

Contrasting the Hippie and Junkie

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In recent years the hippie phenomenon has caught the public's attention and the mental health profession unawares. An abundance of anxieties confronts us today concerning this group. The hippie group has been compared to the junkie group by some in the mass media, and some have not distinguished the two as separate groups. It is of note that the excellent guide for educators, *Drug Abuse: Escape to Nowhere*, printed in 1967, fails to mention the hippie group and fails to point out important influences of this group on our high schools and colleges—despite giving descriptions of marijuana, LSD, and the advocacy of these by Timothy Leary. Louis Jolyn West (1968) noted in an unpublished speech that his greatest concern with the hippie problem was not the obvious case seen in Hashbury (Bronsteen, 1967) but rather the very great influence this movement has had in our middle-class adolescent population.

This report endeavors to compare the two groups (junkie and hippie) in areas of location, sex, age, race, socio-economic origins, patterns of drug abuse, external appearances, employment, leisure-time

activities, "philosophy," and psychiatric patterns—based on information presently available to the author.

LOCATION

The hippie movement appears to have begun in the winter of 1963-64 in the Greenwich Village area, with a small colony being detected in the Haight-Ashbury section of San Francisco a few months thereafter. There may have been some other unknown point of origin, but it is fairly clear that these two areas were the first observed gathering places of the hippies. The intolerance of the neighboring community in Greenwich Village forced the movement of this New York City group to the East Village area, where they were met with less resistance. They have been there since.

The San Francisco group was also met by opposition. The neighborhood was a racially mixed, lower middle-class family area of private residences and some rentals. The influx of this group not only changed the neighborhood character but also changed the real estate values and prices in the shops. The efforts to remove the hippies were unorganized and sporadic. The hippies remained, numbers increasing over the intervening years, and mushrooming in summers and weekends. The Haight on warm Sundays, for example, was so crowded as to force pedestrians to dodge into the street on occasion in order to pass. This crowd would extend four city streets east of the border of the Golden Gate Park. In the park area adjacent to Haight, hundreds, if not thousands, of young people in hippie garb flocked together when the weekend weather was fair.

Other locations have sprung up since the initial San Francisco and New York City colonies. They include the Sunset Strip area of Los Angeles, Dupont Circle in Washington, D. C., the Plum Street area in Detroit, the Capitol Hill section of Denver, and the near Northeast 42nd Street in Seattle. Communal rural life has been limited to a few ardent groups in places such as the Millbrook Estate in Connecticut and the geodesic village (Drop City) outside Trinidad, Colorado. These rural hippie communities are having a difficult time surviving. An important footnote in the issue of location is the fact that the teenagers from the surrounding metropolitan area visit these urban hippie centers whenever possible and absorb much of the philosophy, mannerisms, beliefs, etc., to carry them back to the communities in which they reside.

Studies (Ball et al., 1963; Scher, 1966) have reported that the greatest concentrations of junkies reside in and about New York City, Chicago, and Los Angeles, with smaller clusters in Washington, D. C., Detroit, Cleveland, St. Louis, and San Francisco. Their habitats within these cities change gradually but usually focus about the deprived ghetto areas and the sleazier tourist areas. Other clues to the residence of the narcotic addict are obtained from the statistics of the two federally operated narcotic treatment centers at Lexington and Fort Worth. Although patients were admitted from 46 of the 50 states in 1965, as well as from the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico, a concentration of addicts in metropolitan areas was evident. Of the 2,646 addict patients admitted in 1965, 89% were from the 215 largest cities in the United States and Puerto Rico (from the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas of the 1960 census); 53% were from the 12 largest cities.*

SEX RATIOS

During a four-day period—two in San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury section in February, 1968 and two during the summer of 1967 in the Capitol Hill section, extending eastward and northward from the intersection of Colfax and Broadway and including the adjacent 20 square blocks, of Denver—the author did a random sample questionnaire (verbal) of those that had the appearance of hippies. (It is not in the province of this paper to evaluate the "real" from the pseudo-hippie. This author knows of no one standard test between the two. Some just spend several hours and some several years in "Hashbury." From the variety of differences of responses, the author suspects it to be a problem of gradations rather than a question of all or none.)

The sample was conducted by interviewing every fifth individual. It was explained who the author was and the purposes of the questions. No names were requested and assurance was given that the interviewer was not a police officer. The questions asked included area of residence, age, drugs used, socio-economic background, educational level, and work history. In addition, the author counted 200 consecutive hippie-appearing individuals in each area and made note of their racial and sexual features. A description of the "hippie-appearing" type of

* *Selective Social Characteristics of Consecutive Admissions to Lexington in 1965.*

individual is given under the heading *Appearance*. The results of this survey will be revealed in accordance with the topic of comparison in this paper.

The hippies seen on the streets in Denver during the late summer weekend days of 1967 were 68 females and 132 males. The author was out at a public park area frequented by hippies on Saturday between the hours of 2 and 6 p.m., in front of a hippie cafe between 8 and 10 p.m., and again the next day, Sunday, between 4 and 8 p.m., in a public street near the park area mentioned before. The percentage of females was 34% and males 66%. The count in the month of February between 2 and 6 p.m. Sunday afternoon in San Francisco revealed a somewhat different picture. Only 46 (23%) of the total 200 tallied were females. The relationship of the two may be time, season, or location. If it is any of these or another factor is not clear.

Figures of the USPHS Hospital in Lexington reveal that the ratio of male to female narcotic addicts is on the order of 4:1 and 6:1. Table 1 indicates the number of male and female admissions from 1941 to 1964. It should be noted that during the year 1964 there existed about 1,100 narcotic addict beds in Lexington, of which 250 were designated female addict beds. At no time were the female beds occupied at their full capacity in that year.

Another study by Abeles (1966) indicated that 480 of the total of 1,239 of addicts admitted to selected New York City detention centers from July 1 to August 31, 1965, were females. This means that 38% of addicts in that city that were caught were women and 64% were men. This study was carried out at three detention facilities: Women's House of Detention, Brooklyn House of Detention, and Manhattan House of Detention. The number of inmates received during the two months included in the study was 9,132 of whom 1,239 were classified as addicts. It has been pointed out that there may have been a drive to incarcerate addicts during this period of time, and whether this has any bearing on the statistics revealed by the study by Abeles can not be answered here. Another study of Puerto Rican addicts in San Juan by Ball* found that of the 118 addicts studied, only 12 were women. This is a percentage of 10% females and 90% males. Whether this is due to a selection factor in the addicts in that study or reflection of the situation in San Juan is not clear.

* Ball, John C.—Onset of Heroin Addiction in a Juvenile Population.

TABLE 1
Addict First Admissions to the U. S. Public Health Service Hospitals
at Lexington and Fort Worth^a

Year	Male	Female	Total
1935	821		821
1936	963		963
1937	680		680
1938	1,069		1,069
1939	1,204		1,204
1940	1,522		1,522
1941	1,092	105	1,197
1942	1,084	249	1,333
1943	802	238	1,040
1944	672	175	847
1945	611	161	772
1946	806	137	943
1947	1,085	311	1,396
1948	1,085	236	1,321
1949	1,472	441	1,913
1950	2,212	513	2,725
1951	2,072	497	2,569
1952	1,706	517	2,223
1953	2,043	634	2,677
1954	1,730	539	2,269
1955	1,830	459	2,289
1956	1,842	495	2,337
1957	1,781	463	2,244
1958	1,882	458	2,340
1959	1,777	442	2,219
1960	2,009	484	2,493
1961	1,616	364	1,980
1962	1,588	287	1,875
1963	1,457	293	1,750
1964	1,647	264	1,911
Total	42,160	8,762	50,922

^a From: U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. *Narcotic Addicts in U. S. Public Health Service Hospitals*.

The sexual comparison of San Francisco hippies and New York City addicts seems to have a close relationship, while the ratio of addicts admitted to the USPHS Hospital seems to have a lower percentage of women than the San Francisco survey and more than the Denver count. The author realizes that many other factors enter the picture in the

studies used. However, it is clear that in both the junkie group and the hippie group, there were from two to three times as many males tallied as females (at the least).

AGE

The samples mentioned under this section were those described under the previous heading.

Twenty-seven random samples in San Francisco revealed that two hippies were 16, four were 17, four were 18, five were 19, one was 20, six were 21, two were 22, one was 25, one was 27, and one was 32. The random sample survey in Denver found that one was 14, one was 15, one was 17, four were 18, two were 19, six were 20, three were 21, two were 22, two were 24, two were 26, one was 29, one was 30, and one was 32. This seems to indicate that the hippie phenomenon is primarily one of *late adolescence and early adulthood*. However, since this group has only been described since early 1964, it may be that there has not been time for the original converts to reach a more mature age. On the other hand, it may be that as in the narcotic addict, there is a tendency to drop out of the movement at a certain age period in their lives.

For narcotic addicts in the hospitals age distributions at Lexington

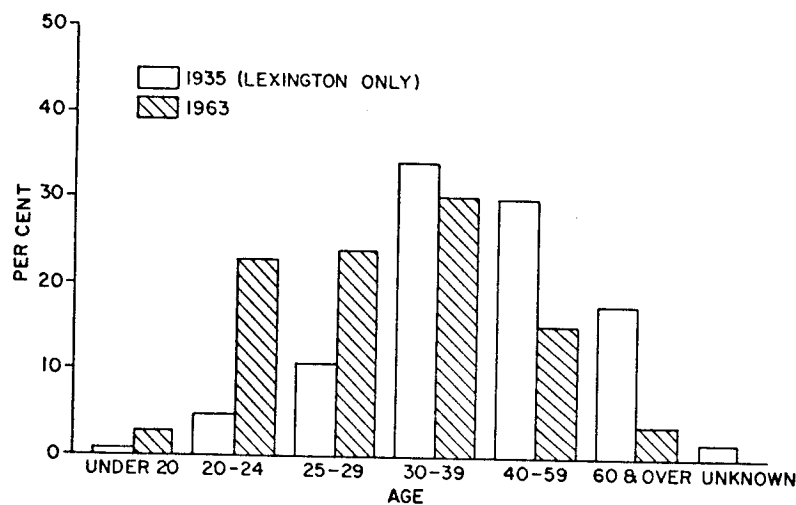


Fig. 1. Age distribution of first admission addicts in Lexington and Fort Worth Hospitals, 1935 and 1963.

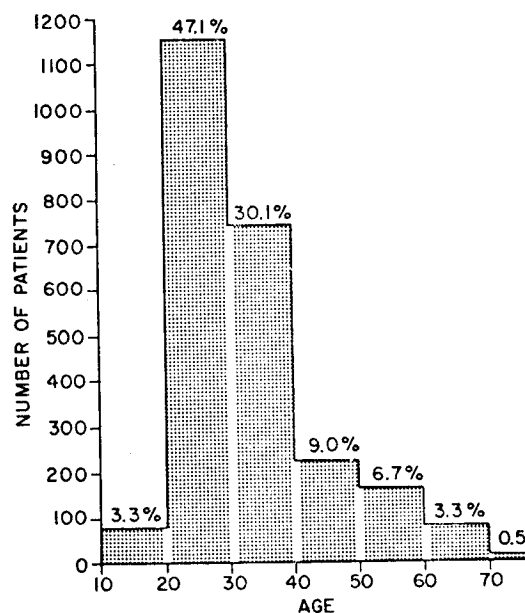


Fig. 2. Age of the 2,456 addicts admitted to the U. S. Public Health Service Hospitals at Fort Worth and Lexington, 1963.

and Fort Worth are shown in Figs. 1 and 2. The study of institutionalized addicts in New York City (Abeles, 1966) revealed that 165 were 16-20, 532 were 21-29, 370 were between 30-39, 77 were 40-49, and 14 were over 50. The Conference on Narcotics Addiction held at the University of California in Los Angeles in 1963 (Ball, 1963) concluded that most addicts are addicted before 21 and if they survive the full term of life tend to discontinue their abuse of narcotics between 35-40. Whether the junkie "matures" or "burns out," or there is some other cause for the drop in the numbers of addicts using narcotics over the age of 40, is not clear.

RACE

Racial characteristics of the two groups studied by street counts also varied in the hippie groups. Color appearance was used to differentiate ethnic groups. Of the 200 hippies counted in San Francisco, only 14 were Negroes, and they were all males. There were only four Negro males counted in the Denver survey. All the others appeared to be

white. This seems to indicate that 2-7% of the hippies in these two communities were Negro males.

The opposite is true in the urban junkie areas. O'Donnell (1967) reported that in recent years 55% of persons admitted to the two federal narcotic hospitals were either Negro, Mexican, or Puerto Rican; and the Bureau of Narcotics reported that about 70% were from these minority groups. The Conference on Narcotics Addiction previously mentioned concluded that the New York City addict is more likely to be Puerto Rican and Negro, the Chicago addict Negro, and the California addict Mexican. It should be noted at this point that before the several acts making narcotics illegal, the phenomenon was a different one in that it was primarily a white rural-urban problem. Apparently, it has only been in the past fifty years that the shift has occurred from mostly white and some Chinese addicts to that of Negro and Spanish surname groups with a minority of white addicts. Some claim that a greater percentage of deprived groups make use of the publicly supported institutions than white, middle-class addicts. If this is true, the aforementioned "trends" must be re-evaluated. Whether the laws or some other emerging sociological phenomenon occurred cannot be shown with accuracy. An interesting aside on the racial question in these two groups is the increasing hostility the aspiring middle-class Negro residents of Haight-Ashbury had to the hippies who moved in. It is reversed in the East Village in New York City. According to Dr. Brody (1968), since the murder of Miss Fitzgerald and another well-known white hippie in that area, there is a considerable amount of negative feeling to all Negroes by hippies who had been generally tolerant toward Negroes previously.

APPEARANCE

One of the best guides to the rigid, unusual costumes of the hippie culture is contained in the *Handbook* by Bronsteen (1967). The male will have a beard, mustache, or some other unshaven area about the face. His hair will be in various stages of being long. He may wear unusual attire, including Australian digger hats, granny glasses of unusual colors and shapes, flowered or paisley shirts, beads, flowers, a musical instrument such as flute or guitar, a hip-hugging pair of trousers with a wide leather belt (garrison belt), boots, sandals, or bare feet. Tattoos are seen more frequently. The types of tattoos placed

on the exposed areas of their bodies has not been investigated as yet. It is not known if they place such on the skin ordinarily covered by their apparel. Often peace buttons such as "Make Love Not War" are worn. The female hippie wears her hair long and straight, outlines her eyes with very dark materials, yet wears no lipstick. On occasion her face may be painted with one or more small designs. Leotard tops with tights are common. Micro-mini skirts are seen frequently as well as old floppy trousers of various origins. It is said that they discourage the use of such undergarments as brassieres and foundations. Flowers, beads, rings, and bracelets are to be seen in profusion. Ankle bells may be heard on occasion. Bare or sandaled feet are seen if the weather permits. On colder occasions, boots may be worn. Tattoos are also seen on some of the female hippies. Alternatives such as work shirts and dungarees are seen on both male and female hippies. Girls may also don flower printed smocks and mother hubbards.

The clothes that junkies tend to affect may be viewed as an exaggeration of the upper middle-class's values. They wear these clothes when things are going well for them financially. On these rare occasions they affect \$50 shoes and \$200 suits with monogrammed silk shirts. The exaggerations often lead to almost caricatures. The women also tend to attire themselves in this fashion, emphasizing their sexuality. Since these styles are those affected by many in these deprived groups, the clothes may be a reflection of the ghetto costume and not necessarily an indication of narcotic addiction.

Since many women are street walkers, it is unclear whether this may be considered their working clothes or their attire of choice for other reasons. Other status symbols of our materialistic side of society are adopted—such as the huge Cadillac of exotic design or color.

More commonly the addict is strung out on narcotics and must sacrifice his personal appearance and worldly goods to obtain the drugs he craves. At those periods he might appear disheveled and "down and out." The non-Negro addict often has tattoos that are identifiable as addict tattoos (Hamburger, 1966). Tattoos of spiders, etc., over areas where needle marks may be found are highly significant. "My crazy life," "born to lose," as well as "monkeys on their backs" have been recorded. Pachuca marks, time marks, and letters on the dorsum of the fingers are not uncommon (Hamburger, 1963). An impoverished ego-structure, basic social insecurity, various neuroses and personality disturbances are conducive factors to the use of tattooing as a psychic defense mechanism in the junkie.

DRUGS

The majority of hippies seemed to feel that marijuana was the one drug that gave them the most consistent result and was the one most trusted. Twenty-two of the 27 in San Francisco used marijuana "from every few days to every day when I can." They described the drug as "pleasant and relaxing" as well as the standard "groovy." LSD was described by six (of the total of 19 who had used it in both cities) as their favorite—and they would use it more often if they could get it and/or had the money for it. None of the other drugs was endorsed by this group except as substitutes for marijuana and LSD. Indeed, there was a general revulsion to heroin and other opiates. Methedrine was only useful if used in correct combination or for a substitute to the hallucinogens already described. It is a potentiator of prolonged sex, it was claimed. The rationale for barbiturate use was not clear. (See Table 2.)

TABLE 2
Types of Drugs Used by Hippies in San Francisco and Denver

	San Francisco	Denver	Total
Marijuana	25	19	44
LSD-25	13	6	19
Amphetamines	15	10	25
Peyote	1	0	1
Psilocybin	1	1	2
STP ^a	1	0	1
Morning Glory Seed	3	2	5
Heroin	2	0	2
Codeine	1	0	1
Barbiturates	5	2	7

^a 2,5-Dimethoxy-4-methyl-amphetamine.

From a study (Hamburger, 1964) of the records of 1,000 consecutive admissions to the USPHS Hospital at Lexington, an analysis was made of types of narcotics used and their relationship to barbiturates (Table 3). Ludwig and Levine (1965) in the same hospital during the same period did a survey of the total hospital population in respect to hallucinogens (not including marijuana). Only 26 of the total 1,200 hospital narcotic population responded affirmatively. Twenty-three were men and three women and they indulged infrequently to rarely. They tended to use these drugs in combination with a narcotic.

TABLE 3
Type of Narcotic Drug Used by Barbiturate Users

Narcotic drug	No. not using barbiturates	No. using barbiturates	Total
Heroin	504	228	732
Codeine-Camphorated opium tincture (Paregoric)	63	33	96
Meperidine (Demerol) hydrochloride	29	12	41
Morphine sulfate	30	23	53
Dihydromorphinone (Dilaudid) hydrochloride	25	17	42
Methadone hydrochloride	10	8	18
Mixture of hydrochlorides of opium alkaloids (Pantopon)	4	3	7
Total	665	324	989

A much smaller group (the number was not given) was of a different breed. They took marijuana principally and were referred to as "pot heads." Amphetamines, barbiturates, and the hallucinogens were used freely. They were further described as avoiding opiates, being "arty-creative" people who tended to be frustrated easily, young rebels, free-thinkers, non-conformists who expressed need for "greater insights," "sensory stimuli," and "distortions," "inspirations," and so forth, given them by the hallucinogens. They seemed to take the drugs in groups as opposed to the single or double person abuse of narcotics.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

The hippies and junkies reveal a most striking difference in socio-economic background. A recent edition of an *East Village Other* (1968) questionnaire was answered by 1,200 hippies. It included their educational background. According to this paper, the replies indicate 6% had graduate degrees, 7% some graduate work, 29% either B.S. or B.A. degrees, 29% some college, 22% high school graduates, 4% high school not completed, 2% finished only grade school. The experience of many who have worked with this group reveals that they are primarily from middle-class homes with little if any economic problems or history of discriminatory practices against them. Some came from affluent backgrounds. The majority never seem to have been subjected to any type of social or economic hardship. The Negro men interviewed

by the author verbalized that they just "hung around to see what I could pick up from these nuts." Further questioning always brought up the availability of sex. None of the three interviewed felt that they were seriously contemplating taking up with the hippies for more than their immediate gratification.

The junkie, on the other hand, is the school dropout, from the ghetto, broken homes, lowest socio-economic class, discriminated against, and has generally attempted to attain middle-class values but has easily become frustrated and given up to slink into the oblivion of narcotics. Ball (1963) noted that most narcotic addicts are either engaged in illegal occupations or are unemployed. Following unsuccessful attempts toward middle-white class values, these values are rejected and the junkie culture of extolling the hustler, operator, and repudiating any type of legitimate employment, etc., is adopted.

In contrast, the hippie, according to the aforementioned *East Village Other* survey works 45% of the time, is supported by parents 12% of the time, and makes do with the absolute minimum by being employed 29% part-time; 7% are students, 7% do not work, and 29% sell drugs to others within their community. The last is a very important estimation. Whether this is different from junkies is not clear. In the hippie group, many of the users are also sellers of small quantities. The junkie using drugs alone or with another person; and the hippie tending to use it in a group experience is contrasted here (Scher, 1966).

ART AND MUSIC

The junkie group has always had a number of musicians and artists, well known and not so well known, who have abused the narcotic group of drugs. Often they claim that they can make a better product while on these drugs. However, one soon discovers that they are referring to marijuana, a physiological hallucinogen which has been classified as a narcotic (legally). The musical products of the musicians while under the influence failed to impress him when he was abstinent (Winick, 1959). It remains to be shown whether the hallucinogen improves the music or the musicians' perception of it. There has been no recorded "great artist" who produced a significant work while under the influence of narcotics. Jazz and blues are associated with some of the artists mentioned before (Winick and Nyswander, 1961).

The hippies have in contrast produced an art form which is now

influencing our culture from fashions to advertising: psychedelic lights, posters, music, hair styles, TV, literature, and the accepted mores of the youth of the country. It is not in the scope of this paper to judge whether this is "good" or "bad." However, it would be derelict if it were not pointed out, as this may indeed be a most important aspect of the total hippie phenomenon.

CONCLUSIONS

The following conclusions were made from a very limited survey and are only tentative and need confirmation. Hippies, though superficially similar to aspects of the junkie group, seem basically a different group. They are fairly recent in origin, though some of their characteristics have been seen in other groups in the past. The hippies have been located in clearly circumscribed districts of several of our larger cities, while the junkies permeate all delineated deprived areas of cities, particularly the ghettos. At least 3 to 4 times as many hippie males as females were found in the groups studied. The pattern of sex ratio seemed similar in the junkies. Hippies ranged in age from 16 to 32, the maximum cluster being within the ages of 18 to 21. Junkies are found to be from the mid-teens to the "older citizen" age groups, with the majority ranging from 19 to 35. Racial differences indicated the majority of junkies come from the minority groups such as Negro and Spanish Americans. Most of the hippies were white, with only a small number of Negro-male "hangers-on."

Junkies represent a cross-section of the socially, economically, and culturally deprived Americans, while hippies in the group studied came primarily from middle-class America.

The flaunting rebellious styles of the hippies contrasted to accepted middle-class modes of dress and appearance among junkies. The increasing acceptance of the hippie fashions by middle-class Americans is another question that will not be gone into here. In contrast the junkie imitates and accentuates (when he can) white middle-class values, clothes, and appearance.

Drugs abused by the hippie group are primarily marijuana, LSD-25, and amphetamines in that order of frequency, while initial experimentation with marijuana leading to narcotics is the junkies' natural history. Hippies are repulsed by narcotics, while junkies develop aversions to hallucinogens. The vast majority of the hippies studied used drugs, as do all the junkies. Barbiturates and amphetamine drugs are often

substituted by both groups when their primary drugs are not available.

Educationally, the hippies appeared to be above the national norms, while junkies fall below the national norms. Junkies tend to give up legitimate employment and drift into illegal activities to raise funds for drug purchases. The hippies questioned tend to do the minimum possible work, though it means living at low standards. The seller-user tends to fuse into one individual in the hippie culture. Small quantities are sold to allow for the subsistence of the one hippie.

The social grouping in the hippie group seems to be a much larger one than that of the junkie world. Drugs are taken in group parties, while the narcotics of the junkies are taken singly or in pairs.

The contrast in the group of hippies surveyed to what has become known as the junkie has been outlined. The conclusion that more research is necessary to determine whether these are two distinct groups is obvious.

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