or threat of violence seemed an end in itself, and to hurt or to be hurt bestowed some measure of meaningfulness.

It is interesting that members of the hip generation, with their talk of love and peace, somehow attract violence, thus increasing both their sensitivity to it and their defenses against it. As attacks have continued, some have traded their flowers for weapons; foreground becomes background, opposites merge, and Byronism shades into Bonapartism. The muddy pleasures of Woodstock brightened 1969; 1970 brought murder at Altamont.

Members of the hip generation seem to have become part of a great drama triangle of victims, persecutors, and rescuers. The roles may change, victims becoming persecutors and persecutors victims, but the system remains. This particular phenomenon is exacerbated by projection on both sides; thus, some commentators could once herald the hippies as comparable to the early Christians, possibly dirty but certainly innocent and pure, while others could see only diseased bands of useless, filthy, drug-taking gypsies,

the quintessence of parasitic degeneracy. This phenomenon may be exacerbated by adolescent absolutism and a tendency to separate objects into the loved and the hated. It has certainly been exacerbated by the tendencies of both sides to use their group as a protective shield against guilt feelings and to sanctify aggression in the name of good.

Beneath the beads and behind the songs often lies a desperate sense of futility and of being wasted. Loving everyone and everything may disguise an inability to love anyone or anything. In loose aggregates of non-groups with their shifting populations, each person, in doing his own thing, can find the most comfortable distance for himself, but he may also lose contact with all but himself. In Yablonsky's sample of almost 700 hippies, 49.4 percent had been locked up: 270 in jail, 87 in mental hospitals, 33 in prison. Zaks' survey of 432 yippies in Lincoln Park in 1968 noted their clearly positive feelings toward their parents and toward educational goals, despite little confidence in society in general and school systems in particular, little racist feeling, and little interest in organized structure. Although 42 percent had constructive suggestions, only 12 percent could see any positive future for the country. The younger they were, the higher they scored on tests of anomie, suicidal preoccupation, and manifest anxiety and the greater their feelings of hopelessness, isolation, purposelessness, and the nonvalue of existing in society. "Freedom," Janis Joplin was to wail, can be "just another word for nothing left to lose." Jerry Rubin, the yippie, put it: "The hippie-yippie-SDS

movement is a white Nigger movement. The American economy no longer needs young whites and blacks. We are waste material. We fulfill our destiny in life by rejecting a system which rejects us." For many of these young people, drug usage offers a way to ease inner tension, a semblance of group belonging, and a means of social protest; it also provides a means for self-punishment and for self-destruction.

The roots of the amotivational syndrome of aimless, anhedonic drifting, probably lie in a combination of psychological, social, and chemical factors, varying from person to person and for the same person at different times, a Gordian knot complicated by multiple drug usage and social reinforcements. Long-term use of stimulants may, for example, produce a kind of rebound depression. Many drugs interfere with the coordinates of space and time. Most of us in Western society construct our lives along a linear flow of time, the future before us and the past behind, a time span of limited duration, our three score and ten. If, as a result of psychedelic drug usage, an individual comes to feel tuned in to all of space and all of time, then this one life span— and with it the goals of the immediate future—becomes of little importance. Yet it is with the goals of the immediate future that most of us structure our lives; without them, there is danger of finding oneself caught in a morass of existential despair. The concomitant decrease in competitiveness, aggressiveness, and striving has usually been interpreted medically in terms of avoidance, passivity, or even brain damage. However, among members of

the countercultures, these qualities may be viewed differently, sought after, and socially reinforced for a time as valuable both to the individual and to society.

Rap Centers, Psychedelic Gurus, and the Mental Health Worker

Solutions to the problems of the hip generation are numerous: Some are traditional, some nontraditional; some emphasize prevention, others treatment and rehabilitation; some emphasize the psychological level, others the social, the moral, or the medical. Two bright strands in these interlocking networks have been the development of non-establishment health facilities and the opportunity for consultation to the communes.

During the past decade, three particular trends have emerged in the delivery of health services: (1) the growing demands of the consumer, (2) the popularity of like treating like, and (3) the spread of non-establishment, if not downright antiestablishment, health facilities—calm centers, hot lines, rap centers, and free clinics. The latter serve a number of functions. They are centers for free medical care and counseling, havens for bad trippers, bridges to more traditional agencies, social-educational centers of the settlement-house type, and, as in the case of the free university, structures offering educational courses more traditional educational institutions could or would not offer.

In general, these centers eliminate formalism in the roles of patient and therapist. Appointments rarely are necessary. Discontinuity in care-givers is the norm, and little seems to trouble the clients, whose lives are dominated by brief contacts. Approaches differ from area to area and time to time, but the thrust of such services is usually to provide young people, who generally do not see themselves as ill, with immediate access to a caring and concerned human being. Record-keeping is generally suspect; personal identification often goes no further than pseudonyms.

The major long-term result of these alternative institutions may prove to be an enhanced understanding between people of varying life styles, the formation of cadres of informed middle-class volunteers trained in meeting the young and the poor, and perhaps the development of a new base of political power. Some of these centers have served as springs whence more adequate community services may flow; others have probably hindered recognition of the need of education for living and more adequate medical care for all.

In such facilities, professional helpers are not infrequently dismayed to find they are held in low esteem. This is the result of a number of factors, including the disappointing experiences of many street people at local general hospitals, the establishment images of organized medical and mental health workers, and competition from the self-help groups. In their roles as helpers,

some local residents may find an identity, a position of prestige and value, perhaps for the first time in their life; as a stalwart of one free clinic put it, "Before I came here, I didn't know who I was, and could do nothing. Now I know I'm a helper and can help people." Unfortunately, to maintain an identity as a helper one needs people to help; the rolls may change, but the system remains. In some centers, psychedelic gurus have formed cliques that have become the real power of the center, sometimes without the knowledge of the nominal directors. Because of the meaningfulness of being a helper, and because of the shifting nature of the hip population and its lack of recognized spokesmen, those directing these non-establishment institutions are forever in danger of maintaining an organization which no longer fits the needs of their constituents.

Tilting with persecutors, well-meaning rescuers from the mental health professions may waste their time and indeed feed community resistance to their efforts. Some come to help and are upset and angered to find their roles already performed by indigenous workers; some come to criticize and instruct in matters moral—and are soon ousted. Some find themselves caught up in a kind of forced choice based on the assumption that if two life styles differ, one must be good and one bad; the good is only as good as the other is bad; they find themselves pushed either into some caricature of the establishment position or into going native. Many professionals can work comfortably with disinfectant but not incense; with the sound of sirens but

not of rock; under the gaze of Osier or Freud but not of Buddha. For some, not to denounce what they see as excess is to sanction it. They may indeed be met with threatened lawsuits on such charges as contributing to the delinquency of minors, assault, that is, treating minors without parental consent, frequenting a disorderly house, and creating a public health hazard. Finally, it is difficult to live in two worlds at once: I once found myself nonplussed when a member of a local motorcycle group offered what his group most valued, a willingness to mug the enemy of my choice!

Consultation in the Communes

Some communards seek mental health consultation to clear blocks to their growth and development, both as individuals and as a group. Consultation, as Caplan described, can be of many types, and what is needed or requested varies from group to group. However, the initial invitation is frequently from a deviant member of the community.

At the program level, I have noted a frequent need for information and planning about hygiene, child care, and the less useful sequelae of improvisational programlessness. At this point, we may have conflicting findings regarding the rearing of children in groups; however, it is certainly clear that parenting by many may degenerate into good parenting by none in an unpredictable world of frequent movings, short-lived relationships, and

shifting rules. Although idealized, children seem not infrequently treated more as toys than as human beings. A few parents, entranced by the liberating effects of LSD, have even given it to their infants to "immunize" them against the hang-ups of the world.

Sometimes it seems useful to hold workshops for an entire commune, a combination of individual, group, and family therapy. While communards are heir to all the problems of mankind, I have been especially impressed with the frequency of problems arising from individual members not taking responsibility for their own feelings while taking responsibility for the feelings of everyone else, of resentments over unequal distribution of labor, of Oedipal furies despite manifestoes of sexual freedom or group marriage, of authoritarianism or political paralysis resulting from the majority being unwilling to impose their decisions on the minority, and of issues of closeness and intimacy, of being close yet free, the oscillations between anxiety attendant on isolation and the threat of engulfment.

"On the Street": Psychotherapeutic Interventions

In choosing his psychotherapeutic technique, each mental health worker will probably at least attempt to be in touch with himself, his patient, and the context, and not with technique alone. In addition to our usual psychotherapeutic armamentarium, less well-known approaches seem

fruitful for work in rap centers, communes, and on the street. I have found two of these especially useful: Gestalt therapy and transactional analysis.

Gestalt therapy, as elaborated by Perls, is an existential approach emphasizing awareness in the here and now, contact, the completing of unfinished situations, and the integration of fragmented aspects of the personality. Its emphasis on what is as opposed to our fantasies of what should be and on self-support parallels antinomian emphasis on the now, with its consequent celebration of the senses; its rather Taoist emphasis on experience and the trusting of inner rhythm fits with antinomian tendencies to distrust authority and intellectualization and to elaborate the truth within. Its emphasis on the integration of disowned parts of the personality counteracts tendencies toward "the divided self," a disembodied spirit in a disenchanted body. It is noteworthy that much of the social criticism of Paul Goodman, one of the intellectual architects of the great dropout, seems to have its roots in his work as a Gestalt therapist. This treatment approach does, however, require an abstracting ability that may be temporarily impaired by drug usage.

Transactional analysis is a deceptively simple framework utilizing the concepts of inner selves (parent, adult, child), basic existential positions, and a life career, or "script," to make sense of what goes on within and between individuals. Because of this apparent simplicity, it is especially useful in

helping people become aware quickly that their psychological interactions are understandable, and hence controllable, that they are not as corks tossed about helplessly by every ocean wave, but that they can make decisions and carry them out, mindful of what fits for them, others, and their environmental context. Unfortunately, transactional analysis can also be used not to promote growth and development but to refine control and manipulation, thereby confirming suspicions that mental health workers are less interested in growth and development than in coopting strays back into the system.

Permission and Protection

In working with members of the hip generation, I have found it useful to have the client consider his script, or life plan, how he sees his present in terms of his past and his future, in order to determine what permission he currently needs. The therapeutic encounter can be seen as making this permission explicit. Ultimately, the client will need to give this to himself. When he does and begins to restructure his life, he may need protection, for any significant life change is likely to require major changes in a person's relationships and activities, leaving him in a transitional period of uncertainty, unwilling to continue on as he had, yet uncertain what to do in its place.

Within the context of his family each young child is enveloped in

expectations, hopes, and fears of how life is to be for him. These messages, or "injunctions," arise from within the total family context, usually totally beyond the awareness and intentions of his parents, and are sometimes the very opposite of their later verbal messages.

The child may not pick up these injunctions, or he may refuse to accept them, perhaps finding alternatives from the lady next door or the parents of some other child. Based on these injunctions, however, and on his limited life experience, he may decide how life will be for him, then selectively screen his world to support and reaffirm this decision. For example, a child who is unwanted or for whom there really is no place because his parents are fighting, divorcing, or otherwise troubled may pick up the injunction "Don't be." On this basis, as the Gouldings and I have pointed out, he may make one of the following early decisions: (1) "When things are bad enough I'll kill myself." (2) "I'll hang on, no matter how bad things get." (3) "I'll get even even if it kills me." (4) "I'll show you, even if it kills me." (5) "I'll get you to kill me." He is then in a position to spend his life collecting and treasuring the appropriate feelings to support this decision, in this case probably feelings of depression, anger, and guilt.

I once spent an evening with a motorcycle gang that was preparing to battle the police and drinking in celebration of their expected deaths. For all their braggadocio, the message was clear. As one young man put it, "We will

get them to kill us, and that will show just what kind of people they are." In short, this was the current reaffirmation of the early decision "I'll get you to kill me."

Other family contexts lead to different injunctions, different decisions, and a collection of different feeling states. For example, the injunction "Don't make it" (often with the later verbal message "Work hard"), is likely to be followed by the decision "I'll never make it" and feelings of helplessness, frustration, and anger.

Cutting across standard diagnostic categories, these permissions and the corresponding injunctions may be outlined as follows:

1. Permission to exist. (Injunction: "Don't be.")

2. Permission to experience one's own sensations, to feel one's own feelings, to think one's own thoughts as opposed to what others may think one should think or feel. (Injunctions: "Don't be you, be me." "Don't think ___." "Don't feel ___. ")

3. Permission to be oneself as an individual of appropriate sex, and age, and with a potential for growth and development. (Injunctions: "Don't be you." "Don't grow up." "Don't leave me." "Don't be a child.")

4. Permission to become aware of one's basic existential position, that is, one's basic stance toward self, others, and the

environmental context. (Injunction: "Don't become aware of where you're at.")

5. Permission to change this existential position, to experiment, to learn, and to practice in an atmosphere of feedback and support. (Injunction: "Don't be OK.") This is usually reinforced by expectations of calamity, should change occur.

6. Permission to find satisfaction in love and work, that is, to be a sexually mature human being able to validate one's own sexuality and the sexuality of others, and to "make it." (Injunctions: "Don't grow up." "Don't be sexually mature." "Don't leave me." "Don't make it.")

7. Permission to be emotionally close to others. (Injunction: "Don't be close.")

8. Permission to find some meaning in life. (Injunctions: "Don't be OK." "Don't be integrated." "Don't get it all together.")

This progression of permissions reflects the old adages—"Know thyself." "Be thyself." "Develop thyself." However, it also suggests specific levels of therapeutic intervention. Each of our currently popular modes of therapy covers a number of levels and may resonate at still other levels. This is also modified by the personality and expertise of the therapist. At level 2, for example, we find much of the work of Hilde Bruch, the sensory explorations of Elsa Gindler, Charlotte Selver, and their pupils, and some aspects of yoga, movement, and dance therapies. In contrast, level 8 touches a

new problem of identity: "Even if I know who I am, what difference does it make?" Long the province of religious and mystical traditions, this problem has particular impact today because we have increasing evidence that our politicians and scientists have set in motion systems that more and more control them. Ultimate meaning is an important element in some yoga traditions, Jungian therapy, Frankl's logotherapy, peak-experience therapy, psychosynthesis, meditation and its currently popular technological counterparts in the training of alpha and theta waves.

Such an approach makes explicit the role of the mental health worker; he helps his client balance tendencies within his development and thereby get on with his total growth and development. This model of help is cast in the framework neither of sin nor of sickness but of growth, an important emphasis especially when working with people who regard themselves as neither criminal nor ill.

In summary, the heralded rebellion of the cultural constellations now known as the hip generation is largely one of lateral insurgency; these young people have gone off in directions other than the current mainstreams of industrialized society and are in the process of exploring their own values and alternative institutions. If their parents could personify pure evil, then they might represent pure good, but neither do, and the Aquarian Age seems a time when we more frequently must choose between two goods or two evils

rather than between good and evil. Ultimately, whether we view this phenomenon as an escape, threat, or serious search for the most viable shape that human life may take depends, in part, on our own personal hopes for the future. It is also a manifestation of the period of transition from childhood to adulthood. In *Demian*, Hermann Hesse described this transition for Emil Sinclair, a young man caught between two worlds, his middle-class well-ordered home where "straight lines and paths . . . led into the future" and a dark world of chaos into which a descent is not necessarily evil but an expression of boldness and intelligence, and perhaps even a necessary antecedent to real order: "Many people experience the dying and the rebirth—which is our fate—only this once during their entire life. Their childhood becomes hollow and gradually collapses. Everything they love abandons them and they suddenly feel surrounded by the loneliness and mortal cold of the universe. Very many are caught forever in this impasse—the dream of the lost paradise."

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