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**Playing with the devil : adolescent involvement
with the occult, black magic, witchcraft and
the satanic to manage feelings of despair.**

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PLAYING WITH THE DEVIL:
ADOLESCENT INVOLVEMENT WITH THE OCCULT,
BLACK MAGIC, WITCHCRAFT AND THE SATANIC TO
MANAGE FEELINGS OF DESPAIR

A Dissertation Presented

by

BARRY H. SPARKES

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

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School of Education

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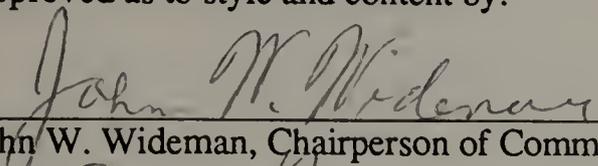
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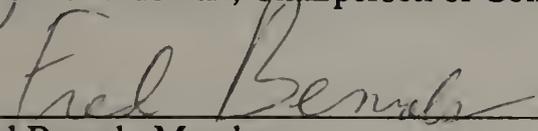
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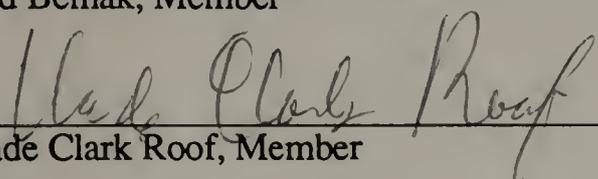
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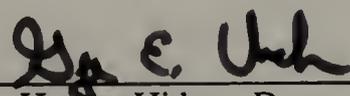
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ABSTRACT

PLAYING WITH THE DEVIL :
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MANAGE FEELINGS OF DESPAIR

SEPTEMBER 1989

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This dissertation examines the use of the dark areas of the occult in the lives of six early adolescents who have been involved with black magic, satanic ritual, or other occult practices which imply the use of witchcraft or sorcery. All but one of the subjects were somehow connected to the community helping system because of divorce, abuse and/or neglect, delinquency, and drug and alcohol abuse. Data was collected by means of an open ended interview (hour and half duration) concerned with the ethnic, economic and religious background of the subjects' parents and grandparents, the life story of the subjects in terms of relationships with family, community and state agencies, and extent duration of involvement with the occult. The interview and data analysis were drawn from two perspectives : The first five stages of Erik Erikson's "Eight Stages of Man" identity development model and the existential psychological explanation of the "problems of youth" as examined by Paul Goodman in Growing Up Absurd (1960). The study provides an examination of the historical and current use of the occult as a social-strain gage as described in the literature. The study also points out

disturbing parallels of despairing behavior between the youth culture of Weimar Republic Germany and current youth culture in the United States. A developmental/existential profile of the subjects is drawn based on the analysis of interview material.

The study points to a strong connection between the use of the dark areas of the occult and the loss of meaning, hope and faith in the lives of the subjects defined as despair and alienation. The subjects of the study were seen as having been in family and community circumstances that hampered healthy negotiation of Erik Erikson's first five stages of identity development; I. Basic Trust vs. Mistrust; II. Autonomy vs. Shame and Doubt; III. Initiative Vs. Guilt ; IV. Industry Vs. Inferiority, and V. Identity Vs. Role Confusion. The subjects were also seen as having been in community and national circumstances that led to despairing beliefs and behaviors, as described by Goodman, such as: questioning faith, doing the forbidden, engaging in mystical experiences as substitutes for meaningful work based on faith, doing the forbidden, raising the ante in order to be rescued, and re-integrated into the community.

The experience of one subject of the six who did not grow up in the severity of the above circumstances, but who was drawn to the lighter areas of the Occult (Wiccan, non-satanic, etc.), contrasts with the other five. His data suggests that the nature of the use of magic during early adolescence might be dependent on the sufficiency of the nurturant (physical, psychological and ideological) circumstances of infancy, and latency. If the child is not despairing because of insufficient family/community nurturance then the dark, deviant and depraved element of the occult is less likely to manifest itself.

The author proposes that the subjects of this study represent a larger despairing youthful population (not involved with the occult) that may not yet be seen by the helping system but who put society at risk because of the years of great societal expense to manage their needs. The author uses the current youth culture parallels with Weimar Republic youth culture to further propose that this larger despairing population is at risk

politically because as a group they can be manipulated by historical circumstance and charismatic personalities to commit widespread depravity in the name of political change.

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CHAPTER I
OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

Introduction

Continual reports claiming that adolescents are participating in black magic, witchcraft and satanic cults have been part of our mass media coverage for at least the last twenty years. As a therapist to adolescents the author has been aware of these reports since the beginning of my career in the early part of the 1970's. These reports always assert that drug use and rock music are part of the scene, and often one will hear of animal sacrifices and blood smearing/drinking as well.

The outbreaks of devil worship and/or witchcraft seem to come in rashes of intense involvement by early to middle adolescents who are also seen as alienated from the rest of their peers. News reports and more serious studies (Moody, 1974, Truzzi, 1972) often see this activity from the point of view of the danger of cults, sects and other "sixties phenomena". Other scholars see this activity in the context of the current (last twenty years) Occult revival and by implication or out right statement dismiss the activity as faddist anachronisms (Okeefe, McGill in Olson). The media use the reports as sensationalist copy to give the public momentary thrills.

This investigation results from a sense of alarm the author feels as a therapist who has had considerable contact with young people who were in trouble because of severe family problems and a history of law breaking, drug and alcohol abuse or mental disturbance. In an earlier study the author found that at least three young people interviewed were involved in severe drug and/or alcohol abuse and had become social liabilities to their communities because of threats to self or others. The unsettling discovery was that these adolescents were trying to use the power of magic to cope with the profound sense of hopelessness, powerlessness and ultimately despair. This despairing use of black magic seemed to precede and accompany what amounted to depraved activity. The interpretation by the various communities affected by these activities varies from seeing it as extreme adolescent

rebelliousness to what amounts to religious heresy. There is no mention of the critical level of despair that underlies this and other self- destructive behaviors.

Statement of the Problem and Rationale

Review of the psychological, sociological and anthropological literature reveal the major emphasis is on the cult aspects of the use of black magic and the Satanic in the current Western occult revival or the study of witchcraft as an anthropological phenomenon. The study of demonic possession is also found with an emphasis on the primitive, psychotic aspects of the phenomena if not the religious efforts at exorcism. No research was found that specifically addresses the element of youthful despair or disturbance in relation to occult activity that did not involve cults (Levine, 1978). There is however, some sense of youth drifting toward the darker areas of magic during the Weimar years of pre-Nazi Germany (Gay, 1968).

The psychological aspects of involvement with the occult (black magic) are examined in the context of demonical possession by Freud in "Neurosis of Demoniactal Possession in the 17th Century"(Macalpine and Hunter (1956). The basic theoretical constructs that suggest that magic protects the self from society or its representative (super ego) are put forth by (Freud; Mauss; Rohiem in Okeefe, 1982). Freud (1914) wrote about magic as a form of self love or "secondary narcissism" in the face of infantile frustration and as the forerunner of magical thinking.

Another famous study by Ann Parsons (1969) examined the case of a psychotic woman in Boston who claimed to be hexed. The psychology of cults as growth and therapy movements is explored by a number of contemporary authors (Brainbridge, 1976; Moody, 1974; Zaretsky and Leone, 1974).

Research about witchcraft and black magic as a sociological and anthropological phenomenon was conducted in the classic studies by Evans-Pritchard(1937), Kluckorn(1967), Marwick(1965, 1970). Outbreaks of witchcraft during times of extreme

social strain have been described (Bainbridge, 1976, Douglas, 1970; Kennedy, 1967; Marwick; et al., 1970; Moody, 1974).

The Western historical phenomena of combining witchcraft and black magic with the worship of Satan is associated with the Church's effort to stamp out witchcraft starting in the middle ages (Marwick, Moody, 1970; Trevor-Roper, 1967; Truzzi, 1972). This historical fact has dictated that modern attempts to dabble in the darker areas of the occult must be linked to the Devil.

Research and writing about the nature of despair and helplessness among the young revolving around historical periods and is generally in the form of examinations of extreme situations or responses to waves of antisocial behavior (Erikson, 1963; Frankl, 1963; Goodman, 1960; Seligman, 1975). Rakoff (1983) examines the significance of historical forces in the roots of psychopathology and urges more consideration of their importance. Smith (1983) addresses the importance of the psychology of hope and despair as he integrates recent research (Johnston, Bachman, O'malley, 1980-83) to interpret the unrest among the youth of the 1960s, present socially problematic behavior, and response to life under the threat of nuclear holocaust. The data suggest that most youth are hopeful about their own future but not that of their country and the world. There were also a significant number of youth who were not hopeful about their own future. Work has been done on the implications of learned helplessness and hope vs. despair in terms of depression and continued coping (Seligman, 1975; White, 1959; Rotter, 1966). Others connect the sense and immediate gratification trends among youth to a lack of hope for the future (Hendin, 1975; Lasch, 1979).

The development of basic trust of the world based on critical presence or absence of nurturance in early developmental stages is addressed theoretically by Erickson, (1963); Fowler, (1981); Kohut, (1966); Lowen, (1971); Mahler, (1975); Winnicott, (1967). All agree, in essence, that connectedness and healthy functioning in the world, both as a child

and as an adult, depend on not only the immediate parental roles being carried out well, but that these early stages depend on the cultural and historical context as well.

What emerges from this review of relevant literature is that there is not enough current information about what the lives of these young people have in common. That many of them are problems to parents, teachers, clergy and police is clear. The response of each institution is out of its official role, but what gets lost is the larger significance of what is going on.

What seems noticeably absent from research on these adolescents is focus on the the family backgrounds and economic and social status. Also needed is a clearer sense of what predetermining factors might lead to involvement with the darker areas of the occult. How many youths get involved with the activity and do not get into trouble in other areas of their lives?

Information regarding family interaction, sibling relationships, parenting styles and divorce patterns might aid in a larger understanding of these youths and help with individual or community interventions.

It has been suggested that as modern Judeo-Christian religions decay in their maturity their toxins are let go and thus we see the hellish manifested (Steiner in O'keefe p.560). Kluckorn, studying witchcraft among the Navahoe (1944) and Moody, studying a satanic cult in San Francisco (1974) suggest that the occult serves a functional role by providing an outlet for marginal people. The Durkheimian view point of trying to "understand witchcraft and sorcery by relating them to stresses in social structure" (O'keefe, p.414) is well established. All these perspectives suggest further systems oriented investigation in each particular community.

Of particular interest to the author is the significance of the developmental aspects of this activity. In an earlier investigation, the subjects of all became interested in and involved in satanic ritual and blackmagic at the onset of adolescence in a search for more personal power and identity. This direct involvement seemed to last for a year or two.

When the actual playing with magic stopped, the youths continued to struggle with existential questions concerning the purpose of their lives and life itself. The struggle continued to manifest itself in self-destructive forms. Is this pattern the same for other youths? The importance of existential questions and implied choices looms large when attempts are made to respectfully approach adolescents with the ideas of intervention, growth and change.

Focus on these particular youths with a psychological emphasis on developmental/existential milestones and plateaus of arrested development has potential to inform other areas of inquiry relating to troubled youth. In a broader sense there are questions that emerge about the direction our society is taking in regard to taking care of its young. The author hypothesizes at this point that the answers will be articulated as unmet needs on various levels of existence that lead to despairing choices.

Erik Erikson (1963) has written about pooled unmet needs of people in the same volume as he poses his " Eight Ages of Man " as a guide for understanding the developing psychological person. The idea that when these Eight Ages are not fully nurtured and completed by large groups of people in historical harmony, grave acts of inhumanity follow on an epic scale. The author believes the same is true on a smaller local scale and that these lives are just as important even if they are not in epic proportion.

The two most useful perspectives for addressing these questions are developmental and existential for mutually dependent reasons. The adolescents are child/adults. They can not yet be expected to have transited the developmental milestones which are at least implied with adults. If indeed the author sees the subjects as young adults, then after the environmental and developmental questions are considered, so must the real choices they face to be part of the perspective in order to fully understand the existential context of their lives.

That many of these young people will go on to more dangerous, self-destructive forms of self expression is already clear. That they represent many others also motivates

the study. Many questions remain unanswered. The unanswered questions are the problem the author proposes to address with this study.

Purpose of the Study

To assess the significance of youthful involvement in black magic, satanic ritual and witchcraft, there must be more specific information about what they are doing. To intervene on any level (community or individual) a better sense of what these young peoples lives are about and what they have in common is needed. In general the purpose of this study is to answer these questions: 1. What are these young people are doing?, 2. Are there any predetermining factors which make it easier for a youngster to become involved with potentially depraved and dangerous activity?, 3. what significance does it have?, and a fourth question is implied; What can we do about it and how can we do it?. The study will use data collected by interviews of six adolescents who are presently or have been involved, by their own definition, in the use of blackmagic, witchcraft or satanic ritual. The study is intended to provide background trends and specific developmental information for parents, teachers, therapists and clergy. The study would hope to demystify the activity and provide guidance for useful and relevant responses by community leaders and individual interventionists trying to respond to very alienated and seriously at risk youth.

Design of the Dissertation

The dissertation will be divided into five chapters. The first chapter will include a statement of the problem, the purpose of the study, a short description of and rational for the methodology used, and the limitations of the study.

The second chapter will consist of review of the literature and research relating to youth at risk because of environmental /emotional problems relating to alienation and despair. This chapter will attempt to provide a relevant review of the literature and research concerning early adolescent developmental psychology and existential choices, especially of those adolescents at risk because of emotional, ideological and/or environmental factors. The issues of meaning, faith, ideology, hope vs. despair and alienation in youth are

explored using authors with a psychological/sociological perspective. This section will then look at current trends in adolescent suicidal behavior as a very significant symptom of large number of youth at risk. A section of this review is also devoted to gaining a greater understanding of the current Occult revival and the significance of this activity among adolescents. Chapter two will conclude with a examination of Weimar Youth Culture as example of a culture at risk of letting its despairing adolescents grow into adults who will use their cultural/historical roots to reek havoc on civilization.

The third chapter will describe the the research methodology and rational used to gather the data on the six adolescents who were involved with occult activity as a means of coping with the severe developmental/environmental stresses on their lives. The fourth chapter will disclose the results of the study. The four areas of investigation that reveal the profiles of the youths including their occult activity will be reported. The chapter will also the include the developmental and existential inferences the author makes from the interview data about the youths. Chapter five will include a discussion of the results, conclusions and recommendations for further research and recommendations for individual and societal responses to the phenomena.

Methodology

This study will present qualitative data in narrative form to refine concepts and answer and "...articulate questions and hypotheses for further investigation". (Best, p.8,1986; Tripodi, Fellin, Meyer, p. 25, 1969). For this reason we must place it in the category of combined exploratory-descriptive research. Typically this kind of research collects a good deal of information gleaned from a small number of cases observed with the use of systematic procedures.

This method assumes that if systematic procedures of data collection are used, valid ideas and hypotheses can be generated (Tripodi, et al., p. 48,1969). The interview, participant observation and content analysis are examples of the procedures employed in exploratory-descriptive research. Since quantitative data can be used in combination with

the qualitative data, this method serves as a bridge between quantitative-descriptive methods and exploratory studies (Tripodi, et. al., 1969). Since the major objective of Exploratory-Descriptive research is the conceptual and hypothetical in regard to a particular phenomenon, representative sampling is of less importance than is the selection of a range of cases to stimulate Ideas" (Tropodi, et. al.,1969).

Limitations of the Study

There may be a bias based on finding subjects primarily through fellow helpers since these subjects will have been on the trouble circuit. The study might not address students who engaged in white or black magic and did not get in trouble or become alienated. The study is not meant to explore or explain cult behavior, demonic possession, or psychotic preoccupation with the devil, etc.

The study does not claim scientific sampling techniques in examining the quantitative patterns and is subject to the chance availability and willingness of subjects to be interviewed. The study depends almost exclusively on the subjective reporting by means of interview. Therefore there is no provision for checking the truthfulness and accuracy of the subject information, consequently the study will reflect the pattern of the perceptions and self reporting as opposed to actual quantitative measure of the facts of circumstances and behaviors. The study is also limited to the patterns of thoughts and experiences of non-urban teenagers in small dying mill towns and not urban experiences.

CHAPTER II

A REVIEW OF THE RELATED LITERATURE

Introduction

This chapter will attempt to provide a relevant review of the literature and research concerning early adolescent developmental psychology and existential choices, especially of those adolescents at risk because of emotional, ideological and/or environmental factors. A section of this review is also devoted to gaining a greater understanding of the current Occult revival and the significance of this activity among adolescents. The chapter will begin by examining the work of Erik Erikson in regard to the psychology of development and the Eight Stages of Man. The study is primarily concerned with the first five stages theorized by Erikson. Because of his comprehensive view of the psycho-social-historical aspects of identity development, The author has taken Erikson's model as one of the foundations of this study's perspective in regard to the significance of ideology, faith, hope and meaning as part of an adolescent's psychological world. Once having laid the foundation with the useful elements of Erikson's model, other authors with similar perspectives on the impact and significance of history and ideology on developmental psychology are cited.

The majority of the subjects interviewed in this study have engaged in various self-destructive activities involving drugs and alcohol and spoke of deep levels of alienation, hopelessness and the searches for meaning in their lives. With this in mind, some examination of literature and research addressing these topics specifically was attempted to offer current trends, theoretical views and background material.

While a complete review of adolescent deviancy and delinquency is beyond the scope of this study, the chapter then goes on to examine more current literature and research which addresses the issues of alienation, depression, despair, delinquency and suicide as adolescent responses to social stressors in the environment and/or the current epoch.

To further establish the relationship between the economic-socio-political setting and adolescent alienation and despairing choices, the existential psychology of Paul Goodman, in Growing Up Absurd is presented as another theoretical foundation for this study. The works of Levine, Seligman and others are offered as current views of alienation, frustrated powerlessness, and feelings of abandonment among adolescents.

The chapter continues with an examination of the Occult material from historical, anthropological, sociological and psychological perspectives. This section should give the reader some useful definitions and understanding of black magic, satanic ritual and witchcraft from the above perspectives as well as some current views of the significance of these activities among our youth.

A survey of Weimar Republic youth culture concludes the chapter as an enlightening example of a time and place where long term alienation and despair resulting from political and economic historical events wreaks havoc on the ability of children to develop trust in their environment and grow up with healthy existential choices.

This chapter should give the reader an understanding of the theoretical framework used in analyzing the interview data as well as the conclusions drawn from the analysis.

A Developmental View: Erikson et Al

Erik K. Erikson has provided a psycho-social context for understanding the subjects of my study. An attempt to comprehensively summarize Erikson's work is well beyond the scope of this effort. The author will take the liberty to choose the Erikson material needed to support the analysis of the interviews.

Erikson has taken basic Freudian Psycho-analytic theory, his own clinical experience and shrewd observation of youth and built a theory of psychological development which, while keeping its psycho-analytic integrity is profoundly articulate and useful with regard to current social reality. In addition, he has integrated his experience as a refugee immigrant to this country from Nazi Germany with his theories of identity development and produced a chillingly cogent psycho-historical explanation for a nation and generation seemingly

gone mad. This combination of historical- psychological understanding and current relevance is a perfect platform to build a foundation for the study and analysis of the despairing behavior of contemporary youth.

In Childhood and Society (second edit.) Erikson weaves historical processes with developmental theory of Identity to produce a comprehensive panorama of the child's interaction with its culture as he/she grows to early adulthood. In Erikson's study of the ego's roots in social organization (pg.15), he proposes his Eight Stages of Man (pp. 247-269). Each stage is a step away from the womb toward autonomy and a productive culturally integrated adulthood. For our purposes, we will look to his idea that "societies lighten the inescapable conflicts of childhood with a promise of some security, identity and integrity " (pg.277). If society does not lighten the load then these inescapable childhood conflicts can cast a " shadow of frustration on the individuals later life and on his society" (pg.277). Erikson cautions the reader not to see these steps as success oriented achievements but a series of stages that a child encounters and negotiates (in the sense of crossing or passing through) to some degree as he grows. Erikson stresses that both qualities (i.e., both trust and mistrust) of each stage are needed throughout life. It is the balance that is important. He also states that each "crisis" is dependent on the previous negotiation cycle's success, especially at the onset of adolescence, when the first five stages come together as an identity. The first five out of the eight stages will be used to clarify the salient issues for this study.

The initial stage is Trust vs. Mistrust, analogous to Freud's oral stage. This stage asks and answers the question "will the world be a place that will take care of me to the extent that I may feel secure about it?" The answer of course, depends on the child's infantile experience and the subsequent conflicts in the child's life around nurturance (which depends on society's ability to overcome or reinforce the infantile fears). This basic trust develops into ones ability to trust ones self as well. (Erikson,1968, p.26). Erikson

looks to the institution of Religion to help the adult with these problems of Faith and Hope. So that:

"Trust, then, becomes the capacity for faith - a vital need for which man must find some institutional confirmation. Religion, it seems, is the oldest and has been the most lasting institution to serve the ritual restoration of a sense of trust in the form of faith while offering a tangible formula for a sense of evil against which it promises to arm and defend man" (1968, p.106).

"When religion loses its actual power of presence, then it would seem an age must find other forms of joint reverence for life which derive vitality from a shared world image" (ibid). Mothers, writes Erikson, need faith in a coherent world in order to transmit the vital strength of hope to their infants, that is "the enduring predisposition to believe in the attainability of primal wishes in spite of the anarchic urges and rages of dependency"(ibid.). Erikson stated the shortest form of earliest childhood identity gain as : "I am what hope I have and can give".(1968, p.107).

Stage two; Autonomy vs. Shame is the stage associated with Freud's anal stage. Erikson, using the perspective of maturing muscular structure describes the "holding on and letting go power" of the infant as the initial stages of awareness of autonomy and will. (1963, p.252). In the book Erikson; Religion and Identity, Wright in 1982 writes about this stage :

"If the child in this period learns to hold on to the right things at the appropriate time and to let go of the right things at the appropriate time, he achieves a sense of will power and autonomy that will be of life-long value. Contrariwise, if in this period , he is shamed for actions not rightly accomplished and unduly scolded for his failures, he learns self-doubt"(p.59).

This stage can generate pride, cooperation and a sense of free will coming from real self-control without loss of self-esteem vs. the idea that "From an unavoidable sense of loss of self control and of parental over-control comes a lasting sense of doubt and shame" (Erikson, 1968, p.169). If there is too much shaming used as a tool to control the child, a

sense of genuine propriety does not result but rather determined sneakiness or defiant shamelessness.(1963, p.253, 1968, p.110). A behavior betraying a poorly developed sense of autonomy in adolescents is the overcompensatory false "independence" which habitually, and inevitably brings adults to intervene in their lives, while the child postures pride and independence to cover shame, doubt and hostile dependence.

Erikson points out that the kind and degree of autonomy that parents pass on to their children depends on their "sense of dignity and personal independence they divine from their own lives. The Infants' sense of trust is a reflection of parental faith..... a child's sense of autonomy is a reflection of the parents dignity as autonomous beings" (1968, p.113). The principle of Law and order is the societal institution which protects this stage's gains in the world but,

"when large numbers of people are raised to expect a high degree of autonomy in life and then in later life they get ruled by machines and impersonal organizations too intricate to understandtheir deep disappointment may be expressed by unwillingness to grant each other and their children a measure of autonomy.....The analogous residue of the state autonomy appears to be 'I am what I can will freely' " (1968, p.114).

Stage three: Initiative vs. guilt, is the Eriksonian equivalent to the Freudian "phallic stage" around the third year of life in which the child anticipates the roles of life. This stage is concerned with what kind of person the child will become. The child needs a sense of initiative as a basis for a realistic sense of ambition and purpose (1968, p 115). This ambulatory and intrusive mode is characterized by: 1. intrusion into space by increased locomotion, 2. intrusion into the unknown with incessant curiosity. 3. intrusion into others ears and lives with vocal aggression. 4. Intrusion onto others bodies by physical attack and 5. most frightening, the thought of the phallus entering the female body (1968, p.116).

This is the time of sexual curiosity and exploration which Freud said brings the potential "Oedipal complex" (along with the grand fantasies of what can be accomplished in

many different roles of life). Erikson says that the intense fantasies and imagination of what could be initiated causes the awakening of "guilt over contemplated plans to enjoy acts initiated with new locomotor and mental power", since this is also the time when the newly autonomous self starts to observe itself wishing to compete with parents and siblings for roles and enjoyments that might belong solely to them (1963, p.256). Here the child begins to be "on the make" for competition, insistence on meeting his/her goal and the pleasure of conquest (1968, p.118). Guilt arises as anticipatory rivalry with those who got there first (as in mother with father or visa versa).

For Erikson the great "governor of initiate is conscience", the emerging inner voice that provides more than just a fear of being "found out" for intrusive fantasies, but also self-guidance and self-punishment. Ultimately this is the "cornerstone of morality" (1963, p. 257;1968, p.119). Here is where parental guidance and modeling provide the opportunity to pass on a tradition of initiative which offers both morality and the ability to accomplish and enjoy. Companionship between parent and child can develop in a such a way as to pass on roles of play and work as an "experience of essential equality of worth, in spite of the inequality of developmental schedule". (1968, p.121). This is the way that "hidden hatreds based on mere differences of age and size" are integrated into the family and ultimately the community (ibid.) If, however, conscience develops not only in strength but in severity (cruel, primitive and uncompromising) as well, then morality can be self-righteously vindictive and persecutory both to self and others. Initiative becomes bound in self constriction (ducking opportunity) or chronic overcompensating by sticking ones neck out and showing off.

Of the several developmental dangers of this "crisis cycle", there are two which seem very important to this study:

1. The child can experience one of the deepest conflicts of life by having hatred for a parent who was originally a model and executor for moral behavior and is later discovered to be a transgressor of the very standards earlier enforced by him/her. Then what was

originally an issue of "universal good" becomes little more than a matter of arbitrary power (1968, p. 119).

2. Another psychological consequence of the initiative stage is the latent and powerful readiness of the best and most industrious to follow any leader who can make goals of conquest seem both impersonal and glorious enough to excite the phallic enthusiasm (and compliance in women) and thus relieve their irrational guilt" (1968, p.121). The importance of this statement becomes clearer when looking at gang, cult, and totalitarian human behavior. This stage provides an "ethos for action" for a child and could be summarized as "I am what I can imagine I can be". But Erikson warns us that when there is "widespread disappointment of this conviction because of a discrepancy between infantile ideals and adolescent reality" the guilt and violence cycle can be unleashed (1968, p.122).

The Latency equivalent is stage 4., Industry vs. Inferiority(1963, p.258). Here is where (once the inner stage is set) one prepares for the entrance to life, which might be jungle, field or school. The child develops a sense of adequacy or inadequacy (and inferiority) in regard to the world of tools, education, industry, in short the way he will work for his own survival. "If he despairs of his tools and skills or of his status among his tool partners, he may be discouraged from identification with them and with a section of the tool world" (p. 260). Wider society becomes significant in its way of introducing the child to "meaningful roles in its technology and economy". Erikson warns us, however, about the danger of seeing work and "what works" as the only measure of worthiness in a man's life since "he may become the conformist and thoughtless slave of his technology and of those who are in a position to exploit it" (p.261). The author would add the danger of despairing because society does not offer the real chance to train for and find work in light of Erikson's summary of this stage as; "I am what I can make work" (1968, p.127).

Puberty and adolescence characterize stage 5. Identity vs. Role Confusion (1963, p.261). Here the integration of the previous childhood experience as well as

identifications is put together with emerging sexual identity as well as "aptitudes developed out of endowment , and with the opportunities offered in social roles" i.e., careers etc. There are several ideas of primary importance to this study as we look at youth as seen by Erikson. The adolescent mind is in psychological moratorium between childhood and adulthood giving it a chance to pull it all together. Meanwhile it is an ideological mind and, in fact, "it is the ideological outlook of a society that speaks most clearly to the adolescent who is eager to be affirmed by his peers, and is ready to be confirmed by rituals, creeds, and programs which at the same time define what is evil, uncanny, and inimical" (1968, p.263).

In Identity, Youth and Crisis (1968), Erikson points out that adolescence also needs fidelity, something to be faithful to (p.233) and without ideological commitment or faith in a way of life, youth suffers confusion of values which is dangerous to the youth and on a large scale dangerous to society (p.188). The adolescent is much more sensitive to the ideological structure of the environment and therefore the historical day. When the ability to be faithful to a societal ideology is thwarted and therefore identity development is hampered, Erikson points out the savagery of youth denied the ability to expand and enjoy an identity (pg.130). Erickson, in Childhood and Society and Identity, Youth and Crises, points out the historical truths that demonstrate the validity of his theory. This is in the lives of Hitler and Gorky in Childhood and Society and in the lives of contemporary youth in America in Youth,Crisis and Identity (p.232-320).

The integration of these five of the Eight Stages of Ego development and ultimately identity says, Erikson is of primary importance for the productive responsible entrance to society. When this integration does not occur successfully and when society cannot provide the institutional supports to make up for and bridge the deeply anxious gaps, then the individual is pray to an array of infantile fears. As stated previously, Erikson fears these remnants of infantilism and unresolved adolescent tasks in man because of the potential for "pooling of individual crises in times of transitory upheaval amounting to

collective "hysteria." (Childhood and Society, p.134). "Hysteria" should be read as Nazi Germany.

Before leaving Erikson some mention must be made of his concept of negative and pseudo-identities (Erikson;1963,1968). When the institutions cannot help adolescents overcome their basic mistrust and do not provide the opportunities to find an acceptable ideology to aid in identity formation, we see reactions which reflect the disgust or dissatisfaction with the environmental offerings.

The negative identity seems to hold the opposite values of the unacceptable society or family and the urban delinquent youth is often seen as the example of the negative identity. Erikson saw the spiritual seekers of Eastern metaphysical thought and practice of the late sixties and early seventies as finding psuedo-identities, while not questioning their sincerity. The subjects of this study could be included in these groups of youths.

The development of basic trust in the world based on critical presence or absence of nurturance in early developmental stages is not unique to Erikson. Kohut, (1966); Mahler, (1975); and Winnicott, (1967) would all agree in essence that connectedness and healthy functioning in the world, both as a child and as an adult, depend on not only the immediate parental roles being carried out well, but that these early stages depend on the cultural and historical context as well. The purpose of this examination of Erikson was to lay down his theoretical framework as a base from which we can now look at a number of other authors who hold views consistent with the psycho-social-historical view of child development as these forces affect meaning, ideology, faith and despair in the lives of adolescents.

Adolescents At Risk of Deviancy and Delinquency

Meaning, Faith, Ideology, Hope vs. Despair

Victor Frankl, in Man's Search For Meaning points out that each age or historical era has its collective neurosis. "The existential vacuum that is the mass neurosis of the present time, can be described as a private and personal form of nihilism; for nihilism can be defined as the contention that being has no meaning" (1963, p.204). The impact of this

"collective neurosis" of the present time is commented on by a number of authors in varying contexts below. These authors see the contention that being and/or life has no meaning as related to the loss of faith and the existence of hopelessness in large numbers of people and a significant number of adolescents.

In a paper which is a concise statement of a central proposition of this study, M. Brewster Smith (1983) refers to "Hope and Despair as Keys to the Socio-Psychodynamics of Youth". This paper points to the "current cultural deficits in meaning, in hope and in human communion.....faith hope and love" and the effect on the youth of the 60's, 70's and 1980's.(1983, p. 390). Secular faith in technology, science and progress characterize life after war and holocaust, so that faith in the eternal verities suffers. Of course then, "a profusion of cults and irrational belief systems stand ready to fill the vacuum for would-be true believers". The deficits in opportunity for love and intimacy and tenderness in modern urban life, with its segregated roles and impersonal bureaucratic mode result in desperate attempts at instant love and communion, i.e., communes, the encounter movement (ibid.).

Smith points out that hope, since it is closely linked with faith or a sense of meaning, has been especially vulnerable to historical events in the context of possible nuclear Armageddon and the assassination of leaders (the Kennedys and Rev. King) who seemed to most embody the hopefulness of youth (1983, p. 391). "Since hope vs. despair is the sentiment that connects the present with the future for people, it is central to people's behavioral morale; it is also central to their ability to make commitments to self or others or to abstract ideals or principles - and to live by those commitments" (ibid.).

Using data collected in representative national surveys of highschool seniors between the years 1975-1983 by Johnston, Bachman and O'malley, Smith comments that at least a third of our highschool seniors during those years felt that although their own lives might improve somewhat over the next five years, they thought the possibility of a nuclear

holocaust was a real one and further, that they felt helpless to do anything about it (1983, p.392).

Here is the crux of the matter for Smith as he sites studies and literature (Mischel,1966; Zimbardo,1969; Yankelovich.1981; Rotter,1966; Seligman, 1975) in order to stress two major interrelated "psychodynamic" themes:

1. If people cannot expect much of the future they are likely to live mainly in (for) the present, with a variety of consequences.
2. If people have learned that there is nothing at all they can do about improving their future, about avoiding bad outcomes, they will not continue to cope.(ibid.)

Smith associates the first theme with the pleasure seeking themes of the "careless love" and the abuse of drugs and alcohol in an "age of sensation" (Hendin, 1975) and in "the culture of narcissism" (Lasch, 1979). Why should people who are not confident in the future make commitments and delay gratification to live up to them? "People who are short on hope will predictably act in ways that can be labeled 'narcissistic'" (Smith, p.393).

The second psychodynamic theme focuses on the element of perceived personal control what can they do about it? Drawing on the research of Rotter, Wiener, Seligman and Bandura, Smith stresses the connection between personal control, a sense of self-efficacy and the psychodynamics of hope and despair. People want to be able to control the things that happen to them. They can suffer "a good deal of noxious stimulation without showing stress effects if they believe they can turn the annoying or even painful input off at will". Through experience they develop enduring expectations about how much personal power and creativity they have and how much the world will respond to their efforts (1983, p.395).

Smith concludes that the winners can keep coping and winning but, that those who do not regard themselves as competent and the world as unresponsive will withdraw into not coping and therefore fall further behind in their ability to cope. Ultimately, Smith writes, the vicious circle of "Learned Helplessness" that Seligman (1975;1978) has shown

to be implicated in depressive states (Smith, 1983, p.395). How can ghetto youth and others feeling powerless against historical and economical/political trend be expected to be hopeful?

Smith's greatest concern is the patterns of powerlessness and cynicism generated in youth growing up in an atmosphere where total destruction is possible and adults don't seem to be able to do anything about it. In conclusion, Smith advises "mental health professionals" to act socially and politically against the potentially lethal problems (i.e., nuclear freeze movement) of our time to give youth hope and thereby promote the hope of us all.

The assumption that an adolescent's Intellect is ready to deal with abstract ideas and choices is supported by Anna Freud (1936) and J. Piaget (1969): The present study explores adolescent involvement with the occult as having both developmental and existential psychological roots. In the context of the existentially psychological it is useful to look at the idea that to be able to make despairing choices, for example, "requires an ability to choose between various abstract life alternatives and (make conclusions)... . If this is the case, then (this ability) falls into the category of hypotheses setting and testing, mental activities that are said to characterize the stage of formal operations, which develops only in adolescence" (Shaffer, 1986, p. 394).

Jean Piaget (1969) describes the development of the latency age child's ability, beginning at age 11 or 12, to expand his/her concrete cognitive operations with objects (classification, serialization, one to one correspondence features, numbers, spatial operations) to a less limited in scope formal logic (logic of propositions) which makes it possible to reason on assumptions and not merely on objects. (1969). Starting at age 11 or 12 and reaching equilibrium at 14 or 15 the adolescent can detach logic from the objects themselves so that the logic can function on the verbal or symbolic level. The adolescent becomes someone who can manipulate ideas and abstract concepts on his own. Here are the cognitive resources for the adolescent of Erikson and Goodman. Anna Freud

(Esman, 1975, p. 109) agrees on the increased intellectual capacity of the adolescent, although from a different perspective. She proposed that because of phase-specific increased instinctual libidinal activity, the adolescent's increased intellectual capacity served developmental ego defense needs (*ibid.*).

A search for more authors who make the connection between adolescent psychology, ideology and their historical environment reveals several who seem to follow Erikson along the lines of the importance of "believing and belonging". V. Rakoff, in discussing "The Historical Forces In The Etiology of Psychiatric Disorders In Adolescence" (Rakoff, 1983) elaborates on "how the the great ship of history gets into the bottle of the individual psyche" (1983, p. 39). Rakoff lists the current historical and cultural inheritances of western adolescence as once having been confined to upper class males, now extended to the very visible middle classes. These inheritances, seen as rights now to individual liberty and personal identity, coupled with economic and social responsibility have both positive and negative results. These rights to self expression often incur suspicion and rejection of what feels like the weight of oppressive historical beliefs, prejudices resulting in mistrust and ultimately "uncritical dismissal of public values and community connectedness So that for many individual freedom and the right to self-determination have shaded into anomie and sense of purposelessness" (1983, p. 50). Rakoff points out that psychiatric theory, by focusing exclusively (until recently) on the individual's family and erotic life, has aided the devaluation of history and public life. The loss of ones history and ethical norms along with the confusion of language results, says Rakoff, in the loss of the transitional object (Winnicott) functions these cultural entities served for the successful entry into society (*ibid.*).

Daniel Offer (1969; 1975) claims that the adolescent turmoil takes place among delinquent and psychiatrically disturbed populations. The rest he claims do not have to suffer the "second individuation" (Blos, 1967) crisis or at least it does not spill over into the conscious awareness of the "normal" adolescent (adolescent males in the mid-west).

Offer's studies done in 1969 and the late seventies suggest that descriptions of the turmoil (mood swings and changes in self-esteem, etc.) described by the bulk of authors results from writing from theory and observation of clinical populations almost exclusively. The question occurs then, that if large and increasing numbers of adolescents find themselves among clinical populations, what do these children have in common which brings them to the attention of clinicians?

Alienation

Any discussion of alienated youth must be begin with Kenneth Keniston's landmark efforts to "integrate psychoanalytic and social science approaches in the investigation of current issues"(Esman, 1975). Keniston wrote about the interplay between individual psychodynamics and contemporary social phenomena during the late 1950's and early 1960's among very bright undergraduates at an elitist university (Keniston, 1965). Keniston was careful to point out the special circumstances of his research population (very bright and middle class) and hence the limited usefulness of his results.

However limited because of the population and the possible subjectiveness of his psychological inferences (Esman, p.446), Keniston's work is interesting and useful because of his focus on cultural alienation, the thoroughness of the psychological depth of the study and the length of time the subjects were observed. Keniston found that his truly alienated subjects shared a family background of the stereotypic strong and over-involved mother and the emotionally absent weak father with both parents feeling unfulfilled and somewhat bitter because of the cultural restrictions of their mutual roles. Mothers had to stay home and become obsessed with the lives of their children and fathers were required to excel out in the world, each consciously or unconsciously seeking to succeed at the other's role to some degree and ultimately failing bitterly.

The psychological themes provided by projective testing (Thematic Apperception Test) always suggested at least two themes : the first, the loss of Eden, a yearning to return to the bliss of lost love or nurturance etc. developmentally referring to an unconscious

obsession with the early relationship with the mother (Esman, 1983). The second theme contained pyrrhic oedipal victories after difficult oedipal battles with an older rival for the subject to regain his (mother's) lost love only to be overcome by an extraneous force or to be overcome by a controlling, possessive or even murderous female.

The family histories had fathers secretly not feeling that life in our culture was whole or fulfilling enough and mothers feeling the same way because they were bright, creative and able and stuck at home. These histories seemed to discourage the subjects from getting along in life. They were afraid of entering into trusting relationships and taking the traditional male roles in the American culture (politics, business, community) they repudiated, however outstanding their intellectual abilities and privileged positions.

Equally important in Keniston's examination of "alienated Youth" is the point that student protestors and student protest movements are not made up of "alienated college students". These "radical reformers and progressive reformers" (Stone and Church, 1973) are seen by Keniston (1968) as having a strong identification with the progressive ideals of their parents and are willing to put these ideals into action by trying to reform societal economic and political structures. Keniston admitted to a degree of alienation from mainstream values himself as he sought to understand the reasons for cultural alienation among society's most perceptive students in the 1960's.

Saul Levine (1983), in a later article paralleling Keniston's (1968) studies on alienation, refers to the significant number of our "normal" youth harboring alienated feelings. Levine provides a useful exploration of the uses of the concept of alienation and also a denotation of the meaning of the word in clinical settings....."In our profession, alienation has been used to describe a wide range of states, from a normal and necessary factor in development(1) or a natural adolescent experience (2), to a result of early psychic trauma or a seriously impaired early mother-child relationship which interferes with later separation and individuation(3-6). Alienation has also been used to reflect a pathologic entity or syndrome" (2, 4) (Levine, 1983, p.83).

Since the subjects of this study are among those who suffer from various facets of alienation, Levine's excellent lexicon of alienation is useful to include at this point:

"Isolation: a sense of not belonging to the dominant group, culture or society, not fitting in, lacking meaningful relationships, lacking feelings of solidarity, communal love, or support, and being alone.

Meaninglessness: a sense of lack of purpose or coherent meaning to one's life, a sense of futility, lack of a belief system, absence of a personal or social vision, or even the perception of one.

Normlessness: a sense of absence of universally acceptable norms of behavior and values with which one is comfortable, confusion of expectations (from others) regarding values, attitudes, actions, and relationships, lack of stable traditions, and a sense of failure of predictability because of rapid change.

Powerlessness: a sense of having no influence or control, not only on the direction and activities of other individuals, institutions, or government, but even on the course of one's own life.

Self-estrangement: a sense of feeling withdrawn from oneself, of not knowing who one is or "should" be, and an unpleasant feeling of personal emptiness." (1983, p.73-74).

Levine makes the point that although people in "clinical" populations share many of these characteristics, there are many young people who share these same feeling tones or affect and are not necessarily psychologically unstable or the product of early traumas. Alienation exists on a continuum and more of certain aspects of the alienation predominate among the non-clinical groups (e.g., isolation or powerlessness). (1983). He sights environmental factors such as rapid scientific. technological change, normlessness, lack of trust in leaders, collapsing social supports, and/or bleak or unknown future which could account for alienation in any normal population. Research by Levine revealed alienation as a common feeling which shaped the personal attitudes and behavior of youths who had been draft dodgers, drug abusers, cult members and other alternatives out of the mainstream before they made their choices to live on the margin of society (p. 73).

Levine makes a point to distinguish these youths from psychopathological populations as he establishes alienation as a traditional aspect of youth over the ages that can be a useful way to respond to social stresses and help make change. This is an era ripe for a generation of alienated youth if when looking at the conditions sighted above. Here is where opportunities for "Believing and Belonging", an effective "vaccine" against alienation, becomes supremely important. Levine found that these two psycho-social needs were predominant in all of his studies and clinical work with alienated youth (p. 78).

Levine says the statistics should concern us:

"more youth than ever before are engaging in antisocial behavior and vandalism, are fathering or having babies at a very early age, drinking alcohol or taking drugs, leaving home early, joining cults, dropping out of high school, or joining the ranks of the unemployed.

They are engaging in these activities largely because of alienation and personal demoralization" (p. 80).

Beyond psychotherapy for some lies vocational, educational and rehabilitational supports, but more importantly, says Levine we must look at the root causes of youthful identity diffusion or the the social causes. He refers to Keniston's argument that " our society lacks a vision of itself and of man that transcends technology". Levine agrees with Keniston that a "society which is 'worthy of commitment' is one that 'harnesses our scientific inventiveness and industrial productivity to the promotion of human fulfillment' " (p. 80).

Hopelessness and Helplessness , Alienation in Research

Martin Seligman's research on the effects of prolonged helplessness, (cited above in Smith's article), first in animals (1967; 1967) and later in regard to depression with humans (1975), has contributed much to the understanding of "learned helplessness" and depression. The three aspects of debilitating liabilities are motivational, cognitive and emotional. In a state of "learned helplessness", one suffers from lack of motivation to

change bad circumstances, an inability to learn new ways to change circumstances and an emotional flatness/emptiness during the suffering (1965,1967,1975,1986).

In a paper discussing a learned helplessness perspective on depression in children (Rutter, 1986), Seligman and Peterson distinguish between a learning approach via reinforcement (e.g. Skinner,1938; Bandura and Walters,1963; Bandura,1969 in Rutter) to developmental psychology (and pathology) and a stage approach (e.g. Freud,1953; Piaget,1932; Kohlberg, 1963; Erikson,1963,1977) to developmental psychology. Seligman says that although "learned helplessness" theory is based obviously on a learning approach, there is room to avoid the usual polarization of thinking and include convenient elements of both points of view as useful for understanding. For the purposes of this study, based in part on a stage theory (Erikson, *ibid.*), this is welcome permission since this paper agrees with Smith, Levine et al. that despairing youth can and do suffer from learned helplessness.

Hopelessness, or negative expectations toward the future, has been proposed to be related to negative views of one's self and the world. These three views have been referred to by Beck (1976) as the cognitive triad of depression (Kazdin,1986). Associated with this cognitive triad are feelings of low self esteem and powerlessness. In a study of "Hopelessness and Locus of Control", Fogg, Kohaut, and Gayton (1977) suggested that for college age males there is a positive relationship between hopelessness and the belief that outcomes are determined by luck, chance or fate. Females did not seem to feel as hopeless when they did not feel as though the locus of control resides in them, thus seemingly to reflect cultural expectations.

Depression in its many forms has been linked to extreme behavior in youth and can take on the symptoms of the borderline personality of impulsivity, volatile moods and unstable relationships as well as self-destructiveness, e.g. drug abuse etc (Dulit, Miller,1986). Miller claims that seven percent of adolescents are depressed and of those with a parent or close relative who has been depressed, the prevalence of depression is 20

to 37 percent. Dulit claims that "extremes like taking crack and satanic violence draws the adolescent borderline out of his torpor" (ibid.). The developmental aspect of borderline theory posits that adolescence is the second separation paralleling the toddler's movement toward autonomy. If the first separation was especially troubled by the idea that mother's love will be lost if separation is accomplished, then the adolescent is at risk because of the re-experiencing of loss and hence the resulting depression, rebellion, and rejection of all the rules and limits (Masterson).

Suicide

Many of the examinations of hopelessness, helplessness, alienation and depression were done in the context of adolescent suicide and parasuicide (self destructive acts and attempts) statistics and theoretical examinations of developmental and environmental considerations. While an in-depth and comprehensive examination of adolescent suicide and suicidal behavior is beyond the scope of this study, the current trend, in what appears to be a high rate of adolescent suicides and self-destructive behavior, is an integral part of the interest and concern that motivates this study of adolescent despair.

Traditionally, the "adolescent" is seen as the highly idealistic and romantic being at odds with a trouble filled world of adults who do not seem to live up to his internal sense of decency and virtue. When this contrast is too great for him/her and the feeling of being alone, misunderstood and helpless in a "vast, unresponsive, hostile world, he is prone to depressions of the sort that the Germans aptly named "Weltschmerz"- world pain (Stone and Church, p.473). This is the adolescent in the writings of Goethe, Twain and Salinger, who indulges himself with thoughts of suicide in the midst of his "Weltschmerz" picturing the ability to stand by later in a disembodied way to observe the pain and remorse of all those who remain after he is gone (ibid.).

A number of authors make a point to distinguish between this expected period of "the dumb and brutish trouble of adolescence, "the deadly despair and total emptiness", and "unspeakable melancholy" (Anthony in Esman p.285) and the more clinically defined

suicidal depressions of persons who enter adolescence already sensitized to depressive reactions because of; 1. pre-oedipal and oedipal experiences (Anthony, p.300); 2. are effected by social and individual dynamics (Gould,1965,228-246); 3. and by family pathology (Sabath ,Conell in Esman,1972,:Toolan in Esman, 1962,).

In contrast to the somewhat romantic literary view of Adolescent "Weltschmerz" is the currently increasing concern with the real pain, injuries and death that manifests itself internationally in a steady stream of media, academic and clinical information. This stream of information would lead one to believe there is an epidemic of adolescent suicide in an ever increasing rate. While the term epidemic may not be appropriate, over the last twenty years, especially from 1966 to 1977, there has been an increase in the rates of a number of suicide related phenomena in 16-24 year olds internationally (Farberow,1983).

The news media supply a steady stream of alarming statistical inferences; There are 15 teenage suicides a day, 6,000 a year (PBS,4/18/86); Once every 90 minutes there is a teenage suicide (CBS News, 4/13/87); There has been a three fold increase in teenage suicide in the last 20 years (ABC News, 4/12/87/). Especially alarming are the news reports of "cluster suicides" in which a group of three to five 16 and 17 year olds kill themselves at the same time or within a few days of each other either in what appears to be a pact or as a result of the suicide of a peer. These cluster suicides are frightening events occuring chiefly in semi-affluent suburbs throughout the U.S. (e.g.,1987 in New Jersey, 1985 in Texas, 1984 in Texas) and have been tied to drug rings and satanic influences, as well as the general suburban malaise of divorce and empty affluence.

Cluster suicide reports contribute to the feeling of an epidemic of teenage suicides. To be sure there has been a dramatic rise in the suicide rates (70 percent 1965 to 1977) in the 16 to 24 year old age group in the United States, with 16 and 17 year old rates rising only slightly and the most dramatic rise in the 19 to 24 age group (Farberow, 1983). The Centers for Disease Control reported in late 1986 that the epidemic drummed up by the media was not occurring; that in fact the rate for 15 - 24 year olds had peaked in 1977 at

13.6 per 100,000 and had remained steady at 12 per 100,000 from 1980 to 1985 except for a statistical "quirk" in 1984 when the rate was reported at 12.4 per 100,00. (Newsweek 12/15/86).

These statistics do not count deaths that occur in automobiles at very high rates of speed with lone males at the wheel or other such ambiguous situations which lend themselves to under reporting (Rutter; Shaffer, Wilkins, 1970). In Sweden these deaths would be factored into the suicide statistics. Wilkins (1970, in Izard, p. 270) suggests that true suicide rates are probably two to three times higher than recorded. Shaffer (1974) concluded that undetermined causes of death for ten to fourteen years olds were probably suicides and that if these deaths were considered, the rates would be significantly higher and even more alarming.

The statistics for parasuicidal behavior are just as alarming and important for the purposes of this study since they reflect a high level of desperation and despair that results from feelings of worthlessness, helplessness and hopelessness. Self-destructive behavior distinguishes itself from actual suicide attempts both in number and method. There are a significant number of cases which are clearly attempts at suicide and because of fortuitous circumstances or non lethal methods the attempter survives despite wishes to die (Garfinkel).

The statistics are alarming even if investigators' claims vary ; for persons under age 25 there is a ratio of eight attempts to every successful suicide (Garfinkel ,7,8); thirty - forty to one (Wiesman,9); or one hundred to one (Jacobziner,1965). If the rate of attempts has increased in proportion to the actual rates of suicide, we have a huge number of attempts, since even the suicide statistics are calculated conservatively and are subject to the vast differences in criteria in reporting internationally (Garfinkel, Farberow, Shaffer).

Self-destructive gestures are seen as attempts to communicate and do not necessarily represent a conscious wish to die (Garfinkel, 1983, p.193). For this study however, they are included with real adolescent attempted suicides and successful suicides because of the

level of desperation and pain that they represent. Studies show that females outnumber males in ratios from 2:1 to 4:1 depending on the location of the study (Garfinkel, p.200) and all studies report that males are more likely to complete the act of suicide. Recent studies indicate that the peak age of suicide attempts is between 20 and 25 years old (Garfinkel, p. 200) and that internationally persons under 30 years make 50 percent of the attempts (Wiesman, Garfinkel p. 44).

Significance and Causes. Beyond the alarming figures lay the causes and significance of the acts and the alarming rates. The literature that was once described as sparse (Gould, 1965) is now growing rapidly in response to these new statistics (Farberow, 1983). The theoretical, demographic and epidemiological studies range in them from the exclusively psycho-analytic through the socio-environmental to the more current biological observational studies of neuro-chemistry and hormonal differences. Farberow, in examining 35 out 120 studies (in twelve countries) of adolescent suicide or attempted suicide found that the lethal combination of feelings of helplessness, worthlessness and hopelessness was the common theme. If prevention and treatment are to be accomplished, the same themes need to be addressed (1983).

Farberow supplies a useful summary of the characteristics of the young people who are at the most risk, based on his examination of the studies and categorizes the areas of impact pointed out by the studies:

A. FEELING STATES (in descending order of frequency of citations)

1. Depression and hopelessness, sleep disturbances, changes in eating habits, trouble concentrating, fatigability, apathy, agitation, and anxiety.
2. Aggression and hostility.
3. Low frustration tolerance and low impulse control.
4. Guilt, embarrassment, shame and "emotional disturbance".

B. HISTORY

1. Suicidal history, of attempts or threats, suicidal ideas.
2. History of psychotherapy and/or hospitalization.
3. Suicidal behavior in family or among friends.

C. SOCIAL ASPECTS

1. Withdrawal and isolation, accompanied by poor relationships.
2. Poor achievement in school.
3. Expressed frequent worries about performance in class and on exams.
4. Fewer sexual contacts than is usual and felt uncomfortable and uneasy with the opposite sex.
5. Membership in a low social class.
6. Drug and alcohol abuse/or heavy use.
7. Low rate of church affiliation.

D. INTERPERSONAL AND DYNAMIC ASPECTS

1. Parental and family interaction, disturbed relationships with including loss or threatened loss of a parent was especially crucial.
2. Parental discord and assault between parents
3. Alcoholism in family.
4. Parents "projecting themselves" on children (incest ?). (Farberow, 1983).

Beyond these characteristics of youth most at risk for a suicide or an attempt at suicide many authors look to the major role of family in providing the choices to a despairing youth. Frank (in Golombeck, 1977) sees the changing cultural trends from commitment and self-sacrifice to "self-aggrandizement, exploitiveness and titillation" helping to change individualism to egocentrism to the detriment of the family" (p.91). The changing family, moving away from the supportive intimate and safe atmosphere, to delegating many of its rearing roles to the community and thus contributing to youthful alienation and isolation is cited by a number of authors (Farberow, Reptschitz, Shorter, Garfinkel, Golombek, Stanley and Barter, 1970). A significant reoccurring factor in many studies is the absence of the father for what ever reasons be they economic, death disease or divorce. (Gould, 1983, Golombeck, Rutter 1983, Toolan, 1962).

Schools have not escaped scrutiny in looking for contributing causes. In the Garfield - Golembeck study of 605 suicide attempts by 505 adolescents between January 1970 and January 1977 in Toronto, Canada it was concluded that "the severity of the attempts correlated with the degree of scholastic success and concurs with the comparable finding

that most of those who had committed suicide had been industrious and productive" (Garfinkel, P. 212). This finding contrasts with the Rohn, Sarles, Kenny, Reynolds and Heald study which found " that of 65 young people who had attempted suicide 75% had poor scholastic records, 35% were truants, 35% had chronic discipline problems and 19% failed one or more grades. Citing the example of drug and alcohol problems in school, the study goes on to blame schools for not meeting its obligation for providing the primary source for models for social integration. "Thus in an atmosphere of trickery and mistrust, violence and cheating became common experiences in school and the students became confused, bitter and resentful" (Rohn, p.229).

Whether schools share some responsibility in the alarming rates of adolescent suicide or not, what is clear from the studies is that a severe disappointment over academic or social performance in school has been a steady and common precipitating event in a suicide or an attempt. Several studies show that two thirds of the adolescents were students or employed at the time of their suicide (Jacobs, 1971; Garfinkel, 1983).

Psychobiological. The biological study of depression in the last twenty years has brought with it the development of psycho-biological theories based on the study of growth hormones, neurotransmitters and neurochemical anomalies. A current theory regarding neurochemical abnormalities in suicidal adolescents is found in the study of Ryan and Puig-Antich (AP1988).

" From 1980 to 1987, Puig-Antich and Ryan monitored the growth hormone secretion of 140 carefully selected adolescents ranging in age from 12 to just under 18. Thirty-four subjects who suffer from major depression and had attempted suicide or devised a suicide plan secreted less growth hormone than forty depressed but non-suicidal students and sixty-six healthy children , whose levels were about the same" (ibid.).

This study concludes that the biology of suicide may be different than that of depression. The study's authors state that treatment for depressed adolescents may be different from treatment of suicidal depressives (Ryan, 1988). These authors stress the

continued importance of personality and environmental concerns and note that theirs is a preliminary study. It should be noted however that a number of studies have pointed out significant rates of antecedent psychiatric conditions : Garfinkel; 25%, Shaffer; 30%, Balser and Masterson; 62%, Myers and Neal; 45% (Garfinkel, 1983).

Developmental/Existential. The search for themes in adolescent suicidal behavior found a few authors who cited the cognitive developmental stages of Piaget and/or the significance of developmental tasks in explaining the epidemiological studies which point out the rapid rates of increase at age fifteen (Shaffer, 1983).

Beck, Kovacs and Weismann (1975) suggested that despair is a necessary cognitive construct when someone is thinking of or commits suicide. Using this hypothesis and Piaget's findings, Shaffer (1983) (in examining why suicide is rare among children) suggested that:

"It may be that despair requires an ability to choose between various abstract life alternatives and to conclude that none are satisfactory. If this is the case then it falls into the category of hypothesis setting and testing, mental activities that are said to characterize the stage of formal operations, which develops only in adolescence."(ibid.)

The convention that a child's view of death as not being irreversible is related to Piaget's observation that the child cannot yet problem solve (suicide) with something he cannot yet grasp cognitively. While Shaffer and others consider this important, Dunn suggests as does Shaffer that the "evidence that change and reorganization in children's sense of self-esteem and self-concept occur around the beginning of adolescence" (Dunn, 1983 In Shaffer) is more important in adolescent suicide.

At least two authors (Repschitz,1978; Weissman,1976) point to physical change of today's youth as a contributing factor in increased suicide rates. These authors point out that physical development occurs earlier today and at the same time entrance into gainful employment and independence is delayed. Since physical maturity outstrips the emotional

maturity to appreciate the consequences of one's actions, there is increasing disparity between the two.

Shaffer considered environmental or "secular" effects on the increase of suicide rates in the age group of fifteen to twentyfive. He suggests that this generation has the gross environmental factor of the legitimization of suicide in society as manifestation of mental illness rather than an illegal or profane act as it was previously (p. 392). There is also the secular "stress factor of Holinger and Offer (1982) which suggested that "'baby boom" "has resulted in increased pressure on educational and employment prospects, which selectively affects adolescents and that this stress has led to an increase in suicide" (Rutter p.391).

Another study supporting the hypothesis that suicidal behaviors can be influenced by gross environmental factors is Phillips (1979) and Phillips and Bollen (1982) study which shows "that suicide rates vary with media coverage and that front page display of news of suicide can have a temporary effect of increasing suicide rates within the area of distribution of that news "(Rutter, p.392).

Other authors write critically of the features of modern American (Western) society which contribute to "alienation and loneliness characterizing our youth". Farberow writes of the vacuum left by the family's abrogating its responsibility to prepare the child for functioning in adult society, the vacuum is then filled by peers. This, says Farberow, has resulted in a shift from an emphasis on society's needs to gratification of self. There has been no compensatory movements to make up for the loss of the working mother in the home and thus, the loss of a nurturing family environment in which supportive learning could take place.

→ Repschitz (in Golombek, p.228) cites parental ready use of legal and illegal drugs to alleviate life's stresses thus giving their children the message that these pains and stresses must be avoided at all cost. He also cites the narcissism and uncontrolled release of

instinctual drives caused by the erroneous interpretation of free expression (rude, crude and disrespectful) as driving a further wedge between adults and youth.

Excessive sexual license is seen as contributing to increased alienation because "As sexual intimacy has lost its sense of warmth and tenderness, under the bombardment of advertising, television, "pop stars", pornography and X-rated films, mechanized sex has become a bore", (ibid.) Farberow goes on to say:

"Along with loss of meaning in life has been the feeling that life at the present time is uncertain and tenuous in the extreme. The young have to deal with the nuclear age and its potential for instant termination, with a callousness for life exemplified by extermination camps and indifference to "boat people" and to a marked increase in violence and murders, all leading to a feeling of living on the brink of disaster; life has become cheap and readily expendable" (Golombek, p. 229).

The above quote appropriately concludes this section on the alarming rate of adolescent suicide. It is important to consider that although the rate of increase has leveled off in the 1980s, this rate, along with the number of suicide attempts and self-destructive behaviors is still alarmingly high. These numbers reflect the destructive and lethal combination of feelings of worthlessness, helplessness, and hopelessness that too many of our youth experience.

Delinquent and Despairing Youth Considered Existentially

Paul Goodman's Work

It is a premise of this study that the youth in question are not getting enough of what they need to grow up right. It is hard to imagine that anyone could express this idea (as he takes the "organized system" to task) better than Paul Goodman has in Growing Up Absurd (1960).

The book is eloquent, moving and still extremely relevant after twenty eight years. The book is a wholesale indictment of modern post-industrial urban culture. It is a response to the terrible "juvenile delinquency" problems in urban America during the

1950's manifested mainly in anti-social gang activity. Goodman's influence is still felt with this manifesto for twentieth century students and educators alike.

A more contemporary author, Bernard Lefkowitz, confirms the present day validity of Goodman's work with Tough Changes: Growing Up On Your Own In America. (Free press;1987). Lefkowitz believes we have produced another lost generation in the last twenty years. He points to million or so children between the ages of ten and nineteen growing up in the "Darwinian Jungle outside the mainstream of American life" (Boston Globe 1/27/87). The ideas most relevant for this study as Goodman explored the reasons for the disaffected teenager and the angry young "Beat" are repeated by Lefkowitz 25 years later:

Growing human nature is malleable; it is shaped and formed by its environment. We must provide the proper nurturing atmosphere if we expect to get the kind of people we need to take our place in society. If we don't provide the humanistic necessities for our children, they will find eccentric substitutes, (Goodman, p. 5). For Goodman the major part of growing up is socialization but he feels that youth are subjected to poor attitudes and influences vs. real opportunities for worthwhile- experiences. This happens primarily because of the distance we all have from real work for our survival.

"Its hard to grow up when there isn't enough man's work" needs amplification but the quote speaks to the book's main theme of youth not feeling that they have a chance nor should they bother to try. Why should they when the world outside of their immediate experience seems to have models who are in it for the sport or to plunder like pirates (politicians, business leaders, entertainers etc.)?. Goodman writes that girls' problems will increase as their non-traditional aspirations expand (pg.110).

Goodman sees that as science and technology advance, children can become more inept because the sense of causality is lost and from that follows the loss of initiative because they can not change things.

He was angry because he saw the conditions that discouraged patriotism were (are) rampant e.g., "irresponsible press, the dishonorable politics in our universities, the disillusioning handling of the adventure in space, the inferior and place-seeking high officers of the State, the shameful neglect of our landscape and the disregard of community." etc..

He pointed out that disaffected groups (of delinquent children) should be seen as having a plausible viewpoint (to be seen as disaffected not pathological) and the question of allegiance should be kept in the foreground, not as a reason to point to our children as unpatriotic and push them away, but to make sure that we deserve their allegiance.

Goodman goes on to make an interesting observation of an older disaffected group, the Beat young men. He saw them as a community "disaffected from America, engaged in a pathetic quest for some other big patriotism, an adult peer group" (pg. 112). Zen Buddhism seemed to fulfill this need as they attached their allegiance to the dead Japanese masters of Zen. It was relevant to the Beats because of its "theology and style of immediate experience" (pg. 113). "But the pathos is that Zen was the flower of an intensely loyal feudal system that fed, protected and honored its masters, and to which Zen masters in turn had fealty." Goodman goes on to observe that "Zen without farmers and servants is an airy business...and the young men are betrayed into dubious devices to keep body and soul together, nor do they have a flag to salute" (pg. 113).

The suburbs are seen by Goodman as attempts to produce a new proletariat. This done by means of all the structured activities (Little League etc.) that keep idle hands out of mischief and provide valuable training in attitude and work habits. He worried that intense devotion to the child's world might inhibit the adult from creating a community of his own for the child to eventually join.

Relevant to this study is Goodman's discussion of "doing the forbidden" versus "raising the ante". Goodman cites three reasons for children or anybody doing the forbidden: 1. to do the forbidden is to attack the forbidding authority, ultimately oedipal

father. 2. to tease the authority and get his attention. 3. very important to Goodman, is "in order to finish a situation", here a forbidden deed is done and finished. "The freedom that beckons in the forbidden attraction is not, negatively, merely a freedom from constraint but a relief of internal pressure as one arrives and finishes the experience" (pg.131). This has an orgasmic resonance. Doing the forbidden is a normal function of growth.

Goodman contrasts the normal "spontaneous acceleration to the goal (doing the forbidden) to "raising the ante", which he sees as having a "desperate tone that comes from finding that each daring act has not paid off, and therefore the next time one must stab more wildly". The object is self-destruction, not to finish a process. "Raising the ante is a sign that a person is not in touch with his real needs" (pg.131).

In a chapter devoted to the issue of faith, Goodman describes the person having grown up absurd and having to confront an either/or situation. They join the organized system lock, stock and suburban home and end up feeling cynical about it. If they totally dissent, they take the route of the social retreatist and do not help contribute to change .

In 1960 Goodman felt that when faced with these choices, one would become one of the early resigned. One wonders if he realized that he would have a role in reactivating wide spread dissent with radical change in mind? An important idea for this study is expressed (pg.137) in the examination of public officials making speeches on finding a new ethic to live by in this country. Disappointed optimism (failed revolutions) is implied by these speeches because America's promise was so bright. We will see this disappointed optimism again in association with despair and the erosion of faith. Goodman said that the folks "who are wealthy and pretty healthy are not only not happy or wise but uneasy". Thus follows disappointment and resignation to the point where third generation Americans just want their kids to be happy, as opposed to first generation immigrants wanting their children to make good and have careers.

The examination of Faith (the sense that life is going on and the confidence that the world will continue to support the next step of it), (p.139) is examined from the point of

view of a young person asking him/herself "How am I justified? What is the meaning of my life?". Goodman feels that just for the question to arise importantly means that something is already wrong and that the person will feel unworthy and damned and wasted. He points out that "psychological techniques of revivalism or physical techniques of sacramental magic"(ibid.) have been called on historically to deal with these feelings.

In regard to faith, Goodman spells out one of the foundations for his argument. Our society does not continue to provide worth-while opportunities and relevant duties for our youth to be taken seriously as existing. Although there are plenty of self-proving activities in sports, business, drugs or other "experience", these "works" have no real justification because they are not the natural product of faith taking its next step. He points out that young people may also spurn false roles and try formless mystical experience as the Beats and later folks have done. Further, "where the despair of abandonment is acute, as with many juveniles, they rush fatalistically to punishment, to have it over with and be received back" (pg.140).

Goodman places these young men in categories which reflect responses to the "rat race and the organized system". They are the "Early Resigned" and the "Early Fatalistic". The former are able but are either feeling wasted in the system or increasingly unwilling to function in it, but also unable to ignore it. The latter group is under privileged and do not have a chance. It is the authors intention that this study reflect the situation of the "Early Fatalistic".

The chapter with the detailed analysis of delinquency, as Goodman sees it, is summed up with this statement : "The delinquent fatalism is the feeling of no chance in past, no prospect for the future, no recourse in the present; whence the drive to disaster. It is a religious crisis" (p.211). This is how Goodman opens a discussion of French writer Jean Genet as the literary prophet of this religious crisis. Later he includes Celine, Miller, and Burroughs as authors who depict" the situation as it is, whatever it is" (p.215). The

importance he attached to the delinquent behavior of youth in order to get caught and be pulled back into the meaningful structure of society should be stressed here.

It is difficult to summarize this pivotal, comprehensive work, Goodman used this quote summarizing his thoughts, (taken from Coleridge On the Constitution of the Church and State):

"In order to have citizens, you must first make sure you have produced men. There must therefore be a large part of the common wealth devoted to cultivating "freedom and civilization" and especially the education of the young growing up." (pg.236).

It does not take a great deal of imagination to translate Goodman to the current decade and to see how the "punk" and "heavy metal "style relates directly to his ideas. Too many young people need to demonstrate to the community their level of desperation and dire need to break their repetitive cycle of self-destructive and anti-social activity by means of drug and alcohol abuse, vandalism and in some cases, seemingly to embrace the power of the Satanic.

Orientation In The Darker Areas Of The Occult

Discriminations and Definitions

Since this area of the Occult is a taboo, few of us are familiar enough with categories, definitions and the history of black magic, satanism and witchcraft to have even a basic understanding of what these youths are doing. The way through the very complex sociological theories and categories of occult practices was difficult. To find out just what it was the subjects of the interviews were doing and where it fit in the history of witchcraft-satanism and in contemporary activities, resources were sought to do just that (Moody 1974; O'keefe 1982; Truzzi 1972,1974). Marwick (1970) also provided European history and background for why things stand the way they do in the sociology of witchcraft today.

Since the purpose of this investigation was not to directly study Witchcraft-Blackmagic-Satanism for its own sake, the author depended on secondary sources for organization, clarification and definition. Of the sources, clearly the most comprehensive was Daniel O'Keefe's Stolen Lightning, *The Social Theory of Magic* (1982).

Here the classic works of Durkheim, Evans-Pritchard, Freud, Kluckhorn and many others were considered as the author proceeded to develop his own theory of magic. Stated in very reduced and rough form, O'keefe proposes that magic protects the individual self (ego etc.) (pg.427-430) that black magic and witchcraft can be seen as a social strain-gauge on both the inter-personal level as well as the societal level (pg.414).

Black Magic. Magic itself is an activity involving the use of religious, sacred, or mysterious rites as social power. It produces effects and controls events by means of charms, spells and rituals that govern natural or supernatural forces. O'keefe sees that black magic is only a special kind of magic among at least six other kinds (i.e. medical, religious, ceremonial, cults etc.). Black magic may include medical magic but it goes further since one can fight witches and sorcerers with it. "Black magic, one might say, runs a continuum from the mild aggressions of love magic.....to trivial spite magic, defensive magic that counter attacks the enemy, all the way to the darker counties of witchcraft, sorcery and demonology" (pg.4). Among O'Keefe's postulates is that magic is a form of social action; it makes or changes something (pg.25). Magic, especially black magic, is an index of social pressures on selves and individuals. Black magic does this and, for our purposes, must be seen as a form of power to make or change something.

Although, as stated above, the purpose of this study was not to explore black magic or satanism in schizophrenic or psychotic youths, it would be interesting to site at least one source encountered in the literature which does examine a demonical possession from a Freudian point of view as well as a critique of Freud's explanations.

Schizophrenia 1677, (Ida Macalpine, M.D. and Richard Hunter M.D., 1956) presents an outline of Freudian theoretical positions and treatment in regard to possession

etc. They see the Devil as a father substitute and explain black magic as "delusions projecting Oedipal ambivalence onto father symbols. Primitive god figures are ambivalent, uniting good and evil, because gods are father figures to Freud and men are Oedipally ambivalent toward fathers." (O'Keefe) Macalpine and Hunter feel that libido theory and original psychoanalytic theory hamper present day psychotherapy by theorizing that procreation phantasies have their roots in thwarted homosexual drives and that paranoia has its roots in homosexual libidinous needs. It might be useful to hold on to the notion that the devil serves as a father figure as we examine the interviews later in this paper in regard to the missing fathers of the subjects and their respective relationships.

Ann Parsons in Belief, Magic and Anomie (The Free Press, 1969) examined what O'Keefe calls a case of medical magic complex. An Italian-American woman in Boston, who committed suicide after feeling she was hexed by a neighbor, was seen as psychotic by Parsons because of her "dysfunctional" delusions. Parsons contrasted these delusions with the "socially integrating" black magic institutions of primitive societies. A worldview debate is implied by the Parsons viewpoint because a person who really believes in hexes would say that insane or not, Mrs. Perella (the patient's name) saw a fortune teller who gave her some magical medicine to fight the spell. It didn't work and Mrs. P. killed herself. Was she insane or did the hex work? A principle which Parsons discussed, called (pg.195) the "spread of meaning" would say both were true since the subject believes everything becomes part of the charm.

The psycho-analytic view of black magic is summarized by O'Keefe (pg.264). O'Keefe points out that psychoanalysis is ambivalent because on the one hand; "magic=infantile=primitive=psychotic. Thus the thinking of both small children and of primitives is "early"; neurotics are stuck at an early stage and psychotics "regress" to it; and it is all infantile, narcissistic, omnipotent magic thinking"..... On the other hand Freudian psychiatry provides insights about the positive contributions of magic e.g. "regression in the service of the ego" etc.

An earlier source, found in Marwick, (pg.214) is Bronislaw Malinowski. Malinowski says in Magic, Science and Religion and Other Essays, (ed. by Robert Redfield, 1954, pp. 70-84) that most kinds of ritual magic are extensions of emotional expression, usually at wits end to gain unfulfilled wishes. We assume that this includes black magic as well.

Witchcraft vs. Satanism. Beyond the most simple definition of females using black magic to punish others for their personal gain, Truzzi (1974) states as does O'Keefe that this is a complex question since the perspective of the question influences the answer. Before the question is explored from a contemporary American perspective, this study will look the work of Marwick (pg.14-15), Kluckorn and Evan-Pritchard in Marwick (pg.217-220 and pg.27-37) discussing witchcraft in Europe during the Middle Ages and later, among the Navaho in the western U.S. and among the Azande tribe in Sudanese Africa respectively.

Marwick, Moody(1970), Trevor-Roper in Religion, Reformation and Social Change, Macmillan, 1967 and Truzzi (1972) trace the history of the Catholic and Protestant Churches' effort to stamp out "Witchcraft" in the middle ages and later. What these sources all agree on is critical in clarifying the confusion around the connection between Satanism, black magic and witchcraft. These sources state that the Church itself was the first entity in Europe to gather up various folk legends, local pagan magical practices, torture induced confessions and turn them, inadvertently, into a Mythology of Witchcraft.

While the Christian religious/ political fanatics were systemizing random folklorical efforts (that is, vestigial pagan magical practices) at responding to the current political and religious pressures of those times the fanatics also had to imply and later state that these "heretics" were in league with the devil since in O'Keefe's words :

"The Heritage of Judaic intolerance and Hellenic exclusionary logic intensified the natural process by which fallen gods are condemned to become demons"
(p.424).

By 1398 The University of Paris declared that there was an implied pact with the Devil in all superstitious observances. This declaration contrasts with India, for example, where cults are ranked rather than excluded (O'Keefe, pg.424). To press this point further O'keefe points out that this process did not occur in the Eastern Orthodox Church, nor is the association with the Devil found in the witchcraft of the Azande or other African tribes, nor in the Witchcraft of the Navaho.

The issue of the "pact with the devil" which dooms the magician is explored in depth by E. M. Butler in Ritual Magic (1949). Butler traces European ritual magic (whose aim is to control the spirit world) from the dawn of history (Akkadian and Graeco-Egyptian material) through Jewish contributions (The Testament of Solomon and the Kabbala) to the Faustian School which Butler claims is the major influence on magical texts right down to this day (Crowley et al.). Butler reminds us that King Solomon, of The Old Testament, himself was considered the greatest wizard in Western culture because he was able to control the "animals of the night" (spirits and demons) and bid them build his first great temple (p. 29-36). This demonology appears as the inescapable and unwanted underpinnings of Christianity in the middle ages.

Ultimately in the legend of Faust, where the myth of Satanism continued, Butler....."endeavored to show that ceremonies designed to constrain obedience from the fiends gradually but inexorably developed the notion of a pact whereby the mighty magician of yore was transformed into the tragic figure of a lost soul" (p.317). This is the Faust who dominated the mind of Europe from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century "as a lawless aspirant to forbidden knowledge and power, trapped in the ceremonial circle whose only outlet was the bottomless pit of hell" (ibid.). So what was originally in the texts and rituals a non-bonding mutual pact between magician and spirit turned into a pact with Satan himself and ultimate doom.

The work of the anthropologist Evan-Pritchard among the Azande, as well as that of Kluckhorn, helps to define the witchcraft myth and distinguish it from sorcery. Philip

Mayer in "Witches, Inaugural Lecture", Rhodes University, Grahamstown, South Africa, 1954 summarizes for us;

"People believe that the blame for some of sufferings rests upon a peculiar evil power embodied in certain individuals in their midst; although no material connection can empirically demonstrated between those individuals and the ills they are supposed to have cause. The witch then is held to be a person in whom dwells a distinctive evilness, whereby he harms his own fellows in mysteriously secret ways"

They reverse all normal standards and their work is always immoral.

Sorcerers however, are not seen as embodying evil even as they might use physical acts (poison etc.) and/or magic to do evil deeds as well as good ones. To further our understanding let us look at what some of the literature sees as the sociological and psychological "functions" of witchcraft, black magic and Satanism in society.

Witchcraft's Function in Society

Marwick (p. 280-294) examines studies which describe the kinds of social contexts for accusations of witchcraft and sorcery in various cultures. In this essay called "Witchcraft as a Social Strain Gauge", anthropological studies are examined for instances of witchcraft being used when individuals or groups find themselves in severe conflict. All of the studies are of cultures in Africa and elsewhere in which witchcraft is part of everyday tribal life. Marwick concludes that even though the studies reflect a truthful view of the individuals and their tribes in regard to the use of witchcraft or sorcery to gain satisfaction by fair means or foul, the complexity of differing social relationship complexes in various tribes from Africa all the way to Australia make it difficult to come up with a universal method to apply the concept of a social strain-gauge to the use of witchcraft.

Outbreaks, epidemics and dramatic increases of witchcraft or occult practices in all the studies (Bainbridge, 1976; Douglas, 1970; Kennedy, 1967; Marwick et al., 1970; Moody, 1974; O'Keefe, 1982; Olson, 1975; Parsons, 1969; Zaretsky et al., 1974) are always associated with religious, political and economic stresses of a particular historical context.

The more obvious and very well documented eras are : Middle Ages (Douglas,1970; Mayer and Trevor-Roper in Marwick,1970; O'Keefe, p. 420-430), the Salem Village witch-scare (Bednarski in Marwick, p. 151-163 and many others), Outbreaks and various dramatic increases in Africa during colonial and post colonial stress periods (Evans-Pritchard in Marwick (p.21-27; Krige in Marwick p. 252-264; Marwick, p.178-1830; O'Keefe, p. 435- 438) and more recently the youthful unrest in the nineteen sixties till the present (Bainbridge,1976; Moody,1970, p.355 in Zaretsky; Olson,1975; O'Keefe,1982; Truzzi,1972,1974).

Current Explanations

Some of the subjects of this investigation should be included in the sixties group if only because it seems that their first real exposure to the contemporary occult material is through rock groups whose origins seem to emerge from the acid culture of the sixties; and the majority the present subjects interviewed claim significant experience with acid and "mescaline". Truzzi (1974) and O'Keefe (p. 5) point out that in the current occult revival in America these distinctions are confused, so that if we asked one of our subjects what they were doing and what they were, it might depend on what rock group they listened to or what material they had read. For the purposes of this study, Truzzi (p.639 in Zaretsky) has conveniently categorized the varieties of modern witchcraft. The group considered in this study might fall in category of group II.; "Black Witches", A. Independent, solitary Satanists, 2. Acid culture Eclectic Satanists as opposed to; 1. Traditional Satanists or 3. Psychotic cases. The above definitions and categories are certainly not meant to be complete or definitive since at least two of the subjects were not influenced at all by pop culture. They are an aid to orientation in seeking to understand the some of the subjects.

What Do these Occult Practices Do for Youth?

The psychological needs of the contemporary youthful Satanist or witchcraft/blackmagic user were addressed in Moody (1970), O'Keefe, Truzzi (1972,1974). Moody made the point that the sequence of events, as a person entered a Satanic cult served as a

behavioral conditioning program to help marginal persons in society find higher self-esteem and elements of social and economic success (identity, status, rituals) by teaching them to operate in the world with their otherwise limited skills and self-confidence.

O'Keefe, who includes both Moody and Truzzi in his work, covers in what is an impressive scholarly and thoughtful book, the whole range of theory as to where magic fits in the psyche (including black magic). He claims that although contemporary American youth are only playing with magic (and hence, in this case, playing with the Devil), this counts because magic is an "acting as if" phenomenon and still can effect personality change. O'Keefe also sees decaying western religions as having a great role in the emergence of the demonic since there are implicit elements of a good and evil deity in the Judeo-Christian ethos. These Devil fears are seen as escaping toxins of the decay. In all cases, says O'Keefe, magic is protecting the Self; magic is defending the individual against society. The subjects of this study's interviews were given the the black magic = the power of Satan model to play with by our culture as they attempted to manage their alienation and despair.

One source of this model seemed to be certain rock and roll records and the apparent freedom of the individual in the lifestyles of the artists. One book refers specifically to the satanic messages in rock and roll records and the life styles which allegedly reflect these messages. In Backward Masking Unmasked, The Satanic Messages of Rock and Roll, (Huntington House, 1983) Jacob Aranza, an ex-rocker turned fundamentalist preacher, lists and briefly describes at least twenty rock groups who he claims are either backward masking satanic messages to subliminally program our children or at least dabbling in black magic. This list includes the Beatles, Rolling Stones, Black Sabbath, AC/DC, Blue Oyster Cult, Alice Cooper and on and on. As a convert Aranza now condemns his former life style of sex, drugs and rock and roll and sees the rock culture as the Devil's way into the lives of our children .

In another more serious and fascinating study is Satan's Power, a Deviant Psychotherapy by William Bainbridge (Univ. of Cal. Press 1976). This book examines in great depth the Process Church of the Final Judgement, a cult whose members walked the streets of Boston and other large cities of the U.S in the late sixties and early seventies. They were striking in their black outfits with long capes and red devil's goat head emblazoned on their chests.

Bainbridge followed the cult's growth and decline over a seven year period, eventually being taken into the group as its historian and given unusual access to the inner elite group of initiators. The Process (in the book called the Power) was not merely part of the youthful upheaval of the sixties but traced its roots to Scientology, Adlerian Psychology and such esoteric Occult groups as The Rosicrucians. Its original members started in England in the early sixties where they were involved in providing non-traditional psychotherapy to themselves and a growing group of other middle class, educated and emotionally isolated people who did not believe strongly in anything else and seemed bored with life.

The originators of the Process knew intuitively that, as John Lofland points out in Doomsday Cult (Prentice Hall, 1966, p.41-42) problem solving perspectives in life can be seen as: 1. psychological, psychiatric, 2. Political, religious. The Process ultimately provided all these elements in their worldview. In the beginning the Process attracted middle class members because the cult offered a way to free up inner sources of power, and lower class people do not see that as a useful way to solve their problems or get control of their lives. They (the disenfranchised) need more pragmatic approaches to problem solving (like black magic?) (Bainbridge p. 28). In fact, says Bainbridge, the Process did not worship Satan as the Prince of Evil in a traditionally religious fashion, but as an element of their inner selves as a medium to set free the positive qualities they saw as Satanic; to actualize a greater personal being on Earth and to increase their connection with the cosmic.

In stark contrast to Bainbridge's anthropological and psychological view of the Process is the reporting of Maury Terry in The Ultimate Evil (Dolphin Double Day, 1987), which paints a frighteningly different picture. While investigating the Son of Sam murders which took place in New York City in 1977-1978, Terry turned up evidence which strongly tied these murders and others to a Satanic cult operating in the New York area. Terry claims that this cult was a splinter group whose leaders had been earlier associated with the Process. This evidence eventually led to the re-opening of the case.

In 1967-1968, when the Process came to a number of U.S. cities, Maury describes the cult as spreading a message of violence, perversity and mayhem in the name of Satan acting for Christ. The worlds of San Francisco, Los Angeles and New York in that period were a fertile places to "envelope isolated weirdness freaks from various social backgrounds and mix them together" (p.177). Terry does not explicitly blame the top leadership of the Process for any of the violent events associated with cults at that time (i.e., Tate-La Bianco Murders). He does claim that people like Charles Manson were influenced by the Process and various splinter groups who engaged in Satanic worship via sex and/or violence.

As the 1960's ended and the 1970's began The Process went underground and various splinter groups using a nation wide structure were left in its place. Terry claims that while lower ranking cultists believed in the havoc they raised, the cults were often tools for the leadership. This structure:

"staffed by willing satanic slaves, could be employed for purposes that could greatly benefit a handful of leaders - both monetarily, in terms of drug distribution and child pornography, for instance,-and personally in terms of power, influence and immense ego gratification. To those leaders, allegiance to Satan is a secondary, convenient avocation" (p.180)

Terry claims that this is the legacy of the Process in the United States today. The discovery of patterns of ritually slaughtered animals and even alleged of instances of human

sacrifice continue to this day (Boston Globe 4/12/88) across the country. These discoveries do not necessarily imply connection to one of these groups, but Terry is convinced of a nation-wide informal link up (p. 511). There is a steady stream of reports in the media about this sort of activity, the most alarming of which seems to involve young children and daycare centers for sexual abuse, child pornography and recruitment (Village Voice 9/29/87). The significance of these activities for this study is that there appears to be a significant number of young people who are willing to engage in the extremes of satanic activity for reasons that are not clear yet. They are only part of a spectrum of young people interested in the occult.

Currently these same young people who embrace or show a fascination for the darker end of the spectrum described above often have a attraction to "heavy metal" rock and roll. Trostle (1986), in a study of sixty six Los Angeles, California youths, half of which were "stoners" (self- identified adolescent followers of heavy metal rock groups) found that there was a direct positive correlation between belief in witchcraft and occult sciences and the self identification. This connection to certain kinds of rock and roll records seems to be true from East Coast to the West Coast of the United States as the author recently discovered while doing informal interviews of teenagers on both coasts and in the mid- west.

Summary of Occult Section

For now, the most benign analysis of the material (from the point of view of straightforward adolescent developmental and psychological theory) could make the point to a hopefully alarmed and curious community that : "You don't need a priest or an exorcist to help these kids, they don't really believe in the Devil. Its just that drugs, sex ,vandalism and all those now traditional ways of acting out adolescent rebellion to find a separate "we are not you" identity does not seem to communicate the depth of their alienation as well as they might have at one time. So an even stronger taboo must be violated to emphasize the point. And consorting with the ultimate evil of this culture seems to do the trick". This conventional view would suffice if most of the adults know did not agree that our

institutions are not providing enough of what is needed for enough of our children to make it in this society. After all, the troubled child industry is at least a five billion dollar a year effort in this country alone.

Whether the problem solving efforts are simple (the interviewees) or sophisticated (as with the Process) the use of the Satanic (seen as the source of ultimate evil in our culture) is part of the organizing magical energy. With this in mind let us remember the "acting as if" principle as we consider the validity or objective reality of these youthful efforts to respond with magic to a world that does not offer resources or hope for survival. O'Keefe, in the conclusion of Stolen Lightning, points out strongly several times that playing with the occult, regardless of the degree of belief or seriousness, is a game of "acting as if" . Thus playing with the occult is to abreact it (p. 566), so that personality change and an alteration of the objective reality frame are among the possibilities. But O'Keefe commenting on the assault on rationalism, positivism, liberalism and Marxism as leading to My Lai (or worse) writes:

"Magic symbolism travels easily. Every rigid script wrenched from a past religion, every device from relaxing the objective frame through agreement to agree, every magical defense of timorous selves is potentially transmissible and immortal. The magical heritage accumulates as a growing burden in cosmopolitan civilizations. It discards less than science does, or it only seems to discard or forget, only to revive everything in the next occult upsurge. Even when civilization reaches great heights of rationality, science and secular order, something like the Nazi movement can spring up in a few years to threaten to bring the Valkyries back. The magical heritage that man creates out of his daring and his weakness casts a threatening and possibly permanent shadow over all his other creations. As the burden of his maturity grows heavy there is always a limited but real danger that his unshakeable occult heritage might overwhelm civilized cultures and change their nature." (pg.569)

This is the alarming bridge between young people playing with the devil to manage their despair and the depraved possibilities that can follow. Despairing youth in significant

numbers are subject to their magical heritage and thus able to alter the objective frame of what civilization we have left with terrible consequences as we have seen in the past. A heritage of magic is a threat to despairing youth and our well being. The next section of this review will examine this phenomenon of despairing youth from a specific historical perspective in the youth culture of the Weimar Republic when the "unshakeable occult heritage" summoned the Valkyries back to overwhelm a civilized culture .

Weimar Youth Culture and Modern Youth Parallels

The era of Modern History which seems most pertinent to the position that despairing youth are vulnerable to their magical heritage is the Germany between the 1st and 2nd world wars. That a magical history can overwhelm a culture that seems to be pooling their unmet infantile needs in the face of an unforgiving environment is now self-evident. Several authors help us examine the youth culture of this period in more detail in order to see some disturbing parallels with our own children's lives. Erikson, as mentioned previously, wrote on the deep ideological and identity problems of German youth that helped to create the Germany of the 1930's and 40's. Along with Erikson, three other authors help to shed light on this period that gave birth to a dark age : Peter Gay, Weimar Culture , Howard Becker, German Youth: Bond or Free, and Fritz Stern, The Politics of Despair.

These books set both a political and sociological background as well as exploring the hearts and minds of Weimar youth in regard to later events in Germany. These events tragically illustrate the theme of depravity following from despair in twentieth century Germany. The despairing period is best represented by the Weimar Republic period (loosely 1900-1933). 1900 is included because the authors all felt that the roots of the Weimar Republic youth ethos had been growing since the middle of the 1800's if not earlier.

In German Youth: Bond or Free (1948), Howard Becker, while working for the Office of Strategic Services, explicitly looked at the lives of German youth to explore the

roots of its youth culture movements from the middle of the nineteenth century to nineteen forty six. Becker was a scholar of German history and culture before World War Two so that his perspective is a rich one. Although he explored and documented the chaos and confusion of the Weimar period, he saw that there were many precursors to the ideological and organizational traumas suffered and wrought by German youth who sought answers and solutions in utopian leaders and ideologies. Becker emphasizes the loss of myth and the perversion of nationalistic feelings combined with traditional authoritarian structures of male youth groups as a context and background for "Hitler doing it with mirrors", that is, corrupting the German Youth Movement.

Ideology, hero worship, love of the Mythical German past, and exaggerated male fellowship were all part of the traditional German nourishing institution of the youth clubs, organizations and affinity groups. Of primary importance, says Becker (p. 66-69), was the tradition of accepting the absolute authority of any charismatic leader who could assert his personality and image of ideal masculinity. While searching, German youth were in the depths of despair and confusion, these groups and their remnants provided a superstructure so that:

"After Germany's defeat and the Treaty of Versailles Germans, especially German youth suffered widespread identity loss, resulting in a state of historical identity confusion conducive to a state of national delinquency under the leadership of a gang of overgrown adolescents of criminal make up."
(Erikson, 1968,p.192)

Becker discusses in great detail the history of and eventual take-over of these groups by the Nazis. There was opposition, but indeed the Nazis took control enough to create history.

Weimar Culture, (1968), by Peter Gay, honors the period in Germany from 1922 to 1933 as a time of an important aesthetic which, in its Diaspora, influences world culture even today. Art, film, poetry, politics and architecture all come under his critique and

explanation. Gay also emphasizes the importance of the seventy years preceding the Weimar Republic.

A number of themes come through as Gay examines the art and ethos of the youth of Weimar culture. A sense of a failed revolution pervades the youthful sensibilities. The dissatisfactions with modernism and experiments with liberal politics had gone against the grain of the idealistic youth who had secretly longed for the values of mythic medieval Germany where everyone typified the heroic German. The Weimar Republic was supposed to heal the wounds of many years. It could not, as it was born in the face of considerable opposition and upheaval. Thus the sense of failed revolution that left youth despairing of the practical world (p.3).

Gay describes a secret Germany where youth are overcome by a profound religious longing for wholeness and clarification of a gravely troubling experience they did not understand. The work of the poet Rilke was an almost religious phenomenon in the way it articulated and satisfied the mystical needs of the youth movements (p.53). This kind of feeling about the world as with Rilke (later), in which life and death were intertwined and almost indistinguishable had an enormous appeal to the poetic soul of Weimar youth (p.60).

This religious feeling elevated despairing poetry to a rite or ceremony (p.68), and at that time "song was substituted for thought". This brings to mind the musical delving into the satanic of the some of this era's rock and roll and current youths' (our subjects as well) substitution of songs for thought. Song seems to provide a sensate experience to soothe the troubled minds of the youth of both periods so that real thought is replaced by something more vague and comforting. Meanwhile, amoral logic and a savage pragmatism can lurk behind the mysticism (p. 79). Another viewpoint which current youth have in common with Weimar youth is that "politics was a game to which everybody had to contribute, but which only politicians won, leading to political apathy (p.7). And another: "A hunger for wholeness found its most poignant expression in the youth" (p.77).

Gay points out that it would be impossible to draw an ideological profile of the youth movements ("Wander-vogel"). After the World War I they attached themselves to Communist, Socialist or Nazi groups or repudiated politics altogether. All were bourgeois and were seen as a "haven from a Germany they could not respect or even understand, as an experiment in restoring primitive bonds that overwhelming events and insidious forces had loosened or destroyed - in a word a critique of the adult world" (p.78).

Gay quotes philosopher Paul Natorp in 1920 : "The facile irrationalism of the "Wander-vogel", he said, in their search for the soul and distrust of the mind was bound to produce false ideals and antisocial behavior".... and eventually to mindless socialism" (p.79). So in the Weimar they studied "youth" but neglected child psychology. (ibid.).

" This hunger for wholeness turns out to be a fear of modernity.... and reveals a desperate need for roots and for community, a vehement often vicious repudiation of reason, accompanied by the urge for direct action and for surrender to a charismatic leader" (p. 96). This leads to a mixture of mysticism and brutality. Another sign of the profound malaise of youth at that time was a whole genre of novels dealing with the suicides of young high school students. This has a chilling modern ring to it. Gay quotes one of the authors of these books (Ernst Toller) as he laments "...youth which went many ways, followed false gods and false leaders, but steadily tried to find clarity and the laws of the spirit" (p.140).

Gay points out that by 1932 concern in literature had turned to alarm, and he quotes Jakob Wasserman from "Der Fall Maurizius" (1928) in sympathy with the hopeless student youth:

"Behind the young man , the war, in front of him, social ruin, to his left he is being pulled by the Communist, to his right by the Nationalist, and all around him there is not a trace of honesty and rationality, and all his good instincts are being distorted into hatred" (p.141).

This point is made again in the context of the lives of three cultural critics and philosophers, by Fritz Stern in The Politics of Cultural Despair, A study in the rise of the Germanic Ideology, (1961). The lives, thought and work of Paul de Laguarde, Julius Langbehn, and Moeller van den Bruck represented a deeply despairing dissatisfaction with the modernizing Germany from 1850 until the on set of the Third Reich. Their despair over the condition of Germany reflected and heightened these feelings over all they influenced. Stern chose to write about them not because their ideas were original but because their lives traced the rising tide of reaction and finally, nihilistic socialism that ended it all.

Stern refers to the "leap from despair to utopia across all existing reality that gave their thoughts its fantastic quality" (pg.xi). These writers were once again characterized as "failed revolutionaries" and hence their deep fatalism(pg.xv). The book is an intellectual review of the era from Bismarck to Hitler as it follows the lives of these authors writing at different times but nevertheless reflecting the themes explored throughout the rest of this study.

The intent of reviewing the youth culture of the Weimar Republic and influences on it was to emphasize and comment on the despairing feeling apparent in the youth of that time and to draw the conclusion that this level of despair as a cultural entity can lead to tragic results on an epic scale. However, the authors intent was not to ignore or diminish the significance of the cultural and political history of Germany as it relates to the enormity of the Nazi evil, to quote Peter Viereck in Metapolitics: The Roots of The Nazi Mind (1961):

"They are an evil so deep, so historically unique in an educated nation, that not merely such superficialities as Versailles and economic depression but the very roots of German culture must have contained some moral or psychological responsibility" (pg. v).

So as not some how label the Nazis as so unique (because they killed white Europeans) we must remember that this was written before the full acknowledgement of

our four hundred year genocide of Native Americans, before genocides perpetrated by Stalin, Mao, Pol Pot etc., etc. Once the again the point is that a despairing culture will use what ever evil underpinnings it has to make its own holocausts.

A Summary Using Modern Parallels Between Current Youth Culture
as Exemplified in the Media and Weimar Youth Culture

In reviewing material from the current media and literature it becomes clear that the many of our youth today share a significant amount of subjective feelings with the Weimar youth. A number of current trends point to a general malaise of a significant number of our youthful population:

- 1.. Punk culture permeates fashion and music indicating at least a strong identification with youths who are truly alienated and despairing along with a repudiations of the "sixties and Hippies" failed revolutionary aspirations (note a current movie on the last year of life of Punk Rocker Sid Vicious and his lover).
- b. Drug and alcohol abuse continue to plague large numbers of our youth.
- c. High school age suicides are of increasing concern.
- d. Survival and paramilitary groups with a distinctly Fascist style are reported to exist all over the U.S., especially in those ares hardest hit by chronic economic hardship and ideological alienation from "modern ideas" like racial tolerance and liberal economic policies. (Skin Heads etc.)

In general these parallels speak for themselves when compared to the Weimar Republic material and re-emphasize the importance of not overlooking these phenomena as "the follies of youth" or merely a criminal justice delinquency problem. If we continue to see the problems of our youth simplistically from more traditional disciplines in Law or Social work we may be able to help a worthwhile number of young people, yet miss the larger picture of a generation of despairing youths. The following chapter will examine the research methodology of this study in considering our subjects in more detail. Following the methodology chapter the study will examine the results of the research to understand

why the subjects needed to demonstrate to the community their level of desperation and dire need to break their repetitive cycle of self-destructive and anti-social activity by means of drug and alcohol abuse, vandalism and in some cases seemingly to embrace the power of the Satanic.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Description of Research Methodology

This study presents qualitative data in narrative form to refine concepts and answer and "...articulate questions and hypotheses for further investigation". (Best, p. 8, 1986; Tripodi, Fellin, Meyer, p. 25, 1969). For this reason we must place it in the category of combined exploratory-descriptive research. Typically this kind of research collects a good deal of information gleaned from a small number of cases observed with the use of systematic procedures. This method assumes that if systematic procedures of data collection are used, valid ideas and hypotheses can be generated (Tripodi, et al., p. 48,1969). The interview, participant observation and content analysis are examples of the procedures employed in exploratory-descriptive research. Since quantitative data can be used in combination with the qualitative data, this method serves as a bridge between quantitative-descriptive methods and exploratory studies (Tripodi, et al., 1969). Since the major objective of Exploratory-Descriptive research is the conceptual and hypothetical in regard to a particular phenomenon, representative sampling is of less importance than is the selection of a range of cases to stimulate Ideas" (Tropodi, et al.,1969).

Research Design

This qualitative study examines five life areas of impact on the developmental stages (as proposed by Erikson, 1963) and existential choices (Goodman 1960) of adolescents who are or were involved with the occult via witchcraft, Satanic ritual and blackmagic. Methods in combined exploratory - descriptive research use interviews for investigation, case studies and qualitative analyses for content analysis and hypotheses generation.

The over all purpose of the study was to find out as much as we could about these youths from an existential/developmental point of view. From this information trends, patterns and hypotheses for intervention and prevention could be drawn concerning the larger population of youths who communicate their despair in other less exotic ways.

Because the subject matter and behavior of this study borders on being taboo in this culture, it was anticipated that finding subjects for study would be difficult and would depend on a degree of random discovery.

Subject Selection

Fifteen subjects were to be selected for interview according to the following criteria: A) The subject is or has been, as an adolescent, involved with the practice of black magic, witchcraft and /or satanic ritual by their own definition. B) The subject is not part of an ethnic culture that uses spiritualism, voodoo or any other culturally inherited uses of black magic for healing, revenge etc.). The subject is not or was not psychotic during the episodes of involvement. The object of subject selection was to find teenagers who have consciously chosen a taboo area of endeavor in their communities to act out and communicate a severe level of alienation and dissatisfaction.

Nine subjects were located over a two and a half year period. Subjects were to be selected from clients the author counseled and by communicating with other professionals by means of a recruitment letter (see appendix B) to seek introductions and potential interviewees. Two subjects were referred by other therapists, one participated. When it became apparent that the above methods of recruitment were not sufficient, two other methods were used. A local occult book shop owner was persuaded to put up recruitment posters and letters on his bulletin board and leafleting certain locations asking for help with a description of my study attached.

The former method brought five responses: two concerned adults, one who was a registered herb supplier to pharmaceutical companies who was in contact with occult involved youths in a very poor and isolated community north of Amherst, MA. The other adult response from the occult book store was from a woman who lived in the wealthiest community in western Massachusetts, south of Amherst. This woman reported that her teenaged children knew other young people were involved with the occult. Three occult

involved youths were recruited via the occult book store, one ultimately participated in an interview.

The latter method was to recruit subjects by posting leaflets in several small isolated towns where school counselors had informally told me of significant youth involvement with occult and satanic activity. This leafleting followed more direct, but unsuccessful attempts to gain access to youths at the regional high school serving the two towns.

After making a written formal request (appendix A) to the highschool principal, the principal reported that the regional School Committee denied the request. They did not want the schools to be associated with a study youthful involvement with occult activity because it would seem like they were giving official sanction to the study. This would present a very difficult political situation vis a vi the parents and voters since it would be acknowledging the problem in their community and quite possibly joining the youths in violating a taboo by talking about it. The counselors who had welcomed the study that would help the understanding of this phenomenon in their community were left feeling helpless.

The difficulty in finding subjects to interview only served to concretize the very private and taboo nature of the activity being studied. This difficulty also made the interviews with the small number of youths participating in the study that much more precious.

Description of Participating Subjects

This brief preliminary description will serve to orient the reader while examining the research and analysis methods. A more complete profile will follow in Chapter IV, Results. At the time of the interviews the ages of the subjects ranged from age 14 to 20 years old. There were five males (one 14 year, two 16 year olds, one 17 year old, one 20 year old) and one female (aged 16). Three were living at home and three had been placed in the custody of the State of Massachusetts. Three had dropped out of school at the beginning of high school but had found some alternative educational opportunity. The 20

year male was in his second year of college. Three males and were not working and the remaining subjects were working part time and going to school. Only the 20 year old reported a continuing deep interest in the occult and his was an interest in "white" magic and spirituality.

Religious backgrounds included four Catholics, one Protestant and one Jewish subject. Four subjects have working class backgrounds and and two have middle class backgrounds with parents having been college educated. Five out of the six had been in some kind of serious trouble with police and/or some other community agency. All live with in a twenty mile radius of Amherst, Massachusetts.

Data Collection

The method used for data collection in this study was an open-ended interview conducted with the subjects. The interview was conducted after the initial steps for proper introduction and criteria for privacy and informed consent were completed. The general interview guide (appendix D) reflected the main interests of this study and make sure that each interview will concentrate on the same material. The guide also will also allow the researcher enough latitude to " build a conversation within a particular subject area, to word questions spontaneously and to establish a conversational style, but with focus on a particular subject that has been predetermined" (Patton,1980, p. 200). In this study the predetermined subject is the subject's involvement with the darker areas of the occult and the life events that lead up to this involvement.

The researcher negotiated the following baseline sequence of contacts with the participating subjects:

1. Introductory letter to potential sources of Research Subjects or potential subjects was distributed (as well as the two additional methods described above. This letter describes the research in general terms and requests permission to contact the person to discuss possible participation and the project in more detail.

2. Initial Phone Call was made, during which appointment was made with subjects to conduct interview. Since the subject matter is a sensitive one, an initial meeting separate from the interview to establish rapport and elicit informed consent (appendix C) may be needed.

3. The Interview was conducted at a mutually chosen time and place and followed the sequence of first collecting immediate data concerning the subjects present biographical status (age, address, work or school, level of independence from parents etc.). The main body of the interview was in three sections : 1. Historical data concerning subjects family background, such as ethnicity, religious background and nationality of both sets of grand parents, economic and geographical, family myths or sense of mission or purpose. 2. The subjects own life story with emphasis on earliest memories, good and bad, family and community relationships, and subjects perception of his economic, educational, spiritual and political environment. 3. The story and significance of the occult involvement.

While data collection was accomplished primarily with the use of a structured interview (appendix D) with each of the subjects, it must be stated that two of the subjects had been clients of the researcher in a counseling relationship so that some of the information gathered in those interviews confirmed information that came from the clients files or previous conversations. This privilege was not available in the four other interviews.

Each subject was recruited by means of a personal contact despite the use of introductory letters and leaflets. Two subjects were clients of the researcher and the others were recruited by someone the researcher knew so that a certain level of trust was already established upon the first meeting or phone call. Four of the subjects were willing to submit to the interview process at the first meeting after signing the informed consent agreement. The two who were already clients for at least six months agreed when recruited.

Data Recording and Coding

The researcher collected the data by means of tape recorded interview. Narrative notes would have been used if the subject asked for the recorder to be turned off (none did). Very brief process notes during interviews were taken as well. Each subject was assigned a number corresponding with the order in he or she was interviewed.

Data was transcribed from tape recordings in categories previously mentioned: 1. historical data concerning subjects family background, such as ethnicity, religious background and nationality of both sets of grand parents, economic and geographical, family myths or sense of mission or purpose. 2. the subject's own life story with emphasis on earliest memories, good and bad, family and community relationships, and subjects perception of his economic, educational, spiritual and political environment. 3. the story and significance of the occult involvement along with environmental circumstances and behaviors relating to the developmental and existential concerns of the subjects.

The data was considered both qualitatively and quantitatively. The contents of the data was recorded and coded to observe the patterns and quantitative trends in the categories stated above in a systematic manner. Each subject was assigned two tables with his or her number to record relevant data. The first table (appendix E), titled "Eriksonian Stages of Development", juxtaposes the recorded circumstances and behaviors of the subject with one or more of first five stages explored in Chapter II. The table has three other columns with comments on whether the stage was negotiated well, not well or if it is not clear.

The Second table (Appendix F) records the circumstances and behaviors (including occult activity) and beliefs data from the subjects interview reflecting the "Existential Positions or Concerns" of the subject as described by Goodman in Chapter II. The selection and coding of the specific circumstances, behaviors and beliefs in each interview was the task of the researcher. This task carried with it the potential liability of bias and subjectivity in regard to the selection and interpretation of the material. Subjectivity was

necessary both in coding the specific behaviors, thoughts and feelings of the interviewees and in matching which developmental phase corresponded to a specific piece of data. Even more subjective task was the interpretation of circumstances, behaviors and beliefs with as existential positions or concerns drawn from Goodman's work. Since there was only one researcher making the choices there should be an internal consistency and validity across the choices and interpretation of the material across the six subjects' interviews.

Analysis of Data

Data Analysis was conducted after the contents of the interviews were transcribed and recorded in the appropriate tables. Data was examined both qualitatively and quantitatively for corresponding trends, patterns and with an awareness of the literature. Although there is a theoretical framework from which to examine the data, there was latitude enough to make room for unexpected discoveries and data which went against the grain of the theoretical assumptions.

In analyzing the data the first material transcribed was the demographic and family background information. This included subject's age, present residence, present status in school or work. Family background including ethnic and economic information, information on grandparents history, parents marital history as well as educational and work history. With this information as a backdrop the significant elements of the subjects life story were outlined in phrases or bits of information for, example:

Subject #One

Circumstances

Catholic
 Traumatic separation of parents drug abuse
 from very poor community
 absent real father
 In Special Foster care

Behaviors

self destructive
 alcohol use
 negative identity
 witchcraft in early teens
 postures rebellion
 severe problems in school
 Listened to Black Sabbath Records
 occult involvement in early teens

While the above list of significant factors in the life of subject #one is not complete it represents the next step in analyzing the data. In addition to this material the next step was to examine and interpret the interview material for indications of the existential questions or positions that might be explicit or implicit in the interview responses. The environmental circumstance were examined for conditions that would cause alienation or despairing decisions. Behaviors were examined for their connotation of hopeful or despairing choices. In the case of number one there were several indications that he was questioning his religious background, his community's value system and even the nature of good and evil.

The method of collecting and sorting and analyzing the data needed to accomplish three tasks for this study: 1. to profile the subjects in their environment and their individuality to answer the questions about who they are; 2. to provide sufficient information about the details about just what is was they were actually doing as they experimented with occult activity; 3. to provide sufficient information to make inferences about their negotiation of the developmental stages as put forth by Erikson and the existential choices as put forth by Goodman. The next chapter will disclose the results of this study.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Introduction

This chapter will examine and integrate the data in order to profile the subjects of the interviews in more detail and then to observe the patterns of family and economic background, personal history and occult involvement. The chapter will then examine the results in order to infer the developmental/existential patterns which would help to understand the subjects of the interviews in two ways: what kinds of issues they and their contemporaries face that put them in situations which offer despairing choices and how they could be helped to make more hopeful choices?

Four main categories of information were investigated in the subjects' lives as well as the subjects' situation at the time of the interview. These categories were considered the critical areas of influence and would offer the researcher a greater understanding of the subjects as well as their backgrounds. These impact areas are examined as having some influence on the eventual choice of occult belief or activity. The areas are outlined below.

1) Present situation. The study examined the situation of the subjects at the time of the interview; where they were living and under what circumstances and in whose custody if not at home. Were they in school or working and for what reasons?

2) Family Background and History. The study inquired about the subjects' grandparents' background and lives: ethnic background, place of residence, their religion, work, economic status, their parents origin. The subjects were asked what they thought their cultural heritage was in order to eventually link this to the existential choices available to them. The study sought the same information about the subjects' parents with added inquiries about their parents relationship and the course of their marriage.

3) Self. The third and largest category examined the life story of the subjects in the following structure: the first memories both good and bad, the relationships with parents, siblings and other family members to generate a clearer sense of the atmosphere in which

the subject grew up. The religious training, beliefs and history with organized religion of the subjects was examined for the attitudes and context of the occult activity. The friends, models and heroes of the subjects were of interest because of developmental and existential influences they might have exerted on the subjects.

In order to understand the wider context of the subjects' youthful developmental environment and history, life history in the neighborhood, school and community situations was examined. Contact with community helping agencies, police etc, was also included. To examine the impact of the wider cultural context of their lives subjects were asked what they knew and felt about their broader environment (state, nation and world). How much were their development, attitudes, beliefs and behaviors affected by the world of current events: economic, political and environmental aspects of the world outside their immediate surroundings?

4) Experience With Occult Activity. This category of data examined the history of involvement with occult beliefs and activity in detail as well as its impact on the lives of the subjects. How did the subject first come in contact with these ideas and activities? How did others matter in this, if they did. The subjects were asked what exactly they did and for how long. The significance of the activity in the lives of the subjects was examined. The feelings and attitudes of the subject at the time of the interview in regard to his/her experiences with occult activity were recorded as well.

Following will be a description of the findings of the interview in regard to the occult activity as described above. With the description of who they are and what they have done completed, the chapter will go on to analyze the data in terms of its developmental and existential significance for the subjects in the terms of Erikson and Goodman. Because the areas of impact are not mutually exclusive there will be areas of overlapping of data. The reader should be aware that the data from one area of impact could be reflective of any one of the other areas of inquiry.

Profile of the Subjects

Present Status

All of the subjects were selected because of any involvement with occult activity. However, it must be stated that of the six finally interviewed, three of them were found among a population to which the writer had special access. This population was a group of adolescents who had been taken from their homes and put into the custody of the state (Massachusetts) and were living in Specialized Foster Care. Therefore three of six were not living at home at the time of the interviews and were in the custody of the Department of Youth Services or The Department of Social Services. This special access may have skewed the study in regard to the pattern of where the youths were living and in whose custody they were in as well as the depth of their deviancy and/ delinquency.

Four of the subjects had dropped out of public school; two of these were in alternative schools. One subject was in public school and living at home. One subject was living at home and going to a local community college.

Subject number one is a sixteen year old male who had been in the custody of the Department of Social Services for six months and living in foster care. He had dropped out of the eighth grade and was in an alternative school. Subject number Two is a sixteen year old male living at home with his mother. He was in the eleventh grade. He had dropped out of school previously and went back.

Subject number three is fourteen year old male who was in the custody of The Department of Social Services for six years. He was in an alternative school and uncertain where he would be living after foster care. Subject number four is a fifteen year old female living at home with her mother. She went to the tenth grade and dropped out. At the time of the interview she was resisting efforts of the Department of Social Services to place her in an alternative school, claiming that she would rather seek tutoring and a General Education Diploma. She was working as a waitress .

Subject number five is a twenty year old male in his third semester college and is student living at home. He has worked on and off. Subject number six is a seventeen year old male who has been out of his home for two years in the custody of the Department of Social Services . At the time of the interview he was living in a specialized foster care home. He was attending an alternative school which tutored for G.E.D.

Background and Family History

As might be expected of a population sample in Western Massachusetts, four out of the six subjects came from working class Catholic families of French Canadian and/or Irish extraction mixed with Italians, Poles and one German/ Dutch combination (number one, number two, number three, number six). These families alternated between rural farm activities and small town factory work or trades. In contrast, subject number four was of Yankee English-Scotch ancestry with Episcopalian religious background and decidedly middle class and highly educated. Number five was of Russian/ Jewish background whose parents had come from Eastern Massachusetts in the nineteen sixties and whose great-grandparents had come from Eastern Europe at the turn of the century.

The economic status of the subjects' grandparents was mixed. Three subjects reported that their grandparents had been comfortable financially in the construction trades, in the military and an academia (number six, number five, number four). Two said that their grandparents had done "ok" and that money did not seem to be a problem while their parents were growing up (number two and number three). Subject number one reported his grandmother (whose mother was a native American) had to live a bitter struggling life of poverty, rejection, and pain and seemed to associate this with his great-grandmothers' ethnicity. Three of the subjects reported that when there was a financial problem in their grandparents families in was related to alcoholism.

While the subjects could not comment with a great deal of accuracy on the role of religion in their grandparents lives, the writer assumes that if one were French Canadian,

Irish Catholic or even Russian Jewish, forty, fifty or sixty years ago a religious world view dominated the horizon either in agreement with this view or in reaction to it.

The subjects were asked about the lives of their grandparents, where they lived, religion, work etc. This question had a two fold purpose. The first and most obvious was the collection of the data as part of the identity and background of the subjects (which is reported in this section); the second purpose was to assess the impact of their family heritage on the subjects' development and existential choices.

The assumption of the writer is that the ethnic, religious and economic lives of grandparents (collectively the "heritage" of the subjects) would be areas of impact on the lives of the subjects. To gain a sense of how much impact grandparents, aunts, uncles and other family members had on the subject of as "carriers of the family culture", the interview offered opportunities to allow the subject to think about and comment on what he/she felt was his/her cultural heritage. This information will be reported in the section on "self" along with relationship data with parents and family.

Parents Lives

Of the six subjects it is significant to note that only one set of parents remained together and provided a traditional family upbringing (number five). This pattern has to be greatly attributed to the population pool to which the writer had greatest access; youths who were in foster care or who were refereed by another counselor.

The theme of deep personal pain and struggle for all but one of the six sets of parents dominates the interview material. Five out of the six fathers of the subjects were alcoholics and deserted their families. Five out of the six mothers of the subjects had suffered physical and possible sexual abuse themselves and went on to abuse their children. In addition, one mother had psychiatric problems (from which she subsequently recovered), another mother suffered a chronic digestive ailment which severely affected her ability to function as a parent. Five of the mothers did not have sufficient nurturance, stability or support in their own backgrounds to properly raise their own children in safety and security.

The economic backgrounds of three sets of parents fall into the lower working class/rural category (number one, number two, number three). Two sets of parents had higher educations (number four and number five) and subsequently more middle class economic realities, with one parent in each couple having attended a very good New England private college. One family seemed to have suffered real poverty and an awareness of it (number one). The other subjects did not seem aware of economics beyond the fact that they seemed to have enough food, clothes, and a decent place to live.

The kinds of jobs held by the parents of the subjects varied only by class. In the two sets of parents who had college educations the fathers were academics (History and Literature). The mothers had jobs less connected to their educations. In the other four families the jobs varied little between construction trades, factory work, none of which seemed to be held long term.

The writer's impression of the four non-middle class families parents was that there was a poverty of opportunity, some of which had to be based on their own emotional limitations and on the rural/small dying mill town problems of the last thirty years in the Greenfield area of Western Massachusetts. Five out of the six families had one or more of the parents suffering from alcoholism. Status in the community was in a spectrum from middle class respectable to "living in the 'patch' where all the sleaze bags live". The majority of the families seemed to have suffered from low status as they tried to maintain themselves in the midst of child abuse, neglect, alcoholism, incest and the humiliation of having ones children taken by the state.

Religion in the lives of the of the subjects' parents seems not to have been a clearly dominant force aside from providing a denomination from which to perceive the world. Of the four Catholic families two (number one and number two) insisted that their children go to church (as long as the could compel them to go). Subject number one reported that his parents had belonged to the Renaissance Church, an alternative commune of the late sixties and early seventies. Subject number four remembered her mother going to Episcopalian

services but this did not seem to matter a great deal. Subject number five said his parents' Jewish identity was more of a cultural one (vs. a religious belief) and they saw themselves as "children of the Holocaust" and their task was to carry on tradition. While the practice of religion did not dominate the lives of the subjects' parents, the writer believes that the subjects' religious assumptions about the world and other metaphysical concerns (the nature of good and evil etc.) are implicitly those of their parents.

The parents' relationships and the course of the marriages provides a telling common denominator in lives the parents of the subjects and a painful summary of those lives impacting on the subjects. There was only one marriage that survived and flourished (number five). Five of the relationships, as described by the subjects, broke off very early after terrible struggles (number one and number four) or struggled and fought for six or seven years with alcoholism and abuse and then divorced (number two, number three, and number six).

Aside from subject number five, none of the interviewees reports witnessing what might be termed a happy productive partnership in their parents lives. They report instead, witnessing years of pain, physical abuse, alcohol abuse and undignified struggles to survive in the lives of their parents. Among the five subjects whose lives were influenced by these struggles and pain, none of them could comment on any significant broader family experience or cultural inheritance that would have helped them overcome the negative aspects of their immediate environment.

Self

The subjects were asked to tell their life story with the aid of seven general questions (see interview guide, appendix D). The telling of ones life story is an extremely subjective task, so that the only validity test of the collection of the data is that all the subjects were given the same interview and the chance to tell their story in their own way.

First memories, both good and bad. The subjects were given an opportunity to report data that may have impacted on their early developmental phases and especially on

Erikson's first three stages; basic trust , autonomy vs. shame and doubt, and initiative vs. guilt (Erikson, 1963).

The question was asked in an open-ended way so that the subject could answer with their very first memory. The only subject to start with a good memory was number five ; "I was running around the house yelling 'I'm four years old - it is a good memory". Subject number one remembered; "I was about three, I was in a cast, both my legs were in a cast, I used to walk around on my hands, to pull my self around" and " We lived down in the 'patch' where all the "scumbags lived". He had good early memories around his stepfather joining the family and giving him gifts at about kindergarten age. Subject number five also remembered an early childhood disability:

" I was growing up physically impaired, when I was born something happened that slightly paralyzed my left arm and leg..... I felt weak on this side of my body, I would trip a lot when I was a little kid. I couldn't do what every one else did. I was fat and walked funny".

Subject number two remembered fighting parents and his father drinking. Subject number three remembered running down to a coop to stay with the dog in order to take refuge from his parents who would abuse him. He also remembers running away a lot and living with his grandparents because "At least they don't beat up on you like your parents do".

Subject number four reported that "for a long time I didn't remember anything before I was eight years old, then six, then four when my father raped me". Her first good memory was "being up at the family farm in Vermont out in the fields and orchards". She reports that these first pleasant memories are connected to searching for a "higher power".

Subject number six had difficulty with the question at first as did number two, number three and number four. His first response was "I don't know, I don't remember anything". Then he remembered " The first thing I remember is; what will happen next?, where will I go?, where will I live?". By way of explanation this memory was in relation to

the terrible physical and emotional abuse he suffered at the hands of his mother and stepfather as they quarreled about drinking and money. His pleasant memories are associated with summers of fishing, playing with model planes and cars at six or seven years old.

Several patterns emerge as these memories are examined for similarities. Two subjects (number one and number five) recall early physical disabilities which they claim influenced their lives. Three subjects who were suffered severe early abuse were unable to recall anything without a good deal of prompting and counseling help. This repression is assumed to result from trauma and pain which can only be dealt with now in a way that does not critically debilitate the subject. Another pattern in the memories of the abused subjects were the pleasant memories associated with the outdoors in solitude with animals or inanimate objects. Both number four and number five report some kind of early transcendent awakening in the form of questions about a higher power in relation to nature.

Relationships with parents, siblings and other family members. These relationships were consistent with the above findings in each family. Alcoholism and physical and sexual abuse are associated in a number of the stories. Because these relationships are so important, they will be summarized individually and in order.

Subject number one reported that he and his mother always had a difficult relationship and that she was unable to control him from the beginning. He in fact was controlled more by his grandmother and there was a struggle between mother and daughter to gain and keep his loyalty and obedience. This struggle became exaggerated at puberty and he eventually had to leave home because he was so out of control. He never knew his natural father. He said his stepfather entered the scene at kindergarten with toys and kindness. He felt his stepfather was good but could not take over the father role, especially at puberty. He fought with his stepsisters and does not feel especially close to them. He is especially close to his grandmother but not necessarily the rest of the family.

Subject number two said that he got along with his mother. His father left after a messy divorce but remained in his life and the relationship is a warm one. His step father also was an alcoholic and this relationship not a good one. He reports getting along with his stepsister. His grandparents were good to him and he is said to be a like his grandfather, " a little wild".

Subject number two reports a good relationship with the other family members. Subject number three reports a very troubled relationship with both parents. Mother was abusive to him (possibly sexually) at an early age and he was removed from her custody. His father was an alcoholic who kicked and punched him periodically so that he would have to be kept at his grandparents house. These people he describes as good, but stern and distant. He never lived with his older sisters. His older brother (troubled too, armed robbery etc.) lived with him intermittently since they were both bounced from relative to relative. Finally he was placed in residential care and then back home again unsuccessfully. His remarks about residential care are " that they do it just for the money and that "they can make you worse and fill up your body with hatred". "I don't care if anyone loves me or not".

Subject number four and the only female of the study described her "generic relationship with a sexually abusive father" as:

"absolutely perfect on the outside and for a long time I believed it . I would block things as they happened (incestuous abuse). Finally, at age 11, I cut off from my father completely".

Her mother and father were divorced when she was six weeks old so the abuse occurred during visits. Curiously the subject reports that "I always had a good, honest , open supportive relationship with my mother." She "idolized her older sister" (seven years older) "because she did drugs, had sex and was cool". "My brothers seemed to want me to be a "cheer-leader" and when I am not - I'm a disappointment". Overall she thought that her relationships with her siblings was not positive. She was never close to her wider

family, seeing them occasionally during family reunions. Subject number four was careful to point out that she has great respect for her grandparents.

Predictably, subject number five reports that he was close to his family and especially with his mother whom he describes as a "queen lioness protector" and not as close with his father: "I couldn't really mesh with my father as well, but he was a good father and did his duty". "I was very close to my sister and I still am, to this day we are each other's best friends. He does not feel that he was that close to his grandparents as they lived in the eastern part of the state and he did not see them that much.

Subject number six presents a painful contrast to number five. He was severely abused by his mother: "I always had bruises or broken fingers or something, they beat me with rolling pins, a broom, she would throw cans of soup at me". In relation to his stepfather he commented: "I have not seen my real father in eight years - Why would someone want a fake one when the real one would be best?". Describing the relationship with siblings and parents he said:

"We had a hellish relationship with our parents, we would get in trouble or steal something just to get some attention. They got beat (siblings), I would protect them from my mother so I got the most beatings. I would say it was my fault because I did not like to see them get hurt. Sometimes I did not care about myself"

Later, at age thirteen, he would be violently sexually abused by his step-father and says now "I hope that fucker is dead, he beat my mother too". At age 15 subject number five would initiate an incestuous relationship with his younger sister which lasted a year. He claims that he could never go out so out of boredom, frustration and sexual curiosity this incest came about. He got along with his alcoholic grandfather and could not figure out why his mother and the rest of the family could not. "I care about a few of my aunts and uncles, I had a good time with them, they took me fishing etc. In all he spoke with both

warmth and pain about his family with confusion about family history and his situation being the predominant themes.

In summarizing the patterns of relationships within the families of these subjects, the themes of loss, abuse, betrayal and disappointment in the midst of the ravages of alcoholism are the most obvious. What is implied are the difficulties in establishing the basic trust that good solid parenting provides. Instead of consistency, predictability and sustained loving care, the majority of our subjects described just the opposite.

Parents were unpredictable (sometimes violently) so that the relationships with subjects could not approach even a minimal standard for normal emotional development. Fathers (five out of six) ranged from totally absent to abusively present. Mothers' relationships (four out six) with subjects would have to have been dominated by helplessness, frustration, rage and hopelessness. These feelings then, when acted out on the subjects, had to be mirrored as part of their earliest emotional experiences. Excluding subject number five, relationships with siblings seemed unimportant, which implies loss or parentification, which would imply the loss of their own childhood (number six).

Life in neighborhood, community and school. These descriptions varied in the amount of awareness or importance the subjects placed on it. The implied developmental importance of this data relates to the degree of autonomy, initiative and industry the subjects can develop. Each response is unique enough to be written here in a separate section for each subject. The common elements emerge as the stories are told.

Subject number one reported that his was a neighborhood of "sleazebags and scumbags" located in a town of "partiers and boozers". The other side of town was for the "preppies and goody goodies". He saw the first couple of years in school as ok having gotten in trouble a few times (for peeping into the girls' rooms etc.). When his family moved to a more rural setting he remembers enjoying the country (fishing and friends to play with). However by fourth grade he was often getting into trouble in school and at age 11 his family was evicted from the rural home they were renting because the subject had

become out of control and had vandalized the landlords car. Moving back to the small mill town (the "Patch) the subject reports that he barely passed from sixth to seventh grade, he started to smoke and get in trouble. " I got to seventh grade and couldn't sit there so I got into trouble". This subject was highly influenced by the neighborhood and community ethos around him which he saw as influencing him to "party" and later aspire to be a marginal person.

Subject number two remembers feeling isolated from his neighbors early and having a fight. Elementary school was unremarkable and "then in seventh grade there goes the show, there's a whole world out there". By this he meant that he could no longer follow the program. "Since the fourth grade I noticed that kids were shielded from reality. Their parents controlled their lives, not them, I was sick of it, I hated society, and at any time they could blow us up. What could I do? I was just one guy." At that time he reports being "impressed by the hypocrisy and narrow mindedness" of his community. He was hurt by the way drugs and alcohol were part of relationships. His alienation seemed to grow more severe as he became more aware of his community. His school work began to suffer and soon he was hanging out with subject number one as the trouble makers of the Jr. High. Subject number two was alienated from the majority of his community because of the hypocrisy and narrow mindedness and conformity he saw. Both he and number two were cohorts in this alienation and seemed to try and develop their negative identities together.

In contrast to the first two subjects number three was so consumed with family problems and his bouncing from relative to relative that he could not comment on his neighborhood, community or school unless it was in the context of hurt pain and rejection. He recalls shooting a neighborhood boy with a cross bow and later using drugs and alcohol as part of relationships. School seemed almost irrelevant in this context. He seemed bright enough to have awarenesses of the first two subjects but the material was just not there. Later at age 14 he was in an alternative school where even there he spent most of his time fighting with the other boys over his habit of trying to sell them fake cocaine and speed. He

was the scapegoat and his community became the caring system of those in the custody of the Dept. of Social Services of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

The only female of the study, subject number four, grew up in a more affluent small university town surrounded by rural geography. Although she "had a best friend across the street, I did a lot of being alone, looking for escapes from emotion and reality, I just did not want to feel it, it was too scary". She hung out in the woods a lot - with alcohol "as long as I had a place to be alone, I would be alright. She feels her addictions started in earnest at age eleven or twelve. She always hated school except for two English teachers: "elementary school was a joke - I couldn't figure out why we were doing it, I could do the work though".

She left public school in the sixth grade because she was not getting along: "There were two girls in the whole school with breasts and I was one of them, the other girl was a slut and I was not, so the 'in crowd' thought there was something wrong with me." She left public school because the "tough kids harassed me". In private school she felt the more affluent girls were sheltered and only worried about their material possessions. She acted as a "therapist" with her school mates when she realized they had real problems too. She felt she played many roles in school but never herself. She later dropped out of public school again primarily to stay sober, since she claimed the amount of drug and alcohol use among her fellow students at the Jr. High and High school represented a dangerous situation for her.

Much of her history was given in the context of alcoholism, since at the time of the interview (age 15) she was proudly two years sober. Although quite intelligent and articulate she did not feel particularly aware of her life as a community member, but was very much in touch with the subjective feelings of intra/interpersonal school life.

Subject number five felt fortunate for growing up "in a different environment (than his parents) than the city, without paranoia and fear in a suburban neighborhood experience". He still managed to report that "I had a rough time growing up in pre-school

and teen age years, I turned into a brat as an adolescent. School was difficult socially - I was fat and clumsy so that the rough and less financially fortunate kids picked on me". "I felt my share of anti-semitism, but most of my problems related to physical differences and some class differences". "The worst period of my life in school was at ages 13 and 14" :

"I grew up introverted. I was mainly concerned with getting-by and getting along even though I was aware of the outside world. I didn't enjoy the school environment, I felt very threatened by it, feelings of being different, picked on and things like that. But I was loyal to tradition and didn't cut classes."

Subject number five felt his neighborhood, school and community experience was affected by his own shortcomings and in general he had no complaints about his environment except for the some other students and neighborhood kids who occasionally bullied him.

Subject number six said "I lived in a neighborhood that was really bad - thieves etc. ". "I got in trouble for fun, stealing things, breaking things, wrecking peoples flowers and stuff, but it was my home town, of course it's a good town. With these somewhat contradictory statements which seem to be blaming himself for his troubles, he goes on to talk about school:

"School life was ok, I got a lot of attention, got into trouble. I would always need help, so I felt like I couldn't do the work. I felt like I was some 'mental' kid or something just sitting in there. Every school I go to there would be two teachers because I can't read or do my math right . I don't need that shit anymore! I'm one smart kid and school life made me feel brain dead, I didn't enjoy school and it went bad when I became a teenager."

He was not really aware of his larger community and saw himself as the cause of many of his neighborhood problems, although he did show some disdain for the others in his neighborhood who engaged in the same kinds of behaviors. School, as the quote above points out, was not a happy place for him although he did his best to call attention to his considerable home problems by his behavior and performance at school.

For our subjects, awareness of life in the neighborhood and community seemed to depend on the degree of abuse they suffered at home. Subjects number one, number two, and number five seemed to be more aware of their surroundings than the other three who suffered physical and/or sexual abuse. The former were able to make strong statements regarding their impressions and degree of alienation or disdain (or appreciation - number five) for the culture, habits and ambience of their immediate community. The latter group (number three, number four and number six) were not as able to comment on their impressions so easily. They were apparently too busy trying to survive.

In regard to their lives at school, all had some kind of very profound negative experience. These experiences related to the academic (achievement) and/ or the social aspects of school. While some of the subjects seemed to make it through elementary school all right (number two, number four (?) and number five), none had a completely positive experience after sixth grade and indeed only one (number six) made it through highschool without a traumatic interruption or complete failure.

Friends, models and heroes. Inquiries were made in order to understand the influences that our subjects lent themselves to and what their aspirations were as children and teenagers. As one would expect by this stage of the study, good healthy relationships and wholesome aspirations and models to guide them did not occur often in the data.

Subject number one characterized his friends as fellow troublemakers and "burn-outs". In elementary school he stressed the mischief makers less but by sixth grade and junior high he was very much aware of hating the "preppies and good kids". His relationships were revolving around marijuana smoking by the time he was twelve and as a young teen:

"My ambitions were to meet all the big time drug dealers, I wanted to meet these guys and party with them, they were the most successful people around town."

He also admired the rock groups KISS and Black Sabbath "because they were awesome groups, they were cool ... nobody in Turners was like them but I liked them". He found these records in his step-father's collection from years before. He felt they spoke the truth along with Alice Cooper and others. What was the truth they spoke? : "Black Sabbath? Fuck the world, it's all going to shit, the whole world is going to hell, that's what they are saying." He agreed because:

"I knew the whole world was going up because of the Bomb, the nuclear shit, that's what was the whole thing that was bugging me, the nuclear shit... they started getting into these tunes called 'After and forever' and 'Children of the grave'. 'Children of the Grave' was before the bomb hit, he was talking about 'you children of today are the children of the grave' because of what is going to happen..the nuclear shit."

His conclusion was that these groups and artists were smart and cool since they too could see that since the world was going to end, there was nothing left to do but "party" (wanton hedonism). He felt helpless at the same time and, as we shall see later, these groups intimated that there was power in black magic.

Subject number two was a friend of number one and shared much of his friend's world view but did not seem to suffer as much from his own family problems. Number two seemed to develop friendships in elementary school which did not hurt him. By junior high, however, he and subject number one had become the leaders of the tough guy, bad boy heavy duty substance abusers. He also managed to develop friendships with a number of friends who belonged to a fundamentalist church. With all of his friends whether they were involved with drug use, vandalism or fundamentalist religion, number two says that he was searching for something. He said that he was alienated from the "goody-goody" kids. The hypocrisy he felt in his community contributed greatly to the negative identity which he describes as "I knew I didn't want to be like them" (good kids). He mentions that he enjoyed the same musical groups as his friend (Black Sabbath, Alice Cooper etc.), but he did not have as much of the despairing "what the fuck" feeling. He described his

activities with his misbehaving friends as trying to bait the police just for fun and to see if they would get caught. He saw each of these groups of people as models at different times while he was searching for the answer to his struggles with good and evil.

Subject number three had great difficulty with the question. He could not remember any friends and those boys he mentioned seemed to be associated with drugs and alcohol. He could not think of any models and although he liked such groups as AC/DC and Motley Crue these groups did not seem to have the same effect on his outlook on life.

Subject number four had few friends and talked a lot about her own isolation and mentioned a friend across the street but she certainly was not a significant person. She spoke about idolizing her father and sister; he as a "poor starving artist", her sister because she was "cool" since she used drugs and was active sexually. Her comment about her models was: "I had really fucked up people for models, that is what I was surrounded by fucked up people in the grips of alcoholism". Subject number four named poet Robert Frost, actress Meryl Streep and musician David Bowie as her cultural heroes. Her family implicitly offered a strong literary and artistic awareness which in many ways contributed to her isolation and pain because so few of her peers were able to communicate with her in meaningful ways.

Subject number five reported one best life long friend, his sister (by a year and a half). This has a very insular connotation to it and does not suggest a socially healthy outreach into the world which is consistent with his own reports of feeling isolated and different. He reports two friends later associated with his occult activity. His models seemed to be the authors of a few of the Occult books he started reading at age ten or eleven. He describes these authors as proponents of "white magic" to serve oneself who see the world in a positive light. This positive feeling was very important to him to maintain and will be examined in greater detail in the profile of his occult activity.

Subject number six characterized his social life this way:

"I always had shitty friendships, either someone would steal something from me or do something - and the payback would always be a bitch-I didn't have good friends in the past, they were all assholes"

His comments on his models and heroes were sparse since he said he didn't have any models; he just wanted to be himself. "No heroes because it's not real in all those movies". "Astronauts have nothing to do with me - maybe certain guys are heroes like Green Berets and pilots, but that takes years to learn". He always wanted a car and spent many hours building models of them. He said he liked musical groups like Pink Floyd and Lead Zeppelin. Later he liked "heavy metal groups - I just like it, you learn a lot, you know, the Devil and that's about it". Subject number six also represented a real poverty of stimulation and awareness of the world.

To summarize the patterns of responses in the matter of friendships, models and heroes we must acknowledge the alienation and isolation that subjects describe. When there were friendships, they represented negative contracts with society or insular relationships based on drug or alcohol use and feelings and inferiority. Models for our subjects represented, for the most part, adults who were absorbed with their own despair and/or hedonistic or destructive responses to it. The subjects did not seem to be led by the models so much as to be in agreement with them. The rock and roll musical groups cited by the subjects seemed to be the only media stimulation that was consistent with what the subjects were observing and feeling, that is, the hypocrisy of the adults around them, nuclear doom and a desperate need for solution to powerlessness that magic (black or white) represented. A theme that was also clear in these responses was the awareness of the need to just survive psychically (and at times physically), at the cost of not seeing or hearing what else was going on in the world around them. This theme shows up again in the profile information to follow regarding awareness of the environment, politics etc.

Religious training, beliefs and history with organized religion. This questions provides both contextual information and some insight into the belief systems and process of religious growth and/or disillusionment with regard to the subjects' relationship with organized religion. All but two were from Catholic backgrounds, the others were Episcopalian (number four) and Jewish (number five).

Subject number one came from a Catholic family although when asked the question he said his religious background was "all kinds". His description of his training:

"It sucks because it is a dumb religion.....you know Church, you do this, you do that, you do that and you will be all right, it's stupid. My parents tried to make me go to Catechism, they used to say "if you don't go you'll be grounded, I'd say "ok I'm gonna go to Catechism and then take off and then go get stoned or something and then sneak into church and grab those papers and say 'Well Ma I went to catechism". (laughs)

He said he did not want to do it because he just wanted to do what he wanted to do and just wouldn't go to church. He described the young people who believed and did it all as:

"They were preppies and I never wanted to hang around with them or be like them. Nobody from the 'Patch' went and all the kids I hung around with were from the "Patch". You were a sissy if you went to church,.....a geek totally not cool, that's for sure".

He refers later to an experience at a fundamentalist "Church of the Living Waters" where he learned that:

"The Anti-Christ is coming anyway. You can't believe in one without the other, You have to believe in both cause they are both there (God and Satan). I learned this from my best friend's mother, she used to be a witch and now she is very religious. I had a good time at her church because people sang, the Catholic church was so down."

Subject number one had something in common with at least two other subjects (number two and number three) who had the reputations for poor school performance and

academic interest in general. He had spent hours reading and being deeply impressed by the Book of Revelations in the New Testament especially with the references to Satan and the prophecies of the last great struggle between Good and Evil at Armageddon (Rev. 16:16).

Subject number two is number one's best friend and had much in common in terms of his religious experience and negative religious identity. He also did not go to church because it represented being one of the preppies and and dreaded conformity. His response to this question was thoughtful and serious; it was clear he had given it much thought. His background was Catholic, but this did not offer him enough. Much of his experimentation with fundamentalist churches came after his occult activity. He characterized his constant battles with drugs, alcohol, vandalism and black magic as a struggle between good and evil inside him: "I didn't want to but then I would go ahead and get in trouble again". He concluded the discussion of religion by saying that finally he had read a book about the (semantic) traps in language regarding religion and from this he concluded that religion was not bad and that God is everywhere, but "I did all this and I still don't know what it is all about".

Subject number three's religious background was Catholic: "My family is Catholic but not me I don't believe in that stuff". He had a highly developed sense of the struggle between Good and Evil and, as reported above had spent a lot of time with the Book of Revelations which he said frightened him. He had been given little religious instruction and felt negative about organized religion.

Subject number four was Episcopalian and she had spent a considerable amount of time singing in the choir. She described her quest for a faith :

" I've always been looking, in the fourth or fifth grade I took mythology and decided to believe in Greek Gods and Goddesses as something new to believe in. I tried the church God, Santa Claus' alter ego - a tall big old man with a long white beard in a long white robe sitting on a cloud throne, I just could not believe in a god like that , a god so hateful.....Sinners repent, I thought about it.. then every one would go to hell. I always knew there was a faith that would

work for me I just didn't know what it was. I went to church every Sunday and that's the only reason, the sermons pissed me off because God was a man and everybody spiritual was a man, the hypocrisy was just clear to me. I always felt sort of a unity in the church and that's what I liked - all the people together believing the same thing - then I realized a lot of the people there didn't, but it was a place to go where at least some people were held together."

Subject number five came from a Jewish background and was raised with basic rituals and Jewish culture (Sunday school etc). He comments that: "The Jewishness was passed to me for a sense of preservation of the traditions, not necessarily for a sense of intrinsic joy". He struggled in and out of trying to pray and believe in God, sometimes "feeling like an atheist". "Then I picked up a book about white witches which introduced the idea of a female deity. He experimented with the idea of a Mother Goddess at the age of 13 or 14. For him this fit with the concept of Wicca. "But as I tried to weave the two faiths (Judaism and Wicca) I felt guilty as a Jew." Because he felt a cultural conflict as well as a religious one to overcome the "Sunday school" training. He said he had been raised in a liberated home so that the conflict was not so much with a "feminist" religion so much as "plain old Jewish guilt". He had gone to Israel at age sixteen and did not "weep at the wailing wall as others did; "I just felt numb so I realized that inside I was not religious in the Patriarchal sense". Later he met a friend with whom he could talk about this and he realized that "because I would leave my religious faith, I didn't have to lose my ethnicity". He has since done some of his own research into early Pre-hebraic female deities.

Subject number six was from a Catholic background and commented that being Catholic does not matter, he does not practice: "Maybe I prayed for something a few times - like to go to a good next foster home, but I don't believe in it now". His response was just that short and resembled subject number three in its poverty of thought and history.

Summary of religious question. The major patterns of training and beliefs and history with organized religion suggest that although four out of the six received formal religious training this did not seem to have the effect their parents desired. In fact this

training contributed to the alienation and negative religious identities that seemed to emerge in three of the four. Two of the subjects with Catholic backgrounds received no training but managed to develop the strong sense of "good vs. evil" in their feelings about themselves and the events and situations they see in the world.

At least two subjects (number one and number two) sought religious experience (outside the Catholic church) which had more joy, stimulation and a less controlling dogma. Both number one and number two went on to experiment with visits to fundamentalist churches where there was more "joy, movement and stimulation as well as some confrontation with the harsh predictions of the Book of Revelations. Three of the subjects (number one, number two, number four) who had significant training and contact with organized religious activity complained bitterly about the hypocrisy and mindless conformity they saw among the "true believers".

Another pattern was that of a "negative identity", that is "if those kids, adults, and community at large believe one way, we will be the opposite". This phenomena manifested itself in a slightly different way with two of the subjects (number four, a female and number five, a male). Both described being more attracted to a female deity and put off by a male God. Subject number four felt this way because she had trouble identifying because "God was a man and everybody spiritual was a man". It is important to recall that this is a victim of father- daughter incest lasting until age 11, so that having faith in trusted males would have to present terrifying conflicts. It is also interesting to note that she was an Episcopalian in light of the recent (winter 1988) installation of a female Episcopalian Bishop in The Northeast United States. Subject number five had difficulty with the Hebraic male deity of his Jewish religion because of his early interest and attraction to "white witches (Wicca) and ultimately to the pre-hebraic mother goddess". The predominant themes revolved around negative choices based on the community norms and perceived widespread hypocrisy and conformity, struggles between "good" and "evil" and in two of the most articulate subjects, the gender of God him/herself.

Awareness of the wider environment. In regard to the question of state, nation, and world, two of the subjects were very clear about the relationship between their choices and their awareness of the world around them. Two others knew more than they realized (as a result of detailed inquiry) and three of the six spoke of their deep concern that there could be nuclear war and that we could all be destroyed. A general feeling that there was nothing out there in the world that really related to them permeated the responses.

Subjects number one and two were the most articulate about the wider environment of state and nation. They both independently stated that they felt the world of public officials and those responsible for industry was full of liars and cheaters who were ruining our natural environment and worst of all, would perhaps lead us into nuclear war.

Number four responded with ; "I always hated politics of any kind, I always wanted to live in Oz cause it (politics) doesn't work" and disdain for the sixties type of involvement; "I never was part of that hippy crunchy stuff". She was aware of current military and political in Libya and Nicaragua and environmental concerns. This awareness merely contributed to her cynicism and rejection of the outer world. Subjects number four, five and six stated explicitly that they were just interested in getting along themselves. However number six said "If it was World War Three I would care because we would all die, I think there could be nuclear war".

Themes revolving around irresponsible adults in charge of the important institutions and the possibility of nuclear war dominated the responses whether the subjects were bright and articulate or not. There seemed to be an attitude of taking for granted that military, political, and environmental folly is what is to be expected. This attitude saw these expectations as not out of the ordinary or worthy discussion.

Contact with community helping agencies, police, etc. a similar sequence of events followed for several of those subjects (numbers one, four, six) who managed to become involved. First came trouble with the police because of extreme discipline problems, vandalism, drugs etc.; then a Child in Need of Services petitions to the courts and

Department of Social Services involvement. If this did not help (counseling, family work, respite foster homes) the child would continue to have scrapes with the Law (numbers one, two, four and six) and the Division of Youth Services would be needed to take over.

Subject number two claims that when he finally received a six month suspended sentence to the Dept. of Youth Services he decided to straighten out this at age fifteen and a half (well after his occult activity). At least one subject (number three) was involved very early with the Department of Social Services because of neglect and abuse. At age seven he was in and out of foster homes and by age ten he placed what he called "private schools" which were a number of schools in the Berkshires for troubled and psychiatrically disturbed youth. When he tried to come home at age 14 trouble resumed with his father and he got into trouble with drugs, alcohol and violence with other young men. Specialized foster care preceded more in-patient and special school stays which continues until the time of this writing.

Subject number four was very angry at the wording of the question in terms of helping agencies. She said they did not help. She was arrested by the police at age 13, when she was drunk, for stealing parking signs with a friend (certain they would not get caught). She said that the Dept. of Social. Services (DSS) got involved after she got sober and quit school (in that order). She claims to have quit school at age 14 after she got sober: "I was sober and school was not, I go in there and I go crazy".

Subject number five did not have any contact with community helping agencies as such, but he did have physical therapy for most of his elementary school years, both at home and at the hospital.

Subject number six came in contact with DSS because "I never listened and then they got me a counselor (whom he did not like) and I walked out on her and they filed a CHINS on me at age 14 1/2". At this point he spent time in foster homes and began to steal. Number six revealed that at age 14 he began a year long incestuous relationship with his younger sister". It just happened over a year, my mother left us home all the time and I

could not see my friends, then she (his sister) spoke up and then I got taken out of my home for good.

The most important pattern in regard to community intervention with the subjects is the gradual escalation of the behavior in relation to the risk to the community and themselves. This escalation is very much in line with Goodman's concepts of "doing the forbidden" and "raising the ante" (p. 131). The community finally has to intervene by taking the child out of his/her home or threatening this action. This happened in five out of the five situations where there was any trouble at all. (number five not applicable).

Experience With Occult Activity

The presentation of the exact nature, type and length of involvement with occult activity is for purposes of providing information and context for what is really of more importance to this study: how did this activity fit into the lives of the subjects and how did it matter to them developmentally and existentially?. In light of currently (1988) increasing media attention to more depraved end of the occult spectrum (ritualistic murder, sex, etc., in the context of satanic worship), it is important to re-emphasize that the purpose of this study was not to seek the sensational, but to examine the lives of the subjects with the above question as a guiding principle. While the lives of the subjects revealed much pain and suffering for people so young, the interviews did not uncover any highly sensational acts, cult activity or cause for alarm for any activity per se, aside from the painful and prolonged self-destructiveness of some young people interviewed.

Before examining each subject's history and point of view in regard to their occult involvement a survey of the major patterns of involvement can define the group and individual trends more clearly. All the subjects except number five, reported significant abuse of alcohol, marijuana and some hallucinogens before and/or during the period of their involvement with occult pursuits. Four out of the six (numbers one, two, three, four) were involved from ages 11 to 14, averaging about a year to a year and a half.

All except number five reported significant delinquent activity, such as vandalism, theft, public drunkenness and violence and severe discipline problems at home. All except numbers four and five report a strong association with heavy metal rock and roll records and their fascination with the satanic and black magic. None of the subjects reported any cult activity whatsoever and subjects numbers three, four five and six reported that their activities and interest were almost completely solo. Another interesting trend was the sustained interest in researching and reading material on the occult by subjects who reported substantial trouble in school at one time or another (numbers one ,two, three).

If the similarities in each story identify the trends, the differences serve to aid in the understanding and recognition of each individual. Each individual response is condensed below to offer the best understanding of what the subject was going through at the time they made the choice to seek solutions and relief through occult aspirations and activity. It is very important to remember what each subject revealed about their lives in regard to family, social and community problems as they were indulging in satanic fascination and/or black magic (exempting number five).

Subject number one reported finding heavy metal records that once belonged to his father. These records and the artists who made them represented number one's point of view quite well ("fuck the world, let's party because they will probably blow us up any way":.

"I heard it and saw it in the music, Black Sabbath and Alice Cooper, I thought it was cool to do Black magic and shit" So I began to go out and get all these books about Satanism, black magic and witchcraft and other heavy metal records because half of it was into and half wasn't..... I guess that is how I got into it through the music."

He spoke about his fascination with being scared and "fantasizing evil". He met up with older "witches" (Wiccan) who introduced him to the Tarot Cards. Number one also mentions that he thought the "subliminals" in the records might have affected him, but he

could be specific about what that might have been. The reference to subliminal messages in the rock and roll records is a theme often mentioned by those speaking out against the music. This writer got the impression that number one was more influenced by media speculation about subliminals than by any subliminal messages in the recordings. During an interview by a local radio station the writer was told by several disk jockies that they have been trying unsuccessfully for years to find these subliminal messages with their sophisticated studio equipment.

He described having to include Satan in black magic attempts and:

"Every one always used to think we were crazy for trying it, we would skip school all the time and go do experiments and when we were in school we would drop spells on people and shit, it was funny everybody use to pick up on this and say they would do a spell on us but one time it worked. We did a witches ladder, it's rope or string and you ask a person if they will tie thirteen knots , the person has to be willing to do it. We cut ourselves and put blood on it and tied the Thirteen knots. If the person cannot undo the knots they will get real sick or die, If he can pick nine, he will get real sick, Believe it or not the kid was home two weeks later with the flu real bad. It was cool when it works."

He was very much aware of seeking power and expressing his alienation through this activity: "I was just kind of attracted to it, It was new and I guess there was power in it and no one liked it and I could be a sleaze." This subject was one of the most articulate in stating how for him, marijuana smoking and drunkenness expressed a despairing attitude toward the world. Also important in his satanism and witchcraft was a severe amount of alienation from the "preppies" and he was clear that :

"Of course I had a choice....I did not want to be with them because I wanted to be with the bad guys and because the preppies were narks and I hated them, they always dressed good. I never wanted to be like that . My parents had the money to buy those clothes and they bugged me to, but I'd rather look like a scumbag than look good. If I looked good then the nice people would like me and I wanted the bad people to like me because they had

their own rules, they had their own world, the bad people's world. I didn't need the good people's world where you had to do things, I didn't want to do nothing. I was too smart for them I don't need their shit, their rules to tell me what to do. "

So the occult activity gave him a feeling of power and a certain kind of status (negative and destructive) and offered a way to ritualize his identification with certain musicians who he admired because of the similar nihilistic, alienated and despairing views about the world.

When asked how he grew out of the occult involvement he replied:

"There were more problems , family problems, I always used to play around and get into trouble and blame the demons for it and I got into more and more trouble. My parents could not control me and I got into more trouble , drinking and getting into deeper trouble."

When asked what he believes in now, he said:

" Its still fuck the world , the world has not changed (four years later) they are still trying to kill it, so I'll just try and make a lot of money cause there is not much else to do so I can enjoy myself."

The last part of the interview speaks for this study so clearly and simply that it is quoted here :

BS: Is there anything else you would like to say before we end the interview

Number 1: Yes, I just want to know what Man's purpose in life is? Is this just a Fairy tale told by God? What am I here for?

BS: What is the answer you hear inside when you ask that question?

Number 1: Nothing, you are here for nothing (laughs). You have no purpose.

BS: Are you aware of the implications of the framework that sees life that way?

Number 1: Suicide.....

BS: What's the other choice?

Number 1: Party. (laughs)

Subject number one represents one of the more articulate spokespersons for the tenets of this study. He provided access to his friend, subject number two, whose experience

with occult activity was in partnership with him. Subject number two was drawn to psychic phenomena such as astral projection, black magic, and hence satanic fascination by reading a number of books and by the records of performers who were using these themes in their music and stage shows. He was interested in other realities. Number two felt that his friends were in this activity with him as fellow rebels who shared the same views about the community and conformity to its rules and hypocrisy. He said he was involved in this activity and preoccupation for a year and half between the ages of twelve and fourteen. He tried to cast spells that would harm others (they didn't) and killed a skunk to drink its blood to become a "warlock", which meant to him that he could be a master witch and that would give he greater power to perform black magic. It is not clear whether he ever drank the blood.

He read the works of Alistair Crowley and other satanic and occult writers in order to get the formulas for his "spells". He also was preoccupied with Revelations in the New Testament and the struggle of Good and Evil. He emphasized that the use of marijuana and alcohol went hand in hand with all this activity.

"What I wanted was power, so I got into spells. I tried to cast spells, just to see if I could kill some one I was mad at - he did not die, we were stoned all the time and just tried it". It always had to do with the torment between being good and being bad, between God and the Devil and always a constant battle inside, I didn't want to but then I would just go ahead and get in trouble".

He explained further the significance of this time of his life by commenting that:

"My mother heard some of my chanting and she was afraid of my interest in black magic and the occult and thought I would do damage to myself. I would go out and do it again cause they told me not to. I was just sick of small minds and of people judging. I would have done it whether I had the records or not. Everyone goes to church, I don't like the people who go to church so I would do the opposite of them (which was occult activity). So I just got into black magic cause I didn't like the church or the people and didn't want to be like them".

Number two pointed out that religion was not a bad thing and he had not made a pact with the Devil. He also thought that he got into less trouble than his friend, number one, because he had less of the despairing feeling that they both shared. He said at the time of the interview (including his religious experimentation): "I did all this and I still say I don't know what it is all about."

Subject number three found his way to occult activity with an interest in black magic, the struggle of Good and Evil by reading books on these subjects. He also listened to heavy metal records. He was alone in this activity, saying that "if people find out you worship the devil they start to hate you, so I kept it to myself". He tried to cast revenge spells if he got mad at someone. This activity had lasted a year and half up until the time of the interview. He read books to increase his power. He was very clear that he was seeking power in this way and then made the quote "What you call hell I call home" from a Rambo movie he had seen. This fit into his life because:

"Nothing mattered back then. It was something to believe in, something to get you through your time, it gave me something to think about, I was going to sell my soul to the Devil."

At the time of the interview he said "I don't know what matters to me now - I just want to get out of DYS (Division of Youth Services) when I am 18. I always feel like getting high".

Subject number four described an experience that was intensely more personal, painful and subjective in terms of how she experienced the satanic and what it meant to her. Her first contact with the occult was difficult for her to recall since she was "always painfully aware of the spiritual realm." A friend and she" were trying to do mental telepathy" at age eleven. She said from there she went on to the darker side completely on her own. It started as a fear of darkness, "as I was drinking, I was using up my soul". At age eleven "black magic started as yet another god to try, the Devil."

From age 11 to 13 ("Till I got sober") number four described increasing isolation and deepening meditation drawing her deeper into a preoccupation with the devil and:

"At one point I went too far and too deep on an inside trip and got very scared, very vivid images flashing, absolutely terrified - childhood fears and stuff, that was the beginning."

She was doing long meditations while under the influence of drugs and while hallucinating she would hear: "This is the voice of Satan , I'm here and you can't stop me now." "It's like he wanted the rest of your soul." "I was not leaving my room very much, I was pale. I would do things like walk around the UMASS campus at three in the morning with my face painted strangely to scare people and act like I was crazy."

She went on to describe her descent into what seems like a personal hell:

"Up until the last few weeks (till she got sober) I was doing hallucinogens and performing rituals - but always alone. I made them up myself - since this is pure evil I will do only evil things, then Satan will be satisfied. I thought about starting a cult of my own, but I could never find the books I wanted to find. Toward the end I was doing blood rituals, (she would take a knife to her arm) painting on the floor with it , hieroglyphics persons, ideas. By this time I was totally out of control - addicted to the blackness of it. I was worshiping, looking for something to fix me. That's what scares me the most, you get stuck and it takes an outside force to get you out."

She felt much of this experience had to do with her addiction to alcohol and a personality based on " this emptiness deep down inside and I was looking for the right god and I got around to Satan. Incest and alcoholism make up who I am in a very real way."

She described hitting bottom and coming back:

"I had crossed every line that I said I would not cross, there no life , no hope I had no soul left, I was very promiscuous, sex was necessary not as an erotic need but to degrade myself. Then at the end I had gotten drunk, lost and into a fight. I had forgotten that there was any other god but Satan and that I had a choice. When someone told me to go get on my knees and pray. I guess there

was a little ember of hope left somewhere because it rekindled and I have been sober ever since."

Her story concluded with the observation that she sobered up and tried to catch up with her life by realizing that she missed a lot of her childhood. She was taking up at the emotional age of six (where her life left off) looking to be a child again. She felt that she "betrayed Satan (she was betrayed first by dad) since he had a plan for her, "I started to go bad, but I felt trapped and got sober, and now I pray to a higher power."

Subject number five presented an occult experience that was different from the other subjects both in its duration and its concentration on the light rather than the dark. He was included in the study because of the scarcity of willing subjects and because of the articulate description of his experience. Number five also presented some painful early experiences that paralleled the feelings of isolation and differentness that the other subjects reported.

He reports that his first interest in the occult was aroused at age nine when he found a book on witchcraft in a department store sale. He persuaded his parents to buy it for him because he was fascinated by the graphics which portrayed the search for the supernatural from the middle ages to the present. Number five says that this book was the greatest influence on his already developing interest in fantasy, mythology and his "innate sense that nature is a type of magic." He says that he was "closeted" with this interest until college. His actual activities centered around trying to help himself with his feelings of weakness, differentness, and low status among his more athletic school mates. These occurred around the age of 13. He made a talisman of a circle key ring because he had read that "a circle was powerful". He didn't tell any one and he didn't try a spell "because my parents would be opposed." He continued:

"once in middle school I had a book of magical chants and I did one to 'increase other people's respect for you'. I felt I needed that. I felt weak and powerless and wanted the other kids to like me, so early in the morning (before his parents were up) I would light incense and candles and do this chant"

His main activity was to collect books which would, for example, give instructions on how to strengthen one's aura (by imagining a blue light around ones body). All this reading and minor experimentation (he never tried to cast any spells) was basically done as a loner and as part of a developing psychic and spiritual identity. He said he was always aware that:

"I grew up with a natural psychic gift. It all seemed very natural to me, as opposed to football etc.. Feelings as season changed, emotional sensitivity to others etc., these things made me feel different and disliked by the bullies and jocks. So I started reading books (the aura exercise, etc) for something to have as a resource to retreat to and depend on. I remember having a feeling 'if I can't them get (other kids) on the material plain I will get them another way'. I found a book on the occult which told of universal laws, one of which said "what you send out you get back". This and the fact that I was not raised with the concept of Satan kept me away from black magic and satanic stuff. I was also interested academically in folklore and superstition."

For subject number five all this was a path of growth to a kind of alternate spiritual maturity, which he describes as incorporating Wiccan and the idea of a female deity (discussed above in the section on religious activity). Noticeably absent was any feeling of despair or meaninglessness. This subject contrasts greatly with the others in the sense that this was all very natural and right for him as he grew toward the light in his occult activity, even in the face of childhood adversity.

Subject number six was more consistent with other subjects in terms of the pain, anguish and despairing feeling that accompanied his preoccupation with the devil. He reports that seeing movies with satanic themes and later, magazines and records, focused his interest and preoccupation with the devil. He was alone in this activity which started at age 15 and lasted a year and a half. The subject reports that the heavy metal groups and satanic movies helped him to further his preoccupation by providing glossy magazine photos of the grotesquely costumed groups and characters in these films and heavy metal

magazines. The walls of his room were completely covered with the pictures and his room was done in a totally red motif with red lights, etc.:

"Then when I started thinking about and worshiping the devil I started getting into drugs. I would always be thinking about the devil, in my own way I always thought about the devil, I never did anything good, I always used to get in trouble, I was the devil I didn't really care about life then, I didn't give a shit what was going to happen to me... I always tried to use the power of the devil to beat someone up. I made most of it up from heavy metal magazines."

When asked about the significance of this activity in his life during that period, number six reported that "I didn't care about much, I thought it was pretty crazy, I was pretty fucked up in the head, angry, confused, and depressed." Finally: "I just got sick of it, I ripped the pictures off the walls, I didn't want to end up going into someone's house and stealing a baby or committing suicide cause I didn't care about anything."

In summarizing the important activities and emotional or psychological themes associated with occult involvement taken from the interviews we see that the majority of subjects of this study were between the ages of eleven and fourteen acting alone or with one other person for approximately a year and a half. The majority of the subjects were deeply involved with drugs and/or alcohol and displayed delinquent behavior. Four out of the six associated their occult activity with heavy metal culture (records, groups, magazines, idolizing individual performers) which represented their own level of alienation, rebelliousness, and dissatisfaction with their surrounding society or family situation. Four out of the six read extensively to seek more information on magic, black magic and satanic ritual. Four out of the six mentioned the attempt to cast spells primarily for revenge or self protection. All of the subjects acknowledged a need for a sense of power to help the powerlessness they felt in their lives. Spiritual curiosity and questioning was also part of this activity. Only two of the six were aware of communicating by means of these activities with the community in order to outrage, disgust and ultimately attract their help.

This study did not seek to uncover or explain satanic activity as part of cult activity or possession. However, in the process of seeking subjects for this study I was lead to a kind and charismatic Catholic Priest residing in a small town just east of Amherst, who had dealt with both these issues in his community. This priest described his activities of the last nine years in his community. He functioned as a consultant to the police, as a community educator and ultimately as an exorcist. He described an outbreak of satanic cult activity in his community revolving around two brothers who had a "coven". According to this informant these brothers had influenced a number of other teenagers to join them in black masses, small animal blood sacrifices and the accompanying drug and alcohol abuse. These events occurred from about 1979 until 1983-4. The priest had been called in to work with at least ten young people in a nine years period between 1979 and 1988.

In his explanation for these activities he included the following factors:

He saw young people who were loners and on the fringes of social involvement as the most vulnerable to recruitment into cult activity. These youths were manipulated by stronger older males who were socially unsuccessful and deviant in their needs for power. He cited families where both parents are working and the "teenager has hours of unsupervised time to sit in his/her room stoned and listening to the heavy metal records".

He is convinced that these records had subliminal satanic messages and that their driving, pounding beat and repetitious melody lines influence the listener on a very primitive and unconscious level. He sees these youths as seeking power and mastery over some part of their lives by means of the attempts to cast spells, etc..

This priest described a community response which involved a marathon weekend with a number of people brought in to address the problem with interested youths and their parents on a community level. A minister who is crusading against the evil effects of heavy metal music and an ex-big time manager of heavy metal groups spoke in detail to the group of parents and teenagers about the dangers of the heavy metal culture leading young people

into satanic activity. The priest seemed very pleased with the effects of the speakers and the effort in general to curb the growth of this activity in his community.

Before moving on to the developmental and existential significance of the profiles of the subjects, a review of the important themes that the subjects themselves associated with occult activities are presented here. The more age appropriate and developmentally healthy themes are presented first and the more deviant and dangerous at end of this list :

1. Concern with the "big questions"- what is the meaning of life and why am I here?. The nature of Good and Evil, etc.
2. An interest in magic for its own sake as a source of meaning.
3. The feeling of powerlessness that accompanies adolescence in varying degrees of severity.
4. An interest in magic for a magical solution to help with the experience powerlessness and to help bridge the gap between latency and adolescence
5. Severe alienation, rebelliousness, and delinquency
6. Drug and/or Alcohol abuse
7. A fear and dread of environmental, moral and nuclear destruction by the irresponsible adult world.
8. Finally, a despairing of ones personal worth and that of the surrounding environment so that nothing matters and there is nothing to hope for.

It is important to see that the first four themes are to be expected in moderation as part of normal adolescent development according to conventional wisdom and the numerous authors sighted in the literature review. Depending on the amount of nurturance, support and/or abuse and neglect, the first four themes can be severely exaggerated and lead to the last four themes in destructive manifestations. Let these eight themes and the explanation of their importance serve as a summary to the profiles of the youths thus far.

Developmental Inferences In Terms of Erikson's Stages

This section of the results will be interpretations of the interview data with regard to the developmental stages examined in Chapter II. It is very important to remember that Erikson did not posit these stages as a linear process which would have each stage end and

another begin exclusive of one another. They are not achievement scales, but they are on going developmental and maturational stages or crises which are crossed and recrossed or negotiated and renegotiated as the person moves through life. The word negotiation here implies passing through, crossing and surmounting the difficulties of each stage by means of growth and learning. While stated in terms of age and behaviors often equivalent to Freud's psychosexual stages, Erikson made a point to develop his theory with much more latitude and flexibility, both in terms of age/ stage expectations and societal influence along the way. In fact, these stages continue to evolve at each life plateau, interacting with one another and taking cues from the environment as to how they influence the identity of the person.

This perspective will offer at least two advantages: a greater general understanding of the subjects and a theoretical framework which has implied recommendations for remediation for the subjects and specific needs to be met in order to maximize healthy development of our youth.

Inferences about each stage were made by looking at examples from each subjects' list of circumstances that would influence that stage's negotiation and pointing out those behaviors that would signify how well it was negotiated. Erikson's Stage I, Basic Trust vs. Mistrust, will serve as the best example of this method since all subjects but one could not establish basic trust through this stage. Here, as explained above, is the opportunity for parents (and society) to communicate that the world is a safe nurturing place and that it can be trusted to provide physical, emotional and ultimately spiritual (meaning) nurturance.

Stage I: Basic Trust Vs. Basic Mistrust

If this stage is not the occasion for establishing basic trust in the self and the world, then the child is ever plagued with having to test the environment for safety and for a "meaningful wider belongingness" (Erikson, 1963, p.294). "Faith as a basis for an identity of being all right with oneself and being able to help others to trust you" (ibid.) is the product of a successful passage through this stage. Faith is in oneself, others and ultimately

in the cosmos in the religious sense. Lack of trust in oneself, the world, its people, and in any meaning attached to being and struggle are the signs which indicate the stage was not well negotiated. Despairing behavior dramatizes this mistrust at its most destructive and dangerous depth.

Stage I serves as the best example and perhaps most important stage, since all the subjects but number five presented circumstances in their earliest years and behavior thereafter which are graphic in their illustration of the significance of poor negotiation of this stage. Circumstances, found in the data which contributed to the poor negotiation of Stage I in the early lives of the five subjects, revolve around the troubled lives of their parents. All the parents of these subjects were fighting the effects of drug abuse and alcoholism on their marriages. All the parents fought miserably and divorced. Subjects numbers one, two three, and six had mothers who were sadly inadequate to the task of mothering in the first few years of their lives because of emotional or physical illness. These subjects plus number four had fathers who were either suffering from alcoholism or were abusive or absent altogether. Four out of these five parents (as did number six's) lived in communities suffering from culturally devastating long term unemployment and general economic malaise. Under such circumstances, these mothers could not possibly provide the kind of consistently nurturant atmosphere that would supply an infant or young child the emotional foundation (hope maturing to faith) to develop the beginnings of an identity based on faith in themselves, those around them or their community. Hence we find behavior in the childhood and early adolescence of the subjects that strongly implies and, in some cases states bluntly, their despairing mistrust.

Two subjects (numbers one and five) reported that their very first memories involved being physically debilitated and having to learn to move around in a cast or with special help. This would serve to color the world as an unsafe or especially difficult place in which to survive. Five out of the six stated that during the time of their dark occult experience nothing mattered to them. From the Eriksonian perspective this basic mistrust or loss of

faith and/or meaning is religious in its significance. Therefore it is no surprise that a religious icon, Satan, would emerge as a symbol of their powerlessness, dissatisfaction with the rest of the community's faith (the institution of religion) and for some, their mistrust of themselves.

During this loss of meaning they engaged in severe drug or alcohol abuse to a life threatening degree (numbers one, three, and four). They engaged in behaviors that put them at risk in the community (numbers one, two to a lesser degree, three, four, and six). These behaviors compelled the community to keep them safe since the behaviors functioned to communicate how unsafe the subjects felt. The despair they felt because of basic mistrust, lack of meaning and desperation for assurance is inferred by the depravity of wanton hedonism or destruction that their behaviors signified.

For all but one of the subjects this basic mistrust is present in the remaining stages of identity development and they are continually struggling to overcome its manifestations. This stage has the greatest significance for this study since the author maintains that this basic mistrust is constantly fed by the social, economic and political environment surrounding these youths. Their choices are to put themselves at extreme risk in order to receive the help they need or to victimize others because of the consequences of depraved behavior.

Stage II: Autonomy Vs. Shame and Doubt

Once again it is useful to use the parents' experience and influence on the subjects' negotiation of this stage. To repeat from chapter II: Erikson points that out the kind and degree of autonomy that parents pass on to their children depends on their "sense of dignity and personal independence which they define from their own lives." "The infants' (child's) sense of trust is a reflection of parental faith . . . a child's sense of autonomy is a reflection of the parents dignity as autonomous beings" (1968, p.113). The autonomy referred to here is the "holding and letting go power of the infant as the initial stages of awareness of autonomy and will" that can progress into "pride, cooperation and a sense of

free will coming from real self- control without loss of self-esteem"(1963, p.252). When this stage is in continuous poor negotiation, adolescents demonstrate at least two prominent categories of behavior which signal shame and doubt rather than true autonomy. "If there is too much shaming used as a tool to control the child, a sense of genuine propriety does not result, but rather determined sneakiness or defiant shamelessness" (1968, p. 110). The other behavior is an overcompensatory false "independence" which habitually and inevitably brings adults to intervene in their lives, while the child postures pride and independence to cover shame, doubt and hostile dependence.

Five out of the six subjects of this study report one or both of the categories of behavior in the interview data. All but one describe long periods of their lives when they were either "determinedly" sneaking around trying to get away with forbidden behavior or later shamelessly drawing attention to themselves with a self-degrading combination of drugs, sex, alcohol and weird occult posturing. Five out of the six reported both in style and content how emotionally self- sufficient (tough, cool, defiant, arrogant) they attempted to appear, in extreme, exactly during the periods when they were at their lowest ebb. The obvious irony in all this behavior and posturing is that when their parents could not control these children, the community, in the form of police, social workers, doctors, counselors, etc. was forced to help these youths survive. Standard social work practice interprets these behaviors (as does Goodman) as attempts to be pulled back into the community.

All of these five were in trouble with the police at one time or another by virtue of their behavior, thus suggesting that they were communicating by means of the societal institution that Erikson says protects this stage's gains in the world: Law and Order. The subjects somehow managed to attract the attention of the police with behaviors that in three out of five cases were more destructive of self than others. Subjects numbers three and six displayed more dangerous (assault with a dangerous weapon and sexual abuse of a sibling). In general, trouble with Law and Order (police) was one of the speediest ways to

communicate a lack of real autonomy and to be rescued by the community in which they had so little faith.

Stage III: Initiative vs. Guilt

This is the stage in which the child anticipates the purpose and roles of life. It is concerned with what kind of person the child will become. Will the child develop a sense of initiative (an "ethos for action") as a basis for a realistic sense of ambition and purpose, or will a conscience develop that, instead of providing morality, healthy self-guidance and concern for others, constricts the child's initiative to accomplish and enjoy. For the child, play is the rehearsal time for this sense of purpose. When conscience develops not only in strength but in severity (cruel, primitive and uncompromising), then morality can be self-righteously vindictive and persecutive both to self and others. Initiative becomes bound in self-constriction (ducking opportunity) and/or chronic overcompensating by sticking one's neck out and showing off. This last statement aids us in trying to analyze the interview data for signs of how the subjects negotiated this stage.

This stage seemed less clear in terms of dramatic examples of behavior or circumstances from which to draw conclusions regarding the subjects. There were two developmental dangers of this "crisis cycle" to this population (both cited earlier in Chapter II). When a parent who was respected and obeyed as a model for moral behavior, is found out to be a transgressor of the very standards enforced (or expected to be) by him or her, the child experiences a dangerous and deep conflict when hatred for this parent develops. "Then what was once an issue of "universal good" becomes little more than a matter of arbitrary power" (Erikson, 1968, p. 119). The other danger has to do with the "latent and powerful readiness of the best and most industrious to follow any leader who can make goals of conquest seem both impersonal and glorious enough to evoke enthusiasm and compliance and thus relieve their irrational guilt" (1968, p. 121). This applies to gang, cult and totalitarian human behavior.

Subjects number one, two, four, and six offered data which seemed to provide circumstances leading to behavior which could be inferred as poor negotiation of Stage III. Subjects number one, two and six spoke of harsh and judgmental parents who out of their own helplessness (along with perceived attitudes of the larger community) expected the proper and righteous behavior. Subject number six reported an especially abusive parental style in their attempts to discipline and constrain him. Subject number four described a situation where an especially idolized and admired parent turns out to be the worst transgressor of morality (an incestuous father). In examining other subject's data for circumstances that would provide a constricting conscience and damaged sense of purpose, number three emerges as having been so harshly dealt with that his play and work became dependent on institutional help at various times before his thirteenth birthday.

Behavior which indicates poor negotiation of this stage revolve around themes of a constricting conscience that causes both the ducking of opportunities and chronic overcompensation by sticking ones neck out and showing off. One could also make a point for some release of guilt and violence (against themselves) because of disappointing discrepancies between an infantile idealistic sense of purpose and the adolescent realities available to some of the subjects (numbers one, two, and four).

Subjects number one, two and four describe an awareness of their morality and purpose not necessarily thwarted by their own idealism, but by the realities they discovered in their environment. They describe a bitter disappointment with hypocrisy in the world as they find it. Subject number two is less self-destructive than number one and number four but all three (along with number five) rank as the brightest of the subjects. Number three and six suffered the more physically abusive parents and subsequently offered the greatest difficulty in managing their behavior as children and young adolescents. One has the sense that the discipline to teach them what was "universal good and bad" became merely an arbitrary use of power and authority to them.

Of the five stages, Stage III was the least clear in terms of circumstances and behaviors to aid in the understanding of the negotiation of this stage. However, if a basic understanding of this stage is seen as the ability to get, make or take what one wants without a feeling of overwhelming guilt or unworthiness, then one would have to say that none of these (except number five) subjects has negotiated this stage well up to the point of the interview and that their circumstances in life helped them to conclude that they were not worthy of accomplishment or enjoyment.

Stage IV: Industry Vs. Inferiority

When a sense of purpose, made up of a conscience that is moral and forgiving is developed, Erikson says that the next stage to be negotiated is that of Stage IV, Industry vs. Inferiority. Competency and mastery are the themes of this stage. This time (school age) is when the child prepares for the entrance to life by learning how to use the tools of his culture. A sense of adequacy in regard to the world of tools, education and industry is the goal, in short the way he/she will work for survival. To repeat from Chapter II, "If he despairs of his tools and skills or of his status among his tool partners, he may be discouraged from identification with them and with a section of their tool world" (1968, p. 260).

In varying degrees subjects number one, two, three, and six were clearly in circumstances that would not enable them to develop a sense of adequacy; poor towns with below average schools, high unemployment, parents who were struggling emotionally and economically. Subjects four and five had educated parents (with academics in the background) and better economic circumstances. Number four, however, was in emotional circumstances that discouraged a sense of competency.

School performance is the main criteria for assessing the negotiation of this stage, given the age of the subjects. Subjects number one, three, four and six had clear problems with school work and adjustment. While number two did not report trouble in elementary school, seventh grade presented an obstacle, so that the inference might be that he

negotiated this stage better than his partner, number one. All the subjects (number five as well) described painful, on going trouble identifying with their "tool mates". Number five is the only subject that did not allow this feeling of alienation to interrupt his education. The remaining five subjects all reported a debilitating feeling of alienation, differentness and resentfulness about most of their school mates. The reasons varied. Numbers one, three, and six felt inferior to their school mates. Numbers one, two, four, and five reported feeling that they were aware of things that their class mates were not, almost giving them a superior but quite resentful posture. This disaffection with their mates debilitated their progress in school and the negotiation of Stage IV and thus blocked their smooth acquisition of "meaningful roles in the technology and economy" of their community.

Stage V: Identity Vs. Role Confusion

Stage V is seen as the means by which we measure the cumulative effects of the quality of the negotiation of the early stages. In Erikson's view, puberty and adolescence are seen as the time of integration of previous childhood experiences with identifications, emerging sexual identity, aptitudes developed out of endowment and opportunities offered in social roles, i.e., careers etc. Equally important is the psychological moratorium between childhood and adulthood which allows the adolescent to pull it all together in order to move on to the adult tasks of finding intimacy and integrity. Erikson reminds us, however that the adolescent mind is a ideological mind and it is the ideological outlook of a society that speaks most clearly to the adolescent who is eager to be affirmed by his peers, and is ready to be "confirmed by rituals creeds, and programs which at the same time define what is evil, uncanny, and inimical" (1968, p.263). The task of this stage is to pull the previous stages together with an overriding ideology offered by society and build an integrated identity for a productive, loving and moral adulthood. When examined in light of the above criteria, the data provided by our subjects is clear.

Once again, except for subject number five, all of our subjects were painfully and, in some cases dangerously unprepared to allow themselves to negotiate early adolescence

without considerable help. The circumstances contributing to the severe difficulties encountered at the beginning of adolescence are all those recounted in the previous stages, with the ideological aspect included. The role confusion was manifested in their actions and behaviors which took on the more desperate and alienated themes of their families and communities : junior sorcerers, drug and alcohol abusers, outlaws and sexual abuser, female sexual delinquent, religious scoffers.

Subjects number one, two, three, and six grew up in broken homes which were struggling with unemployment, alcoholism, mental illness, sexual and physical abuse, in communities where these problems were alarmingly common for several decades. Subject number four, although growing up in an affluent community, (but quite confused in its own ideological messages to adolescents) came from a broken home that had struggled with alcoholism and child abuse (sexually by father). Subject number five, though growing up in a small town with high unemployment and noticeable neighborhood and school problems, managed these environmental deficits plus his own feelings of differentness and physical disability by means of a solid family structure and cultural heritage passed on to him.

Subjects number one, two, three, four and six all describe feelings of despair (nothing matters) connected to their own feelings of self-hatred and inadequacy as much as to their distrust and total rejection of community institutions offered to them: neighborhood, school, church, and in the case of numbers one, two, four and six, the larger economic and political environment of their society. These adolescents were extremely ideologically alienated from what they experienced around them. By choosing the world of black magic and experimenting/obsessing with the symbol of evil and profound alienation from what is good and right (religiously, morally and ideologically) in this society they sought a way of negotiating the terrifying, bleak and confusing transition period from latency into adolescence. These experiments and obsessions did not work however, and increasing delinquency, drug/alcohol abuse, and dangerously self- destructive behavior forced the

community to intervene to provide safety, structure and ultimately, a kind of reclamation back into the community. These interventions provided relief by allowing them to experience their confusion and despair in safety, thus offering an opportunity to begin to integrate and heal the earlier experiences of loss, abuse and neglect so that a real transition into adolescence could begin.

Summary of Developmental Inferences Made from Data

The data has shown that all but one of the youths were subject to circumstances in their years before adolescence which precluded a healthy development through the first five stages described by Erikson. Their environment did not provide the essential elements for each stage's negotiation. From issues of safety and security for basic trust in infancy and right through to a healthy, moral ideological atmosphere (locally and nationally) as early adolescents, these subjects did not find or were not given the societal ingredients described by Erikson, to develop healthy identities without great pain and degradation. All the subjects but number five needed serious and ongoing intervention by their communities at the beginning of adolescence since these youths were engaged in behaviors dangerous to themselves or others. Concomitant with and before the peak of these behaviors was a fascination with black magic, Satan and the personal aspects of the nature of "good and evil".

The use of magic, although it is not uncommon among late latency age children or early teens, requires a special examination in the context of this study. This writer was surprised by the spontaneous eruption of magical activity at ages eleven to fourteen without any special external urging to this interest. It seems to have two purposes. The first is an attempt to hold on to one of the best parts of childhood, a sense and belief in magic. The easily evoked sense of wonder and magic during the period of two and half to six years old (when the first emotional separation from parents becomes complete) beautifully demonstrates this magical quality.

The second use of or fascination with magic at early adolescence may not be uncommon but it is more functional for our subjects. They desperately need it to approach adolescence, the second great separation. Since our subjects did not complete the first separation (two to six) in a healthy or complete way and so too the subsequent preparation stages, they face adolescence with the emotional and practical equipment of a two year old, hence the desperation to find magical solutions. The form that the magical activity takes seems to be connected to the amount of pain, powerlessness and alienation the child has experienced during those first nine or ten years of life. If a child lacks faith in the world, the ability to stand alone, confidence and the actual mastery of the practical tools, then magic and even the power of the devil must be evoked to bridge the chasm to young adulthood.

Existential Inferences Based on Goodman's "Problems of Youth"

This section is an examination of the data for circumstances, beliefs and behaviors that reflect some kind of free will choices made in a "purposeless universe to oppose a hostile environment" (Websters New world Dictionary, 1960); that is those choices which would be called "existential" choices. To repeat from Chapter I, the rationale for this perspective proceeds from the premise that adolescents are child/adults, so that along with the developmental aspects of their "child psychology" must come the consideration of their young adult choices. They cannot be expected to have transited the developmental milestones which are at least implied with adulthood. In order to fully understand the existential context of their lives after the environmental and developmental questions are considered, so must we consider the real adult choices they face. This perspective (in the tradition of Paul Goodman) also offers a level of respect and empowerment to the subjects that the more objectifying traditional developmental psychology method of examination does not. The criteria for examination of the data will be circumstances, beliefs and behaviors taken from the descriptions of Paul Goodman's examination of the "Problems of Youth in An Organized Society", (Growing Up Absurd, Goodman, 1960) in Chapter II of

this study. These criteria are divided into descriptive statements for each category, twelve concepts in all, as follows :

Circumstances:

1. Lack of humanistic necessities and real opportunities for worthwhile experiences (Goodman, P. 5, p.12)).
2. Not being taken seriously and using eccentric substitutes (like devil preoccupation or casting spells, trances, etc.) in place of worthwhile experiences (Goodman, p. 5, p. 38-41).
3. World outside youths' experience seems to consist of models who see the " world as a field for sport and plunder" i.e., politicians, entertainers, business leaders, professional athletes. (Goodman about gangs, p. 110)
4. Conditions which discourage patriotism (true love of our country's culture vs. chauvinistic ethnocentrism and xenophobia) : in the irresponsible press, environmental concerns, politics of education, uses of modern science and space technology.(Goodman, p. 96-118). which encourage:

Beliefs

1. Disappointed optimism (failed revolutions), (Goodman, p.137)
2. Delinquent fatalism (no chance for future),(Goodman, P.195) leading to:

Behaviors

1. Questioning of Faith (how am I justified, meaning of life etc.)(Goodman, p. 138).
2. Self proving activity or experiences (sports or business, drugs, vandalism). (Goodman, p. 140)
3. Spurning false roles for formless mystical experiences. (ibid.)
4. Doing the forbidden (drinking and drug abuse, delinquency etc.)(p.195)
5. Raising the ante (taking the above to a dangerous degree thereby challenging the community to intervene)(P. 196).
6. When despair of abandonment is acute, they rush fatalistically to punishment and re-entry into the community. (p. 196).

The reader is referred to Chapter II to review the significance of each of the concepts. The results will point out the reality of each subject as it could be understood by means of Goodman's constructs. Each subject's data is examined for examples of these twelve items in their respective categories.

Circumstances: Subjects, One, Two, Three, Four, Five, Six

Although, each subject is examined individually, it is the position of this writer that the first four of Goodmans' concepts presented as the circumstances that can lead to despairing choices are part of all the subjects' lives and exist as the broader background for all contemporary youth. While subjects number one, two, four and five were more articulate about their ideological environment, this same environment existed for subjects three and six as well. The combination of circumstances on the level of personal experience and local and broader societal environment are seen as making up the first four elements of Goodman concepts. These circumstances, as listed above serve as the background for both the Eriksonian developmental difficulties sighted for each of the subjects and the set of beliefs and behaviors in terms of Goodman's concepts. Each subject's beliefs and behaviors will be examined with the above circumstances already stipulated.

Beliefs and Behaviors

Subject Number One. Subject number one reported both beliefs in his interview, by expressing a high degree of interest in the large "hippy" religious commune that was situated in and nearby his town. He had the sense that they had tried desperately to change things and "now they are just a big corporation into pizza businesses and rock and roll bands". This was said with disdain and with a certain disappointed optimism. He was aware of how "revolutionary" the early rhetoric of these people was and saw them as having failed to change things. His attitude regarding this issue less intensely resembled the attitudes of the "punks", "skinheads" and other contemporary outsider groups of this decade. They revile the naive and powerless attempts (and methods) of the "flower children" to make things better. Thus subject number one evolved into the second belief which led to despairing choices. He saw little chance for the future during the time of his involvement with the occult. He called this delinquent fatalism his "what the fuck" attitude and this fatalism lead directly to delinquent behavior.

Subject number one was an archetype of Goodman's concepts since he followed the process exactly as demonstrated by his circumstances, beliefs and behaviors. His data reveals his questions of faith - "How am I justified, why am I here on earth?". He engaged in self-proving activity, in his case delinquent. He spurned what he thought were the false roles of sports and academics and engaged in formless and eccentric mystical experiences (psychic phenomena, black magic, satanic fascination). He engaged in doing the forbidden through all his delinquent behavior (vandalism, drug and alcohol abuse, Satanic activity). Finally when the despair of abandonment by his community was so acute, he accelerated his drug and alcohol abuse and uncontrollable behavior at home. This led to being taken into custody by the state in order to stop the behavior and literally, save his life. Subject number one was very clear in the interview about his beliefs and behaviors; they were choices he made based on how he felt and what he saw around him in the world. His experience, insight and articulation helped to form the basis for this study.

Subject Number Two. Subject number two was the friend of subject number one and their experiences paralleled each other. Number two experienced the same kinds of home and family problems as his friend but not to the same degree of pain and frustration. He was, however, just as aware of his community and larger environment. Number two was fascinated by the "sixties" and early seventies kinds of cultural rebellion that he saw around him as he grew up. He too was disdainful of the hippys' efforts and felt cynical about both the "straight" and the commune people in his community. As a result he felt the same sense of failed revolution or disappointed optimism as his friend. He spoke of the "what the fuck" feeling that characterized his delinquent fatalism. He was able to point out that he did not feel this as intensely as his friend number one.

Number two was very clear about the questions of faith he was asking right up until the time of the interview. He was searching for those answers all the time as he followed the same path as his friend; self-proving activity by means of delinquency, spurning false roles for formless mystical experiences through his occult interests. He too did the

forbidden (satanic activity) and went on to raise the ante. Finally he got into enough trouble with drinking, marijuana abuse and vandalism to be arrested and forced to come back into the fold of the community and resume his education and decent family life. Unlike number one, his despair, was not so acute as to threaten his life and have him be taken from his family.

Subject number two is also a classic model for the premises of this study as he followed the same path as his friend number one. These two subjects demonstrated the highest degree of awareness of their spiritual, moral and political environment, their own questions of faith, and finally of the implications of their despair in terms of the moral dilemmas they were feeling and the choices they made. They were more than subjects in this study; they were participants who, by means of their own personal processes, helped to shape the study and also provided inducement to seek others who had similar experiences.

Subject Number Three. Subject number three comes from the most debilitating background of all the subjects and hence was the most troubled from an early age. He also was among the least self-aware and articulate of the subjects. Aside from the above circumstances experienced by all the subjects, his personal situation was the most painful since he lost his mother at an early age to bouts with mental illness and his father was severely abusive and unable to take care of him because of alcoholism. This subject was very clear about his beliefs. He did not speak of disappointed optimism although he too thought the "flower power" generation was goofy and useless. He was very certain that people "just use you" and that during the time of his most severe drug abuse and use of blackmagic and satanic "curses", he felt that nothing really mattered and that there was little hope for the future.

Subject number three had been getting into severe trouble since at least the age of nine. He was in the custody of the community a number of times for not only doing the forbidden (drug abuse, delinquency), but for raising the ante to an alarming degree (assault

with a bow and arrow). At the time of the interview he was in treatment and beginning to take an interest in sports. Previous to that time he had only been interested in getting high and alienating himself from his peers.

His behavior was designed to get him the help he needed to stay safe and out of the hands of his abusive father. Number three experienced a great deal of anxiety and was still very young in terms of his ability to get along in school or in the community compared to the other subjects (excluding number six). His data was significant because of the satanic activity, his distrust of the world and the despairing feeling that drove him to behavior (drinking, drug abuse, fighting, stealing) which kept him in state custody. He was still a very scared young man at the time of the interview and was not really as stabilized as the other subjects.

Subject Number Four. The only female of the six subjects, number four was very articulate about her own personal process and the significance of her behaviors. While her economic and intellectual circumstances were among the best (along with number five) she suffered from the disastrous marriage of her parents, her incestuous father's abuse and her own alcoholism (apparently from the age of four). She was very clear about her sense of disappointed optimism in regard to the progressive atmosphere in her university community, "I was never part of that 'earthy crunchy' stuff (said disdainfully) and I hate politics, it does not work". During her time of satanic obsession and severe delinquency (sexual promiscuity, drug abuse, vandalism) her fatalism (" I had crossed every line I said I would not cross, there was no hope") was painfully and dangerously apparent.

She too followed the pattern of spurning false roles for formless and eccentric mystical experience (school work, athletics vs. occult interests and satanic obsessions, rituals). Doing the forbidden (sexual promiscuity, drug and alcohol abuse, vandalism, satanic activity) progressed into raising the ante when she was becoming dangerous to herself with alcohol and drug abuse. Subject number four also was brought to court (When the despair of abandonment is acute ,they rush to fatalistic self-punishment.). by the

community to finally gain control of her behavior and to keep her safe from her own self-destructive behavior. Her data was significant because of the links between the alienation from her community, the hopelessness she felt and the satanic activity, delinquent escalation and the self destructive pattern that eventually forced the community to intervene.

Subject Number Five. Subject number five is significant in the study because of the contrast his data continually presented as compared to the other subjects. His interest in "white" magic and witchcraft (Wicca) brought him to my attention. His willingness to be a subject for this study and to share his experience as a small child who had a disability and later in elementary school offered an interesting profile.

Subject number five did not have a dysfunctional family. However, he did grow up in the same general area as subjects numbers one, and two (and spoke in his interview as often being the victim of kids like them). He did develop a deep interest in the occult/magic as a protector of his "self" and he even founded his religious beliefs (in the face of his Jewish background) on the "old religion" (pre-patriarchal monotheism). What number five did not experience was the destructive despair and subsequent choices of black magic and obsession with the satanic in order to deal with the world around him. Subject number five attributed his interest in magic and the occult to some innate quality in him that resonates with the magic in the environment around him. He was clear that he felt physically inadequate during his school years and saw magic as a means to help him survive the powerless feeling this physical handicap gave him. He feels that because his Jewish background did not emphasize the devil in its religious conceptualizations, he did not have(or need) a satanic figure to conjure up as part of his magical religion. He said that his reading in the lore of white magic taught him the law of "what you send out, you get back", so that punishing and revengeful black magic was unacceptable to him.

Subject number five described the kind of nurturance, structure and ideological environment offered by his parents that met the standards described by Erikson and Goodman to help a child avoid the disappointed optimism and delinquent fatalism that the

other subjects clearly experienced. His data was significant because he suffered an early childhood disability, felt different from the other children and went on to develop a strong interest in magic and the occult. Because he did not feel the despair of abandonment by his community, his choices for magical means did not fall prey to the dark and destructive forces that ultimately lead a child to become self-destructive enough to force the community to intervene. Subject number five also helps to distinguish between "seeking formless mystical experiences" and a religious interest growing out of an occult interest which flowers into a spiritually based view of the world using faith as opposed to despair as its foundation.

Subject Number Six. Subject number six, in contrast to number, five comes from a severely abusive and neglectful background. His environment did not include safety and security but in fact physical and sexual abuse and neglect. He did not receive a self-affirming ideology from his parents (as did subject number five) but in fact a self-deprecating set of inner voices which lead him to decide he was fit only for (or to be) the devil. He was among the least articulate subjects (along with number three) and was not able to comment specifically on any sense of disappointed optimism and "did not care about the outside world at all". He was clear about his sense of delinquent fatalism: "I was evil then, I didn't really care about life then, I didn't give a shit what was going to happen to me". Nuclear war was a possibility to him, but beyond that he was not aware or did not care. He did not care to do well in school or sports or nothing interested him, except heavy metal magazines with satanic motifs, candles and obsessing with the devil (spurning false roles for formless mystical experiences).

He went on to describe his path from doing the forbidden (vandalism, drug abuse, satanic obsessions and curses) to raising the ante (incest with his sister, being totally uncontrollable). The Dept. of Social Services and Division of Youth Services had to intervene (when despair of abandonment is acute he rushed fatalistically to punishment and re-entry into the community). Number six's data is significant to this study because of his

background and experiences which lead to a sense of despair and forbidden behavior (drug abuse, vandalism, incest, and attempts to use satanic power) and ultimately to State intervention to curb his destructive and dangerous behavior. He fit the profile very well.

Summary of Goodman Section.

All the subjects except number five in some way provided data which suggests that they lived in circumstances that lead to beliefs which provided the background for despairing choices. These choices lead to subsequent wanton destruction and/or wanton hedonism that reflects despairing behavior. Of the five who found their way to the satanic or darker occult path, all spoke of their feeling that nothing mattered to them and that life had very little meaning to them beyond their own need to seek relief from terrible feelings of inner evilness and pathological feelings of low esteem for themselves and the world outside them. All five of these subjects finally could no longer harbor these feelings and rushed to self-destructiveness that had to lead to intervention by the community, as Goodman suggested they would.

Of particular importance is the depths of self-destructiveness through drug/alcohol abuse and the degree of dangerous delinquency that these subjects had to go to in order to get the help they needed. Severe drug abuse in the age of crack and AIDS, Satanic rituals involving human sacrifice and abuse (fortunately not these subjects) and sexual abuse of oneself and/or others in the age of AIDS are behaviors which cannot be acceptable to our society as responses to adolescent despair.

Summary of Chapter IV, Results

Chapter IV provided the results of the interview of six subjects who had been involved with the occult as adolescents, five of whom had been preoccupied with witchcraft, black magic and/or satanic interests. The purpose of the interviews was to provide information to formulate a profile of the subjects to include: present situation, family background and economic status and delinquent and deviant behavior (including occult activity). From this information and the subsequent profile, the chapter went on to

make inferences about the subjects based on the developmental stages of Erik Erikson and the humanistic needs and existential beliefs and choices of troubled youths in a troubled society based on the work of Paul Goodman. The profiles of the youths are summarized as follows:

- At the time of the interview three of the subjects were out of their homes and living in state provided foster homes, four were out of public school, one was in college (number five, the non-satanic involved subject).
- Four of the six come from lower working class families living in communities where high unemployment, alcoholism/ drug abuse are common. Their parents and grandparents worked unsteadily in agriculture, small manufacturing and trades. Two came from more middle class academic backgrounds
- Five of the subjects had difficulty in naming or identifying with any useful cultural heritage and could not identify with or involve themselves with the Catholic religious (one was Episcopalian) background of their parents. The Jewish subject identified with his cultural traditions if not his religious one.
- Five of the six sets of parents divorced in painfully destructive ways (predominantly involving drug or alcohol abuse). Five of the six subjects report the painful struggles of their parents with mental illness and alcoholism with strong elements of neglect and/or abuse at early and critical ages of the subjects.
- All subjects report early feelings of being different and experiencing varying but significant feelings of alienation from their surrounding local community and national environment. The few who could name models or heroes, named abusive relatives or heavy metal bandleaders who professed profound nihilism along with their drug use and satanic posturing. There was significant concern about nuclear holocaust among all the subjects.
- Five of the six subjects had come in contact with the police and/or social service agencies because of their increasing delinquency and/or self-destructive behavior. All of these five report despairing feelings during the time of these dangerous troubles and their occult preoccupation.

-- Five of the six professed some level of preoccupation with one or more of the following: black magic, witchcraft and satanic ritual or preoccupation. None were involved in cult activity. Subject number five was involved in "white magic and Wicca" with one or two friends. Four of the six tried to use the "power of the devil" to perform black magic (curses for revenge on others) for a period of a year and a half between ages 12 and 14) Four of the subjects connected this preoccupation with devil and the heavy metal bands they were listening to at the time, but not exclusively. The subjects all reported struggling with the concepts of "good and evil" inside them and the devil was the symbol for the evil they felt as a part of themselves. All reported severe feelings of powerlessness and despair during the time of these struggles. There were no reports of ritual animal sacrifices, group sexual rituals or more dangerous activities. There was a good deal of drug abuse, attempts at "seances" and at least one of the subjects said he attempted to "kill a skunk to drink its blood and become a 'warlock'". The satanic activity seemed to range from play to severe and prolonged isolated introspection under the influence of hallucinogens. Of the six, number five had the longest interest and was not associating his beliefs with pain, suffering, revenge and despair. His beliefs have grown into a mature religious effort on his part. The others saw this activity as a stage they went through and are still struggling with issues of meaning in their lives.

The profiles provided the information to assess the subjects from the above stated disciplines of Erikson and Goodman. These inferences are as follows:

-- That all the subjects except number five grew up in personal circumstances that could not provide the atmosphere to instill sufficient "basic trust"; that this mistrust will turn up at each subsequent developmental stage, especially at crucial stages of maturation, to manifest itself in ways that ultimately signal the loss of meaning and despair. All the subjects grew up in more general circumstances and environment that could not supply the ideological consistency or sufficient adult examples of dignity and integrity to allow them to feel satisfied with the religious, spiritual, and political nurturance being offered.

-- That five of the subjects (except number five) experienced debilitating difficulties trying to negotiate each stage after the first one of basic trust so that shame and doubt inhibited autonomy (Stage II), guilt dampened initiative (Stage III), and feelings of inferiority hampered industry (Stage IV).

-- That difficulty in the healthy and productive negotiation of the first four stages resulted in Stage V (Identity vs. Role Confusion) and the entrance into adolescence being characterized by role confusion and despair (Who am I? Who should I be?, What's the use of trying? This world is pointless.). Negative identities and alienation (occult activity and delinquency) were the bridges to adolescence that did not succeed in protecting these youths from their terrible self-hatred and subsequent self-destructive acts.

-- That the five subjects who suffered the greatest difficulties at the onset of early adolescence were able to articulate on some level (some better than others) their severe ideological problems as adolescents. All of these five needed significant help in order to continue their development through adolescence.

Five out of the six subjects fit the profile in their backgrounds, circumstances and personal history of the youths described in Goodman's "Problems of Youth in An Organized Society" (Goodman, 1960) well enough to make the humanistic/ existential inferences about them in the summary of the Goodman section (p.151) .This summary serves as the conclusion of Chapter IV, Results. What this writer found is that in every case of satanic or dark occult involvement the data indicated that these adolescents were indeed experiencing a devastating amount of despair and this lead to dangerous wanton hedonism and/or wanton destruction.

CHAPTER V
DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to assess the significance of youthful involvement in black magic, satanic ritual and witchcraft. In general the this study was to answer these questions: 1. What are these young people doing?, 2. Are there any predetermining factors which make it easier for a youngster to become involved with potentially depraved and dangerous activity?, 3. What significance does it have?, and 4. What can we do about it?. The study used data collected by interviews of six adolescents who had been involved, by their own definition, in the use of blackmagic, witchcraft or satanic ritual. The interview focused on four major areas investigated by the study: Family background and history, Profile of the Subject, Self and Experience with Occult Activity. The subjects of the study were recruited from the client lists of the writer or other therapists, friends of the subjects and one from an occult book store.

The data from the interviews was analyzed from the perspectives of both existential and developmental psychology. All the subjects who reported activities in the dark areas of the occult also reported severe nurturance deficits in their backgrounds which invariably lead to developmental difficulties and delays in terms of Erikson's five Stages. These subjects also reported that at the time of this dark occult activity and self-destructive delinquency, they were experiencing a severe loss of faith in themselves, their surroundings and the future; nothing mattered to them and they were despairing. Hence this study clearly demonstrates the detrimental effects of environmental deprivation, abuse and neglect on developmental and psychological maturation. The study also clearly confirms the use of the darker areas of the occult by these early adolescents in order to manage despair .

The chapter will begin by briefly summarizing the results and discussing the inferences made from the interview perspectives. Chapter V will then discuss further inferences made from the results and their implications regarding the uses of the occult by

the subjects. The limitations and inconsistencies of the study regarding the population of the study will also be discussed at this point.

The chapter will continue with an examination of the implications of significant sections of the youthful population suffering from a high degree of despair and alienation and the need to "raise the ante" in order to receive the help they need. Following this examination a consideration of the current theoretical and practical responses and interventions to these populations is offered, accompanied by the writer's own conclusions. Chapter V will conclude with recommendations for a societal response to despairing groups who signal that the well being of the rest of society is at risk as well.

Discussion of Results

The Use of the Occult to Manage Despair and Other Problems

Themes of powerlessness, extreme alienation and rejection of the adult world pervaded the interviews. The involvement of an adolescent with the darker areas of the occult can certainly have multiple purposes, including the communication of the above feelings to the community. One could surmise that if sex, drugs and the usual teenage rocking and rolling have become routine and even co-opted by the adult world, then nothing less than the satanic is needed to outrage and separate developmentally from ones parents and their contemporaries. However, while the above is probably true for all the subjects, the data also strongly suggests that in the youths interviewed, there was a clear link between their fascination, obsession and use of the darker areas of the occult (black magic and satanic activity) and their feeling that nothing mattered in this world beyond substance abuse, self-destructive and delinquent activity. It is this despairing loss of meaning and the depraved behaviors that follow that alarms the author.

Logical questions emerge as to what are the roots of this despair and what are particular circumstances which lead to the use of black magic, etc. in order to manage their despair. Chapter IV, in its discussion of the results, demonstrates that the roots of despair for these subjects lie partially in the abuse and neglect they suffered at the hands of parents

who were sadly inadequate at the task of child rearing. Most of these parents lived in communities that did not provide an environment in which to exist with dignity and integrity because of poverty or mindless materialism. The roots for despairing choices also lay in powerlessness resulting from developmental liabilities, starting with the lack of basic trust which pervaded the subjects' view of themselves and the world. Add to this the lack of humanistic resources for education and real choices for meaningful experiences based on faith (see Chapter IV).

The study provides a strong suggestion as to the particular situations that would lead a child (who was predisposed to dealing with the feeling of powerlessness by means of magic) to the darker areas of the occult. In the one case (number five) where there was a fascination with magic (and a feeling of powerlessness) without the darker elements of the occult, the subject did not engage in depraved wanton hedonism or destruction and was not suffering from alienation and despair. He was also the one subject who had not suffered neglect and abuse and who came from the only stable marriage and from a religious/cultural heritage that did not stress the satanic as an eventual consequence of sin for heretical beliefs. This subject's experience suggests how the scales are tipped to the light or the dark areas of the occult to provide an early adolescent with the illusion of control or power.

Subject number five's data suggests that if a child has not been exposed to abuse, neglect and loss (by family and society) and if he can reasonably negotiate the first five stages of development described by Erikson, he/she is reasonably safe from kind of damaging despairing feelings experienced by the other subjects. His experience also suggests that even if feelings of powerlessness and inadequacy are present and the child feels the pull of magic as a source of relief, the child would not necessarily to grasp on to the free floating toxic underpinnings of the Judeo/Christian heritage that satanic rituals and black magic represent. Subject number five's experience dramatically contrasts with that of

the other subjects enough to suggest further investigation with these specific variables in mind in order to confirm or deny this hypothesis.

Another aspect of the interpretation of the data is the acknowledgement that while five of the subjects reached grave depths of self-destruction and delinquency to varying degrees, none had participated in the more dangerous and depraved activities of satanic cult groups and each survived (if only barely) the period of their fascination with the occult. What is implied by this element of survival (and not harming anyone either) is that the occult activity helped to mediate or manage the deep despair and somehow shield these subjects from the very worst of the potential consequences of deprivation. An implied question for further research would ask how this "playing with the devil" softens the effects of their despair. The writer suspects that the illusion of power supplied by the occult activity helped the subjects to feel less power less even though it was offering elements of a negative identity to anchor the ideologically drifting early adolescent.

If the occult activity did help the subjects by periodically supplying a short term relief from the feeling of powerlessness which pervaded their lives, it did not help these subjects avoid the path of "raising the ante" by means of escalating their delinquency or self-destructive behavior. As stated in Chapters IV and V, this "raising the ante" functions to force the community to stop them by providing limits and begin the rehabilitation process of re-entering society. Regardless of the amount of relief the occult activity provided, the subjects were on a path of random high risk behavior and could and did cause great harm to themselves or others during the period of time before the community stepped in to stop them. The risk was too great and this type of gambling with the lives of children cannot be tolerated by our communities (further discussion below).

Limitations and Further Research Suggestions

As stated in Chapter I the writer's intention was to seek information through this study to confirm or deny the hypothesis that these adolescents were despairing during their occult involvement. Although this study has focused considerable attention on the occult

aspects of the subjects' behavior, this focus was in the service of seeking information regarding the roots of this despair and the details of its manifestation during early adolescence. After the following discussion of the limitations of the study and its design, the consideration of the occult aspects of the subjects' behavior, for its own sake and in relation to despair, becomes less important to the broader conclusions of this study.

The most significant limitations of this study, for the author, are the size of the sample and the selection pool available for interview. As stated in Chapter I the original design called for fifteen subjects. Six subjects were found. This sample size is scientifically insignificant so that the connection between despairing feelings and involvement with the occult can not be confirmed in traditional statistical methodology. The study has however, given the author very strong confirmation that this connection between the darker occult activities and despairing behavior exist for all the clients he has seen. The fact that five of the six subjects were from the population of youths in the helping system almost insured that they had suffered some kind of abuse, neglect, or involvement with delinquent activity, given the current trends in social service delivery. The implied questions for further research asks " What is the relationship of severe parental abuse and/or neglect and delinquent activity with the use of black magic and satanic activity by teenagers?". Is it a causative relationship and if so how? Alcoholism in the family background is seen to be another uncontrollable and significant variable in the study. A study using a matched sample of youths who come from both types of homes (with and without alcoholism) would confirm or deny the hypothesis that there is a causative between alcoholic families and youths involved with dark occult activities and/or despairing behavior.

The specific method of data collection was limited to an in-depth interview. Although in three of the cases there was opportunity to verify information in client files, for the most part the investigator had no method to check for the veracity of the other responses during the interview or the internal validity of the interview. A questionnaire paralleling the interview would provide checks for veracity and consistency of subject responses. While

these suggestions are proffered as methods insuring scientific legitimacy in any follow-up study, the author stands by the results and inferences of the present study.

Current Implications and Interventions For Prevention

Who Gets Help and Why

The theme of "raising the ante" pervades the data as the mechanism which finally brought the five subjects at risk back into the care of society and subsequently, the help they needed to avoid the dangers of despairing behavior. This "raising the ante" always takes the form of dangerous destructive behavior so risky and costly to society that it cannot be tolerated on moral, economic and ultimately, on political grounds. It is not clear how or when the bulk of the youths at risk in the general population finally "raise the ante" so high that they are stopped. It is safe to say that before they finally cease to be at risk there are years of alcohol/ drug abuse, destructive behavior toward self and others in the form of assaults, automobile fatalities, child abuse, serial murders and an abundance of misery continuing into adulthood.

Present Solutions

The kinds of problems exhibited by the five subjects at risk are not new ones and the number of children exhibiting these problems is growing each year (Boston Globe etc.) Many states, seeing these problems as primarily family problems (Behar, 1984; Hutchinson, 1983), have for at least the last ten to fifteen years sought to strategically intervene with the family as early as possible at the first signs of major dysfunction. These early family intervention and networking efforts spring from the cybernetic family systems theories gaining prominence from the late nineteen sixties through the present (Ackerman, 1958; Haley, 1971; Minuchin, 1985). These theories reject the idea that the problems reside totally in the psychodynamic inner emotional life of the child at risk. Armed with these theories and techniques for "perturbing the family system" and providing support for economically and emotionally inadequate parents, the disciplines of Social Work and Psychology seek to cease and prevent further depraved behavior and suffering among

families who call attention to themselves by means of an uncontrollable child who is "raising the ante". High on the list of priorities is the avoidance of taking the child from the home since this seems to breed more suffering and a good number of unattached teenagers with a predilection for criminality. Current theoretical trends suggest that this intervention take place earlier than ever before in order to avoid removing the child from his/her family, even before the problems are life threatening. The most ambitious of the interventions assigns a social worker full time with the family for four to six months, teaching, supporting, intervening with the parents and children to get the family on the right track. Depending on where in the United States a child resides and the resources available, early adolescents have been removed from their homes and hopefully placed in a therapeutic environment in an effort to cease the at risk behavior and prevent more pain and suffering. Removing the child from his home has become the less desirable course of action, but it still has value and at times is unavoidable.

The author is in agreement with efforts to use systems theory, enlightened criminal justice and/or psychology in the service of social welfare policy to reduce suffering and help thousands to avoid the at risk status examined in this study. Success with families and individuals can be accomplished by following a loose formula of first ceasing the symptomatic behavior by the least dramatic interventions possible and then assessing the family for the sources of the problems and applying the appropriate intervention taken from various disciplines cited above. The sources of the family's problems often involve: child developmental stalemates caused by family styles of relating to each other and/or the community, a drug/alcohol involved parent who may or may not be physically or sexually abusive, mental illness, the effects of poverty or isolation, detrimental parental rearing styles based on painful early histories of their own, and/or the loss of transcendent values systems to help families through the difficulties they face.

Among the tools at the disposal of the community to respond to an early adolescent at risk (in probable order of use) are: out patient individual and/or family therapy, in home

family therapy outreach, police, criminal justice responses, removal of child to foster home, therapeutic group residences, short term drug/alcohol rehabilitation, short term psychiatric hospitalization, custody of child taken by state. All of the above can be appropriate and productive efforts to get a family through a very rough time and possibly end years of misery and pain. The author has participated in virtually all of the responses as a therapist and/or program and treatment planner and has always favored a strong existential approach with an acknowledgement of the environmental and ideological obstacles faced by the youth/family. These interventions can work and must continue with full support of the local, federal and state governments.

The current conventional wisdom says that the estimated cost of the troubled child business in the United States alone is at least 5 billion dollars a year. While budgets strain to meet this cost, there are no guarantees that the cycles of pain, abuse and violence are cost effectively diminished and that the seeds of despair planted now will not blossom at greater cost later. We must continue however, to spend what we can to alleviate suffering, as long as we realize much of the effort is, at best, a moral attempt to be doing the right thing for its own sake. The enormity of the problem our culture faces is concretized with the realization that the author is not merely writing about the home of subjects number one and two, "the patch" (where there are, at most, a few thousand people in a small New England mill town and even there, recently an alarming number of murders of young women has occurred). The inner cities of megalopolis America are where the future effects of despairing culture will decide the future of the rest of the society - politically, economically and ultimately our survival in a way of life as we know it.

Conclusion and Recommendations

With the support for current efforts to respond to youth at grave risk because of the effects of powerlessness, alienation and ultimately the depravity of despair, comes a graver conclusion alluded to in Chapter II. The motivation for this study lies beyond the search for psychological, developmental and spiritual understanding of the subjects and it lies

beyond the discovery of obvious individual solutions to the nurturance and resource problems of the youth examined. To allow the conclusions of this study to merely suggest that we need a great deal more of the same kind of attempts (of the last twenty years) at meeting the needs of our youths at risk would be to ignore the enormous risk our society faces.

It is the author's contention that as therapists and helpers, the system sees the most damaged and the least able to cope casualties of what is a more broadly felt feeling of despair, loss of connectedness etc.. Science is debating and elucidating the biological issues of predisposition, heredity as related to the occurrences and cure of many of the psychological conditions cited in this paper. Social Welfare policy looks to the triage of the grossly needy. Criminal Justice seeks to administer justice and protect society. The alarm this study hopes to raise lies with these populations, seen as a symptomatic reflection of a larger malaise in their contemporaries or peers who may not necessarily show up as patients, criminals or consumers of professional services. It is the author's contention that the young people we serve as clients and the broader needy population seen as victims of the poverty, societal neglect are the tip of an emotional and political iceberg.

The argument that our society is at risk to this despairing population emerges more concretely as several elements of this study come to mind: Erik Erikson's study of pre-war and Weimar Germany as a society of despairing people, organized and motivated by propagandizing their pooled unresolved catastrophic infantile fears, supports the argument that are society is at risk when coupled with the following modern parallels involving magic, music, youthful suicide and neo-fascism.

A Summary of Modern Parallels Between Current Youth Culture and Weimar Youth Culture

The material from the current media, the literature and the interviews suggest that many of our youth today share a significant amount of subjective feelings with the Weimar youth. From the interviews we see at least five of our subjects indulge in behaviors that

communicate despair and they speak about this feeling in the interviews. They describe these feelings :

- a. They have no respect for the adult world which they see as confusing, corrupt, and disrespectful of them.
- b. They live in conditions that discourage patriotism and experience great cynicism about national figures and leaders.
- c. They see the nineteen sixties experience essentially as failed revolution.

All but subject number five struggle with the questions of existence and are searching so that:

- a. They look to mystical (magic, satanic ritual, etc.) experience for solace.
- b. Their music (poetry) offers "song replacing thought" so that here as well facile irrationality leads to a mixture of mysticism and needs for power and action (casting spells to make people sick, etc.).
- c. Music seems to be elevated to religious significance as they attempt to satisfy the longing for clarity and wholeness.

A number of alarming current trends point to a general malaise of a significant number of our youthful population:

- a. Punk culture permeates fashion and music indicating at least a strong identification with youths who are truly alienated and despairing along with a repudiation of the "sixties and Hippies" failed revolutionary aspirations (note a current movie on the last year of life of Punk Rocker Sid Vicious and his lover).
- b. Drug and alcohol abuse continue to plague large numbers of our youth.
- c. High school age suicides are of increasing concern and suicides in the age group ten to fourteen increased one hundred and twelve percent from nineteen eighty to ninety eighty five (ABC News 3/13/89).
- d. At least sixty-seven racist and anti-Semitic survival and paramilitary groups with a distinctly Fascist style are reported to exist all over the U.S., especially in those areas hardest hit by chronic economic hardship and ideological alienation from "modern ideas" like racial tolerance and liberal economic policies, i.e., Skin Heads etc. (Anti-defamation League's 1988 report).

In general these modern parallels involving extreme alienation, magic, music, youthful suicide and neo-fascism:speak for themselves when compared to the Weimar Republic material and re-emphasize the importance of not overlooking these phenomena as "the follies of youth" or merely a criminal justice delinquency problem. If we continue to see the problems of our youth somewhat myopically from more traditional disciplines in Law or Social Work or Religion we may be able to help a worthwhile number of young people, yet miss the larger picture of a generation of despairing youths.

The conclusions drawn from this study must be larger than the individual solutions and responses to current problems offered by the individual disciplines as we seek to serve the client populations who present themselves to the system at the present time. What is needed is a more generalized mass recognition of the widespread despair that is under the surface of mindless materialism, false (business, sports, crime, cults) roles and fascist solutions manifested by youth all over the United States. To offer recommendations to solve problems without this widespread recognition would be to "act as if" it were not a real phenomenon and our efforts would be doomed to spending billions of dollars for many years for minimal results. Meanwhile the suffering would go on.

The Darkest Fear

Beyond the great continued suffering regardless of the billions of dollars spent, is the political vulnerability we cannot minimize. The risk that historical circumstance could enable charismatic personalities to opportunistically tribalize the masses of youths who would seek meaning and relief at the expense of other's humanity is historical fact all over the world at this moment. This society is only as safe as long as its material resources remain in abundance to anesthetize the groups who would otherwise be in much clearer spiritual and political distress. As food and shelter become at risk for larger and larger numbers of people, it is logical that there will be political upheaval. But a more illustrative and immediate example could be a view of popular entertainment in the form of video and audio tapes (along with cocaine, crack and marijuana) that sees these materials as daily

doses of the Soma in Aldous Huxely's " futuristic" novel Brave New World. The function of Soma was to ease the citizens through their daily meaningless existence. Even the most desperate children of our society seem to gain constant access to cheap mindless entertainment and/or expensive harmful drugs even if they don't get healthcare, nutrition and education.

It is not necessary to draw the Soma analogy too far or to even imply that there is somehow a conspiracy to anesthetize both the haves and the have-nots with drugs and material goods to keep them from acting out their despair. The fact is that for so many this is a daily reality, intentionally or not, and that if the daily doses stop (because of oil embargoes, natural disasters, historical events) our economy and political atmosphere can change dramatically. With the ability of modern electronic communications, starting with radio in the second and third decades of this century, to enable charismatic personalities to literally tribalize massive numbers of people at once (Hitler and Roosevelt) the risk is manifest. If despair is at the root of the dissatisfaction, then epic organized wanton destruction and inhumanity will be the result in this country or we will externalize it on some other society as we have seen in other times and places during this century.

Recommendations

We cannot cease the struggle for the significant redistribution of resources of food, housing, education, and healthcare to those who need the basic ingredients for developing basic trust in ones environment. If parents exist in an atmosphere of real economic and political empowerment then along with the physical resources of food, shelter and medical care, they can use their vocational and spiritual integrity as the emotional base from which to pass on a faith and meaning in their lives to their children, constructed around trust in oneself, others and ultimately the world around them. The implications of this study however, urge a more immediate effort to raise the alarm in the national consciousness with a more articulate voice as to the nature of the beast we face.

Fortunately the effort has already started in the popular culture by means of a few movies, books and a presidential campaign of nineteen eighty-eight where the issue of hope and despair have been foremost. Bernard Lefkowitz's Tough Change: Growing Up On Your Own In America cited in Chapter II, calls attention to the large group of runaways who are subject to the oppression of the street and consequently continue the cycle of despair and depravity. "The Rivers Edge" is a contemporary movie based on the true story of a group of teenagers who knew about the murder of one of their peers and did not respond or report the murder for a significant length of time. This story shocked southern California (where it occurred) to such a degree that the media response, at least, seemed to grasp the level of despair experienced by teenagers who were not that out of the ordinary. "Colors", the recent motion picture characterizing the brutality and depravity of gang life on the streets of East Los Angeles, chillingly verifies Paul Goodman's response to New York City's gang life, Growing Up Absurd . Hopefully art and literature will lead the way for our politics.

The speech of the presidential candidate, The Rev. Jesse Jackson at the Democratic National Convention of 1988 in Atlanta, Georgia is a small but encouraging indication that popular culture and the media are becoming aware of the nature and widespread existence of the despair this study addresses. The most salient and moving point Rev. Jackson made on national television (CBS News) was that we must address the depraved and debilitating effects of hopelessness born out of racism, poverty and mindless materialism. For the author, Rev. Jackson's speech resonated with the conclusions and intentions of the study as he invoked the audience to "keep hope alive" for the millions of youths who need to have their faith restored in order to insure our mutual survival.

The above media events are seen as part of the recommendation of this study that would be labeled consciousness-raising and education to raise the alarm that there are millions of children who are growing up without the sense that life will go on and the confidence that the world will continue to support the next step of it. They are growing up

without faith. The notion that we need more research to understand the problem might serve some esoteric academic needs, but seems like more of the same tail chasing response to a terrifying and hungry dragon about to devour us all. Instead the author supports any efforts to encourage awareness on all levels of society and in each individual in order to discover and amplify the faith in ourselves needed to continue the struggle to save ourselves by giving the despairing the opportunity to find faith of their own.

The question arises "how do we raise the alarm without engendering even more despair among those who must be enlisted to help. The first steps come as questions about the current state of our consensual cultural faith, that is, that faith that we have in common as a nation to actualize our values. If one of the first basic steps is to seriously reconsider how our commonwealth is to be used, then our real common value system used to determine our priorities must be examined.? If there is a current consensual cultural faith how does it influence our value system and priority setting? Who purveys the belief system which symbolizes this faith and by what means is it articulated and ritualized? The process of examining these questions as individuals, communities and as a nation will provide the initial hopeful steps in providing the atmosphere for "keeping hope alive". Thus, spreading the awareness that there are those among our youth who desperately need this hope for their healthy growth and development and ultimately the survival of our nation as we wish it could be.

Appendix A
Letter to School Board

BARRY SPARKES
427 SOUTHAMPTON ROAD
HOLYOKE, MASS.

Oct.17, 1987

Mr._____, Principal
_____, Highschool
_____, MA.

Sir;

I am seeking permission to interview a number of your students who have been involved in occult activity. Ms. _____ informs me that your School Committee would need to consider this request. I am enclosing the abstracts from my dissertation proposal for their consideration,.

My interest in these students comes out of the alarm I feel about the problems that can grow out of teenagers experimenting with the darker areas of the occult. My hypothesis is that this activity comes out of a dangerous level of despair . I have fifteen years of experience in various settings dealing with the problems of adolescents and their families so that I feel fully prepared to respond appropriately to any needs that might arise as a result of my interviews.

I would also like any benefit resulting from my research to be at the disposal of your school system, while ofcourse respecting the privacy of the interviewees.

If there are any further concerns or questions about my project please feel free to contact me at your convenience

Thank you.

Barry Sparkes

Work phone (413) 586-6210

Home phone (413) 532-6835

Appendix B

Introductory Letter
To Potential Research Subjects

Hills South
School of Education
University of Massachusetts
Amherst, MA 01003

Dear Sir or Madame,

I am a counselor who is interested in young people who have had a deep interest in and exposure to the occult. I am doing a study of teenagers who have had experience in this area and would appreciate any opportunity to talk to such a young person about their experience.

Since this may be a sensitive subject to talk about I would first assure anyone who volunteers that they would have complete confidentiality and that their privacy would be protected. If you know any young people who might be interested and willing to talk to me about their experiences, I could first call them on the telephone (or they could call me) to set up a time to meet at their convenience.

I would greatly appreciate a chance to introduce myself and my study, however, anyone who calls me should understand that the call does not create any obligation to continue further. Thankyou for taking the time to read my letter and I look forward to hearing from you if there is some way you can help me with my study.

Very truly yours,

Barry H. Sparkes
Home phone: (413) 532-6835
Work: (413) 586-6210
Please call collect

Please write your name and number if I may call you

Name _____

Phone _____

Appendix C
Informed Consent Form

I agree to participate in the research study conducted by Barry H. Sparkes, M. Ed, LCSW, a doctoral candidate in the School of Education at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA. I understand that the research is proposed study of adolescent involvement with the occult practices of blackmagic, witchcraft and/or satanic ritual.

I understand that I will be interviewed by the researcher and that I can choose to answer or refuse to answer any questions at my discretion. The researcher has discussed the possible effects of my participation in this study, which might be increased understanding of my involvement with the these areas of the occult. I understand I can end my participation in the interview at any time at my discretion without question.

I have been assured that what is discussed in the interview will be kept confidential and that my privacy will be protected in all reports by the researcher's disguising my name and indentifying characteristics.

Mr. Sparkes has answered all my questions about the study. I understand that a report of the results of the the study will be made available to me upon request.

Signature of Participant

Researcher

Date

Appendix D Interview Guide

Conduct of the Interview: The research study will be described again, all questions answered, and informed consent obtained, the researcher will spend a few minutes establishing rapport with the subject. The Interview will be partially structured, with the following topics introduced by the researcher in the order listed over the course of the interview.

I. INTRODUCTION: I am doing a study on the involvement of people your age being involved with black magic, witchcraft and satanic ritual. I will be looking at what factors in your life lead you to that activity and what you think it means. I am going to ask you questions about your background and life story and involvement with the occult.

I am interested in your personal experience and personal opinions. So I would like you to be as honest as possible-- there are no right or wrong answers.

I would like to tape record our conversation so I will be able to remember everything we talk about. is this alright with you?

II. PRESENT SITUATION:

- 1) What are you doing now?
- 2) Are you in school or working. In what capacity?
- 3) If you are not in school, how far did you go?
- 4) Where are you living? With whom?

III. BACKGROUND AND FAMILY HISTORY

- 1) Tell me about your grandparents background and their lives.
 - a. where they lived, their religion, work, economic status, ethnic information, their parents origin.
- 2) Tell me about your parents lives.
 - a. where they lived, their religion, work, economic status ethnic information, their relationship, course of their marriage.

IV. SELF

- 1) Tell me your life story.
 - a. I am interested in your first memories, both good and bad.
 - b. Relationship with parents, siblings, wider family members.
 - c. Life in your neighborhood, community, and school.

- d. Tell me about your friends, models, heroes then and now.
- e. Your own religious training, beliefs and history with organized religion.
- f. Your contact with, if any, community helping agencies, police etc.
- g. What did you know about your wider environment (state, nation, world)?

V. EXPERIENCE WITH THE OCCULT ACTIVITY.

- 1) How did you first come in contact with these ideas and activities?
- 2) How did your friends matter in this activity (if they did)?
- 3) What exactly did you do and for how long a period?
- 4) Where and How did you learn the details of the activity?
- 5) How did this activity matter and fit into your life?
- 6) What do you think about it all now?

Appendix E

Table I. Eriksonian Stage Negotiation

subject #__

STAGE	CIRCUMSTANCES	BEHAVIORS WELL NEG	POOR NEG.	UNCL.
I. BASIC TRUST VS. MISTRUST				
II. AUTONOMY VS. SHAME & DOUBT				
III. INITIATIVE VS. GUILT				
IV. INDUSTRY VS. INFERIORITY				
V. IDENTITY VS. ROLE CONFUSION				

Appendix F

Table II. Circumstances, Beliefs and Behaviors
as Reflecting Existential Postitions

subject #__

CIRCUMSTANCES | BELIEFS | BEHAVIORS

1., 2.,3.,4 | 5.,6., | 7.,8.,9.,10.,11.,12.

CODE:

Circumstances;

1. Lack of Humanistic neccessities vs. eccentric substitutes.
2. Poor attitudes and influences vs. real opportunities for worthwhile experiences.
3. World outside youth experience has models who are seen as "in it for sport and plunder (business leaders, polititions, entertainers, sports figures).
4. Conditions which discourage patriotism (in the press, enviroment, education).

Beliefs;

5. Disapointed optimism (failed revolutions).
6. Deliquent fatalism (no chance for the future).

Behaviors;

7. Asking questions of Faith (how am I justified, meaning of life, etc.)
8. Self proving activity or experiences (false roles in sports, business, or drugs and vandalism).
9. Spurning false roles for formless mystical experiences .
10. Doing the forbidden (drinking and drug abuse, delinquency, satanic etc).
11. Raising the ante (taking the above to a dangerous degree thereby forcing the community to intervene).
12. When the despair of abandonment is acute, they rush fatalisticaly to punishment and re-entry into community.

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