Reference groups and ritualistic behavior: A cultural perspective on addiction

Doris Jean Smith

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REFERENCE GROUPS AND RITUALISTIC BEHAVIOR:
A CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE ON ADDICTION

A Project
Presented to the
Faculty of
California State University,
San Bernardino

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts
in
Special Major

by
Doris Jean Smith
June 1990
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Approved by:

Ellen Gruenbaum, Chair, Anthropology  Date 6/15/90
Frances Berdan, Anthropology

Cynthia L. Paxton, Health Science

Lee Porter, Education
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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements.................................................................................. iii

Introduction and Methodology......................................................... 1

Chapter One: Theoretical Perspectives on the Social Context of Addiction..... 10

Chapter Two: Patch-Holders: "Call of the Wild"................. 47

Chapter Three: Charismatic Christians, Born Againism, and Jesus Freaks.......... 64

Chapter Four: The Hare Krsna or Krsna Consciousness Movement............... 86

Chapter Five: Discussion and Conclusions............................ 105

Illustrations
#1........................................................................... 124
#2........................................................................... 125
#3........................................................................... 126
#4........................................................................... 127
#5 and #6................................................................. 128

Bibliography ......................................................................................... 129
INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

The main purpose of this project is to investigate why some individuals are attracted to certain subcultural reference groups which bind their members through providing identification and structure through group rituals. Because many such individuals within the groups were found to be addictive persons, this investigation has led to the study of addiction and addictive persons. This is not to say that all people who affiliate with reference groups are addictive persons, but I have chosen to focus on this category in my study.

Recent studies of addiction and recovery from addiction are providing clearer insight into the current phenomena of addiction and addictive persons. One insight which is particularly relevant to my study is that the lack of positive ritual and/or the perpetuation of pathological ritual within some American families today may be a salient contributor to addiction and addictive personalities. The repetition and consistency inherent in the practice of rituals provides a sense of predictability and meaning to its participants and therefore provides a sense of control which is important to addictive persons (Kretzer 1989:22). Addictive persons
experience simultaneously a need to control and to be controlled. This illusion of control provides a sense of security for the addictive person (Schaef 1987).

As I will discuss below, addictive persons are frequently the products of dysfunctional families in which common human needs, such as acceptance and a feeling of belonging, have not been met. They have no clear sense of self or boundaries within a social context. These addictive persons often feel alienated from themselves, their families and loved ones, and from society in general. This feeling of alienation and its accompanying psychological impact will be henceforth referred to as a "hole in the soul."

The phrase "hole in the soul" has been used in anonymous 12-step chemical abuse recovery programs. This expression is an attempt by addicts to describe their feelings of alienation and emptiness, of non-acceptance and not belonging. These feelings often come as the result of dysfunctional, or unhealthy, family upbringing (Kinney 1987:78). The persons who attend these 12-step recovery sessions have been attempting to fill the "hole" by ingesting and/or injecting mind- or mood-altering drugs. They are now attempting to recover from the physical, psychological, and spiritual devastation that often accompanies the use of these chemicals while attempting to fill the hole. Those who have chosen 12-
step programs are still attempting to acquire some sense of acceptance and belonging but now in a drug-free environment. My study, however, is not focusing on 12-step programs but on other groups that also attempt to deal with the hole in the soul through other rituals.

This hole in the soul often is a result of unhealthy cross-generational alliances that are formed between parent and child instead of parent and parent. This cross-generational alliance often results from parent coalition breakdown which occurs when the two parents are not able to meet each other's needs. Parental coalition, the alliance and loyalty of spouses to one another, is primary in the foundation of healthy families. The parent whose needs are not being met by his or her spouse, however, will often turn to the child to meet adult needs for affection, stability, direction, and control. These children become "parentified," often growing up feeling overly responsible for others, reluctant to depend on others, and feeling guilty about wanting their own needs met. As a result of having to give nurturing and emotional support as little adults instead of receiving this nurturance and support from their parents as children should, parentified children are left feeling empty inside, (Teyber 1988:105) with a hole in the soul.
In order to provide the necessary foundation to understand the origin of the hole in the soul, a discussion of the basic dynamics of social interaction that can lead persons into addictive behavior and lifestyles is presented in Chapter One of this project. The repetitiveness of rituals will be explored throughout the project as a viable tool for providing a sense of consistency and predictability and thus a sense of security. I will argue that a common motivation for individuals involved in ritual-bound reference groups is to attempt to fill the hole in the soul through such affiliation.

In Chapter One, I will consider healthy, or functional, family structure and dynamics and compare them to dysfunctional families and their offspring. For the purpose of this project, I consider "addictive persons" to be the products of dysfunctional families. A dysfunctional family is one in which, for various reasons, basic nurturing is lacking. There is little or no sense of consistency, it lacks any concrete sense of predictability, and, therefore does not offer a sense of security. The individual's needs for cultural and meaningful social development have not been met in the dysfunctional family system. Without a sense of security and without needs met, the hole in the soul prevails.
This project investigates the ways in which three disparate reference groups provide their members with a sense of acceptance and belonging through ritualistic participation within the parameters of that group. The three groups chosen for this study are motorcycle groups (Patch-holders), charismatic Christians, and the Hare Krsna. The rituals inherent within the context of each group appear to be ingredients which attempt to fill the hole in the soul. Ritual worship that accompanies these group practices provide a profound sense of well-being and unification for those who participate. This sense of well-being and unification for those who participate. This sense of well-being and unification may provide a more positive alternative than the "high" experienced through mood-altering drugs.

METHODOLOGY

The research for this project was conducted in rural southern California with data drawn from individual interviews and participant observation in each of these three reference groups. The topics and lifestyles discussed by the interviewees were sensitive and very personal. In order to protect the privacy of these subjects, a pseudonym has been used in each case.

Participant observation research was selected as the most appropriate method for this project because it provides first-
hand experience which can then be compared with the accounts of others. This helps provide a more meaningful insight into the actual experience of rituals. One is not merely attempting to visualize the experience through second-hand accounts.

My method of research, however, does include written resources, as will be noted in the bibliography. For the most part, however, participant-observation was utilized whenever possible and actual members of the three reference groups were chosen as informants. Very limited written information is available on Patch-holders. Virtually all Patch-holder information was elicited from active participants and through my own participant observation, including drawing on recollections of approximately ten years of involvement with Patch-holders. They will be discussed in Chapter Two.

Documentation of philosophical views of charismatic Christians is voluminous and unwieldy for the purposes of this project. Although each fellowship bases its precepts on Holy Bible scripture, doctrine and interpretation varies from fellowship to fellowship and often from individual to individual. In fact, there are more than 300 denominations and countless fellowships claiming non-denominational status (Hodson 1988).
The purpose of the information shared in this project is mainly to illustrate how charismatic Christian groups through their philosophy and rituals have helped many individuals, including the three individuals discussed in Chapter Three. Much of this information comes from my own participation in and observation of some charismatic Christians over a period of more than four years. I attended mostly non-denominational fellowships, including Vineyard, Calvary Chapel, Harvest, and many more.

Information for Chapter Four, the Hare Krsna, was obtained from library research and interviews with two Hare Krsna devotees. Both devotees supported library resource information as factual and objective. My own participant-observation consisted of attendance and participation at Temple and the prasadam (mealtime) at a temple in Southern California.

For approximately 15 years, I have been in association with hundreds of Patch-holders and charismatic Christians. In the past six years, I have been in association with hundreds of persons from all walks of life who are currently in the process of recovering from addiction to food, alcohol, and/or drugs. It should be noted that this experience has contributed to the general understanding of these issues which I present in this project. For the purpose of this project,
however, more specific cases were needed, and I have therefore selected six informants according to the following criteria: 1) they currently were or had been affiliated with one or more of the particular reference groups in my study, and 2) they had previously had some degree of dependency on mood-altering chemicals.

Patch-holders and charismatic Christian informants were abundant. However, Patch-holders that were still actively involved in a club were reluctant to share any information. Ex-Patch-holders, however, were more willing to share generic information but often withdrew from too specific dialogue which might have been, they felt, self-incriminating. Charismatic Christian informants willing to share their testimonies were overwhelming in numbers. Hare Krsna devotees are less obvious in the rural setting in which this research was conducted. Acquaintance with devotees in this research was facilitated through formal introduction by the Chair of my project committee. The Hare Krsna devotees had been previously involved in a drug-oriented lifestyle but had not been associated with Patch-holders. One informant had been involved with Patch-holders, was no longer involved with Patch-holders, and was as of this writing not drug free. Three subjects who had been involved with Patch-holders and had had problems with mood-altering drugs were now living
drug-free, more positive lifestyles, but in different reference groups. Thus, five informants who were drug-free had experienced recovery facilitated through the ritual context of their chosen reference group. The one who was not yet drug-free had made lifestyle changes but still had not been able to fill the "hole in his soul."

Since only a few individuals were chosen to provide information for this project, the individuals selected served to illustrate cultural forms and ritual functions of three particular reference groups. To adequately investigate other psychological or sociological variables involving recovery from addiction would require a larger sample than was feasible for this project. However, participant observation that included a small number of individuals was deemed sufficient and appropriate for the purpose of this project.
Chapter One
Theoretical Perspectives on the Social Context of Addiction

In investigating the attraction of certain persons to reference groups, I have found it most useful to draw on current psychological theories on the relationship between reference groups and addictive persons, including analyses of both familial and societal systems. These theories are represented by the work of O'Gorman (1987), Baruch (1949), Kinney (1987), Teyber (1988), Covington (1988), and Schaef (1987). Further, sociological theories of alienation contribute to putting the psychological processes in their sociocultural context. These theories are represented by Fromm (1976), Ollman (1971), Baxter (1982), Lindesmith (1968), Weigert (1986), May (1953), and Riesman (1961). In these writings, a common theme is the feeling of aloneness and powerlessness which, in my view, is antithetical to the social nature of humans. Humans prefer to belong to a group. The need to belong comes from awareness of being an individual entity in that one is different from nature and other people. According to Fromm (1976), Lohmeier (1988), Strauss (1976), Bradshaw (1988), Norwood (1985), Facklam (1982), Leviton (1988), Woodman (1985), and Sherif (1964). In these writings,
a common theme is the feeling of aloneness and powerlessness which, in my view, is antithetical to the social nature of humans.

In this chapter, I explore these theoretical views to understand how social groups influence the social phenomenon of addiction.

This chapter will discuss theoretical perspectives of addictive systems which include familial systems, societal systems and reference groups within the society itself. What one might term "healthy families" are those which, in spite of the complex social context, establish family rules and rituals which tend to provide a sense of security and predictability (O'Gorman 1987:41). Reference groups also provide security and predictability through rituals. Reference groups are often sought out by individuals that were not provided a sense of security by their families. An overview of how these systems, familial, societal and reference groups, become addictive systems, and how these systems often beget addictive persons, and the dynamics of addiction will be discussed. Aloneness and powerlessness are the antithesis of the social nature of humans. Humans prefer to belong to a group. The need to belong comes from awareness of being an individual entity in that one is different from nature and other people. According to Fromm (1976), "He feels
his insignificance and smallness in comparison with the universe and all others who are not 'he.' Without belonging somewhere, without meaning or direction he feels like 'a particle of dust' and is overcome by his individual 'insignificance.'"

Man has to overcome the unbearable state of powerlessness and aloneness. He can progress to "positive freedom" by relating spontaneously to the world through love and work. He can become one again with man, nature, and himself without giving up the independence and integrity of his individual self (Fromm 1976:140).

Or, he can give up his freedom...to try to eliminate the gap that has arisen between his self and the world. His separateness cannot be reversed.

It is characterized...by complete surrender (conformity) of his self and the integrity of self.
It is not a solution to happiness and positive freedom--it assuages unbearable anxiety and makes life possible by avoiding panic yet it does not solve the underlying problem and is paid for by a life composed of automatic or compulsive activities (Fromm 1976:141).

Other theorists such as Lohmeier (1988), Strauss (1976), Bradshaw (1988), Norwood (1985), Facklam (1982), Leviton (1988), Woodman (1985), and Sherif (1964) focus on the dynamics of reference group affiliation, which is useful in understanding their impact on people from dysfunctional family backgrounds.
HEALTHY VS. UNHEALTHY OR DYSFUNCTIONAL FAMILIES

What one might term "healthy families" are those which, in spite of the complex social context, establish family rules and rituals which tend to provide a sense of security and predictability (O'Gorman 1987:41). Reference groups also provide security and predictability through rituals. Reference groups are often sought out by individuals that were not provided a sense of security by their families. The dynamics of how these groups can function as addictive systems and beget addictive persons will be discussed below.

According to Baruch (1949), healthy families nurture basic emotional needs that all humans require to grow into healthy adults. These needs consist of sincere loving and affection. This love and affection is transmitted through body warmth, touch, and verbal cues that translate into unconditional acceptance, that the individual is accepted just as they are. With this knowledge of love and acceptance, the human being can feel a sense of belonging, of being wanted, and knowing that oneself is part of some bigger whole. All humans need to feel that they are capable of achievement, that they can adequately meet life's demands, and to know that they can gain recognition for these achievements. And all humans need to feel that they are understood and that they can honestly share their thoughts and feelings with at least one
other person and be accepted by that person regardless of the feelings expressed. If these needs are not met as a child, the child enters adulthood feeling incomplete. Each of these unmet needs represents a painful "hole." These holes make humans feel unfulfilled, more vulnerable, and less acceptable. Attempts are made to cover, camouflage, and patch up those holes often through the use of mood-altering drugs. However, in order to make a human feel complete, it is necessary to fill those holes (Kinney 1987). This project is a study on how different individuals have attempted to fill these holes through using mood-altering drugs and reference group affiliation.

According to Teyber (1988), in healthy families, both spouses have a loyalty and commitment primarily to each other. Their own parents' opinions and concerns do not come between them, and nor do those of their children. Both spouses have been able to separate appropriately from commitment and loyalty to their parents at the time of marriage and to form commitment to one another, as the ritual of matrimony is intended. With proper parental coalition between these adult spouses firmly in place, inappropriate cross-generational alliances between parent and child should not occur. Inappropriate cross-generational alliances between parent to child occurs when one spouse's needs of affection, intimacy,
approval, reassurance, stability, direction and control are not being met by the spouse. The unfulfilled spouse often turns to the child or children to have these needs met. These children become "parentified." Parentified children attempt to take care of the emotional needs of the parent. As mentioned on page 3, these parentified children grow up feeling overly responsible for others, afraid to depend on others, and feel guilty when they want their needs met. These children reach adulthood describing themselves as having "a hole inside of them" or "a hole in the soul". This is the result of children giving emotional support when they should have been receiving it (Teyber 1988:105).

Children have developmental needs for both closeness and for autonomy. When the parental coalition is firmly intact, infants and youngsters can be provided the symbiotic union necessary from a nurturing parent (Teyber 1988:106). Parents that are emotionally dependent on their parentified children inhibit independence and autonomy of their children by clinging to them emotionally. Yet, mixed messages are given about growing up. Parentified children are often plagued with being treated as children one moment and expected to behave as adults the next. This confusion of roles and expectations lends to an atmosphere of frustration, powerlessness, and insecurity. There is a lack of predictability as to the
outcome of a particular behavior. Parentified children often become dysfunctional as adults and addictive in their attempts to relieve the "hole." Parentified children are the result of a particular style of parenting. Therefore, the style of parenting is significant in terms of producing healthy families. Teyber (1988) discusses three different styles of parenting:

(1) Authoritarian parenting consists of firm discipline. Acceptable and unacceptable behavior is prescribed and violations of the prescribed behavior is met with consistently enforced consequences. Everyone is quite sure of expectations and consequences of non-compliance. There is predictability. However, there are no alternatives, no flexibility, and little or no affection. The children's feelings and opinions regarding consequences of behavior are not taken into consideration. There is a pervasive aura of powerlessness and lack of control by the children (Teyber 1988:108). This style of parenting is dictatorial, therefore, rigid, and may have a tendency to evoke rebellion from the parental authority or absolute, unquestioning submission to authority.

Children of authoritarian parenting are often obedient but anxious and insecure. They become harsh, critical, and demanding of themselves. They are often unassertive,
depressed, and are ridden with low self-esteem (Teyber 1988:109).

(2) Permissive parenting, on the other hand, is built on lax discipline. Parents do not consistently enforce rules. There is often much nurturing but virtually no consistent disciplinary action taken when rules have been violated. Sometimes there is a consequence for violation of a rule, sometimes there is not. Therefore, this parenting style affords little predictability. Without predictability there are feelings of insecurity, that nothing is as the parent says. Expectations change, ambiguity prevails (Teyber 1988:108). This style of parenting lacks boundaries and structure. Children of permissive parenting learn to manipulate their way out of behavioral consequences. They tend to be dependent, immature, have little self-control, low tolerance for frustration, are impulsive, and irresponsible. They are self-centered and demanding. They avoid making commitments. According to Teyber (1988), they are the most likely to become involved in substance abuse.

(3) Authoritative parenting incorporates nurturing and discipline and is said to produce the healthiest, most well-adjusted children (Teyber 1988:108). Authoritative parents are able to set and enforce limits and boundaries as well as to communicate with their children. Unlike authoritarian
parenting, limits and boundaries are discussed with children and expectations are well delineated and understood. These children feel secure because of enforced boundaries and that through communication that they are an important part of the family, that they belong. When a rule is broken, the prescribed discipline is applied. Outcomes of acceptable or non-acceptable behavior are therefore predictable. Consistency and nurturing are important ingredients found in healthy familial settings. Children raised by authoritative parenting become independent, self-disciplined, and are generally happy people (Teyber 1988:109). They have a nurturing environment in which to grow emotionally.

EMOTIONAL GROWTH

What stages of growth apply to the different types of parenting? As Teyber has stated above, a nurturing environment is necessary to provide an arena for emotional growth. To use a measure for emotional growth, Kohlberg's six stages of emotional growth (1971) (a cognitive developmental approach to moral growth) will be introduced into this project to provide insight into the growth process as children develop into adults. This information will prove helpful when assessing the emotional growth of each of the informants involved in this project and to assess whether they are growing emotionally in their recovery or have simply
shifted their addictions to process addictions. (Process Addiction will be discussed in the Addiction section of Chapter One). It is worth mentioning at this time that when chemical dependence is established, emotional growth is thwarted (Strauss 1976:106-107).

Stage One: Punishment and Obedience Orientation. In this stage, the individual is concerned about self and is obedient to a powerful authority. Fear of punishment dominates the individual's motives as the individual sees himself or herself as being dominated by other forces.

Stage Two: Trade-Off Orientation. In this stage, the individual's motive is to satisfy his or her own needs and will extend himself or herself to another person only when this extension will prove to be beneficial to him or her.

Stage Three: Unquestioned Conformity. In this stage, the individual conforms unquestioningly to groups of people in order to be accepted and to receive affection.

Stage Four: Unquestioned Acceptance of Societal Laws. In this stage, there is concern for order in society. The focus is on preserving the society and not just obeying. Honor and duty come from keeping the rules.

Stage Five: Recognition of Rights and Responsibilities of Democratic Relationships. In this stage, there are no legal absolutes. There is flexibility and changeability.
available. Changes are made for the greatest good for the greatest number of people. What is right is a matter of personal opinion and agreement between persons.

Stage Six: Understanding of Existence of Universal Ethical Principals. In this stage, what is right is a matter of one's conscience. Rightness applies to everyone regardless of race, creed, nationality, belief system, and so on. The principles of this stage deal with equal rights and dignity for all people.

FAMILIAL ADDICTIVE SYSTEMS

Stable family rules and rituals are vital for a healthy environment which provides the arena for maximum emotional growth. These rules and rituals provide a sense of predictability for family members (O'Gorman 1987:41). Some rituals can be bedtime stories, the entire family eating breakfast together, and so forth. Rituals can be certain special activities that occur in a predictable manner. The predictability provided by these rituals in turn provides security. When security is provided through family rituals, family members learn to feel safe and are then in a more positive position to take necessary risks for emotional growth. Without positive risk-taking, there is little opportunity for emotional growth. Lack of emotional growth or emotional immaturity of the parents can create unstable,
unpredictable family environments, which renders the family dysfunctional or the family may simply be unable to overcome the social and economic stressors of a complex and alienating environment (Covington 1988:XII). Addictive persons, therefore, are often the products of what are referred to as dysfunctional families.

What are dysfunctional families? What are the dynamics of these dysfunctional families? Dysfunctional families are referred to in studies of addictive persons as addictive systems (Schaef 1987). Primarily, the addictive system has a tremendous need to control. Addictive persons as part of the addictive system also need to control. Since they are spawned in a controlling environment, they feel the need to be controlled. They derive a sense of security from this control. Control is like a drug to addictive persons because in reality there has been no control in the family. There have only been attempts at control by the parents or other family members (O'Gorman 1987). Because of the need for control, addictive persons may cause even stressful events to occur in their lives in order to prove to themselves that they can predict outcomes, and therefore, derive an illusion of control (O'Gorman 1987:43).

The addictive system requires rigid conformity of its members and allows little room for individual identity
formation. Failing to conform to the addictive system often results in alienation from that system. Non-conforming persons are considered threats to the system. Therefore, within the addictive system, there are few choices and limited roles (Schaef 1987:25).

However, the addictive system provides a sense of security. It provides a panacea to pangs of alienation and the attendant fear of abandonment. Addictive persons need rigid boundaries since on their own they have had few or no boundaries (Schaef 1987:28). They have not been allowed a sense of security that can be gained through risk-taking and self-reliance. Therefore, they find relief and a sense of security in a rigid structure that provides boundaries for them. Rigidity becomes important. Change is discouraged. Change causes anxiety, and anxiety creates more pain. Thus change can be too painful to even attempt. Predictability then, even when the predictable outcome can be negative, is often easier to bear than the unpredictable result of change (O'Gorman 1987:41). Since there is no way to carefully predict the outcome of given situations, no risks are taken and therefore no change can occur. Further, change is to experience fear and to therefore lose the perception of control (O'Gorman 1987:42). The ability to be flexible and changeable is often not the experience of addictive persons.
Families that maintain rigid boundaries and families that have unclear boundaries leave little room for emotional growth for their members. Rigid boundaries forbid risk-taking and therefore forbid change. Unclear boundaries hinder predictability. One is not quite sure what the outcome of any situation might be. The rules are inconsistent and keep changing (O'Gorman 1987:11). Further, there are no role models for self-discipline (O'Gorman 1987:12). Addictive persons from addicted families are unable to learn acceptable behavior because the rules keep changing. The dilemma then is that growth comes from change and the successful ability to adapt to change in a manner that is self-fulfilling and non-destructive. This experience is not possible in an addicted family. Persons in these families become in tune to external rather than internal cues to avert repercussions which often consist of physical and/or emotional battering. They cannot depend on internal cues for solutions. They cannot trust their own feelings. (O'Gorman 1987:32). The addictive system breeds a denial of feelings (O'Gorman 1987:9). As a result of this inability to trust one's own feelings, and since individual needs as a child have not been met, a void exists within the addictive person. A feeling of not belonging, not knowing who one is, a feeling of emptiness and anxiety prevails. Addictive persons attempt to fill this
void externally through something or someone else. Addictive persons become dependent. They become dependent on significant others, food, substances and reference groups (Kinney 1987).

PROFILE OF AN ADDICTIVE PERSON

According to Schaef, addictive persons are often the products of dysfunctional families that are rigid in structure with an intrinsic need for control at its core (1987:14). O'Gorman argues that because addictive persons were not nurtured and provided proper support and their basic needs of security were not met as children, they are in a constant state of anxiety (1987). They struggle to maintain a status quo and allay uncomfortable feelings of alienation, of not belonging. They are attempting to fill the "hole in the soul."

In these attempts, they are often devoted to taking care of others, are self-sacrificing, sufferers and martyrs. Dysfunctional families breed low self-esteem which results from an inability to trust one's own feelings. Added is low self-worth which results from conforming to the dictates of others. The combined perception of low self-esteem and low self-worth espoused by addictive persons renders them powerless over their own emotions, actions and life in
general. Schaef suggests that they become addicted to powerlessness and non-living (1987).

Because they are terrified of abandonment, and alienation, addictive persons constantly seek approval. They are compulsive, they will do whatever it takes to be accepted, and they fear authority figures. They are gullible and conform with blind adherence to the dictates of their leaders. Because of a basic fear of failure and of being defective, they do not feel safe. They need security (O'Gorman 1987:6). They do not challenge the system for to do so would mean ostracism and alienation from the system. To the addictive system, a strong individual identity is a threat to that system. The threat may mean change. The threat may mean lack of control. Both prospects, change and lack of control cannot be tolerated by the addictive system, the dysfunctional family. Individual identity is not encouraged. Any show of rebellion means ostracism and alienation (Schaef 1987:3). The cycle of an addictive system is perpetuated through the adherence of its members (Schaef 1987:30-31). Rigidity prevails and choices are limited. Such patterns will be seen to be relevant to the dynamics of the reference groups included in this project and how these groups influence and often dictate to the needs of addictive persons, as will be discussed below.
According to Schaef (1987:17), there are basically only three choices available to the addictive person:

(1) The first choice is neither to die nor to fully live. This often requires complete adjustment and unquestioned acceptance, in other words, total conformity. This requires living without feelings. To addictive persons living is more frightening than dying. They are addicted to non-aliveness. Their addictions block awareness, dull pain, and inhibit emotional growth. Although they conform, they suffer the illusion that by not living and not dying, they are in control of their environment and their own destiny. That is, they are not living, they are merely surviving. They are the very core of the addictive system (Schaef 1987:17).

(2) Choice two is to live and not die. This requires growth and change, but for an addictive person growth can be too painful to attempt. Growth permits and encourages personal identity formation. It reduces the need for rigidity. Less rigidity or an ability to go with the flow, requires relaxation of control. But to an addictive person to have less control is terrifying. Therefore, choice two is not often considered by an addictive person.

(3) Choice three is not to live and to die. The results of this choice are either suicide or eventual death from addiction (Schaef 1987:16). Fromm captured this sentiment:
As long as I struggle between my desire to be independent and strong, and my feeling of insignificance or powerlessness, I am caught in a tormenting conflict. If I succeed in reducing my individual self to nothing, if I can overcome the awareness of my separateness as an individual, I may save myself from this conflict. To feel utterly small and helpless is one way toward this aim; to be overwhelmed by pain and agony another; to be overcome by the effects of the intoxication still another. The fantasy of suicide is the last hope if all other means have not succeeded in bringing the relief from the burden of aloneness (Fromm 1976:153).

Choice three is often not a conscious decision. People that have chosen Choice three are often attracted to reference groups that appear to help them cope with their "holes" through rituals. These rituals provide a sense of security and predictability that all humans must have to feel safe. However, these rituals may only provide a distraction from the pain of the holes rather than the emotional nurturing needed to fill the holes. These reference groups can be systems that are similar to societal addictive systems.

**SOCIETAL ADDICTIVE SYSTEMS**

Individual families are only an integral part of the whole. Families and their members make up society. Thus it is useful to consider the sociocultural context of family life. For example, Baxter argues that the competitive nature of capitalist American society has exacerbated family dysfunctionality through alienation of its members societally.
Problems of transforming personal identity in a familial setting thus are intensified by a societal context that encourages conformity, discourages individual identity, and alienates those who challenge the societal addictive system (Lindesmith 1968:360-362).

How does a society alienate its members? The necessity for humans to rely on other people for survival has been apparent throughout history. This dependence and cooperation among its members for survival is the primary purpose in society, culture, and subcultures defining the mores and moral codes within that society. To challenge that society and/or subculture may be counter productive to individual survival. "Man (is not only) a social animal, but an animal which can develop into a individual only in society." (Ollman 1971:107). Therefore, humans are social beings, and live in societies.

A key element of human social life, according to Marx, is cooperation, which includes all manner of interaction through which humans relate to their fellows.

Karl Marx believed that people are in a close relationship with one another because of their mutual needs; the manner of satisfying these needs creates reciprocal links between them, e.g. sexual relations, exchange of goods, division of labor, etc. (Ollman 1971:4).
Realization of one's potential, then, requires human activities (work, creativity) that are done with and for others. Since humans need other humans to assist them in their self-realization, social relationships can be seen to promote individual identity formation.

Marx believed that individual identity formation is interconnected through one's production of viable goods within the social context. Production and its results (objects needed and human need for these objects) unites people in a common goal (Ollman 1971:10). When those productive activities take place in the context of a capitalist society such as American society, the competitive conditions can create animosity and turmoil among participants, and disintegration of the parts from the whole begins. Through the disintegration, people have been separated from their work and their creativity.

Because alienated individuals do no play a significant part in the decision-making of their work, there is a break between the individual and one's life activity. According to Marx, alienated people begin to isolate themselves, becoming selfish and self-centered. They attempt to function autonomously. Therefore, there is a break between the individual and one's life activity. "There is a break between man and the material world. There is a break between man and
man" (Ollman 1971:133). Because people have been reduced to performing mundane work that deprives them of variety, little remains of their interest in their work activity. They become mere workers (Ollman 1971:135), a situation which results from the individual by the peculiarity of the economic system. This becomes the primary factor in determining the whole of character structure, because the need for self-preservation forces people to accept the conditions under which they must live (Fromm 1976:18). Out of fear of alienation, ostracism, and economic insecurity, they accept and do not challenge the system.

Hence, "man becomes an abstraction, a type of purity achieved in emptiness" (Ollman 1971:134). This abstraction represents alienated persons who do not understand the world, their part in the world, and their purpose in that world. They have lost their identity and wish to seek that identity which has been lost.

Individual identity, then, in the economic and social milieu of American capitalistic society has been subdued. But, individual identity is essential to the existence of functional, creative human beings, and without individual identity, the process of dysfunction and non-creativity may result. Identity is a socially expressed dimension of self. An individual's identity is the way one perceives oneself in
relation to the rest of the world, and how that relationship is perceived to fit within that world. Perceptions are formed by interaction with objects and people within the environment. As one is exposed to a variety of environments throughout a lifetime, perceptions change. The healthy individual is able to adapt to these changes. Often survival itself is dependent on the adaptive skills of the individual. Identity must, however, remain stable enough over time to maintain order, responsibility, and sanity. As Weigert has pointed out, humans are engaged in a constant struggle to maintain a flexible identity over time which can adapt to constantly changing times and conditions; this is a process which requires balance and growth (1986:62). As we have seen, the addictive system discourages balance and growth, and continuity of a flexible individual identity. Rather, it encourages conformity and discourages change.

The quest to define oneself is a basic motivation to human beings in all social environments. The increasing complexity and accelerating change within American culture has put heavy strains on traditional carriers of identity continuity and the balancing mechanisms which have existed to promote individual growth in this society. By traditional carriers of identity continuity I mean such things as rituals of family life and kinship, gender role, expectations,
occupational roles, individual names, group totems, myths or rituals which give meaning to major transitions of life such as birth, puberty, marriage, old age, and death. These rituals help establish predictability and security within traditional societies (Weigert 1986:60).

Rituals provide an human emotional link to other humans. Thus, through devaluing traditional rituals, contemporary society devalues human emotions. In an effort to revive human emotions through rituals, reference group affiliation may result. Weigert refers to such emotion, evoked through the context of ritual, to as an organic feeling that becomes a meaningful part of an individual's experience (1986:62). Emotions become manifested in a person's relationship with others and become the interactional domain of life (Weigert 1986:62). Changes in the meaning of emotional experience mark changes in the meaning of a person's life. Emotions provide the powerful fabric for the construction of identity. A surge of emotion becomes immediate evidence that the person relates in a powerful way to self, others, or an event (Weigert 1986:62). Yet, societal addictive systems breed denial of feelings (O'Gorman 1987:9). It is during the process of denying one's feelings that one begins to lose contact with ones true feelings. Since feelings and emotions are the fabric of individual identity, to lose contact with one's
true feelings is to lose contact with who one truly is and, ultimately, one's identity. In short, to deny one's own feelings is to deny one's own identity. And, according to Weigert,

To the extent that a part of a person's emotional life is meaningless and unintegrated so too is part of that person's identity, since emotions are part of our constructed identities (1986:62).

A meaningless emotional life, denial of feelings, and a feeling of alienation from society can produce an internal emptiness, a hole in the soul. In Man's Search for Himself May (1953) refers to the "hollow people." The psychological problem of the 1950's, according to May, was a feeling of emptiness. People did not know what they wanted or even what they felt. According to May, the "hollow people" felt as though they were swayed this way and that with painful feelings of powerlessness. Essentially, their lives' goals are prescribed by others' expectations rather than their own, and they have become reflections of everyone else's ideas of them (May 1953:15). Addictive persons attempting to fill the hole in their souls are part of the "hollow people."

This insight helps to dispel a myth about addictive persons, who should not be assumed to be unintelligent or lacking in sensitivity, but for various reasons are less successful at "covering up" emotional conflicts than others (May 1953:17). Most importantly, they are less able to accept
conformity and are ultimately at odds with themselves and society in general. The "hollow people" are struggling between conforming or growing. Unable to attain this balance, they conform. They reach out to others to fill the "void," the hole in the soul.

David Riesman, in *The Lonely Crowd* (1961), seems to feel that the typical American person is "outer-directed." Such people prefer to conform. They are constantly adjusting and maneuvering to act according to what "others" expect of them. According to May, outer-directed persons only respond not choose; they have no effective motivation of their own and are characterized by apathy passivity, and denied feelings (May 1953:19).

To summarize, absorption, acceptance, repressed hostility -- in short, conformity -- can be seen as the basic attributes of addictive persons attempting to function in an addictive system.

**ADDICTION**

An addiction is any process over which an individual is powerless. Addiction often leads to the compulsive and out-of-control use of any chemical substance that can produce recognizable and identifiable unpleasant withdrawal symptoms when the use of the substance is stopped (Lohmeier 1988:48), including alcohol, drugs, nicotine, caffeine, and food (Schaef
1987: 20-21). Mood-altering substances can be artificially refined or naturally produced. Regardless, these substances lead to physical dependence. When chemicals are removed, compulsive and out-of-control behaviors may result or continue. Also, emotional growth has been thwarted from the onset of chemical dependence, and the growing process may not necessarily proceed when chemicals are removed (Strauss 1976:106-107).

Further, addiction is related to a dissociation from feelings, an empty hole. This empty hole is the result of negative beliefs about the self and, according to Bradshaw, are the main problem in all aspects of addiction and compulsivity (1988). Denial of feelings leads people to become increasingly more compulsive and obsessive. Addiction masks basic feelings of anger, pain, depression, joy, and love.

Another addictive phenomena is process addiction. This is the compulsive need to engage in a specific series of actions, rituals, or interactions to achieve emotional feelings of security. Some of these patterns include monetary accumulation, gambling, sex, work, worry, and/or religion. Process addicts are not able to grow or develop in a healthy manner. They lose touch with personal values, and behave the same as other substance addicts. Judgment is impaired. They
crave control and seek it through increasingly participating in the pattern in which they have become emotionally mired (Schaef 1987:23). Such process addictions play an important part in the alternative lifestyles chosen by the informants selected for this project. Moreover, both substance and process addictions are progressive which means that more of the substance or process is required each time to achieve relief from emotional pain.

To address the possibility of recovery from addictions, it is important to recognize that addiction is three-dimensional, as to Chuck Brissette, Associate Director of a recovery program in Petaluma, California, has suggested. These dimensions are physical, emotional, and spiritual concepts. Brissette believes that all three dimensions must be treated in order to make recovery a reality (Leviton 1988:39).

For example, while working as a clinician for various addiction recovery centers, Janice Keller Phelps, M.D., (Lohmeier 1988:48) was struck by the degree of compulsivity shown by addicts. Their whole lives were arranged around their addiction and the ritual involved in attaining and using the drugs. The need to alleviate their inner discomfort often led to hurting loved ones or breaking their own personal moral codes. Phelps believes that addicts have sugar metabolism
problems that are related to a biochemical disturbance in the metabolism of simple carbohydrates. Further, she relates addictiveness to a subtle depression, discovering that addictive persons tend to feel chronically "down" and subject to mood swings, fatigued, and/or anxious. It is not clear, according to Phelps, how the sugar dysmetabolism and depression combine to create vulnerability to addiction, but chemical abuse is an effort to alleviate feelings caused by this combination. Further observation by Phelps revealed that heroin addicts gorge sugar to avoid withdrawal symptoms. Also noted were the craving that recovering alcoholics have for sweets, and the tendency of bulemics to fall into drug-like euphoria after a sugar binge. (Lohmeier 1988:48).

Endorphins may provide a further clue to alleviate or alter this depressive combination. Endorphins are the natural morphine-like chemicals produced by the brain under certain conditions. The release of endorphins by vigorous exercise creates a natural high, and, according to research conducted at John Hopkins University, sweets also stimulate endorphin production and a high. A sample of blood profiles taken from a handful of Phelps' clients indicated almost no endorphin production. These clients were also chronically miserable (Facklam 1982:61). Whether there is biochemical dysfunctional to cause low endorphin levels or if the use of drugs causes
endorphin malfunction is still being researched, as is the role of low endorphin production, role exacerbating the propensity for drug addiction. Activities that promote endorphin production may offer alternatives to chronic states evoked by low-endorphin production and therefore chronic misery. Activities such as energetic worship and rituals that are provided by the charismatic Christian and Hare Krsna reference groups may provide some relief to persons that were chemically addicted when initiated and no longer require ingesting mood- or mind-altering drugs.

Addicts are accustomed to altering their moods by using chemicals and are often unable to alter their moods without them. The addict has lost virtually all self-control while being controlled by the drug. Continued abuse of addicting substances exacerbates rather than eliminates problems. Ironically, the more drugs ingested, the deeper the despair and the larger the hole in the soul becomes, as the following description illustrates:

The more she used alcohol to avoid feeling her pain, the more the drug operated on her nervous system to produce the very feelings she was trying to avoid. It ultimately increased rather than diminished the pain, so, of course, she drank even more, spiralling into addiction (Norwood 1985:61).

For many today, the problem of drug addiction and compulsivity appear to be an insolvable web of self-
destruction, pain, and alienation (Leviton 1988:36). Attempts to relieve the hole in the soul have promoted the use of drugs and alcohol in American society for at least temporary relief of these uncomfortable feelings. Unfortunately, the majority of illicit street drugs (cocaine, heroin, amphetamines, marijuana, etc.) can be physically addictive as well as psychologically addictive. The price of the temporary high, pursued in an attempt to relieve the hole in the soul, becomes addiction. The physical need for the addictive substance exacerbates the psychological obsession to get rid of the hole. Once drugs are no longer ingested and the physical addiction is gone, the psychological or spiritual addiction remains. That person has found no satisfactory way to alleviate the "hole in the soul" without self-medicating their emotions with drugs.

The addict then needs to develop a sense of belonging somewhere, of not being alone anymore, and of being important, individually and as a part of the whole. This often requires acceptance by and affiliation with persons or reference groups with similar addictive backgrounds and spiritual goals. Where does this person find other persons or groups to share in the quest to alleviate "the hole in the soul?"

In my view, persons that are attempting to cope with addictions may find reference group affiliation attractive
since addictive persons need to have a sense of security. Reference groups often provide rituals which provide a sense of predictability and security to addictive persons who need to control but indeed feel powerless. Reference groups often provide a sense of identity, a cherished commodity to persons suffering feelings of low self-esteem and low self-worth. Reference groups often can provide structure and rigidity, and boundaries for addicted persons who have no sense of personal boundaries.

**REFERENCE GROUPS**

Membership in human groups is not essentially physical, but more symbolic (Lindesmith 1968:345). The interpersonal ties within a reference group often sustain the individual's concept of self and identity (Sherif 1964:163). Personal identity, however, is often defined by the group.

Reference group peers formulate opinions that are important to individual members. These peers provide acceptance or dictate failures. The reference group is the focus of emotional involvements and concrete daily concerns (Sherif 1964:134). Often, the reference group influences career, life goals, choices, and attitudes as to whether one succeeds or fails in personal endeavors (Ollman 1971:108). The need to belong and the degree of conformity prescribed by the individual's reference group can result in allowing others
to have power and control over one's thoughts, drives, motives, and feelings. The individual's functions within the group, while providing a sense of identity and security, can also reduce the person to a robot-like existence. Without well-defined personal boundaries a member can often be well adapted only at the expense of giving up "self." The member becomes the person that the reference group expects that person to be. All genuine individuality and spontaneity may be lost (Fromm 1976:139). Still, this robot-like existence provides a state of non-living and gives the illusion of control to an addictive person.

Much of the emotional life of the individual in respect to the reference group is centered around the position held in the group (Sherif 1964:129). The position one occupies within the group is related to the expectations of the other members (Sherif 1964:133). Some qualities and skills requisite for one's standing in the group are closely related to the motivations which brought the members together initially and to the significance of their activities (Sherif 1964:159). These internalized and shared expectations regulate the behavior of the members of the group. It becomes important for the member to live up to the expectations of that group as an individual and according to the prescription of his or her position in the group so as not to bring
disapproval and non-acceptance from other members (Sherif 1964:163).

Moreover, the parameters of acceptable behavior vary according to the importance of the activity to the members. As long as the activity of the individual members poses no threat to the cohesion of the group, that activity is afforded little concern by the group. However, expectations regarding loyalty, are very strict. Deviation from this expectation can call for strong sanctions, in which all members of the group ostracize the disloyal member. Thus, the maintenance of rigidity and conformity is perpetuated through and by the attitudes and actions of its members. Acceptance of the values of the group and its pertinent rules and regulations, as well as purposes and goals, is essential for the membership and survival of the particular group. Further, accepted values can well be contrary to the values of other reference groups with which the individual is affiliated: family, school, community, and so on. However, the group that lends the most status and reward to the individual is likely to be the one of primary concern to that individual. Whether the experience of reference group affiliation results in personal growth and self-fulfillment or leads to further self-destructive behavior depends upon the mores and values of the particular reference group (LaPiere 1954). Most importantly,
the rituals by reference groups and the predictability provided by these rituals seem to provide a sense of control, a necessary sense for addictive persons suffering feelings of powerless.

RITUALS

Rituals provide a sense of predictability. Through repetition one knows what to expect next. This predictability through repetition provides an illusion of security. Through ritualistic processes such as prayer and meditation one derives an illusion of control, that through these ritual processes. One's invocations can bring about results that are otherwise out of the control of humans. One can pray for physical and/or spiritual healing. When all else has failed, rituals assuage the feelings of powerlessness over things of which we have no control.

Without recognized rituals, members of a society are not sure of how they fit within the structure of that society (Woodman 1985:16). Research suggests that rituals are important for addicts. For example, Agar (1973:137) suggests that rituals give life meaning and provide the binding force among them for heroin addicts. Rituals can also help to obtain altered states of consciousness. The concept of altered states of consciousness covers a variety of states including phases of sleep and dreaming, drunkenness,
meditative states and visionary states (Bourgiugnon 1973:7). Altered states of consciousness are often a means of elevating oneself from present circumstances. If one is suffering from anxiety, ingested mood-altering drug can alter one's state of consciousness and therefore allay the pain. However, altered states of consciousness may be obtained also by altering one's mood through ritual. Burning sage, lighting white candles, making the sign of the cross are examples of rituals that can provide a sense of relief from uncomfortable pangs of anxiety. When performed in a cultural context which gives them meaning, they assist in transcending mood and can contribute to altering consciousness.

But, for the addictive person, to shift from altering states of consciousness through practicing rituals involving mood-altering drugs to practicing drug-free rituals requires a process of change and growth—and pain. The process of change is made less painful when there are rituals that exhibit a distinct demarcation of past, present, and future.

Rituals such as rites of passage from one stage of life to another provide prescribed expectations of that stage of life. Rites of passage provide predictable responsibilities and delineate transition. Rites of passage provide a sense of predictability, that now certain things may occur. The adolescent graduates from high school. Now he/she may attend
college. Or, the young man has attained manhood through rites of puberty and now may seek a wife. Rituals provide consistency. Addictive persons have lost, for the most part, their feelings. They are participating in a condition of non-aliveness. Rituals can give these addictive persons a meaning to life (Woodman 1985:18).

Addictive persons lack self-discipline as their role models failed to provide good examples. Persons that are out of control do not have well-defined boundaries. They lack self-discipline. They are compulsive and act without thinking. Rituals demand concentration and discipline (Woodman 1985:90).

SUMMARY

Addictive persons are often the product of dysfunctional families that reside within the context of a dysfunctional society.

Capitalist American society since the Industrial Revolution has had a major impact on the family. Its alienation of humans from other humans has exacerbated feelings of insecurity, powerless, and a general state of non-aliveness from its members. There is a "hole in the soul" of many addictive persons in American society, and they are attempting to fill this hole by ingesting progressively addictive mood-altering substances or processes. They are
attracted to reference groups which help them to cope with this hole by providing rituals. These rituals provide a sense of security and predictability that all humans must have to feel safe.

I have selected three reference groups in Southern California. In the chapters that follow, I will demonstrate their appeal, discuss their similarities and differences, and describe their attempts through rituals to fill the "hole in the soul" of their participants.
CHAPTER TWO

PATCH-HOLDERS

"Call of the Wild"

Between 1972 and 1982, I was personally able to participate in many motorcycle-related events such as motorcycle runs which will be explained later in this chapter. During these runs, I became acquainted with a multitude of motorcycle enthusiasts who ranged from "outriders," which were persons like myself that did not affiliate with clubs, to bonafide Patch-holders. A Patch-holder is a person who is a member of a specific club and is afforded the prestige of wearing the patch of that club while outriders are not interested in the stipulations required by a club to wear its patch.

Much of the information provided in this chapter was gathered through personal observations of myself and of my informants. The structure and function of motorcycle clubs and their members varies from club to club. Clubs vary in degree with respect to drug use, violence, and/or other illegal activities that may be mentioned hereinafter. There are outlaw clubs, gentlemen clubs, and party clubs.

Club, as referred to here, is a sanctioned, organized group of Patch-holders. The club functions with much of the
same organizational features as would be found in the by-laws of the Elks Lodge, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Loyal Order of Moose, etc. The patch provides symbolic identification, depicts status and allegiance among its members. Rituals prescribed in order to attain the patch delineates expectations of those touting the patch.

Although the image of the Patch-holder is one of fierceness, recklessness, and wanton disregard for themselves and others, the reference group created by these Patch-holders assures identity, security, and a sense of belonging. The need for this nurturance is often carefully disguised by the outward appearance which is groomed intentionally to distance themselves from the society and its members who have rejected them.

The goal of this chapter is to explore the structure and rituals of clubs in an attempt to understand the importance of club membership to the Patch-holder and to illustrate how clubs provide a reference group for persons that may be products of dysfunctional families and an overall addictive system, American society (Scheef 1987)

**MEMBERSHIP**

Membership often requires ownership of a motorcycle, preferably a Harley-Davidson. If a club is an outlaw club,
Harley-Davidson ownership is mandatory. To the Patch-holder, Harley-Davidson is a symbol of freedom. Clubs that are not outlaw clubs may allow other name brands of motorcycles but the minimum engine size allowable is 500 cc. The image of the biker is expressed through the motorcycle. It is virtually an extension of the biker's personality and is therefore a vitally important vehicle in more ways than the literal sense. Occasionally, however, an individual may be allowed membership while owning only a "cage" (automobile or truck) since every Patch-holder has a well-defined role. The owner of the cage may function as the back-up, which follows the pack (group of motorcycles on a run) and carries what bikers consider to be important, miscellaneous equipment, such as tools, tents, sleeping bags, extra women, and, of course, the beer.

INITIATION AND RITES OF PASSAGE

According to Scotty in an interview conducted on October 25, 1987, there are certain procedures required to gain membership in a club and to attain Patch-holder status. First, one must sweetheart a club for some time. Sweethearting is simply hanging around certain Patch-holders. This is to allow the Patch-holders to get to know the individual. If a Patch-holder is willing to sponsor the individual, this Patch-holder nominates the individual for prospectorship during a formal club meeting. If nominated,
the individual becomes a prospect and the sponsor becomes responsible for the actions of this prospect. It is important to note that this procedure is open only to men as men only can attain full Patch-holdership.¹

Upon acceptance, the prospect receives his bottom rocker (Illustration #1) for his cut² and possibly a nickname. Nicknames are often contrived from some significant personal trait such as Grumpy, Dumpy, or Tiny. Tiny is often the name given to someone of large stature to demonstrate the humorous side of the Patch-holder nature. On the more serious side, prospects are excluded from meetings due to their secretive nature. This practice helps to protect the club from any insincere motives a prospect may have while simultaneously protecting the prospect from making highly punishable infractions due to lack of judgment and over-zealousness, such as having a "big mouth."

¹The Fifth Chapter motorcycle club allows women full Patch-holdership. However, it has come under considerable pressure by outlaw clubs to discontinue this practice. The Fifth Chapter club which requires at least six months of continuous sobriety before prospect status is even considered. The true-life mother portrayed in the movie "Mask" was a member of the Fifth Chapter.

²Cuts or cut-offs or cut-aways are usually denim vests that have had the sleeves cut off. With the sleeves cut off, the cut can be worn over other clothing, such as jackets, T-shirts, etc. The cut is used to display the patch, pins, and other paraphernalia deemed pertinent to status and identification. It is interesting to note that some clubs forbid the laundering of cuts with the exception of riding in a downpour.
The average length of tenure for a prospect is six months, however, this timeframe is lenient and depends upon to the discretion of the club. The purpose of prospectship is to ascertain sincerity for attainment of Patch-holder status. Prospects are under direct orders of all members of the club and are to do as told. The meniality associated with these orders depends on the club and the members themselves. Prospects with seniority can order prospects around with less seniority; however, non-Patch-holders cannot order prospects around. For all intents and purposes, as long as the prospect conducts himself within the parameters of club conduct, he receives the same identity, security, protection, and privileges enjoyed by the actual full Patch-holder.

When it has been determined that the prospect has passed the test of prospectship, a party is given in his honor. This is in effect the rite of passage from the status of prospect to that of Patch-holder. This is an occasion of honor and celebration. The prospect is presented the top rocker of the club patch and the insignia (Illustration 2). Beer is often poured over his head for christening and congratulations are administered by the Patch-holders by way of hugs, handshakes, and even kisses. Patch-holders can be and often are extremely affectionate toward one another. The prospect has now become a bonafide Patch-holder and has attained the "power of the
Expectations that accompany this patch are as follows: he is responsible for providing protection to other members of the patch; each member is considered a brother and is to be treated as such (hence the term "bro"); he may now pursue actual positions within the club that command the respect that accompanies that position. These positions can include but are not limited to President, Vice President, Road Captain, Sergeant of Arms, Secretary, Treasurer, Party Chief, and so forth. The world of the Patch-holder is highly stratified. The new Patch-holder must now maintain rules, order, and adhere to the code of ethics deemed appropriate for being a Patch-holder.

CODE OF ETHICS AND PHILOSOPHY

The biker kingdom is one that is clearly defined by territories. The territory can be marked to include certain taverns, parks, parking lots, etc., or be delineated area, ie. from one street to another street inclusive. These designated territories can range in size from blocks to entire cities and are the domain of each particular club and its chapters. These territories are established areas that are maintained by the power of the patch. While in the territory held by a certain patch, it is advisable for Patch-holders to conform and respect that patch and its members. To do otherwise can reap grim consequences. Retribution for failing
to respect the patch can range from verbal reprimands from those in possession of the patch for that territory to a takeover of the infringing patch's territory through coercion and force. Individual members not displaying respect to another patch can be subject to reprimands by his own patch. However, respect for each others' territory is the norm. Neutral ground is a designated area that allows no patches or "colors," which is another term used for the patch. When in neutral ground, it is respectful to remove the cut and carry it or hang it without the patch showing. It is also acceptable to wear the cut inside out. This is usually the more desirable option since a rival club or trouble makers can steal the cut. One can do serious damage to a club by possessing a stolen cut. Heinous crimes can be committed while wearing a stolen cut which may lead to retaliation or retribution to the club flying that patch. Hence, members will relentlessly track down a stolen cut and serious repercussions may result for the possessor of the stolen cut and for the Patch-holder who carelessly left his cut unattended.

Reprimands vary in intensity depending on the infraction. For minor inter-club infractions such as verbal outburst in meetings, fines may be imposed on the unruly one or a member who fails to comply with warnings to refrain from outburst may
be asked to leave the meeting. Physical altercations in the form of reprimands is uncommon among fellow Patch-holders. However, if one was to decide to attack a lone Patch-holder for some reason, that one should expect retribution from the entire club since it is imperative that a club back its members, regardless of the issue. One of the most unforgivable acts that can be committed against a Patch-holder is to tamper with his motorcycle.

Ostracism may result from excessive hell-raising in public places, too much involvement with law enforcement or anything else that might cause a patch to look bad or to get too much negative publicity. This ostracism can be for a set length of time or can result in the ultimate form of ostracism: removal of the patch. This ritual is conducted at an official meeting. The patch is ripped from the cut, and the member is banned from any further participation and/or association with that club.

MOTORCYCLE RUNS, TRADITIONS, AND RITUALS

Church night refers to meeting night. Meetings are often conducted by Robert's Rules of Order. Often, no drinking of alcoholic beverages is allowed nor unruly conduct.

Runs are sponsored meeting places where bikers can get together and have a good time. These are the social highlights and major attractions for the biker kingdom. They
provide traditions and rituals that bond individuals within a club and with individuals from other clubs. There are open runs and closed runs. Open runs are usually sponsored by a specific club for all bikers, with or without being Patch-holders, are welcome to attend. Sometimes there is a small entrance fee. Entrance requirements often forbid weapons. Runs are for fun and fellowship, not a place to settle grudges. If a fight should occur, they are usually kept on a one-on-one basis and are closely supervised to assure that it is a fair fight. In the ten years that I attended motorcycle runs, I witnessed only one fight which was between two equally matched men. When it was over, they staggered away arm-in-arm. For the amount of liquor consumed at these runs, impressive control is exercised to keep the peace.

Runs can also have a more specific purpose. The Modified Motorcycle Association sponsors the annual Toys for Tots run that converges in different cities throughout southern California. These runs require a wrapped, new toy to be given to a needy child for Christmas. Blood runs are organized to donate blood. Whatever the purpose, these runs provide a bonding of cause and identification, and provide an excuse for kindred spirits to celebrate their lifestyles.

Closed runs are put on by a specific club for a get-together with another specific club, by invitation only.
Often the purpose of a closed run is to hash out disputes and to resolve misunderstandings.

Games and contests are traditionally played at runs that can consist of pillow fights, tug o'wars, beer drinking, belching. Often the more ribald the better: wet T-shirt, banana-eating, and so forth. Prizes are awarded, and all is intended to provide entertainment and a good time for all.

RITUALS REGARDING WOMEN

Sylvia, in an interview on October 12, 1987, described the appeal of the biker world to her. She had been raised in a rigid home where she had little opportunity to form her own sense of identity. She was confused about who she was and struck out on her own personal search to find herself and a reference group to which she could relate.

She had been attracted to the bikers she had seen on various occasions. To her they were the epitome of rebellion from conformity, authority, and society in general. She felt that these people were truly free.

Sylvia became involved with an outlaw group in similar fashion as a male would sweetheart a club. However, for women, this procedure is quite different.

For most outlaw clubs, women are considered to be property. To become property, a woman sweethearts the club and is a turn out for the club. A turn out is a ritual
wherein a woman is passed around sexually from member to member. Even prospects are allowed to participate in a turn out if they wish to do so. If a member does not wish to participate in the turn out, he may decline. The turn out is an accepted ritual for becoming property of the club. During the turn out, one of the members can decide that he wants the woman as his ole lady, and the partnership is consummated. The ole lady is now considered his property and is allowed to wear his property patch (Illustration 3). Along with a cutaway with the property patch, she may receive a property tattoo that may appear anywhere on the body but is usually put on the left back shoulder, across the lower abdomen, or over the left breast. Left is chosen as the wedding ring side. If no one in particular is interested in having this turn out to become his ole lady, then the woman may become property of the club itself. While in this role, the woman is expected to cook, clean, and provide other services for single Patch-holders that do not have ole ladies. Her property patch would indicate that she was property of the club itself. Once the woman is property, however, either of an individual Patch-holder or of the patch, she is provided a sense of identity and security. Her roles are well-defined and expectations are specific for those women who wish to reap the amenities provided for being property. There are exceptions to becoming
property without turn out procedures, however. As was the case with Sylvia, the president of the club she was sweethearting was "single" and was attracted to her. He claimed her for his own without turn out procedures, and she became his ole lady. This was not received well by other ole ladies, but there was little they could do about it.

If a woman is property of a specific Patch-holder, she is entitled to the same respect and status as the actual Patch-holder himself. She may also move up the ranks status-wise by taking advantage of vacancies. These vacancies result from dissolving relationships between Patch-holders and their ole ladies. If a vacancy should arise, other ole ladies may court the desired Patch-holder. If she is chosen, she receives the cut that was repossessed from her predecessor. It is important to note, however, that since women are considered property of a Patch-holder, another Patch-holder may not court that Patch-holder's ole lady. He may ask for her from the Patch-holder in possession, and if that Patch-holder is no longer interested in having her as his property, he may relinquish her to the requesting Patch-holder. Cuts are exchanged, and the Patch-holder giving up possession is then open game for opportunistic women pursuing upward or lateral mobility among the social stratification of the club.
The property patch is worn with pride and dignity and is symbolic and representative of ole lady responsibilities. Her prime responsibility is to take care of her ole man. These responsibilities include domestic duties of the average housewife. Moreover, she is to be respectful to her ole man in public and among peers. Turn out responsibilities may occur between close bros when one has an ole lady and the other does not.

Even though Patch-holders are protective of each other, their women, and their children, women are not backed by other club members as are the men. Women are usually left to resolve personal issues between each other. They are essentially expected to behave or suffer the consequences of their actions alone.

RETIREMENT

And what if this lifestyle loses its appeal to a Patch-holder? How do they get out of a club? There is a possibility of retirement from the club which includes a retirement ritual. This ritual includes giving up the patch and may include giving up an ole lady and his motorcycle. Information regarding the terms of this procedure was vague, however, the above information was derived from four retired Patch-holders during separate interviews conducted on April 17, 1988. Each of these Patch-holders were from different
clubs and these clubs varied in degree of outlawness. The consensus was that each had been sworn to secrecy in regard to club business at the onset of Patch-holdership, and this allegiance to secrecy and confidentiality was to remain after retirement. Much loyalty, pride and commitment had been invested in membership, and to keep an oath of secrecy was but a small price to pay, and is adhered to tenaciously. One of these retired Patch-holders was Scotty.

Scotty, the male informant for this chapter, is retired from a party club. Scotty is the product of an authoritarian style of parenting. His family is of typically middle class White society. Scotty had always been attracted to "life in the fast lane." In high school, he belonged to a hot rod club and began drinking alcoholic beverages. After induction into the Army, he went AWOL. It was in the Army that Scotty was introduced to LSD and God simultaneously. After resolving his AWOL status crisis, he became interested in motorcycles and started associating with other motorcycle enthusiasts. A group of free-riders hung around a particular bar and started sponsoring and putting on motorcycle runs for non-Patch-holders. After three or four years of loose association, this group of free-riders decided to form a club, to become bonafide Patch-holders, and Scotty was one of them. Having been one of the original members, he, of course, touted
a position of status which afforded him a large degree of female attention. This was a new experience for Scotty who was somewhat shy around women, and he thoroughly enjoyed it. Scotty also enjoyed the camaraderie, security, feeling of belonging and acceptance provided by this group.

But things began to change. Territorial outlaw clubs put more and more pressure on the members of this club to conform to certain procedures since the outlaw clubs endorse smaller clubs within the outlaw clubs' territory. Some of the members of Scotty's club were intimidated and proposed more outlaw-type mores. The clubbers that maintained a more free-rider approach to membership balked. For Scotty, club membership and activities had virtually invaded and consumed every aspect of his life. And with the new club mindset of more rigidity, he had to get out. Scotty retired his colors. His affiliation dwindled to only sporadic contact with those whom he had previously called his brothers, and the female attention stopped abruptly. Since retirement nearly ten years ago, Scotty has not had one girlfriend. Today, Scotty continues to abuse alcohol, remains emotionally aloof and avoids commitments except to his job, for which there is a pay off. He is angry, lonely and isolated and is still attempting to fill the hole in his soul with a mood-altering drug.
SUMMARY

The life of the Patch-holder may appear to be one of total rebellion and personal freedom. However, membership requirements and codes of ethics dictate a high degree of conformity.

Through its rigid structure and rituals, a sense of predictability and control prevails and membership provides a sense of security, belonging, and identity.

Being a Patch-holder can be a very positive experience when certain values such as individuality and self-actualization are removed. Because of the high degree of rigid conformity inherent with this reference group, it would appear that Patch-holders provide a haven for dysfunctional, addictive persons that need a feeling of control, of being controlled, and that need to have expectations well-defined for them.

The allure of the biker world would appear to provide a haven for persons that have felt alienated by an addictive society that requires prescribed conformity, to behave in certain ways or to be ostracized. Many bikers do feel that they have been ostracized and shun the mores and codes of the addictive system from which they have been themselves shunned.

The reference group, Patch-holders, is a group's attempt to function within an alienating society, and attempts to
provide its members with feelings of security, identity, and a place to belong.

In reality, this reference group can be as dysfunctional a "family" as the members' permissive or authoritarian birth families. As the structure and function of each club varies so can it parallel the three different styles of parenting. Outlaw clubs seem to tend more toward authoritarian parenting styles which require strict adherence to rigid rules "or else," and function between Kohlberg's moral stages one through four. Some groups, which provide a democratic approach, can be said to function at stages five and six. While functioning democratically, change is allowed and often welcomed. However, clubs that provide little or no consistency regarding rules and specified behaviors, leave boundaries open and thus operates the same as a dysfunctional family. Alcohol and drugs are being used in an attempt to fill the emotional holes of the dysfunctional birth family, and then of the adopted biker "family". There is a constant struggle for control while the whole system is out of control. However, this system is appealing for certain addictive persons since it requires no change of them and allows the addictive system and persons to continue in their symbiotic relationship.
From Easter 1984 through 1988, I attended numerous charismatic Christian services, kinship meetings (prayer meetings in private homes), Christian concerts, picnics and baptisms. Previous to that, between 1955 and 1965, I had attended various fundamentalist churches.

Three informants were chosen for this endeavor with the following criteria: today each is very involved in a charismatic Christian fellowship and the ministry of Jesus Christ's messages—a pastor, worship leader, and minister in childrens' church. They each had previously been involved in a lifestyle that revolved around drugs, had been involved with Patch-holders to varying degrees, and had experienced some kind of spiritual phenomena (baptized by the Holy Spirit) which, they claim, enabled them to make a change in lifestyle and become drug free. Others that wished to share their testimonies of how these interactions set them free were simply too numerous to accommodate.

Christianity has been practiced since the time of Christ, almost two thousand years. However, this chapter will discuss briefly the charismatic Neo-Pentecostal Jesus Movement of the
Twentieth Century. By moving Christ's teachings from the sacred walls of the Church to the people on the street, this movement has attraction and appeal to those who feel alienated, unloved and unworthy but shun the rigidity of fundamental Protestantism. This movement has the potential to impact the lives of addictive persons through its appeal and its rituals.

The following is being introduced, not to pit sects of Christianity against one another, but merely to provide an overview of basic differences between fundamentalist and charismatic fellowships. Of course, each fellowship varies in doctrine and many fellowships espouse more fundamentalist views and less charismatic and vice versa. Varied individual and collective interpretations of the Holy Bible have resulted in over 300 different Christian sects, each espousing its own doctrines (for this thesis, the New International Version has been used). Moreover, these interpretations provide the fabric of belief and interaction for each fellowship's participants.

The participants in this movement are referred to as charismatic Christians, sometimes as Jesus Freaks. The appeal of this movement as opposed to more fundamentalist Christian approaches is the emphasis on love and acceptance, a more "come as you are" approach. Fundamentalist Christian
fellowships often appear more rigid as far as emphasis on
dress and ritual. Sunday morning is often testimony to how
affluent one might be through vehicles of dress, tithing, so
forth. One must sit quietly through service, sing traditional
hymns, which are usually accompanied by an organist or
pianist. The singing is often the only active participation
of the average fundamentalist church-goer unless the ritual
of communion is offered. The fundamentalist church is rigid
in its structure, in its traditions, and emphasizes strict
adherence to scriptural interpretations espoused by that
particular sect. Fundamentalist doctrines are more inclined
to the viewpoint that the "gifts of the Holy Spirit" (NIV Cor
12:1-11) are no longer in effect and became ineffective with
the death of the last disciple. To the charismatic
Christians, however, the belief and utilization of the "gifts
of the Spirit" are very much alive, and this "life" is the
very foundation of the Movement. Each member can be born
again (NIV John 3:3-8), and each individual member is
considered a disciple of Christ. To be born again is
attainable through the ritual of baptism which is provided by
most Christian fellowships, fundamentalist and charismatic
alike. Water baptisms are often a public as well as personal
demonstration of commitment, proclaiming that one has accepted
Christ as their personal savior and is now "born again." This
ritual provides a rite of passage. Before immersion into the water, a person is believed to be afflicted with death from sin. Upon immersion, which is conducted by a pastor or priest, that person is symbolically washed of sin, born again, and is committed to follow the teachings of Jesus as interpreted through the Holy Bible. To the charismatic Christian, baptism by the Spirit is the most meaningful (NIV John 3:5). The numinosity of this phenomenon is often described by those who have experienced it as a "rush," a "high", a "cleansing," a feeling as though all weight has been removed from one's shoulders. (This phenomena will be discussed in individual testimonies given by informants interviewed for this chapter).

PHILOSOPHY

According to the New International Version of the Holy Bible, after Jesus' crucifixion and subsequent resurrection from the dead, He spoke to His apostles:

Do not leave Jerusalem, but wait for the gift my Father (God) promised, which you have heard me speak about. For John (John the Baptist) baptized with water, but in a few days you will be baptized with the Holy Spirit. (NIV Acts 4:1-5)

When the days of Pentecost came (approximately 40 days after Jesus' resurrection from the dead), the apostles were gathered together in a house in Jerusalem:

Suddenly a sound like the blowing of a violent wind came from heaven...they saw what seemed to be tongues of fire that separated and came to rest on each of
them. All of them were filled with the Holy Spirit and began to speak in other tongues (languages) as the Spirit enabled them (NIV Acts 2:2-4).

Through baptism of the Holy Spirit, the apostles were able to speak in tongues and heal the afflicted through laying on of hands and prayer. Charismatic Christians believe that as Christ's disciples, He will work through them to aid their afflicted brothers and sisters. Charismatic Christians believe that the gifts of the Spirit (NIV Cor 12:1-11) are available to anyone that has been baptized by the Holy Spirit. These gifts are to be utilized to minister to one another, whether on a one-on-one basis, among fellow Christians, or to non-believers (in Christ). Charismatic Christians are called to pray for one another and lay hands on one another.

Charismatic Christians carry the message, derived from Christ's biblical teachings of salvation for all (eternal life), regardless of social status, economic position, or lifestyle. Charismatic Christians believe that Jesus Christ loves His children just as they are, that one can attain heaven while still on earth through the peace of God's love, and that through this love, as Christians, they can set other captives (of sin) free (NIV Luke 4:18) to be reborn into a new life of joy.

68
HISTORY

At a Pentecostal Revival on December 31, 1900 at Bethel College, Topeka, Kansas, 40 students studied the phenomenon of Baptism by the Holy Spirit under the leadership of Evangelist Charles F. Parham. Parham laid hands on Agnes N. Ozman who then received the baptism of the Holy Spirit. Others joined her, and according to the Kansas City Times, 21 different languages were spoken that night, including languages that had not been spoken for hundreds of years (Gritsch 1982:71).

One of Parham's students, William J. Seymour, began a "spirit filled" congregation in an abandoned Methodist church at 312 Azusa Street, Los Angeles, California. In 1906, the "Holy Rollers" of Azusa Street became a tourist attraction. The 1906 Los Angeles revival has been credited with the birth of the modern Pentecostal movement. One of the main tenets of the Pentecostal doctrine is in divine healing. Further, in order to be healed, one must believe that God can heal (Gritsch 1982:73).

Pastor W. H. Durham of North Avenue Mission in Chicago, Illinois, and a follower of Seymour, led a group of Pentecostals that held the "finished work theory" which provides for making believers perfect upon baptism. No further change is necessary after conversion, they believe,
since baptism by the Holy Spirit completes the atonement begun by Christ. The Spirit cleanses all sin or original sin that is inherited from the sin of Adam and Eve through birth (Gritsch 1982:74). Subsequent sins are dealt with by confessing these sins one to another and by asking God for forgiveness (NIV James 5:16).

According to Gritsch (1982), various offshoots with tempered doctrines emerged from these beginnings including Assemblies of God, United Pentecostal Church, and the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel. An Episcopalian congregation in Van Nuys, California, became a center for Holy Rollers in 1959. Its pastor, Father Bennet, was requested to resign in 1960 because of his charismatic, spirit-filled methods but was later requested to perform services at St. Luke's Episcopal Church in Seattle, Washington. By 1968, St. Luke's parish population had increased from 200 apathetic members to over 2,000, many of whom had been baptized by the Holy Spirit. Also affected by Father Bennet and his ministry were Presbyterian, Lutheran, and Roman Catholic churches (Gritsch 1982:79).

The charismatic movement spread rapidly during the 1960's due to media attention which fanned new hope for a populace attempting to fill the hole in its soul. One faction of this movement was the Jesus Movement. Its beginnings were roused
in the Seattle, Washington, area by one Linda Meisner in the early 1970's. These beginnings were superceded by Chuck Smith's church, Calvary Chapel, in Costa Mesa, California. Calvary Chapel opened its doors to everyone but specifically to long-haired, socially "unacceptable" people, street people. This was revolutionary and brought strong reaction from the fundamentalist church (Pederson 1971:83). However, may of these targeted persons had been turned off to Christianity. They felt the fundamentalist church was caught up in materialistic views such as emphasis on how well-dressed one was, how elegant the place of worship, and how much tithes were offered. Opinions held by many people involved in the Jesus Movement was that fundamentalist churches seemed to know little about the teachings of Christ, about brotherly love, and about preaching the gospel. Jesus' message to "love your neighbor as yourself" (NIV Matt 22:39) seemed to be lost in the superficial motives of somewhat self-righteous churchgoers that professed to be "good" Christians.

The Jesus Movement was further promoted by the Hollywood Free Paper that was first written and published by Duane Pederson circa 1970. This publication was a Christian underground newspaper which spread the gospel through simple messages from Holy Bible scripture. The stories were related in illustrations and written in street vernacular. An address
was provided for those people desiring more information. Responses to this address indicated that a large percentage of the Hollywood Free Press had been found in street gutters, public restrooms, and in trash cans. The cries for salvation were overwhelming (Pederson 1971:25).

The beliefs of the charismatics stress inner joy and peace rather than focusing on external, existential suffering caused by a sin/death/evil-plagues world (Gritsch 1982:105). To many helpless, hopeless people who feel unloved and unlovable, this hope for inner joy and peace can bring about miraculous transformations. Love is at the heart of this hope—an unconditional love based on acceptance and support of one another. The love is delivered through the message of the charismatic Christians that "Jesus loves you", and not only does He love you, but He loves you "just the way you are."

It is interesting to note that several charismatic churches have a large Patch-holder population, such as Bikers for Christ and Christ's Sons, which provide the rebellious attire and lifestyle espoused by Patch-holder groups, while at once providing a drug-free lifestyle.

RITUALS AND SYMBOLISM

Rituals and symbols that are shared by individuals and
congregations provide emotional bonding for its participants to one another (Agar 1973)(Woodman 1987).

**Baptism:**

The ritual of water baptism and its symbolism has been discussed earlier in this chapter. As a rite of passage, its preparations are taken seriously and its expectations are prescribed. According to Gritsch (1982), the steps suggested to prepare for baptism and the born again experience are described as follows:

1) **acknowledge sin** (This is the first step to humility. Since Jesus is considered to be a humble person, to become humble and therefore more Christlike is a goal of the charismatic Christian (NIV Phil 2:1-11).

2) **repent and forsake sin** (This step provides symbolic cleansing).

3) **invite Jesus into one's life** (continued cleansing)

4) **turn one's life over to God's will** (This is to provide an alternative to self-centered, self-seeking motives. A Christian is to symbolically die to self and self-seeking (NIV Phil 1:21, Rom 6:6).

Benefits from the born again experience should provide the following:

1) Feelings of guilt are eradicated;
2) A new source of emotional strength and nourishment is available (Jesus lives within the hearts of His people (NIV John 14:17), and the Spirit helps (us) in (our) weakness (NIV Rom 8:26).

3) Life now has a purpose and direction (to serve and praise God daily).

4) Through the process of becoming humble, comes strength, growth, and maturation (Alcoholics Anonymous 1953:70-76).

5) By following the teachings of Jesus, one may live a life of abundance rather than one of self-destruction (John 15:1-4).

Communion:

Communion is the ritual of symbolically eating a wafer which represents the flesh of Christ and drinking wine which represents the blood of Christ. This ritual is in commemoration of Christ's death (NIV Gal 2:20, Rom 5:8, 1 Cor 15:3, 1 Pet 3:18).

Kinship:

Kinship meetings or prayer meetings are usually get-togethers held at private homes. The purpose of kinship is to provide a more personal ministry to its participants and to focus on individual needs and prayers. This practice is utilized for more meaningful sharing and bonding with
individual members than can be derived in a large church meeting or worship.

Worship:

Charismatic Christian worship is particularly appealing to younger people, at least the young at heart. The use of guitars, tambourines, (even Congo drums were used at one fellowship) provides upbeat rhythms with lyrics to uplift the soul and to glorify God. The tempo often ranges from very slow for meditative response to very fast accompanied by hand clapping. Worship is often at once uplifting and humbling. Standing up with hands outstretched in supplication enables one to concentrate on one's own meaningfulness than to focus on inhibitions brought about by self-consciousness. Although this type of exuberant worship is deemed unacceptable by more fundamentalist churches, worship in this manner is supported by scripture: singing (NIV Ps 40:3, PS 47:7, PS 69:30, Ps 96:2, Ps 105:2, et al); dancing (Ps 149:3); cymbals (Ps 150:5); clapping hands (Ps 47:1); and raising hands (Ps 63:4, 1 Tim 2:8).

PERSONAL TESTIMONIES

In an interview conducted on January 15, 1988, George shared that he was born to a poverty-stricken family that lived in a Chicago ghetto. He left home at age 14 and for the next ten years supported himself and his drug habit
through self-prostitution. His drug habit enabled him to survive emotionally and economically. When asked why he had chosen this lifestyle rather to remain home with his parents, he indicated that life on the street was more appealing than at home. At least on the streets, George felt that he had some control over his own destiny, something which was lacking within his home environment. Through dealing drugs, George became acquainted with and sweethearted (See Chapter Two) a motorcycle group. George's method of sweethearting, however, was somewhat different than the usual method. Instead of attempting to be "cool" to be accepted, George challenged the entire group to a physical altercation. George alone versus the club. The club was impressed with his approach and allowed him to become a bonafide Patch-holder of the club without benefit of prospectorship nor motorcycle. When his bravery was complimented by this writer, George indicated that he had little fear. He was not concerned about living or dying. He just wanted to belong somewhere.

And belong, he did. This group provided him membership status which also provided a sense of communal as well as independent identity, economic security (Patch-holders often provide employment for their members), and an acceptable outlet to vent his pent-up frustrations acquired from inadequate parental nurturing. George loved to fight.
However, after six short months of protection and belonging, George became a fugitive of the law. So as not to attract law enforcement to the entire club, George was no longer afforded the protective amenities of group membership. He fled to the West Coast in hopes of starting a new life. The new life did not begin, however, until he had turned himself in. While in jail awaiting his court hearing, George became afraid that he would never be free again. He had nowhere or to anyone to turn. So he prayed to God for help. And, according to George, God did help him. George was released on probation without a jail sentence and allowed to reside with a relative.

Shortly after his release to this home, he was drawn to a "preach" on television that was being presented by a Baptist minister. Upon hearing the message that God loves His children, George states that tears began to well up in his eyes. He resolved to attend a church that evening. The church he attended had an altar call but through fear of non-acceptance, George did not go forward. However, later that week, two men from the church he had previously attended came to visit George at his relative's home. George was asked if he would like to accept Jesus as his personal savior and he

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3 An altar call is the opportunity to step forward, repent of sins, and accept Jesus into one's heart as personal savior.
replied that he would. George fell to the floor, asked forgiveness for his sins, and began to speak in tongues. He indicates that he felt as though a huge rock had been lifted from his shoulders, felt a sense of deliverance. He felt reborn. He feels that he was baptized by the Holy Spirit.

Two weeks later, George was water baptized. From that time forward, George claims that he has had no desire to drink alcohol, take drugs, or smoke cigarettes. The hole in his soul had been filled. George indicates that out of curiosity, he dabbled with Psilocybin and marijuana but indicated that his reaction to these chemicals was so adverse that he no longer had any desire to ingest mood-altering substances.

George has been married for ten years, works as a concrete contractor, and supports a family of six. Approximately three years ago, he became the pastor of a once charismatic, spirit-filled fellowship in a rural southern California community. However, since his pastorship a transformation has occurred within this fellowship. Although worship remains spirit-filled, his sermons contain the overtones of a more fundamentalist approach. Strict adherence to scripture and rigidity in thought has replaced the more led-by-the Spirit view (NIV John 3:8) of contemporary charismatics. The tenets of this fellowship now seem to follow a format that demands conformity of its members,
unquestioned adherence to the interpretations of its leader, and allows little, if any, room to challenge authority. Because of George's dysfunctional family background, his need for control as an addictive person has become evident. It would appear that George may have shifted his addictive tendencies from substance to process (see Chapter One). Many of the participants of this fellowship that experienced the born again phenomenon and enjoyed a free-in-the-Spirit philosophy have shunned this rigid format and joined other fellowships. They are now attending charismatic fellowships that appeal more to their own emotional growth and identity formation, that provide acceptance and not rigidity.

Sylvia was the main female informant for Chapter Two and was interviewed on August 15, 1987. She had been brought up in a strict, fundamentalist home. The parenting style was authoritarian. She felt a sense of security at home but also felt a stifled self-identity. She felt smothered and was therefore attracted to the allure of freedom. The reference group that provided this allure was the Patch-holders. When Patch-holder life had failed to provide the freedom she craved and to fill the hole in her soul, she fled the club and returned to the home of her parents. She did not listen to the message of salvation that her parents attempted to share with her until she had reached a point of total despair.
Sylvia had been involved with drugs since her Patch-holder days. She ultimately became disillusioned by this biker lifestyle and the emptiness she felt in her life. She was tired of the drugs and the ritual of buying drugs. To further exacerbate her misery, she had married a heroine addict. Two children had been born to this union and were both quite young. She no longer felt a part of the party world. She found that the hole in her soul was becoming unbearable. Sylvia found that she was becoming attracted to the lifestyle represented by several Christians with whom she had become acquainted. These Christians seemed to derive joy and support regardless of the life situation they might be experiencing. Sylvia wanted this joy and support. She wanted something better for her children and resolved to attend a church. The church members welcomed her; but while she felt accepted by them, she simultaneously found herself feeling unworthy of the joy and support that was being offered by these Christians. Sylvia stated that until her actual baptism, she was unsure of a total commitment to this way of life, but the baptism changed her mind. She wanted nothing more of her past chemically-dependent lifestyle. She felt she was given a new life, and she was born again. The extent of her drug involvement, however, had taken its toll, and it took many attempts at complete sobriety before Sylvia became totally
drug free. As of this writing, Sylvia has been clean and sober for over six years. She indicated that she is grateful for her new lifestyle which does not include a hole in her soul. Sylvia is now widowed (her husband died of alcohol-induced heart failure), has three children, and is actively involved in a children's ministry at her church. Sylvia is very accepting of other's beliefs. Her faith and her identity are not jeopardized when challenged. Her reference group has provided her security, support, and structure and yet provides enough flexibility to grow emotionally.

Karen, interviewed on October 12, 1987, indicated that she was 14 years old when she started smoking marijuana. Her middle-class family had moved to a new residence in a new community in Oregon. She had to attend a new school, suffering feelings of alienation from the rest of the student body. The group that seemed to accept her were drug users. This sense of acceptance and belonging along with a need to identify with this group initiated her own drug lifestyle.

Her marijuana use escalated to new drugs: cocaine, LSD, Psilocybin, methamphetamine, barbiturates, and alcohol. These drugs became the focus of her social life. At that time, she saw nothing harmful about this lifestyle. However, at age 16, she began using drugs to assuage the emotional pain of a
broken relationship with her boyfriend. Her drug abuse seemed to consume her as a means to escape emotional pain.

At age 18, she moved from her parents' home to a house with five adult male Patch-holders. She had been introduced to these men by way of mutual friends and found them to be nice, fun-loving and shared a common interest: a drug-addicted lifestyle. Her relationship with these men remained on friendship status and she did not become an old lady to any of them. Through this affiliation, she felt safe, secure, that she belonged and that she was protected. This relationship was sustained for over two years until she moved into the home of a male friend. This relationship lasted three months. She moved on to Alaska in hopes of finding a solution to this hole in her soul that neither relationship nor drugs could fill. She tried to fill this hole with a baby. She felt that if she had her own child, she could love and would be loved in return by the child, and this would fill the hole. However, seven months pregnant, she returned to the home of her parents replete with despair. The hole was consuming her.

Pregnant and unmarried, she attended the church of a friend and was overwhelmed with the love and acceptance she received. She laughed as she recalled purposely being tardy to subsequent services to avoid being hugged because she did
not feel worthy of the love she was receiving. She was especially moved by the worship, however, and felt a feeling of warmth and well-being as she listened to the words that spoke of Christ's love for His children. She yearned for salvation and an ending to the hole in her soul. She asked Jesus to come into her heart and began to cry. She felt as though a great weight had been lifted from her shoulders and that she had "come home."

From that day, Karen indicates that she no longer wanted anything to do with a drug-addicted lifestyle. She felt that she had been given a new life, had been reborn, and that the hole in her soul was being filled. Karen and a young man from that church have been married for over eight years, they have four children, and Karen functions as worship leader at a small charismatic fellowship in southern California. Karen appears to feel secure at this fellowship. This fellowship represents to her an extended family. Because of her strong commitment to family as a result of not receiving the support and nurturing from her natural family at a time when she was feeling alienated by her peers, Sylvia has continued to attend and support the same congregation that is being pastored by George even though the tone of this fellowship has changed from charismatic to more fundamental. In subsequent conversations with Karen a year after my original interview
with her, it was noted that, although she maintains the same loving demeanor as she has had in the past, she is tending to a less tolerant, more judgmental stance regarding other's opinions that differ from her own. It would appear that she is becoming more rigid and less flexible in her viewpoints. However, this reference group provides her an important position, a feeling of belonging, and security. It is providing the nurturing she may not have received as a child.

CONCLUSION

The born-again experience has given "new life" to many persons that have been attempting to function in a drug-addicted lifestyle and have become more and more dysfunctional as a result. This experience and attendant change in lifestyle provides to many a solution for filling the hole in the soul which in the past has been attempted through drugs, food, relationships.

The joy and gratitude for this new life is the foundation for the uplifting, spirit-filled worship found in many charismatic Christian fellowships that are springing up throughout the world. The fellowships, through baptism of the Holy Spirit and adherence to the scriptural teachings of Jesus Christ, provide an alternate lifestyle and a solution to out-of-control, drug-addicted lifestyles. Fellowships provide a sense of belonging as a family of believers with
common bonds...desire for a better life, rituals that provide a sense of predictability, identity (through participation and symbols that indicate belonging to the Christian faith, Illustrations 4, 5, and 6), and possibly endorphin production through its exuberant worship to provide a natural high, rather than one induced by mind-altering drugs. Through the beliefs espoused by the charismatic Christians that Jesus Christ loves His children and died for the sins of all people, it is possible that one can experience a sense of being loved by one's Creator rather than being condemned to death regardless of attempts to be a better person. The spirit-filled Jesus Movement has provided hope for many who have suffered from feelings of low self-esteem and unworthiness derived from dysfunctional family roots.
CHAPTER FOUR
THE HARE KRSNA MOVEMENT
OR THE KRSNA CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT

Cham Bramasmi
"I am Spirit, I am not my body"

Information for this chapter was obtained through both library research and fieldwork which consisted of an interview with two Hare Krsna devotees, and through personal participation in temple worship. Introduction to the devotees was made possible through my professor of Anthropology. Informants were a student, Annie and her spouse Joe. Several attempts were made to conduct an interview with the Sannyasa (high priest) of the Hare Krsna temple in Los Angeles. After an interview had been granted by the Sannyasa, he did not make himself available for that interview. Information provided by the informants and corroborative library research, however, is sufficient for the purpose of this project.

HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY

Dying to selfishness and rising above a yen for material things can have significant appeal to members of American society that have been alienated due to the lack of material possessions. The Hare Krsna movement may provide meaning for
those that reject materialism as a means of gaining status but still wish to be considered and to feel part of a larger whole.

The Hare Krsna movement was first introduced in the United States (New York City) by A. C. Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupada in 1966. A. C. Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupada was born in 1896 in India. He came to the United States in 1965 to spread Krsna Consciousness to the West. By the time of his death in 1977, five thousand disciples had been initiated (Rockford 1985:10). Prabhupada's devotional message to the Western world emphasized the practice of bhakti, a tradition which is devotional service to the Lord (Krsna) and is believed by devotees to be the means to individual spiritual liberty. Prabhupada's beliefs come from Hindu tradition that originated in Bengal, India in the sixteenth century. The actual Krsna Consciousness is rooted in the bhakti movement founded by Sri Caitanya Mahaprabhu in the early 1500's. Caitanya revived bhakti yoga which emphasizes that through love and devotional service to God (Krsna) one can gain spiritual realization. Caitanya's teachings appealed to lower caste peoples of India. According to Caitanya, salvation was equally attainable regardless of position in the caste system of Eastern India (Rockford 1985:11). Castes, in the context of Hindu society, are hereditary, segregated classes into
which one is born. One's caste cannot be changed, and previous to Caitanya, salvation was reserved only to those born into the highest caste. Therefore, salvation was unattainable to those born of a lower caste. This practice was prescribed by ancient Vedic ritual tradition.

Attainable salvation for common people through bhakti, then, was a truly revolutionary concept. The catalyst for bhakti is the Bhagavad-Gita or The Song of God which is a compilation of scriptural references derived from the ancient Vedas and was written some time between the fifth and second centuries B.C. (Rockford 1985:12). The Gita translates sacrifice and elaborate Hindu ritual into simple love offerings and devotionals to God. The Gita promotes active participation in life and worldly affairs while renouncing only egotistical attachment to material goods attained through one's own labors. The concept of bhakti provides the only means of gaining the right relationship with Krsna. The paths of work, ritual, and knowledge lead to lesser pleasures unless they are sanctified by bhakti. Bhakti is a state of active worship of the deity, not a state of inaction. The love and pleasure are reciprocal. Whatever the devotee gives to the Lord is returned with love many times over.

This dying to selfishness is a process, and, according to the Gita, the true spiritual self is an independent entity.
However, because of contamination by material desires "the soul is forced to assume a continuous succession of material bodies" (Rockford 1985:12). The body is simply a covering for the soul. The soul's inhabitance of the human body appears to be the ultimate stumbling block in the upward progression. According to Krsna consciousness, it is believed that the true self or soul is eternal but "due to ignorance of material contamination, the soul is forced to assume a continuous succession of material bodies" (Brugalette 1986). When each of these bodies die, the soul migrates until it finds another body to inhabit. If the person has progressed sufficiently through that body's life by denying certain earthly pleasures, that person's soul may move up the spiritual ladder and be born into a better life in a better body. Only through this denial can the soul become fully realized per Krsna Consciousness, and to overcome the laws of karma, and the cycle of birth, death, and rebirth. Each cycle of birth, death and rebirth into a new body draws one's soul closer to the ultimate goal of eternal life if that person has become unselfish and immaterialistic. This eternal life includes being in loving service of Krsna (Brugalette 1986). If the person has led a hedonistic lifestyle, however, he/she takes the chance of being reborn into a lesser body, possibly that of an animal. Being at the bottom of the spiritual ladder,
the soul would be further from a fully-realized relationship with God and would have to start up the spiritual ladder again (Rockford 1985:12).

Liberation from selfishness and the contamination of the body itself is attained by devotion to Krsna and supplies the main themes of the Hare Krsna devotees. Liberation through bhakti is achieved through practice and under the guidance of a spiritual master. Part of this practice consists of Krsna worship, listening to messages from the Gita and Shrimad-Bhaga-votum (sacred Vedic scriptures), and chanting the Hare Krsna mantra: (japam)

Hare Krsna, Hare Krsna,
Krsna Krsna, Hare Hare
Rama Rama, Hare Rama (ATMA 1983:15)

Chanting is disciplined and becomes a source of warmth and joy, a sort of spiritual "high," for the devotees and provides a feeling of love for and from Krsna. Devotees are also expected to live a lifestyle in accordance with the International Society for Krsna Consciousness (ISKCON) and to participate in mandatory religious practices prescribed by ISKCON.

CODE OF ETHICS

The rules that apply to devotee membership and to ensure one's place in the Krsna community are few and simple. Hare
Krsna membership is not contingent upon status but upon abiding by these rules.

1) No devotee is to eat meat, fish, or eggs. This is the most horrific offense a devotee can commit. Because of reincarnation philosophy, it is conceivable that one might be eating the flesh of a brother or sister. To do this would render the devotee a "karmi" which would result in excommunication. Sincere repentance, however, provides forgiveness which is afforded by other devotees. One's sincerity is a vital aspect of repentance. If one sincerely wishes to serve Krsna and be obedient to the teachings, one will not continue to break the rules. These convictions will become apparent depending on the actions of the devotee. According to Joe, one of the informants for this chapter, each devotee has a spiritual bank account. That is, whatever a devotee puts into Krsna service is credited to the account. Rule breaking does not go against this account. The account accompanies the soul through each life form, and progression up the spiritual ladder depends on the contents of the account. Thus, if one is sincere and wishes to move up the ladder, one needs to concern himself or herself with the condition of the account. Sincerity results in less rule violations. Further, the devotee's spiritual master stands in spiritual intercession for the devotee. The master suffers
spiritually for devotee transgressions. A sincere devotee does not wish that anyone should suffer much less his/her spiritual master.

2) No intoxication through mind-altering chemicals. The Gita speaks of the "three-fold miseries" and their constant properties, which are that these three miseries have always been, are still, and always will be. They include: a) miseries of mind and body, b) miseries of nature, and c) miseries of other living entities. Spiritually trained devotees are able to recognize which misery is plaguing them at a given time and acceptance of this misery is simply realized as part of life while being in a physical body. After this acceptance, the devotee chants to reduce residual physical stress. Through chanting, one is able to transcend the physical state and move into an altered state of consciousness. Thus, one is more able to deal with the physical stress naturally rather than to resort to ingesting mind-altering chemicals.

3) No illicit sex. For one to have sex with someone other than their spouse is considered illicit sex within Krsna membership. Both marriages and divorces within the Krsna community are easy to attain so there is virtually no excuse for illicit sex. For devotees that have no partner and wish to be married, they may request that the president of the
temple arrange a marriage. Divorce is not sanctioned, but if a marriage is not working out, the partners can move to separate living quarters and are considered no longer married. They are then free to pursue another relationship.

4) No gambling or mental speculation. Gambling consists of playing games that include the exchange of money or property after betting. Mental speculation refers to the resolution of questions a devotee might have. Questions are to be taken to and answered by Krsna authorities and the answers are to be accepted as truth. As mindless as this might appear, Joe advised that despite his educational background in psychology and his need for logical, concrete explanations, any answers he received from Krsna authorities to his own queries made sense, were accepted, and did not provoke challenge.

Annie and Joe, interviewed on October 9, 1987, provided me with their own personal reasons for becoming Hare Krsna devotees and also supplied information relative to some of the various rituals and appeal of this particular reference group.

LIFESTYLE

The ceremonies give the devotees the opportunity to worship and fellowship with one another (Rockford 1985:17). Worship consists of meditation and prayer, uplifting hands in gestures
of adoration and praise, and singing and dancing. Singing and
dancing accompany the slow beat of the drum which becomes more
rapid throughout worship. As the beat escalates, so does the
dancing. Toward the end of worship, the beat is again slow.
Temple worship is very exhilarating. Musical instruments
included in temple worship are bells, cymbals, and the drum.

While living in the Hare Krsna temple, men wear
traditional robes (dhotis), whether married or single. Women
wear "saris" (long pieces of cloth wrapped around the body and
covering the head). All devotees wear bead bags and beads
around their necks. Neck beads indicate ISKCON status or
position in the group. Daily routines that are part of
temple life are time-consuming and vary in degree depending
on the role of the individual within temple hierarchy, but
go something like the following:

3:00 a.m. Rise, bathe, dress
3:30 a.m. Temple, chant mantra on japa
4:30 a.m. Mangala arati ceremony in temple
4:55 a.m. Tulasi worship in temple
5:10 a.m. Finish chanting japa
7:05 a.m. Greet deities
7:15 a.m. Spiritual master worship (guru puja)
7:30 a.m. Srimad Bhagavatam class
8:30 a.m. Breakfast prasadam
9:00 a.m. Ashram class
9:30 a.m. Prepare for community work duties
9:45 a.m. Work duties
12:30 p.m. Lunch prasadam
1:15 p.m. Bhagavad Gita class
2:00 p.m. Prepare for Hare Nam (public chanting)
2:15 p.m. Hare Nam
5:00 p.m. Shower and read
6:00 p.m. Class in temple
6:30 p.m. Evening program
Annie indicated that there simply is not enough time to indulge in feelings of self-pity or loneliness.

During the first six months, devotees wear a single strand of beads to signify that they are in the initiation process. After initiation, the devotees can wear as many strands as they wish. Ideally, the beads are from the tulasi plant. However, other beads are acceptable if tulasi beads are unavailable (Rockford 1985).

**RITES OF PASSAGE**

After a prospective devotee enters the temple, he or she is on probation for six months. During this six-month period, the pre-devotee is participating in devotions of an initiated devotee.

**First Initiation:** After the six-month probationary period, the devotees experience their first initiation. It is at this time that they receive their spiritual name. This name consists of the words "servant of" and the name of the particular name of the entity of Krsna to be served. Since all things are considered to be aspects of Krsna, different aspects of Krsna have different names, such as "servant of" flowers, "servant of" children, "servant of" trees, and so forth. Annie's name became Liliminjari which rendered her "servant of" the gopis. The gopis are the past-times of Krsna.
which include dancing and having fun. Joe's name became Pudmanabha, which rendered him "servant of" a form of Krsna that is lying down with a lotus flower growing from the navel. This form represented Krsna reclining or resting. Whether the name of the deity corresponds to the gender of the devotee is irrelevant since the spirit has no gender. What is important is that the Krsna devotee serve this deity faithfully. Family members refer to one another by their spiritual names to surround themselves by Krsna. They feel that by referring to each other by their spiritual name blesses everyone that hears that name.

After receiving their spiritual names, the devotees take a vow not to break the four rules mandated by ISKCON. The devotees receive their own jopa beads. These beads are used while chanting the Hare Krsna mantra. The mantra is to be chanted 16 rounds of the beads per day for discipline. There are 108 beads per jopa and are a product of the Westernized Krsna movement. These beads function much the same as Roman Catholic rosary beads. Children can experience their first initiation at six months of age. Initiated children receive a special coin or inspirational scripture. The coin and scripture are placed within reasonable proximity of the child and the child is allowed to crawl. Whichever the child picks up, determines his/her role in serving Krsna. The scripture
indicates that the child will be a scholar for Krsna, and the coin indicates that the child will make money for Krsna.

**Second Initiation:** After the devotee's second initiation, he/she can become a Brahmin or priest and is able to perform religious ceremonies. This status (called Pujari) is coveted by both men and women. Ceremonies consist of dressing the altar, cooking food for the deities, so on, and can only be performed by a Pujari. To become a Pujari, one must be recommended by the temple president and must be recognized for following the four rules of ISKCON and for attending all required lectures.

**ORDERS OF LIFE**

1) **Brahmachari or single student.** This is the initial position of the Hare Krsna devotee, and is the most publicly noticed. These devotees are involved in the outreach aspect of the movement. They are the ones seen on streets, at airports, at zoos, etc. "Sankirtang" is dancing and singing praises to Krsna in public (Rockford 1985:11). They are the ones passing out ISKCON literature and soliciting monetary alms. They provide much of the monetary resources to keep the movement financially self-supporting. The ISKCON community owns its temples, many apartment complexes, and several communes that provide security, employment and food for its members. The Brahmachari order can be very appealing
to many non-aggressive persons that otherwise have difficulty adjusting to materialistically demanding American society. The Brahmachari has no outside responsibilities, make no major decisions, and have no other identity but that of Brahmachari.

2) Grhastha or married life. Couples may live either at the temple, independently or participate in communal life at one of the ISKCON communes. This is a matter of personal choice.

3) The Sannyasa (High Priest). The Sannyasa or high priest is the spiritual master for the individual temple or commune. He is not involved in the management hierarchy of the Governing Body Commission or the GBC.

GOVERNING BODY COMMISSION

The Governing Body Commission (GBC) has nothing to do with spiritual matters. It is the managerial and political arm of the ISKCON movement. Commission membership also provides status within the community. The GBC was established by Swami Prabhupada in August 1970 due to his advancing age, poor health, and the rapid growth of the movement. The GBC was established in a letter that was sent to temple presidents and not circulated among devotees. The past president of the Boston temple described the letter as a "document that divided the world into twelve zones, six of which are in the United States and Canada and six in Europe and Asia." Twelve men
devotees were appointed by Prabhupada to relieve him of managerial tasks. These tasks included decisions as to where new centers would be established and to whom they would be open (Daner 1976:53).

A line of authority extends from the regional GBC member to the president who is then responsible for carrying out orders to the spiritual master and GBC at his temple. He is also responsible for his devotees much as a father is responsible for his children. He settles disputes, offers spiritual guidance, delegates authority, assigns work, and advises devotees on practical, every day problems. It is also his responsibility to decide who may stay in the temple and who may not. There is no strict, formalized method for recruiting temple presidents. A retiring president will often choose his successor, or the decision may be made by the GBC if the retiring president fails to make a choice. And, an advanced devotee may volunteer to become a president by starting his own temple if he can raise the money (Daner 1976:54).

ANNIE AND JOE

Annie's description of her mother's parenting was consistent with an authoritative parenting style. She states that her family was upper-middle class and her mother was of Jewish descent. Annie stated that her mother was strict but
very nurturing. Decisions were not made regarding her (Annie) without consulting her. She feels that she was treated very fairly by her mother and later also by her step-father. Annie indicated that she did not experiment with drugs until after she had graduated from high school. She was married around 20 years of age. This marriage lasted two years and then ended in divorce. Annie indicated that she had begun to take amphetamines shortly after her graduation from high school to help her lose weight. After her divorce, she was employed as a medical assistant where the amphetamines could be readily procured. She entered counseling due to her feelings of depression that she felt was caused by her divorce. She stated that she enjoyed smoking marijuana and cigarettes because this helped her to feel less stressed and "that's what hippies did." One day while walking home she met Joe. Joe was attending New York City and was majoring in psychology. Joe stated that he was raised in an extremely fair and nurturing upper middle-class Catholic home. He stated that he did not experiment with drugs during high school either, but after graduation, he stated that he experimented with every drug available to him. When he met Annie, however, he did not like her involvement with amphetamines and cigarette smoking. She stated that she quit using these drugs immediately. One evening, Joe and Annie attended a lecture
at New York City College on Krsna Consciousness. This lecture piqued their interest. They decided to see what the Hare Krsna was all about. Disgusted with materialistic American society, they joined the Hare Krsna temple. They were impressed by the movement's lack of emphasis on materialism and the acceptance and non-coerciveness of the devotees. They were told from the onset that if they wished to leave the temple at any time, they were free to do so.

They stated that they found life at the temple to be very fulfilling. However, since living quarters are separate for male and female devotees unless married, they decided to be married. Their marriage was a fire ceremony marriage which is no longer performed in the Hare Krsna community. Because of the high rate of divorce, Swami Prabhupada felt that marriage vows were not being taken seriously and the ceremony not respected. It was thus discontinued. Joe and Annie lived in the temple for two years then decided that they wanted to live out of the temple, in mainstream society.

However, without the companionship of fellow devotees and their lack of bhakti devotionals to Krsna, they began to feel alienated from society and each other. They began to smoke marijuana again and became involved in the ritual of drugs. This ritual consists of finding a drug source (an individual), procuring the drug (the drug buy), and then using
the drug. This drug-buy ritual became the focus of their week-end entertainment, and their dependency on the drug and not on Krsna became more and more obvious.

Joe and Annie decided that the drug could not replace the fulfillment of their Krsna lifestyle so they returned to the temple. They decided that a geographical change of environment could also be beneficial. They left the New York temple, sold all of their belongings, and moved to the temple in Los Angeles. They were afforded housing and food for as long as they wished. Joe and Annie enjoyed status and recognition for being devotees that had studied under Swami Prabhupada himself. A short time later, they decided to live outside the temple again, but to remain in close contact with other devotees and to maintain their bhakti devotionals to Krsna. They has lived outside the temple now for approximately ten years and are actively employed by a local school district.

Joe and Annie are very open-minded people regarding other people's beliefs and philosophies. They were somewhat apprehensive at the onset of our interview due to the fact that I am of the Christian faith. They indicated that in the past, friends and relatives have chastised them for their beliefs. They stated that even though they are devout devotees, they do not broadcast this fact since they do not

102
wish to be castigated by persons that are not open to others' beliefs. It would then appear that because of their open-mindedness and democratic relationships with themselves and others, that they are functioning at five and six of Kohlberg's stages.

According to Rockford (1985) in a study that he conducted in 1980, most Hare Krsna devotees had come from middle to upper middle-class families. Further, the devotees had come from solid religious backgrounds (33% and 35% Protestant and Catholic, respectively). None of the devotees in Rockford's study had been active in their faith, however, at the time of induction into the Krsna movement. Most of the devotees had a high school education and at least one year of college. The common motivator for membership appeared to be a contempt for American society's emphasis on materialism and a lack of meaningfulness in their lives.

SUMMARY

The Hare Krsna movement would seem to attract people that feel alienated by and disgusted with the materialistic emphasis of contemporary post-Industrial Revolution, American society. This reference group appeals to the less downtrodden members of American society than the Patch-holder or Charismatic Christians. Similarly, though, this reference group provides security, structure, and identity for its
members, but without any coercion or threats. Conformity to rules for one's own salvation appears to motivate compliance from members more than threats of castigation and ostracism. This reference group seems to provide a "healthy" family which provides the nurturance for spiritual growth and a feeling of being part of a larger whole. Whether one wishes to remain a Brahmachari or aspire to a Pujari does not constitute nor negate acceptance or security provided by this group.
This project was undertaken to establish that recovery from addiction is a process of filling emotional holes or "the hole in the soul." These holes are often the result of dysfunctional parenting. Consideration of familial and societal dynamics and their pertinence to the phenomena of addiction was necessary. Pertinent dynamics for the purpose of this project include: a) healthy vs. unhealthy, or dysfunctional, family parenting, b) Kohlberg's stages of emotional growth, c) familial addictive systems the addictive persons they produce, d) how society can function as an addictive system in itself, e) what addiction is, f) why reference groups appeal to persons that may have been born into a dysfunctional family, and g) how these reference groups attempt to provide bonding through rituals for these persons. Although the above aspects are extensive, this research has barely probed the dynamics of dysfunctional and healthy familial parenting.

Six informants were carefully selected. Five were selected to share their own recovery from drug addiction in an attempt to provide some understanding as to what occurred in their lives to replace the desire or need to use drugs.
One informant was selected who is still ingesting mood-altering chemicals in an attempt to fill the hole in his soul. Each of these informants were attracted to reference groups in an attempt to fill their emotional holes.

This research has also been an attempt to verify that reference groups provide their members a sense of belonging through ritual bonding but do not necessary provide a nurturing environment necessary to fill the holes. I agree with Baruch that these holes are the result of dysfunctional familial parenting which does not provide the nurturing necessary for healthy emotional growth from which to engender healthy adults (1949).

Unhealthy or dysfunctional families do not provide security and predictability for their members. One unhealthy style of parenting is the authoritarian style. As I have discussed, this style does not consider the child's feelings and opinions which leaves the child feeling powerless, with no control. These negative feelings can evoke rebellion from the parental authority or result in absolute, unquestioned conformity. Rebellion was the case with both Sylvia and Scotty who were raised by authoritarian parenting and were attracted to the illusion of rebelliousness portrayed by the Patch-holders. However, Sylvia and Scotty both found this reference group to be more rigid in structure and required
more conformity than they had expected. Sylvia and Scotty soon found that this reference group provided the same dysfunctionality as their birth families. They both indicate that the drugs and alcohol were simply an accepted part of the rituals and social context of that particular reference group. They both rejected this reference group.

Sylvia chose Schaef's Choice two, to live and not to die, and became involved in a different, more nurturing and accepting reference group, the charismatic Christians. This group provided her enough warmth and acceptance to enable her to become drug free, to remain drug free, and consequently to grow emotionally. At age 18, Sylvia had rebelled against parental authority and joined a Patch-holders group. Previous to this, she had been unquestioningly obedient, anxious and insecure. She was ridden with low self-esteem. Emotionally, she was functioning at about Kohlberg's stage three.

The Patch-holder group afforded her a sense of security and vicarious identity. However, when the conformity of that group and the group's mores conflicted too radically from her basic moral upbringing, she could not resolve the conflict in any other way than to leave the group. Now, since joining the charismatic Christian group, Sylvia seems to be growing emotionally. In spite of the possibility of being caught up in absolute conformity to rigid dogma and the possibility of
remaining at stage one or three, she appears to be currently functioning at Kohlberg's stage six. She believes in equal rights and dignity for all people regardless of race, creed, nationality, belief system, and so on.

Therefore, it would appear that her current reference group has sufficient nurturing, acceptance and support to provide a safe environment in which to grow. Growth requires change and change can be painful. But with a supportive group, it is possible to change, grow, and to fill the emotional holes. The charismatic Christian group, through unconditional acceptance of her, allowed her the self-esteem necessary to take risks, remain drug free, and therefore acquire a sense of achievement. Through this growth, she has lost her need to control others and her environment. She now feels a sense of belonging and knows that she is a part of a bigger whole. This reference group appears to be a healthy "family" with an authoritative parenting style.

Scotty, however, has chosen Schaefer's Choice three: not to live and to die. He has isolated himself and is not affiliated with any reference group. Scotty was raised by an authoritarian parenting style as was Sylvia. At some point, he rebelled against the required conformity of his father, left home, joined the service, went AWOL, and ultimately, was attracted to a Patch-holder group. Like Sylvia, he soon
discovered that this group afforded him a vicarious identity and status within the group, but it required too much conformity and violated his own personal space. During the time Scotty was affiliated with the Patch-holder group, he basked in female attention. Women hoping to move up the ranks within the club and/or those that simply liked the status and fun associated with motorcycle clubs were often in Scotty's company. Interestingly, since his retirement from the club and the sale of his motorcycle, he has not had any girlfriends. This may illustrate that the status he received while being part of the group rendered him appealing to these women, and without the status, they felt he had little to offer. The members of the group had little to do with Scotty after he left the club since he was no longer willing to be at their beck and call to supply beer, work on their motorcycles, or lend them money. It would appear that Scotty and the group were functioning emotionally at Kohlberg's stage two. That is, the individuals' motives for doing anything for anyone else is only on the condition that he/she will receive something in return. If nothing is received, the relationship dwindles then disappears altogether. This group's members were also functioning in Kohlberg's stage four. Preservation of the society, in this case, the club, was paramount to its members. The individual member's responsibility is to honor
and keep the rules. One rule, that Patch-holders are brothers and are to be supported and protected by one another, no longer applies when a brother retires and certainly not if he is ostracized from the club. In order to deal with the lack of identity and status once derived from affiliation with a Patch-holder group and not having replaced the group with another reference group that will accept him, Scotty is still attempting to fill the hole in his soul by ingesting alcohol. He continues to suffer from low self-esteem, is harsh and critical of himself and others. He denies any of these feelings, though, because he cannot identify their source. It would appear that his addiction is blocking his awareness, dulling his pain, and inhibiting his emotional growth.

Sylvia and Scotty's rejection of the Patch-holder group exemplifies Weigert's view that how one perceives one's place in society and the need for the security of a particular reference group is a matter of the mind and spirit (1968). Sylvia's and Scotty's own identity formation negated their need to adapt to the mores of a reference group that ran counter to their own moral growth.

Also, it is interesting to note that neither Sylvia nor Scotty were products of the permissive parenting style. This runs counter to Teyber's suggestion that the permissive
parenting style is most likely to produce persons that become involved in substance abuse (1988).

George, on the other hand, was the product of a permissive parenting style. According to George, there was little or no consistency, no boundaries, and there was little nurturing and affection. He has learned to be manipulative and can achieve his goals without following rules. This was demonstrated by his ability to survive by dealing drugs and self-prostitution, as well as being allowed membership in a Patch-holder club without prospectorship. He was able to impress and manipulate a club much the same as he did his mother. This ability to manipulate is accomplished through charm, cajoling, or intimidation, whichever the situation calls for, to attain his goal. He further attempted to manipulate his way out of the behavioral consequences of illegal activities but when finally faced with a prison term, he had a change of heart. In prison, instead of being able to control the situation, he felt controlled. This was too uncomfortable for George, so he had to make a change. He felt he had nowhere to turn but to God, and he sincerely believes that God rescued him. His attitude changed. He joined a charismatic Christian group.

The charismatic Christian group became a substitute family which provided the love, nurturing, and acceptance that
he had not received from his birth family. His charm and self-confidence that he had acquired through street survival skills and Patch-holder affiliation won him a respectable position among this reference group, that of pastor. But in less than six months, his need to control others once again emerged. George seems to vacillate between Kohlberg's stages one through four on the emotional scale. He is concerned about himself and is obedient to a powerful, punishing authority. His idea of a loving God that rescued him seems to have changed. He views God in the trade-off orientation, Kohlberg's stage two. Accordingly, if believers do not reciprocate God's blessings, God will no longer bless them. And persons that function within these four emotional stages are the only ones that remain in George's fellowship. He requires unquestioned conformity of those in membership. He perpetrates this conformity through charm, cajoling, and/or intimidation. If none of these ploys are successful, the member is ostracized from the fellowship and banished from group affiliation. It would then appear that George is continuing to manipulate yet another reference group. Those members of the group that were functioning at Kohlberg's stages five and six, the emotionally healthier members, no longer attend this fellowship.
In spite of the foregoing, George's new reference group, the charismatic Christians, seems to provide enough nurturing and affection to fill at least some of George's emotional holes. He no longer needs drugs to fill the holes. However, George is still attempting to fill the remaining holes through control, power, and manipulation. He is demanding and intolerant of those he cannot control. By this, he is rejecting those who reject his authority and is alienating himself from the very ones that had nurtured and loved him initially. To deal with this rejection, he simply quotes scriptures to justify his adherence to God's laws. So, with holes left unfilled, George has shifted his addiction from drugs to a process, religion, in an attempt to fill the holes. Thus, although this would be contrast to his own assessment, it seems that George has chosen Schaef's Choice one, to die and not to live, which requires total conformity and a state of non-aliveness. His process addiction blocks his awareness, dulls his pain, and inhibits emotional growth.

Karen is still a member of George's fellowship. Her authoritarian parental upbringing has prepared her to be an accepting member of a rigid reference group. Although no longer ingesting drugs, she conforms unquestioningly to this reference group's mores in order to receive affection and to be accepted. George provides the dictatorial counterpart to
her birth father. Her feelings are not taken into consideration, and she can be controlled by the fear of rejection. The context of this fellowship provides security through predictability. There are no alternatives, no flexibility, and affection is rendered only if one is in absolute compliance. Karen seems to have moved from one dysfunctional family setting to another. However, the dysfunction is familiar to her and does not require her to change. Therefore, it would appear that Karen also has chosen Schaef's choice one, to die and not to live, and has shifted her addictive behavior from drugs to a religious process.

Annie and Joe were attracted to their reference group, the Hare Krsna, because it had the same nurturing properties as their birth family. They had both been treated fairly by their parents and were considered in decisions that applied to them. They had been provided the nurturing environment in which to grow emotionally. Their reference group was not chosen to provide an alternative to their birth family but more as a continuation of such. Their emotional holes seem to stem more from the implications of a dysfunctional, addictive society,—materialistic American society,—than from dysfunctional familial parenting. Their relationship with Krsna seems to have provided a vehicle through which to remain drug-free rather then the reference group providing the
vehicle. It would be conceivable, then, that persons coming from dysfunctional parenting backgrounds could find alternatives to ingesting mind- and mood-altering chemicals through the lifestyle and purpose of the Hare Krsna reference group.

So, then, can reference groups actually provide the nurturing and affection necessary to fill the hole in the soul? It would seem that reference groups must provide the nurturing and affection that humans need before they can provide a safe enough environment to allow emotional growth, thereby allowing the holes to fill. Verbal cues that translate into unconditional acceptance are mandatory to provide this safe environment which allows the risk taking necessary for emotional growth. Emotional growth also requires change, and change can be extremely frightening and painful. Humans need emotional support from a healthy "family" to rise above low self-esteem and fears of rejection and abandonment suffered as a child raised in a dysfunctional family. Humans need to feel a sense of belonging, of being wanted, and to have knowledge that they are part of a bigger whole. They need to be accepted just as they are in order to grow. If their reference group does not provide this acceptance, then it is probably as dysfunctional as the dysfunctional birth family. Through similar structure, dysfunctional reference groups
offer appeal since no actual change is required of the addictive person, just a shift of addictions. Shifting of addictions can be far less intimidating to an already fearful person, and therefore more appealing than change.

Further, reference group rituals do appear to give meaning to lives that seem to have little meaning, to persons who have made Choice two, not to die and not to live. But it seems that rituals are important to all humans because of the realistic powerlessness of humans in many aspects. Humans are powerless over many events, such as death, earthquakes, and other catastrophes that cannot be prevented regardless of human intervention. These are situations that become so overwhelming that they are beyond human manipulation. Some concept of a Higher Being who is in control can provide a semblance of hope to humans who are not in control of such events. Rituals allow a sense of communication with "higher beings." Further, rituals can provide a sense of predictability in a dimension where humans simply cannot predict future events. The charismatic Christians and Hare Krsna communicate with a higher being through performance of rituals. Through adherence of rules, they also attempt to provide for their spiritual outcomes after death even if one cannot control death itself. This is an attempt to allay fears of the unknown, I believe, and to give members a sense
of control over their own destiny and positive role models to attain this end. The drug-addicted lifestyle of the Patch-holder group, however, has chosen Schaef's Choice three, not to live and to die. They are not interested in life after death or a higher being. The reference group and the members themselves are their own higher beings. They are interested in survival from day to day. They are at once afraid to live and afraid to die. So they attempt to allay their fears of abandonment, rejection, and of the unknown through ingesting mind- and mood-altering drugs. The rituals of substance-abusing groups play the role of unification and bonding for its members. The rituals allow the members to feel a part of the bigger whole. They are not able to experience altered states of consciousness through drug-free rituals to reduce their stress.

The exuberant worship rituals of both the charismatic Christians and the Hare Krsna help a person to feel better physically. These rituals get blood pumping and adrenalin flowing. They have the same exhilarating impact as dancing, running, or playing sports. I suspect that these rituals enhance endorphin production and therefore diminish an addict's physical craving for drugs. However, more research is necessary before any conclusions can be derived in the area of endorphin production and its impact on addiction.
A MODEL FOR ANALYSIS OF ADDICTIVE PERSONS AND REFERENCE GROUP AFFILIATION

Based on my theoretical review and the supporting data collected in my participant observation and interviews, the following conclusions can be put forward as a model for understanding the process of addiction and the role of certain reference groups in the lives of addictive persons.

1) Healthy families provide love, affection, and unconditional acceptance for their members. Without this nurturing, humans cannot grow into healthy adults.

2) Unhealthy, or dysfunctional, families do not provide a nurturing environment for their members. This lack of nurturing leaves unfilled, painful emotional holes.

3) Persons raised in dysfunctional families can become addictive person's who attempt to fill their painful holes by ingesting mood-altering drugs. Dysfunctional families that perpetrate substance abuse are not necessarily from the permissive parenting style as Teyber (1988) suggests.

4) Addictive persons attempt to fill their painful holes by finding another "family" or reference group(s) to replace the dysfunctional birth family. Reference groups attempt to regain the balance of traditional societies that have been stressed by modern society and its alienating properties (Lindesmith 1968). They attempt to do this by providing
family and kinship, not necessarily by blood relations but more through similar goals, and by providing personal symbols and group totems, rules and roles based on gender, age, and similar criteria, and by providing rituals in an attempt to maintain identity continuity and, therefore, a sense of security (O'Gorman 1987).

5) The substitute family or reference group can be as dysfunctional as the birth family and thus exacerbate members' tendencies toward addictiveness and little emotional growth. Emotional growth is thwarted at the onset of substance abuse (Strauss 1976). Emotional growth is attained by learning to cope and adjust to one's environment without mind- or mood-altering drugs. During recovery from substance abuse, the previously-addicted person must learn to cope with painful emotional growth without self-medicating with drugs.

6) The substitute family or reference group can provide a nurturing, healthy "family" wherein the members can be allowed the security necessary to allow emotional growth. Of the reference groups I studied, the charismatic Christians and Hare Krishna were able to provide such a context for their members but the Patch-holders group was not.

7) Rituals do provide a sense of predictability through repetition and tend to give a sense of meaning to life in
areas where there is little, if any, human control (Woodman 1985).

8) Rituals do provide a sense of bonding with others who are searching for similar solutions such as the need to fill emotional holes. The identity derived from affiliation with a reference group and participating in the group's rituals lends a sense of bonding with other members of that group. Rituals include initiation rituals, naming rituals, rituals that indicate status mobility, rituals of worship and sharing with others, and so on.

9) It is difficult to function as a healthy person in an addictive society that discourages change and requires conformity. The society exacerbates the problems of the individual's struggle for emotional growth. It would seem that a healthy person is constantly fighting the system, as it were, in order to make necessary changes for the society as a whole to grow. To be a healthy individual functioning at Kohlberg's stage five or six may prove to be rather lonely when the majority of the population is functioning at Kohlberg's stage one. Out of the need to belong, one might be tempted to regress emotionally.

10) Schaef's Choice two, to live and not to die, is a conscious decision necessary for recovery from an addictive personality. I have mentioned earlier and briefly that
addiction is three-dimensional—physical, mental, and spiritual—and therefore needs to be addressed as such in order to obtain recovery from addiction and to gain the coping skills to successfully adapt to one's environment (Leviton 1988).

This project has mainly addressed the spiritual/emotional dimension. More research is required to address the mental and physical dimensions of addiction. To completely recover emotionally from being an addictive personality and to become a healthy, happy person requires the filling of all the painful emotional holes (Kinney 1987). This can only be accomplished through emotional growth which can be painful. The unpleasant reliving of painful experiences that in the past had been medicated with mood-altering chemicals, coupled with the stress of daily living renders emotional growth an expensive commodity. I would assert that this emotional growth can only be attained in a healthy family setting, consisting of at least one other person, where the individual is provided the nurturing of basic emotional needs that all humans require.

This process of emotional growth can often extend over a lifetime since healthy growth must override unhealthy belief systems perpetrated by dysfunctional parenting. If Schaef's Choice two proves to be too painful and frightening, Choices
one and three will again emerge as options, as we have seen in the cases of some of my informants. Recovery is not an easy task and many addictive persons cannot become healthy, happy adults, and will remain content merely to exist.

The statistics for recovery today are vague and inconsistent. This is probably due to the fact that statistics can only be garnered through tangible populations, such as persons receiving treatment in legitimate recovery facilities. However, thousands upon thousands of people worldwide are attending anonymous 12-step programs and are in the process of recovery. It is almost impossible to get accurate statistics for anonymous groups, and it is difficult, therefore, to assess their success.

However, what does appear to be a large-scale trend is a common awareness of the unfilled holes that before were being "covered up" and ignored unsuccessfully. Manifestation of this trend can be seen in the vast self-help materials now available in bookstores—much of which has become accessible since this project was begun—and in the mushrooming of self-help groups.

It would appear that the emotional history of humanity is in transition. The lonely crowd may be on the verge of becoming healthier and less lonely. However, it remains to be seen at some future point whether healthy individuals will
impact an addictive society or vice versa. But I will leave that research to someone else.
BACK OF CUTS OR CUTAWAYS

Worn Over Jackets or Alone

(Weather Permitting)

Top Rocker

Insignia

Bottom Rocker (Area)

Illustration #1
BACK OF CUTS OR CUTAWAYS

Illustration #3
Symbols represent membership and philosophies used for identification among Christians. Christian symbols, such as fish, doves, crosses, and a myriad of bumper stickers professing faith, family unity, and love for one another are used for identification and to witness to believers and non-believers alike.

FISH

According to Pastor Douglas A. Hodson, United Methodist Church of Yucca Valley, California, in an interview on May 23, 1988, the letters IXOYE within the fish stand for Jesus Christ, Son, God, Savior. In the Greek form of these words, the first letter of each word can be transfigured into the shape of a fish. The sign of the fish was used by Christians during a time of persecution between A.D. 50 to 150 through A.D. 325. If one wished to identify oneself as a Christian, that person would draw the top part of the fish in the sand (or on whatever medium was available). If other persons wished to disclose their Christian identity, they would disclose this by drawing the bottom line of the fish. In A.D. 325, the Roman Emperor Constantine decreed Christianity to be the official religion of the Roman Empire, thus relieving the need for this secretive symbol. However, it is still being used today by Christians as a testimony to their beliefs.

Illustration #4

127
DOVE

Symbol of Peace.

Illustration #5

CROSS

Symbol of cross whereupon Jesus Christ died for the sins of those who believe in Him.


Brugalette, Linda, "Krsna Consciousness: Bhakti or Bogus?", manuscript, California State University at San Bernardino, December 2, 1986.


130


