

PAULA MÄÄTTÄ

IMAGES OF A YOUNG DRUG USER

EDITOR: Lea Pulkkinen (f. Pitkänen), Ph.D.

Department of Psychology  
University of Jyväskylä

URN:ISBN:978-951-39-8736-7  
ISBN 978-951-39-8736-7 (P.DF)  
ISSN 0075-4625

ISBN 951-677-575-6

COPYRIGHT © 1976, by  
University of Jyväskylä

*Jakaja Jyväskylän yliopiston kirjasto 40100 Jyväskylä 10*  
*Distributor Jyväskylä University Library SF-40100 Jyväskylä 10 FINLAND*

PAULA MÄÄTTÄ

# IMAGES OF A YOUNG DRUG USER

ACADEMIC DISSERTATION TO BE PUBLICLY DISCUSSED, BY PERMISSION  
OF THE FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄS-  
KYLÄ, IN AUDITORIUM II-212, ON FEBRUARY 7, 1975, AT 12 O'CLOCK NOON

JYVÄSKYLÄ STUDIES IN EDUCATION, PSYCHOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH 32

PAULA MÄÄTTÄ

# IMAGES OF A YOUNG DRUG USER

UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ, JYVÄSKYLÄ 1975

## PREFACE

The present research project started at the beginning of the 1970's when public discussion about drug use by the young generation was at its liveliest in Finland. In parliament there were at times even heated debates about the indictability of drug use and the press dealt with crimes connected with drug use in a sensational way. On the whole drugs were felt to be a threat to the individual and society. By the mid-1970's discussion about drugs has declined and partly changed in content. With the help of a special sum set aside in the national budget for 1974 for drug education an information booklet on drugs (Kasvattaja ja huumeet 1975/The Educator and drugs) was recently published and it deals with the use of drugs among young people in a manner which would not have been possible in the beginning of the present decade. The booklet discusses the biases or invalidity of some older theories of drug use, the occasional use of cannabis for social and relaxation purposes, emphasizes the motives for use instead of the drugs themselves and notes in connection with the creation of drug dependence the "surprising result" that psychically normal young people living in good social circumstances have easily managed to give up experimentation both with opiates and other drugs.

In spite of certain shift in views in the 1970's the general attitude towards the drug use of young people is rather emotional. For this reason I find it advisable to present my personal view on drugs in order to avoid any misunderstandings. For me personally no drug is significant either in a positive or a negative sense. I have no personal experience of drugs and I do not experience a personal need to use drugs. My contacts with drug users are limited conversations with a few former users. The use of drugs among young people has interested me as a topic of research because the various explanations for use have differed considerably and been partly contradictory. One of the central problems has been just why the interpretations of the same phenomenon differ so

much. I have been compelled to reassess my views on drug use among young people during the research project, for the results of studies carried out in other countries and the empirical data of the present project have shown several of my preconceptions to be false.

The method of the project and the interpretations made do not necessarily coincide with the users' views, although it has been one of my basic principles to try to interpret use from the users' point of view. This is due to the fact that as a researcher I represent so-called normal thinking criticized by users, in which the traditional rules of logic are central. The users are also likely to criticize the project results because the sources of reference do not include so-called underground literature, which in the users' opinion is an essential condition for understanding young people's interest in drugs.

I am indebted to several persons for their invaluable help in discussing the research problems and the various alternative interpretations of the research data. It is largely due to the encouragement of Associate Professor Lea Pulkkinen that the empirical material is now published in its present form. She has given useful advice at various stages of the project.

I have had stimulating discussions with Dr. Kjetil Bruun about the definition of the research problem and about alternative models for interpretation of the data. The contribution of Mr. Heikki Korhonen, Youth Welfare Officer of the parish of Jyväskylä, has been invaluable for the completion of the project, for his work made it possible to come into contact with hashish smokers in 1975 and to obtain information about trends in Jyväskylä. The numerous discussions with former users, treatment and welfare personnel and the police have been important from the point of view of correct problem definitions and interpretations. The project would not have been completed without the unfailing support of my husband, Pentti Määttä, who has encouraged me to an open but rigorously critical examination of the research problem. He has assumed total responsibility for our home and children when the project needed my undivided attention.

My work was supported by a grant from the Finnish Academy, which made it possible for me to concentrate on the present project. I also wish to thank the library of the University of Jyväskylä for allowing

me to use one of its study rooms. I am grateful to the Ellen and Arttu-  
ri Nyyssönen Fund for the grant for the translation and publication of  
the investigation. My thank are also due to Mr. Sauli Takala for trans-  
lating the manuscript, to Mr. Glyn Hughes for checking the text and to  
Mrs. Terttu Pylvänäinen for typing the final version of the manuscript.

Finally I wish to thank the University of Jyväskylä for acception  
this report for publication in its series "Jyväskylä Studies in Educa-  
tion, Psychology and Social Research".

Jyväskylä, November, 1975

Paula Määttä

## CONTENTS

|  |    |
|--|----|
| 1. Introduction .....  | 1  |
| 2. Classification and control of drugs .....   | 3  |
| 2.1. Definition of drugs .....   | 3  |
| 2.2. Classification and control systems .....  | 4  |
| 3. Spreading of drugs among young people in the 1960's .....                           | 8  |
| 4. Frequency of drug use in North America and Europe in the 1960's<br>and 1970's ..... | 10 |
| 4.1. General trends .....  | 10 |
| 4.2. Trend in Finland .....  | 12 |
| 5. Portrait of a young drug user .....   | 15 |
| 5.1. Definition of the concept "portrait" .....  | 15 |
| 5.2. Marijuana smokers in the USA .....  | 16 |
| 5.3. Young drug users in Finland .....   | 20 |
| 5.3.1. The Finnish drug user or taster in the light of<br>research findings .....      | 20 |
| 5.3.2. The image of a young drug user conveyed by Finnish<br>opinion formers .....     | 22 |
| 5.4. Features common to images in different countries .....                            | 23 |
| 5.5. Analysis of factors which account for the emergence of<br>user images .....       | 26 |
| 5.5.1. Overview .....  | 26 |
| 5.5.2. Views on research strategy .....  | 28 |
| 5.5.3. Value implications of research .....  | 31 |
| 6. Portrait of hashish smokers in Jyväskylä .....                                      | 32 |
| 6.1. Aims of the empirical surveys .....   | 32 |
| 6.2. Young hashish smokers in 1971 .....   | 35 |
| 6.2.1. Research problems .....   | 35 |
| 6.2.2. Research methods .....  | 36 |
| 6.2.3. Main results .....  | 38 |
| 6.2.3.1. Description of the research group .....                                       | 38 |
| 6.2.3.2. Data about the use of drugs .....   | 39 |

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| 6.2.3.3. Users' social relationships and interests .   | 43  |
| 6.2.3.4. Social consequences of drug use .....   | 44  |
| 6.2.3.5. Users' views on the need for treatment and<br>their use of treatment services .....   | 47  |
| 6.2.3.6. Users' future plans and value system .....  | 48  |
| 6.3. The circumstances of the 1971 research group during the<br>period from 1972 to 1975 ..... | 55  |
| 6.3.1. Research problem .....  | 55  |
| 6.3.2. Research methods .....  | 55  |
| 6.3.3. Description of users' career .....  | 56  |
| 6.4. Hashish smoking and young people in 1975 .....  | 59  |
| 6.4.1. Research problem .....  | 59  |
| 6.4.2. Research methods .....  | 59  |
| 6.4.3. Main results .....  | 60  |
| 6.4.3.1. Description of the research group .....   | 60  |
| 6.4.3.2. Data about the use of drugs .....   | 61  |
| 6.4.3.3. Users' social relationships and interests .   | 61  |
| 6.4.3.4. Social consequences of drug use .....   | 62  |
| 6.4.3.5. Users' views about treatment .....  | 63  |
| 6.4.3.6. Users' future plans and value system .....  | 64  |
| 6.5. Discussion .....  | 65  |
| 6.5.1. The revised pattern of cannabis use .....   | 65  |
| 6.5.2. Prognosis of use .....  | 70  |
| 6.5.3. On the generalizability of the results of the Jyväs-<br>kylä research project .....     | 71  |
| 7. Some considerations for practical measures .....  | 72  |
| 7.1. Information .....   | 72  |
| 7.2. Social control .....  | 75  |
| 7.3. Treatment of drug users .....   | 76  |
| 7.4. Some considerations on education .....  | 77  |
| 8. Conclusions on factors determining the use of drugs .....                                   | 78  |
| 9. Summary .....   | 86  |
| Tiivistelmä .....  | 97  |
| References .....   | 108 |

## 1. INTRODUCTION

In the 1960's western culture underwent a transformation and there is still no common agreement on its causation. In that period young people, particularly high school and college students, started using illegal drugs widely considered dangerous. The rapid spreading of drugs, especially that of cannabis, was on the one hand associated with several societal trends discernible particularly in the United States and on the other hand with individual characteristics seen in isolation from the social framework.

The progress of the present research project has involved an examination of the following problem areas:

1. How did the widespread use of drugs in the 1960's among young people start and spread in North America and Europe. Although drug use has strong traditions not only in producer areas but also in North America and Europe before the 1960's, the group of users included hardly any young people let alone middle class sections of the population, whose attitude towards drugs other than those approved by western culture (alcohol, tobacco, psychoactive medicine) has been strongly negative. In the 1960's it was generally recognized that high school and college youth were attracted by cannabis (hashish and marijuana) and so-called psychedelic drugs. The new type of drug use first spread in the United States and immediately thereafter in Canada and in Central and Northern Europe.
2. What kind of young people have tried or used/continue to use drug and what have been the consequences of drug use. Research and discussion focussed, in particular, on drug users' and tasters' personality traits and on the effects of drugs on the users' physical, psychic and social

2.

wellbeing. Old theories of narcotic addiction and of the effects of drugs served as preconceived notions.

3. What factors are connected with different views on the use of drugs by young people. Public discussion about drug use among young people was rather discordant at the end of the 1960's and at the beginning of the 1970's, and research results and expert statements might vary considerably. The official view was that all kinds of drug use were dangerous and unacceptable.

4. What are the characteristics of hashish smokers in Jyväskylä and what characterizes their life situation and their value systems. The author wished to subject different views on drug users and use to an empirical test by studying hashish smokers in Jyväskylä in the autumn of 1971, by analyzing their career between 1972 - 1975 and by studying hashish smoking young people in 1975.

5. What is the prognosis of drug use. A central question with regard to a phenomenon labelled as dangerous is the examination of the factors that control its extent and content, and of the prognosis made on the basis of such an examination.

A central idea in the analysis of each problem has been that the use of drugs among young people should not be detached from the social framework and treated as an isolated phenomenon but should be examined in relation to the prevailing stage of social development and in relation to the reactions and responses that it has brought about in society. This means that the author has wanted to analyze as precisely as possible the contribution of the effect of drugs as such (particularly that of cannabis) on the one hand and the contribution of the users' personality traits, social position and societal reactions and responses on the other hand has to the phenomena (crime, violence, psychic problems) which have been ascribed to drug use among young people. Another basic idea is seen in the author's attempt, particularly in the empirical part of the study, to examine drug use from the users' point of view i.e. to understand drug use as a meaningful and purposeful activity on the part of users.

The various stages of the research project have been presented in the report series of the Institute for Educational Research:

1. Määttä, P. (1975a) Katsaus nuorison huumausaineiden käyttöön 1960-1970-luvulla. Kasvatustieteiden tutkimuslaitoksen julkaisuja, 255. Jyväskylän yliopisto. (A survey of drug use among people in the 1960's and 1970's, in Finnish with English summary)
2. Määttä, P. (1975b) Jyväskylän hasiksenpolttajat vuonna 1971. Kasvatustieteiden tutkimuslaitoksen julkaisuja, 256. Jyväskylän yliopisto. (Hashish smokers in Jyväskylä in 1971, in Finnish with English summary)
3. Määttä, P. (1975c) Jyväskylän hasiksenpolttajien vaiheet 1970-luvulla. Kasvatustieteiden tutkimuslaitoksen julkaisuja, 257. Jyväskylän yliopisto. (The careers of Jyväskylä hashish smokers in the 1970's, in Finnish with English summary)

The first report deals with problems 1, 2 and 3 and analyzes views presented in the literature and based on earlier research data. The second and third reports deal with the fourth problem area by empirically testing different views. The fifth problem is discussed in all of the reports.

## 2. CLASSIFICATION AND CONTROL OF DRUGS

### 2.1. Definition of drugs

A recent Finnish committee of the use of drugs defined drugs as all such substances, existing or under development, which after being administered into the organism produce or may produce such a psychic change which leads or may lead to an uncontrolled use of the same or a corresponding substance and to consequent harmful effects (Anon. 1969).

The definition is so comprehensive that it also includes alcohol and its substitutes and tobacco. It is a general definition according to which drugs may be different kinds of substances whose effects vary

4.

from stimulating to relaxing and tranquilizing. Common to all such substances is that a repeated and continuous use creates a dependence the quality and strength of which depend on the drug, the amounts taken, the type of use, the user's state of health and personality. Narcotics as a subgroup of drugs have originally signified substances which have a sleep-inducing or activity-depressing effects (Bejerot 1971).

Cannabis, which is a drug of central importance from the point of view of the present research project, is classified as a drug which causes sensory distortions and aberrations (Anon. 1972c). Cannabis is obtained from the resin of the flowering tops and leaves of the female hemp plant, which is called hashish when dried, and its top stems and leaves are called marijuana (Rissanen 1972). The most common method of using them at the moment is smcking. It has been estimated that in 1963 there were about 300 million cannabis users in the world (Anon. 1969).

Although the present research project has concentrated on the description of the use and users of cannabis, it has been necessary to use terms "drug use" and "drug user" in several connections. This is due to the fact that with the exception of the United States research literature has not made a clear distinction between the use of cannabis and that of other drugs. The term "drug" in the present project is thus more restricted than the definition made by the Finnish committee and refers to the new type of drug use which emerged in the 1960's and which was characterized by an interest by mainly high school and college students in particular in cannabis and in experimentation with other drugs.

## 2.2. Classification and control systems

Drugs obtainable from nature (opium, cannabis, cocaine) have been used for thousands of years in religious ceremonies, sacrificial rites and thanksgivings and for medical purposes. Several substances were originally used by a select few (e.g. medicine men) but have gradually spread among the general public. It was not until the 18th and 19th

centuries, however, that attention was directed to their harmful effect when opium (now classified as a strong pain-reliever, Anon. 1972c) and cannabis had spread from the producer areas (Asia, Africa) through colonial trade to Europe and opium also to the United States. Attempts to curb use in China occurred for the first time in 1729 and again in 1840 (Bean 1974). However, British-Indian trade interests prevented the reduction of opium production at that stage (Evang 1967).

It was not until towards the end of the 19th century that the control of drug use was considerably improved when the United States started paying attention to the spreading of the habit of opium smoking, introduced into the country by Chinese immigrants, among the so-called ordinary white population. In addition to this, there were veterans of the Civil War who also used morphine. It is estimated that towards the end of the 19th century 3 to 4 per cent of the whole population used opium and its derivatives (Bean 1974, Goldberg 1973). First the smoking of opium and later all uses of opium created a strong prohibition movement in response to which Congress passed the Harrison Act in 1914. This laid the foundation for subsequent control principles, the central features of which have been the indictability of drug use and the labelling of users as criminals (Hess 1971).

Similar acts aimed at controlling the use of drugs were also passed in Europe. It soon became obvious, however, that national action was not enough, since the drug business was international owing to the fact that drugs had to be imported from other continents. When the United States became the main country in the international trade at the beginning of the 20th century, it took the first initiatives aimed at international agreements on the control of drugs. The first international control convention was signed in the Hague in 1912. Its purpose was to control mainly opium traffic from the East (Bean 1974). Italy attempted to get also cannabis included in the Hague convention but the initiative did not meet with sufficient response in other parties. Thus with regard to cannabis it was only stated that it was desirable "to study the question of Indian hemp from the statistical and scientific point of view..." (Bruun et al. 1975, p. 182). In 1925 international control conventions were extended to cover cannabis (Anon. 1973b). This time the suggestion was made by Egypt, whose representatives stated among

other things that the illegal use of hashish was "the principal cause of most of the cases of insanity in Egypt" (p. 182). At this stage cannabis was one of the drugs included under international control as a result of Egypt's strong insistence although there was no documentation on the need for control. There was a very lively discussion about cannabis in the 1930's, in which opinions about the qualities of cannabis varied from the view which maintained that it was more dangerous than morphine and cocaine to the view maintained that it was comparable to tea or coffee. The final point of the discussion in the United States was the Marihuana Tax Act of 1937, which equated cannabis with other dangerous substances. In that connection the relationships between cannabis, crime and insanity were established in the public consciousness (Bruun et al. 1975).

The most recent international agreement on the use of drugs, which is still valid for the signatories, is the Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs from 1961. It lists about one hundred drugs, including almost all substances known to be used for narcotic purpose at that time (e.g. opium with its derivatives, cannabis, cocaine; for a complete list see Anon. 1973c). The convention defines the possession and use of all listed drugs as a criminal activity (Idänpää-Heikkilä, J. & P. 1974). In 1972, the United Nations supplemented the convention with further provisions, known as the "1972 Protocol", that were particularly concerned with use, prevention, information, cure and rehabilitation (Anon. 1973b, Raskin 1974). Each country applies the international convention to its own drug legislation, which defines the details of control. In Finland the 1972 Act and Statute on Drug Use are currently in force. The act labels as drug crime the production, trading, buying, selling, procuring, possession and use of drugs (Anon. 1972b: Act on Drug Use 41/21.1.1972, Anon. 1972a: Statute on Drug Use 161/18.2.1972).

The pharmaceutical industry has supplemented medical preparations made from drugs obtained from nature with so-called psychotropic preparations, which were first used as sleeping draughts and, after the "psychopharmacological revolution" in the 1950's, for the treatment of psychic disturbances (Smart & Whitehead 1974, Allgulander 1975). Two or three years after the synthesization of such drugs they have been misused (Allgulander 1975). After a large-scale epidemic of drugs with a stimulating effect

on the central nervous system in Sweden in the 1950's, there were demands for an international convention on psychotropic drugs, which would provide general principles for their use. "The Psychotropic Convention" was signed in 1971 in Vienna. It bases control and risk classification on two criteria:

1. damage to public health
2. medicinal benefit.

Drugs are classified into four groups:

1. Group (a): Drugs recommended for control because their liability to abuse constitutes an especially serious risk to public health and because they have very limited, if any, therapeutic usefulness.
2. Group (b.1.): Drugs recommended for control because their liability to abuse constitutes a substantial risk to public health and because they have little to moderate therapeutic usefulness.
3. Group (b.2): Drugs recommended for control because their liability to abuse constitutes a substantial risk to public health, although having moderate to great therapeutic usefulness.
4. Group (c): Drugs recommended for control whose liability to abuse constitutes a smaller but still significant risk to public health, and having a therapeutic usefulness ranging from little to great.

The psychoactive ingredients of cannabis are grouped in this classification into the first class, i.e. the most dangerous drugs together with LSD (Anon. 1970, Idänpää-Heikkilä, J. & P. 1974). The Psychotropic Convention specifies limits of sale and use which vary according to the drug.

A certain degree of pessimism can be detected with regard to the effectiveness of international control agreements (e.g. Nordegren 1974, Bruun et al. 1975). This is attributed to the fact that they are based either on the opium conventions dating from the beginning of this century, which lay a strong emphasis on punishments, or purely on the economic interests of the west (The United States has not signed the Psychotropic Convention). Control agreements are not sufficient to curb and diminish use if only because a substantial part of the population in the drug-producing areas earns its living by growing the plants used as the raw material for drugs.

8.

The United Nations Social Defence Research Institute has published a summary of the classification and control of psychoactive drugs (Moore, Joyce & Woodcock 1973), in which it is noted that the existing conventions should not be considered final but should be changed if views of the characteristics of drugs change or if new drugs are marketed. Conventions should be regarded rather as drafts which must be continuously reviewed, when research data on the qualities of drugs increase. The summary states that until now both national and international action has been guided by moral views, assumptions or political necessity rather than factual knowledge. The main problem has been that there has not been enough uncontested research data on which to base classifications and the planning of control measures.

### 3. SPREADING OF DRUGS AMONG YOUNG PEOPLE IN THE 1960'S

It was characteristic of drug use before the 1960's that they were not widely used outside the producer countries. In western culture drugs were traditionally used for medical purposes, and illegally by certain minorities, such as certain artist and bohemian circles and, in the United States, by coloured minorities belonging to lower social strata. The situation was radically changed in the 1960's first in the United States and later in Europe, when mainly wealthy middle class high school and college students in the United States began to show strong interest in marijuana. Other so-called psychedelic drugs were also tried (LSD, mescaline) in an attempt to change one's state of consciousness. Such drugs are, indeed, called consciousness-expanding or mind-expanding drugs.

Reasons for the rapid spreading in drug use since the middle of the 1960's have been sought both in the accentuation of internal problems in the USA and in its involvement in the Vietnam war (Reich 1972,

Gregory 1974) and in the attempt of wealthy middle class youth to reject the dominant moral rules and mores of protestant ethics (Klerman 1970). Reich talks about "consciousness III" arising in the 1960's, which, by way of a counterbalance to the social and political situation in the USA, emphasizes respect for human ego and human life at the expense of competition, comparison and subjugation of human beings. The rejection of all forms of violence is a central feature of the new consciousness. The use of drugs was associated with the emergence of new values in that drugs were thought to free the stultified minds of people and open them up to new aims in life.

The reactions of the older generation to the interest of the younger generation in new drugs were usually strongly negative, because the use of drugs was commonly associated with the criminal elements of the lowest social groups or with "questionable" artistic and bohemian circles. The discussion in the 1960's was characterized as highly emotional. Marijuana was not treated as something distinct from opium (cf. the general convention) and "word magic" was cultivated by associating marijuana smoking with concepts such as "narcotic" and "addiction", which traditionally had been linked with far-advanced dependence as a result of strongly addictive drugs. According to Goode (1970) public discussion was mostly based on preconceptions, assumptions, moral judgments and misconceptions rather than factual knowledge.

The strong social reactions appeared irrational and inconsistent to marijuana smokers. It was difficult to justify rationally the illegality of marijuana smoking to them, when at the same time it was quite free to consume alcohol and tobacco, which they regarded as more dangerous drugs (Brenner 1972), and , furthermore, doctors annually prescribed considerable amounts of psychoactive drugs (e.g. in 1970 doctors made 202 million legal prescriptions; Anon. 1973a). The double moral standard of the situation was aggravated by the fact that commercial activities directed at youth adopted terminology linked with the use of drugs, particularly psychedelic jargon and visual expression (Klerman 1970).

The new way of using drugs among the American high school and college students did not remain a local phenomenon but as a result of the mass media and international travel a similar use of drugs was observed

immediately after the mid-1960's in Europe, first in Amsterdam and London, from where it rapidly spread to Central and Northern Europe. In the Nordic countries young people using cannabis were first encountered in Copenhagen and Stockholm and a couple of years later in Oslo and Helsinki (Idänpää-Heikkilä, J. & P. 1974). The cannabis used in the USA was mainly marijuana, which came mostly from Mexico. In Europe hashish has been the more popular drug and it is obtained from countries in the Middle East and North Africa.

#### 4. FREQUENCY OF DRUG USE IN NORTH AMERICA AND EUROPE IN THE 1960'S AND 1970'S

##### 4.1. General trends

The timetable of the proliferation of cannabis use in the USA has been such that a steady increase in marijuana smoking has been observed from the 1960's to the early years of the 1970's. According to Louria (1968) by 1967 an average of 7 - 15 % of college students had tried marijuana and in California 20 - 40 % of college students. At the beginning of the 1970's the proportion of marijuana tasters varied between 30 and 80 % of high school and college students (Määttä 1975a). By 1972, which is the latest date for which there exist research data, there was no downward trend discernible. There were plateaus in regions where 50 - 70 % of young people had already tried marijuana. In such regions there an increase in use was observed such that a greater percentage of all marijuana tasters started using it more and more frequently (Church, Truss & Martino 1974). The National Commission on Marijuana and Drug Abuse set up by Congress suggested in its report "Drug use in America: problem in perspective" (Anon. 1973a) that a plateau had been reached in the use of marijuana. Henley and Adams (1973) have criticized this

view maintaining that it simplified matters too much. They hold that marijuana smoking will spread further, when the present young generation that has the marijuana smoking habit gets older and thus transmits the habit to the older generation as well. Outside the USA the period of the most rapid expansion in cannabis use in Canada, Western Europe and Northern Europe generally occurred between 1965-66 and 1970-71 and has remained at the level that corresponds to the 1965-68 situation in the USA. Norway and Finland have followed the general trend somewhat later and a clear increase in use has been observed even in 1971-72 (Määttä 1975a, c). A Plateau or halt in the spreading of cannabis use has been discernible in the entire area of Western Europe studied most recently 1972-73. In Canada and Europe the level of generality of cannabis use is such that 10 - 30 % of young people in different regions, mainly school and college students, have at least tried cannabis, which in most cases has been in the form of hashish (Anon. 1973d).

Although there are clear differences in the frequency of use between the USA and other regions, the generality of use follows similar trends in other ways irrespective of region. Distinct regional differences in the frequency of use have been found within each country. Use has started in large cities in all countries. In the USA use became more widespread first on the west coast in San Francisco and spread to large cities in the east and further to central parts of the country and smaller communities. In the 1970's use of cannabis has also occurred in the countryside. In Europe the first large centres of hashish were areas which had earlier traditions as distribution centres in the illegal drug trade (e.g. Amsterdam). Generally capitals and other large cities have been such centres, in which frequencies of use have reached 30 per cent. There is remarkably little research data on the situation in the countryside. In Sweden, in which the situation with regard to drug use has roughly corresponded to that of Denmark and Central European countries, it has been found that drug use is three times less frequent in the countryside than in city areas (Hibell & Jonsson 1975). It has been observed that when police activities have become stricter and more effective in large user centres, a section of the users move to adjacent communities, where control systems are not usually trained to cope with this new type of juvenile delinquency.

Besides cannabis, it has been found that the use of other drugs is on the increase. Studies carried out in various countries have not always made a distinction between cannabis and other drugs. It is, therefore, not possible to obtain exact research data on the frequency of the use of cannabis and other drugs in all areas. Cannabis has, however, been found to be the absolutely most popular drug. The increasing use of others has mainly been an increase in occasional tastings, not in continued use. It has been found that in the USA it is typical of young people's drug habits that they occasionally try some other stuff, mostly other psychedelic drugs, while continuing to smoke marijuana regularly. Grupp (1972) found that student smoking marijuana had on the average tried 3.4 other drugs whereas the corresponding figure for coloured people living in ghettos was 1.4. With regard to student use habits it was further established that the more intensively they smoke marijuana the more likely they are to try other drugs.

With the generalization of drug use among young people drug scenes have arisen within the centres of drug use both in the USA, and Canada, and Europe. Such scenes have become popular international meeting places. The first "Mecca of Hippiedom" emerged in San Fransisco in the Haight Ashbury district. More than 30.000 travelled there in the 1960's for "the summer of love" (Pedersen 1973). Characteristic of the drug scenes is the fact that a certain section of the gathering forms the stable core of the members while the rest are so-called weekenders, who are attracted by the permanent inhabitants' life style, thinking and, to some extent, drugs. Beside large communities there have emerged smaller communes, whose members devote their whole life to the realization of new values (Speck 1972). Communes have also arisen wherever drugs have spread.

#### 4.2. Trend in Finland

The authorities learned about cannabis use in Finland in 1967 (Alha & Lehtimäki 1969). After that a study was initiated to find out the frequency of drug use, and this has made it possible to follow systemati-

cally use trends in certain areas up to and including the early years of the 1970's (e.g. Hernesniemi 1969, 1970, 1972; Oivukkamäki 1974). A basic weakness of such survey research has often been the fact that different drugs have not been kept clearly apart. Thus the object of study has been the frequency of drug use on the whole, which means that users have included hashish smokers, thinner sniffers, people misusing medicines, multiple drug users and tasters of different drugs.

In Finland the smoking of hashish has clearly concentrated in some communities with Helsinki standing out clearly from the others. Helsinki is the onle place in Finland where frequencies in drug testing have risen as high as 30 per cent among the youth population studied (e.g. Hernesniemi 1972, Oivukkamäki 1974). In Helsinki cannabis has been clearly the most popular drug and its popularity has, if anything, merely increased from 1968 to the 1970's. With the increasing popularity of hashish there has been a lessening of interest in thinner and medical drugs (Hernesniemi 1972). In 1973 the situation was such that the amount of those who only smoked hashish has further increased whereas the proportion of those who used both hashish and other drugs had diminished. The trend in Helsinki corresponds to development in Central Europe (e.g. Benad 1973). As for other Parts of Finland, it can be said that the use of hashish has been encountered in the towns of Southern and Central Finland and in the population centres of Southern Finland. The latest data on the situation in the whole country are presented in the author's report (Määttä 1975c) based on an enquiry send to the police departments in towns. As Figure 1 (p. 14) shows central areas are the Helsinki . region (Helsinki, Espoo, Vantaa), in which 82 % of all drug crimes in 1974 occurred, the Turku region (Turku, Naantali, Raisio, 4 % of crimes), Lappeenranta (5 % of crimes) and Lahti (7 % of crimes). Drug use is concentrated in areas which are characterized by direct routes abroad, a certain size of population, a mobile population, (migration, students) and industrialization. Hashish has been encountered in all places marked on the map, but several communities also mention the use of thinner and medical drugs. The situation outside the central areas of hashish use is obviously such that different medical preparations are used more often than hashish and other drugs.

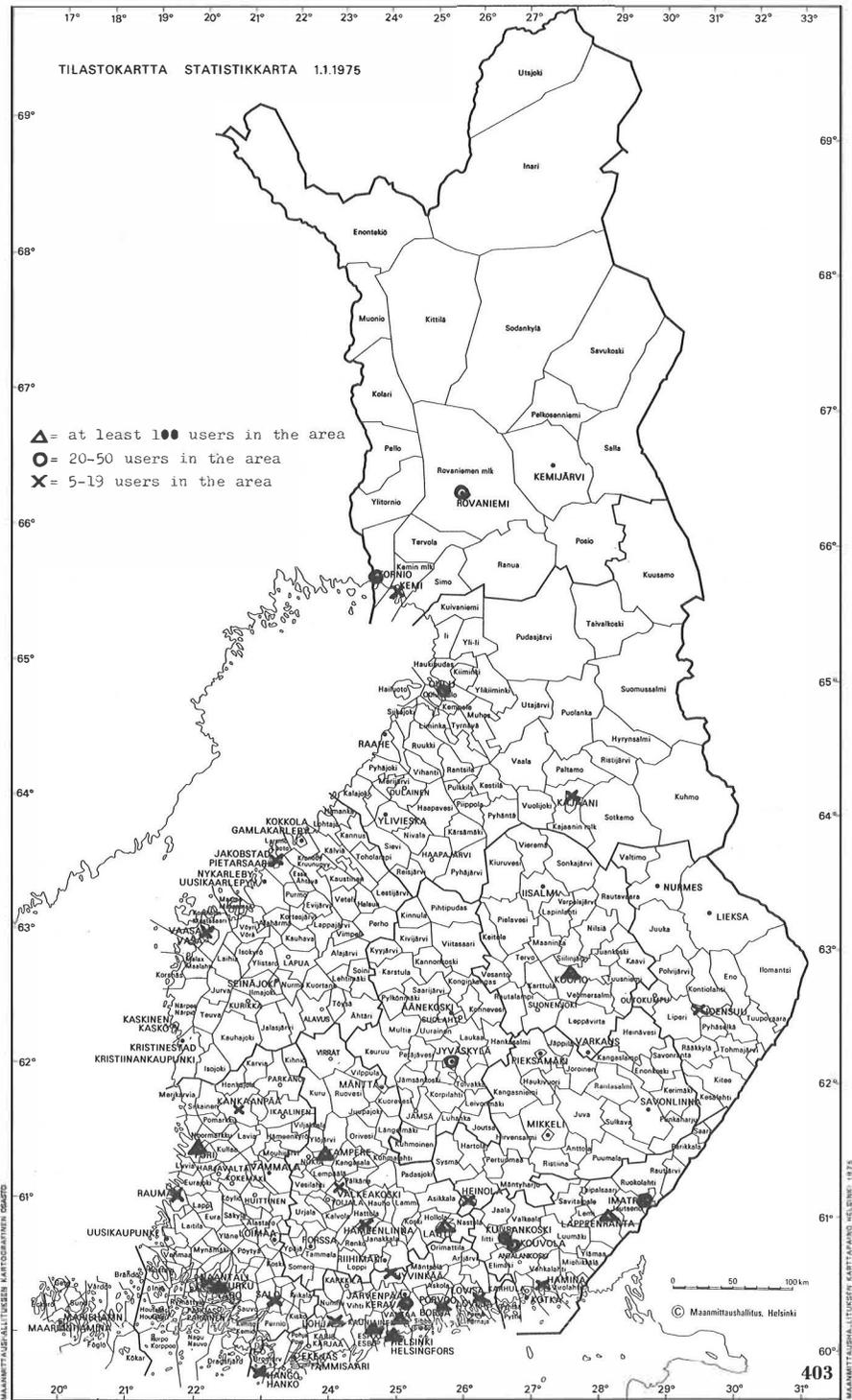


Figure 1. Drug use by young people in 1975 according to the assessment of police authorities

## 5. PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG DRUG USER

### 5.1. Definition of the concept "portrait"

The term "portrait" is used in the present study to refer to all those ideas that have been associated with a drug user. It is the purpose of the present study to clarify what kind of images of young people who use drugs have emerged in different countries, on what they are based and what factors are connected with different images. The term dominant portrait (or dominant image) refers to the image of a young drug user in each region/country which determines the contents of official societal reactions, e.g. control, information and treatment measures. With regard to the dominant image we are interested not only in its contents but also in who maintain it and what information it is based on.

Data for the portrait of a young person using drugs have been gathered from research literature on drug users, expert opinions and available information material. Information has been classified so that it is possible to make comparisons between images in different countries and between different researchers. Data have been classified into the following variable sets:

1. Psychological variables, which are assumed or known to be connected with drug use; reasons for and consequences of drug use.
2. Social psychological or sociological variables, which are assumed or seen to be connected with drug use; reasons for and consequences of drug use.
3. Variables indicating properties of drugs, the most important of which is a phenomenon called the "stepping-stone hypothesis". It would imply that marijuana and hashish function as intermediate drugs leading to the use of stronger drugs (e.g. heroin).

## 5.2. Marijuana smokers in the USA

The term "American marijuana smokers" is here used to refer to those high school and college students who started smoking marijuana in the United States in the 1960's and 1970's. Their characteristics are dealt with in more detail than others', because a large-scale interest of young people in cannabis and other drugs started in the United States, thus creating a basis for drug use elsewhere.

As noted above in discussing societal reactions, the dominant image in the 1960's dated from the 1930's (Marihuana Tax Act 1937) during which the associations between cannabis, crime and insanity were created. Drug use was seen to lead to anti-social behaviour, violence and/or continued irresistible desire to use not only marijuana but also strong opium derivatives. Long-term use was considered to lead to physical and psychic degeneration. Marijuana was smoked until the 1960's only among the coloured people belonging to the lowest social strata and by certain other minority groups. On the basis of fairly extensive research literature on marijuana smokers' personality traits it can be concluded (Määttä 1975a) that it is not possible to present a definite and consistent portrait of users. Braucht et al. (1973), who have reviewed research on personality in the 1960's, conclude that marijuana smokers are characterized among other things, by intropunitivism, feelings of guilt, anxiety, timidity, cognitive difficulties and group dependence. These research interpretations reflect the personality researchers' views in the 1960's on the marijuana smoker as a psychically deviant person. On the other hand Braucht et al. cite in their review research findings according to which marijuana smokers are open to new experiences, are social, impulsive and rebellious. In the reviewers' opinion the diverse, even conflicting results, are largely due to the fact that it has not always been possible to secure representative user samples but researchers have been compelled to use young people undergoing treatment or serving a sentence in prison as subjects.

The Victor et al. (1973) study typifies research in the 1970's which can be regarded as representative of marijuana smoking students. In their research marijuana smokers were found to be creative, adven-

tureseeking, non-authoritarian and interested in "internal experiences". The investigators interpreted the result to mean that certain personality types are more prone to drug experimenting than others and such types do not belong to the sphere of psychopathology.

Stokes (1974) criticizes traditional personality research in connection with drug use because in his opinion views based on traditional personality theories are not able to explain drug use among youth. The main finding in Stokes's own investigation was that fear of the consequences of drug use best explained drug use. Stokes interpreted the finding to mean that a young person who refrains from trying drugs represents a general conservative rigid personality type, who is brought up in a home where respect for law is strongly emphasized and the use of alcohol and tobacco is not approved of. At the opposite extreme is the youth who has grown up in a less authoritarian home, who has not developed a fear of the dangers of drug use, because his parents use alcohol and tobacco (and possible psychotropic drugs).

Investigations into the social background of marijuana smokers have given a relatively consistent picture of marijuana smoking as typical of middle and upper class youth. Goode (1970) explains the connection by stating that the atmosphere in middle class homes is more permissive of such experiences which drug use represents to young people: middle class homes are less authoritarian than, for example, working class homes, young people are encouraged to take initiative, become independent, express emotions freely and be interested in new experiences. These homes bring up young people who are flexible, creative, non-authoritarian and who in their desire for new experiments have transcended the limits of generally accepted behaviour. The young people are not, however, in rebellion against their families, but rather the liberal children of liberal families, who on several points have adopted their parents' value system (Cheek et al. 1973, Wolkon et al. 1974). Nevertheless, marijuana smoking is not accepted by the majority of liberal parents, either.

Mass media in the 1960's associated drug use with the so-called hippie philosophy, which rejected the norms of protestant ethics and the values of the "Establishment" (Smart & Jackson 1969). Hippies proposed to set up their own communities outside the competitive society,

which would enable them to realize their ideas about human relations, work and religion. Another new value system, which was associated with the use of drugs by young people, was a value system named "consciousness III" by Reich (1972), which has some features in common with hippie philosophy (e.g. ideas about personal identity, human relations, work). Views on changing the present state of affairs were divergent, however, since hippies rejected all traditional forms of political and other kinds of participation and wanted to influence through their example, whereas the student movement considered personal exhortation and participation to be important. The extent to which the contents of the above-mentioned value systems have been associated with marijuana smoking has been revealed in sociological research on the value system of marijuana smokers. In several studies carried out in 1960's the value system of marijuana smokers was interpreted as alienated and anti-social, appealing especially to immature, emotionally disturbed and sociopathic persons. Their sub-culture was found to correspond to the users' socially distorted view of reality by offering the possibility of withdrawing from competition, to passivity, to the rejection of logic and rationality and to the immediate fulfillment of needs (Braucht et al. 1973). Side by side with such views and particularly in the 1970's there have been new explanations of the value system of marijuana smokers, according to which it is not a withdrawn and in this sense alienated culture but part of society and devoted to social criticism (Suchman 1970, Clarke & Levine 1971). The best known research in this line is that of Suchman, according to which marijuana smoking was related to the following activities and attitudes:

1. participating in "happenings"
2. reading "underground" newspapers
3. participating in mass protests
4. opposition to the Vietnam war
5. opposition to the draft

As regards the students' academic success it was noted that drug use was more likely to occur among the poorer than the better students. This difference in grade probably represented one more manifestation of the rejection of the "hard work - success" ethic of conventional society. Drug use was more likely to be reported by those students who were rela-

tively antagonistic to the educational system and who were dissatisfied with the education they were receiving. However drug use did not mean "apathy" toward academic life - more smokers of marijuana were found among those students who believed that students should have a more active role in making decisions about students life than among those who did not. One finding related to social attitudes appeared contrary to many claims made about drug use. A series of questions designed to index "alienation" showed no statistically significant relationships to the smoking of marijuana.

When the research findings are compared with the ideological contents cited above, it can be said that pure hippie philosophy was not encountered on the campuses. Features of Reich's "consciousness III" can be traced in studies conducted towards the end of the 1960's (for instance Suchman 1970), even if results have not always been interpreted to exemplify a given value system but a behaviour pattern of a psychically deviant personality (Braucht et al. 1973).

As marijuana smoking continued to spread in the 1970's, research findings showed that user circles also included young people whose value system was not in opposition to dominant values, nor did marijuana smoking have for them the wider ideological contents it had for those who had started in the previous decade (Cheeck et al. 1973). For them marijuana meant a new form of relaxation.

When we compare the image formed on the basis of research results with the dominant image in the 1960's, it is obvious that several features of the latter are erroneous. In the first place, marijuana smoking has not been shown to lead to the use of "hard" drugs as was feared in the 1960's. Furthermore, marijuana use has not been found to be linked with violence or crime (with the exception of the acquisition and use of drugs). As a group marijuana smokers did not prove psychically deviant or degenerate. It was unavoidable that such consistent findings should have influenced larger groups' views on marijuana smoking: there have been demands for changing marijuana laws, and some groups have demanded the full legalization of marijuana. "The National Commission on Marihuana and Drug Abuse" has suggested amendments to the act on the prevention and control of drugs, according to which marijuana should not be equated with narcotic drugs and its use should not be regarded

as criminal activity. The commission also proposes changes in the international control agreements, according to which cannabis should be removed from the 1961 Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs and added to the Psychotropic Convention but not to its first group (Anon. 1973a). No decisive changes, however, have taken place because the majority of doctors, who have a powerful influence on the dominant image, do not support rapid action, since in their opinion there is not sufficient evidence for the harmlessness of marijuana.

### 5.3. Young drug users in Finland

#### 5.3.1. The Finnish drug user or taster in the light of research findings

Finnish research on drug tasting and use among young people has been strongly dichotomous. On the one hand the generality of use and user characteristics have been studied by means of survey research, and on the other hand there have been studies of young people taking the cure. Most survey research has been conducted with school pupils, and thus there is relatively little data about drug use among university students and working youth. In assessing the image that emerges from surveys it should be borne in mind that surveys have usually made no distinction between a taster and a user nor between the users of different drugs.

The following characteristics have been found to describe school students who have tried or used drugs (= user). Users come from all social classes, however such that hashish smoking is most clearly connected with the Finnish middle and upper classes (Määttä 1971, Rahikkala 1973). Users were gang members, who prefer to associate with peers rather than parents. Families exhibited an above-average incidence of divorce and conflict but the majority of users came from so-called ordinary families (Määttä 1975a). Survey research has not paid much attention to the users' personality and value system. Björkqvist & Jalander (1970) found that users had a somewhat above-average number of difficulties. Users did not differ from nonusers with regard to anxiety.

According to Pasanen (1973) users were satisfied with their originality and extraversion but would have preferred to be more stable and energetic. Users' attitudes towards the police, church and school were also found to be more critical than those of other young people.

The picture of young people seeking treatment for drug use is consistent. In the background we find divorced families and one-parent families dropping out of school, lack of housing, unemployment and a police record. Several young persons have attended some institution (Määttä 1975a). The personality description of the group includes every domain of pathology (e.g. Louhivuori 1971). It was found that the value system of the group undergoing treatment had not been crystallized into definite stands but general uncertainty was a typical feature. Quite a few of those who sought treatment in Helsinki had started with hashish but almost all of them had been multiple drug users. If the person had used only one drug, it was either thinner or some medical preparation.

The only Finnish investigation concerning a drug scene is by Rosenqvist (1970) in Helsinki. The subjects were users since hashish smoking might have lasted for some time (3 to 5 years). Types of drug use were similar to those found in other drug scenes: more than one half had, besides smoking hashish, tried other drugs, mainly LSD, amphetamine and medical drugs. Rosenqvist classified the users as follows:

1. City group: The name derives from the meeting place of the group. It included school students, workers and idlers. Some used hashish but the group also used alcohol and amphetamine.
2. Ideological groups: The members of these groups regarded themselves as "real users". Hashish played an important part in their lives. Hashish acted as a catalyst in different functions, such as thinking, artistic and political activities. The users closely followed what was being written about cannabis. The users of these groups knew the marketing system for drugs and some obtained and sold drugs to the City group.
3. Weekend smokers: This group had no contacts with the City group but some connection with the ideological groups. Users were mainly school and university students. They used hashish only on certain occasions and smoking did not have a great effect on their lives.

The Rosenqvist study brings out similar ideological contents which was encountered in the thinking of marijuana smokers in the 1960's (cf. "consciousness III"). Some of the users had adopted this ideology more profoundly (ideological groups), for some hashish was one drug among many (City group), and the rest used hashish mainly for relaxation (weekend smokers).

### 5.3.2. The image of a young drug user conveyed by Finnish opinion formers

"Finnish opinion former" is here used to refer to persons who as experts or using expert statements have in the 1960's and the 1970's dealt in public with drug use. In building up the conveyed by opinion formers the main sources of information have been magazines and information brochures. The articles date from the turn of the decade and the early years of the 1970's, which may be due to the fact that the drug bill was under preparation at that time. Lately the use of drugs by young people has not been in the forefront of public discussion.

Several opinion formers present a young drug-user as an individual with a psychically deviating personality, who attempts to solve his psycho-social problems by resorting to drug use (Määttä 1975a). In the background they see disharmonious homes, broken families or unusually strong identity crises, which may even lead a youth from a "good and well-to-do" home to drug use. The user is seen as a young person in need of treatment, who cannot solve those psychic problems that are considered to have caused drug use without expert help.

Finnish opinion formers have not discussed the psychically "normal" youth, whose drug use has a certain ideological foundation (cf. marijuana smokers). There are some references to the rejection of the values of the consumer society, the declining importance of religion, home and school and the breach of norms, but they are seen as part of the behaviour of a certain risk group. The internal value system of user groups is depicted in such a way human relations have no significance, drugs and the money needed for securing them are the focus of all activity. Maladaptation and criminality are associated with the users' sphere of life.

The presentation of the properties of drugs has had a central position in the articles published by Finnish opinion formers. Hashish is presented as a drug which easily leads to the use of stronger drugs (e.g. Achte, Alanen & Tienari 1971). It is also presented as a certainty that hashish is dangerous because it causes psychic reactions (paranoid reactions, risk of psychosis) and physical damage (Määttä 1975a).

The image of the young drug user and of the consequences of drug use conveyed by opinion formers determines the contents of the dominant image, on the basis of which decisions are taken on the contents of control, information and treatment measures. The most important group of opinion formers has been those doctors who have expressed their opinion on drug use, because their expert opinion carries much weight. The majority of Finnish doctors in line with doctors in other countries have taken a strongly negative stand towards cannabis use. The contents of present Finnish drug legislation were largely discussed on the basis of doctors' expert statements.

#### 5.4. Features common to images in different countries

The author has reviewed (Määttä 1975a) the conceptions of young drug users presented not only by American and Finnish researchers and experts but also in Central and Northern European literature. Although interpretations of drug use vary considerably, there are certain, common features irrespective of region.

On the basis of the review it may be said that the contents of the dominant image are remarkably similar, something which is reflected, among other things, in the similarity of control measures. This is naturally no coincidence since behind them are the international conventions, which guide national activities. The 1961 Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs defined drug use as criminal activity and as a consequence drug users are easily seen as criminal and violent. The mass media support this view by giving wide coverage to the criminal and violent activities connected with drug traffic. It may be said that the contents of

the dominant image serve the objectives of western culture, often characterized as violent, by linking the causes of violence with phenomena which are seen as independent of social structure. There are examples in the literature which show that the surrounding society considers the drop-out hippies considerably more threatening and dangerous than, for example ordinary violent criminals (Smart & Jackson 1969, Bryld & Nielsen 1973).

There are certain common features, particularly with regard to drug use, in the image of the drug user conveyed by researchers and they can be grouped as follows (Määttä 1975a):

1. In all regions there are considerably more cannabis tasters than users. Users may be classified into occasional users (e.g. weekenders) and regular users. Quite recently it has been found that the number of new tasters has decreased.
2. Tasters and occasional users generally use only one drug. The most popular drug has been cannabis (exceptions are, for instance, small towns and the countryside in Norway and Finland).
3. The most popular drug among users is also cannabis: in the United States marijuana (pot) and in Europe hashish (superpot). However, the popularity of hashish has increased in the United States in the 1970's and small amounts of marijuana have always been available in Europe. Users are often multidrug users, which means that other psychedelic drugs are tasted besides cannabis. A small part also use medical preparations and opium derivatives. The use of the latter among school and college students is fairly uncommon (most common in England and the Netherlands). Users regard cannabis as a completely or rather harmless drug which in official classifications should be clearly distinguished from dangerous drugs such as opium, morphine and heroin. A section of the users also consider LSD to belong to the dangerous drugs. Cannabis is equated with alcohol or is most often regarded as less dangerous than alcohol.
4. Researchers have less confidence in the "stepping-stone hypothesis", in other words, they do not believe that cannabis use leads to the use of hard drugs. Instead they talk about multiple drug use, which is partly explained by the fact that all drug users have through legislation been isolated as a special sub-culture, which is compelled to make

contacts with illegal drug trafficking in order to obtain various drugs. In the 1970's there has been a decrease in the experimentation with other drugs and users have increasingly concentrated on cannabis. This is probably explained by the fact that those who have been interested in the effects of different drugs have had time to try other drugs and on the other hand, they have found out the risks connected with the use of different drugs.

5. The most common motive for experimenting with drugs is curiosity and friends talking about the pleasant effects of drugs. Young people have not been compelled to try drugs.

6. As motives for the continued use of cannabis users cite the positive experiences arising from drug use, e.g. increasing intensity of different pleasurable feelings and improved self-awareness empathy and creativity.

7. It is relatively seldom that cannabis use has been reported to have negative effects. For school students they are mostly connected with school attendance (truancy, deteriorating school performance).

8. Cannabis use is a group activity, which does not necessarily mean group dependence. The group is needed for giving instruction in use and for maintaining the habit. During the learning or "turning on" stage users instruct the initiate in the technique of correct use and in how to produce positive experiences. Goode (1970) talks about the marijuana mythology, whose significance for obtaining "right" experiences is essentially important.

9. Men are mainly responsible for spreading the use of cannabis and they also use cannabis more than women. There is scarcely any research based information on the international drug trade, but the members of drug communities have to a large extent organized their own street peddling. In addition to this international tourism has brought drugs to those interested in them.

The social background of marijuana smokers was clearly middle and upper class in the United States. A similar clear relationship has not been found in Canada or Europe. In some countries it has been found that cannabis first spread among the middle class youth but when the use spread further it also reached other young people.

The basic assumptions of researchers studying users' personality traits in different countries have coincided: the user has been assumed

to be deviant in personality or a youth belonging to a risk group. The same assumptions were made earlier when attention was first directed to the increased consumption of alcohol among young people (Bacon & Jones 1969). Studies conducted among high school and college youth have not supported this assumption. On the contrary, tasters and users have in some studies proved less anxious and more sociable than non-users.

The value system of young cannabis users has nowhere else been studied as intensively as in the United States. Therefore, it is difficult on the basis of research data alone to judge the similarity of cannabis users' thinking. Some individual findings and expert statements in different countries have, however, given reason to assume that the ideological motives for cannabis use are the same irrespective of the country (e.g. Christie 1968).

## 5.5. Analysis of factors which account for the emergence of user images

### 5.5.1. Overview

It will have appeared from the previous chapters that the use of drugs among young people which started in the United States in the 1960's and spread to Europe has been interpreted in many different ways. The contents of the dominant image have not nearly always coincided with the image that emerged from research, and different researchers have interpreted the same phenomenon differently. In a theoretical analysis of the situation the different images or views of young drug users may be placed in a four way table with the following dimensions:

1. an individual's relation to the dominant value and norm systems
2. an individual's psychic characteristics and mental health

By cross-tabulating the two dimensions we get the typology presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Relationship of drug use to an individual's mental health and value and norm system

| An individual's psychic characteristics and mental health | An individual's relation to the dominant value and norm systems  |   |
|---|--|---|
|   | Non-deviant  | Deviant   |
| No mental health problems                                 | 1. Use of drugs - particularly that of cannabis - is tasting or occasional, often motivated by mere curiosity. Continuous use for relaxation and for intensification of experiences. | 2. Deviation from the dominant value system has been interpreted as alienation, normlessness, anti-social behaviour or social criticism. In the users' opinion drugs help them to become aware of new values. |
| Mental health problems                                    | 3. Drugs are used as self-medication for psychic problems.   | 4. Problems of mental health are related to asocial attitudes and illegal activity. Users are "multiple users", who often use any drug.   |

When we examine the location of images produced in different countries in the typology by region it is reasonable to deal with the United States separately. The image of the user conveyed by research is the most diverse in the United States, where marijuana smoking is considerably more common among young people than in any other industrialized western country. Certain changes in the research-based image can be detected when we move from the 1960's to the 1970's. In the first stage the user tended to be regarded as a youth belonging to group 3 and 4, but towards the end of the 1960's this view was rejected and class 2 was increasingly emphasized. In the 1970's it has been found that the image should be expanded further in the direction of class 1 also with regard to continued use of drugs. This kind of change in user image has resulted in the fact that in the United States the problem of drug use by students and young adults has crystallized from a psychosocial problem to "mere" use problem, which on the decision-making level means answering the question: Has an individual the right on the basis of his own judgement to use for personal relaxation such new drugs which do not belong to the western cultural

tradition, and whose use does not exceed those risks caused by substances approved of by cultural traditions?

In Europe research is clearly divided into two main directions. On the one hand investigations have included school pupils for whom it has been found that most drug use is experimentation and is thus located in class 1 or according to some studies in class 2, where deviation from societal values has been considered anti-social behaviour or maladjustment. Another major object of research has been youth seeking treatment, in which case the image belongs either to class 3 or 4. It depends on the researcher if this image has been seen as the only alternative to experimentation. The Danish researcher Winsløw (1972) emphasizes that a clear distinction has to be made between a drug user who started hashish smoking in the 1960's and the institutionalized drug user. By the latter he means users in prison, in hospitals, in special care and treatment institutions for children and young people. Finnish investigators have, for their part, stressed that young drug users can be grouped into either tasters and occasional users or problem users, who are in need of public treatment and care (e.g. Idänpää-Heikkilä J. & P. 1974). The dominant image both in Finland and the rest of Europe is strongly along this line, the consequence of which is that decision-makers see total elimination of use as the only possible solution if we wish to prevent the many psychic and social problems that are associated with the user image.

#### 5.5.2. Views on research strategy

The emergence of different interpretations of the use of drugs by young people can be clarified further by making some observations on research strategy. Triesman (1973), who has dealt with logical problems of cannabis research, states that many investigations explaining cannabis use are so full of weaknesses that the generalizations made cannot be considered justified.

The errors and weaknesses in research strategy mentioned by Triesman can be grouped as follows:

1. Pure empiricist methods. Triesman regards as the basic weakness of most studies the purely empiricist methods, in which cannabis use is related to all other personality and behavioural dimensions, and which lead to erroneous conclusions about the cause-effect relations in cannabis use.
2. Difficulties of defining cannabis use. It is difficult to assess the effects of cannabis because the quality of cannabis sold in the street is often completely unknown. In some analyses it has been found that 10 % of stuff sold in the street was pure cannabis, 10 % did not contain cannabis at all. On the other hand it is difficult to estimate the effects of cannabis because almost all users also smoke tobacco.
3. Problems of the representativeness of samples. Triesman cites as examples studies made in care institutions according to which drug users have various psychic problems. Drugs are easily interpreted as the causes of such problems, which leads to a generalization that all long-term users of drugs have the same symptoms and thus belong to classes 3 and 4 of the typology. Certain studies with student populations have suffered from the same selection of samples (e.g. Suchman's research on the value system of marijuana smokers was carried out on an "elite campus").
4. Retrospective interpretations. Triesman refers to conclusions drawn on the basis of observations made in traditional areas of cannabis use, e.g. about the relation between cannabis use and psychotic states. Definite conclusions cannot be made when the assumed psychotic effects of cannabis are studied in a group, which already possesses the assumed effects.

The relationship between research strategy and user image can also be understood in such a way that each branch of science has a dominant theoretical and methodological approach whatever the nature of the problem to be studied. According to this view it is conceivable that the emergence of various user images is determined more by research traditions in different domains of science than by contents of the phenomenon as such. Investigations into cannabis use and users can be classified according to the branch of science as follows:

1. medical investigations

1.1. pharmacological studies, which have concentrated on studying the physiological effects of drugs. The results of animal experiments are generalized to humans (chromosome changes, congenital malformations).

1.2. psychiatric studies, which are dominated by the traditional clinical methods and the psychoanalytical frame of reference. Thus drug use is easily seen to be connected with suppression of drive energy, fixation on the oral stage and to be essentially a drive in itself. The existential framework has a certain place in the German language area (e.g. Heyman 1973, Bärsch 1973, Gastager 1973).

2. psychological investigations

2.1. differential psychological studies, in which differences between the personality traits of drug users (high school and college students, those taking the cure, etc) and non-users have been analyzed on the basis of different personality theories. Cattell's personality tests and the MMPI have been the most frequently used measuring instruments.

2.2. studies of human perception, whose purpose has been to elucidate the immediate effects of drugs on perception. On the basis of such studies conclusions have been drawn on cannabis use and road safety among other things.

2.3. clinical studies and case studies, in which conclusions have been drawn on the basis of the examination of those users who have sought treatment.

3. sociological investigations

As frames of reference theories explaining alienation and criminal behaviour have been used, among other things. The most widely accepted has been the sub-culture theory, according to which drug use is to a large extent controlled by the situation that drug use is generally condemned and illegal, and this makes users form their own sub-cultures (e.g. Johnson 1973). The primacy of research tradition is shown by the fact that Winsløw (1974), after noting that his data do not support the sub-culture or the diffusion approaches, points out, however, that "it must be added that as long as no more convincing sociological alternatives to the study of nonmedical or recreational drug use has been offered, these two approaches will have to suffice..." (p. 538).

Traditional medical research places drug use in classes 3 and 4 of the typology, psychological research, depending on the subjects in class 1 (tasters, studies on student population in the 1970's) 3 or 4 (youth taking the cure), sociological research usually in class 2 and in some studies carried out in the United States in the 1970's in class 1. The kind of research that has attracted most attention in Finland has been clinical research, which places users in classes 3 and 4. There has been practically no sociological research on drug use in Finland. When it is known that research results are used to influence public opinion, it is understandable that the dominant image in Finland has a strong clinical bias.

### 5.5.3. Value implications of research

An important reason for the variety of user images is the fact that researchers in conveying a picture of young drug users, select and interpret available information on the basis of their own value systems. In a complex society there exists no one universally accepted value system but people's activities are guided by different ideas of right and wrong. This can also be stated in such a way that different people do not share a single objective view of reality but there are several subjective realities. It is the researcher's task to describe and explain reality, for instance, the causes and effects of use of drugs among young people. His interpretations of research data do not explain co-called objective reality but are conclusions drawn on the basis of the researcher's basic values.

It is easy to cite examples of the value connections of research in studies about drug use. Protestant ethics e.g. according to Goode's and Klerman's interpretation have laid it down as a moral rule that the pursuit of enjoyment by means of recreational drugs is evil (Goode 1970, Klerman 1970). This is a dominant value, and research data are sought to support it and to show the risks of recreational drugs. By this token the researchers who have adopted this dominant view are more inclined to see a connection between e.g. cannabis use and on the other hand violence, criminal behaviour or psychic problems than those inves-

tigators or expert who have embraced the value of the minority (= users). Another example of the value implication of research data are the studies on the value system of users. In several studies it was found that users criticised the fact that human relations in western culture are based on competition, superiority and excellence the hierarchical nature of working life and status thinking, the mechanisation of work and closed systems of thought, which determine the individual's place in society. It has depended on the value system of each researcher whether criticism has been regarded as maladjustment, as normlessness or as social criticism. The views manifested in the Braucht et al. (1973) review of research literature on the one hand, and the views expounded by Reich (1972) on the other may be regarded as the two extremes of interpretation. According to the former, the users' value system was alienated and antisocial. Their sub-culture was found to correspond to the socially distorted picture of reality of immature, emotionally disturbed and sociopathic users, which offered them a motive for withdrawal from competition, passivity, rejection of logic and rationally and immediate gratification of needs. Reich for his part sees in the thinking he calls "consciousness III" the core of the value system of a society of the future, which at the moment is the guideline for minority action but will in the long run form the basis of the value system of the majority.

## 6. PORTRAIT OF HASHISH SMOKERS IN JYVÄSKYLÄ

### 6.1. Aims of the empirical surveys

It will have appeared from the preceding chapters that the use of drugs by young people can be explained in several ways the explanations ranging from relaxation use to serious problem use. The content of user images has varied according to the type of use, investigator, research strategy

and to some extent, the period when research was conducted. Finnish studies on drug use have mainly sought out tasters or young people seeking treatment, the result of which has been that continuous use has always been interpreted as problem use. With regard to marijuana smokers in the United States it was, however, found that in terms of their psychic characteristics they did not belong to special risk groups and that marijuana smoking did not cause them any major psychic or social problems.

A group of young people many of whom had smoked hashish for several years, were obtained as subjects in the autumn of 1971. The availability of this group made it possible to answer several questions which had arisen as a result of the conflicting user images. A central problem was to clarify the motives for continuous use and the effects of long-term use. The definition of research problems was not guided by any consistent theoretical frame of reference, but by an idea based on different user images of the factors assumed to be related to the use of drugs by young people. This method can be justified by the fact that several researchers (e.g. Stokes 1974, Winslów 1974) are of the opinion that traditional psychological and sociological theories are not capable of explaining the use of drugs by young people that started in the 1960's. The 1971 study on drug users in Jyväskylä focussed on the motives, the structure, norms and values of user groups although some other aspects were also studied. This choice on emphasis was made in order to facilitate a comparison of the profile of hashish smokers in Jyväskylä with the original American profile and to assess common traits.

In order to be able to find out the potential long-term effects of hashish smoking another study was carried out in the spring and summer of 1975. The purpose of this study was on the one hand to discover what had happened to the hashish smokers studied in 1971 in the period 1972 to 1975 and, on the other hand, to analyze the extent of drug use in Jyväskylä in 1975. It was hoped that a new survey of the situation would reveal possible changes as compared with the situation in 1971, and enable a prognosis about future drug use, to be made.

## The city of Jyväskylä

The city of Jyväskylä was founded in 1837. At the end of the 19th century it became known as a school town, since the first Finnish language secondary school for boys had been founded there in 1858, followed in 1863 by a primary school teacher seminar and in 1864 by the first Finnish language girls' school. In the 1920's Jyväskylä began to develop as an industrial town. In 1960 it became the regional capital of the new province of Central Finland. The population has grown annually at the rate of 1200 - 1300 people from the end of the 1950's to the early years of the 1970's, but the rate of expansion is slowing down to some extent. In 1973 the population of Jyväskylä was about 60,500, of which 4,800 persons were between 15 to 19 years of age and 6,000 between 20 to 24 years (Anon. 1974). At the moment Jyväskylä is the eighth largest town in Finland.

The population of Jyväskylä is considerably bigger since the above figures do not include the students at various educational institutions, which take students from the province but also from other parts of the country. In addition to the comprehensive schools, five upper secondary schools and one evening institute (providing lower and upper secondary courses) there are, for example, also the following educational institutions:

Municipal Vocational School of Jyväskylä (about 350 students)

Central Vocational School (about 850 students)

Vocational Centre (about 410 students)

The Vocational School of Valmet Works Inc. (about 180 students)

Commercial Institute (about 680 students)

Technical College (about 630 students)

Nursing College (about 500 students)

Kindergarten Teacher Seminar (about 90 students)

University of Jyväskylä (about 6,300 students)

The most important reason for the growth of population is the concentration of industry in the area, which has been clearly the biggest source of employment in the 1950's and the 1960's. Heavy industry is represented by the state owned Valmet Works (metal products), Wilhelm Schauman Inc. (wood processing) and G. A. Serlachius Inc. (paper). The

business and service sectors have also developed rapidly.

The city of Jyväskylä offers young people leisure time activities mainly through port clubs, youth organizations affiliated to the political parties and the church. Workers' and Civic Institutes offer courses for young persons above 16. The city has provided no special leisure activities or facilities for those young people who do not take part in the above-mentioned activities. The church has tried to some extent to take this group of young people into consideration by arranging open-door evenings with no definite programme. The aim has been to draw young people off the streets and out of cafes.

There are special services for young people who have problems both within the educational system and outside it. There is one school psychologist and three school welfare workers. The Educational Counselling Clinic of Central Finland offers its services to parents and schools (children up to the age of 16). There is also a youth section of the Mental Health Bureau of Central Finland, a youth section of the A-clinic (alcohol problems), an office for the welfare of former prisoners, community homes for boys and girls, a first home for young people who have served a prison sentence and mental health service for university students. The parish of Jyväskylä has also employed a youth welfare worker to work among the "gangs" of young people.

## 6.2. Young hashish smokers in 1971

### 6.2.1. Research problems

The research problems were grouped into five problem areas:

1. What is the life situation and value system of hashish smokers in Jyväskylä in the autumn of 1971. The analysis of the life situation meant the survey of young people's drug use, their social relationships and interests and the social consequences of drug use.
2. What are the characteristics of those hashish smokers who seek treatment. It was hoped that this analysis would make it possible to make

a more exact comparison between the profile of hashish smokers in Jyväskylä and the profiles presented earlier (cf. previous studies of young people seeking treatment cited in the above).

3. What long-term effects can be seen in hashish smokers. Interpretations were made by comparing the short-term user group with the long-term user group.

4. Is it possible to detect distinct sub-groups in the research group. With this analysis it was hoped to discover out whether all hashish smokers belonged more or less closely to one group or gang. If that was found not to be the case, the aim was to clarify the criteria for the formation of sub-groups.

5. Do the asocial, authoritarian and anomic attitudes of the school pupils studied differ from those of other young people attending school? The first problem is the main research problem and the purpose of the other problems was to elaborate the analysis of the life situation and value system with regard to certain central areas.

#### 6.2.2. Research methods

The research group comprised one hundred (N = 100) hashish smokers, who were defined as young people who had at least ten hashish experiences. The lower age limit was 14 years. The research group was gathered so that the interviewer sought out young hashish smokers in cafes, in discotheques, on the street and through the intermediary of persons known to her (snow ball sampling). The research group consisted of 58 boys and 42 girls. The mean age was about 17 years and the range was from 14 to 25 years. The young people belonged to the following groups:

|  | per cent |
|--|----------|
| in continuation school<br>(after primary school) | 6        |
| in secondary school                              | 48       |
| in vocational school                             | 13       |
| in commercial school                             | 4        |
| in university                                    | 7        |
| gainfully employed                               | 13       |
| out of work                                      | 4        |
| other (army, civil service etc.)                 | 5        |

The interviewer was an university student, who had become acquainted with the hashish smokers in Jyväskylä at an earlier stage. During the interview she was an ex-user and had the confidence of the research group. This was important for the reliability of research data since the object of research was delicate (the illegal use of drugs).

The interview was divided into two parts. In the first part the interviewer surveyed the following areas by means of an interview guide (see Määttä 1975a):

1. survey of drug use (initiation, drugs used, amounts taken, intentions of cutting down or giving up drug use)
2. users' attitudes towards drug proliferation and prevention and their views on drug information and legislation
3. acquisition of drugs (financing, acting as seller)
4. social consequences of drug use (police contacts, contacts with doctors, success at school or work, relations at home)
5. treatment and cure of drug users (need of treatment in general and personal need, whether has been taking the cure, contents of the cure)
6. users' relations with each other and their interests (group structure, interests)
7. plans for the future and value system.

The second part of the interview consisted of an attitude survey, which was designed to find out the users' asocial, authoritarian, anomic and optimistic attitudes. For the purpose of comparison the attitude questionnaire was also administered to vocational and secondary school students.

The statistical methods of analysis for all variables were frequency distributions, and intercorrelations between variables (dichotomous variables). A factor analysis was computed for attitude and value variables. The factor scores obtained were used to supplement other variables in further analyses, which with regard to certain areas (treatment, dosage, length of use, group structure) were cross tabulations and discriminant analysis.

In the previous review of research literature the author discussed the significance of data interpretation for the creation of different user images. In the same connection the use of pure empiricist methods in drug research was criticised. In the present study an attempt was

made to apply the so-called relativistic approach in the interpretation of data (Young 1971), which means that results are interpreted on the basis of the users' value system. The above is connected with the value orientation of the present research in that the planning of data collection has been guided by the dominant views of drug use among young people, whereas at the analysis stage the results have been interpreted from within the users' frame of reference.

### 6.2.3. Main results

#### 6.2.3.1. Description of the research group

The research group gives wider coverage than several earlier research groups in Finland inasmuch as it also includes university students and young people at work in addition to school students. The investigation has also used more hashish smokers than any previous survey. In judging the representativeness of the research group it may be said that the investigation has involved the majority of hashish smokers in Jyväskylä in the autumn of 1971. The entire core membership and leaders of the then user group were involved as well as those youths who were responsible for the selling of drugs.

In terms of social background hashish smokers belonged to all social groups, however, such that the middle and upper-middle class youth were somewhat overrepresented and the youth of skilled workers were underrepresented. The parents of the former were either university graduates, in leading positions or had obtained tertiary non-university education. In regard to individual occupations in the upper class, attention was drawn to the frequency of business and commercial occupations (director, private enterpriser, sales manager, etc.).

A closer analysis of the users' homes showed that 60 % of users came from homes in which both parents lived together. About one third of the entire group and 22 % of the school children in the research group came from homes where parents were diverged. In other cases one or both parents were dead. Children of divorced parents were clearly overrepresented for it was established in a school survey (Määttä 1971)

that 5 % of all young people at school came from homes where parents were divorced.

When the background of the research group is compared with the one that appearing in the profile presentation, it can be said that the profile of the Jyväskylä hashish smokers does not fully correspond to any described in the above. The users' homes did not clearly represent the wealthy middle class population of Finnish society although a certain bias in that direction was discernible. On the other hand, the risk background families from studies on samples of those undergoing treatment was not found. Characteristic of the risk background has been the predominance on lower social classes, broken homes, unemployment and lack of a permanent home. Young people from divorced families, however, were overrepresented. To summarize, it can be said that hashish smokers come from very diverse homes, the majority from so-called Ordinary homes. They did not clearly deviate from other young people in other respects, either, for 76 % of users did not differ from ordinary young people in their outward appearance (i.e. clothes, hairstyle). Six members of the group dressed in a clear hippie style.

#### 6.2.3.2. Data about the use of drugs

The use of hashish and other possible drugs by the research group was relatively old, since 90 % them had used drugs for one year at least. Those who had smoked hashish longest had started in Stockholm towards the middle of the 1960's and they had brought hashish with them. Two thirds of the sample belonged to a group which as of autumn 1971 had been smoking hashish from one to three years.

The reasons for and circumstances of hashish smoking were similar to those cited in the above where the common features of profiles in different countries were described. Initiation usually took place in the company of friends and mainly out of sheer curiosity. Turning on had for the most part been unpremeditated: a youth has not been forced to try hashish smoking nor had he made a special effort to find an opportunity for an experiment. The scene for turning on had been the central municipal park, discotheques, and parties. Young people had been faithful to their first drug experiences for 87 % reported that they had

started with hashish. Others had transferred from thinner sniffing and medicine to hashish.

The motives for the continued use of hashish were the same universal motives which were discovered both in the United States and in other European countries. Of central importance were various positive experiences due to hashish smoking. Their content varied from the intensification of different perceptions (enjoyment of music, nature) to the increase of self-awareness and creativity. Two thirds of the sample reported that they found the use of hashish pleasurable, about one half indicated that pleasant effects were the main reason for continued use. For some of the oldest users hashish smoking had become a habit which was indulged occasionally on meeting friends (cf. weekenders). Part of the sample (20 %) had had also negative experiences of hashish smoking which they described as a "bad trip". 10 % of the interviewees stated that continued use led to psychic dependence. According to the users' own norms the situation may be described in such a way that hashish as such does not lead the user, for instance, to psychic problems, but the use norms that guide the hashish smoking of youth. Users talked about "correct use" and "abuse". Used correctly hashish brings about the above-mentioned pleasant experiences. Abuse means that the norms that control the use of alcohol are transferred to hashish smoking. Hashish is assumed to cause a state resembling alcohol intoxication and when this is not produced the amount of hashish is increased, which results in a "bad trip".

At the time of the investigation 94 % of the interviewed youth used only hashish. 79 % also had experiences of the effects of other drugs. The length of hashish use and the number of other drugs tried were found to be related in the following way:

Table 2. Relationship between length of hashish use and number of drugs tried

| Length of hashish use | Average number of drugs |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| Under 2 years         | 2.2 drugs               |
| 2 to 4 years          | 4.1 "                   |
| Over 4 years          | 6.0 "                   |

Other drugs reported included marijuana, LSD, mescaline, amphetamine, opium and its derivatives, thinner and medical preparations. In view of the "stepping stone hypothesis" the result may be interpreted to mean that hashish smoking has not led to a continued use of hard drugs, i.e. a physical dependence on hard drugs. As far as other drugs are concerned the situation is similar to that in the United States and other European countries: besides using hashish and marijuana young people try other drugs in order to be able to compare the effects of different drugs (= multiple drug use). After the experimentation period users return to the original drug, i.e. cannabis. In autumn 1971 the leaders of the group had assumed a strongly negative attitude to other drugs and stressed the importance of making a distinction between hashish and other drugs. Thinner was judged to be specially dangerous. The users' attitude to alcohol is illustrated by the fact that in a choice situation 66 % of users would prefer hashish to alcohol.

The acquisition of hashish on the Jyväskylä drug scene took forms similar to those found in larger cities. The first batches of drugs arrived with users who settled in Jyväskylä. As use spread but remained outside strict police surveillance some users took charge of delivering drugs to Jyväskylä. Drugs were obtained both from Stockholm and Helsinki. At that stage the selling of drugs was not a major commercial interest. Users aimed at self-sufficiency, in other words to obtain the amount of drugs which they needed for personal use.

The situation in Jyväskylä, as well as elsewhere, began to change when the police learned about the drug-trafficking routes. The arrest of one of the leaders during a smuggling trip changed the situation in

Jyväskylä decisively. It affected the users in that hashish smoking, which they had considered perfectly harmless, was concretely shown to be an illegal activity. The police tightened its control when it had officially proved the existence of a hashish smoking group. Narcotic agents started watching the meeting and dancing places used by young people. In autumn 1971 the situation was such that the supplying of drugs had been taken over by young people who were more interested in making money than in drugs and friends. The young users were of the opinion that firmer police action contributed to the takeover of drug selling by more distinctly criminal elements, which resulted in higher prices and uncertainty about the quality of the "stuff". This meant that the professional drug sellers' supplies contained different additional ingredients - other drugs (in users' opinion e.g. opium) or fillers - the purpose of which was partly to induce dependence and partly and mainly to increase the profit. The young persons needed substantial amounts of money to obtain hashish, those who smoked a lot hundreds of marks a month. Money was obtained from home, work, hashish selling and other illegal activities. Of the one hundred subjects six resorted merely to illegal means, eighteen obtained the money partly through means, which included stealing from home and "small jobs". The use of illegal means for obtaining money had the highest correlations with the number of drugs used (.54), length of use (.50) and amounts of hashish taken (.29). Boys used illegal means for obtaining money more than girls.

With regard to intentions for giving up hashish smoking it was found that almost one half of the sample planned to continue. Twenty-one wanted to give up hashish completely. Various negative effects were cited as reasons for reducing or giving up hashish use. An interesting disparity was detected when the young people were asked to rate the ease of giving up hashish: giving up in general was thought to be much more difficult than up personally. This can be interpreted to mean that the personal situation was seen as ambivalent, in other words they did not want to admit personal difficulties, or to mean that the non-specificity of the question "drugs" was understood to mean all drugs, also so-called hard stuff. Some respondents specified their answers by saying that it depended on the drug and/or user how easy it was to give up drugs.

### 6.2.3.3. Users' social relationships and interests

Investigations into drug use conducted in several countries have not yielded a very clear picture of what kind of groups marijuana and hashish smokers form, although they emphasize the group character of drug use. The dominant Finnish image, i.e. the profile outlined by opinion formers, sees drug users as typical gang youth, whose practically only interest is drug use and obtaining money for buying drugs.

The basic assumption of the present study was also that users form one "gang", which all users with varying degrees of closeness are attached to. The assumption turned out to be false, since the results indicated that there was no single and integrated group but several smaller or larger sub-groups, where most of the young people knew each other and knew about each other's hashish smoking (Problem 4, see 6.2.1.). This was mainly due to the fact that hashish had to be obtained from the same "secret places".

The central municipal park was the main meeting place of hashish smokers. Some of the sample were in the park almost all the time. This group consisted of young people who had no special interests. All their time was spent together smoking and talking. There were, however, considerably more young people in the park particularly during weekends, most of them school pupils even from outside the town. The park was also visited by young people who had had given up active smoking but came to see old friends and to smoke hashish now and then. The interviewees, however, also included young people who had never showed up in the park.

The one hundred smokers interviewed named fourteen sub-groups which they were members of. The groups were mostly "mixed" groups, for they included both boys and girls and on the other hand, school and university students and young people at work. The central municipal park attracted the most heterogeneous group of young people, because several smaller groups met there. There were also some "pure" groups, which represented high school and college students. Hashish smoking took place in these sub-groups and was thus group activity in line with the original American model. The degree of group dependence varied from the close relationship of those who met continually in the central

municipal park to occasional get-together for hashish smoking, which can be called being together (cf. Reich 1972) rather than classical group activity. Being together was characterized by the fact that different persons gathered in the same place in order to experience through hashish the same stimuli (e.g. music and nature) in the same way.

A certain part of the sample close contacts with other people who did not belong to the hashish smoking groups. The nature of such contacts reflects the young persons' interests. Part of the sample was involved in political organizations, some were interested in theatre and others in motor cycling and sport. As other individual interests mentioned included music (listening and playing), literature (reading and writing) and painting. Fifty-nine of the young people reported that they had at least one leisure time interest.

When we examine the social relationships and interests of the hashish smokers in Jyväskylä as a whole we can find features similar to those found in the big drug scenes of other countries e.g. Canada (Smart & Jackson 1969) and Sweden (Goldberg 1973). The main scene of activity was a park where one could spend the night if need be. There was always a certain group of youngsters in the central area and their lives were to a large extent dominated by drugs. The area was also visited by a variety of other young people, who were interested in the lifestyle and thinking of hashish smokers. Many of them smoked hashish occasionally. All the young people who moved in the central area or smoked hashish in their own groups were united by hardly anything else but hashish and its illegality, which resulted in the establishing norms regulating use, for instance, strong negative sanctions for informing the police. Smaller groups might be united by a common interest (politics, sport, music, theatre) or friendship based on common background (school, studies). Twenty-three youths reported drugs as the only uniting factor.

#### 6.2.3.4. Social consequences of drug use

The prevailing image of drug use in different countries was dominated by the view that the long-term use of drugs by young people always entails various psychic and social ill-effects. Studies on youth seeking

treatment yielded results which were interpreted as giving support to such views, other studies either had not included long-term users or had not paid attention to this particular aspect or had obtained results which were not in line with the dominant view.

65 % of hashish smokers in Jyväskylä reported that they had experienced a change in their lives after having taken up hashish smoking (Problem 3, see 6.2.1.). One third of them (and 21 % of all users) indicated that the changes had been negative. Negative consequences can be grouped as follows:

1. changes in mental health (personality problems, insomnia, lack of initiative, passivity)
2. changes in social contacts (loosening or severing of contacts)
3. changes in school attendance (truancy, weaker school performance, dropping out of school)
4. changes in interests (giving up an interest).

Twenty-two of the other young people who had experienced a change (N = 44) said that it was mainly their way of thinking that had changed. They had learned to understand other people, a good social position did not seem as important as before but they had learned to examine things from the non-materialistic point of view (cf. consciousness III). Other youth cited as positive changes better understanding, peace of mind and emancipation.

Besides general changes the interviewees were asked in greater detail about the amount and content of the social changes rated harmful by the author. Police contacts owing to drugs were reported by 43 youths. Police contacts had the highest correlations with length of use (.48), number of drugs used (.45), sex (.40, boys had more contacts than girls), acting as seller (.44) and wish to give up (.37). About one fifth of the youths who had been interrogated had been fined or given a suspended sentence. Fifty-three youths had had dealings with the police for other reasons. The intercorrelations between other police contacts and the correlation between the two types of police contacts (.35) gave reason to assume that the two groups largely overlapped. This is supported by the fact that stealing and pilfering were the most frequent reason for getting caught. Personal violence did not occur in any of the cases. As regards control measures it may be noted that the

police contacts of the research group were determined by a certain kind of labelling. This means that control measures had not operated for just any group member but only for certain types of youth. According to Johnson (1974) and Wickberg (1974) these young people differ from the other group members in terms of their social background and personality traits. In the case of drug sellers in Jyväskylä this manifested itself in that those sellers who went to college (2) or school (3 - 4) and who in the autumn of 1971 had been in contact with the wholesalers had had no dealings with the police, whereas those users who were seen in public places (park, cafes) and led a more irregular life had been picked up by the police.

The majority of the sample were active school students, which means that they attended school fairly regularly. School performance varied from top of the class to bottom placement. One third of the school students said that their school performance was clearly below average. Forty per cent of school students reported that their school success had deteriorated after they had started using drugs. Six youths reported that they had dropped out of school on account of drugs. Some of those who succeeded less well at school after having "turned on" had not experienced it as a negative change, since changes in school attendance were reported less often than when the subjects were questioned about general changes. This may be interpreted from the users' point of view to mean that they did not consider school success as desirable an aim as the older generation (cf. Suchman 1970, Reich 1972).

Relations with home had a central place in the profiles presented at the beginning of this report. Half of the hashish smokers in Jyväskylä reported that they had good relations with home. Four youths had no contacts with home at all 22 reported that relations with home had deteriorated after they had started using hashish and 11 said that relations with home had improved. Members of the family were not aware that hashish smoking took place in 38 cases. Being detected at home correlated highest with the number of drugs used (.44), length of use (.36), police contacts (contacts due to drugs .44, other contacts .34), and acting as a seller (.31). Parents' reactions to their children's hashish smoking were generally negative, sometimes so uncompromising that contacts with the child were totally cut off. Four families

approved of hashish smoking. When the data were compared with earlier results, it was found that the Jyväskylä hashish smoking group included both such young people whose relations with home were normal and those whose background corresponded with the dominant image, in other words users' relations with one or both parents (cf. number of divorced parents) were poor or non-existent.

#### 6.2.3.5. Users' views on the need for treatment and their use of treatment services

According to the dominant image in Finland the young person on drugs is in need of treatment. The young people of the research group did not accept this view, for 80 % of interviewees did not consider themselves to need treatment. At the time of the investigation 8 users said that they were in need of outside help. When the result is compared with that of general surveys of mental health problems, according to which 20 - 30 % of the population have various kinds of mental problems (Anon. 1975c), it may be said that the research group, according to such criteria, is representative of the population in general. In judging the need for treatment in general 75 % users thought that drug use creates a need of treatment, depending on the drugs taken and the user's personality.

Twenty-six per cent of the interviewees reported that they had sought help at some treatment facility, most of them at the youth service centre of the Jyväskylä A-clinic, which is a centre for the treatment of alcoholics. Those who had sought treatment differed from other users most clearly with regard to the following characteristics (Problem 2, see 6.2.1.):

1. They were not attending school.
2. They had used or tried several drugs (an average of 5 drugs).
3. They had considered giving up drug use and recommended their friends to do the same.
4. They thought that drug users need help and admitted that they were in need of help themselves. They believed that ex-users could help in drug problems.

5. Their drug use was not covert use, for both parents and the police know about it.
6. They had more interests.
7. They were uncertain about their own future and they had no definite plans for future.
8. They were self-centred and problematic in their attitudes (asocial, authoritarian and alienated).

The profile of those who had sought treatment coincided in many respects with the content of the image based on research on users who had sought treatment and with the dominant clinical image: they were not active school attenders, they were multiple users, they had contacts with the police (cf. labelling), they did not have any definite plans for future, their value system was traditional rather than at odds with the dominant views. The notion of the asocial and alienated user was also applicable in their case.

#### 6.2.3.6. Users' future plans and value system

The hashish smokers' plans for the future hardly differ from those of other young people. Completion of comprehensive school and/or vocational school education was regarded as important, because it was seen to guarantee one's future. Obtaining a good occupational training was considered the main reason for continued school attendance. Lack of future plans correlated highest with hashish having a central position in one's life (.38). On the basis of these results it can be said that hashish smokers as a group did not represent a "drop-out" group but were, in fact, relatively well integrated into the prevailing educational system.

The basic values of home, church and native country were taken as starting points for the study of the value system of hashish smokers. The results of the nationwide youth study (Taipale 1971) were used as comparison material as well as some smaller-scale youth studies carried out in Jyväskylä. With regard to marriage users' views deviated considerably from those held by young people in general. It has been shown that the majority of Finnish young people are in favour of traditional marriage. Two thirds of hashish smokers did not regard the present form

of marriage as necessary or essential. Users were much more favourable towards having children, although there were a lot of uncertain answers (cf. interviewee's age). A positive attitude towards having children had the highest correlations with parental approval (.32), siblings' use of drugs (.32), relatively peripheral position of drugs in one's life (.39 and .34) and uncertainty about ever getting married (.34).

Two thirds of the interviewees believed wholly or partly in the importance of Finland's independence. Only 21 believed in the necessity of having armed forces, which deviates clearly from the results of the nationwide youth study according to which a decisive majority of Finnish youth considered the armed forces necessary. About one half of boys smoking hashish reported that they were going to refuse to do their military service. Fourteen cited personal conviction as their reason for refusal, which indicated a pacifistic ethical stand.

The views of hashish smokers on church and religion resembled those of American marijuana smokers (e.g. Goode 1970): the type of religion upheld by the older generation was not relevant for the drug using younger generation. The church in its present form was not considered necessary by 81 % of the interviewees. This result does not necessarily deviate decisively from the views of youth in general, for national data (Taipale 1971) indicated that "the church and the clergy were almost wholly irrelevant for young people" (p. 172) and "the religious beliefs of a only small minority resemble the religious customs and external religious symbols of the older generation" (p. 171). Nineteen hashish smokers reported that they had personal religious views (for instance, theosophy). Ten hashish smokers had maintained their belief in God while the corresponding figure in the other data about Jyväskylä was 50 to 70 %.

The research group's interest in politics was relatively strong, for 73 % reported a definite political affiliation and 37 % said that they were definitely interested in politics. Political interest was thus clearly above average (Taipale 1971, Rauste 1975). A clear majority of those who indicated their political affiliation identified themselves with the left and there was a clear tendency away from the centre-right identification of the homes towards the left. Leftists are clearly overrepresented in the hashish smoking group when the results are compared

with other youth data. The leftist orientation which dominated the group in the autumn of 1971, was not very crystallized, nor was it closely linked with the activities of political parties or their youth organizations. Not all of those who indicated their political affiliation had internalized an ideology to any depth for alternatives "leftist" and "not interested in politics" occurred simultaneously.

In the section dealing with their value system the hashish smokers were asked to define their own "philosophy of life", in other words to say what they considered important in their lives and worth pursuing.

The replies can be classified under three main categories:

1. Satisfying conditions of life: economic security, good occupation, family and home.
2. Inner peace and self-development: mental balance, self-development, search for truth, control of mind and body, creativity.
3. Consideration and respect for other people: spiritual and economic emancipation of human beings, fight against war, responsibility for other people coupled with sufficient freedom, non-violence.

When we compare the hashish smokers' goals in life with young people's goals in general (e.g. Rauste 1975) we observe that hashish smokers had an above-average concern for worldwide problems and broad social problems (cf. leftist bias). Half of the hashish smokers also mentioned goals belonging to the second category (compared with 20 % of youth in the Rauste study). Twenty-two per cent gave the goals of the first category top priority in their lives.

A factor analysis was run on the attitude and value system variables and the basis of its results the following five factors were included in further analyses:

1. political involvement vs. non-alignment
2. concentration on personal problems vs. consideration of others
3. uncertainty vs. certainty about one's future
4. adherence to vs. relinquishment of traditional values
5. positive vs. negative attitude to marriage

The interpretation of the results of the factor analysis indicated that the relationship between leftist orientation and renunciation of basic social values was such that mere leftist commitment per se did not entail the rejection of basic social values. Besides commitment active

interest in politics was required.

From the point of view of the profile of the hashish smoker it is important to clarify at what stage the content of the value system has been formed and in what way it is connected with the taking up of hashish smoking. About one half of the interviewed hashish smokers reported that they had held similar views even before starting hashish use. The number of drugs used (.38) and goals in life (.21) were most closely related to changes in users' way of thinking. The result may be interpreted to mean that if the hashish user declared that his way of thinking had changed it more likely than not meant a change to the second category (inner peace and self-development, see p. 50).

To summarize the contents of the hashish smokers' value system: the research group did not form any consistent sub- or counterculture but consisted of youth who held different views. Certain deviations from non-users' views were noted, for instance, in political opinions and in views on the necessity of marriage or the church or the armed forces. But on the other hand only 21 % of hashish smokers thought that all smokers thought alike. As the most obvious deviations from adult thinking the users mentioned among other items "adult rigidity and materialism", "adult indifference about the future of mankind" and "adult ignorance about young people's life situation". The lack of "philosophizing" among non-users, in particular, was considered to distinguish them from the users. The comparison between attitudes showed that users as a group were more asocial and less authoritarian than the school students in the comparison group. No differences were found in regard to anomie (Problem 5, see 6.2.1.)

When the value system as a whole is compared with the contents of profiles presented above, it is obvious that the value system of hashish smokers in Jyväskylä contains several of the elements that were cited in the presentation of the profile of marijuana smokers, for instance, critical attitude towards marriage, church and army (e.g. Reich 1972, Goode 1970), interest in worldwide problems pertaining to the present and future position of man (e.g. Suchman 1970) and the emphasis on "inner experiences". The American profile differs from the Finnish profile in that the American marijuana smoker was liberal or radical in his political attitudes, more seldom leftist and hardly ever a communist.

This difference is probably accounted for by the differences in the political climate of Finland and the United States. - As far as other aspects of comparison are concerned it can be said that the users included young people who were asocial and alienated (cf. dominant image). Such attitudes were connected with personal problems and not with adherence to or renunciation of basic social values. The greatest number of asocial and alienated users were found among those who had sought treatment.

#### 6.2.4. The pattern of cannabis use

Mainly on the basis of the 1971 study but partly also on other Finnish research the types of cannabis use were reduced to the pattern displayed in Figure 2.

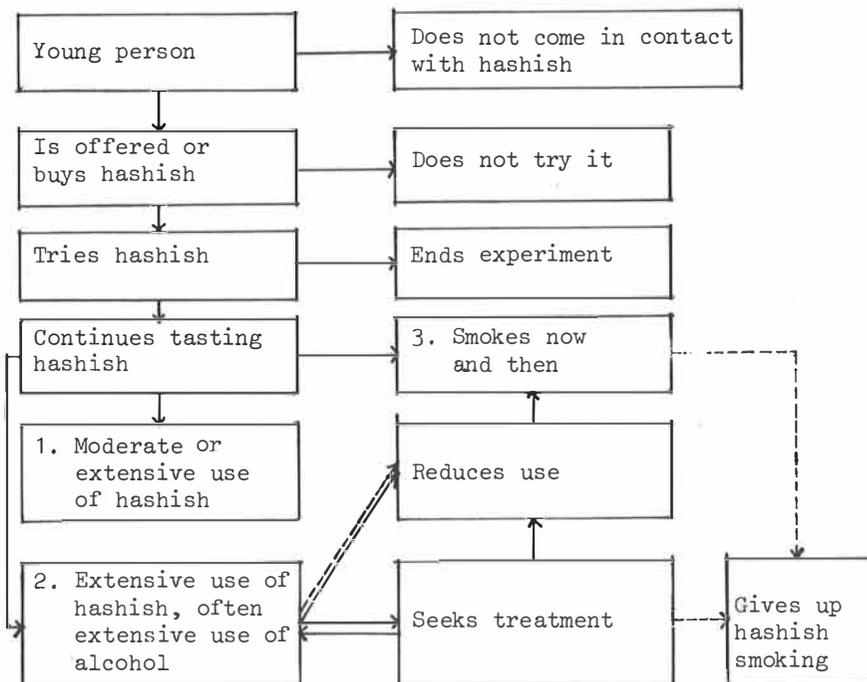


Figure 2. The pattern of cannabis use

The figure starts with any young person and with his/her alternatives either to use or try hashish. The further we move down the figure the less frequent is the situation depicted. According to available information (mainly from the beginning of the 1970's), about 40 to 50 % of school students at least in larger towns have been offered drugs, mainly hashish. However, only 10 to 20 % have tried drugs. A considerably smaller part of them have "graduated" from tasting to continued use.

With regard to actual hashish use it is possible to present the relations found in Figure 2 on the basis of the 1971 study in Jyväskylä. Broken lines indicate users' intentions, not real changes. The numbered boxes are the use patterns observed in autumn 1971, which can be described in more depth as follows:

1. This type of user is a fairly "ordinary" young person, usually a school student, whose background is not characterized by an above average frequency of divorced parents. The youth has been smoking hashish for some time, 2 to 4 years on the average. At the time of study hashish smoking was moderate or extensive and the consumption of alcohol rare or moderate. Other drugs had been tried to some extent but there were also those young people who had smoked only hashish. For quite a few success at school had declined but there were also those who were top of their classes. This group did not have many contacts with the police. In terms of their values they differed from the long-term users (more than 4 years) and short-term users (less than 2 years) in that they belonged to the "no-problems" group and to an altruistic rather than egoistic group.
2. The user in this group is more than likely gainfully employed or out of work, comes from a broken home or one-parent home, has used drugs for a long time (over 4 years) and has tried several drugs. Many also used a lot of alcohol. The first hashish smokers in Jyväskylä belonged to this group in 1971. The users in this group had more problems and were more uncertain and egoistic than those of group 1. The majority of those who had sought treatment belonged to this group. Seeking treatment was related to the number of drugs tried rather than to a deficient home background or extensive use of alcohol. The purpose for seeking treatment has mainly been to get medical help in an acute crisis

but not to begin an enduring therapy. This group also included those users who had been labelled in the eyes of the police, i.e. young people who were more likely than others to have had police contacts.

3. The user in this group could be at school or at work. If he had a job his contacts with hashish smokers were occasional and hashish smoking was quite limited. He had probably been earlier an active member of the user group but had cut down hashish smoking after going to work. Hashish smoking had become habitual and was indulged in order to retain contact with old friends. Some of the occasional users had resorted to outside help and had reduced use after treatment. If the user was a school student it was more likely that the student was a girl and was usually more interested in users (-boys) than in the effects of hashish. Occasional use was a condition for being admitted into user groups.

Group 1 is the most interesting from the point of view of prognosis. It comprised mainly school pupils and they did not generally intend to reduce or give up hashish smoking. In the autumn of 1971 they went through a highpoint of hashish smoking, in other words they were satisfied with their experiences of hashish. They were not labelled in the eyes of the police. Many users in this group had smoked hashish for quite some time but were not among the oldest users. Prognosis about them cannot, however, be based on the group that had used hashish longest, since group 1 differed decisively from the users of group 2 (for instance with regard to educational background, home background; Problem 3, see 6.2.1.).

### 6.3. The circumstances of the 1971 research group during the period from 1972 to 1975

#### 6.3.1. Research problem

The basic problem of this phase of the research project was to describe what had happened by 1975 to the one hundred hashish smokers, interviewed in the autumn of 1971 and to examine whether there were any clear long-term effects due to hashish smoking. Further problems were to find out the frequency of hashish smoking in different subgroups (school students, college students, working youth, unemployed) in 1975 and the characteristics of those who had continued the active use of hashish.

#### 6.3.2. Research methods

The data collection methods can be grouped as follows:

1. Interviews with different agencies and officials made by the author. The author interviewed representatives of the police, the clinic for mental health, social welfare office, the youth centre of the alcoholics clinic, as well as the school welfare officers and the youth welfare officer of the Parish of Jyväskylä, who had been carrying out field work since the autumn of 1971.
2. Interviews and participant observation made by the youth welfare officer of the Parish of Jyväskylä. During the autumn of 1974 and the spring of 1975 the youth officer interviewed the former and current hashish smokers (N = 23) that he knew. In addition to that he observed the structure and norms of the user group during his field work.
3. Interviews by the author of two former users who had belonged to the hashish smoking groups in autumn 1971. In the summer of 1975 two young persons were contacted who had been active members of hashish smoking groups until 1972/73. They were able to provide information in particular about those young people who were not known to the authorities.

No statistical analyses were carried out on the basis of the interview data but the data from different interviews were combined. If

contradictory views occurred, data were clarified by means of a second interview or the (former or current) users' views were relied upon.

### 6.3.3. Description of users' career

The majority of hashish smokers interviewed in autumn 1971 were young people at school (see 6.2.2.). The mean age of the group was at that time 17 years, which means that the mean age in 1975 was 21 years. A description of the users' career since 1971 can be made by carrying out separate studies of school students, college students and other young people to determine whether they were still known to the authorities in 1975 and if not where they were at the time of the follow-up study. The analysis is mainly based on groups and not on individuals.

In autumn 1971 almost one half of the interviewed users were secondary school students. All interviewees thought that there had been a sharp decline in the number of young people smoking hashish in Jyväskylä 1973. For secondary school students this phase occurred at a period when most of them finished school and transferred to further studies or entered the labour market. In 1975 the group that continued hashish smoking did not include any of the 1971 secondary school students, who either had totally given up hashish smoking or were in the hashish smoking groups of other towns. The career of secondary school students was such that most of them finished school and in 1975 were either pursuing further studies or at work. Some had dropped out of school - in their own opinion not due to hashish - and had trained for an occupation and entered the labour market. Some of the 1971 users had married.

The majority of the 1971 vocational school students had also finished school and were gainfully employed. Those belonging to this group no longer smoked hashish. Some occasionally visited old friends at the users' meeting places. One of the 1971 subgroup students had not managed to integrate into adult society and still belonged to a user group.

Two former commercial school students were easily identifiable for they were involved in a big smuggling operation in spring 1972 and were arrested. Both had given up hashish and were at work.

There is no clear picture of the career of college students, for they kept out of sight of the authorities in 1971. On the whole the hashish smoking by college students is a little researched area. It may be assumed that the majority of those included in the 1971 research group had completed their studies and entered the labour market. Such, anyway, were their plans in 1971.

Some of the 1971 research group who were at work now and then visited the meeting places of the 1975 user groups but were not active members. Some of them had gone to Sweden to work there. There were four unemployed during the first interview and three of them could still be identified. Two had undergone treatment and one had gone to Sweden after serving a term in prison.

The hashish smokers interviewed in 1971 could be classified into the following groups in 1975:

1. School pupil who has completed school, is pursuing further studies in Jyväskylä or elsewhere in Finland or is at work. No longer belongs to Jyväskylä hashish smoking circles.
2. School pupil who has dropped out of school and gone to work or continued school on his own initiative. Does not belong to the hashish smokers of Jyväskylä.
3. Youth who had continued work or attended vocational school in the meantime. May occasionally smoke hashish on meeting former friends.
4. Youth who had been unemployed in autumn 1971, had in the mean time held a job, some undergoing treatment and/or in prison. The majority were still users.
5. Student who had entered the labour market after the completion of studies. No longer belonged to the hashish smokers of Jyväskylä.

Most of the hundred interviewees had either totally given up hashish smoking or smoked only now and then. The former users interviewed explained the situation by saying that those who had started hashish smoking towards the end of the 1960's had got to know hashish in three or four years. They knew the effects of the drug and for what purposes it could be used. After school the focus of life shifted elsewhere and hashish smoking remained in their opinion "an interesting episode" in their lives. The interviewed youth did not think that a few years of hashish smoking had had any special effect on the present phase of their

lives. As a concrete example of the insignificance of the period they cited among other items the fact that some of the long-term users had never been found out at home. For them discovery would have caused difficulties.

A certain small group (5 - 7 youth) had continued hashish smoking and were also doing it at the time of the second interview. Typical of them were the following common characteristics:

1. He had been unemployed in autumn 1971, had possibly dropped out of school owing to drugs.
2. He did not have any clear plans for the future.
3. Drugs had a prominent position in his life even in autumn 1971.
4. He has started drug use with thinner or medicines more frequently than with hashish.

Former hashish smokers said that many of those who continued hashish smoking had certain problems on their lives in 1975 but hashish was not the cause of these difficulties, which had existed before hashish came to town. Sticking to the hashish smoking group might have brought about additional problems.

The chronicle of the 1971 research groups is not complete if we do not analyse a given developmental trend, which separated a large section of users (20 to 30 young persons) from the user groups. It has been noted that a clear majority of those interviewed in autumn 1971 were committed to the political left and one third showed an active interest in politics. At that stage leftism was "general leftism" without links to party or organizational activities. Subsequently the situation changed considerably for the group of 20 - 30 young people became actively engaged in the activities of political organizations. Most of them gave up hashish smoking, and now and then some went to see former friends and might then smoke hashish. A similar strong political activism has not emerged in any other region of Finland. The trend may be local, for it can be largely explained by events which manifest the potential influence of strong personalities on young persons. In the background there is a person who towards the end of the 1960's supplied hashish and actively spread hashish use among his friends. However, on one delivery run he was caught, after which he began to drift away from the hashish smoking group and became actively engaged in politics. In

autumn 1971 this young person, who was characterized as a leader, was no longer a member of the user groups. He had, however, acquired prestige through his earlier activities, which meant that some of the young people he had introduced to hashish use followed his example even later. Some of the young persons who took up political activity followed this course and part became interested when they saw a concrete route for the realization of their ideas. Most of those youths who transferred to political activism belonged to cell 2 of the pattern of cannabis use in the autumn of 1971 (see 6.2.4.).

#### 6.4. Hashish smoking and young people in 1975

##### 6.4.1. Research problem

The problem of the last phase of the study was to find out to what extent hashish was smoked in Jyväskylä in the spring 1975 and what kind of young people were interested in hashish. It was hoped to be able to compare the use and characteristics of the hashish smokers in 1975 with the results of the 1971 study. Consequently special attention was paid to the analysis of users' social relationships, the social ill-effects of hashish use and the users' value system.

##### 6.4.2. Research methods

The data collection methods were the same as were used to gather the data of the follow-up study (see 6.3.2.). The central source of information was the interview and participant observation of the youth welfare officer of the church. The interview focussed on the following domains:

1. Users' characteristics
2. Use of drugs
3. Users' social relationships and interests

4. Social consequences of drug use
5. Users' views concerning treatment
6. Users' plans and value system

The contents of the interview were about the same as in autumn 1971, thus facilitating comparison between the two periods. The interview technique was such that the interviewees were not asked personal questions but his knowledge and views of the hashish smoking group general. This was on the one hand due to the fact that all interviews could not be conducted individually and on the other hand to the fact that the interviewees were not necessarily willing to tell the interviewer about their personal situation, because the interviewer, in spite of being familiar to them, was a representative of the church youth welfare organization.

Data analyses differ considerably from those performed in the 1971 data, since on account of the smallness of the group interviewed and the nature of the interview method no statistical analyses were carried out. The interviewer made a summary of the interviews, which he complemented with his observations on the group structure, interests and value system, in particular. The author supplemented the data provided by the youth officer with information obtained from other authorities and two former users.

#### 6.4.3. Main results

##### 6.4.3.1. Description of the research group

During the autumn of 1974 and the spring of 1975 the church youth officer had discussions with 23 former or current users of whom 16 were boys and 7 girls. About one half of them were judged to be former users, in other words, in Jyväskylä in spring 1975 there was one group of 10 to 12 members that smoked hashish actively. The results of this phase of the project concern this very group, which is called "the active group".

A clear majority of the members of the active group were boys who were neither at school nor at work. The girls were school students.

The group also included one university student who came from another area of the country. Most of the boys had been hashish smokers in 1971 as well. After the sharp decline of hashish use in 1973 user circles familiar to the authorities did not attract new members.

With regard to social background some of the active group came from homes where they are supported by parents, while part led a mobile life living with their friends or in hostels or moving about in other parts of the country. The users did not like to talk in greater detail about their homes, because they thought that there was no connection between their background and how they spent their time in 1975 (cf. mean age 19-20 years).

#### 6.4.3.2. Data about the use of drugs

The situation in regard to drug use in 1975 was such that besides hashish hardly any other drug was used. There were hardly any young people who smoked hashish daily, the most common substance in the active group being wine. Hashish was smoked now and then when there was enough money to buy it. Users were, however, still interested in hashish and the reasons for use included the creation of emotionally close human relations and increasing self-awareness as well as pleasant feelings induced by the drug.

The active group did not ponder about question related to giving up hashish smoking, since members had no intention of giving up hashish totally. In the users' opinion hashish smoking was not dangerous if done correctly.

#### 6.4.3.3. Users' social relationships and interests

According to users there was no separate subgroups of hashish smokers. The authorities thought that the active group was the only integrated group. The core group found in 1971, which included the then leaders, had dispersed and the core of the 1975 group consisted of the followers rather than the innerring members of the 1971 group. The active group

did not have any distinct leader, who could guide the activities of other members by the force of his personality. This explains on the one hand the fact that the users of the 1975 group were in a sense static and could not break loose from the influence of their own community, and on the other hand the fact that the active group had not attracted new members.

The norms of the group were the same as those of the 1971 group: the only norms guiding the activities of the whole group pertained to the acquisition and use of hashish. In other respects the overall climate of the group was described as very tolerant and permissive of deviation. This may be the remnants of the original hippie philosophy, which emphasized that the only crime is to prevent another person from doing what he wants ("doing his thing").

The active group was not entirely isolated since its members were contacted by a few young persons, who were either former users or otherwise friendly with users. These outsiders occasionally came to have a talk with the users since they were interested in the users' ideas and views. Although the number of users had decreased to one tenth of that in autumn 1971, the same basic pattern of the drug scene was discernible.

The interests of the active group were philosophizing, listening to music and going to the cinema. Philosophizing meant talks ranging from topical events to feelings induced by drugs. Users scanned literature for writers who had described the different levels of consciousness and the multi-dimensionality of human awareness. The production of Herman Hesse was popular in spring 1975. Earlier the members of the group had also read books on the social sciences from the classics of socialism to the literature of the "new left". Some of the users had done some writing themselves.

#### 6.4.3.4. Social consequences of drug use

The users took a rather negative view of the question concerning the social consequences of drug use, because they thought that the question reflected the author's assumptions about various harmful effects (cf.

dominant image). They advised the author to familiarize herself with expert opinions on this point. The active members reported that joining the hashish smoking group had meant a change of thinking essentially in a positive direction.

According to the interviewer the whole active group was known to the police. Several had records involving petty theft, this had mainly taken place at an earlier stage (cf. reduced use of hashish). Some of the group were disposed to continue stealing should the occasion present itself. There had been no essential changes in the relations between the young persons and the police since 1971: one narcotic agent kept the group under constant surveillance, and the city police occasionally picked up one of them for questioning. There was no violence in the user-police relations. In the opinion of the police violence does not form part of the lifestyle of hashish smokers with few exceptions, for example, when it was related to suspected "squealing" to the police or the long-term use of different drugs. Violence have been aggressive outbursts, which have not threatened others.

The hashish smoking of the active group of 1975 was not done secretly as far as the homes was concerned, either, since all homes knew about the youth's interest in hashish. His involvement in the hashish smoking group had almost without exception been as shock to parents, and this for some had led to a complete breaking off of mutual relations. The majority of users, however, lived at home and had tolerable relations with their parents.

#### 6.4.3.5. Users' views about treatment

Although the hashish smoking group had diminished considerably and the active group compared those young people with most problems, the majority of the 1975 users did not admit they were in need of treatment. When they were asked about the need for treatment the members named two youths whom they considered to be in need of treatment for excessive alcohol consumption. Hashish smoking was not considered to cause problems.

With regard to the form of treatment the members said that the present forms of institutional care were not helpful, because after withdrawal the young person returns to his previous life situation. The open clinic type activity was seen, in principle, as relevant provided that it could offer a sufficient range of services. The active group started to visit the youth clinic in spring 1975, when one of the members needed medical attention, so the members knew what they were talking about. The staff of the youth clinic formed superficial contact with the entire group but no real treatment engagement was established (cf. treatment motivation). The staff conceded that in that situation the forms of treatment were not suited to the group and that they lacked the knowledge and skills to serve young people taking drugs.

#### 6.4.3.6. Users' future plans and value system

The active group of 1975 did not bring forth any definite plans for the future during interviews. For most users the situation had not changed since 1971, for of the one hundred hashish smokers use had been continued by a group that lacked future plans even in 1971. Those young persons who had clear goals in their lives were pursuing them actively and had left the hashish stage behind them.

If it can be said that the majority of the 1971 group were leftist oriented, the 1975 group compared only leftist thinking youth. They were not, however, actively engaged in politics but their interest in politics was restricted to discussions among friends. Hashish was not a tool of revolution for the 1975 group, as it had been for some of those who became interested in the drug in the 1960's (cf. "Consciousness III", Reich 1972). Hashish and possibly other drugs were only used to deepen experiences and enlarge the mind. This was clearly manifested in the definition of important concerns of life (see 6.2.3.6., p.50): the goals of the 1975 group fell almost entirely into class 2, in other words, users considered inner peace and self-development worth pursuing. This wish formed the basis of occupational preference (work should give mental satisfaction and should not be based on hierarchical and status thinking) and it was also used to justify hashish smoking.

The interviewer's impression was that in autumn 1971 interest in religion was much higher than in 1975. The users of 1975 were not religious and the message of the state church had no relevance for them. The only discussions with the representative of the church (= interviewer) concerning religion dealt with "foreign" religions seen from the point of view of religious science.

## 6.5. Discussion

### 6.5.1. The revised pattern of cannabis use

The data gathered in the 1971 study were combined to form a pattern of cannabis use which illustrated different types of use and the relation of use to treatment. The relation of use to giving up was not known, because the author did not know of any young persons who had given up hashish smoking for good. Later interviews have indicated, however, that the use of hashish was spreading from the 1960's until 1972 and few, if any, ex-smokers were contacted before 1972 and 1973.

The pattern of cannabis use can now be complemented especially in regard to giving up the smoking of hashish. The figure contains the same boxes (cf. 6.2.4., p. 52) in order to make it possible to illustrate the trends of different groups:

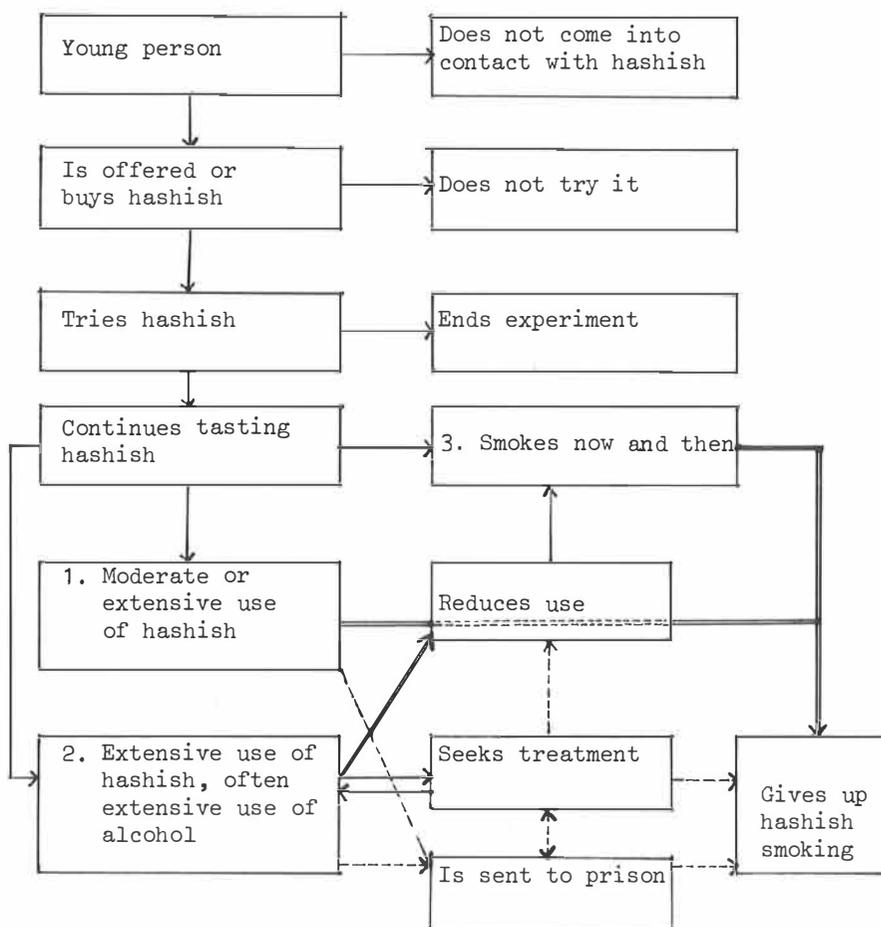


Figure 3. The revised pattern of cannabis use

A single line indicates relationships established earlier, a double line strong trends and a broken line rare connections. The revised pattern has an additional box "Sent to prison".

When we examine the figure box by box starting from box 1, which in the autumn of 1971 contained mainly those school youth who had no plans for giving up hashish smoking, we can see that the strongest trends with regard to this group are towards giving up hashish smoking. In fact, in the 1975 study there were hardly any young people belonging to

box 1 for there were no new active users to replace those who had given up. The broken line to "sent to prison" represents the two youths who were sentenced for smuggling hashish in 1972. In 1975 there were still some youths belonging to group 2 but types of use had changed so that a lot of alcohol (mainly wine) was used in 1975 and less frequently hashish (see 6.4.3.2.) which is indicated by the line "Reduces use". Some of those belonging to group 2 had come to prison between 1972 and 1975 mainly for an offence other than the use or selling of drugs. A considerable proportion of those belonging to group 3 had given up hashish smoking. They were the only ones who had carried out the intentions expressed in 1971. With regard to the relationship between treatment and giving up hashish smoking it can be said that most former users had given up hashish without outside help. Only a few of those who had sought treatment had managed to get rid of hashish completely.

When we examine the pattern of cannabis use in Jyväskylä as a whole from the perspective of 1975 we can observe that the situation has changed decisively. At the beginning of the 1970's young persons - especially school youth - were offered drugs - especially hashish - considerably more often than in 1975 (e.g. Rahikkala 1973, Anon. 1975b). The authorities had no evidence of hashish smoking among school and university students in 1975 but it may be assumed that so-called "closet use" occurred to some extent also in these groups. The strict control measures of the police had made those young people interested in hashish wary and skilful at keeping their interest secret. The active users of 1975 were found at the end of the original pattern, and were in fact young persons who had problems even in 1971.

When the results of the Jyväskylä study are placed in the typology exemplifying the various explanation models of drug use (see 5.5.1.), we obtain the following scheme:

| An individual's<br>psychic character-<br>istics and mental<br>health | An individual's relation to the dominant value<br>and norm system                   |  |
|--|---|--|
|  | Non-deviant   | Deviant  |
| No mental health<br>problems   | 1. Tasters and occa-<br>sional users<br>(cannabis)                                  | 2. The 1971 group con-<br>sisting of active<br>school pupils<br>(mainly cannabis)                          |
| Mental health<br>problems  | 3. Users who have expe-<br>rienced psychologi-<br>cal dependence<br>(various drugs) | 4. The 1971 group which<br>had sought treatment;<br>most of the active<br>group of 1975<br>(various drugs) |

Cell 1 includes those young persons who have occasionally smoked hashish, for instance, those girls of the 1971 group who were more interested in the hashish smoking boys than in the effects of hashish but had to smoke hashish now and then in order to be able to maintain contact with the user group. The first cell also contains those young people at work who both in 1971 and 1975 occasionally went to see active users and would smoke hashish with them.

The young persons of cell 2 are to be found mainly in the 1971 group of active school pupils. They fit the description of the American marijuana smokers of the late 1960's and the early 1970's: their personality had no psychopathological implications, but they did differ from non-users insofar as they were more adventurous and courageous, less authoritarian and politically more radical than non-users. In the 1970's several of these hashish smokers became actively engaged in the work of political organizations thus channelling their activity in a socially approved manner. In 1975 no definite cases belonging to cell 2 were found in Jyväskylä.

The users belonging to cell 3 are the most difficult to identify because there were no sufficiently detailed data about the users' personality. Psychological dependence due to the use of different drugs

is as such a condition which presupposes the use of drugs only for self-medication.

The young persons of cell 4 represent those of the 1971 group who had sought treatment (some belong to cell 3). The Jyväskylä authorities thought that the majority of the 1975 active user group belonged to this cell, which includes those young persons who have used drugs the longest. The members of the 1975 group continued to smoke hashish without any clear intention of giving it up.

When we examine the results from the point of view of the various models proposed to explain drug use, we may say that the different interpretations together constitute a whole which covers the entire phenomenon. In the case of Finland this means that the dominant image of a drug using young person as someone representing only the characteristics of cells 3 and 4 has been one-sided.

When we further examine the prognosis for use on the basis of the typology we should correct the false assumption that the user moves from cell 1 or 2 to cell 3 or 4 if drug use continues. On the basis of the entire data of the present project it is possible to say that the psychic and social characteristics of young persons belonging to the various cells of the typology largely existed before the turning on to drugs took place. With continued use such characteristics do not change materially with the exception of those young people in cells 3 and 4 if they frequently use different kinds of drugs. With continued use their problems are aggravated but transfer from one cell to another scarcely takes place. The situation has thus been such that an individual's psychic and social characteristics have determined the selection, type and motive of drug use and not the reverse, which would imply that drugs as chemical agents had determined an individual's personality traits and value system.

## 6.5.2. Prognosis of use

A prognosis can be made with respect to hashish smoking in general and the young persons who were smoking hashish in 1975. The view of those interviewed on the future of hashish smoking was such that a situation similar to that at the end of the 1960's and the beginning of the 1970's cannot recur in Jyväskylä. This is largely due to the fact that control mechanisms now are able to detect widespread use. When hashish use in the past spread rapidly among young people it happened under the eyes of the police relatively unhampered. The government bill to make drug use non-punishable made young people believe that hashish smoking would soon be legal. In this atmosphere use spread from friend to friend. The situation was reversed when the new drug act in fact made the use of drugs illegal. At the same time police action became more efficient due to training and experience. Public reaction and police surveillance labelled hashish smokers as "underworld" citizens and hashish smoking as criminal. As a result of strict police control old users were compelled to conceal their interest even more carefully than before. New users who entered the scene in the 1970's were frightened by the strict measures and gave up hashish. Control measures did not have the same effect on old users but several of them gave up smoking hashish when it had lost its appeal and the bearing of life shifted to the adult world. The interviewees characterized the rapid spread of hashish as a certain kind of youth movement which cannot recur on the same basis. The students' opportunities for political activity have increased (for instance the creation of elected school councils consisting of both teachers and pupils in the 1970's), so that for the youth interested in developing the society of the 1970's hashish smoking does not represent the attitude of social criticism that it meant to some young people in the 1960's. There will, however, be some hashish use in the areas where it spread in the 1960's.

It is rather difficult to make a prognosis for the active user of 1975. The authorities thought that some will give up the group hashish and some definitely need treatment. The problem was that the need for treatment was not admitted or that treatment centres could not help such cases (cf. 6.4.3.5.). The prognosis for the group needing treatment was not

particularly promising. In autumn 1975 four users were imprisoned, the active group broke up and lost contact with the youth clinic.

### 6.5.3. On the generalizability of the results of the Jyväskylä research project

There are clear differences if we compare the spread of drug use in various Finnish towns in the 1970's. There has been no clear falling off in the number of cannabis users in such central use areas as Helsinki and Turku. Decline in use has occurred in areas where it never reached large proportions and consequently has been relatively easy to control. The development of the situation in Jyväskylä is, in fact, exceptional for Jyväskylä belonged to central areas at the beginning of the 1970's. When the results of this study are examined for their generalizability it has to be said that the prognosis for Jyväskylä cannot be applied to the present central user areas. The situation in Helsinki, in particular, is decisively different from that in Jyväskylä.

On the basis of the Jyväskylä data it is possible to analyze the methods of acquisition and use practices by hashish smokers, their social relationships and interests as well as their thought world. It may also be possible to make prognoses about the future use and social consequences of drug use for different sub-groups (school pupils, university students, young people at work, unemployed): a large proportion of school students abandon user groups on leaving school and becoming integrated into adult society. The more permanent members of user groups are those young people who have neither found their place in the labour market nor been able to form new lasting relations with other people. In the background of these cases we find an above-average frequency of broken homes and unsuccessful social relations. If drug use involves extensive use of many drugs, these young people are in need of outside help to get rid of drugs.

## 7. SOME CONSIDERATIONS FOR PRACTICAL MEASURES

### 7.1. Information

When we examine the outline of drug information in Finland (Määttä 1975a, b) we observe some basic weaknesses:

1. Information has been mainly mass communication, i.e. different target groups have received identical information.
2. Information has on several points been too little differentiated. For instance, the harmful effects have been ascribed to all drugs including hashish without making any distinctions of degree, and on the other hand, harmful effects, it is explained manifest themselves in all users and no risk groups are distinguished.
3. Various harmful effects have been explained as due to drug use without any consideration of the possibility of problem use as a results of young people's other problems of an entirely different origin.
4. Information has not been based on research data of adequate breadth and depth but too much on assumptions which inspire fear and label users and isolate them from other people.
5. Information workers are not always sufficiently familiar with the problems of drug use with the result that they do not always manage to gain the confidence of users.

There is a continuous need of factual information even if, for instance, in Jyväskylä drugs are no longer a problem affecting large groups of young people. In planning the contents of enlightenment information the above-mentioned weaknesses ought to be avoided, for example, by giving more attention to the kind of group that the information is aimed at.

Information would be specified according to the target group as follows:

#### 1. Young people

##### 1.1. Young people at school

From the point of view of preventive measures school pupils are the single most important group. The school syllabus must contain as a matter of

course a unit on drugs (see the meaning p. 3) which gives basic information about alcohol and other substances used as intoxicants, such as medicine and drugs (the restricted meaning, p. 4). Drug information should not be isolated from other instruction (e.g. health education and psychology) thus preventing it from obtaining too prominent a place and becoming detached from the overall life situation of young persons. The principles of differentiation and presenting correct cause-effect relationships should be considered in determining the content of drug information. Pupils should also be made familiar with the legal status of different drugs, the control of use and possible consequences (e.g. minimum age limit for legal consumption of alcoholic beverages, indictability of drug use).

#### 1.2. Users

Users constitute a group which is generally fairly well informed about the properties and effects of different drugs. Their level of knowledge often surpasses that of adults who come into contact with them (parents, police, youth welfare workers, teachers, medical personnel). Users are the most difficult group from the point of view of information since they do not accept the principle of complete renunciation of drugs. Some users would like to receive information about correct methods of use and correct dosages in order to avoid the risk of an overdose. Such a discussion is, however, taboo among experts, which means that users get the information from other users and from personal experience. This explains the fact that former and current users are trusted as sources of information (e.g. Määttä 1975b, Hanneman 1973, Peretz & Glaser 1974). The situation is not easy to change because a clear division into users and non-users has already taken place. The strict division into two camps might be overcome to some extent if field workers and treatment personnel were ready to start a discussion about the properties of drugs and the positive and negative effects of drug use, in other words, if they were to engage in a dialogue with users on the latter's terms. If users come up against an "away with drugs" - attitude the situation may end in deadlock and drug use as a whole may become a taboo topic for discussion between users and adults associated with them.

## 2. Adults

### 2.1. Parents

Parents have been found to be a group which in general has the least factual information about factors connected with drug use. Information is obtained mainly through the mass media, which earlier dealt with the matter in a rather sensational tone. For example, parents' attitudes to their own children's cannabis use have been found to be generally remarkably negative based on parents' fears of losing their children and a feeling of shame that a member of the family is behaving against generally approved customs and against prevailing laws. Fear and shame are often coupled with feelings of guilt that the parents themselves have caused the child to start using cannabis. The most important objective of drug information aimed at parents should be to remove unfounded fears ("The user is lost") and strong feelings of guilt. It has been shown in earlier studies, and confirmed by the present project that cannabis users come from very different homes and it has not been possible to establish any clearcut connection between home background problems and cannabis use. Parents should be told that a few experiments with hashish do not lead to dependence nor to the use of heroin and any persisting interest will probably disappear if the young person has clear goals in his life (e.g. Lindqvist 1973). There is cause for worry if the young person has only associated with other drug users, uses any available drug, drops out of school or cannot hold a job. It was noted earlier that the user's prognosis partly depended on the parents' reaction when drug use was discovered at home. For such situations and in order to facilitate discussion between parents and their children in general, parents need guidance so that they could engage in open and equal discussion.

### 2.2. Teachers

Teachers, as well as other adults, need to get the information that is given to parents so that drug use found out at school does not lead to such reactions which might isolate the young person to such an extent that he might decide it best to leave school. In addition to general information special instruction is needed by those teachers who are mainly responsible for giving students information about drugs. They should know the properties of different drugs, causes leading to and

maintaining drug use, risks of drug use, treatment services and prognosis. They should also know how to mediate information to students without unnecessary intimidation and labelling of users.

Information is needed but its contribution to the prevention of drug use should not be overestimated, for there are research results which indicate that information given at school has not had any noticeable effect on decreasing drug use (e.g. Stuart 1974, Weaver & Tennant 1973, Dorn 1973). One of the most important goals of drug information besides preventing and diminishing drug use should be to make attitudes towards drug use and consequent reactions less strict, because abrupt reactions may be considered to have caused as many, if not more, problems to users that the drugs themselves (e.g. Goode 1970).

## 7.2. Social control

At the present moment when all use of drugs is regarded as illegal the activities of the police have a decisive role in the control of drug use. The stringency and effectiveness of control have varied according to the number of men available, their training and the established policy. The latter aspect means that up to a certain point it is left to the discretion of the police to decide whether users are brought in for questioning and sentenced.

For users the illegality of drug use and the consequent control measures have meant that they have become labelled as criminals. On the other hand police interference has been felt as a serious encroachment on personal rights, since use was seen as a matter of personal choice. The situation led to enmity and rigid attitudes on both sides. It has been reported that some young persons in the United States started smoking marijuana merely because they wanted to protest against the marijuana laws which they considered completely unjust. Strict police control led, in the opinion of the young people interviewed, to a situation in which continuous surveillance creates such a paranoid atmosphere that the mental health of the more sensitive and psychically weaker users is jeopardized for this reason alone.

### 7.3. Treatment of drug users

In examining the treatment of drug users we have to start from the assumption that not all users are in need of treatment. Users are divided into two distinct groups in respect of treatment:

1. School and university students and young people at work, who mainly smoke hashish and some on which give up hashish on assuming an "adult role" and some of which continue to use hashish without it constituting a problem.
2. So-called problem youth, whose background includes divorced parents, disharmonious relations in the family, unemployment and housing problems. They are multiple users, and also use a lot of alcohol. Effective treatment and service facilities should be developed for such cases.

The various authorities and users are both rather pessimistic about the possibilities for treatment at the moment. Users blame the treatment arrangements for being too bureaucratic and largely based on medical care. The authorities say that in Finland we do not have a comprehensive treatment network, which might include effective withdrawal clinics, various kinds of open care services and aftercare.

Successful treatment requires not only a comprehensive treatment organization with a variety of optional treatment arrangements but also a well-trained staff. At the moment the treatment of drug users is viewed with pessimism, which is partly due to the fact that treatment personnel feel incompetent to help users because they cannot establish contact with them, and partly, due to the fact that users have several other problems (lack of housing, unemployment) which are outside their scope.

#### 7.4. Some considerations on education

When we examine the use of drugs - particularly hashish and psychedelic substances - by young people from a phenomenological point of view, we may interpret it as the wish of youth to sensitize and strengthen various stimuli, to enhance their creativity and to break conventional logical connections. Reich (1972) states that the atmosphere in American culture was so tense that the young generation felt that they needed a mind-expanding drug in order to free their thinking from the shackles of the prevailing closed system and to make unreal what society treated with deadly seriousness: competition, hate, ability, status, private ownership, rational relationships between various phenomena.

When we transfer the phenomenological model explaining the use of drugs to the domain of education, we may conclude that educational goals should be set so that young people could attain the goals they wish to reach without chemical drugs, which they have regarded as essential for the achievement such goals. The goals of education would then be to foster and develop children's and young persons' sensitivity and spontaneity, to respect their own ideas and to develop imagination. These goals are the same that are presented as the objectives of education for creativity. They should be realized both within the home and outside it (school, child welfare and youth welfare). The authoritarian attitudes of educators form a powerful obstacle to the realization of such goals but a mere nonauthoritarian attitude is not sufficient unless the environment offers the young persons meaningful stimuli and channels through which they can realize themselves.

## 8. CONCLUSIONS ON FACTORS DETERMINING THE USE OF DRUGS

The use of drugs by young people is here used to refer to the use of cannabis and psychedelic drugs by the young, particularly school and college students, which started in the 1960's and continued in the 1970's. The factors that determine drug use can be classified into structural factors and psychosocial individual factors. The properties of different drugs can also be analyzed from the point of view of the regulation of use.

The relationship between structural factors and the use of drugs by young people are in this connexion grouped as follows:

- A. factors which precede use
- B. factors which trigger off use
- C. factors which regulate the generality of use

The analysis of the structural factors reveals that the use of drugs which started in the 1960's is no change phenomenon divorced from overall social development but that its roots are to be found in the traditions of so-called western culture. The emphasis on social development in the United States (A) is due to the fact that the interest of the young in cannabis and other drugs started in the United States, from where it rapidly spread to the whole area of western culture. According to Reich (1972) the use of drugs by the new generation and the concomitant reassessment of values was preceded by a trend in the United States which destroyed the ideals of the original American society (for instance, Each individual is free), which Reich calls "Consciousness I". The early decades of the 20th century saw an increase in inequality, the ruthlessness of business and the lack of coordination and planning which led to gangsterism. At this stage "Consciousness II" was born. It believed in rationality and logic and respected the power of law and technology. In the 1960's American youth were living in a situation (B), where inequality, impoverishment of certain groups of people, injustices and participation in war were facts which the prevailing logic made to appear in-

evitable. Towards the middle of the 1960's the black population started to organize itself and to demand better civil rights. The Vietnam war led to strong protests among certain groups. "Consciousness III" was born in these circumstances. It re-examined the prevailing values and presented a new alternative, in which the self and human life are central concepts. According to "Consciousness III" the connection between marijuana and psychedelic drugs is such that drugs liberate man from "Consciousness II", which is necessary for the birth and adoption of new values.

There is no detailed information on the connection between drugs and the adoption of new values. The name of Timothy Leary is always mentioned when the birth of the so-called psychedelic movement (B) is discussed (e.g. Lauer 1972). Leary, who had taken a doctorate in clinical psychology, accidentally swallowed some psilocybin at a traditional mushroom party in Mexico, a substance which resembles LSD in its effects. After that experience Leary, together with his colleague Alpert, started an intensive programme of experimentation with the drugs. Their programme was interrupted after a couple of years and Leary's activities were severely criticized. Public discussion of Leary's action was the most lively in the middle of the 1960's, when at a press conference he presented a new religion founded by him, the League of Spiritual Discovery, whose main objective was the legalization of marijuana and psychedelic drugs. Leary considered these substances revolutionary in the facilitation of creativity, in psychotherapy and as a means of gaining insight into scholarly pursuits. Leary's activities were officially repudiated but public discussion of his views increased general awareness of psychedelic drugs.

The fact that young people in America was interested specifically in marijuana can also be explained on the basis on the traditions of marijuana use (A). Before the 1960's marijuana was used in the USA mainly by the coloured population and some so-called beatnik groups. In the 1960's black people and their situation penetrated the consciousness of white youth, for the blacks started to organize themselves and to demand equal rights. According to Reich (1972) it was the activism of the black population that made the students more radical and caused

them to reassess the prevailing values. Interest in the position of the black people in general increased the interest of white youth in the black life style, part of which was a different type of music and a new type of drug.

In respect to the new type of drug use by young people we can single out two distinct phases in the development of psychology and psychiatry (A), which have contributed to drug use and to the acceptance of its justifications among school and college students:

1. Freud's views on the unconscious and the different levels of consciousness. Studies on the reasons for the use of psychedelic drugs by young people have clearly shown that it is hoped that they will help to expand the mind, to become aware of the levels of the psyche that man normally has no knowledge of. Psychedelic drugs are regarded as necessary to free man from the burdens of western culture, which suppresses his real ego into the unconscious.

2. The "psychopharmacological revolution" of the 1950's. In the 1950's the medical industry started producing a number of psychoactive medical preparations which affect human consciousness and which were used and are still used in the treatment of different psychic problems. The use of these drugs has spread rapidly and new drugs are continuously being developed. The established and essential role of psychoactive medicines in the treatment of various psychic problems has led to a general acceptance of chemical substances affecting human consciousness when used in accordance with a doctor's orders. At the same time there has been created a strong belief in the possibilities that chemical substances may help in different problem situations.

Essential for the rapid spreading of drug use have been lively international contacts (C), which can be analyzed in terms of the following channels:

1. International mass communication. International mass communication in the 1960's disseminated information about drug experimentation by young people and about Timothy Leary's activities beyond the United States. International mass media also reported on the accentuation of internal problems in the United States and involvement in the Vietnam war. Drug information gave adults a picture according to which drugs were dangerous and created violence and crime. The commercial press

aimed at young people frequently reported on the drug experiments of pop idols (e.g. singers and musicians). Information was strongly dichotomous, depending on the target audience.

2. International commercial activities. Commercial interests aimed at the young generation also furthered young persons' interest in drugs by commercializing the life style of hippies: producing hippie clothes (Indian fur coats, jewellery, etc.) and buttons with slogans from hippie philosophy (e.g. Make love, not war). In the 1960's the music of mainly American singers and so-called acid rock music groups (e.g. Bob Dylan, Jefferson Airplane, The Beatles, The Doors, The Rolling Stones) transmitted unbeknown to adults, ideas which closely resembled the philosophy that was ascribed to the use of mind-expanding drugs.

3. International travel. International travel moved drug users easily from one country to another and they made the first deliveries of drugs to new areas and described the effects of drugs and about new values in life. The importance of international personal contacts has been repeatedly noted whether drug use has been examined from the perspective of Toronto, Stockholm or Jyväskylä.

The other factors regulating the generally of use (C) can subdivide into international factors and national factors. International drug conventions define the general principles of drug control, which should be applied at national level. The prevailing Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs from 1961 lists cannabis as a drug belonging to the same class as heroin, the use and possession of which is illegal. This has affected Finnish drug legislation in that the use of all drugs is illegal, which has had obvious consequences in terms of control measures. The convention also covers the production of raw material for drugs by allowing only some regions to grow the poppy from which opium is made. The poppy is, however, grown illegally in other areas as well. The convention has not been concerned with the growing of hemp, which is used as the raw material of cannabis. It is no simple matter to reduce the production of such raw material since the growing of the poppy and hemp forms the main means of livelihood for a given population in the raw material producing countries of the developing world.

Structural factors regulating the regional use (C) of drugs are:

1. Availability of drugs. When drug use spread it could be clearly seen that in Europe use spread first in areas which had traditions as centers of illegal drug trade (e.g. Amsterdam). In the United States the availability of marijuana has never been a problem, because it is easy to import the drug from Mexico and hemp can also be grown in the United States. In the case of Finland it was noted that hashish was most frequently used in areas with direct international traffic connections and where the mobility of the population was high.

2. Regional control measures. Regional control measures refer here to the activities of customs and police officers. Their control is central from the point of view of use regulation because the possession, selling and in many countries even use of drugs is punishable by law. The effectiveness of police control measures in curbing drug use can be assessed in relation to regional size of population and personnel resources as follows:

2.1. Success of control measure. It has been found that the control measures of the police have a clear connection with a decrease in use in areas, whose population is relatively small and where the police have had sufficient well-trained staff for the surveillance of users (e.g. Jyväskylä). Police policy in such areas has often been that the police should also be concerned with the use of drugs.

2.2. Quasi-success of police control measures. By "quasi-success" is meant that owing to the strict control measures of narcotics squad agents the number of known cases of drug use falls off. This is partly due to the fact that some users move away from central user areas (e.g. Helsinki and Turku) and partly that users in the area learn to conceal their drug use from the authorities more effectively than before. The use of drug by school and university students, in particular, remains largely "closet use".

2.3. Ineffectiveness of control measures in preventing the spread of drug use. Police control measures have been ineffective in preventing the spread of use in areas where the number of tasters and users in the second half of the 1960's has reached such proportions that police resources were not even remotely sufficient to chart that section of young people interested in drugs. The same situation has existed in the United States and in the larger European cities. When the threat of being discovered

is relatively small, drug use usually becomes socially more acceptable than in areas where the police are able to watch almost all public meeting places for young people. When use is sufficiently widespread in relation to police resources, attitudes towards use begin to change so that police interference in personal use of drugs is, in fact, considered wrong. Examples of this development can be found, for instance, in the United States and the Netherlands. In the United States the Congress-appointed National Commission on Marihuana and Drug Abuse suggested that the personal use of marijuana should not be considered a punishable act and that cannabis should be clearly distinguished from so-called narcotic drugs such as opium (Anon. 1973a). There are plans in the Netherlands to reform drug legislation in 1976. In the preparatory work hashish has been distinguished from so-called hard drugs. The new law would make it legal for an individual to possess 30 grams of hashish for personal use. Possession would not be unrestricted so as not to break the contents on the international drug convention (Anon. 1975a).

3. Information and enlightenment. The main objective of information has been to prevent young persons from becoming interested in drugs. It is difficult to estimate the success of such activity, since for example, in the United States use increased from the 1960's to the 1970's even though funds allocated to information also increased continuously. It has even been suggested that this kind of information at the turn of the decade actually increased drug use rather than diminished it. The another role of drug information at the moment is to make sure that no young person starts using drugs without knowing the properties of the various drugs and the risks involved in use.

Individual psychosocial factors regulating the use of drugs is used to refer to the individual's psychic and social characteristics, which have been found to be related to drug use. When drugs are available and drug information has reached all young persons, not all of them show any desire or interest in trying new drugs, but rather tasters and users have been found to deviate from non-users in respect to certain characteristics:

1. There are users who have been found to be, among other things, more adventurous, spontaneous, flexible, less authoritarian, more impulsive,

and expressing political attitudes that are more liberal, radical or leftist-oriented than non-users. Users' social attitudes have been interpreted by different researchers as alienated, anti-social or social critical. One of the central individual level characteristic that distinguishes between users and non-users is fear of the consequences of drug use (Stokes 1974). A youth who absolutely refuses to touch drugs is described as a conservative, rigid personality type, who grows up in a home where respect for law is strongly emphasized. The opposite is a youth raised in a less authoritarian home, which has a relatively permissive attitude towards smoking and alcohol. It has been found that users have a lot of contacts with other users and young people who have a positive attitude towards drug use, while non-users prefer the company of those who have a negative attitude towards drugs and have not tried them (e.g. Lucas et al. 1975). The use of drugs itself has been found to be a social activity, in other words, drug use usually takes place in user groups.

2. There are also those young people whose drug use is one of several psychic and social problems. The problems have existed before drug use was started. The use of drugs by such young persons is typically multiple use, which means that there is hardly any conscious choice between drugs.

In the 1970's, when about 30 to 80 % of high school and college students, in the United States, have tried marijuana the individual level differences between users and non-users have diminished particularly in relation to prevailing social values. It has been found that the social views of users' and of their middle class homes' are roughly similar (mainly liberal) in all other respects besides questions connected with drug use.—In terms of the prognosis for drug use a clear risk group is formed by those users whose social and psychic problems are coupled with extensive drug use (cf. use of alcohol).

The factors pertaining to the properties of drugs can also be regarded as belonging to the factors regulating drug use. Such factors refer to the effects that the user expects and/or gets from drugs. Alcohol has been a traditionally approved recreational drug within western culture. Young (1971), according to whom the motives for alcohol use are purely recreational, sees the common motives for marijuana

smoking, problem use of alcohol, the use of amphetamine and heroin as purely hedonistic. In a study by Goode (1970) users classified drugs into two groups on the basis of their effects: "head or mind drugs" and "body drugs". The first group included hashish and marijuana, LSD, mescaline, and peyote, which have been called mind-expanding drugs in the above. "Body drugs" included alcohol, amphetamine, cocaine and the narcotics (including heroin). On the basis of such a classification we may consider Young's classification erroneous, because for users of psychedelic drugs the use of, for instance, marijuana and heroin is not determined by the same hedonistic aspirations. The view that marijuana smokers transfer to heroin is thus unfounded, since heroin cannot produce the mind-expanding effects that those young people interested in psychedelic drugs expect from the drugs they use. Orcutt and Biggs (1975) classify marijuana and alcohol in the recreational drugs group. According to their study the use of both drugs produced similar relaxation but effect orientation was different. The effects of alcohol use were externally oriented, in other words the effects of use were described as changes in the interpersonal behaviour (greater sociability, increased talkativeness). The effects of marijuana were internally oriented, which means that effects were experienced as changes in the intrapersonal experience (increased abstract thinking, intensified hearing). In evaluating the effects of different drugs the researchers noted that the effects vary in relation to different sociocultural contexts. With regard to marijuana it was stated that "the typical effects of marijuana will continue to change in an externally-oriented direction as American patterns of marijuana use become more similar to current middle-class uses of alcohol (Orcutt & Biggs 1975, p. 238).

## 9. SUMMARY

At various stages of the project the following problems have been studied:

1. How did the use of drugs by young people, which spread rapidly in the 1960's, start and expand in North America and Europe?
2. What kind of young people have tried or used/continue to use drugs and what have been the effects of drug use?
3. What factors are connected with the different views on the use of drugs by young people?
4. What are the characteristics of hashish smokers in Jyväskylä, what characterizes their life situation and the contents of their value systems?
5. What is the prognosis for drug use?

The first three problems have been studied on the basis of literature and investigations conducted in different countries. The fourth problem covers the actual empirical part of the project. The fifth problem is dealt with in connection with the survey of research literature and also in the empirical part.

Reasons for the rapid expansion of drug use in the United States from the middle of the 1960's onwards (Problem 1) have been sought in the aggravation of internal problems and involvement in the Vietnam War as well as in the aspirations of middle class youth to reject the moral rules of the dominant protestant ethics. There emerged the concept of "Consciousness III", which as a counterbalance to the prevailing social and political situation in the United States started demanding that respect for self and human life should replace human comparisons and subjugation. Drug use was linked to the birth of new values so that they were thought to liberate stultified minds and open them up to new aims in life.

In spite of the strongly negative reactions of the older generation drug use expanded rapidly from the middle of the 1960's to the early years of the 1970's when 30 - 80 % of American and 10 - 30 % of Canadian

and Western European high school and college students had at least tried drugs. The absolutely most popular drug has been cannabis - in the United States marijuana and in Europe hashish. Drug use spread the most rapidly in the large cities of various countries, from where it expanded to reach other towns and also partly the countryside. So-called drug scenes emerged in the central drug using areas in the United States, Canada and Europe. Some of them have become popular international meeting places and the most famous of all is probably the "Mecca of Hippiedom" in the Haight Ashbury district of San Fransisco. The rapid spread of drugs in the United States and their proliferation throughout entire western civilization were made possible by the international communication, travel and commercial channels through which information about the new phenomenon as well as users spread to new areas.

The Finnish authorities first learned about cannabis use in 1967. By the beginning of the 1970's use had spread mainly to towns in southern Finland and other major towns. In 1975 it could be seen that drug use had been restricted to areas with a given degree of industrialization, a large enough population base and direct routes abroad, and a mobile population (e.g. students). Helsinki has been in a class of its own in regard to drug use. In small Finnish towns and in the countryside the use of cannabis and other drugs has been sporadic. The large-scale use of alcohol and the use of thinner and medicines has been a more topical problem in such areas.

Views of young drug users (Problem 2) in the 1960's were based on old theories of narcotic addiction, according to which users were often easily regarded as young people with psychical and social problems. Violence was often attributed to their use of drugs, for instance, increased violence in a given area might be explained away as being due to increased drug use. Studies conducted in the United States, however, showed rather early that high school and college students who smoked marijuana did not exhibit psychopathological personality traits but in comparison to non-users were less anxious, more sociable, impulsive, adventurous, and flexible and less authoritarian. In terms of their values marijuana smokers were found to be either radical or liberal. Particularly those studies carried out in the 1970's have not revealed any profound differences between users' and their parents' value systems

with the exception of the question of drug use. The home background of marijuana smokers was found to represent the wealthy middle class American home, whose atmosphere traditionally was free and more tolerant of new experiences and at the same time less authoritarian than the working class home.

In Europe the dominant conception of the characteristics of the young drug user has been that of a youth needing treatment. This view has been supported by members of the medical profession in particular. The general research tradition, i.e. studies using those young people who had sought treatment as subjects, has tended to confirm conceptions of users as people with psychic and social problems. Studies on high school and college students have not indicated equally clear relationship and the users involved in surveys have been mostly classified as tasters. The users' background in Europe has not been as clearly middle class as in the United States although several studies have shown that cannabis was first used by middle and upper class youths. The analysis of home background has been hampered by the fact that only a few studies have distinguished between the users of different drugs. European users' values have not been studied as extensively as those of American marijuana smokers but expert statements in different countries give us reason to believe that the arguments put forward to explain drug use and the concomitant philosophy have been the same irrespective of geographical area.

Different views and interpretations of young persons' drug use (Problem 3) can be represented by a two-by-two table, the two dimensions of which are:

1. an individual's relation to the dominant value and norm systems
2. an individual's psychic characteristics and mental health

By cross-tabulating the two dimensions we obtain the following typology:

|   |   |  |
|---|---|--|
| An individual's psychic characteristics and mental health | An individual's relation to the dominant value and norm systems   |  |
| No mental health problems                                 | Non-deviant<br>1. Use of drugs - particularly that of cannabis - is tasting or occasional, often motivated by mere curiosity. Continuous use for relaxation and for intensification of experiences. | Deviant<br>2. Deviation from the dominant value system has been interpreted as alienation, normlessness, anti-social behaviour or social criticism. In the users' opinion drugs help them to become aware of new values. |
| Mental health problems                                    | 3. Drugs are used as self-medication for psychic problems.  | 4. Problems of mental health are related to asocial attitudes and illegal activity. Users are "multiple users", who often use any drug.  |

In analyzing the different alternatives in the typology it should be borne in mind that in the 1960's the use of drugs by young people was interpreted almost wholly on the basis of alternatives 3 and 4. This view was gradually superseded in the United States by alternative 2. In the 1970's it has been found necessary to widen even this view towards alternative 1, now that drugs - particularly marijuana - have gained further ground. In Europe, alternatives 3 and 4 have been very much in the forefront although there have been some interpretations in accordance with alternative 2.

Different views on the use of drugs by young persons can, by way of summary, be interpreted by considering:

1. research strategic viewpoints
2. value implications of research

Different research strategies (1) have led to different views on the use of drugs by young people; for instance, researchers have arrived at the various alternatives in the typology depending on the type of the group studied (those who have sought treatment, those who have been sentenced to prison, high school students, college students, etc.). The use of the pure empiricist method has easily led to an interpretation according to which user characteristics have been explained as the

direct result of drug use. The research traditions in different branches of science have tended to direct research along the beaten track; for instance, the psychoanalytic frame of reference, which has largely dominated psychiatric and clinical psychological research, has made it possible to interpret drug use in terms of suppression of drive energy (cf. alternative 3 of the typology). - The value implications of research (2) as a concept explaining different interpretations means that in conveying an image of young drug users researchers select and interpret the available information on the basis of their own values. As a concrete example we may cite alternative 2 of the typology, according to which users' views deviating from the dominant value and norm system can have been interpreted either as normlessness, antisocial behaviour or social criticism depending on the researcher's own frame of reference.

The purpose of the empirical part of the project (Problem 4) was to clarify the characteristics, life situation and value system of the hashish smokers in Jyväskylä in 1971, to examine what had happened to users during the period from 1971 to 1975 and what characterized users in 1975. In the autumn of 1971 one hundred young persons were interviewed, their average age being about 17 years. All interviewees had smoked hashish at least ten times. There were 58 boys and 42 girls in the sample. About one half of the group were high school students, one third studied in vocational schools or at university and the rest were at work (13), unemployed (4) or "elsewhere". The interviewer was a former user, who was studying at university. The author has attempted to interpret the results using the hermeneutic approach, in other words, starting from the users' frame of reference.

As regards the background of the users in 1971 it was found that they came from all social groups, although those from the middle class were somewhat overrepresented and the children of skilled workers underrepresented. In 60 % of all cases both parents lived at home, in 27 % of all cases parents were divorced, which means that broken homes were overrepresented in the research group.

The hashish smoking of the research group was not mere experimentation since 90 % of the interviewees had been smoking hashish for at least a year. Hashish was the first drug for 87 % of users while others

had started with thinner or medical preparations. The most common motives for taking up drugs were curiosity and friends' reports of the pleasant effects of drugs. 79 % of the group had experience of drugs other than hashish. The use of other drugs, such as LSD, amphetamine or opiates, had mainly been restricted to tasting. At the time of the study the majority of users were strongly opposed to the use of drugs other than hashish. Thinner was considered a specially dangerous drug. Of the one hundred young people interviewed in autumn 1971 94 % used only hashish. The attitude of the research group to alcohol is illustrated by the fact that 66 % of the users preferred hashish to alcohol. About one half of the users indicated that the main reason for continued use of hashish was the pleasurable effects obtained, and two thirds reported that they found hashish smoking predominantly positive. Psychological dependence was cited by 10 % of users as the reason for continued use. Almost one half of the interviewees planned to continue hashish smoking, whereas 21 of the rest wanted to give up hashish completely. Reasons mentioned for giving up and decreasing hashish use included, for example, various negative consequences for school and friendship relations, and disappointments with drug effects. Three-quarters of the users thought that the indictability of drug use was ineffective in preventing it.

In comparing the results obtained with research findings elsewhere it was noted that the present project revealed the general universal motives for starting and continuing drug use and the model of use which is called multiple drug use. Characteristic of the latter is experimentation with other drugs beside the continued use of cannabis. Giving up drugs has been found in other studies to be related on the one hand to negative experiences and on the other hand to setting up a family and consolidating one's social position e.g. on entering the labour market.

Hashish was obtained either from friends, street pushers or by buying larger quantities directly from the wholesale agents (N = 6). The money for buying hashish was obtained in the form of a weekly allowance, from work, as loans, by selling drugs or entirely (N = 6) or partly (N = 18) through other illegal means. The likelihood of obtaining money by illegal means increased the longer one had used drugs, the more drugs one had used and the more frequently one smoked hashish. Boys has been guilty of illegal acts more often than girls.

The social relations of the user group are characterized by the fact that they named fourteen different groups of which they were members (e.g. the gang frequenting a given cafe, the park gang, sport or music group, high school or college group). Some of the users did not think they belonged to any particular group. In other words, users did not form one well-defined gang but the research group consisted of different groups, whose contacts with the most conspicuous central park user group ranged from fairly regular to virtually non-existent. All of the one hundred users were scarcely united by any other factor than shared interest in hashish and, on account of the indictability of drug use, the same channels for obtaining drugs and the strong sanctioning of informing the police. Users' interests and hobbies varied from arts (literature, music, theatre, visual arts) to politics and sport. At least one interest was mentioned by 59 % of the interviewees. On the other hand, 23 reported that drugs were the only link with other young people.

In assessing the social consequences of drug use the users were asked for their views about the changes in their lives. Changes were reported by 65 % of the interviewees to have taken place after they started using drugs, and 21 % of all subjects found the changes negative, whereas 22 % reported that changes in their thinking had been positive. Other changes cited included sense of personal freedom, peace of mind and growing wisdom. The harmful social consequences of drug use were assessed on the basis of police contacts, school success and relations at home. Of the one hundred users 43 % had had contacts with the police as a result of drug use, and 53 % for some other reason. The likelihood of police contacts increased the longer one had used drugs and the more drugs one had tried. Sex, the selling of drugs and willingness to give up drugs were also related to police contacts. One fifth of those questioned by the police on account of drugs had been given a court sentence. The academic success of the research group varied from top to bottom of the class. A third of those at school indicated that their academic success was clearly below average. 40 % of the pupils reported that their school success had deteriorated after starting using drugs, 16 % reported better success. Six youths indicated that they had dropped out of school on account of drugs. In the users' own mind

weaker performance at school was not necessarily a negative consequence of drug use. This conclusion can be reached if we interpret the matter from the users' point of view. According to this success at school was not rated by them as highly as by those young persons who had adopted traditional values. About one half of the users reported that their relations at home were good or fairly good. A decline in family relations was reported by 22 % and an improvement by 11 % of the research group. Four of the interviewees did not have any contacts with their homes. In 38 % of cases the home was not aware of the situation. The users indicated that parents generally had very negative attitudes towards all drug use.

In answer to a question asking about need for treatment 80 % of interviewees did not think that they were in need of treatment whereas eight users indicated such a need. 75 % of users thought that drug use in general creates a need for treatment, which was noted to be related to the type of drug used and the user's personality. Those who at some time had sought outside treatment (N = 22) did not generally belong to the active school student group. In comparison to the rest of the group they had used more drugs, they had had more police contacts and they did have no clear plans for the future. Their value system was traditional rather than deviant from the dominant views. As a group they represented an asocial and alienated user group.

The continuation of one's education and the acquisition of good vocational skills were central in the future plans of the research group. As a whole the research group did not differ much from the rest of the same age group population in terms of their future plans.

In assessing the contents of the value system of the research group their views on the traditional basic institutions of marriage, native country and church were first identified. Two thirds of the interviewees did not consider marriage indispensable or necessary. This result clearly deviates from the results obtained in national youth studies according to which the majority of young Finns were in favour of traditional marriage. Two thirds of hashish smokers believed wholly or partially in the importance of national independence. The need for the defence forces was accepted by 21 % of users. National youth surveys have shown that the majority of Finnish young people considers the defence forces

necessary. 81 % of the research group did not find the church necessary in its present form. 10 % believed in God (youth studies: 50 - 70 %) and 19 % had their own religious views. A political stand was reported by 73 % of interviewees with 37 % being actively interested in politics. A clear majority of those who indicated their political affiliation were leftist oriented. A trend from right-wing/centre thinking of homes towards leftism was discernible.

By 1975 most of the one hundred hashish smokers interviewed in the autumn of 1971 had given up or clearly reduced hashish smoking. Most of those at school had finished their school and were pursuing further studies or were gainfully employed. Some had set up a family of their own. A group of 20 - 30 youth had become actively engaged in political organizations. A few of those who were at work in 1971 went to the meeting places of hashish smokers to see the hashish smokers of 1975. Their hashish smoking was only occasional. From the 1971 group it was quite easy in 1975 to recognize the group consisting of the few unemployed in 1971 whose life situation had not undergone any major changes: they were still involved in the hashish smoking group, they were either unemployed or held odd jobs, some of them had in the meantime been to prison and/or under treatment, and they had no clearer idea of their future in 1975 than in 1971.

In 1975 the Jyväskylä authorities knew about a group of 10 to 12 young persons who were known to be continuing hashish smoking. Besides this group there might be some so-called closet use among high school and university students. According to the authorities there had been a clear decline in the number of users, something which mainly happened in 1973. Most of the members of the 1975 group had started hashish smoking in the 1960's. A clear majority of them were boys who were neither at school nor had permanent jobs. The two or three girls were at school. The most popular drug was wine. Hashish smoking was occasional depending on its availability and the users' financial situation. Some of the members had negative attitudes to any drug other than hashish, but some were interested in the effects of other drugs. Nobody was interested in giving up hashish smoking and users did not consider it dangerous if used properly. The members of the active group spent a considerable proportion of their time in each other's company discussing topical events, their drug experiences, films and literature from which they sought descriptions of the

several dimensions of human consciousness (e.g. the works of Herman Hesse). The hashish smokers of 1975 were leftist oriented but not active politically. They were more interested in "inner" than "external" experiences. Although the active group started to visit the youth section of the alcoholic clinic they thought that only a couple of members needed treatment on account of an excessive use of alcohol. The authorities believed that some of the members will abandon the group in time without outside help but others were in need of treatment. Treatment personnel were, however, pessimistic about their own possibilities and capabilities in this respect.

As regards the prognosis for drug use (Problem 5) it may be said that in the opinion of several researchers and experts the use of drugs, particularly that of cannabis, from an international perspective, has come to stay in certain areas. Some researchers believe that cannabis use will continue to increase in the United States when the present young generation maintains the habit and marijuana smoking will thus become more common among adults. In some areas (e.g. Netherlands) there has been serious discussion about the possibility of relaxing drug legislation on account of the widespread use of cannabis. Denmark and Sweden have about the same incidence of cannabis use as Central European countries. In Finland and Norway use is less frequent but fairly established in some areas. On the whole no great changes are expected to take place in Finland in the use of cannabis, neither increase or decrease, provided that attitudes towards the drug, its legal status and the capacity and methods of the police remain unchanged. As far as other drugs are concerned police authorities, in particular, have expressed a view according to which the use of opium derivatives (e.g. heroin, morphine) is growing along with the growing use of cannabis. They have cited the numerous raids of chemist's shops that have recently taken place in Finland. It is likely that the easy supply of such hard drugs will make their use more frequent among certain minority groups. Young people at school and university, however, who have shown an interest in cannabis, have had very negative attitudes towards hard drugs. It has not been shown that the stepping stone hypothesis is correct, i.e. that cannabis would lead to the use of opiates.

With regard to the prognosis for the youth groups interested in cannabis it may be stated on the basis of present study and studies conducted elsewhere that the use of cannabis by school and college students is likely to remain an intermediate stage in the lives of many young persons, which may last several years but will end at the latest when the young person finds his place in adult society by setting up a family and entering gainful employment. Some may continue cannabis smoking even at that stage without use becoming a problem for them. Those young persons whose use of cannabis is connected with various psychic and social problems form a special group of their own from the point of view of prognosis. They are usually typical multiple users, which means that besides alcohol they use any available drug. Single drug users have been found in Finnish studies to be using thinner or medicines. Several of these young persons need treatment in order to manage their personal problems and to be able to give up drugs.

## TIIVISTELMÄ

Tämän tutkimusprojektin eri vaiheissa on selvitetty seuraavia ongelma-alueita:

1. Miten 1960-luvulla lisääntynyt nuorison huumausaineiden käyttö on saanut alkunsa ja yleistynyt Pohjois-Amerikassa ja Euroopassa?
2. Millaiset nuoret ovat kokeilleet tai käyttäneet/käyttävät huumausaineita ja mitä seurauksia huumausaineiden käytöstä on ollut?
3. Mitkä tekijät ovat yhteydessä erilaisiin käsityksiin nuorten huumausaineiden käytöstä?
4. Millaiset ovat jyväskyläläisten hasiksenpolttajien tunnuspiirteet, millainen on heidän elämäntilanteensa ja arvomaailmansa sisältö?
5. Millaisia ovat huumausaineiden käytön ennusteet?

Ongelma-alueita 1. - 3. on tarkasteltu kirjallisuuden ja eri maissa suoritetun tutkimusten pohjalta. 4. ongelma-alue kattaa tämän tutkimusprojektin varsinaisen empiirisen osan. 5. ongelma-alueita on tarkasteltu sekä kirjallisuuskatsauksen ja aikaisempiin tutkimuksiin perehtymisen että empiirisen osan yhteydessä.

Syitä huumausaineiden käytön nopeaan leviämiseen Yhdysvalloissa 1960-luvun puolesta välistä eteenpäin (1. ongelma-alue) on etsitty sekä maan sisäisten ongelmien kärjistymisestä ja Vietnamin sotaan osallistumisesta että vauraan keskiluokkaisen nuorison pyrkimyksistä hylätä yhteiskunnan vallitsevan, protestanttisen etiikan moraalisäännöt. Alettiin puhua "kolmannesta tietoisuudesta", joka vastapainoksi Yhdysvaltojen yhteiskunnalliselle ja poliittiselle tilanteelle alkoi vaatia minuuden ja inhimillisen elämän kunnioittamista kilpailun, ihmisten vertailun ja alistamisen tilalle. Huumausaineiden käyttö liitettiin uusien arvojen syntymiseen siten, että niiden avulla katsottiin voitavan vapauttaa ihmisten tylsistynyt mieli avoimeksi uusille elämisen päämäärille.

Vanhemman sukupolven voimakkaan kielteisistä reaktioista huolimatta huumausaineiden käyttö yleistyi nopeasti 1960-luvun puolesta välistä 1970-luvun alkuvuosiin asti; tällöin 30-80 % Yhdysvaltojen ja 10-30 %

Kanadan ja Keski- ja Pohjois-Euroopan opiskelevasta nuorisosta oli ainakin kokeillut huumausaineita, joista ehdottomasti suosituin on ollut kannabis - Yhdysvalloissa marijuana, Euroopan puolella hasis. Huumausaineiden käyttö yleistyi voimakkaimmin eri maiden suurkaupungeissa, joista se levisi muihin kaupunkeihin ja osittain maaseudulle. Huumausaineiden käytön keskusalueille Yhdysvaltoihin, Kanadaan ja Euroopan puolelle syntyi ns. huumausaineyhteisöjä (drug scenes), joista osasta on tullut suosittuja kansainvälisiä kohtaamispaikkoja. Tunnetuin näistä on ollut San Fransiscoon Haight Ashburyn alueelle syntynyt "the Mecca of Hippiedom". Huumausaineiden käytön nopean leviämisen Yhdysvalloissa ja yleistymisen koko läntiseen kulttuuripiiriin mahdollistivat kansainväliset tiedotus-, matkailu- ja kaupalliset väylät, joita myöten yhtä hyvin tieto uudesta ilmiöstä kuin aineet ja käyttäjätkin siirtyivät uusille alueille.

Suomessa tuli kannabiksen käyttö viranomaisten tietoon ensimmäisen kerran vuonna 1967. Käyttö oli levinnyt 1970-luvun alkuun mennessä pääasiassa Etelä-Suomen kaupunkeihin ja asutuskeskuksiin ja muun Suomen suurimpiin kaupunkeihin. Vuonna 1975 voitiin todeta, että huumausaineiden käyttöä oli jäänyt alueille, jotka olivat riittävän teollistuneita, joilla oli riittävän suuri väestöpohja, suorat kulkuväylät ulkomaille ja liikkuvaa väestöä (esim. opiskelijoita). Helsingissä on huumausaineita käytetty poikkeavan runsaasti verrattuna Suomen muihin alueisiin. Maaseudulla ja pikkukaupungeissa on kannabiksen ja muiden huumausaineiden käyttö ollut satunnaista. Näillä alueilla ovat ongelmana olleet pikemminkin nuorison runsas alkoholin, tinnerin ja lääkkeiden käyttö.

Käsitykset nuorten huumausaineiden käyttäjien ominaisuuksista (2. ongelma-alue) pohjasivat 1960-luvulla vanhoihin narkomaniateorioihin, jolloin käyttäjät helposti nähtiin psyykkisesti ja sosiaalisesti ongelmallisiksi nuoriksi. Väkivaltaisuus liitettiin usein nuorten huumausaineiden käyttöön, esim. tiettyjen alueiden lisääntynyt väkivaltaisuus saatettiin selittää seuraukseksi lisääntyneestä huumausaineiden käytöstä. Yhdysvalloissa suoritetut tutkimukset osoittivat kuitenkin melko pian, että kouluissa ja yliopistoissa tavatut marijuanapolttajat eivät kuuluneet persoonallisuudenpiirteiltään psykopatologian piiriin, vaan olivat ei-käyttäjiin verrattuna pikemminkin vähemmän ahdistuneita, sosiaalisempia, impulsiivisempia, seikkailunhaluisempia, joustavampia ja vähem-

män autoritäärisiä. Arvomaailmaltaan marijuanana polttajien todettiin edustavan joko radikaalia tai liberaalia ajattelua. Erityisesti 1970-luvun tutkimuksissa käyttäjien ja heidän vanhempiensa arvomaailman välillä ei todettu kovin suuria eroja muiden kuin huumausaineiden käyttöön liittyvien kysymysten suhteen. Marijuanana polttajien kotien todettiin edustavan yhdysvaltalaisista vaurasta keskiluokkaista kotia, jonka ilmapiiri jo perinteisesti oli vapaampi, uusiin kokemuksiin kannustavampi ja vähemmän autoritäärinen kuin työväestön kotien.

Euroopan puolella nuori huumausaineiden käyttäjä on käsitetty ominaisuuksiltaan perinteisesti hoitoa tarvitseväksi nuoreksi. Tätä näkemystä ovat erityisesti lääkärikunnan edustajat tukeneet. Yleisesti käytössä ollut tutkimustraditio eli hoitoon hakeutuneista käyttäjistä tehty tutkimus on vahvistanut käsityksiä käyttäjästä psyykkisesti ja sosiaalisesti ongelmallisena nuorena. Koululais- ja opiskelijatutkimuksissa ei ole yhtä selviä yhteyksiä todettu ja kartoituksissa tavoitetut käyttäjät onkin useimmiten luokiteltu kokeilijoiksi. Käyttäjien kotitausta ei ole Euroopan puolella ollut yhtä selvästi keskiluokkainen kuin Yhdysvalloissa, vaikkakin useiden tutkimusten mukaan esim. kannabiksen käytön on voitu todeta tulleen ensin keski- ja yläluokan nuorten keskuuteen. Tarkkaa kotitaustan analyysia on vaikeuttanut se, että vain harvoissa tutkimuksissa on eri aineiden käyttäjiä erotettu toisistaan alaryhmiksi. Käyttäjien arvomaailman sisällöstä ei ole ollut käytettävissä yhtä perusteellista tutkimustietoa Euroopasta kuin Yhdysvalloista, mutta eri maiden asiantuntijoiden lausuntojen pohjalta voidaan todeta, että käytön perustelut ja käyttöön liitetty filosofia ovat olleet samankaltaisia alueesta riippumatta.

Erilaiset käsitykset ja tulkinnat nuorten huumausaineiden käytöstä (3. ongelma-alue) voidaan sijoittaa nelikenttään, jonka perusulottuvuuksina ovat

(1) yksilön suhde yhteiskunnassa vallitsevaan arvo- ja normijärjestelmään sekä

(2) yksilön psyykkiset ominaisuudet ja mielenterveys.

Nämä ulottuvuudet ristiintaulukoimalla saadaan seuraava typologia:

|  |  |   |
|--|--|---|
| Yksilön psyykkiset ominaisuudet ja mielenterveys | Yksilön suhde yhteiskunnassa vallitsevaan arvo- ja normijärjestelmään ei poikkeava   |   |
| Ei mielenterveyden ongelmia                      | 1. Huumausaineiden - erityisesti kannabiksen - käyttö kokeilua tai satunnaiskäyttöä, jolloin syynä usein pelkkä uteliaisuus; jatkuva käyttö rentoutumis- ja elämysten syventämistarkoituksiin. | 2. Poikkeavuus vallitsevasta arvojärjestelmästä on tulkittu vieraantuneisuudeksi, normittomuudeksi, antisosiaalisuudeksi tai yhteiskuntakriittisyydeksi. Käyttäjien mukaan huumausaineet auttavat uusien arvojen tiedostamisessa. |
| Mielenterveyden ongelmia                         | 3. Huumausaineita käytetään itselääkityksenä omiin psyykkisiin ris-tiriitoihin.  | 4. Mielenterveyden ongelmiin liittyy asosiaalisia asenteita ja lainvastaista toimintaa; käyttäjät ovat ns. moniongelmaisia nuoria, jotka käyttävät usein mitä tahansa aineita.  |

Typologian eri vaihtoehtoja arvioitaessa on todettava, että 1960-luvulla tulkittiin nuorten huumausaineiden käyttö lähes pelkästään 3. ja 4. vaihtoehtojen pohjalta. Yhdysvalloissa jouduttiin tämä näkemys vähitellen hylkäämään ja sen sijaan alettiin korostaa 2. vaihtoehtoa. 1970-luvulla on tätäkin käsitystä jouduttu edelleen laajentamaan 1. vaihtoehtojen suuntaan huumausaineiden - erityisesti marijuan - käytön yhä yleistyessä. Euroopan puolella painopiste on ollut selvästi 3. ja 4. vaihtoehtojen kohdalla joskin myös 2. vaihtoehtojen mukaisia tulkintoja on tehty.

Erilaiset käsitykset nuorten huumausaineiden käytöstä voidaan tiivistäen selittää kahdesta näkökulmasta:

1. tutkimusstrategiset näkökohdat
2. tutkimuksen arvosidonnaisuus.

Erilaisten tutkimusstrategioiden (1.) vuoksi on päädytty erilaisiin käsityksiin nuorten huumausaineiden käytöstä, esim. tutkimusryhmän (hoitoon hakeutuneet, vankilassa olevat, koululaiset, opiskelijat yms.) mukaan on päädytty typologian eri vaihtoehtoihin. Puhtaan empiristisen metodin käyttö on johtanut helposti siihen, että käyttäjien todetut ominaisuudet on tulkittu johtuvaksi huumausaineiden käytöstä. Eri tieteenalojen perinteiset tutkimustraditiot ovat omalta osaltaan ohjanneet nuorten huumausaineiden käytön tarkastelua tiettyihin uomiin,

esim. psykiatrista ja kliinista psykologista tutkimusta pitkälti hallinnut psykoanalyttinen viitekehys on mahdollistanut tulkinnan, jonka mukaan huumausaineiden käyttö kytkeytyy viettienergian patoutumiin (vrt. typologian 3. vaihtoehto). Tutkimuksen arvosidonnaisuus (2) erilaisia käsityksiä selitettäessä tarkoittaa sitä, että välittäessään kuvaa huumausaineita käyttävistä nuorista tutkijat valikoivat ja tulkitsevat käytettävissä olevan informaation oman arvojärjestelmänsä pohjalta. Konkreettina esimerkkinä voidaan viitata typologian 2. vaihtoehtoon, jonka mukaan käyttäjien vallitsevasta arvo- ja normijärjestelmästä poikkeavat käsitykset on tutkijan oman viitekehysten mukaan voitu tulkita joko normittomuudeksi, antisosiaalisuudeksi tai yhteiskuntakriittisyydeksi.

Tutkimuksen empiirisen osan (4. ongelma-alue) tarkoituksena oli selvittää, millaisia olivat jyväsnyläisten hasiksenpolttajien tunnuspiirteet, elämäntilanne ja arvomaailman sisältö vuonna 1971, mitä näille käyttäjille oli tapahtunut vuosina 1972-1975 ja millaisia olivat hasiksenpolttajat vuonna 1975. Syksyllä 1971 haastateltiin sata nuorta, joiden keski-ikä oli noin 17 v. Kaikki olivat polttaneet vähintään kymmenen kertaa hasista. Poikia oli 58 ja tyttöjä 42. Noin puolet haastatelluista oli oppikoululaisia, kolmasosa opiskeli ammatillisessa oppilaitoksessa tai yliopistossa ja loput olivat työssä (13), työttömänä (4) ja "muualla". Haastattelijana toimi yliopiston opiskelija, joka oli entinen käyttäjä. Tulosten tulkinnoissa pyrittiin soveltamaan ns. ymmärtävää tulkintatapaa eli suorittamaan tulkinnat käyttäjien viitekehksestä käsin.

Vuoden 1971 hasiksenpolttajien joukko koostui taustaltaan kaikista yhteiskuntaluokista, joskin keskiluokkainen nuoriso oli jonkin verran yliedustettuna ja ammattitaitoisen työväestön lapset aliedustettuina. 60 %:ssa käyttäjien kodeista vanhemmat asuivat yhdessä, 27 %:ssa tapauksista vanhemmat olivat eronneet, mikä merkitsee avioero-perheiden nuorten edustuksen painottumista tutkimusryhmässä.

Tutkimusryhmän nuorten hasiksen poltto ei ollut enää pelkkää kokeilua, sillä 90 % tutkituista oli polttanut hasista vähintään vuoden. Hasis oli ollut 87 %:n kohdalla varsinaisen aloitusaine, muut olivat aloittaneet huumausaineiden käytön tinnerillä tai lääkkeillä. Yleisimmät aloitusmotiivit olivat olleet uteliaisuus ja ystävien kertomukset

aineen miellyttävistä vaikutuksista. Muiden aineiden kuin hasiksen vaikutuksista oli kokemuksia 79 %:lla nuorista. Esim. LSD:n, amfetamiinin tai oopiumjohdannaisainesten aineiden käyttö oli ollut etupäässä kokeilua. Tutkimusajankohtana enemmistön kanta muiden huumausaineiden kuin hasiksen käyttöön oli voimakkaan kielteinen. Tinneriä pidettiin erityisen vaarallisena aineena. Tutkituista sadasta nuoresta käyttikin syksyllä 1971 94 % vain hasista. Tutkimusryhmän suhtautumista alkoholiin kuvaa tulos, jonka mukaan 66 % nuorista piti hasista alkoholia parempana vaihtoehtona. Noin puolet tutkituista ilmoitti hasiksen miellyttävät vaikutukset jatkuvan käytön välittömäksi syyksi ja noin kaksi kolmasosaa nuorista ilmoitti kokevansa polttamisen etupäässä miellyttävänä. Psykyllisen riippuvuuden jatkuvaa käyttöä ylläpitäväksi tekijäksi ilmoitti 10 % tutkituista. Lähes puolet tutkituista aikoi jatkaa hasiksen polttamista edelleen, loppuista 21 halusi päästä aineesta eroon kokonaan. Lopettamisen ja vähentämisen syiksi mainittiin mm. erilaiset kielteiset seuraukset esim. koulunkäynnin tai ystävyys-suhteiden alueilla sekä pettymykset aineen vaikutukseen. Kolme neljäsosaa käyttäjistä arvioi käytön rangaistavuuden tehottomaksi estämään käyttöä. Verrattaessa tuloksia muualla suoritettuihin tutkimuksiin ilmenevät jyväsyläläistutkimuksessa yleiset yleismaailmalliset aloitus- ja jatkuvan käytön motiivit sekä käyttömalli, josta käytetään nimeä samanaikaiskäyttö (multiple drug use). Sille on ominaista kannabiksen jatkuvan käytön ohella muiden huumausaineiden kokeilu. Käytön lopettamisen on muissa tutkimuksissa todettu olleen yhteydessä toisaalta huumausaineista saatuihin kielteisiin kokemuksiin, toisaalta perheen perustamiseen ja oman yhteiskunnallisen aseman vakiintumiseen esim. siirryttäessä työelämään.

Käytetty hasis hankittiin joko ystäviltä, katukaupasta tai ostamalla suurempia erinä suoraan tukkuportaasta (N = 6). Rahat saatiin kotoa viikkorahoina, töistä, lainoista, aineen myynnistä tai kokonaan (N = 6) tai osittain (N = 18) muilla laittomilla keinoilla. Mitä pidempään oli polttanut, mitä useampia aineita oli käyttänyt ja mitä runsaammin poltti hasista, sitä todennäköisemmin oli hankkinut rahaa myös laittomin keinoin. Pojat olivat syyllistyneet tyttöjä useammin laittomiin menette-lyihin.

Käyttäjien sosiaalisia suhteita kuvaa se, että he nimesivät neljätoista eri ryhmää (esim. baarin porukka, puiston porukka, urheilu- ja

muusikkoryhmä, koululais- tai opiskelijaryhmä), joihin ilmoittivat kuuluvansa. Osa nuorista ei katsonut kuuluvansa mihinkään erityiseen ryhmään. Käyttäjät eivät siis muodostaneet yhtä ns. jengiä, vaan tutkimusryhmä koostui ryhmistä, joiden kontaktit keskuspuiston eli kirkkopuiston alueella liikkuneeseen näkyvimpään käyttäjäryhmään vaihtelivat melko kiinteistä olemattomiin. Kaikkia sataa käyttäjää ei yhdistänyt juuri muu kuin kiinnostus hasikseen ja sen käytön laittomuudesta seuranneet yhteiset aineen hankintaväylät ja käytön ilmiannon voimakas sanktiointi. Käyttäjien harrastukset vaihtelivat taiteista (kirjallisuus, musiikki, teatteri, kuvaamataide) politiikkaan ja urheiluun. Ainakin yksi nimetty harrastus oli 59 %:lla nuorista. 23 nuorta ilmoitti huumausaineet ainoaksi yhdistäväksi tekijäksi muihin nuoriin.

Huumausaineiden käyttöön liittyviä sosiaalisia seurauksia arvioitaessa tiedusteltiin käyttäjiltä heidän käsityksiään muutosten sisällöstä. Nuorista 65 % ilmoitti kokeneensa muutoksia huumausaineiden käytön alettua. 21 %:n (/100) kohdalla muutokset olivat olleet kielteisiä. Tutkituista 22 % ilmoitti muutosten tapahtuneen omassa ajattelussaan myönteiseen suuntaan. Muina muutoksina mainittiin mm. vapautuminen, rauhoittuminen, viisastuminen. Käytön sosiaalisia haittavaikutuksia arvioitiin poliisikontaktien määrän, koulumenestyksen ja kotisuhteiden avulla. Kontakteja poliisin kanssa oli ollut 43 %:lla nuorista huumausaineiden takia, 53 %:lla muista syistä. Mitä pidempään oli käyttänyt huumausaineita ja mitä useampia aineita oli käyttänyt sitä todennäköisemmin oli joutunut poliisin kanssa tekemisiin aineiden takia. Edelleen sukupuoli, oma myynti ja lopettamishalukkuus korreloivat edellä mainittuihin poliisikontakteihin. Viidesosaa huumausaineiden takia kuulustelluista nuorista oli rangaistu. Tutkimusryhmän nuorten koulumenestys vaihteli kärkepään sijoituksesta luokan heikoimpaan ainekseen. Kolmasosa koululaisista ilmoitti menestyvänsä selvästi keskinkertaista heikommin. Koululaisista 40 % ilmoitti koulumenestyksen heikentyneen huumausaineiden käytön alettua. Kuusi nuorta ilmoitti keskeyttäneensä koulunkäynnin huumausaineiden takia. Heikentynyt koulumenestys ei nuorten oman arvion mukaan kuitenkaan välttämättä kuulunut käytön kielteisiin seurauksiin. Tämä näkemys voidaan ymmärtää, kun asia tulkitaan käyttäjien arvojärjestelmän pohjalta. Sen mukaan koulussa hyvin menestymistä ei arvostettu yhtä voimakkaasti kuin perinteiset arvot omaksuneiden parissa. Noin

puolet käyttäjistä ilmoitti suhteet kotiin hyviksi tai melko hyviksi. Nuorista 22 % ilmoitti suhteiden heikentyneen, 11 % parantuneen käytön alettua. Neljällä nuorella ei ollut kontakteja kotiin lainkaan. 38 %:n kotona ei tiedetty lainkaan nuoren hasiksenpoltosta. Nuorten ilmoituksen mukaan vanhemmat suhtautuivat yleensä voimakkaan kielteisesti kaikkien huumausaineiden käyttöön.

Hoidon tarvetta tiedusteltaessa 80 % tutkituista ei katsonut olevansa hoidon tarpeessa. Kahdeksan nuorta ilmoitti tarvitsevansa hoitoa tutkimusajankohtana. 75 %:n mielestä huumausaineiden käyttö yleensä synnyttää hoidon tarvetta, jonka todettiin olevan yhteydessä käytettyyn aineeseen ja käyttäjän persoonallisuuteen. Jossain elämänsä vaiheessa ulkopuolista hoitoa hakeneet käyttäjät (N = 22) olivat pääasiassa muita kuin aktiivisia koululaisia. He olivat muuhun ryhmään verrattuna käyttäneet useampia huumausaineita, heillä oli ollut enemmän poliisikontakteja eikä heillä ollut selkeitä tulevaisuudensuunnitelmia. Heidän arvomaailmansa oli pikemminkin perinteinen kuin vallitsevista käsityksistä poikkeava. Ryhmänä he edustivat asenteiltaan asosiaalista ja vieraantunutta käyttäjien ryhmää.

Tutkimusryhmän nuorten tulevaisuudensuunnitelmissa oli keskeinen sija koulutuksen jatkamisella ja hyvän ammattitaidon hankkimisella. Kokonaisuutena ryhmä ei juuri poikennut samanikäisestä väestöstä tulevaisuudensuunnitelmien suhteen.

Tutkimusryhmän nuorten arvomaailman sisältöä kartoitettaessa arvioitiin ensin heidän käsityksiään perinteisistä perusinstituutioista avioliitosta, isänmaasta ja kirkosta. Kaksi kolmasosaa tutkituista ei pitänyt avioliittoinstituutiota tarpeellisena tai välttämättömänä. Tämä tulos poikkeaa selvästi nuorisotutkimusten tuloksista, joiden mukaan enemmistö Suomen nuorista kannatti perinteistä avioliittoa. Kaksi kolmasosaa hasiksenpolttajista uskoi täysin tai jossain määrin Suomen itsenäisyyden tärkeyteen. 21 % uskoi puolustuslaitoksen tarpeellisuuteen. Nuorisotutkimusten tulosten mukaan enemmistö Suomen nuorista piti puolustuslaitosta tarpeellisena. 81 % hasiksenpolttajista ei pitänyt kirkkoinstituutiota tarpeellisena nykyisessä muodossa. 10 % uskoi Jumalaan (nuorisotutkimusten mukaan n. 50-70 % nuorista), 19 %:lla oli omat uskonnolliset näkemyksensä. Poliittisen kannan ilmoitti 73 % tutkituista, 37 % oli aktiivisesti kiinnostunut politiikasta. Selvä enemmistö kantansa

ilmaisseista oli vasemmistolaisia. Siirtymää kotien oikeisto-keskusta-ajattelusta nuorten vasemmistolaisuuteen oli havaittavissa.

Vuoteen 1975 mennessä oli enemmistö syksyllä 1971 haastatelluista sadasta hasiksenpolttajasta joko lopettanut tai selvästi vähentänyt hasiksen polttoa. Koululaisista suurin osa oli saanut koulunsa päätökseen ja hakeutunut jatko-opiskelun pariin tai ansiotyöhön. Osa oli perustanut perheen. 20-30 nuoren ryhmä oli siirtynyt aktiiviseen poliittiseen järjestötoimintaan. Muutama syksyn 1971 työssäkävivistä nuorista näyttäytyi edelleen polttajien suosimissa kokoontumispaikoissa tapaamassa vuoden 1975 hasiksenpolttajia. Heidän hasiksenpolttonsa oli satunnais- ta. Vuoden 1971 ryhmästä oli vuonna 1975 edelleen selvästi tunnistetta- vissa se muutaman syksyllä 1971 työttömänä olleen nuoren ryhmä, jonka kohdalla ei elämäntilanteessa ollut tapahtunut olennaisia muutoksia: he olivat edelleen mukana hasista polttavassa ryhmässä, he olivat joko työttömiä tai tilapäistyössä, osa oli ollut välillä vankilassa ja/tai hoidossa. Heillä ei ollut sen paremmin vuonna 1971 kuin vuonna 1975 mi- tään selkeää kuvaa omasta tulevaisuudestaan.

Vuonna 1975 oli jyväs kyläläisten viranomaisten tiedossa 10-12 nuoren ryhmä, jonka tiedettiin polttavan hasista edelleen. Tämän lisäksi saat- toi olla ns. piilokäyttöä koululaisten ja opiskelijoiden keskuudessa. Käyttäjämäärissä oli viranomaisten arvion mukaan tapahtunut kuitenkin selvä väheneminen, joka ajoittui vuoteen 1973. Vuoden 1975 aktiivises- ta ryhmästä enemmistö oli nuoria, jotka olivat aloittaneet hasiksenpol- ton jo 1960-luvun puolella. Selvä enemmistö oli poikia, jotka eivät ol- leet koulussa eivätkä vakituisesti työssä. Mukana olleet pari kolme tyttöä olivat koululaisia. Ryhmän suosituin käyttöaine oli viini. Ha- siksenpoltto oli enemmän satunnaista ja kytkeytyi aineen tarjontaan ja nuorten taloudelliseen tilanteeseen. Osa ryhmästä suhtautui kielteises- ti muihin aineisiin kuin hasikseen, osa oli kiinnostunut myös muiden aineiden vaikutuksista. Yksikään ei ollut kiinnostunut hasiksen polton lopettamisesta eikä ainetta oikein käytettynä pidetty vaarallisena. Ak- tiivisen ryhmän jäsenet viettivät huomattavan osan ajastaan toistensa seurassa keskustellen ajankohtaisista kysymyksistä, huumausainekokemuk- sistaan, elokuvista ja kirjallisuudesta, josta etsittiin erityisesti ku- vauksia ihmisen tajunnan moniulotteisuudesta (esim. Herman Hessen tuo- tanto). Poliittisilta näkemyksiltään vuoden 1975 hasiksenpolttajat

olivat vasemmistolaisia, mutta eivät poliittisesti aktiivisia. He olivat enemmän kiinnostuneita "sisäisistä" kuin "ulkoisista" kokemuksista. Vaikka aktiivinen ryhmä alkoi keväällä 1975 käydä A-klinikan nuorisosemalla, ryhmä arvioi parin käyttäjän tarvitsevan hoitoa liiallisen alkoholin käytön takia. Viranomaisten käsitys oli se, että osa ryhmän nuorista irtoaa ryhmästä aikanaan ilman ulkopuolista apua, muut ovat hoidon tarpeessa. Hoitotyötä tekevät viranomaiset olivat kuitenkin pessimistisiä omien mahdollisuuksiensa ja taitojensa suhteen.

Huumausaineiden käytön ennusteista (5. ongelma-alue) voidaan sanoa, että kansainvälisesti arvioiden useiden tutkijoiden ja asiantuntijoiden mukaan kannabis on tullut jäädäkseen tietyille alueille. Eräät tutkijat arvelevat käytön vielä yleistyvän Yhdysvalloissa, kun nykyinen nuori sukupolvi vanhetessaan siirtää marijuanapolton myös aikuisiin ikäluokkiin. Joillakin alueille (esim. Hollannissa) on kannabiksen käytön yleisyyden vuoksi alettu harkita huumausainelainsäädäntöön lievennyksiä. Pohjoismaista ovat Tanska ja Ruotsi kannabiksen käytössä Keski-Euroopan maiden tasolla. Suomessa ja Norjassa käyttö on ollut vähäisempää mutta kuitenkin tietyille alueille vakiintunutta. Kaiken kaikkiaan ei ainakaan Suomessa ole kannabiksen käytön suhteen odotettavissa kovin suurta käytön vähenemistä tai yleistymistä mikäli asenteet ainetta kohtaan, sen laillinen asema ja poliisin toimintakapasiteetti ja -periaatteet pysyvät entisellään.

Muiden huumausaineiden käytöstä ovat poliisiviranomaiset antaneet sen kuvan, että erityisesti oopiumjohdannaisten aineiden (esim. heroinin ja morfiinin) käyttö on kannabiksen yleistymisen myötä jatkuvasti lisääntymässä; tällöin on viitattu lukuisiin viime aikoina Suomessa suoritettuihin apteekkimurtoihin. Todennäköistä onkin, että runsas tarjonta on johtanut näiden aineiden käytön yleistymiseen tiettyjen vähemmistöryhmien keskuudessa. Koululais- ja opiskelijanuoriso, joka on osoittanut kiinnostusta erityisesti kannabikseen, on suhtautunut kuitenkin erittäin kielteisesti edellä mainittuihin aineisiin. Porttihypoteesia eli käsitystä kannabiksesta oopiumjohdannaisten aineiden käyttöön johtavana aineena ei ole myöskään voitu osoittaa todeksi.

Kannabiksesta kiinnostuneiden eri nuorisoryhmien ennusteista voidaan muualla suoritetun ja jyväsyläläistutkimuksen perusteella todeta, että koululais- ja opiskelijanuorison kannabiksen käyttö jäänee usean

nuoren kohdalla välivaiheeksi, joka tosin saattaa kestää useita vuosia, mutta päättyy viimeistään silloin, kun nuori vakiinnuttaa asemansa aikuisessa yhteisössä perustamalla perheen ja siirtymällä työelämään. Jotkut saattavat jatkaa kannabiksen polttoa vielä tässäkin vaiheessa käytön muodostumatta heille kuitenkaan ongelmalliseksi. Sellaiset nuoret, joilla kannabiksen käyttö liittyy erilaisiin psyykkisiin ja sosiaalisiin vaikeuksiin, muodostavat ennusteiden kannalta aivan oman ryhmänsä. He ovat yleensä tyypillisiä sekakäyttäjiä eli käyttävät alkoholin ohella mitä tahansa tarjolla olevia huumausaineita. Yhden aineen käyttäjät ovat suomalaisten tutkimusten mukaan olleet tinnerin tai lääkkeiden käyttäjiä. Useat näistä ongelmanuorista olisivat ulkopuolisen avun tarpeessa selvitäkseen omista henkilökohtaisista vaikeuksistaan ja voidakseen luopua huumausaineiden käytöstä.

## REFERENCES

- Achte, K., Alanen, Y. & Tienari, P. (1971) Psykiatria. Porvoo: WSOY.
- Alha, A. & Lehtimäki, L. (1969) Huumausaineiden käytön nykytilanne. Huoltaja, 7, 209-215.
- Allgulander, C. (1975) Etthundra år av lugnande medel. Alkohol och narkotika, 69(1), 15-20.
- Anon. (1969) Huumausainekomitean mietintö. Komiteamietintö B: 53. Helsinki: Valtion painatuskeskus.
- Anon. (1970) WHO Expert Committee on Drug Dependence. Seventeenth report. World Health Organization Technical Report Series n:o 437. Geneva.
- Anon. (1972a) Huumausaineasetus 161/18.2.1972.
- Anon. (1972b) Huumaisinelaki 41/21.1.1972.
- Anon. (1972c) Tietoa huumausaineongelmaan. Mannerheimin Lastensuojeluliitto. Terveyspoliittinen projekti. Lapsiraportti A 6. Helsinki: Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden kirjapaino Oy.
- Anon. (1973a) Drug use in America: problem in perspective. Second report of the National Commission on Marihuana and Drug Abuse. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office.
- Anon. (1973b) Report of the International Narcotics Control Board. E/INCB/21. Geneva.
- Anon. (1973c) Statistics on narcotic drugs for 1972. United Nations publication E/INCB/23. Geneva.
- Anon. (1973d) Youth and drugs. Report of a WHO study group. World Health Organization Technical Report Series n:o 516. Geneva.
- Anon. (1974) Toiminta- ja taloussuunnitelma 1975-1983. Jyväskylän kaupunki.
- Anon. (1975a) Den nederländska narkotikapolitiken. Alkohol och narkotika, 69(5), 186-187.
- Anon. (1975b) Jyväskylän koulutoimiston tutkimus koululaisten päihteiden käytöstä 1974. Julkaisematon tutkimus.
- Anon. (1975c) Pohjois-Hämeen alueellinen mielenterveyspalvelututkimus. Osa I: tutkimussuunnitelma. Tampereen yliopisto. Kansanterveystieteen laitos. Julkaisusarja A, n:o 7.

- Bacon, M. & Jones, M. (1969) Teen-age drinking. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company.
- Bean, P. (1974) The social control of drugs. London: Martin Robertson and Company Ltd.
- Bejerot, N. (1971) Huumausaineet - ihmisen ongelma. Tampare: Tampereen kirjapaino Oy.
- Benad, A. (1973) Rauschmittelkonsum bei Jugendlichen: Verbreitung und Ursachen. International Journal of Health Education, 26(3), 175-187.
- Björkqvist, S. & Jalander, B. (1970) Huumausaineiden käyttö Turun kouluunorison keskuudessa 1970. Mannerheimin lastensuojeluliitto. Turku. (Moniste).
- Brauch, G., Brakarsh, D., Follingstad, D. & Berry, K. L. (1973) Deviant drug use in adolescence: a review of psychosocial correlates. Psychological Bulletin, 79(2), 92-106.
- Brenner, J. H. (1972) Drugs and society. In Zarafonetis, C. J. D. (ed.) Drug abuse. Proceedings of the International Conference. Philadelphia: Lea & Febiger, 115-124.
- Bruun, K., Pan, L. & Rexed, I. (1975) The gentlemen's club. International control of drugs and alcohol. Chigago: The University of Chigago Press.
- Bryld, T. & Nielsen, C. (1973) Voimmeko puhua Tanskassa huumenuorten hoidosta. Mielenterveys, 3-4, 85-90.
- Bärsch, W. (1973) Der psychologische und pädagogische Aspekt des Rauschmittelproblems. Psychologische Praxis, 47, 4-16.
- Cheek, F. E., Sarett-Barrie, M., Holstein, C. M., Newell, S. & Smith, S. (1973) Four pattern of campus marijuana use: part I. Drug use. The International Journal of the Addictions, 8(1), 13-31.
- Cheek, F. E., Sarett-Barrie, M., Holstein, C., Newell, S. & Smith, S. (1973) Four pattern of campus marijuana use: part II. Social aspects of use. The International Journal of the Addictions, 8(2), 333-351.
- Church, M. A., Truss, C. V. & Martino, E. R. (1974) Trends in psychoactive drug use and attitudes toward marijuana at a large metropolitan university. Journal of Counseling Psychology, 21(3), 228-231.

- Clarke, J. & Levine, E. L. (1971) Marijuana use, social discontent and political alienation: a study of high school youth. The American Political Science Review, 65(1), 120-130.
- Dorn, N. (1973) Activity, effectiveness and evaluation in health education about drugs. Community Health, 5(1), 13-18.
- Evang, K. (1967) Huumausaineet. Hyvä tietää 22. Helsinki: Tammi.
- Gastager, H. (1973) Die persönlichen und soziokulturellen Phänomene des Rauschgiftmissbrauches bei Jugendlichen. Zeitschrift für klinische Psychologie und Psychotherapie, 21(1), 54-64.
- Goldberg, T. (1973) The "heads" of Stockholm. A participant observation study of deviant behavior. Uppsala. Sociologiska Institutionen.
- Goode, E. (1970) The marijuana smokers. New York: Basic Books, Inc.
- Gregory, R. J. (1974) Human ecology and the drug scene. Drug Forum, 3(2), 193-198.
- Grupp, S. E. (1972) Multiple drug use in a sample of experienced marijuana smokers. The International Journal of the Addictions, 7(3), 481-491.
- Hanneman, G. J. (1973) Communicating drug-abuse information among college students. Mental Health Digest, 5(12), 47-51.
- Henley, J. R. & Adams, L. D. (1973) Marijuana use in post-collegiate cohorts: correlates of use, prevalence patterns and factors associated with cessation. Social Problems, 20(4), 514-520.
- Hernesniemi, M. (1969) Huumausaineiden käyttö asevelvollisten nuorten keskuudessa syksyllä 1968. Sosiaalinen aikakauskirja, 4, 193-205.
- Hernesniemi, M. (1970) Huumausaineiden käyttö syksyllä 1969 verrattuna syksyn 1968 tutkimustuloksiin. Sosiaalinen aikakauskirja, 1, 14-19.
- Hernesniemi, M. (1972) Huumausaineiden käyttö asevelvollisten nuorten keskuudessa syksyllä 1971 verrattuna aikaisempiin tutkimustuloksiin. Sosiaalinen aikakauskirja, 1, 10-17.
- Hess, A. G. (1971) Deviate theory and history of opiates. The International Journal of the Addictions, 6(4), 585-598.
- Heyman, K. (1973) Seelenrührung durch Drogen. Psychologische Praxis, 47, 17-29.
- Hibell, B. & Johnsson, E. (1975) Alkohol-, narkotika- och sniffningsvanor i grund- och gymnasieskolan 1974. Alkohol och narkotika, 69(1), 28-36.

- Hägglund, T-B., Pylkkänen, K., Laakkonen, V., Pankakoski, R. & Pantzar, M. (1975) Kasvattaja ja huumeinformaatio. Kansalaiskasvatuksen keskuksen julkaisuja 24. Seinäjoki: Seinäjoen kirjapaino.
- Idänpään-Heikkilä, J. & P. (1974) Huumeet. Porvoo: WSOY.
- Johnson, B. D. (1973) Marihuana users and drug subcultures. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Jonsson, P. (1974) Stämplad som missbrukare. Alkohol och narkotika, 68(7), 248-251.
- Klerman, G. (1970) Drugs and social values. The international Journal of the Addictions, 5(2), 313-319.
- Lauer, R. H. (1972) Social movements: an interactionist analysis. The Sociological Quarterly, 13(3), 315-328.
- Lindqvist, K. (1973) Cannabis - hur farligt är det? Alkohol och narkotika, 67(6), 208-211.
- Louhivuori, K. (1971) Drugaddicts and non-addicts among Finnish pu-bertal adolescents: a comparative study. Monographs from psychi-atric clinic of the Helsinki University Central Hospital n:o 3.
- Louria, D. B. (1968) The current drug scene in the United States. Socialmedicinsk tidskrift, 45(9), 489-495.
- Lucas, W. L., Grupp, S. E. & Schmitt, R. L. (1975) Predicting who will turn on: a four-year follow-up. The International Journal of the Addictions, 10(2), 305-326.
- Moore, J. J., Joyce, C. R. B. & Woodcock, J. (ed.) (1973) Psychoactive drug control: issues and recommendations. United Nations Social Defence Research Institute. S.P. n:o 5.
- Määttä, P. (1971) Nuorten yhteisöllinen asema ja huumausaineiden käyttö. Huumausaineiden käytön yleisyys, käyttötavat ja -motiivit sekä so-siaaliset determinantit 12-20 -vuotiailla Jyväskylän koulunuorilla. Erityispedagogiikan laudatur-tutkielma. Jyväskylän yliopisto.
- Määttä, P. (1975a) Katsaus nuorison huumausaineiden käyttöön 1960- ja 1970-luvulla. Kasvatustieteiden tutkimuslaitoksen julkaisuja n:o 255. (A survey of the drug use of youth in the 1960's and 1970's).
- Määttä, P. (1975b) Jyväskylän hasiksenpolttajat vuonna 1971. Kasvatus-tieteiden tutkimuslaitoksen julkaisuja n:o 256. (Hashish smokers in Jyväskylä in 1971).

- Määttä, P. (1975c) Jyväskylän hasiksenpolttajien vaiheet 1970-luvulla. Kasvatustieteiden tutkimuslaitoksen julkaisuja n:o 257. (The careers of the hashish smokers of Jyväskylä in the 1970's).
- Nordegren, T. (1974) Ekonomiska intressen styr drogpolitiken. Alkohol och narkotika, 68(6), 222-224.
- Oivukkamäki, M. (1974) Huumausaineiden käyttö varusmiesten keskuudessa syksyllä 1973. Sosiaali- ja terveysministeriön sosiaalipoliittisen tutkimusosaston tutkimuksia 4.
- Orcutt, J. D. & Biggs, D. A. (1975) Recreational effects of marijuana and alcohol: some descriptive dimensions. The International Journal of the Addictions, 10(2), 229-239.
- Pasanen, P. (1973) Vahingollisten aineiden käyttämisen yhteys nuorten käsityksiin itsestään ja ympäristöstään. Tutkimus Äänekosken ja Suolahden yhteiskoulujen 5.-8. luokkalaisten huumausaineiden käytöstä, alttiudesta käyttää huumausaineita, alkoholin käytöstä ja tupakoimisesta. Erityispedagogiikan pro gradu -tutkielma. Jyväskylän yliopisto.
- Pedersen, N. (1973) Cannabis. Hash og marihuana. Et samfundsproblem. Odense University Studies in Psychiatry and Medical Psychology, Vol. 1. Odense University Press.
- Peretz, M. & Glaser, F. B. (1974) Value change in drug education: the role of encounter groups. The International Journal of the Addictions, 9(5), 637-652.
- Rahikkala, M. (1973) Jyväskylän koululaisten huumausaineiden käyttö ja tuntemus. Tutkimus Jyväskylän ammatti-, kansalais- ja oppikouluisten tupakanpoltosta, alkoholijuomien käytöstä, huumausaineiden käytöstä ja tuntemuksesta syksyllä 1972. Sosiaalipoliitiikan yleisen linjan pro gradu -tutkielma. Tampereen yliopisto.
- Raskin, D. E. (1974) International issues in drug abuse. The International Journal of the Addictions, 9(3), 365-372.
- Rauste, M. (1975) The image of man among Finnish girls and boys on the basis of material from Helsinki and North Karelia. Reports from the Department of Psychology, University of Turku 41.
- Reich, C. A. (1972) Uuteen maailmaan. Helsinki: Kirjayhtymä.
- Rissanen, A. (1972) Päihdeaineet ja niiden vaikutukset. Mannerheimin lastensuojeluliitto. Terveyspoliittinen projekti. Lapsiraportti B 3.

- Rosenqvist, P. (1969) Cannabis och dess bruk i Helsingfors hösten 1968 - våren 1969. Sosiologian pro gradu -työ. Helsingin yliopisto.
- Smart, R. G. & Jackson, D. (1969) The Yorkville subculture: a study of the life styles and interactions of hippies and non-hippies. Addiction Research Foundation, Toronto.
- Smart, R. & Whitehead, P. C. (1974) The uses of an epidemiology of drug use: the Canadian scene. The International Journal of the Addictions, 9(3), 373-388.
- Speck, R. V. (1972) The new families. Youth, communes and the politics of drugs. London: Tavistock Publications.
- Stuart, R. B. (1974) Teaching facts about drugs: pushing or preventing? Journal of Educational Psychology, 66(2), 189-201.
- Stokes, J. P. (1974) Personality traits and attitudes and their relationship to student drug using behavior. The International Journal of the Addictions, 9(2), 267-287.
- Suchman, E. (1970) The "hang-loose" ethic and the spirit of drug use. In McGrath, J. & Scarpitti, F. (eds.) Youth and drugs. Perspectives on a social problem. Glenview, Illinois: Scott, Foresman and Company, 105-117.
- Taipale, H. (1971) Nuorten asenteista ja ajattelusta. In Aalto, R. & Minkkinen, S. (ed.) Nuoret tänään. Helsinki: Otava, 156-184.
- Triesman, D. (1973) Logical problems in contemporary cannabis research. The International Journal of the Addictions, 8(4), 667-682.
- Varilo, E. (1972) Huumausaineongelma ja nuori. Mannerheimin lastensuojeluliitto. Terveyspoliittinen projekti. (Moniste)
- Weaver, S. C. & Tennant, F. S. (1973) Effectiveness of drug education programs for secondary school students. Mental Health Digest, 5(11), 22.
- Wells, B. (1973) Psychedelic drugs. Psychological, medical and social issues. London: C. Nicholls & Company Ltd.
- Wickberg, N. (1974) Två arbeten om narkotikamissbrukare som rättsligt, polisiärt och socialpolitisk problem. Alkohol och narkotika, 68(7), 252-256.
- Victor, H. R., Grossman, J. C. & Eiseman, R. (1973) Openness to experience and marijuana use in high school students. Journal of Consulting & Clinical Psychology, 41(1), 78-85.

- Winsløw, J. (1972) Drug use in Denmark. The International Journal of the Addictions, 7(2), 305-319.
- Winsløw, J. (1974) Drug use and social integration. The International Journal of the Addictions, 9(4), 531-540.
- Wolkon, C. H., Jasso, N. K., Gallagher, S. & Cohn, P. (1974) The "hang-loose" ethic and drug use revisited. The International Journal of the Addictions, 9(6), 909-918.
- Young, I. (1971) The drugtakers. The social meaning of drug use. London: MacGibbon & Kee.