I think the Bureau of Narcotics can probably provide you detailed information on sources, you see, how it gets into communities. We see it in our drug-abuse control work, though, where we concentrate our efforts on those who sell, distribute, and manufacture drugs that are under our jurisdiction. We also see them selling marihuana.

Senator Nelson. You recited California statistics. Do you have any evidence to show that this would be representative of the country? Or is it just that California is doing it differently; as they usually do?

Dr. Goddard. No. I selected those because I am told that California does have more complete statistics perhaps than any other State. It was for this reason. Also, the report happened to be available. It is an intriguing report to read in depth. The increases that have occurred since 1960 through 1966, and their breakdown of figures is perhaps more detailed than other areas provide.

Senator Nelson. In the evaluation of the California statistics, is

there any element of more effective enforcement involved?

Dr. Goddard. Well, of course, this has to be taken into consideration, too, because we are dealing with arrests which may or may not reflect accurately changes in usage. But I think it is generally agreed by all who are involved, college administrators, sociologists who study this kind of societal problem, enforcement officials that we work with at the State and local level, and—well, I cannot speak for the Bureau of Narcotics. You would have to get their opinion. But I believe almost everyone agrees there has been a marked increase in the usage of marihuana in the past 5 to 6 years in this country.

Senator Nelson. And this is a nationwide——

Dr. Goddard. Yes. It has occurred in many communities. The press has covered, or provided coverage of stories from almost all over the country, you see. And so it is not an isolated thing. It is not something unique in California or New York City or Boston or Washington, but it is occurring all over.

Mr. Gordon. Do you have any hypothesis as to the cause of this

increased use?

Dr. Goddard. It is very difficult to hypothesize. It is also very dangerous. I would be forced to judge that, as in all these things,

multiple factors are at work.

First of all, we have seen the development of the so-called hippie generation. And one of the things that they are concerned about, I am told, is the experiences that enlarge one's understanding of one's self, whatever that means.

Mr. Gordon. Well, I was going to ask you what that means.

Dr. Goddard. I am only quoting. And certain drugs are held by the proponents of this type of subculture, certain drugs will help a person understand himself better. LSD has been pointed to as one, marihuana as another.

Well, both of these are hallucinogens. Of course, much of their

attention has centered on hallucinogenic drugs.

As I mentioned earlier, it may be an act of defiance.

A psychiatrist at Harvard last week at a meeting I attended made a statement that he felt strongly this was an expression on the part of the young people of their defiance to our age group, the societal control that they object to. And it was a way of them expressing their hostility.

That is his opinion. It may well be a valid one.