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DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By

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The Ohio State University

1974

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL AND THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Introduction

The sociology of knowledge has established that any human experience common to many individuals may be interpreted differently within different group contexts. To be a female, for example, is an experience which, while shared by females everywhere, has a meaning dependent upon the cultural context. To be a female in American society largely means something quite different than it does in Eskimo, Chinese, or Indian society. Likewise, we would expect that femininity is socially interpreted in different ways by various subgroups within the same society. In other words, the meaning of any experience is culturally relative.

The present chapter, the first in this study, employs a phenomenological perspective as an introduction to the sociological study of one such common experience in American culture. The experience is that of dreaming. This chapter also provides a review of existing dream literature and describes dream interpretations as they
have appeared throughout history.

It is to be expected that the differing historical and social experiences of various American subgroups will result in variations of dream content, dream interpretation, and dream usage among these groups. For example, some groups, because of cultural heritage, historical contingencies, social deprivation or the like, might interpret dreams as prophetic. Other groups might employ psychoanalytic interpretations, while others may impute no importance to dreams. Likewise, traditional themes or myths may be expected to recur in the dreams of those sharing certain cultural elements. In addition to differential dream content and interpretation it is to be expected that the dream fulfills various functions for each subgroup. The functions performed can be expected to depend upon the accepted subgroup interpretation of dreams.

Very little sociological research has been undertaken with regard to dreams. Roger Bastide² points out that psychologists perceive the dream as being integrated within the structure of the individual personality. He says that very few attempts have been made to determine how dreams function on the social level. His point is that dreams are not meaningful only on the level of the personality, but are also integrated into
the social and cultural framework of any society.

Historically most cultures have granted dreams legitimacy by integrating them with other aspects of social life. Modern Western culture has disrupted the continuity between man's waking and dream world. Today our culture does not provide us with a shared approach to dream interpretation. We lack, therefore, a way to legitimately integrate dreams with the rest of our culturally interpreted experiences. There is evidence that dreams, in the hands of psychoanalysts are returning to the status of a recognized institution in that their function in society is coming to be uniformly acknowledged as pertaining to the treatment of neurotic ills.

However, while a common cultural interpretation of dreams may not exist in American society at present, it would seem probable that the various subgroups comprising our culture have developed shared interpretations as well as culturally-specific typical dream themes based upon common historical contingencies and the demands of their experience in social life.

This study proposes an exploration of a phenomenon which is universal. It is the varying interpretation, use, and content or form of such a phenomenon, as these factors are correlated with sociological variables, which can provide sociologists with a better
understanding of cultural processes.

Theoretical Foundations

In his *Principles of Psychology*, William James set forth the idea that any conception of "reality" is subjectively defined. Whatever 'excites and stimulates our interests is real,' as long as it remains uncontradicted.

James went on to say that actually there are many, perhaps an unlimited number, of realities. Each reality has, he said, its own style of existence.

If one considers the child's play world, the world of the game, the theater, the world of art, of insanity, of phantasy, or the world of dreams, it becomes clear that whatever excites and stimulates our interest is, for the moment at least, real.

While the play is in progress, Don Quixote is, for us, Don Quixote and not simply the person who plays that role. The knight, death and the devil in Druerer's work have a real existence within the realm of artistic imagination. Likewise, within the undistrubed play world the doll is not a doll but a child, and the child herself becomes a mother.

James referred to these separate realisties as sub-universes. He said "each world whilst it is atteneded to
is real after its own fashion; only the reality lapses with the attention."^4

Usually in dealing with these worlds, we conceive of each as separate and isolated, forgetting both their relation to one another, as well as the fact that every object we encounter is referred to one of these worlds.

On the basis of this, Alfred Schutz^5 preferred to employ a terminology different from that of James. He re-named James' subuniverses, "finite provinces of meaning." The reason for this change is that Schutz wished to stress that experiences are made meaningful by referring them to a subuniverse and by understanding them within the context of meaning provided by this subuniverse. It seemed to Schutz that the notion of "subuniverse" might give one the false impression that it was the ontological structure of the experiences or objects contained within a subuniverse which created that order of reality. Indeed the opposite is the case with the object becoming what it is only when it is referred to, and understood within the context of, a particular reality, or, for Schutz, a "finite province of meaning."

Remembering that what excites our interests is real, we can understand that an object, let us say an apple, can be a food object if we are hungry and refer it to a practical province of meaning. On the other
hand, the same apple can be an art object, should we be motivated to perceive it within an artistic framework. Schutz pointed out that each finite province of meaning (1) has a cognitive style peculiar to itself, (2) is internally consistent, and (3) receives a specific accent of reality.

In order to make the transition from one province of meaning to another it is necessary that we experience a "shock." This may be the shock of falling to sleep, of opening a book and undergoing an inner transformation into the world of fiction, or of seeing the curtain rise in a theater and experiencing a similar transformation. Likewise, we may enter a play world, a game world, the world of art or music, religion, science, or of dreams, transported there by the experience of such a shock. Schutz says that Kierkegaard referred to the moment of transition as a "leap." In making the transition, we give up, for the moment, any claims to reality made by the other provinces. The scientist, for example, disavows passionate participation in a world clamoring for his interests in order to assume a disinterested contemplative attitude.

Schutz claimed, following Henri Bergson, that each reality is characterized by a certain level, or "tension" of consciousness. In the wide awake world,
consciousness is at its highest tension. At the other extreme we find the world of sleep, characterized by dreams, in which the "tension of consciousness" is very low.

Consciousness, during sleep, while not directed, continues to recollect, think, and perceive according to Schutz. However, since the dreamer cannot actively direct his consciousness during dreams (as he can while phantasizing), he is subject to unwanted experiences, such as nightmares.

The world of dreams is, also, internally consistent, as are all other realities. If I dream of a winged horse I will have no doubts concerning the authenticity of such a creature. However, should it occur to me that I am dreaming, then I may realize the impossibility of such a combination. But the impossibility is only realized by introducing elements from another subuniverse and by making reference to what is already known of this other reality. Without making such a reference, the world of my dreams is reality, and is consistent.

The dream world is, according to Schutz, essentially lonely. This is because dreams are a solitary experience which cannot be experienced simultaneously by others. He says:

Concluding the fugitive remarks on the
realm of dreams, we want to state that dreaming—as distinguished from imagining—is essentially lonely. We cannot dream together, and the alter ego remains always merely an object of my dreams, incapable of sharing them.  

However, it seems rather unnecessary for Schutz to stress this aspect of dreaming since any experience an individual has is "essentially lonely" in that no two individuals ever experience even the same event in exactly the same way, even when they view it simultaneously. This may be due to perspective, perception, or cognitive differences. Abraham Kaplan points out that "perception is already cognition," a point with which Schutz would agree. Experiences are immediately interpreted by the experiencing individual, both in terms of his interests and the system of relevences—or categories used in conceptualization—with which his culture has provided him. Therefore it is true that dreams cannot be fully shared. Of course neither can any other experience. Other events may, however, be experienced simultaneously, although not identically. 

But just as any experience can be communicated through the use of a symbolic framework consisting of arbitrarily agreed upon symbols with their concomitant meanings, so can the dream experience. Dreams, therefore, become social phenomena through their communication as
well as their interpretation.

However, just an any experience may take on a meaning which varies in accordance with the subuniverse to which it is referred, so the meaning of an experience even in the "wide awake" world may be dependent upon whatever system of relevances or conceptualizations are used to interpret it. Typically what Schutz refers to as a "system of relevances," varies from group to group, as well as between subcultural groups.

In other words, one subgroup's interpretation of a particular event may differ from the interpretation given that same event in another subgroup. With this realization we have arrived at a theoretical rationale for the study of dreams. It is simply this: That dreams constitute a realm of human experience which, while it holds sway, is for the dreamer nothing less than reality (a reality rarely studied by sociologists), and which, while solitary, becomes social in so far as it is communicated and interpreted. The communication and interpretation of dreams, as they are differently manifested among subgroups within American society, form the basis for this study. Before proceeding with details concerning the methodological or analytical aspects of this study, it would serve well the purpose of theoretical understanding to pause for a consideration of the
historical evolution of dream interpretations and dream usage within various social contexts.

Social Interpretations of Dreams

Throughout history different cultures have interpreted dreams in a variety of ways. A review of the historical and anthropological literature reveals nearly twenty-five different ways in which dreams have been interpreted. It is possible to subsume all of these interpretations under five major classes, each pertaining to various general functions which dreams may perform in society. The five classes are as follows: (1) physiological, (2) prophetic, (3) psychological, (4) occult, (5) theological.

These categories have been constructed in terms of contemporary American culture. What the words "occult," "theological," and "psychological" encompass depends upon the cultural tradition from which one views the world. For example, what contemporary society relegates to the realm of the "occult" may, in other societies, constitute a dominant theology.

The remainder of this chapter is broken down into five subsections, each elaborating one of the major types. Discussed under each section are those groups or societies which have given preference to those interpretations.
Of course the five categories are not mutually exclusive, and while it can be said that most societies have stressed one interpretation of dreams over another, it cannot be claimed that any one perspective has existed alone in any one society. The historical and anthropological literature shows that all five perspectives can be found co-existing, at times, in some societies, with each particular perspective being dominant among a certain sub-group of society. As in modern society the ancient Greeks, Egyptians, Romans, and Hebrews were familiar with all five interpretive types.

"Intellectuals" employed psychological interpretations, or dismissed dreams as simply "entertaining." Religious leaders adhered primarily to a theological interpretation, saying dreams were sent by the gods. Kings and politicians were especially interested in the prophetic aspect of dreams, both as a source of information and because of the ramifications which the communication among the masses of an unfavorable dream might have for their ability to rule.

The common people, on the other hand, thought dreams were objects, as real as any other "objects," and that they "visited" sleeping persons, later departing to "visit" others. Likewise, men of medicine, religious healers, and, of course, the infirm, believed some dreams
to be of medical value.  

All this is not to say that a political leader, for example, while interested primarily in the prophetic value of dreams, was not aware of the other perspectives. That is to say, he probably believed that dreams were sent by the gods, could be interpreted by oracles and seers, had psychological value, and that some might be entertaining while other dreams could be useful in diagnosing illness. The point is that he simply stressed one aspect of dreams, or one type of interpretation, more than another.

In a similar fashion, one type of dream interpretation is not independent of the other types. Prophetic dreams, for example, may be sent by the gods, or be interpreted through the use of occult techniques. Such dreams may predict the dreamer's death, reveal something about his medical condition, or even arise from it. Likewise, the dream experience may be interpreted as "real," to mean, for example, that the dreamer left his body and visited the places and people dreamt of.

A society, or the various subgroups it encompasses, often stress one type of interpretation of a phenomena in preference to another. At the same time they are usually aware of the existence, and perhaps even of the validity, of other interpretations. These interpretations
may not contradict one another, and may be held by dif-
terent groups within the same society.

**Physiological Interpretations**

This category includes those interpretations which explain dreams as arising from bodily causes, or view them as potentially curative. Undoubtedly, the most im-
portant historical use of dreams was in preventing and
curing disease. The popularity of belief in the diag-
nostic property of dreams led to the establishment, in
ancient Greece, of an important social institution con-
cerned with the medical interpretation of dreams. Large
temples were constructed in which, for a fee, and under
the direction of specially trained-priests, ill suppli-
cants would pray to the god of dreams to send them a
cure. Often they rented a room in the temple hoping
they would receive dreams containing some compound or
remedy to help them. Some individuals rented temple
rooms for many years, or until they died, so that these
temples came to function as sanatoria, isolating those
with contagious diseases from the public.

Originally, among the Greeks, dreams sought in
this manner could be intended for purposes other than
healing. Eventually, however, the seeking of dreams be-
came concerned exclusively with the medical properties
of induced dreams, and came to be known as incubation.

Among the Greeks, dreams were induced through prayer and ritual. Drugs were not employed. Medical diagnosis, when received in dreams, were interpreted literally and rarely contained exotic elements. Histories of dreams containing cures are recorded by the hundreds on the wall of the famous Asklepieion of Cos as well as at temples in Epidaurus, Pergamom, Cos, Athens, and other sites. 10

A theoretical explanation of diagnostic dreams was advanced by Aristotle. He explained that when the body was awake the soul was concerned with external stimuli, which overpowered faint internal sensations. When asleep, external stimuli ceased and the soul could give attention to the workings of the body. This, for Aristotle, was why dreams could be medically useful. 11

The ancient Egyptians and Romans also practiced incubation. In the Egyptian New Kingdom the temple of Deir Bahari and the Serapeum at Memphis were famous for inducing medical prescriptions in dreams. Immobilized individuals could arrange to have third persons represent them, and dream for them, at the Serapeum of Canopus.

Early Christianity incorporated the practice of incubation. Christian incubation was influenced considerably by ancient incubation, although the practice
eventually degenerated to the point that its origins were entirely lost to its practitioners. Beginning in the fourth century A.D. Christian saints replaced the pagan gods in Western culture and were beseeched to produce curative or diagnostic dreams. In early Christianity incubation was most common in Eastern Europe, but had spread to France by the sixth century and to England and Ireland by the Middle Ages. The practice began to diminish after 1600, but was still common in Italy and Austria in the eighteenth century, and survived into the early nineteenth century in Greece, Cyprus, and Rome. Today incubation is still practiced by Christians in Lebanon and parts of the Arab world.12

Christian incubation resembled ancient incubation to the extent that special hotel-like rooms were constructed in many churches, for the purpose of housing seekers who prayed to various saints for periods sometimes exceeding a year. The aspirant lived in his room until the saint he patronized supplied an efficacious dream or until he became impoverished financially. Christian literature of the period records numerous cures, some miraculous.

It is important to recognize that a significant difference existed between Christian and ancient incubation. Ancient priests had considerably more medical
knowledge at their disposal than did Christian priests of the Middle Ages. As a result, the process of incubation became less successful with the passing of time. Also, since the unity of mind and body acknowledged by the ancients was denied by Christians any purely subjective information useful for bodily purposes was suspect. Eventually incubation, and in particular, dreams and their study, came to be associated with the devil and with sorcery.

Later, Western thought came to view dreams from a somewhat more objective perspective, attempting to explain them as the result of physical stimuli acting upon the body. But Thomas Hobbes returned to the ancient Greek point of view by declaring in *Leviathan* that dreams are caused by a "distemper of inward parts." He said:

> And seeing dreams are caused by the distemper of some of the inward parts of the Body; divers distempers must needs cause different Dreams. And hence, it is, that lying cold breedeth Dreams of Fear, and raiseth the thought and Image of some fearful object. And that as Anger causeth heat in some parts of the Body, when we are awake; so when we sleep, the over heating of the same parts causeth Anger, and raiseth up in the brain the Imagination of an Enemy. In the same manner, as natural kindness, when we are awake causeth desire and desire make heat in those parts, while we sleep, raiseth in the brain an imagination of some kindness shown.
By the 19th century it was largely accepted that a bad stomach, poor circulation, or respiratory difficulties could be the cause of nightmares. Other physical conditions were believed to cause different dreams.

D.F. Fraser-Harris, a physician living around the turn of this century developed a rather complete physiological theory of dreams. He said:

Now it is certain that impulses from the internal organs can become dream-producing. It is accepted on all hands as indisputable that a late supper will be sure to make us dream, and the "lobster salad" is regarded as singularly effective in this respect. The inactive stomach does not obtrude itself into consciousness nor does the slightly active organ dealing with a normally digestible meal, but the increased muscular activity associated with an indigestible meal taken shortly before going to bed may certainly produce dreaming of a highly unpleasant character...

And so it is with the other organs, heart, liver, gall bladder, and urinary bladder, to name only a few. If the activities of any of these become at all pronounced, the currents so aroused are extremely liable to be dream-producing. When the disordered state of the heart is the causal condition, very distressing dreams may accompany the cardiac pain. The physician is of course fully aware of these facts. 14

Fraser-Harris goes on to explain that dreams are caused by malfunctionings of the internal organs which are not perceptible stimuli during waking hours because they are blocked by more powerful stimuli. This argument is exactly the same as that proposed by Aristotle over two thousand years ago.
The physical explanation of dreams was widely accepted in Western scientific thought until the time of Freud. However, it has not been entirely replaced, since many people today believe it to be well-established that something like a "lobster salad" will produce undesirable dreams.

Freud's perspective, which will be discussed later, continues in the diagnostic tradition originally established in ancient Greece. Freud intended dreams to be used therapeutically, although their message may be symbolic instead of overt, and their curative properties psychological rather than physical.

Physiological interpretations of dreams still exist among segments of American society. For example, Edgar Cayce and his followers believe that all dreams arise from the stimulus of endocrine secretions. As a result dreams which originate in abnormal body chemistry can be useful, according to Cayce, in diagnosing the abnormality.¹⁵

The modern day occultist, Zolar, could have been writing over a hundred years ago instead of 1970, when he tells his readers:

The slightest indispositions as well as the most serious illnesses may give rise to dreams. Unfortunately their semeiological value is very uncertain: we do not know their connection with the seat and the nature of the various affections which they accompany. All we
know is that, during sleep, the pathological labour which goes on in the depths of the organism induces dreams which are in more or less direct relation with the affected organ. This is so true that they may sometimes raise suspicions as to an illness which is not revealed by anything during a state of wakefulness. To give some instances. Organic affections of the heart or the large veins are sometimes announced before their obvious occurrence by painful dreams or nightmares followed by sorrowful presentiments. If they are frequently repeated they may be looked upon as symptoms foretelling a serious lesion which it is already very difficult if not impossible to prevent. 16

Prophetic Interpretations

Typically, numerous dream interpretations exist side by side in a given society. The Greeks, Romans, and Egyptians, while regarding dreams as useful for medical diagnosis also recognized a prophetic aspect. The ancient Egyptians believed that the gods made their divine will known to men through dreams. Besides a vast body of interpretative knowledge, the Egyptians developed a number of techniques which could be employed to produce dreams. Individuals skilled at the interpretation and inducement of dreams were highly honored in Egyptian society.

A modern writer reports that the practice of praying for divine guidance through dreams is still common in Egypt. 17 Divine dreams are induced by reciting "Fat'had" ten times and they saying "O God,
bless our Lord Mohammed," until sleep comes. Apparently the practice is not employed daily, however, but is used when significant decisions need to be made.

Caesar's experience of a dream in which he slept with his mother was interpreted at the time to mean that his crossing of the Rubicon and assault on Rome would be successful. His wise men thought the dream to be indicative of worldly victory. A precedent had been established for this interpretation by Brutus who, having visited the oracle of the tarquins, announced that Rome would fall to "the first man to kiss his mother." The symbolism present in Caesar's dream had an additional aspect in that Rome was, of course, Caesar's motherland, and he, a son of Rome.

As the result of this dream Caesar was freed from the indecision which had plagued him for weeks, and he decided to invade Rome. Had the interpretation of this dream been other than favorable, the course of history might have been greatly altered.

Although almost all societies have at one time or another interpreted dreams as prophecies the practice seems to have been most common among the Arabs around the time of Mohammed. However, in addition to being overtly prophetic, dreams were seen by Muslims as inspirational.
A number of sources indicate that Islam has been greatly influenced by dreams. Mohammed himself was said to have received a calling from God in a series of dreams which lasted more than six months. During this time much was revealed to Mohammed including the Koran in its entirety. However, because he was not an educated man, Mohammed was said to be unable to transfer these revelations to paper. Therefore the Koran was again dictated to him rather painstakingly, over the next twenty-three years, during his dreams, so that he could make provisions for recording it.

Likewise, Mohammed's followers were particularly sensitive to their dreams. The daily call to prayer was initiated by Mohammed as a ritual central to the Islamic faith after a follower reported a dream in which God requested the institutionalization of the practice.

The inspirational quality of dreams is still accepted by many modern day Muslims as shown by the concern which Dr. Mossadegh, then Prime Minister of Iran, evidenced with regard to a dream he had in 1950. On May 13, 1951, in a speech addressed to his country's parliament, he said:

In the summer preceding the voting of the law nationalizing oil, my doctor prescribed a long period of rest in view of my state of health. During the month which followed, I dreamt one night of a personage shining with a bright
light who said to me: 'This is not the time for rest, arise and break the chains of the people of Iran.' Responding to this call, in spite of great fatigue, I resumed my work with the Oil Commission, and two months later, when this Commission adopted the principle of nationalization, I had to admit that the apparition in my dream had inspired me successfully.

In Western Culture we find the prophetic interpretation of dreams firmly rooted in the Biblical tradition. There is the well known story of Joseph who interprets the dream of Pharaoh: the dreams of Joseph advising him of Christ's divinity and warning him to flee into Egypt; Daniel's numerous interpretations of the dreams of Nebuchadnezzar; the dream of Pilate's wife on the eve of Christ's crucifixion; the dream of Jacob revealing to him the high destiny of his race.

Biblical dream accounts clearly indicate that the Hebrews and early Christians believed dreams to be divinely inspired. Their prophetic usefulness was unquestionably accepted. The central role of dreams in ancient Hebrew culture can be appreciated in light of the following statement attributed to Saul: "I am sore distressed; for the Philistines war against me, and God is departed from me, and answereth me no more, neither by prophets nor by dreams."

Apparently, most Hebrew dream beliefs were adopted from early Egyptian beliefs, being modified to accommodate the new monotheistic perspective. However, the Jews did
not employ magical rituals to induce dreams as did the Egyptians, but resorted to prayer and fasting when desirous of dreams. The Jews were especially sensitive to the possibility of misleading and false dream interpretations, the Old Testament being full of admonitions to be watchful for such deceit.

The Medieval Christian Church revived the prophetic importance of dreams as well as the belief that dreams may be divinely inspired. The potential psychological significance of dreams recognized in early Rome was also re-discovered.

Synesis of Crete (370-413 A.D.) combined Aristotle's theory of the emanation of images with ancient theories attesting to the reflection of the macrocosm in man's being. Synesis believed that, as the mind reflects the arrangement of presently existing things, so the soul, through dreams, may reflect the future.

Thomas Aquinas felt that dreams not only reflect future occurrences, but may be their cause. He also recognized that dreams and future events may have a common, although independent, cause. This third element, if it was not divine, might be discovered, mused Aquinas, allowing for the possibility of control over the future.

This prophetic tradition is still alive in Western
culture and not infrequently linked with religion. Harmon Bro points out in *Dreams in the Life of Prayer*, that Edgar Cayce relied upon dreams to indicate the proper course of future actions. Cayce believed that one could pray for guidance and receive it in dreams. Bro details a method which anyone may use in seeking divinely inspired advice through dreams.

Of more historical importance, in 1917, during World War I, a young corporal of the Bavarian Infantry, Adolph Hitler, had a realistic dream of being buried alive as he slept in a trench near the front lines. Because of this dream he left the trench which, shortly afterward, was completely destroyed by a direct hit from enemy artillery. All of his comrades died. From that day on Hitler claimed to have a divine mission and divine protection.

Likewise, M.T. Kelsey points out that General George Patton often derived military strategy from inspirational dreams.19

It is clear that prophetic interpretations of dreams are relied upon by numerous members of contemporary American society as evidenced by the popularity of "dream books" on the shelves of many book stores. M.T. Kelsey, in his recent book, *Dreams: The Dark Speech of the Spirit*,20 says that most Christians today
simply do not pay attention to dreams, and consider them to be devoid of religious significance. He calls for a re-institutionalizing of the prophetic role of dreams in modern Christianity.

The attitude of a purely psychological interpretation of dreams common to contemporary society is surprising in view of the early Christian attitude toward dreams. According to the early Church, dreams were a spiritual medium, a special reality, in which God often revealed his will to man. Early Christian thinkers up to the time of St. Thomas Aquinas, contributed many sensitive and knowlegable perceptions about the quality and content of the dream experience. In nearly every other major religion dreams of the communicants were considered to be personally significant, and dreams of the early leaders even contributed to the precepts and traditional practices of the faith. It then is amazing to consider that dreams are at present so systematically discounted, ignored, or at best given purely psychological interpretations by the leaders of the Christian faith today.

Zolar, the modern day occultist, provides evidence that the prophetic perspective survives in contemporary Western society when he tells his readers that dreams may be prophetic because:
...If in some psycho-physical conditions the human being shows himself apt to forsee future events, similarly it is not extraordinary that sleep should sometimes be accompanied by a premonitory sensitiveness...But it happens in the spiritual world as it happens in the physical world...all forebodings do not come true—just as all seeds cast into the furrow do not blossom. Reasons of which sometimes are the result of our willpower warned by the dream, arrest or precipitate the events on their course. 21

Another contemporary writer, Jess Stearn, in *The Door to the Future* outlines numerous case histories in which dreams have proven prophetic. In other words, a segment of contemporary American society still subscribes to a conception of dreams as potentially prophetic.

**Psychological Interpretations**

Most people believe that the psychological interpretation of dreams originated with Freud. Actually, such interpretations have been popular since antiquity.

In Plato's *Republic* a very fine and poetic description of the libido may be found in a speech by Socrates. In this speech Plato presents the idea of a sleeping "beast" inside each conscious and awake person; which is freed in the dream to "go forth and satisfy his desires." This "beast" is presented as the antithesis of the reasoning consciousness. It is amazing to
consider that Plato had observed through dreams a division of the personality similar to that recognized by Sigmund Freud two thousand years later.

Marcus Tullius Cicero, the great orator, made a study of dreams employing a perspective similar to Plato's. However, he denied Plato's belief that dreams may be sent by the Gods. Cicero saw the genesis of dreams to lie entirely within man's conscious experiences, saying that dreams were "mere reflections of waking patterns" of thought. As such, they could not be said to possess value beyond that inherent in their immediate experience. Cicero thereby initiated the rational interpretation of dreams still prevalent in Western culture today.

The Roman poet Titus Lucretius wrote a poem about dreams entitled "De Rerum Naturae:" It in he indicates his belief that it is the decline of reasoning ability which accompanies the loss of consciousness associated with sleep that produces dreams. The mind, during sleep, is free to wander and to pursue interests which reason might deny. As a result, upon awakening, our dreams appear, in the light of reason, to be bizarre or absurd.

Lucretius revived Plato's belief in the significance of dreams, although he saw such significance to be of a purely psychological sort. He said that dreams
may reveal much about the dreamer including his most secret desires, or feelings of guilt.

No one is better known for his work with dreams than Sigmund Freud. Freud thought that there were a number of "typical dreams," that almost everyone, at one time or another has had. These dreams and their Freudian interpretations are as follows:

1. The dream of nakedness: Here the dreamer finds he cannot conceal his public nakedness. Usually the other characters in the dream are indifferent to the state of the dreamer.

   Freud believed that in this dream the dreamer was attempting to recapture the "childish paradise of unashamed nakedness."

2. Dream of the death of a loved one: When one's immediate relatives die in a dream, says Freud, this is explained by the existence of subconscious jealousies associated with rivalry. The death of a parent was explained by formulation of the "Oedipus complex," which refers to the sexual jealousy of one's parents.

3. Flying dreams: Freud found that in the course of analysis these often appeared. However, he had no explanation for them and never had them himself.

4. Falling dreams: According to Freud falling may be symbolic of a "surrender to erotic temptation."
5. Examinations: Freud himself dreamt often of examinations and being tested. He thought such dreams were symbolic of sexual actions, undertaken as a child, for which one experienced parental reprimands.

6. Loss of tooth dreams: Freud thought that sexual repression was responsible for dreams of this type. Such dreams were a kind of symbolic reversal of the pleasures associated with the lower portions of the body.

7. Swimming and water dreams: Such dream content, said Freud, related to the womb, conception, and birth. Probably insecure individuals have such dreams.

8. Dreams of paralysis: in these dreams a person finds himself glued to one spot, unable to move, unable to catch a train, or something similar. Freud saw these dreams as symbolic of the inhibition of sexual impulses.

9. Dreams of robbers, burglars, and ghosts: These are images from one's infantile memory—nocturnal visitors who check to see where children have put their hands in their sleep. Thus ghost dreams are the result of childhood encounters with female figures in white nightgowns during the night.

In the Interpretation of Dreams Freud states that dreams can fulfill wishes which emanate from our waking
life or the subconscious. Not only was this idea fami-
liar to the ancient Greeks and Romans, but even the spe-
cific example which Freud uses to demonstrate his posi-
tion (when one goes to bed thirsty, he dreams of drinking
water) is not original. It is also found in Isaiah:
"...as when a hungry man dreameth, and behold, he eateth;
but he awaketh, and his soul is empty: or as when a
thirsty man dreameth, and, behold, he drinketh; but he
awaketh, and behold, he is faint, and his soul has ap-
petite."22

For Freud, however, dreams are more than wish-
fulfilling. In Freud's own words dreams are "the royal
road to a knowledge of the unconscious activities of the
mind." He asserted that dreams were always symbolically
meaningful, and needed only to be decoded through the
use of his psychoanalytical technique. More specifically
Freud used the technique of "free association" to de-
termine what particular dream symbols might mean to his
clients. This method imposed the task of symbolic in-
terpretation upon the dreamer himself, instead of rely-
ing upon objective systems of dream interpretation or
dream books, as the ancients had done.

Freud believed that often times the wish expres-
sed by a dream is easily recognizable and requires
little interpretation. At other times, however, the
wish-fulfillment function is concealed and unrecognizable. He felt that this psychic censoring occurs whenever the dreaming individual would experience repulsion toward his wish were it freely expressed.

Repulsive wishes gain expression in dreams, albeit in a concealed fashion, because in Freud's words, dreams are "absolutely egotistical"..."treat of sexual material and give expression to erotic wishes." According to Faraday Freud argued that severe anxiety would result from the unconcealed manifestation of our most material desires in dreams. In fact, the anxiety would become so great, given the moral conceptions inherent in our socialization, that we would be unable to continue sleeping. Thus, the symbolic concealment of such desires in our dreams permits just enough recognition of what is being expressed to allow dreams to function efficiently as a safety valve, but not enough recognition to interfere with sleep. Dreams are, therefore, "guardians of sleep." said Freud. Nightmares occur, and the dreamer awakens, when the dream's symbolic disguise fails.

C.G. Jung criticized Freud for not exploring the meaning of particular symbols. That is, why does one person symbolize wish X with dream content Y, while another individual's dream symbolizes the same wish through content ? Jung also felt that Freud placed
far too much stress upon the sexual aspect of dream symbolism.

Jung was straightforward in denying that dreams guard sleep or fulfill wishes. He pointed out that dreams disturb sleep at least as much as preserve it. Dreams may have been wish fulfilling for victorian-era personalities who were too frightened to fulfill their desires in reality said Jung, but, he maintained, contemporary individuals are not inhibited to so great a degree.

Jung believed that dreams should be taken at face value. They do not disguise unconscious processes, but present them to consciousness. Dreams are the "other" within us expressing itself. However, Jung believed in the existence of what he termed the "collective unconscious" in addition to the personal subconscious postulated by Freud. Aspects of the collective unconscious were said to present themselves in dreams through "archetypal" images or symbols which by no means exist for the purpose of disguise.

Jung maintained that the origin of the dream was no more important than its indications concerning the future. Dreams are dynamic, not static. If they originate somewhere they must also be going somewhere, Jung reasoned. Thus, useful information about the
personality's orientation toward, and perception of, the future can be discovered in dreams.

Not only is the dream a kind of mental preparation for the future, but it may initiate new activities and establish a novel interpretive framework for the dreamer. DeBecker says of Jung's theory:

The future is conquered by dreams before being conquered by experience: the latter comes only as proof of the former. 24

Of course, many other contemporary psychoanalysts have added to or modified Freud's theory of dreams. The point here is threefold: (1) that the psychological interpretation of dreams is far from a recent innovation and, (2) that the psychoanalytic perspective with regard to dreams currently has considerable influence in modern American society, but (3) that this perspective is only one among many, even within the context of contemporary society.

Occult Interpretations

At times, certain groups or societies have either considered dreams to be as real as waking life, or else to have their origin in a realm of experience at least as real as waking experience.

The ancient Greeks believed that dreams had an
existence independent of the dreamer. Dreams were thought to come from outside, perhaps being "sent" by a god to "visit" the dreamer. The same dream could visit an entire army or city in one night, as evidenced in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

Other societies have held that it is the sleeper who takes leave of his body to visit the places dreamt of. This belief is shared by peoples as different as the Burmese, the ancient Egyptians, some American Indians, Eskimos, and certain modern day occultists.

The Burmese believe that a sleeping man's soul leaves his body through the mouth in the form of a butterfly. If awakened unexpectedly, the body may experience illness until the soul is able to find its way back. Modern day Bengali's have a similar belief according to Sarat Chandra.25

Some people in contemporary American society also believe that the "soul" leaves the body and travels during sleep. In "Dreams" Judith Davis writes:

> The delta period of sleep...seems to be the time that we experience consciousness on one of the inner planes. While our consciousness is detached from the physical plane, we express ourselves through a higher spiritual body—probably the astral body—...How far we venture from the physical shell while it is in repose depends upon our spiritual awareness and understanding... Something of what we experience in that
other dimension of life may be im­
pressed upon our waking conscious­
ness in the form of a dream. 26

R.S. Rattray relates that the African Ashantis
believe a man to be morally responsible for his actions
in dreams as much as for those in waking life. 27 He
says a person may be fined or punished for dreaming an
unacceptable dream.

Some modern Hindus also believe a person to be
morally responsible for his dreams. R.V. Dhedkar, an
M.D., says:

A dream is a perfect action and a person is
morally responsible for it. Krishna says:
'For an action three things are essential,
the ego, the actor; mental senses, or,
fancy for an act the means; and the ob­
jects around, for an action.' A dream
fulfills these conditions in its act. 28

Past as well as modern day yogis conceive of the
waking world as an illusion, and often refer to it as
a dream. Around 350 B.C., Chuang Tzu, an exponent of
the doctrines of Lao Tzu, wrote the following:

While men are dreaming, they do not perceive
it is a dream. Some will even have a dream
in a dream. And so, only when the Great
Awakening comes upon us, shall we know this
life to be a great dream. Fools believe
themselves to be awake now. 29

As one might expect, this particular philosophical
perspective is not unknown to Western culture. Rene
Descartes, in his Meditations, says "There exist no
certain marks by which the state of waking can ever be distinguished from sleep." He recognized that some dreams may be mistaken for reality, even upon awakening, if they are especially vivid.

It is widely known that the merging of the two realities—the dream world and the world of waking—was once experienced so intensly by Descartes that it decided his philosophical career. In Meditations he makes reference to this experience saying, "I almost persuade myself that I am now dreaming." Later, Blaise Pascal attempted to establish that which distinguished the dream from a state of wakefulness. He decided that the most important difference between the two conditions lay in the fact that the images encountered during wakefulness have constancy while those of the dream world do not.

In a less philosophical vein, Werner Wolff has outlined case histories of otherwise normal individuals who have at times lost the ability to distinguish between dream and waking life. He refers to this phenomenon as the "concretization of imagination." 30

With regard to the religious aspect of dreams, the belief that gods or devils appear in dreams is rather widely held. Many American Indian tribes sent their young men on a "dream quest" during which time the boys
fasted, mutilated themselves, and prayed for a friendly spirit to appear in their dreams. The appearance of such a spirit was accepted as very "real," and such an experience often determined the course of the boy's life from that point on.

Likewise, the Ibens, a tribe in Borneo believe that the spirit of a dead ancestor may announce himself to a dreamer. If he does so, the dreamer acquires this spirit as a "secret helper" or protector for the rest of his life. Such dreams are actively sought by young men of the tribe, who will fast and sleep on the grave of a departed ancestor.

The belief that spirits appear in dreams is not foreign to our own Western cultural tradition. The Bible makes numerous references to this possibility, and up until the time of the enlightenment this belief was very popular. Three hundred years ago, Daniel DeFoe wrote a chapter of The History and Reality of Apparitions entitled, "Both God and the Devil Appear to Us in Dreams." In it he said:

There may be dreams without apparitions, as there may be apparitions without dreams; but apparition in dream may be as really an apparition as if the person who saw it was awake: the difference may be here, that the apparition in a dream is visible to the soul only, for the soul never sleeps; and an apparition to the eyesight is visible in common perspective...
The Scripture confirms this opinion by many expressions directly to the purpose, and particularly this of appearing, or apparition in dream...

Certainly dreams in those days were another kind of thing than they are now. God spoke to them, and they answered and when they were awake they knew that it was God that spoke and gave heed to the vision or apparition of God to them...

There are many...instances of the like in the sacred history; as first in the remarkable case of King Solomon,...'The Lord appeared to Solomon in a dream by night, and God said, ask what I shall give thee.'

...and the petition that Solomon made, through sleep, or dream, is accepted and answered as his real act and deed, as if he had been awake...

That passage of Solomon is very remarkable to the case in hand. If my readers please to believe that there was such a man as Solomon, and that he had such a dream, they must allow that it was a real apparition; God appeared to him in a dream.

To bring it down a step lower; as God has thus personally appeared to men in dreams, so have inferior spirits, and we have examples of this too in the Scripture...

As it had pleased God to appear in this manner, and to cause angels to appear also in the same manner, and upon special occasions, so I make no question but the Devil often appears in dreams too... 31

If one would contend that modern man is more enlightened than his predecessors, he only need read M.T. Kelsey's Dreams: The Dark Speech of the Spirit, or Bro's Dreams in the Life of Prayer. It may no longer be the case that people believe God or the devil appear
directly in dreams, but it certainly is true that some parts of the population would admit that God or the devil speak to them in dreams.

Bro relates that the well-known modern psychic and medium Edgar Cayce, famous for interpreting the dreams of others while himself in a trance, insisted upon the reality of God during such altered states. While not in trance Cayce denied possessing religious beliefs. He insisted that the readings which came through him originated not with himself but from an external source.

The Cayce source asserted that God made His immediate presence known to people who were open to Him. He could be directly experienced, the source said, in the mind of receptive individuals whether awake, asleep, or in altered states. For example, in giving counsel to a music teacher the Cayce source remarked:

Then, as the physical consciousness is laid aside, there may come dreams or visions, and even He, the Lord, the Brother, may show thee. For He is the same yesterday, today, and forever. And he hath promised to speak with thee if ye desire same--possible in dreams, in visions, or in the still small voice within. 32

Likewise, Morton Kelsey points out that just as religious awe or a sense of religious experience may arise from waking encounters with the world, perhaps
from inspiration received through the observation of the patterned regularity, beauty, and vastness of the universe, so may such religious awe arise from within the dream experience. Such dreams, often referred to as inspirational, may be interpreted by the dreamer as an encounter with the Divine just as are waking experiences of a similar nature.  

Theological Interpretations

Most types of dream interpretation are intimately tied up with a religious framework. The specific framework, of course, is relative to the social group under consideration. This feature, at times, makes it somewhat difficult to clearly specify the religious aspect of dream interpretations. Some have gone so far as to call psychoanalysis a religion, and in doing so have indicated that Freud's interpretation of dreams is not so much an aspect of religion, as it is the basis of one. The point is that dreams, regardless of what purposes they serve, or how they are understood, have often been seen as divinely inspired.

The Bible makes reference to many dreams. There is for example, the dream of Jacob in which he sees a ladder placed on his chest, pointing upward, an indication that the Hebrews face a high destiny. Also,
there is, in the Bible, the dream of Pharaoh which Joseph interprets to mean the coming of seven good years followed by seven years of famine.

Most Christians are familiar with dreams in the New Testament which were intimately connected with the life of Christ. Joseph, at Christ's conception received a dream in which an angel appeared to him, telling of the supernatural event. Later he was warned, again in a dream, by an angel that he should flee into Egypt so that Christ might live. Another dream caused Pilate's wife to beg for Christ's release.

These examples, while they serve to indicate the importance of dreams in the Bible, are far from the only dreams contained therein. But these dreams are not purely "religious" simply because they appear in the Bible. Many of the Biblical dreams are "prophetic," and more than that they are "political."

That the more traditional religious conceptions (God, prayer, sin, etc.) are still tied to certain dream interpretations advanced by modern writers has been demonstrated in our consideration of the works by Bro, Cayce, and Kelsey. Previously it has been demonstrated that the various aspects of dream interpretation have never been entirely independent of one another. It likewise should be clear that the religious aspect of
dream interpretation is not independent from other aspects of such interpretation.

In some cases, however, the reverse has been true. We may, for example, discover a belief in prophetic dreams without having the dreamer insist that such dreams are divinely inspired. It seems that the religious aspect of dreams, when it exists, rarely exists for itself alone, but often has another purpose, such as prophecy, "calling," curing, communication, direction and so forth.

Experimental Literature

In addition to the five major categories of dream interpretation just discussed, it should be recognized that an experimental perspective characterizes the approach of certain subgroups in contemporary American society to dreams. Scientific and experimental methodology are being applied to the study of dreams for the first time in a consistant manner.

Previous dream experimentation, carried out mostly during the early 1800's, employed inconsistent and unreliable methodology. These early experiments were concerned mostly with the effects of external physical stimuli (light, pressure, noise, etc.) upon the content of dreams.
The first systematic dream research in America was undertaken by twenty-five year old Mary Whiton Calkins in 1892. She used an alarm to awaken herself at intervals during the night in order to record her dreams. Eventually she collected 375 dreams. Ninety percent of these she was able to relate to events in her recent past, and seventy-five percent were found to be unpleasant.

Madison Bentley of the University of Illinois, furthered the work of Mary Calkins in 1915 by studying the dreams of seminary students. He found that after one hour of sleep the students couldn't recall any dreams. After two or three hours they remembered one dream each. After four hours of sleep they remembered four dreams each, and after the fifth, sixth, or seventh hour they remembered twelve dreams each.

Alfred Kinsey studied "wet dreams" in the 1940's and found that many people reported sexual dreams which did not end in orgasm. Kinsey felt, however, that orgasm in sleep necessitated some kind of "psychic accompaniment."

Kinsey found 83 percent of his male respondents had had "wet dreams," and that the frequency of such dreams rose with educational level. He concluded that
the frequency of "wet dreams" rose in proportion to the subject's "imaginative capacity." Kinsey noted that males achieved orgasm in their dreams before consumation accrued in the dream.

In a study of women Kinsey found that females also had "wet dreams," "accompanied by muscular and secretory evidence of orgasm." However, only 37 percent of the female interviewees reported such dreams, and the frequency of "wet dreams" among females was lower than it was found to be among males. The relationship between education and "wet dreams" found among males did not exist among women. Nor was there any relationship between sexual dreams and a woman's age. Kinsey did find however, that the more religiously devout a woman was, the less was the probability that she could dream to the point of orgasm. He concluded that this was probably because of the fact that such women had a smaller "amount of overt sexual experience about which they could dream." Therefore, said Kinsey, "wet dreams are one of the best measures of a female's intrinsic sexuality...sexual interests and...capacities."

Modern day dream experimentation began in 1953, at the Department of Physiology of the University of Chicago. There, Nathaniel Kleitman and Eugene Aserinsky noted the phenomenon now known as rapid eye movements or
REM. These pioneers also employed EEG monitoring equipment and observed that a sleeping individual goes through four distinct stages during sleep, characterized by different EEG patterns. They discovered that the four stages occur in a cyclical fashion, with each stage "emerging" a number of times during one night. REM periods were found to occur only during stage one (light sleep) and only when this stage was an emergent from deeper sleep (not during the initial stage one sleep experienced when a person first falls to sleep).

Periods of sleep not characterized by rapid eye movements are called NREM periods. Kleitman and Asersonsky developed and tested the hypothesis that individuals dream during REM periods, but do not do so during NREM periods. They found, by waking subjects, that 80 percent of REM awakenings yielded dream reports, but that only 7 percent of NREM awakenings did so. Up until the time of this experiment there had been no way of knowing when a person was dreaming.

It is interesting to note that NREM sleep is not "blank." While dreams in the true sense of the word do not occur in this state, wakenings elicit reports that the sleeper is experiencing vague images or that he feels he is "thinking". These "thoughts," however, are typically "forgotten" during normal sleep and cannot be
recalled after a later awakening.

Faraday has recently outlined some other pertinent experimental discoveries. She says modern research has shown that most people dream in color, and will remember having done so if awakened immediately after an REM period. Objects which appear in dreams are, for the most part, colored as they would be during waking hours. Faraday points out, however, that we tend to rapidly forget that we have dreamt in color unless a particular color played a significant role in our dreams. She also remarks that it is amazing to consider that, on the basis of the average nightly number of REM periods observed by dream researchers, the normal individual produces over one thousand dreams a year. Of course, most people remember only a small number of their dreams, and many deny that they even dream, when in actuality such people, while not unknown, are extremely rare.

Faraday goes on to point out that external stimuli have been found not to initiate dreams, but rather to be incorporated in some fashion in ongoing dreams. Likewise, she states that physical illness may cause restless sleep and awaken the dreamer, who thereupon realizes that he is dreaming. She denies, however, that illness is the cause of dreams. 

Experiments in dream "deprivation" became
fashionable during the 1960's. The first of these experiments was carried out by Dr. William Dement at Mount Sinai Hospital in New York. Dr. Dement deprived his subjects of dreams by awakening them every time they entered REM sleep. A control group of subjects was awakened just as often, but during NREM sleep only. Two findings were noted. First, subjects awakened during REM sleep began to experience more and more REM periods during sleep, and by the tenth day the experiment had to be discontinued since subjects entered REM sleep immediately every time they returned to sleep. Secondly, subject deprived of dreams became fatigued, giddy, light-hearted, irresponsible, suspicious, aggressive, and unable to concentrate. The control subjects did not evidence these symptoms.

Research into dreams has also been undertaken outside of the laboratory employing interview techniques. In 1953, Dr. Calvin Hall, then the Director of the Institute of Dream Research at Santa Cruz, published The Meaning of Dreams. This study was based upon the analysis of 10,000 dream reports which Hall had collected from normal people.

Hall found that dreams are usually set in rather mundane, typical surroundings—such as a house, a car, a street, and the like. People were rarely found to
dream about their place of work or business, and Hall concluded that dreams are characterized by "recreational" settings and activities. However, it was discovered that negative emotions and experiences tend to predominate our dreams. The dreamer more often experiences anger or fear than joy or friendship.

Hall also decided that dreams rarely involve public affairs or public events. Public figures are almost unknown to dreams, while friends and acquaintances of the dreamer commonly are encountered.

Faraday notes that Hall was gathering dream information as World War II drew to a close. In spite of this, he did not find a single reference to the spectacular and widely discussed atomic bombing of Japan.35

Working along with Hall was an inspiring researcher named R.L. Van de Castle. Van de Castle was particularly interested in the differences between the dreams of men and women. He found that men and women generally dream about different things. Women's dreams tend to include many people and they are usually people known to the dreamer. Women were found to pay attention to detail more often than men, and to remember faces and clothing quite well. Their dreams usually take place indoors and in a setting with which they are familiar. Women dream about men and women with about the same frequency.
In addition, Van de Castle learned that although women tend to have fewer dreams involving overt aggression than do men, they have frequent dreams involving verbal or nonphysical aggression. In their dreams women are more responsive to men than to other women, although very few overtly sexual dreams are reported. When a woman does dream of sex, the situation typically involves a man well known to her. The dreams of women involve more emotionality and value judgements than the dreams of men.

Men's dreams were recognized as more violent, aggressive and adventurous. Physical violence is quite common, and aggression is typically directed toward anonymous male figures. Likewise, males appear in men's dreams more than twice as often as females appear. Van de Castle commonly uncovered male dream themes involving success and failure. Male characters who made their appearance were often identified in terms of their occupational roles. Friendship, when it occurred, tended to manifest itself in protective or helpful actions.

Although males reported dreaming of familiar female figures, when the dream report involves overt sexual activity the female participant is described as unknown. Finally, the descriptive adjectives most employed by men in describing their dreams were those relating to size.
Van de Castle also found that dreams relate to physiological changes in the dreamer. For example, pregnant women dream frequently about having babies that are very large, too small, deformed, or dead. Likewise, during menstruation women were found to dream more about time, to be aware of colors, particularly reds and pinks, and to have more emotional dreams. Menstruating women also dream about rooms, children and physical sensations. Also the men in the dreams of a menstruating woman appear to be "much less friendly...than at other times during her cycle."

Finally, Van de Castle determined that dream content is influenced by the maturity of the dreamer. Thus, children dream a great deal about animals. As they grow up, however, animal dreams become increasingly less frequent. The animal dreams of children also tend to be much more frightening than the dreams which adults have about animals.36

Quite recently Witkin and Lewis have found that stimuli presented to a person prior to his going to sleep will often appear in his dreams providing the stimuli are perceived as emotionally charged. The stimuli, however, appear in dreams symbolically and require interpretation to be recognizable.

Recently research has begun on aspects of fantasy
other than dreams. Noteworthy in this respect is the research of Jerome Singer, published in 1968. His work concerns daydreams. The frequency of daydreaming was found by Singer to be directly related to the marginality, upward mobility, insecurity, and even the pattern of migration of various social groups. The order, for groups, from high to low, of reported daydreaming frequency was found to be "Negro," Italian, Jewish, Irish, German, and "Anglo-Saxon." Singer concluded from this that an active fantasy life can mitigate the effects of social marginality.

Singer also found that the content of daydreams varied among groups. For example, the Irish often reported very fantastic, heroic and religious daydreams, while Blacks fantasized about sexual satisfaction and material success.

Daydream content was also found to be related to sex. Women were found to daydream about fashions, for example, while the daydreams of men were about heroics and athletics. 38

Morton Wagman, of the University of Illinois, later found that men report explicitly sexual daydreams while women have daydreams of passivity, narcissism, affiliation, and physical attractiveness. 39

This chapter has drawn upon the work of William
James and Alfred Schutz in order to establish a rational for the sociological study of dreams. It has been said that subjective phenomena, in addition to being amenable to psychological exploration, become subject matter for sociological inquiry when communicated, since communication occurs only in a social context.

Additionally, various historical and contemporary dream interpretations have been described to indicate that while much of what is actually dreamed may be psychologically significant, the manner in which dreams are interpreted, and the meaning they have, depends entirely upon the cultural context in which they occur. Dreams, once interpreted, have consequences for those who dreamed them, as well as for others in society. In other words, the subjective phenomena we call dreams, once communicated and interpreted, become social phenomena, and as such, function both socially and socially psychologically.

Finally, this chapter provides a summary of recent experimental dream research, which in its descriptive aspect has ramifications for the present study. However, such research assumes a physiological perspective not encompassed by phenomenological sociology.
NOTES—CHAPTER I


4 James, Principles of Psychology, Vol. XXI, p. 293.


6 Ibid., p. 230.

7 Ibid., p. 244.


10 See Von Grunebaum and Caillois, p. 303.

11 Wolff, Ibid., p. 17.


CHAPTER II

THE STUDY DESCRIBED

This project was originally formulated as a descriptive study. Eventually, however, the need was felt to develop hypotheses which would guide and direct the research about to be conducted. As a result, hypotheses were formulated on the basis of four sociological concepts seen as relevant to a study of dreams. They were: life style, diversity of cultural background, orientation or perspective, and the integration of diverse spheres of social life.

"Life style" was meant to refer to both the ability members of a group have to control the course of their lives, and the extent to which they feel they possess and indeed exercise such control.

"Diversity of cultural background" referred simply to the notion that some groups are composed of members with similar backgrounds, while others have members which come from quite different backgrounds.

The "orientation" dimension was constructed in terms of practical and symbolic solutions to life's problems.
Finally, the term "integration" referred to the degree of independence between various spheres of social activity, such as play, work, family life, and religious worship, insofar as these activities may be carried on in common by group members. Total lack of integration was said to exist if each member carried out all of these activities with individuals other than members of his group.

These four concepts were expressed as variables that could be present in a given group context to a greater or lesser degree. An attempt was made to find groups in which these variables were present or absent in the extreme. The groups chosen for study were Catholic charismatics, monks, and fundamentalist blacks. The presence or absence of each variable among these groups is shown in Table 1. This table resulted in the development of twelve hypotheses which were related to the previously established analytical areas: dream content, dream interpretation, and dream usage. The twelve hypotheses are presented here without additional explanation concerning their derivation:

1. Group one members will dream less frequently than members of groups two and three.

2. The importance of dreams to members of group one will be greater than the importance which
### TABLE 1

**BASIC VARIABLES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Life Style</th>
<th>Orientation</th>
<th>Diversity of Members</th>
<th>Integration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>- Inactive</td>
<td>+ Practical</td>
<td>+ Similar</td>
<td>+ Integration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charismatic</td>
<td>+ Active</td>
<td>+ Practical</td>
<td>- Diverse</td>
<td>- No Integration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monks</td>
<td>+ Active</td>
<td>+ Practical</td>
<td>- Diverse</td>
<td>+ Integration</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Dream Content)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Dream Frequency</th>
<th>Mundane vs. Symbolic Cont.</th>
<th>Variety of Content</th>
<th>Shared Content (Between Members)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blacks</td>
<td>- Low</td>
<td>+ Mundane</td>
<td>- Lacking</td>
<td>+ Present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charismatic</td>
<td>+ High</td>
<td>+ Mundane</td>
<td>+ Present</td>
<td>- Lacking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monks</td>
<td>+ High</td>
<td>- Symbolic</td>
<td>+ Present</td>
<td>+ Present</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Dream Interpretation)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Dream Importance</th>
<th>Practical vs. Symbolic Interpre.</th>
<th>Variety of Inter. (In Groups)</th>
<th>Shared Interpretive Types</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>+ High</td>
<td>+ Practical</td>
<td>- Lacking</td>
<td>+ Shared</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charismatic</td>
<td>- Low</td>
<td>+ Practical</td>
<td>+ Variety</td>
<td>- Not Shared</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monks</td>
<td>- Low</td>
<td>- Symbolic</td>
<td>+ Variety</td>
<td>+ Shared</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Dream Use)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequent Discussion</th>
<th>Application to Life</th>
<th>Variety of Uses</th>
<th>Used as Legitimations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blacks</td>
<td>+ High</td>
<td>+ Practical</td>
<td>- Lacking</td>
<td>+ Useful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charismatic</td>
<td>- Low</td>
<td>+ Practical</td>
<td>+ Variety</td>
<td>- Not Used</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monks</td>
<td>- Low</td>
<td>- Symbolic</td>
<td>+ Variety</td>
<td>+ Useful</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
dreams have for members of groups two or three.

3. Members of group one will be found to discuss dreams more frequently than members of the other two groups.

4. The dream content of the black group will be less diverse than the content of each of the other two groups.

5. Members of group one will employ fewer different types of dream interpretation than members of either groups two or three.

6. Members of groups two and three will employ dreams in their social interaction in ways more diverse than group one members.

7. Groups one and three will evidence more "typical dreams" than group two.

8. Members of group two will not employ shared dream interpretations while members of the other two groups will share such interpretations among themselves.

9. Dreams will be used by members of groups one and three as legitimations for action, while this will not occur in group two.

10. Members of groups one and two will have dreams
containing mundane material more often than members of group three.

11. Members of groups one and two will employ literal dream interpretations more often than members of group three who will tend toward symbolic interpretations.

12. Members of groups one and two will relate or apply dreams directly to the pragmatic concerns of every day life more often than will members of group three.

After the initial field work began, it became apparent that hypotheses of this sort provided an analytical context far too limiting for the study of an area (the sociology of dreams) about which little prior knowledge existed.

Some groups refused to cooperate with the study, and such refusal was seen to have important implications concerning the function of dreams in certain social contexts. In addition much provocative information was collected which did not relate to the analytical model constructed in terms of the previously described hypotheses. Also, by a stroke of luck, a great wealth of information became available on one group in particular which pointed out an entirely new direction for the conduct of dream research. Intensive
research activity came to be devoted to an "in depth" understanding of the functions performed by dreams within the context of this group. A study of dream functions within this group was seen as an appropriate way to relate the dream experience to aspects of group social structure. Finally, over forty new groups became available for study as the result of a happy accident which provided the researcher with field assistants.

All of these developments established a broad data base upon which a detailed descriptive and exploratory study could be conducted. The previously developed hypotheses, now perceived as limiting, were eliminated. They had served their purpose, for they had assisted the researcher in recognizing the need for a detailed descriptive study concerned with the social context of dream experiences and dream interpretations, and their effect upon one another. At this point the study returned to its original formulation and became once again exploratory and descriptive in nature. This, too, is the form of the completed study.

The Completed Study

General approach.—The phenomenological perspective provided the initial impetus for this study,
and led naturally to recognition of the important relationship between socio-cultural circumstances, and dreams and their interpretation. Phenomenological sociology has established that the meaning of a particular cultural element (the interpretation given a dream) results from the system of relevance as well as the problems at hand in a given society or group. The logical extension of this position was to investigate dream interpretations not only phenomenologically, as they are created and imposed, but also in terms of the consequences dream interpretations have for the group which imposes them. Insofar as these consequences are adaptive or disruptive, when seen from the point of view of the group, they may be referred to as "functions." Thus, the functional perspective which characterizes part of this paper, and which relates to the consequences of dream interpretations came to be employed.

Since a study of dreams in society would not be complete without a consideration of dreams themselves (dream content as opposed to dream interpretations), nor could dream functions be thoroughly analyzed without a prior investigation of dream content (in order to determine its varying interpretation, and hence, function), the need for such an investigation was
recognized as the third major area of this study. Dream content, dream interpretation, and dream function thus comprise the three aspects of dreaming with which the present study is concerned.

Choice of groups.—The groups employed in this study, as mentioned previously, originally numbered only three. The refusal of two of these groups to cooperate necessitated the investigation of a number of other similar groups. The forty additional groups which became available facilitated this selection process. From among all these groups efforts were made to include twelve in the present study. However, three of these twelve groups refused to cooperate, leaving a total of nine groups in the completed study, as follows: Jaycees, followers of the Guru Maharaj Ji, white occultists, Catholic charismatics, fundamentalist Protestants, Ohio Penitentary inmates, Satanists, Catholic Nuns, and Senior citizens. The original twelve were chosen because each was thought to possess a coherent philosophy or world view, and it was felt that such a shared orientation toward life would most likely be associated with a common perspective toward dreams.

Such a perspective was assumed to exist because the members of each group appeared to share a common
philosophy as indicated by the very existence of most of the study groups. For example, Catholic charisma-
tics probably join together because of shared reli-
gious beliefs. Nuns, fundamentalists, followers of
the Guru, Satanists, Jaycees, and prison inmates
probably also share a basic world view. Residents of
the retirement center were thought to share a common
perspective, dictated by their unique position in so-
ciety, and institutionalized through close daily inter-
action.

In contrast, spectators at a football game, or
even members of a football team, while perhaps banded
together for a specific purpose probably share fewer
aspects of a common world view. Whether each groups
in this study does acutally possess a pervasive per-
spective which its members share was empirically mea-
sured through the incorporation into a test instrument
of questions designed for this purpose. This instru-
ment is presented in Appendix B and its analytical in-
terpretation explained in Appendix C as well as later
in this chapter. The word "pervasive" is here used
to describe these perspectives in order to indicate
that although most organizations are characterized by
a perspective of some sort (garden club members pro-
bably relate to nature in a particular fashion) such
"limited" perspectives could not be assumed to influence many other areas of social life.

In addition these groups were chosen not only because of their perspectives, but because of the great range of variability they represented. Originally groups were chosen because of their rankings along an "oddball to ordinary" intuitive dimension described in the following chapter. It was reasoned that for the purposes of a descriptive study the greater the variability of data, the more informative the resulting study would be. Because of this attempt to secure a broad data base we find among the final groups organizations as different as satanists and Catholic nuns, Jaycees and criminals, senior citizens and a fundamentalist Protestant denomination.

Data collection—Quantitative techniques.—Data were eventually collected from all forty study groups employing the questionnaire shown in Appendix B. Many of these groups were contacted and researched by graduate and upper-level undergraduate students in a sociology course at a large mid-western university. The students performed such research as partial fulfillment of course requirements. The author, who taught the course, guided students in the selection of groups to be researched on the basis of (1) whether the groups
met the study requirements, i.e., appeared to have consistent and shared world views, and (2) the unique abilities or social contacts each student possessed which would allow him to successfully complete the research of a particular group. As a result of such contacts, groups which the researcher would have had difficulty approaching could be studied.

The lack of prior dream studies necessitated the utilization of many broad, general questions. Since little assistance was available in the literature, the questionnaire was developed almost entirely by the researcher, keeping in mind the need for exploratory questions which could provide descriptive information concerning the three aspects of dream life already mentioned--dream content, interpretation, and use or function.

The exceptions are those questions which concern dream content and dream interpretations. The responses to question number twenty, concerning dream content, were drawn mostly from the works of Sigmund Freud, especially his essays on "typical dreams" and from the work of other writers devoted to this purpose. Question number eighteen, concerning dream interpretations, was constructed on the basis of interpretive types derived from the literature review described in
chapter one.

General questions relating to sociological variables such as education, income, occupation, religion, etc., were created in order to explore the relationship between such data and data relating to the importance and frequency of dreams. The front page of the finalized questionnaire represents an attempt to measure attitudes toward the material and transcendant aspects of existence as they are defined in the next chapter.

Once the questionnaire was constructed, it was pre-tested on college students, friends of the author and a cross-section of individuals drawn from a group of AAA driving students. These students represented great variability in terms of age, race, wealth, religion, and other socio-economic variables. Problematic aspects of the questionnaire were then eliminated, and the questionnaire re-written stressing its reliability and ease of comprehension.

Response rates.— If group meetings were held, at least one meeting of each group was attended by the researcher or his assistants. Questionnaires were usually distributed at these meetings and their distribution was not previously announced. In most cases rapport
had been previously established with group leaders so that efficient distribution of the questionnaires could be assured. As a result it was not unusual to receive a 100 percent response rate from those attending these meetings. Those in attendance often represented close to 100 percent of each group's membership because most groups were rather small. For example, the smallest group in this study, the satanists, has twelve members. However, the Church of the Nazarene has a large membership of one hundred twenty-five, and the retirement home has a membership of around 200. An attempt was made to include in the study all the members of each group except in the case of the retirement home where administrative cooperation and matters of health limited the study to one wing of the institution.

In some of the larger groups a 100 percent response rate was not possible for a number of reasons. Usually it was difficult to insure that every one completed and returned a questionnaire, often the entire membership was not available at meetings or could not be identified, and in the case of the retirement center, not everyone was physically able to complete questionnaires or respond even to oral questions. Table 8, Appendix A, presents membership figures and response rates for each of the groups.
**Data collection—Qualitative techniques.**—In addition to questionnaire data, in-depth interviews were conducted whenever possible with group leaders and members who were available prior to and after meetings. These interviews were highly unstructured and often tape recorded. Their purpose was to learn as much about the group in terms of its members, structure, activities, and its philosophy as possible through a general discussion oriented toward these matters. Of course, whenever descriptive literature was available concerning any of the groups it was incorporated into the group's file. The majority of this literature had been created by the groups themselves. A major exception to this is the vast amount of written material describing Catholic charismatics which had been prepared by a diversity of sources.

Observations and interviews were quickly completed for some of the groups (Jaycees, senior citizens, Pentecostalists, and Ohio Penitentiary inmates) close contact lasting less than one week. In other cases, observations and data collection continued for a series of meetings covering a period of weeks or even months (Satanists, Charismatics, Guru Maharaj Ji followers, and nuns), and in one case (the occultists) data covering a period of years became available in the form of tape
recorded meetings, one member's detailed diary concerning occult experiences and their interpretation by this group, and transcribed minutes of past meetings. As a result, long contact was maintained.

Most groups were personally investigated by the writer. Upper level undergraduate and beginning graduate students in a deviant behavior class assisted with the distribution of questionnaires in some instances. Also, a professor of linguistics, who had previously established entree with some of the groups helped with the field work.

Whenever possible one member of each group was initially contacted through friends of the researchers. The leadership in each group hierarchy was discussed with these members and those leaders deemed most likely to cooperate were then approached. When this procedure proved impossible (due to a lack of mutual friends), that group member officially recognized as leader was approached, and the purpose of the research explained to him.

The occult group deserves special mention in this chapter, since it was studied in more depth than the other groups because of its unusual orientation towards, and use of, dreams.

Besides information obtained through questionnaires
and "in depth" interviews, other data became available on the occult group as the group's leader devoted a number of meetings to discussions of dreams. Also, this group regularly makes tape recordings of its meetings. These recordings were made available to the researcher and provided an understanding of many aspects of the occult group which would have been difficult to obtain otherwise.

Most helpful of all, however, was the assistance provided by a scholarly friend of the researcher who is a member of this group. She had taken years of detailed notes concerning the group's beliefs and philosophy.

Techniques of Analysis.—The data, once gathered, were coded according to criteria outlined in the appendices. Kendall's Tau was then employed in order to determine the degree of correlation between various types of data. Such correlations, along with additional findings are presented in the following chapter.

The occult group constitutes a special case, since a large amount of qualitative data concerning it was collected. This data, as previously mentioned, consisted of tape-recorded interviews and meetings, as well as minutes of numerous previous meetings. Such information was scrutinized to find instances in which dreams
assumed social and social psychological functions. The dream functions thus discovered are later described as "manifest" and "latent" functions in Chapter IV.

We will now proceed with a description of each of the groups studied. It should be kept in mind that the descriptions to follow are, for the most part, based upon the writer's impressions of each group, and represent a combination of interview, observational, and written data.

Description of Groups

Catholic Charismatics.—The Catholic charismatic movement is said to have originated among students on Catholic college campuses in America during the 1960's and especially at Duquesne, Notre Dame, and Holy Cross College. The movement contains elements of the more traditional Protestant pentecostalism. Specifically, members of Catholic charismatic groups hold prayer meetings throughout the country wherein individuals "speak in tongues," receive "spiritual gifts," and practice the "laying on of hands," all common to Protestant pentecostalism.

Because Catholic charismatic meetings are usually less outwardly emotional than their Protestant counterparts, the movement itself is sometimes identified as
neo-pentecostalism. This, of course, is not to say that the emotional experience of the participants is not intense—on the contrary it appears to be quite intense and of central concern to each individual member. The point is that the overt expression of emotion, while considerably greater than at a typical Catholic Mass, is less intense than at most Protestant revival meetings. However, experiences of tongue speaking, prophecy, healing, trance-like states, and of spiritual enlightenment are quite common at charismatic meetings. Indeed these experiences are actively sought as a sign of the "baptism of the Holy Spirit."

Stress is placed upon spiritual growth in terms of intense religious experience. Speaking in tongues, trances, and the like are seen as important insofar as they are religious experiences. Members become firm and unshakable in their religious beliefs after undergoing a graduated series of such experiences. Usually the experiences confirm previously held traditional religious conceptions of God, heaven, sin, good and bad, etc. In any case, since traditional religious conceptions are becoming increasingly difficult to maintain on a rational basis in an increasingly secular environment, the desire for irrational and experiential support of such beliefs is not difficult to understand.
Experience and belief are what most characterize Catholic charismatics. Indeed, group members seem to judge the "quality" of a meeting ("that was a good meeting") in direct proportion to the number of religious "experiences" (tongue speaking and the like) which it occasions.

Experience is the basis for religious belief among these people. Beliefs are based upon personal religious experiences, usually within the group context, and these experiences are taken rather literally. Individuals experience the "spirit" quite directly with little consideration being given to the possible symbolic aspects of the experience.

The primary interest of group members seems to be an experience of the holy—or baptism by the spirit. But while this is recognized as the overarching concern of group members, in actuality most of the group's time and effort during meetings are devoted to the solution of personal, and somewhat more pragmatic, problems. People either pray for a solution to their own problems or ask the group to pray for them. In the case of the latter, it is common practice for the seeker to sit in the middle of the room while everyone gathers around laying hands upon him, and praying aloud, sometimes in tongues. Common requests are for health, freedom from debt,
romantic or marital assistance, and spiritual guidance. It is quite common for the seekers to experience immediate relief—especially from physical problems.

A typical charismatic meetings is held at a group member's home or in a church-owned building. Meetings are not held in churches. Perhaps this is because group leaders typically are laymen and not clergy or because charismatic prayer meetings do not take the form of a Catholic mass. More likely it is due to the fact that the charismatic movement is peripheral to Catholicism itself. As such it is hardly seen as legitimate by most Catholic laity. Interestingly, few Catholics outside the movement are even aware of its existence.

The typical meeting begins when people seat themselves and, at the request of the leader, begin to pray aloud. Next, a few minutes of quiet meditation are common, followed by spontaneous monologues wherein members relate personal incidents concerning help from God or spiritual development. If someone does not eventually request that the group pray for him, then the leader will ask for people who think they need prayer to come forward and relate their problems, which are usually of a practical, rather than spiritual, nature. Around this person the group will gather, laying their hands upon him and praying out loud, perhaps in tongues. Often
other members will feel they have received the inspiration to interpret a person speaking in tongues, and to reveal what he has said.

Perhaps the group will take a coffee break at this point and resume by discussing various religious topics—often the baptism of the spirit, what it is, how it is received, and how to use it. If there is a designated speaker he may give a discourse on some religious theme. The meeting will probably end as it began with praying and singing.

With regard to the social characteristics of the Catholic charasmatics, it may be said that they are quite varied. The group described in the preceeding pages was composed of about twenty-five people who varied greatly in social class, ethnic background, age, income, education, community status, and the like. It was said that two of the members were Ph.D.'s and one a bank president. Race was also varied. For example, the researcher's introduction to the group was assisted by a black female group leader with a Master's degree in nursing. She referred the writer to a priest who functioned as the semi-formal leader of many similar groups in central Ohio, and who, because of his official capacity, lent an air of legitimacy to the groups themselves.

During the course of an interview with this
individual (Father H.) it was learned that he had recently been appointed as special liaison to the bishop of the Columbus, Ohio diocese. His duties are to oversee and to guide Catholic charismatic groups in the vicinity of Columbus.

Father H. has been transferred three times in the past three months and is presently assigned to a parish in a very small central Ohio community. He has only one hundred parishioners and explained that his movement out of a large city parish was necessitated by the time required of him in his liaison capacity. Of course, the question of his institutional isolation as a result of his radical position cannot be overlooked. Unfortunately, conclusive evidence is not available on this point.

With regard to dreams, Father H. said that Catholics in general pay little attention to them because revelation, instruction, and prophecy are mediated by the institutional structure of the Church. Traditional Catholic doctrine, he said, holds that individuals, except in very unusual circumstances, cannot receive revelations or communications directly from God. The Church is the official teacher and the structure through which God's will is made manifest and knowledge revealed.

When this traditional Church position combines with the pervasive rationality found in America, little room
remains for dreams to be of any conceivable importance. As a result Father H. believes Catholics pay little attention to their dreams, and Catholic charismatics are seen as no exception.

There is an inconsistency noticeable in Father H.'s thought. He believes that contrary to church teaching, Christ may reveal himself through personal experience to any individual, and that this is the basis for the charismatic movement. Indeed, most members of charismatic groups have had this experience, and that is what marks them off from other Catholics. But at the same time, Father H. believes the dream experience to be of no religious importance (although he acknowledges its Biblical importance).

Perhaps his position can be explained in terms of the traditions from which he has drawn the elements of his beliefs. Charismatics seem to have constructed their behavior patterns on the basis of Protestant pentacostalist structures previously established. Therefore, while experience and the non-rational are stressed in the face of American pragmatism and rationalism, the experiential dimension can be no broader for charismatics than the experiential tradition upon which it is built. Protestant pentacostalism did not stress dreams, and the Catholic Church ignored them. We might therefore expect
dreams to be lacking in importance for Catholic charis­
matics.

However, it is equally possible that the Catholic laity does stress the importance of dream interpreta­
tions while at the same time not communicating this feeling to the clergy because of the Church's official position. Father H. may simply be isolated from a true knowledge of the role dreams play in the life of Catho­lic laity.

**Nuns—Ohio Dominican College.** Ohio Dominican College provided the opportunity to study another group of Catholics. This group is composed of Catholic nuns on either the teaching or administrative staff of the college. Included are women from the president and the dean of the school to regular faculty members having full time status.

Therefore all members of this group, beside being female, are highly educated. The least educated among them has a Master's degree.

Again, the researcher's status as a lay faculty member at the college was quite beneficial in establish­ing rapport with this group. However, such status pro­bably was more helpful than necessary, as full coopera­tion was received from most participants in all aspects
of the inquiry. Perhaps an appreciation by the subjects for the difficulties involved in academic research prompted them to respond thoroughly and quickly.

Almost all of the members of this group claimed to be very religious, but they should not be confused in this, or any other respect with other nuns. Their religion, while containing traditional elements, seems to be more symbolically grounded and personal than that of other nuns on the same campus who have less educational achievements. Also, while there are perhaps two hundred nuns living on the ODC campus, the twenty-two included in this group live, sleep, and eat together in facilities separate from those used by the other sisters. As a result they tend as academicians, to be somewhat isolated, not only from the outside world, but even from other groups on campus, and to interact mostly among themselves.

Church of the Satanic Brotherhood.— The church of the Satanic Brotherhood, based in Columbus, Ohio, is an officially recognized religious body under the laws of the United States and the State of Ohio. Church leaders, interviewed for this study, described their practices as "modern satanism." This, they say, is simply a "philosophy of indulgence."
A priestess said, "We worship ourselves—we are our own gods. We don't worship Satan or Lucifer or anyone else. We use their names symbolically. Pan, for example, is the God of Lust, and is invoked only to symbolize lust in our rituals. We are just using—directing—the energy force surrounding us."

Satanists do not believe that demons possess individual personalities. They attempt, rather, to draw upon, channel, and direct, the mysterious forces which surround us all. These forces are best compared to electricity, they say.

Satanism exists for the glorification of man, and especially the individual self. Satanists believe that what a person desires should not be denied or viewed as sinful, for desires are fundamentally human and quite natural. The seven deadly sins of man (pride, etc.) described by more traditional religions, are simply human traits and should be encouraged, according to Satanists.

The primary behavioral principle of Satanists is: "Do what Thou Wilt Shall be the Whole of the Law, So Long as no other Man is Offended by Your Actions." This Satanic philosophy seems akin to Hedonism and as a result it is claimed that most people are hedonistic and actually Satanic, although they are too hypocritical to admit it. Honesty is highly valued among Satanists.
Satanists view their philosophy as a sort of "humanitarian hedonism." The only aspect of their behavior which is not humanitarian, they openly admit, is the curse or destruction ritual. Such rituals, however, must be exercised only after much consideration, and only by highly responsible individuals. Satanists see themselves as simply invoking the Biblical philosophy of an "eye for an eye."

Within the Columbus Church of the Satanic Brotherhood there are six degrees. The first two confer novice and lay statuses respectively. The third degree is that of the priest or priestess—a person qualified to write or perform a ritual. The fourth and fifth degrees are held only by officers of the Church and are the result of appointments made by the sixth degree member—the high priest.

It is noteworthy that the first three degrees require a candidate to study his new religion and then successfully complete an examination. The third degree is gained only by those who demonstrate competence in writing and performing a ritual, the results of which can be immediately and successfully verified to the satisfaction of those participating in the ritual.

In order to join the Columbus-based Church applicants must first fill out a personal questionnaire and
then be interviewed, with the purpose, it is said, of eliminating fadists and psychologically unstable individuals.

There are basically two types of rituals which the church members perform. They are: (1) the psychodrama, in which beliefs or concepts are acted out in a type of reaffirmation ceremony, and (2) the magical, in which some more or less immediate result is sought. Among the various kinds of magical rites performed are invocations for lust, destruction, and compassion.

The Church of Satanic Brotherhood is itself organized into many subgroups established in 22 states as well as British Columbia. Each group has 20-35 members. It seems that the ages and backgrounds of members vary greatly. The age span represented by people in the Columbus group was said to be 18-65. All religious backgrounds were represented, although Jewish and Catholic backgrounds were said to be predominant. Likewise, the span of educational levels and socio-economic status seemed considerable. Men and women are equally represented and individual sexual preferences are freely admitted. One highly respected member is a former Catholic priest who donated his priestly robes to the group for use in Satanic ceremonies. He also consecrated
hosts which are later defiled in such services.

Each Satanic group regularly holds ritual meetings twice a month, although ceremonies may be conducted more often if events or desires dictate. Drugs are not employed by ritual participants, simply because of the bad publicity which a drug raid would occasion.

Harrassment of the group is not unusual. Rocks have been thrown through the headquarter's windows, Bibles placed by the door, crank phone calls received, and numerous individuals drop by with the intention of converting the Satanists to a more traditional religion.

Satanists are most sensitive about publicity. Good publicity is seen, of course, as desirable. Negative publicity, however, is felt to be extremely damaging, given the naturally precarious position of Satanic groups in general.

**Wesley Glen.**—Wesley Glen is an old people's retirement center established by the United Methodist Church of Columbus, Ohio. Residents of Wesley Glen, adhering to the center's philosophy, come there "to live, not to die." Those desiring to enter Wesley Glen must be prepared to wait on the average about six years after making application. In addition, a physical examination must be passed before admission is granted.
Wesley Glen was built in 1969 and presently accommodates 250 residents. The oldest resident is 100 years old, and the youngest is 68. The Wesley Glen staff consists of eight full time administrators and medical personnel, and 120 additional general employees.

The residents of Wesley Glen tend to be "religious," in the traditional sense of the word, and many of them have a near obsession with health and signs of health. In this respect it is interesting to note that dreaming, in moderation, is considered, by a number of residents, to be a "sign of a healthy mind." It should be mentioned that those residents provided with questionnaires were chosen by the Wesley Glen staff on the basis of their assumed physical and mental ability to complete the questionnaire. Even so, a number of residents tired while working with the questionnaire and were unable to give complete responses to some items. As a result, about 17 percent of the completed questionnaires proved unusable.

The Ohio Penitentiary.--The Ohio Penitentiary, recently re-named the Correctional Medical Center, is located at 254 W. Spring Street in Columbus, Ohio. Formerly a prison for convicted felons, the penitentiary now serves the medical needs of ill inmates from any of
the state prisons in Ohio.

The physicians and nurses who staff the Center are typically from Ohio State University's medical school or Columbus area hospitals. In addition to the medical staff, "honor" inmates from correctional facilities around the state do much of the administrative tasks as well as perform other necessary duties.

When an inmate-patient recovers sufficiently he is sent back to the correctional facility from which he came. As a result, the average patient experiences only a short stay in the Correctional Medical Center. Because of this, the possibility was considered that a social structure, integrated sufficiently to include explanations of the dream experience, might not be able to develop in such a temporary setting. However, a comparison of the data collected from a rather large number of inmates at the London, Ohio correctional facility, with that from the Correctional Medical Center showed no noticeable differences on items relating to the study at hand. The fact that prison inmates evidence the same attitudes towards dreams regardless of the particulars associated with the institutional setting indicates that an inmate subculture exists not only within institutions, but that this subculture is, to a large degree, similar even between various institutions. This could be explained by
the fact that the value structure of the inmate sub-
culture is influenced largely by repeat offenders. Over
the course of their criminal careers, these offenders
may be incarcerated in many different institutions,
carrying with them subcultural attitudes and values from
other institutions.

Church of the Nazarene.—The Church of the Na-
zarene located in Columbus, Ohio has around 125 members.
The church is based on a representational form of govern-
ment whereby members elect the pastor and other church
officials.

In terms of its theological orientation, the Church
of the Nazarene may best be described as "fundamentalist."
The church prohibits its members from swearing, consum-
ing alcohol, using tobacco, working on Sunday, and par-
taking of literature or entertainment not devoted to the
glory of God.

The Old and New Testament are said to contain all
"truths" necessary for Christian living, and are inter-
preted quite literally. Such interpretation apparently
leads to the belief that man is born with a fallen nature
and is inclined to evil behavior. Likewise, it is be-
lieved that Christ will one day return and the dead will
be raised.
Worship services can most accurately be described as "revival meetings." Considerable emotion is present during such services and healings are performed.

**Divine Light Mission.**—Members of the Divine Light Mission of Columbus, Ohio are followers of the fifteen year old Guru Maharaj Ji. The Columbus Divine Light Mission is one of many Ashrams, or spiritual centers, throughout the world. All American Ashrams are directed by the central headquarters of the Mission for North America located in Denver, Colorado. Members live together in the Ashram and hold jobs in the community. Their wages are sent to the headquarters at Denver which then equitably re-distributes the funds to Ashrams across the country.

Illicit sex, the use of drugs, alcohol and the like are prohibited by Ashram leaders. A devotee begins his day early with an hour or so of group meditation. After work, each evening is devoted to "satsang" (talking the truth), which consists of a series of "talks" given to the assembled Ashram membership by any members desiring to do so. These "talks" are thought to come from the soul and to be totally honest. As such, "satsang" may surprise even the one "giving satsang." Satsang typically centers around the glorification of the
Guru and the knowledge one receives from being his devotee.

Knowledge consists primarily of a form of consciousness typically received through a kind of religious experience brought about by contact with a Mahatma... a spiritual representative of the Guru who has already developed a high degree of consciousness. Mahatmas travel around the world and number about 2500.

Once an initiate receives knowledge his world view changes. Life becomes beautiful and more simple.

Besides meditation and satsang, the devotee is encouraged to engage in other activities designed to further his spiritual development. Of most importance are darshan and service.

"Darshan" is being in the physical presence of the Guru. Simply seeing the Guru is always a tremendously moving experience for his followers. Many devotees have never experienced darshan, but it is sought by all.

The Guru himself is said to be the embodiment of that one true spirit which at every moment consciously realizes its unity with the eternal. Although this realization is the goal of all, its perfection can only be attained and constantly maintained by the Guru himself. It is believed that the same spirit which resides in the Guru is that which was historically present in Christ,
Buddha, the Guru's father, and other great religious leaders. That spirit is always present among men, and makes itself manifest in a chosen representative.

Service refers to correct action. Such action is that which is undertaken while one's attention is devoted to the Word, or the Truth. Truth refers to the unity of all existence and its experience in consciousness. Certain activities are desirable because they reflect the Truth and do not distract the mind from the Word. Activities of this sort constitute "service." Service encompasses all activities which serve the Guru and the Divine Light Mission. Activities include working to gain and help converts, raising money for the Mission, and spreading information about the Guru.

Junior Chamber of Commerce.—The Junior Chamber of Commerce in Indian Lake, Ohio constitutes the last group selected for study. The "Jaycees" are composed of young men from the community who desire to some day be economically and socially successful.

The organization sees itself as "designed specifically to meet the needs of the young man seeking to make his place in the community." To this end the Jaycees attempt to provide opportunities for their members which allow them to amke managerial decisions, become
effective public speakers, and assume community responsibilities. The Jaycees are involved in community improvement programs and plan projects to remedy community ills.

Perhaps the group's philosophy can best be described by the "Jaycee Creed:"

We believe:

That faith in God gives meaning and purpose to human life;
That the brotherhood of man transcends the sovereignty of nations;
That economic justice can best be won by free men through free enterprise;
That government should be of laws rather than of men;
That earth's great treasure lies in human personality;
And that service to humanity is the best work of life.

There are Jaycee chapters in over 6,400 American cities and 80 foreign countries.

Occult group.—The occult group is not described here, but is given considerable attention in Chapter IV. The occult group is the only group in this study analyzed in depth in a qualitative fashion. The description of this group is therefore best presented along with analysis because such description facilitates qualitative analysis and contributes to sociological understanding.
NOTES—CHAPTER II


CHAPTER III

AN OVERVIEW OF THE FINDINGS

In this chapter questionnaire data will be presented and discussed. Explanations concerning the data will be suggested, but will remain hypothetical, keeping mind the descriptive nature of this study. However, the next chapter is devoted to an in depth analysis of one of the study groups and will provide a perspective on the data quite different from that found in the present chapter.

**Frequency**

Table 2 presents information concerning the frequency with which members of each group remember their dreams. Of course, an individual may remember very few of the dreams he actually has. However, it is difficult to measure the actual frequency of dreaming and such a measure probably has more physiological than sociological relevance.

Many psychological studies have shown that most people dream regularly and with approximately equal
<table>
<thead>
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<th></th>
<th>High</th>
<th>Medium</th>
<th>Low</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Occult</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satanists</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divine Light Mission</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charismatics</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaycees</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio Pen.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuns</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fundamentalists</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior Citizens</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This being the case, why do some people recall their dreams with greater frequency than others? Part of the answer can be found by comparing Table 2 with Table 3. Table 3 based upon question 16 of the questionnaire, records the frequency, in percent, of "yes" and "no" responses for each group to the question: "Are dreams of importance to you?"

Employing Kendall's Tau for ordinal data, we find that a correlation significant at the .05 level exists between the frequency of dream recall and the importance of dreams. Given that the correlation is positive, we find that the greater the importance attributed to dreams the more frequently dreams will be recalled.

Dreams derive their importance from the social context in which an individual participates. For example, as will be shown in the next chapter, dreams are of central significance in the world-view of the white occult group. In fact, they are so important to occultists that much of the group's philosophy would be untenable without the subjective experience entailed by dreams. Without dreams, the occult group itself would probably not remain viable. In light of this, it is not surprising to find that 94 percent of the occultists reported that dreams are important to them.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>6</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satanists</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divine Light Mission</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>58</td>
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<td>Charismatics</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>100</td>
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<td>100</td>
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<td>26</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
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<td>Nuns</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fundamentalists</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior Citizens</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>100</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Looking at Table 3 it can be seen that there is no other group which even approaches this 94 percent figure. In addition, given the positive nature of the relationship between the importance of dreams and frequency of dream recall, occultists are also clearly the highest group in Table 2 representing the frequency of dream recall.

Likewise, in Table 4 occultists report the greatest frequency of dream discussion. Why this is so will be dealt with in the next chapter. Suffice it to say here that not only are dreams discussed because they are important, but they also derive importance from their frequent discussion as well as from the nature of the social situations in which they are discussed.

In comparing Tables 2 and 3 a notable discrepancy can be discerned. Followers of the Guru Maharaj Ji rank third among all nine groups in terms of the importance which they attribute to dreams, but sixth in frequency of dream recall. They are the only group to be in significantly different positions in the two tables. This low ranking in dream frequency may be the result of certain circumstances prevailing in this group.

Members of the Guru Maharaj Ji group often commented that dreams were important to them because the
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<td>Occult</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satanists</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guru Maharaj Ji</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charismatics</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaycees</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio Penitentiary</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuns</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fundamentalists</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior Citizens</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Guru himself sometimes appeared in dreams. Such dreams were said to be equivalent to being in the physical presence of the Guru, a much sought after experience.

Two reasons seem relevant to the fact that although dreams are important to them, followers of the Guru Maharaj Ji report fewer instances of dreaming. First, they maintain that their daily meditation takes the place of dreams because it provides a kind of reverie which meets the requirements of the mind for periodic fantasy. Secondly, meditation is itself said to be restful, and therefore one who meditates is said to need less sleep, and to have less occasion to dream as a result. Followers of the Guru meditate at least two hours every day, and most members of the group indicated that they sleep only about five to six hours per night. One woman who reported sleeping more said she took naps during the day because she was pregnant.

From this we may hypothesize that dream frequency decreases where alternative means of fantasizing exist. Some of these alternative opportunities are provided by cultural or group contexts, as in the daily meditation required of followers of Guru Maharaj Ji. Others, such as daydreaming, may be necessitated by an environment lacking in mental stimulation. In any event, more
investigation is required in this area before definite conclusions can be drawn.

**Dream Importance**

One of the most crucial aspects of the present study involves an investigation into the social or group context surrounding variations in reported dream importance. The ranking of groups according to the importance they attribute to dreams is used throughout this study in the computation of statistical correlations. The most simple indicator of the position and functioning of dreams within a given group context is the importance assigned to dreams by that group. Of course, the simplest indicator, while perhaps lacking in some respects, often lends itself to the clearest interpretation.

An investigation of the factors associated with findings concerning dream importance can assist us in answering such questions as: Why do groups as different as Catholic nuns, Protestant fundamentalists, and senior citizens pay little attention to their dreams, and consider them to be quite unimportant? Likewise, why do white occultists, satanists, and followers of the Guru Maharaj Ji hold dreams to be of great significance? In
addition why is it that Jaycees and inmates of the Ohio Penitentary, seemingly very different groups, attribute approximately the same amount of importance to dreams?

Theoretically it might be expected that prison inmates, nuns, and senior citizens would attach great significance to their dreams. They live in total institutions and dreams, for them, could provide a kind of compensatory function to combat the routine quality of their waking hours. If dreams do provide a compensatory function of this sort in American society we would expect to find these groups at precisely the opposite end of Table 3 from where they actually are found. How, then, can we explain the data found in Table 3?

Kendall's Tau was again employed to determine whether any significant correlations existed between the ordering of groups along the variable "importance of dreams" as shown in Table 3 and the ordering of these same groups on education, income, and self-reported religiosity as shown in Tables 9, 10, and 11. None of the correlations were found to be significant.

The nine groups were then ranked along an intuitive dimension called the "oddball-ordinary." This vector was constructed simply on the basis of the degree of "conventionality" which could be intuitively assigned by
the author to a group. Jaycees, for example, are highly conventional with respect to traditional American values. They are an "ordinary" group. Satanists, on the other hand, are very "unusual" or out of the ordinary. Thus, they may be considered "oddball." Table 5 presents such an intuitive ranking of the groups in this study.

This descriptive classification, based as it is upon intuitive reactions may appear rather "unscientific." However, a significant correlation was found to exist at the .05 level between groups ranked in this fashion, and the way in which groups were ranked in terms of the importance they attributed to dreams. This being the case, an ex post facto attempt was made to clarify this finding by establishing the explanatory factors which might be associated with the relatively crude intuitive "oddball to ordinary" continuum. It was decided that this intuitive dimension was a reflection of the attitudes or values held by the various groups. Each group was then classified with regard to the nature of its attitude toward both the material and transcendent aspects of experience: that is, the experience of the transcendent and material realms of existence as this experience is manifested in the cultural context surrounding the study groups. Of course, in this case,
Table 5

STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS OF SAMPLE GROUPS FOR DREAM INTERPRETATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Realm</th>
<th>Oddball</th>
<th>Ordinary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Material</td>
<td>Dynamic</td>
<td>Passive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transcendent</td>
<td>Dynamic</td>
<td>Dynamic</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Representative Groups**

- Satanists, Scientologists, Catholic, Divine Light Mission
- White Occultists, Charismatic, Fiction, Fans of Martin
- Science Fiction, Luther, King
- Senior Citizens, K of C, Billy Graham
- Masons, Hillel
- JC's
- Penta-costals

**Note:** The "oddball" to "ordinary" vector of the structural chart is impressionistic. Pentacostals are classified as transcendent static-stressed even though they seek possession by the Holy Spirit because they have been in existence about three generations and no longer view their techniques as innovative, whereas the Catholic charismatics do.

Classification based upon initial impressions derived from first hand experience and official group philosophies.

- Dynamic = Innovative (Rejection of traditional values)
- Static = Traditional (High commitment to traditional values)
- Passive = Uninvolved (Indifference)
the cultural context is specifically American.

It was recognized that such attitudes could be classified as "innovative," "passive," or "traditional" with respect to the cultural context within which they existed. However, the words "static" and "dynamic" are used in this study, in preference to the terms "traditional" and "innovative" respectively. Whether a particular group is "static" or "dynamic" with respect to its attitude toward the material or transcendant realm can only be determined by considering the nature of the cultural context in which the group exists. For example, any group with a static orientation toward the transcendant is traditional, conformist, and non-innovative, with respect to the transcendant dimension of existence, as manifested by the cultural context within which that group exists. A group which is dynamic relative to the transcendant evidences innovative or novel attitudes toward the established cultural view of the transcendant. The degree of conformity or novelty of a group's attitudes is ascertainable only against the background provided by the manifestation of the transcendant and material aspects of experience within the cultural background against which the groups exists.

Of course any cultural context contains an established orientation toward the transcendant and
material aspects of existence. Consider, for example, the Jaycees. They may intuitively be said to be traditional with regard to the material realm within the context of American culture. But should a similar organization exist in the Soviet Union, it would be innovative given the negative Soviet attitude toward free enterprise and capitalism.

Likewise, within the American cultural tradition, Catholic nuns appear to adhere to a static view of the transcendant. The same group would be dynamic within the context of a Buddhist society, however. Satanists, on the other hand, seem quite innovative and thus "dynamic" with regard to the transcendent when seen within the context of American culture.

In addition to these considerations, a group will be considered static if it adheres to an inherited tradition which is allowed to exist by the culture within which the group exists, even though that culture does not generally practice the tradition. Therefore, groups like Protestant fundamentalists, who's religious practices may be at variance with those in American culture as a whole, are still "static" for they are being true to an inherited and acceptable tradition.
Table 5 may be seen as an intuitive ranking of each group along the transcendant and material dimensions in terms of static and dynamic attitudes relative to these dimensions. However, a third attitude toward either of these realms is possible. This is the attitude of disinterest or uninvolvment and the word "passive" is used in Table 5 to refer to it.

Since it was thought difficult to base a sociological discussion upon this kind of intuitive classification, a section of the questionnaire was devoted to operationalizing the three concepts; "dynamic," "passive," and "static." This section of the questionnaire is presented in Appendix B. Appendix C shows how each response to this part of the questionnaire was interpreted and classified. So, for example, if a subject selected answer 1G this was recorded as a dynamic-material sphere. By employing this questionnaire it became possible to determine for each group the percent of responses in each of the six attitudinal categories; the categories being: "Dynamic-Material," "Static-Material," "Passive-Material," and "Dynamic," "Static," and "Passive-Transcendant."

The percentage of responses in each category is shown in Table 6. Using these tabular results it is
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Material (%)</th>
<th>Transcendent (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>Passive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satanists</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>17</td>
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<td>Guru</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Fundamentalists</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
possible to rank the groups along any of the six attitudinal dimensions.

It is interesting to note that the actual results are somewhat at variance with our original intuitive "oddball-ordinary" ranking. A number of groups turned out to have rather unexpected attitudes toward the material or transcendant. For example, intuitively it had been expected that the Ohio Penitentiary inmates would be dynamic on the material realm and passive, or disinterested, with regard to the transcendant. It was discovered, however, that they were quite static in terms of their attitude toward both realms. This indicates that they have rather conventional or traditional attitudes toward both the transcendant and material aspects of life, as judged by the standards of American society.

Perhaps this is not as surprising as it seems, for long ago Robert Merton pointed out that most criminals were innovators only with respect to the means they employed to achieve the ends they desired. These ends are the same for the majority of Americans—wealth, status, success, etc. The data here seem to support Merton's original hypothesis that most criminals have internalized traditional attitudes with respect to the
material aspect of American society.

Given the re-ordering of groups occasioned by the questionnaire responses, Kendall's Tau shows that the correlation between the ranking of groups along the transcendent-static dimension with the ranking of these groups with regard to the importance of dreams is significant at the .01 level (see Table 7). Also, the correlation in Table 7 between importance of dreams and the ranking of groups on the transcendent dynamic dimension is significant at the .01 level. The large values of Kendall's Tau associated with these correlations shows that they are both especially close. In other words, the nature of a group's attitude with respect to traditional conceptions of the transcendent realm in American culture is quite closely correlated with the importance which that group attributes to dreams.

In addition, there appears to be a close correlation between dynamic group attitudes toward the material and the importance of dreams. But not only are attitudes toward the material and transcendant aspects of existance closely correlated with dream importance—they are also very closely correlated with one another. The .89 value of Tau associated with the correlation between the ranking of groups according to their attitudes
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Comparison of Ranks</th>
<th>Correlation Coefficient (Tau)</th>
<th>Level of Significance (α)</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Importance vs. Intuitive ranking</td>
<td>.61</td>
<td>.012</td>
</tr>
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<td>Importance vs. Frequency</td>
<td>.50</td>
<td>.038</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Importance vs. Income</td>
<td>.42</td>
<td>.06</td>
</tr>
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<td>Importance vs. Education</td>
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<td>Importance vs. Religiosity</td>
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<tr>
<td>Importance vs. Material-Static</td>
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<td>.381</td>
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<td>Importance vs. Material-Dynamic</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
toward the transcendent and the material is extremely high. This seems clearly to indicate that in American society attitudes, whether dynamic or static, tend to characterize general orientations, and are not necessarily limited to specific realms. In other words, a group which is dynamic in one area of social life tends to be so in other areas as well.

However, since the importance of dreams correlates closely with both static and dynamic group attitudes toward the transcendent this discussion will begin by considering the nature of such attitudes. The close correlation which exists between dream importance and dynamic attitudes toward the material does not exist between dream importance and static attitudes toward the material. Group attitudes toward the material are considerably more complicated than such attitudes toward the transcendent due to the fact that a number of the groups in this study evidence "passive" attitudes toward the material. This appears, in part, to be due to the nature of the groups chosen. Senior citizens, nuns, and followers of the Guru Maharaj Ji, because of special circumstances, are indifferent, to a great degree to the material. Not only might this finding complicate analysis of these groups, but it indicates that a passive attitude toward the material exists only under
special circumstances, and these are circumstances not found in American society in general. Findings based upon a discussion of group attitudes toward the material would most likely not be generalizable to other aspects of American society. As a result, this discussion tends to focus on the relationship of dream importance and group attitudes toward the transcendent, in preference to such attitudes toward the material.

The finding that the nature of a group's involvement with the transcendent is more important than the degree of such involvement in determining other group social characteristics is not new. The relationship between religious attitudes and belief systems in general has been explored by a number of sociologists.

In 1950 Adorno discovered a correlation between what he called "authoritarianism" and "neutralized religion." He maintained that, although only the shell of Christianity remains in American society because its doctrine has been shaken, traditional religion still commands social authority. He found the adherence to "official Christianity" to be ethnocentric, selfish, and authoritarian. Such Christians were found to use religion as a means to external, practical ends.
On the other hand, "radical Christians" appeared more free thinking, were not ethnocentric, not authoritarian, and used religion to find inner peace and inner strength. Such Christians, however, were still found to employ religion as a means to other ends, but these ends were not considered "selfish" by Adorno and his followers.

Following Adorno, Gordon Allport in 1950 found that religious beliefs which arise from secure backgrounds and "normal socialization" produce a general orientation of "tolerance." Such beliefs he termed "intrinsic." However, he found prejudice to result from religious beliefs fostered in a context of insecurity and self-interest. These beliefs he called "extrinsic."

More recently, R. Allen and B. Spilka found a strong "correspondence...between prejudice and consensual religion, and between absence of prejudice and committed faith." "Consensual religion was said to be that which is simpilly agreed to as it is presented. Usually, of course, such "religion" is presented through childhood socialization. "Committed faith," on the other hand, refers to a faith which is of personal and central concern to its adherents. It is a faith to which people make a conscious commitment, usually through conversion.
Recent studies, including those carried out by C.E. Tygart at UCLA and Christopher Bagley in England have supported these findings by Adorno, Allport and Spilka.

It is important to recognize that the usual indicators of religiosity including church attendance and self reports cannot distinguish between concepts such as "committed" and "consensual" faith, or "radical" and "traditional" Christians, or "intrinsic" and "extrinsic" belief. In other words, while two groups can appear equally "religious" on the basis of commonly employed indicators, these groups may be characterized by radically different attitudes toward the transcendent. This means that the degree of involvement in traditional views of the transcendent is not necessarily related to other areas of social life, although the nature of such involvement may be.

The present study supports these findings. As mentioned previously, Table11 presents questionnaire data concerning self-reported religiosity. Kendall's Tau shows that there is no significant correlation between the degree of such religiosity and the data concerning importance of dreams in Table3.
The ranking of groups on both the transcendent-dynamic and the transcendent-static dimensions derived from responses to the attitudinal-survey section of the questionnaire, do, however, correlate significantly with the ranking of groups in Table 3 which concerns the importance of dreams. Thus, while degree of self-reported religiosity is not correlated with the importance of dreams, the nature of a group's attitude toward the transcendent is so correlated. Since this is so, it becomes necessary to investigate the present religious situation in America. This will be attended to in the next few pages.

Many people believe that traditional Christian religion places stress upon subjective aspects of human existence. However, while western religion may not be so objective as to be "scientific" in the true sense of the word, this is not to say that it is either "irrational" or opposed to objectivity. In fact, within the context of American culture, there is much evidence to indicate that established, institutionalized religion is supportive of, rather than in conflict with, the prevailing secular world-view.

In a well-known article, Langdon Gilkey has pointed out that the social factors which shaped western thought
have also contributed to the present form of American religion. Because institutionalized religion in America is integrated with the surrounding culture it has come to be characterized by considerable objectivity. The concern which contemporary American religion evidences for formerly "secular" aspects of social life serves to demonstrate that religion in America has become "this-worldly" religion. According to Gilkey, American religion has shifted its priorities from a concern with salvation before God, to the betterment of the human condition in this world.

Gilkey claims that this re-orientation of traditional American religion has been prompted by the evolution of a "secular mood" within American society. This mood, he ways is the belief that "reality, truth, and value lie solely in the observable world."

Today, human life is seen as meaningful only to the extent that it relates usefully to the social order. As a result, religious concepts have come to be translated into secular values. Christian principles are now applied to "doing" and "good works" in this world.

Besides the rise of the 'secular mood' itself, there are, within American society, a number of factors
which have been notably significant in their influence upon American religions. The first of these is American culture itself, with its beliefs and concerns. Perhaps the most important of these beliefs is the notion of the unity of American culture. Religion in America is part of national life. However, religious pluralism in America has resulted in a situation whereby religions must compete for adherents. The religions which are the most successful competitors are those which meet the secular needs of their clientele, and are therefore those which are oriented toward the achievement of American values.

In addition to being characterized by an active orientation toward the objective and practical aspects of existence, American religion has lost its subjective character. Contemporary religion places little emphasis on personal religious experience.

A second factor within American culture which has contributed to the practical orientation of American religion is secular thought. The pre-occupation of American society and of its educational system with the biological concept of evolution established a new scientific cosmology of which American religion became cognizant. American theologians went so far as to employ the concept of "evolutionary development" to explain historical
aspects of the Christian tradition. In addition, the "empirical method" became, for a time, the ideal approach to theological truth.\textsuperscript{11}

Besides secular thought, American religion has become objectively oriented through two significant internal influences. One is due to the rigidifying effect of time, and the other to the effect of modern theology and philosophy. American theologians were profoundly influenced at the turn of the century by attempts at the University of Chicago to apply empirical historical and sociological methods to the study of the scriptures, church doctrine, and theology.

The effect of such an undertaking was to present to American theologians the possibility for a "modern" and empirical re-interpretation of traditional theology and doctrine. Theologians felt that such modernization could give renewed life and relevance to traditional theology. However, the danger involved in a symbolic re-interpretation of traditional truth is, clearly, the possibility of secularization.

How can objectified secularly-oriented religion influence attitudes toward dreams in American society? As Robert Bellah, Peter Berger, and Norman O. Brown point out, religion is not only a system of cognitive
assertions, nor a cluster of socio-historical experiences, but rather it is these and more. Religion is a perspective; it is a way of viewing the world; of perceiving reality. Religions are amenable to secular influences because the practical necessity among their adherents for a particular view of reality can influence their perspective. Not only is the religious world-view influenced by socio-cultural necessity, but it, in turn, influences the perception of social reality.

According to Robert Bellah, "Religion is...a symbolic form for dealing with reality." He says that religion functions to define not only reality, but individual and group identities. It is in terms of this conception of reality and these identities that action within society occurs and is considered meaningful. So even if American religion has been co-opted by the American experience—has had its beliefs and truths re-defined in terms of this experience and the view of reality necessitated by it—it still provides the glue necessary for coordinated, meaningful action within American society. This is so because religion, or whatever is so named, has the unique ability to legitimate the secular by referring it to an ultimately unknowable, and therefore unquestionable, realm.
Although the legitimation of reality may seem a difficult task, given religious pluralism in America, Robert Bellah has pointed out that Americans do appear to have a type of agreed upon, shared, religion. This he calls the "civil religion" of America. American "civil religion" is a "faith in faith"; it is memorial day services laced with references to the Almighty; it is the belief that America is a nation "under God" and it is the "trust in God" stamped on coins of various denominations. Bellah suggests that it is this shared, vaguely defined, religion, which actually provides legitimacy for the American world--view by drawing upon shared traditional elements from within diverse American religions.

Because traditional American religion is a way of viewing the world, ordering experiences, and determining what is important, it is broadly influential of social action and individual perceptions. But traditional religion in America is oriented toward social issues, economic injustice, social activism, race problems, modernization, and the threat of war--in short, toward the problems of this world. As a result, human life in America is perceived as meaningful when oriented toward these issues. The ethical, moral individual is one who
demonstrates appropriate social concerns. To be other
than externally or outwardly oriented is considered to­
day irresponsible and useless. Within the context of
those traditional conceptualizations which do survive,
to direct one's attention inward is "sinful." Man's
salvation in contemporary society is to be sought not
inside, but outside of himself, through meaningful so­
cial activity. Not only is the day of the mystic, the
aesthetic, and of inward turning over, but such indivi­
duals and activities are today regarded as useless and
deviant. American conceptions of the transcendent are
external and objective in nature.

Since such a view of reality is inherent in insti­
tutionalized American religion, it is obvious that dreams
cannot hold importance for people who accept traditional
American religious conceptualizations. To view dreams
as significant is inconsistent with the "external" or­
ientation of American religion. Dreams are a subjec­
tive phenomena, and interest in them is seen by the pre­
vailing interpretation of the transcendent as at best
useless, and at worst dangerous. In addition, such sub­
jective experiences potentially call into question the
value of this-worldly concerns.
If a large part of American religion is no longer oriented toward the subjective, it is easy to understand why its adherents would possess a similar orientation, and thus devalue dreams. However, these considerations are not sufficient to explain the entire scope of our findings with regard to the relationship between dream importance and attitudes toward the transcendent. It is obvious that some of our groups, especially those evidencing the most "static" attitudes toward the transcendent, cannot be accurately described in terms of traditional American religion. Catholic charismatics do not participate in the mainstream of American religion. Protestant fundamentalists are not oriented toward "this world" nearly as much as other more secularly attuned protestant denominations. In fact, by listening to the speeches of even so moderate a minister as Billy Graham, it is impossible not to detect a decidedly other-worldly orientation. The idea of salvation, and the literal belief in life after death is still strong in America, especially among the Catholics and Protestant fundamentalists in our study. It is doubtful that Lenski meant to include these groups in his references to "American religion," and yet they surely cannot be overlooked.
What these still significantly "other-worldly" religions have in common with the more sedate middle-class denominations with which Lenski concerns himself is their theological background. Almost all religions in America have evolved from what is termed the "Judeo-Christian" tradition. This tradition, while never ignoring the potential manifestation of the transcendent within subjective experience, established acceptable paths to such encounters, probably with the intention that the then evolving religious institutions could control the experience. Without such control, religious institutions faced the possibility of religiously legitimated heresy.

Dreams, which any institution finds difficult to control, could not be permitted to remain open as potentially inspirational pathways leading directly from the transcendent to human subjectivity. Institutionalized religions thus initiated other, more controllable pathways to the transcendent, such as prayer, Bible study, and various sacraments, thus establishing themselves as necessary mediating mechanisms between God and man.

A final consideration involves the effects of time. With the institutionalization of any religion its members
face certain dilemmas. According to Thomas O'Dea the dilemma of "delimitation" and the "symbolic" dilemma are among these. O'Dea says the original message a religion carries must be stated in terms relevant to the everyday activities of the society in which it exists. In addition, the importance of the message must be maintained through protection against attempts at secular re-interpretations. Both needs give rise to a "process of definition and concretization" which results in a detailed definition of the religious message and its implications.

Such a process has been referred to by Mircea Eliade as one of "infantilization," because through detailed definition the religious message loses its essence and tends to become represented in "overconcrete" behavioral requirements. The "letter" of the religious message comes to be substituted for its original "spirit."

O'Dea's symbolic dilemma refers to the fact that because original religious experiences need to be symbolized in order to be retained they are eventually lost. The original subjective experience comes to be replaced by an objective and profane symbolic representation. Eventually the symbol comes to be "expected"
and loses its ability to elicit the original experience.

Thus, static attitudes toward the transcendent in American society are correlated significantly with the devaluation of dreams for three reasons:

1. The Judaic-Christian tradition established a secure institutional foothold in American society by confirming itself as the only legitimate path to God, thus denying the importance of individual and purely subjective paths.

2. Historical circumstances have acted on American society to produce a brand of religion which, while it claims to be the "official" manifestation of American religion, is concerned primarily with issues of "this world" and which has a decidedly objective orientation.

3. The institutionalization of any religion, regardless of its orientation, necessarily leads to a loss of subjective elements, and their replacement by ritual observances.

It should be mentioned that two other factors contribute, as does the religious situation in America, to a devaluation of subjective experiences. The first of these is the scientific attitude which brings with it a mode of thought which denies significance to that which
is not observable. Science also lends support to the religious denial of the significance of dreams, as well as to American values. And here, in American values, we find the final repository of the primacy of the objective over the subjective. American society is based upon the premise that that which is tangible is worthwhile, but intangibles are worthless and a "waste of time." Time itself, something inherently intangible, has been quantified and objectified to the extent that in America "time is money." Time however serves a purpose, that of efficiency. Other intangible phenomena, particularly subjective ones, such as dreams, not only serve no purpose, but can be a hinderance in the pursuit of the material, as in the case of one who "dreams his life away." As Table 6 demonstrates, the acceptance of traditional American attitudes toward the material is inversely related to reported importance of dreams.

These three aspects of American life, science, religion, and values, all de-emphasize the importance of subjective phenomena which are either not useful for material ends, or are not subject to institutional control. Dreams, as judged by these three spheres of American life, fall into both of these unpopular categories.
Dream Interpretations

In line with the preceding discussion it may be suggested that groups characterized by a particular attitude toward the material and transcendent realms of existence extend such attitudes to the interpretations of dreams. Indeed, this hypothesis does appear to render otherwise enigmatic data meaningful. For example, why do many Catholic nuns report the belief that dreams are caused by recent reading, bodily problems, subconscious influences and various mental states, but deny that dreams can be communications from the dead, predictors of luck or of the future (see Table 12).

In addition, very few nuns, no fundamentalists, and no senior citizens, while all are high on self reported religiosity, feel that dreams are communications from the divine or the dead. Also, very few individuals in each of these groups believe dreams to be useful for spiritual guidance.

Such data make little sense until one realizes that to interpret dreams in an innovative "religious" fashion (as communications from the divine, the dead, or as being useful for spiritual guidance) would be inconsistent with the general orientation of traditional religious groups in America. A static orientation toward
the transcendent in American culture means that the divine and the dead do not communicate through dreams.

Dreams are no longer avenues to the mystical, they are paths to the subconscious. They are useful for therapy, but are not religious experiences. In addition, this prevailing psychological view of dreams in American society carries with it the implication that dreams should not be discussed because: 1) they can reveal too much about the dreamer—even things of which he is not consciously aware, and 2) the information revealed by dreams is almost inevitably unwholesome. It sometimes consists of desires and fears so "twisted" that the "conscious mind" would balk should it be made aware of them. In other words, it is widely held in America today that dreams are very personal phenomena and because of the degree of intimacy they possess they should be discussed only under the most carefully controlled circumstances.

Indeed, this view of dreams was given as the reason (although in simpler terms) for not wishing to participate in the present study by a number of groups. One group, of Catholic charismatics, stated that they did not want their members to answer the questionnaire because it might give the impression that they were
trying to learn "too much" about them.

A monk at a Trappist monastery said that residents there do discuss their dreams from a psychological point of view and that he had had the "good fortune" of seeing a psychologist eighteen times while using his dreams to arrive at personal "breakthroughs." But he said:

It is obviously one thing to share intimately with a small group of your fellow monks, and another to answer a survey type of study. I personally was less enthusiastic about the matter when I read the list of questions and the various hypotheses...This—and this is only my own opinion—is precisely what we have too much of in our culture. Dreams should be dreamed, we should reap the benefit of them, and then go on, without analyzing them, at least to any great degree.

This view of dreams indicates that dreams are a private matter. Dream discussion is only undertaken with close friends because dreams are personally revealing and potentially embarrassing. A psychological perspective on dreams is rarely flattering to the dreamer.

There is also an interesting parallel between the prevalent American psychological conception of dreams, fraught with threats to the personality, and more primitive conceptions of magic. Some primitive tribes believe that physical harm can be done to an individual by those who possess intimate physical products of that
individual, such as hair, fingernails, feces and the like. In a similar fashion, Americans seem to believe that psychological harm can be done to an individual by those possessed of intimate psychological products of that individual, such as dreams and fantasies.

Dream discussion in American society bares the soul. It relinquishes control over the personality and the self-conception of the dreamer for a time. During that time he is open to the imposition of a new identity through a symbolic re-interpretation of his personality by others.

As demonstrated by the reluctance of charismatics and monks to cooperate in this study, some groups in American society believe dreams and dream discussion to be potentially dangerous. In addition, the fact that nuns, fundamentalists, and senior citizens view dreams from a psychological or physiological perspective rather than a religious or occult perspective, is consistent with the traditional orientation of these groups toward the transcendent and material aspects of life.

When we view the data in Table 12 with an eye toward the kinds of interpretations given dreams in general by groups with a relatively dynamic orientation toward the material and the transcendent we find that
these groups (the occultists, satanists, and followers of the Guru Maharaj Ji) support our hypotheses. Groups with a dynamic orientation toward both realms consistently interpret dreams in a more innovative fashion relative to the cultural milieu. These groups, as a whole, believe that dreams may predict the future, be divine communications or communications from the dead, and be indicators of luck.

These findings lend support to the idea that it is the nature of a group's relationship to the material and transcendent realms of existence that is at least as important in predicting how group members will interpret dreams, as the nature of the group's particular history or present situation. The following chapter will deal with the influence of these historical particulars. Their influence can be briefly pointed out here by noting that satanists, although having a dynamic orientation to both the material and the transcendent, do not report in great numbers the belief that dreams contain divine communications or can be useful for spiritual guidance. Consistent with their dynamic orientation, however, they do chose these categories more frequently than the more traditional religious groups—the nuns and the fundamentalists.
But one problem with the hypothesis that a group's attitude toward the transcendent may influence the nature of dream interpretations employed by that group is the finding that dynamic groups, although they are innovative in their interpretations of dreams, still score high on the more traditional dream interpretations. So, for example, in addition to giving dreams innovative interpretations the occultists, satanists, and the Guru Maharaj Ji's group all believe that dreams can be initiated by more conventional causes such as psychological or physiological factors. Since these groups are ranked highest on the "dynamic" orientation, one might expect them to reject such traditional dream interpretations. However, two details can be noted. First, even though these three groups are dynamic relative to the other groups in this study on the basis of their positions in Table 5, they are not without a traditional element of their own. That is, the members of these relatively dynamic groups still made a considerable number of static or traditional responses to questions intended to measure such orientations. The Satanists, for example, are the most dynamic group in the study along the material dimension. But only 37 percent of the responses made to value-measuring questions could be considered dynamic,
as indicated in Table 6.

Thus, even though the Satanic group made the largest number of dynamic-material responses to value-measuring questions, it would appear that its membership is still characterized to a large extent, by traditional attitudes. The same is true for groups on the transcendent dimension.

In addition, it is no doubt difficult for even an innovative group not to be influenced by the cultural tradition surrounding it. With this consideration in mind it is understandable that while traditionally oriented groups will employ traditional interpretations of dreams, more dynamically oriented groups may employ both traditional and innovative dream interpretations. The dynamically oriented groups are open to new possibilities in interpreting dreams, but there appears to be no reason why they should be closed to the possibility of employing traditional interpretations, especially in view of the fact that their membership contains a significant traditional element. In this sense, the relatively dynamic groups appear to be more "open-minded."

It will be noticed that certain groups, the Catholic charismatics, Jaycees, and the Ohio Penitentiary inmates, are characterized by moderation in terms of
their attitudes toward the transcendent and dynamic realms. Not surprisingly, members of these groups are, in general, not as conservative in their interpretation of dreams as are members of the more traditional groups, although they are more conservative, for the most part, than members of the more dynamically oriented groups.

To summarize, these findings appear to demonstrate a constancy of attitudes. Groups which appear "dynamic" relative to the cultural backgrounds against which they exist are those groups which employ the most diverse, and "innovative," interpretations of dreams. Groups which are "static" and non-innovative will evidence traditional attitudes with regard to dream interpretations.

In other words, the nature of the dream interpretations employed by a group seem not to depend so much upon the particular nature or background of that group (nuns and fundamentalists greatly prefer psychological interpretations of dreams to religious ones) as they do upon the nature of that group's orientation to the material, and especially the transcendent, realms of existence.
Dream Content

In concluding this chapter suggestions will be made concerning the findings displayed in Table 13. Table 13 shows the frequency with which a particular kind of dream content was reported by members of each study group. For example, 68 percent of the Ohio Penitentiary inmates reported having at some time dreamt of sexual activity, while none of the senior citizens reported this dream.

Table 12 indicated that general group orientations toward the transcendent and material spheres influenced dream interpretations. It is not necessary to examine every cell in Table 13 however, to see that this does not appear to be the case here. For example, fundamentalists and senior citizens rarely dreamt about business, and never reported a dream having political content. However, many occultists and Satanists dreamt of business and also reported political dreams. Such findings are the opposite of what would be expected if we attempted to relate dream content to attitudes or orientations as we did previously with dream interpretations. In that case, fundamentalists and senior citizens would be expected to dream of business, and perhaps politics, since they are static with regard to the material.
Table 13 seems to indicate that what is important in understanding why members of a particular group have certain dreams is the nature of the group, its members, and the immediate social context within which the group participates. This can be demonstrated by choosing any group in the study. Let us choose the Catholic charismatic group. Remember that previous descriptions of this group indicated that its members seemed prone to anxiety and were "neurotic" and insecure. In short, they appeared to have empty and difficult lives. Membership in the charismatic group appears to be an attempt to alleviate these social and psychological difficulties.

We find these situational and existential characteristics displayed within the pattern of Catholic charismatic dream reports in Table 13. Eighty percent of the charismatics reported having had dreams in which they felt physically threatened. This figure is the highest of any group in the table for this particular content. In addition, charismatics also report a far greater percentage of nightmares than any other group. Likewise, no other group approaches the charismatics in reporting dreams involving personal embarrassment. These dreams
appear to be indicative of anxiety and insecurity, and thus supportive of earlier observations concerning this group.

The charismatics are also rather high in reporting dreams involving their own sexual molestation; second, in dreams involving the death of a loved one and second in reporting dreams in which they find themselves naked in public. Likewise, they are second in reporting dreams involving frightening entities and first in reporting dreams involving illegal activities. In addition to these dreams which involve anxiety. Ninety-three percent of the charismatics reported dreams of falling.

The point here is not that dreams are indicators of psychological conditions or attributes, but rather that individual as well as sociological considerations appear to determine the nature and contents of one's dreams. So, for example, more charismatics report dreams involving religion and/or Christ than any other group. The social situation encountered in everyday life by Catholic charismatics may not be the most "religious" of the groups in this study, but they probably are the most emotionally committed to traditional religious considerations and beliefs.
Other examples which seem to demonstrate the relationship between dream content and situational or historical factors are as follows:

1. Ohio Penitentiary inmates reported more dreams of sexual activity than any other group, while senior citizens did not report dreams involving such activity.

2. Consistent with their interest in astral projection during sleep, the occult group reported far more dreams involving "flying" than other groups.

3. Nuns reported more dreams of "taking an examination" than any other group. This is consistent with the fact that this group of Catholic nuns comprises the teaching faculty of a small Catholic college.

4. Members of the Guru Maharaj Ji group more often reported beautiful dreams than any other group. At the same time this group stresses the necessity to be in constant meditation and communion with the transcendent during the day. Such a mystical attitude has the effect of destroying self-interests and of causing daily experience to appear "beautiful."

5. The Satanists, consistent with their philosophy, are the only group not to report any dreams of "religion and/or Christ."
6. The nuns are the only group, except for the two exclusively male groups, not to report dreams of birth. Apparently this is something outside the realm of normal possibility for them.

In general these findings appear to support the notion that dream content is influenced by situational factors. However, some groups do not dream with as great a frequency as might be expected with regard to certain dream content. For example, senior citizens do not report dreams of losing teeth or of being sick. Jaycees do dream about business, but certain groups report more dreams of business than the Jaycees. Ohio Penitentiary inmates rank third, not first, in dreaming about illegal activity.

Thus, although there is some data which does not fit the model, it would appear valid to say that, in general, dream content is influenced by situational, personal, historical, and other specific factors. The fact that each group can be characterized by particular types of dreams, with regard to dream content, indicates that these specific factors, while individual, are shared because of the similar social environment faced by members of a given group.
In summary, in this chapter we have learned the following:

1. The more importance attributed to dreams by the members of a group, the more often these members will report remembering their dreams. In effect, the frequency of dream recall is directly related to dream importance.

2. Frequency of dream recall does not increase in situations where dreams have the potential to fulfill a compensatory function. This may be because general attitudes towards dreams in American culture are negative in nature.

3. Members of groups with conservative attitudes toward the transcendent in American culture will not remember their dreams frequently nor will they consider them to be important. This is consistent with the "external" orientation of traditional religion in America today, as well as with its theological development.

4. Members of groups having conservative attitudes toward traditional American conceptions of the transcendent interpret dreams in conservative fashion even when such interpretations appear to be at variance with the immediate concerns of the group.

5. Members of groups having innovative attitudes
toward the transcendent interpret dreams in a similarly innovative fashion.

6. Dream content is influenced more by immediate individual and situational factors than by the general nature of a group's attitudes. This finding is in contrast to the finding in four above.

7. Income, educational level, and degree of self-reported religiosity do not correlate significantly with the importance of dreams.
NOTES--CHAPTER III


2 The words "attitudes" and "values" are used interchangeably in this paper, although some scholars have drawn distinctions between them, because these distinctions are not crucial for the present study.

3 The "Material" here refers to that realm of human experience which concerns itself with physical things and worldly interests.

The "Transcendent" refers to that realm of human experience which goes beyond the empirical.

These definitions have been influenced by Talcott Parsons' notion of "transcendental reference" found in his article "The Sociology of Religion" in Essays in Sociological Theory, (Glencoe, Illinois, The Free Press, 1958).


CHAPTER IV

A CASE STUDY

This chapter concerns itself with an in depth analysis of one of the groups studied—the occult group. The consequences, or functions, of occult dream interpretations are investigated and outlined.

Description

The white occult group is composed of around thirty members. It is led by the Reverend Doctor X, a woman about sixty years old, who previously was a fundamentalist minister. Reverend X conducts spiritual readings and claims to be able to contact occult entities, particularly those she calls Mu and Adella. These spirit guides often speak through her and do so in rhymed, poetic monologues relating to the topic at hand.

The occult group seems to be well integrated. All its members are friendly and appear to be happy. Every member, including Reverend X, cooperated fully with the research described herein.

The initiate into this group is assigned an occult
reading list and requested to attend weekly group meetings. During these meetings occult subjects are discussed, group prayers are said for the benefit of needy outsiders, meditation is practiced and psychic powers exercised and sharpened. At every meeting Adella or Mu contribute information through the medium of Reverend X.

The group's main purpose is to develop a shared consciousness so that each member might learn to experience true reality. This world (the psychic realm) is seen as an illusion...as an effect, not the cause of existence. The individual personality is perceived to be a "shadow man," while the true self is said to be revealed only through union with the "superconscious." Union with the superconscious is the primary goal of all group members. It is attained through abolishing the "separate self" of the personality. The separate self exists because of selfish ideas, desires, attitudes and patterns of thought which keep men separate from their true nature and true knowledge. The group's slogans are "Nothing for the separated self," and "The mind is the slayer of the real." To overcome the separated self a person needs to learn selflessness through "service." Service may take the form of work or prayer.

It is important to realize that the occult tradition of re-incarnation maintains that the separated
self is not overcome in one lifetime. Life is seen as a learning experience. Union with the superconscious is usually achieved through a long process requiring many lifetimes.

Between incarnations certain spiritually advanced individuals may exist for considerable periods of time on other "planes." When the goal of selflessness is nearly attained it becomes unnecessary to be again incarnated on the physical plane. Existence only on the higher planes...with movement to higher and higher planes with further spiritual progress...becomes possible.

Occultists believe that certain entities on the higher planes may impart information or be helpful to those on the physical plane. Such beings are called masters.

It is believed possible for individuals incarnate on the physical plane to leave their bodies for a time and visit some of the other planes. However, occultists assume that everything in the universe is alive and possesses a form of consciousness. In addition, every physical entity has its manifestation on the other planes and can be encountered there by travelers between the planes.

Reverend X once remarked that "Life is but a dream." She believes that other realities (or other
planes) are just as unreal and deceptive as physical reality unless they involve the merging of individual consciousness with the superconscious. Such union is ever sought. Duality and separatness are the hallmark of ordinary reality. From duality arises discord and unhappiness. Harmony can be achieved only through union.

Union is not possible, however, as long as we are possessed of inhibiting thought forms. Such thought forms, to be discussed later, are akin to attitudes of objectivity or separatness. They are learned early in childhood through socialization into Western culture. Magic, meditation, trance, dreams, and other altered states are desirable insofar as they vanquish undesirable thought forms and further the goal of selflessness and unity with the superconscious.

Most religions, including, Christianity, are not only used to support the occult claim that such unity must be man's ultimate goal, but are reinterpreted in terms of occult concepts and beliefs as well. For example, Reverend X says that all religions preach humility for they recognize that selfish pride prohibits unity. Buddha, Allah, Christ, are said to be different names for that unity. Submission to the higher self, or superconscious, is, therefore, submission to Christ. Adam's fall is interpreted as the coming of separatness, while
Christ's return from the dead is viewed as symbolic of reunion with the higher self.

Since the physical world and all that it supports, including objectivity are seen as fundamentally unreal, the basis for knowledge within the occult group is subjective experience. As a result inner perceptions must be developed if one seeks knowledge. This matter is somewhat complicated by the belief that consciousness has many layers and each layer can be interaware of other layers.

**Functions**

This chapter is primarily concerned with the social consequences of dreams, or the manner in which dreams function within the context of the white occult group. Such consequences are sociologically interesting for two reasons: (1) they arise from the group itself through a process of communication and interpretation concerning dreams, which originally had been subjective and purely individual phenomena, and (2) this interpretation and communication of personal phenomena serves to maintain the group itself, especially when one recognizes that the occult group is what Peter Berger has called a "cognitive minority."
By a cognitive minority I mean a group of people whose view of the world differs significantly from the one generally taken for granted in their society. Put differently, a cognitive minority is a group formed around a body of deviant "knowledge." Most of what we "know" we have taken on the authority of others, and it is only as others continue to confirm this "knowledge" that it continues to be plausible to us. Conversely, the plausibility of "knowledge" that is not socially shared, that is challenged by our fellow men, is imperiled, not just in our dealing with others but much more importantly in our own minds. The status of a cognitive minority is thus invariably an uncomfortable one.

It cannot be assumed that the cognitive status of the occult tradition in Western society is self-perpetuating. It must be constantly and ongoingly maintained due to its minority standing. We will later discuss functions such as "knowledge," "guidance," "personal development," "accomplishment," "enjoyment," and "therapy" which, admittedly, have social-psychological dimensions. But, the utilization of occult knowledge, the assumption of occult identities, the acceptance of occult legitimations, the search for occult therapy, the use of occult techniques for personal guidance and accomplishment, all assume participation in the occult world view. It is such participation which consequently maintains that world view. In dealing with a cognitive minority, then, we should see that what might commonly be called "individual" or "social psychological" functions have a
social aspect as well. Using terms developed by Robert Merton, we might say that what appear from one point of view to be manifest individual functions, are, when seen from another viewpoint, latent social functions.

The following figure visually displays the different types of functions which arise from a dream experience which is communicated and socially interpreted:

*Elements within the rectangle represent individual or group activities. The consequences of these activities are indicated, in general terms, outside of the rectangle.*
This figure indicates that dreams, through communication and interpretation, may serve to support the group directly (be given an interpretation which further the group's goals) or function to maintain the group by perpetuating its tradition, implied by the dreamer's acceptance of the group's interpretation of his dream. These are the functions which most interest us here.

It should be recognized, however, that dream interpretations may solve some of the dreamer's personal problems once he accepts them (i.e., be therapeutic). He may as a result function better within the context of his group. This accounts for the "social psychological" designation on the above chart.

Finally, individual functions or psychological functions lack the social element of communication and interpretation. For example, if an individual relieves frustrations through his dreams which allow him to lead a happier life, the dreams may be said to have functioned individually.

We are not concerned here, however, with such "individual" functions, nor with dream functions per se. The guiding question in this chapter is: "What consequences result from the communication and interpretation of dreams within the context of the occult group?"
These consequences will be pursued and discussed be they social or social-psychological. We will now proceed with such a discussion.

**Manifest Functions**

1. Knowledge
2. Guidance
3. Personal development
4. Accomplishment
5. Social interaction
6. Enjoyment

**Latent Functions**

1. Resocialization
2. Provision of identities
3. Provision of status
4. Creation of deviance
5. Legitimation of deviance
6. Therapy
7. Legitimation (Support of the occult reality)

**Knowledge**

Within the occult world view, dreams are paths to knowledge. They may provide knowledge of others or of
one's own physical, spiritual, and emotional life.

Knowledge of the past.---As mentioned earlier, it is an occult belief that each individual must endure a series of incarnations. The purpose of these incarnations is learning. Eventually, when one has sufficiently overcome the individual self and achieved union with the superconscious he no longer needs to be reborn. Life is seen as a kind of cleansing process which, after numerous incarnations, removes that which separates individual consciousness from the ground of being.

Given this belief in reincarnation it is not surprising to find that past lives, or elements from these lives, frequently appear in dreams. When one first joins the occult group, Reverend X enters a trance state for the purpose of a "life reading." In this reading, which takes a number of hours, many of the past lives of the initiate are said to be revealed. Thereafter, should a dream report contain information similar to that provided by the "life reading" the dream is said to be "retro-cognitive"...that is, it is believed to be a remanant of one's experiences in a past life.

For example, one group member reported that she had a dream of the devil. The group leader interpreted this dream as refering to a previous incarnation in which this person had been a witch, because the god of
witches, Pan the pagan god, is traditionally seen in Christian circles as the devil. The discovery that this member had once been a witch had come to light previously during this member's life reading. Later this same individual reported having a dream of an old kettle boiling dry. This was said to indicate not only that she had been a witch, but that she would soon be one again.

**Knowledge of the future.**--Dreams, like this last one, not only provide knowledge of the past but may also contain information concerning the future. Such dreams are referred to by occultists as "pre-cognitive." While it is believed that anyone may have a pre-cognitive dream, some people are thought more likely to have one than others. Of course a dream is pre-cognitive only when given a pre-cognitive interpretation. On the basis of the kind of interpretation they receive pre-cognitive dreams can be said to be of two types: (1) those which are interpreted after the fact (ex-post facto precognitive), and (2) those which are interpreted as pre-cognitive before the fact. An example of the first type follows:

**Member:**

I dreamed there was a group of people celebrating the re-naming of a theater in town. I stood looking at the name but I can't remember it now. We entered and sat down.
A band was on stage and people singing. I noticed Dave Brown, a draftsman from work, and his wife sitting in the row in front of us. Dave turned around, handed me a guitar which I had lost in the Army and asked me to show him the Glenn Campbell style and I did. Then another friend who was sitting on my left also wanted to play the guitar and I handed him the guitar. Then came the most beautiful Hawaiian music I had ever heard. The band was playing and my friend was playing his music and everything seemed to blend. Then was announced the entrance of a political celebrity and his wife. They went to the front of the theatre on the stage, and the political celebrity held his hands high as would a successful politician in the midst of an admiring crowd. The man began announcing a childbirth: 'I am proud to show you John F. Kennedy the second.' And the more I looked at them the more they looked like Kennedys.

Reverend X interpreted this dream by saying that the important people represented an important personality change. Politics meant being in the midst of the world. The theater indicated that up to the time of this dream many parts of the dreamer's life had been just like a show. When the theater changed its name this meant the dreamer was changing that aspect of his being. The guitars showed that two parts of his nature were becoming harmonized, so that he would undergo a deep inner change. The change was said to have already transpired as indicated by the politician raising his hands. Hands are service and were said to represent the dreamer's ability to serve and vocalize his thoughts. However,
this had already become a strong part of his personality, so that the changes predicted by the dream had already occurred.

Another dream of the ex-post facto type was described by a member who said she dreamed of driving through a tunnel. When she emerged she met a workman who exclaimed "My God, there was somebody in there." He explained the mountain was set with charges and was about to be blown up.

This dream was interpreted as being pre-cognitive and as concerning recent volcanic activity in Iceland. The dream had come shortly before the actual volcanic activity, but was interpreted shortly after the occurrence of this activity. These examples serve to demonstrate that a dream interpretation is "ex-post facto pre-cognitive if it is rendered after the occurrence it predicts, even though the dream occurs before the predicted phenomena.

We said, however, that the other kind of pre-cognitive dream is that which is interpreted as such before the fact. As an example, a group member dreamed of a machine which could take pictures of entities on the various planes of existence posited by the occult world view. This was interpreted as an image of what will come. "There will indeed be such a machine," said
Reverend X, "but it will not be in our lifetime."

During one session Reverend X pointed out that dreams of a pre-cognitive sort allow us to prepare ourselves for the future. Because of this they help us to make necessary transitions by reducing the shock associated with future occurrences, such as the death of a loved one.

Knowledge of the present.—Besides dreams which provide knowledge of the past and of the future, there are dreams which provide knowledge of some aspect of the present. It is believed by occultists that during sleep, consciousness, or the "soul" (referred to as the "astral body"), may leave the physical body and travel through space. This phenomena is known as "astral projection" and is a highly involved concept relating to and supported by other occult beliefs. During astral projection one may travel as much as thousands of miles, or perhaps only a few feet to see what time it is on a clock next to the bed. Dreams involving astral travel are said to be more vivid and colorful than other dreams. They are similar to a state of wakefulness and, it is said, they are intuitively recognized as "real" by the dreamer when they occur.

Astral travel is a common concept within the occult
world view, but it is said that often times things will be seen by astral travelers is a distorted fashion because "astral vision" does not occur through physical eyes. As a result of this distortion—which may be systematic—information obtained during astral travel usually will not appear in the same way to the unaided eye. Hence, should one dream of something at a distance; then go there to view it in person, and find that it is not the same as it was in the dream, the difference can be explained through astral distortion.

Astral dreams, however, may provide knowledge in quite another fashion. It is believed that one may project not only to locations within the physical plane of existence, but also to locations on the "astral plane." The astral plane is believed to be another world or reality removed from the physical, on which astral beings dwell. Many of these entities are friendly and desire to assist humans. These beings are referred to as "masters" and are often people who have "passed on" and are advanced enough to be released, at least temporarily, from the wheel of rebirth. Astral projection during sleep, should it lead to an encounter with these beings many eventuate in the dreamer's attendance at "astral school." The astral school provides an education in various aspects of the occult, and is similar to school
Astral dreams may provide knowledge concerning the present—but it can be seen that the present need not refer to only the physical realm or to physical beings. Since astral projection is a desirable experience Reverend X recommends for anyone who wishes to project that he:

1. Take a bath
2. Say a cleansing prayer
3. Cleanse the thoughts
4. Put his hands over his heart and pray: "Father as I sleep, will you guide me...etc."

Apparent the concept involved here is that to escape the physical world and enter the astral realm it is necessary to be clean. Perhaps materiality is thought of as "unclean" since it seems opposed to the more pure realm of the spiritual.

Knowledge of oneself.—Dreams may also lead to knowledge of the self, in terms of one's physical, mental, and emotional condition. For example a dream about oranges may mean the dreamer needs vitamin C. In another instance, Reverend X dreamt about her heart which she saw as overtaxed due to hard work and the flu. She realized while dreaming that rest was required for her
subconscious to heal the injury. In the dream she saw outlined before her a series of switches which provided an understanding of what was wrong with her heart.

Likewise, dreams may reveal emotional and psychological problems. Such dreams are referred to as "soul dreams" by occultists. They are regarded as quite typical, especially for the novice dabbling in the occult or for people with little occult knowledge. Dreams become "soul dreams" in the occult perspective when given a psychological interpretation. Contemporary psychological dream interpretations are often seen as appropriate, although emphasis is always placed upon positive aspects of the dream. This is because occultists believe that psychological interpretations may readily become self-fulfilling prophecies. In addition, occultists place very little emphasis upon sexual dream material or sexual interpretations in contrast to the Freudian school of psychology. Occultists, however, accept with relish the idea proposed by Jung that archetypal images inhabit the collective unconscious. This concept is interpreted to support their belief in a superconscious realm and in a racial consciousness.

In summary, dreams provide knowledge through precognitive, retro-cognitive, and psychological interpretations. Such knowledge is relevant to the past,
present, and future. Knowledge of the future can provide a basis for future action, and leads us now to a consideration of "guidance" as a function of dreams.

**Guidance**

On occasion dreams provide guidance to members of the occult group. Since the dream experience is potentially high in informative value concerning the future it is possible to base future actions upon dreams.

Dreams may provide guidance concerning any area of human existence. For example, to dream of oranges is interpreted by Reverend X as a bodily need for vitamin C. But dreams may relate to more complex matters. One member of the occult group, a Ph.D. in linguistics, learned on the basis of a dream interpreted by Reverend X, that she would encounter a very helpful informant in Northern California to assist in her work on Indian languages in that area.

At another time the same individual was said to have projected astrally during sleep into the home of Reverend X, who was also asleep, in order to ask for guidance. The nature of the advice provided in this instance, however, is not clear.

Dreams also provide guidance along the spiritual
path, a function described shortly under personal development.

Likewise, occult group participants use dreams for guidance in a fashion not unknown to participants in other aspects of American culture. Dreams can create expectations. To dream of an individual or situation during the night can structure similar situations encountered the following day. Most people have at times encountered a situation in waking life which was already structured to some extent by a dream experience. Waking life is occasionally conceived of in terms of attitudes created by dreams.

For example, if a male dreams he encounters an attractive female who humiliates him, he may be very cautious in his interaction with attractive females the following day. This may be the case whether or not attractive females call to mind the dream experience. Because of this we can say that dreams also function in a latent fashion to structure waking reality.

In instances where the individual does remember the dream and says to himself, "I remember this from a dream," he will probably find his conception of the situation influenced to an even greater degree than when the dream is not called to mind.

Waking reality is structured by dream experiences
because dreams provide attitudes and conceptualizations which may later transfer to daily life. Our predispositions to respond to a situation are fashioned by all prior experiences—be they experiences from waking life or from dreams.

Occultists are more influenced by dream experiences in their daily lives than most other people simply because dreams are of more importance to them, and are believed to often provide information highly relevant to waking life.

In summary, dreams provide guidance not only because they can be interpreted as "pre-cognitive," but also because they act to condition expectations. The informative value of pre-cognitive dream interpretations is something quite different from the pre-dispositions to act and conceptualize created by the dream experience itself.

Personal Development

It is important to realize that experience is knowledge when seen from the occult perspective. Subjective inner perceptions which eventually bear on the external world are paths to knowledge. As a result, the development of inner perceptual abilities is highly
desired. As one gains knowledge of, and control over, his inner experiences their quality changes. If one studies his dreams consistently eventually a greater and greater proportion of them will become pre-cognitive, astral and retro-cognitive in nature.

Dreams, therefore, provide the means to personal psychic growth. They must, however, be properly cultivated and utilized to that end. Of course they are not used alone but are one of a number of means which members of the occult group employ to achieve greater knowledge and assure personal development. Spiritual and psychic powers may be developed through meditation for example. However, it is significant to note that Reverend X believes that dream study and meditation are the best means available to achieve psychic development because they are the safest. Drugs, magic rituals, and the like may backfire and harm the seeker.

The use of dreams for personal development has three aspects: (1) the production of dreams; (2) the rememberance of dreams; and (3) the control of dreams.

The production of dreams.—With regard to the production of dreams, Reverend X has outlined a step by step method to be employed by anyone wishing to produce dreams. At bedtime the following procedure should be
observed:

1. Say a cleansing prayer so that the subconscious will be purged of negative and damaging ideas and concepts. The prayer also assures that the astral traveler will enter the astral plane with only love and the desire to learn. This provides him with a defense against malevolent entities who would utilize him for evil.

2. Drink water and keep a glass of water by the bedside. Since the human body is composed of 2/3 water "it ups the psychic flow," according to Reverend X, and one should always be sure to have sufficient water present in the physical body when undertaking psychic endeavors.

3. Be comfortable. Don't be too cold or too warm.

4. Take care of all natural functions.

5. Have a period of reflection and recollection before entering sleep.

Make a blackboard of the mind and put down what was done during the day and what could not be completed. Then erase it. This step provides the dual function of allowing one to sleep more readily, unconcerned with the happenings of the day, and also of assuring that dreams which do occur will be of the more important variety and not merely reflections of the day's happenings.
6. Pray for instructive dreams. Fold your hands over your heart and say:

Father as I sleep tonight,
Let Thou in the Sacred Light.
I would a true Dreamer be,
For dreams, dear Lord,
Come from Thee.

I would at night life's lessons learn.
I would not turn nor neither spurn the lessons,
But learn and Grow.
Make me Thy Channel of Light also.

7. Follow your breath in and out. Relax...let go.

If necessary, engage in a form of hypnosis to put to sleep each part of the body from the feet up until sleep comes. This step is actually concerned with bringing about sleep rather than with the production of dreams.

The rememberance of dreams.—Of course, it does little good to dream if it cannot be remembered what was dreamed. Therefore, the occult group has developed techniques for remembering dreams, as follows:

1. Arrange to awaken periodically during the night by means of an alarm clock or hypnotic suggestion. This is important since many dreams are forgotten if not recorded immediately.

2. Write down remembered dreams immediately after awakening or use a tape recorder.

3. Get up and get a drink of water upon awakening,
or walk around. Even though a dream seems clear while lying awake in bed it needs to be fixed in the memory. If one goes back to sleep quickly the memory will not have had time to coalesce and much of the dream will be forgotten.

4. In the morning when meditating, concentrate upon the dreams of the previous night in order to understand and learn from them.

The control of dreams.—The use of dreams as a guide to personal and psychic growth is very important in occult circles. Most people feel that dreams control them, and that they are powerless to influence their course. Occultists, however, realize that dreams not only can be controlled, but should be controlled. When one has advanced to the point where he is able to control aspects of his own dreams he has reached a level of psychic awareness such that his dreams will provide him with considerable knowledge. Beyond that, he will also be able to choose what he wishes to know and have it revealed to him in his dreams.

Dreams are controlled through conscious effort but the techniques of control are quite subjective and not at all clear to the uninitiated. Some members of the occult group have told of being able to direct their
gaze upon various aspects of the dream environment at will and thereby achieve a more detailed knowledge of objects in the dream world. Likewise, the ability to focus one's gaze at will provides the power to "stop" the dream. The dream will not continue to flow on while an object within the dream is under close scrutiny.

Initiates in some occult circles are told to gain control over their dreams by learning to focus in dreams on their hands. Hands are chosen simply because they are the most certain of all objects to be present in the dream and to be available for viewing. The author himself has been able to walk backwards and forwards repeatedly, at will, in his dreams since learning of this occult concern.

In summary, personal psychic and spiritual development is facilitated through dreams for participants in occult reality. Relevant to this, a rather extensive technology exists regarding the production, remembrance, control, and utilization of the dream experience.

Social Interaction

Dreams function to provide a field of activity for members of the occult group. Within this field much can be accomplished including personal and psychic development as well as physical healing. In this way dreams
function to facilitate activity and accomplishment; a function which might well merit individual attention. However, the author has chosen to combine the functions of activity and accomplishment with the function regarding the facilitation of social interaction. This combination seems appropriate because social interaction occurring in dreams provides an example of a kind of activity which may also involve personal accomplishment.

The realm of dreams is seen in the occult reality as comprising a sphere of existence and activity not greatly different from that of the everyday world. As a result, not only are everyday activities possible in the dream world, but others as well.

Individual accomplishments within the world of dreams take many forms including the learning necessary to control one's dreams, and to gather knowledge about the future and other aspects of the objective world. Some of these activities are undertaken within a social context in the dream. Thus, dreams facilitate social interaction, and it is with dreams of this sort that we are concerned here.

The meeting between a group member and occult group's leader, for the purpose of guidance, while both were asleep has already been mentioned. Such meetings are thought possible because of astral projection,
described previously. Astral projection often involves social interaction with other astral travelers. Astral dreams are distinguishable from other dreams because in them the dreamer is in a higher state of consciousness than is characteristic of normal dream states. The dreamer is aware, perhaps intuitively, that the dream is an astral one. Other indications that one is dreaming astrally involve the presence of intense and bright colors in the dream.

Reverend X once related that during an astral dream she sensed or heard another occultist. She did not, however, want to be bothered by him. She wanted to enjoy the dream experience without having to interact socially. So, she made herself invisible. But the other occultist knew she was there and came after her trying to locate her with a stick. He was unsuccessful and Reverend X was proud of her ability to become invisible at will.

The most interesting dream involving social interaction however, was discovered by the group at the first meeting attended by the author. It involved a dream which five members of the group were thought to have had simultaneously. The exact date of the dream was unclear, but the members seemed to be satisfied that each had experienced it on the same night. Each member claimed to have dreamed of a camping trip with the other members.
which involved sleeping in a tent by a lake and singing songs around a camp fire.

Reverend X was well pleased with this dream because she said it meant that the "group consciousness" was becoming highly evolved. She explained that this group dream was facilitated by the fact that she had risen early that morning (about 4 A.M.) to pray for members of the group. She believed that she had been adding energy to the group consciousness at the precise time of the group dream.

Another example of social interaction within the world of dreams is the astral dream of the occult healer described later under therapy.

In other dreams, members of the group said they had "talked with" and "walked with" friends or relatives who are now dead—who have "passed on." Such interaction was also thought to have occurred, quite literally, on the astral plane.

**Enjoyment**

Members of the occult group enjoy their dreams and look forward to them. Dreams are enjoyed not only because they provide opportunities for knowledge or accomplishment but also because they are, put simply, "fun." Some dreams are like going to the movies.
One member who usually has pleasant dreams was told by another member: "Could you give me one of your dreams? You have such interesting dreams. I'd really love to have one of your dreams."

It might be pointed out that it is believed by occultists that one sufficiently advanced can "give" his dream to another or share it with him. The only necessity is that the people involved be somehow in "harmony."

Some dreams are interpreted by Reverend X as fun. She has told some members that it is wonderful that they have the ability to astrally project to fun places during sleep.

When going to sleep group members present their conscious mind with positive, happy thoughts and symbols so that pleasureful dreams will be obtained. Likewise, if one is having nightmares, Reverend X will provide a technique to alleviate the problem.

A number of group members pointed out that if they do not like the outcome of a dream they can go back to sleep and correct it. How this is done is uncertain, but seems to involve concentration upon that portion of the dream just prior to an unpleasant turn of events. Appropriate outcomes are then finalized in the form of a dream.
Dreams, while providing many other functions, are to be enjoyed. This attitude is consistent with the positive interpretations dreams are invariably given within the occult group.

Latent Functions

Dreams function in the occult reality in ways not fully realized except from a sociological perspective. These functions are termed "latent" and are described below.

Re-Socialization

Dreams provide a bridge in the transition which each member of the occult group has to make from his everyday world view, provided by childhood socialization, to the occult perspective. This transition is best termed re-socialization, for it involves leaving behind one reality and embracing another.

Realities are constructed on the basis of concepts or typifications—typical ways of viewing and classifying experiences. A new reality is learned through the acquisition of concepts and typifications endemic to that perspective. The word perspective is used here because a reality is a way of looking at the contents of one's
experience. Participation in a new reality is learned, then, through the acquisition of typifications allowing for the interpretation of experience in a fashion appropriate to the new reality.

Dreams play a central role in the transition required for successful re-socialization into the occult reality. Dreams provide experiential material which can be well described and explained in terms of the structures of that reality. In fact, many aspects of the dream experience itself are made meaningful by interpretations provided by the occult world view.

The occult reality is well equipped when it comes to the interpretation of dreams. In fact, since dreams occupy a central position in occult philosophy and technology, the occultist is much better able to make the dream experience meaningful and significant than are participants in the typical American reality, which provides the background out of which the occult group draws its members.

The occult group, then, is able to successfully re-socialize its members because it is able to provide a better explanation of the dream experience than can American culture. The explanation of the dreams provided by the occult perspective is "better" because it is more inclusive, more detailed, and well integrated
logically with many other elements central to the occult perspective. It might be mentioned here that while central elements of the occult perspective are used to interpret the dream experience, it is also true that dream experiences work to support occult reality and conceptualizations. The relationship between dream experience and occult tenants is reciprocal because, as mentioned previously, a major basis for knowledge in the occult tradition is inner subjective experience. More will be said of this later.

The point here is to realize that the occult group is successful in its efforts at resocialization for two reasons: (1) it is able to attack the constructs of ordinary reality successfully and (2) it is capable of providing very adequate explanations to replace the concepts it attacks.

The constructs of ordinary (everyday American) reality are attacked by occultists precisely at that point where they are weakest. That weakness lies in the interpretation of marginal situations—experiences such as dreams, trance, death, psychic phenomena and many other experiences for which the American world view, based on a long tradition of objectivity and empirical inter-subjectivity, lacks adequate explanations. Indeed, the fact that the typical American world view
lacks adequate and agreed upon (which is the basis for adequacy) interpretations of phenomena of this sort is what makes them marginal. Given the objective character of the Western world view as a whole, it is not surprising to find that experiences which are marginal are those which are most personal and subjective.

Peter Berger speaks of:

...those marginal situations in which the reality of everyday life is put in question. It would be erroneous to think of these situations as being rare. On the contrary, every individual passes through such a situation every twenty hours or so—in the experience of sleep and, very importantly, in the transition stages between sleep and wakefulness. In the world of dreams the reality of every day life is definitely left behind...There are always 'nightmares' that continue to haunt in the daytime—specifically, with the 'nightmarish' thought that daytime reality may not be what it purports to be, that behind it lurks a totally different reality that may have as much validity, that indeed the world and self may ultimately be something quite different from what they are defined to be by the society in which one lives one's daytime existence...Religion served to integrate these realities with the reality of everyday life, sometimes (in contrast to our modern approach) by ascribing to them a higher cognitive status. Dreams and nocturnal visions were related to everyday life in a variety of ways—as warnings, prophecies, or decisive encounters with the sacred, having specific consequences for everyday conduct in society. Within a modern ("scientific") frame of reference, of course, religion is less capable of performing this integration.

It is with regard to these subjective experiences
that the occult tradition claims to possess superior knowledge, and it is on the basis of these experiences that the occult perspective attacks the conceptualizations of American reality. Marginal situations are incapable of adequate explanation within the typical American world view. This is due to the decline of religious legitimations, and their replacement in contemporary society by objectively grounded systems of knowledge. Such objective systems are incapable of dealing with subjective reality (or at least they assume they are) and tend therefore to deny its importance.

Reverend X recognizes the need to replace an individual's old conceptual systems with new ones provided by the occult perspective if adequate re-socialization is to be achieved. Dreams provide a starting point in this process as can be seen in the following example:

MEMBER: I dreamed that I was sewing something and I woke up with a needle in my hand. I went back to sleep with that needle in my hand. But I didn't have a needle in my hand--I couldn't in the middle of the night.

REVEREND X: To dream of sewing means you're creating order. You're bringing things together, organizing. A needle is like a sword, it typifies discernment. So you were discerning as well as bringing things together. And the fact you had a needle in your hand--your hands are service. And to have the needle in your hand meant you were working to bring forth for service.

Here we find the dreamer being told that she is
creating order. She is doing so through the adoption of a new perspective. Central to this perspective is the belief that selflessness can be achieved through service. It is not surprising, therefore, to find the concept of service present in this dream interpretation.

Here is another excellent example of how dream interpretations are used in the re-socialization process:

MEMBER: I dreamed that my brother, who's activities I disapprove, was dating and wishing to marry my cousin. He was trying to impress her with his great wealth. He was not telling her he had several children to support. I finally went to her and told her the whole truth. I asked if she could live on the meager amount he would leave to her. She was so shocked and thanked me for telling her.

REVEREND X: You dreamed of your brother. This is a part of yourself that you disapprove of. And he's dating your cousin...you're not supposed to marry cousins. In other words dating another part of yourself that is too close. But that should not be syntheicized with that part of yourself. He was trying to impress her with his great wealth. And isn't this the way the personality is trying to impress the soul—by how wealthy it is? It can talk...it can act...it can do...it can be great in the objective world. And the objective self—the personality—never does tell you how many children or thought forms—thought children—it has to support. And this is why you hear these ads where everybody is weary of this and that. They're weary of their concepts; weary of their thought children that are chained to them. And that they've created and don't know how to put to sleep forever.
Once dreams have pointed out the need to destroy old thought forms, this is accomplished through further dream study, meditation, or even singing in varied tones or telling jokes. Such activities work to destroy old attitudes toward the world, which are so much an integral part of the personality that they cannot be disposed of through logical argument. Thus, re-socialization into the occult perspective is often initiated through dream interpretations.

**Identity Creation and Status**

Dreams function within the occult group also in the creation of new identities, the maintenance of old, and by conferring status. They also function to create and maintain identities of individuals not physically a part of the group.

**Spiritual identities.**—When Reverend X enters a trance state numerous individuals from the astral and other levels may speak through her. In those sessions devoted to dreams, the dream of a group member may be interpreted by Adella or Mu, two spirits who characteristically pass on knowledge through the medium of Reverend X. In interpreting dreams in this fashion, Reverend X is drawing upon a long established occult
tradition. The famous medium and psychic, Edgar Cayce, also interpreted the dreams of others while in a deep trance.

Thus, the central role assumed by dream interpretations within the occult world view has contributed to the development and maintenance of the personal identities of occult entities. Adella and Mu are spirits, but they assume a personal identity partly because of the role created for them through the demand for a technique of dream interpretation true to particular aspects of the occult tradition.

Status.—Dreams also contribute to the creation and maintenance of more concrete identities and status. In her primary role as teacher and master, Reverend X assumes the responsibility of interpreting the dreams and other subjective experiences of group members. Partially as a result of the recognized skill she possesses in interpreting dreams from within the occult tradition, she is accepted as the group's leader. Thus, competence with regard to the interpretation of dreams leads to status and it is to be expected that other group members might achieve similar status through the accurate interpretation of dreams.

However, as mentioned previously, participants in the occult reality believe that through study and practice
they can increase the informative value of dreams. Over time a greater proportion of dreams are expected to become pre- and retro-cognitive. The frequency of such dreams not only indicates the development of occult skills but leads to a position of status within the group. This is, of course, only one occult indicator of status, but it seems to be closely correlated with other indicators such as length of membership, acquisition of occult knowledge and the like.

**Concrete identities.**—Of equal importance is the creation of identities on the basis of dream interpretations. Dreams may provide one with direct information about one's present or future existence. For example, one group member was told that she was on the road to becoming a witch because she saw a dry kettle over a fire in a dream. Such interpretations certainly structure the experiences and desires of individuals immersed in the occult tradition, and can no doubt lead to self-fulfilling prophecies. This is why negative dream interpretations are nowhere to be heard in the occult group.

In addition, the identity provided an individual by astrological associations with the time of his birth are not contradicted, but only enforced, by dream interpretations. Indeed astrological signs are quite
important to group members and personality characteristics, not surprisingly, are found to follow from these signs much as expected.

Perhaps the most important aspect of the identity function of dreams within the occult reality involves the reinterpretation and stabilization of a positive identity. Members of the group were asked their reason for initially becoming interested in the occult. Some, if not all, said that they had always had visions or other subjective experiences, from childhood on, which led to interest in the occult. Many of the experiences occurred during sleep or in the shadowy land between sleep and waking.

From a sociological perspective it is clear that the larger American culture might label these experiences as marginal, undesirable, and negative. On the basis of such experiences a negative identity could be created and stabilized. This is because the interpretation of these experiences within the conceptual framework of everyday American society would fall within the context of abnormal psychology.

The occult perspective is not so limited however. It attaches positive significance to the experience one has during, for example, an astral dream. Not only does it attach positive significance to the experience, but
explains it and considers it, if anything, normal.

The point is that individuals who experience such "unusual" subjective states while asleep or awake readily become participants in the occult reality and, as a consequence, learn a positive, rather than negative, conception of self.

From the preceding it can be seen that dreams function to provide spiritual and "concrete" identities. On the basis of these identities and with regard to the ability to manipulate and interpret dreams, a status hierarchy is created and maintained within the occult group. In addition, the ability of Reverend X to interpret dreams lends substantial support to her position as leader within the occult group.

Creating and Legitimating Deviance

Never, in the course of this study, did Reverend X interpret a dream report as undesirable, deviant, or immoral. Even nightmares and sexual dreams constantly received positive interpretations.

The creation of deviance.---However, it is an occult belief that dreams are indicative of a normal healthy mind, and that the lack of dreams may be symptomatic of mental illness. Immediately after this tenant
was reaffirmed by Reverend X during a meeting devoted to
the study of dreams, a group member reported that he
recently had not had any dreams. His report was elicited
by a request that members share their dreams. Since
the member in question was reporting what amounted not
only to deviance, but included inferences of insanity
as well, the situation became problematic. In addition,
this member had been a part of the group for a long time
and apparently was regarded as a core member. Reverend
X soon solved the problem, however. This lack of ap­
propriate dream behavior was explained when she said that
recently the moon had been astrologically insignificant.
As the moon approaches fullness, she predicted, the
dreams of this individual would increase in frequency.
She asked him if he had dreamed frequently in the past,
to which he answered, "Yes." This seemed to satisfy the
group that he was indeed not an abnormal individual but
rather only the victim of circumstances of a temporary
nature.

The legitimation of deviance.—Dreams, or their
lack, may not only create deviance within an occult con­
text, but they may also legitimate or explain away cer­
tain forms of deviance. For example, the recent Comet
Kahoutek was initially seen as having great significance
for occultists by Reverend X. When it failed to result
in the astronomical spectacular expected, a problematic situation existed. Reverend X's prophetic ability was called into question.

Shortly afterward a group member reported a dream in which she astrally projected in order to get a better view of the comet. This dream was interpreted to mean that although the comet was not significant on the physical plane, it was greatly significant on the level of the astral. Hence, Reverend X's seemingly inaccurate prediction was shown to be valid after all since the astral realm has considerable influence upon occult practices.

To re-iterate, dreams, or their lack, not only may create a deviant situation or identity, but can be used to legitimate deviance. Problems can be explained away through appropriate dream interpretations, and deviant individuals re-integrated in the group.

Therapy

Dreams are employed therapeutically within the occult group in three ways. They may function to alleviate spiritual, psychological, and physical problems.

Psychological therapy.---A young female member of the occult group was known to have suicidal tendencies.
At one session she reported a dream in which she found herself in a meat storage locker. From among the many types of meat available she selected raw liver and gleefully flung it against the walls creating an unwholesome panorama. In spite of obvious negative overtones this dream was given a positive interpretation. Reverend X said that throwing the liver away meant the woman had rejected the idea of doing violence to herself.

This interpretation represents an obvious attempt by Reverend X to have the young woman re-evaluate her- self and her situation. It was an attempt to plant a positive suggestion in the woman's mind. A psychoanalytic interpretation of this dream, while it would be perhaps more realistic, would also probably be more fa- talistic.

Other therapeutic functions of a psychological na- ture are provided by dreams as well. For example, it is believed that dreams involving overt sexuality are avenues to a healthy psyche because they represent at- tempts by the mind to balance and harmonize various forces and desires within the individual.

Also, as mentioned earlier, solutions to problems in life are sometimes arrived at through informative dreams. Some occultists even go to bed thinking that dreams will provide them with just the opportunity they
need to find a solution to some pressing problem. The guidance gained from dreams, whether objectively good or bad, must seem to the person in need considerably better than no guidance at all. It provides hope where no hope might otherwise exist, and offers suggestions about problems which may seem beyond the individual's power to solve. Stagnation may be eliminated and innovative behavior initiated through positive dream interpretations. Dreams function to give occultists a handle on a problem—to give them a feeling of control—that may be impossible to achieve by less subjective means.

Another example of the psychological therapy performed through dream interpretation relates to the same suicidal woman mentioned earlier. She had a "boyfriend" who, after returning from Viet Nam went insane. At one point he attempted to kill her. Eventually he was committed to a hospital and is there today. The woman, understandably, experienced much psychological trauma because of the incidents leading up to his commitment, and may have been blaming herself for the situation. A dream she had erased her feelings of guilt and depression. She dreamed that she was visiting her boyfriend at the hospital when he said to her, "I'm sorry if I hurt you." Reverend X said this was the man's soul-self communicating his true feelings. The woman said,
"I'm so thankful."

Thus, therapeutic dreaming and therapeutic dream interpretations are viable within the context of this occult group. A dream such as that just discussed would meet with quite a different interpretation in most parts of American society, and therefore would be powerless to alleviate depression and guilt feelings in such a direct fashion. Of course, this dream might take on a similar therapeutic quality within a psychoanalytic context but only if much more elaborate interpretations were to be employed. In the context of the occult group the therapeutic power of this dream lies in the ability of the occult reality to allow the dream to be accepted at face value.

Spiritual therapy.--Likewise, spiritual therapy may be undertaken through dreams. It should be recalled that the goal of the occult group is one of union between its members and the superconscious. Such union is believed attained through subjective experience and such experience might be termed "mystical."

The path to union lies through the subconscious, because it is within the subconscious that the negative thought forms or concepts reside which prevent union. These thought forms are attitudes inconsistent with an occult view of the world. For example, most westerners
see inanimate objects as dead. Occultists not only see them as alive, but as possessing consciousness as well.

Thought forms act to prevent union in much the same way as the psychological concept of repression. Primary socialization is the source of these attitudes. Such attitudes, clearly, are not amenable to conscious willful control, or logical arguments. They can be overcome, however, through appropriate dreaming brought about by proper mental "exercises" before sleep occultists believe.

If one presents the mind with positive thoughts and concepts this will result in positive, therapeutic dreams. The negative attitudes of the subconscious will eventually be vanquished through such therapy, and the structure of the subconscious will change, permitting the superconscious to make its appearance. Therapy of this sort is akin to teaching the subconscious to think correctly, or to make proper associations. It is thought to be successful because the subconscious is believed to have the ability to make logical deductions from that which it is presented with, but not to make evaluations.

In other words, since the path of union with the superconscious lies through the subconscious, the subconscious must be prepared through proper dreaming designed to destroy thought forms inhibiting this union.
When this has been accomplished the superconscious may manifest itself in dreams. Usually the superconscious is thought to appear in dreams as an authoritative but wise figure of the opposite sex as that of the dreamer.

**Physical therapy.**—Dreams can be physically therapeutic. Sickness may occur, according to the occult view, because various aspects of one's nature are out of alignment or not in harmony. Harmony between the planes of existence can be achieved through dreams via the process just described. Dreams, however, may be of more direct physical benefit. If one dreams of oranges this is inevitably interpreted by Reverend X as a bodily need for vitamin C. The same holds true for most other foods.

Edgar Cayce, the famous psychic, built his reputation as a psychic diagnostician on his ability to analyze the dreams of his patients. Another individual, associated with the occult group, but not an active member of it, claims to be a psychic diagnostician and healer. He says that once while asleep he astrally projected to his back yard where he encountered a patient who had astrally projected while also sleeping to meet with him there. While involved in this situation he performed a "healing" thus curing the patient of his ailment.

To summarize, dreams function therapeutically with regard to spiritual, physical and psychological problems.
Occult interpretations of dreams are therapeutically effective because they are based upon a conception of reality which permits great flexibility in the interpretation of marginal situations. Because of this, dreams can be interpreted in whatever fashion in therapeutically beneficial and such interpretations can be applied to almost any problematic situation.

**Legitimation and Interpretation**

The functions of legitimation and interpretation refer to the provision of meaning. When an activity, institution, or concept is legitimiz
d it is interpreted in a meaningful way. However, meaningful interpretations require a consistent set of fundamentally unquestioned concepts. The object of interpretation becomes meaningful to group members when related to these concepts to a degree considered adequate by the group.

For example, to say, "John died because he was called by God," provides a legitimation for a particular death. The death becomes meaningful through its relationship to a complex system of unquestioned concepts—in this case theology.

Legitimations such as this obviously are most effective with religious devotees. Not surprisingly most
members of the occult group are, or were, Christians, and all come from a religious background founded upon Western theology. Dreams provide a legitimation for other aspects of occult belief because they create a bridge between Christian belief and occultism. They are anchored firmly in occult reality, and their religious legitimation tends to legitimate other aspects of the occult reality to which they are related. Needless to say, there are few areas of occult belief to which they do not relate.

Dreams, themselves, Reverend X is quick to point out, are found in the Bible, and are therein often given occult interpretations. Such biblical interpretations support occult beliefs regarding dreams and thereby lend support to the rest of occult reality. This is so because, to the Christian mind, if occult notions concerning dreams are present in the Bible, then the rest of the occult perspective must have some validity. This is a kind of legitimation through association.

Examples of this type of legitimation can be found in the following:

Genesis 28:12

And he saw in his sleep a ladder standing upon the earth, and the top thereof touching heaven: The angels also of God ascending and descending by it...and when Jacob awakened out of sleep he said: Indeed
the Lord is in this place, and I knew it not.

Genesis 31:11

And the Angel of God said to me in my sleep: Jacob? and I answered: Here I am.

Job 33:14

God speaketh once...By a dream in a vision by night, when sleep falleth upon men, and they are sleeping in their beds: Then he openeth the ears of men, and teaching instructeth them in what they are to learn.

Joel 2:28

And it shall come to pass after this, that I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh: and you sons and your daughters shall prophecy; your old men shall dream dreams, and your young men shall see visions.

Matthew 1:20

But while he thought on these things, behold an angel of the Lord appeared to him in a dream saying: Do not be afraid, Joseph, son of David, to take to thee Mary thy wife...So Joseph, arising from sleep, did as the angel of the Lord had commanded him, and took unto him his wife.

Many other references of this nature can be found in the Bible, including the dream which caused Joseph and Mary to flee to Egypt and the dream of Pilate's wife concerning Jesus. Recognizing their potential Reverend X employs these quotations to the point of distributing a list of passages of this sort from the Bible which support other concepts within the occult world view as well.
Subjective legitimation.—Not only do dreams provide a legitimating medium by anchoring occult tenants in generally accepted Christian beliefs. They are also a source of immediate legitimations derived from the subjective experiences they entail. As mentioned previously, subjective evidence is highly regarded within the occult group because of the belief that materiality and all that it implies, including objectivity, is unreal.

This however, is true not only of the occult group. Concepts such as oedipus complex, subconscious mind, repression, and Freudian slip, are accepted by the general public to a large degree on the basis of subjective evidence. While such evidence may not be sufficient to impart legitimacy to these concepts in the eyes of a trained scientist, this is not the question. Such concepts are accepted by the public at large. Such acceptance provides some understanding of the possibility of legitimations deriving from subjective experiences.

So, for example, evidence for astral projection is found in many dreams. Often dreams involve interpersonal interaction, and some of these dreams tend to be especially so vivid that upon awakening, the dreamer is uncertain for a time of whether the experience was a dream or not. Some dreams clearly contain prophecies relevant to the future. The existance of such prophecies,
not their accuracy, is the question. Likewise, it is no more difficult to believe that to dream of one's mother symbolizes the superconscious than it is to believe one's mother represents the superego in dreams. If dreams of overt sexuality give credence to the Freudian perspective, then the occult perspective is no less supported by dreams of the dead.

Occultists, not surprisingly, tend to dream about occult subjects. For example, one group member dreamed about visiting a psychic surgeon in order to have some physical surgery acceptable to the dreamer and thereby provided support for such occult practices.

Dreams are used by Reverend X extensively in pointing out to group members that they are experiencing a need for new thought forms—that the superconscious is trying to merge with the conscious mind but is being prevented from doing so by thought forms residing in the unconscious. Dreams legitimate this conceptual system for occultists as easily as they provide evidence in other circles for the concept of repressed hostility. The particular dream content is often less important than the skill of the interpreter to convince others that his interpretation is accurate, and Reverend X has the belief of believability. To summarize, the subjective experience of dreaming can, with little effort, be so
interpreted so as to legitimate occult reality because dream experiences are easily understood in terms of occult concepts.

Finally, dreams can be related to other aspects of occult reality through dream typologies. The occult group employs such a typology. Since the typology is itself constructed in terms of concepts central to the occult world view it relates the subjective evidence derived from dreams to the occult reality. Occult typologies represent a special case of the argument just advanced, since, through the use of occult typologies, the dream experience can be clearly conceptualized in terms of occult beliefs. Thus, if the typology appears adequate, support is provided for the correctness of the beliefs and concepts upon which it is based. Concepts utilized by a typology are legitimated when they appear to adequately describe the observations toward which they are directed. The adequacy of occult typologies would not be denied by most members of the occult group.

Reverend X has said that dreams may be categorized as follows:

1. Physio-etheric dreams: These dreams relate to the physical plane and to physical matters. So a dream of falling may be caused by an unlevel bed, or a dream of drinking occasioned by thirst. Such dreams are
black and white.

2. Astral dreams: These dreams involve astral projection and are occasioned by a highly emotional state. If one goes to bed after an argument he is likely to project. Such dreams are vivid, characterized by bright colors and seem real.

3. Mental dreams: These dreams are experienced on the "mental plane" and derive from logical processes. They involve light tints of color.

4. Pure soul level dreams: In these dreams the soul is seeking expression. They tend to be highly symbolic dreams. Color is often times not present and such dreams may involve "a higher relationship to light," so that the dreamer may dream he is deaf or blind.

The four kinds of dreams in this typology are derived from the four occult levels of existence. Insofar as different dreams can be categorized according to these types, the dream experience gives support to the accuracy of the typology and thus to the adequacy of the occult system upon which it is constructed.

In summary, dreams legitimate occult reality in a number of ways. First, because biblical interpretations of dreams support occult dream interpretation, other aspects of the occult world view, to which dreams are related, are legitimated in turn. In addition, the dream
experience itself provides subjective evidence to support occult beliefs since many dream experiences are explained quite adequately by such beliefs. Finally, since occult dream typologies appear to adequately relate the dream experience to occult conceptualizations of reality, they lend support to that reality.

Before ending our discussion of the functions dreams perform within the occult group, it seems appropriate to point out that in contrast to the other groups with which this study is concerned, the occult group interprets dreams simultaneously in many different ways. It is this diversity of interpretation which creates the conceptual framework that makes it possible for the numerous functions performed by dreams within the occult context to exist.

Perhaps most significant of all, however, is the observation that members of the occult group employ numerous dream interpretations simultaneously...by applying them to the same dream. The extent to which the phenomena has developed within the occult reality is unequaled by other groups in this study.

Some examples of this multiple level interpretation follow:

A member had a dream just before waking in which she heard a voice speaking to her about Akron, Ohio. The
member had no discernable prior association with that city.

This dream was interpreted in the following fashion by Reverend X:

A. It could refer to some important experience which will laterally occur in Akron; and if so it might be as long as eight months in happening.

B. The word "Akron" can be broken down into its component parts. AK could stand for ECK and symbolize the soul. RA is the sun god. ON is the land of gold. The soul could be in for the reception of illumination from an expansion of consciousness, like a mystical experience.

C. Elements of the dream—such as the components of the word "Akron"—could be symbols which come from the universal subconscious. They might be remanants of the collective memory of the human race.

Here is a final dream:

MEMBER: This dream was so real that I looked in the newspaper for it. The television screen showed the late news. That last news shot on Channel Four. And they don't have any visual thing of the news. They only have a reporter's voice and I heard the newscaster's voice. It was Hugh Downs, who's a regular on their broadcast. But he never does that particular broadcast—he does the earlier ones. I heard him say: 'There's been a tremendous earthquake. It had its origin in South America, and it's come all the way up through Mexico, and clear across Texas.' He
said this with emphasis. 'And jumped over into parts of Southern California, and came back across two more states, Arizona and Utah, and then went up into Colorado and came back down and it was felt clear into Arkansas.'...Along the way he said about the damage. In my mind I saw what he was describing, even though I knew it wasn't on the screen...I was visualizing it. I saw the chasms and the fallen buildings. In our part of the country he said it registered 6.5 on the Richter scale and at its point of origin, 8.5 on the Richter scale. The further it went the lighter the damage.

Reverend X provided the following interpretations:

1. Precognition: She said the prophecy present in this dream could come at any time, but exactly when is impossible to say. It may never be in our lifetime, she said.

2. Therapy: "An earthquake itself usually means a great disturbance, and you had a death in the family recently," said Reverend X. She indicated that this is a change which must be accommodated and integrated into the dreamer's life.

3. Physiological: South America represents the feet, Mexico and Texas the lower parts of the body and Ohio represents the heart center, said Reverend X. Since this dream could be indicative of a physical problem it was suggested that this member to for a physical check-up, or have a change in diet.

4. Guidance: Earthquakes represent change, and it was said that this dream could represent upheaval in
the near future with regard to the member's job, family or something similar.

5. Occult symbols: Reverend X interpreted the numbers and name of the Richter scale as follows: "Richt in German means right. Six is something sly and foxy, and five is man...something we need to be watching out for. And 8.5...light is resurrection life, which could mean we are coming into a new era, since five is man. It could be a truly wonderful dream."

6. Re-socialization: "This dream could refer to a breaking up of the ground of the thought, of thought patterns."

7. Colors: The member later talked about yellow and green colors on the screen. Reverend X said yellow represents earth and blue, sky. This indicates a yin-yang, or positive and negative balance. This could represent a form of harmony, and hopefulness for the future.

Dysfunctions

In addition to the positive social and social psychological functions provided by the communication of dreams and their interpretation within the occult group, dreams may be said to function negatively as well. The following dream dysfunctions, based upon the positive
functions already discussed, may be briefly noted: 7

1. According to occult belief, dreams may provide knowledge of the past, present and future. As a result, they may inhibit progress in the development of objective means to knowledge. In effect, reliance upon subjective avenues, may be detrimental to the development of objective approaches, to knowledge. No doubt intersubjective sciences, based upon objectified indicators would be difficult to establish among members of the occult group. As might be expected, however, it was observed that those aspects of objective science which support occult beliefs were readily received by Reverend X, who, in turn, attempted to make other members of the group conscious of such findings.

In other words, while the findings of objective science may be employed as legitimations of the occult world-view, it is extremely doubtful that the occult world-view itself would inspire pursuit of objective science, given its subjective perspective. In effect, the occult world view tends to inhibit objective knowledge of the environment.

2. Because dreams often offer personal guidance when interpreted from the occult perspective they have the potential to evoke reliance upon them in matters of personal choice. As a result, they make for weakness
of character in terms of the inability to choose independently of dream interpretations. Thus, occult interpretations of dreams tend to promote a lack of self-direction, and, in effect, to institutionalize immaturity.

3. Likewise, occult dream interpretations, insofar as they legitimate the occult reality and contribute to its maintenance, inhibit social change. Personal change is also inhibited since occult dream interpretations are almost always positive and thereby tend to legitimate personal identities.

4. As we have said, dreams may legitimate deviance. Insofar as they legitimate behavior which is seen as deviant relative to the norms of the larger society they contribute to the maintenance of negative identities.

Of course the identity which dream interpretations provide the dreamer in occult circles may not be necessarily negative, but it may still be dysfunctional in light of the role expectations which exist for that individual in the larger society. For example, if an occultist, on the basis of her dreams, learns of her past lives, and insists on incorporating them in her present life, at least to the extent that she expects others to grant their validity, she may encounter serious
difficulties. Her employer may question her professional competence, and her husband may question her ability to raise children, her intellectual competence, and even her sanity.

In today's society it is one thing to believe in a life after death, but quite another to believe in reincarnation, especially if one claims to be cognizant of one's past lives on the basis of dream experiences. Likewise, while beliefs in ESP are gaining a kind of novel popularity, it is not yet acceptable to base one's social identity and activities on astral projection, ESP, astrology, dream interpretations and the like. Should an individual consistently pattern his life on the basis of "occult" dream interpretations there is little doubt that he would be negatively labeled by most of those around him, and receive, in turn, a negative identity.

5. In addition, occultists who rely upon dream interpretations in ordering their lives, are likely to find they will be assigned low social status in the wider community. Even in the case of those individuals who turn to dream interpretations and other occult activities as a result of social deprivation, we can expect their low social standing to be maintained because of the negative evaluation of such activities and their practitioners by the larger society.
6. Dream interpretations contain the potential for group conflict and could prove divisive insofar as differing individual dream interpretations are possible. The fact that this does not occur overtly in the group under study is due to the commanding personality of the group's leaders. Such disagreements have occurred in the past, however, causing some members to leave the group.

7. The last negative function of occult dream interpretations may be briefly stated. Occult dream interpretations may inhibit objective accomplishments due to their demands upon individual, as well as group, time and energy. In addition, a reliance upon prophetic expectations, derived from dream interpretations may cause individuals and groups to not effectively organize their activities for future accomplishments.

In summary, we may say that occult dream interpretations are dysfunctional because they may:

1. Inhibit progress in the pursuit of objective knowledge.
2. Institutionalize immaturity and lead to dependent personalities.
3. Create negative identities within the context of the surrounding society.
4. Result in low status within the wider community.
5. Inhibit personal and social change.
6. Lead to social conflict and prove divisive to the group.

7. Inhibit objective accomplishments, and effective problem solving activities.

In concluding this chapter three points require clarification.

1. Negative functions exist, to a large extent, only because the personal and social effects occassioned by the occult interpretation of dreams occurs within the context of a particular culture (American) which values personal independence, objective knowledge, social accomplishments of a particular type, and the like.

2. It is not only occult dream interpretations which are peculiarly dysfunctional in the ways just discussed. Any dreams, regardless of the perspective employed in their interpretation, are potentially dysfunctional. This is perhaps due to a Western distrust of subjective phenomena. For example, to be told that one has made inadequate adjustments to adult life and possesses paranoid traits, on the basis of psychoanalytic dream interpretations, can have many negative social ramifications, as well as implications for one's self-concept.

3. It would appear that dreams and their interpretations potentially have numerous social ramifications,
both positive and negative, precisely because they are a subjective and highly personal phenomena. The fact that they are personal leads to the assumption by society at large that they are associated with and reflect aspects of the self. The fact that they are subjective creates numerous opportunities for diverse interpretations. This potentially wide range of interpretations, combined with the personal dimension associated with dreams makes dreams particularly powerful in creating new definitions of the self and of one's situation.

In other words, dreams, when convincingly interpreted, have the power to create a new social reality by modifying one's conception of oneself and one's understanding of his environment. It is, of course, mainly the subjective aspects of oneself which are open to a wide range of convincing interpretations, since their relationship to other aspects of the self and the environment is not clearly established. An objective aspect of the self, such as the color of one's skin, while socially interpreted in different ways by various subgroups in the population is, nevertheless, limited with regard to the number of convincing interpretations it can be given. It cannot, for example, be interpreted so as to provide direct knowledge of the distant past or remote future. Nor can it be related to knowledge of
objects far removed in space. Likewise, it cannot be employed to indicate the needs, desires, and future action of the individual possessing it. Dreams, as we have shown, because of their subjective nature, can be related to all of these considerations, and thus are particularly powerful social phenomena when interpreted within a cultural context.

This chapter has attempted to describe the functions and dysfunctions dreams perform within the context of an occult group which is true to most aspects of the Western occult tradition. It has been said that dreams may be paths to knowledge. They are employed by group members for guidance, enjoyment and personal accomplishment. In addition dreams provide a context for social interaction and accomplishment from the point of view of occult reality.

Other dream functions were explored from a sociology of knowledge perspective. Here was demonstrated the ability of dreams to provide legitimate and deviant identities as well as status. Re-socialization, therapy, and legitimation of the occult perspective were discussed in order to demonstrate the close relationship which exists within the occult group between dream experiences, dream interpretations, and the group's social structure.
Finally, based upon the positive functions dreams may perform, a description of the possible dysfunctions of which dreams are capable was considered.
NOTES--CHAPTER IV

1 Following Clyde Kluckhohn we may define "function" as an adaptive consequence of a behavioral response--adaptive in that it contributes to the continued existence or maintenance of the responding group or individual. For more information see: Clyde Kluckhohn, *Navaho Witchcraft*. (Cambridge: Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Vol. XXII, No. 2, (1944).


3 Functions are herein described as "manifest" and "latent" because of the analytical usefulness of such a distinction as aptly demonstrated by Clyde Kluckhohn in his famous study of Navaho witchcraft, to which the present study owes much in terms of organization. Manifest functions may be said to be those functions of which group members are aware. Latent functions are those which for the majority of group members are not available to consciousness.

4 For more information see: Susy Smith, *The Enigma of Out-of-Body Travel*.


6 For a more detailed exposition of this position see Peter Berger, *The Sacred Canopy*: "By legitimation is meant socially objectivated 'knowledge' that serves to explain and justify the social order. Put differently, legitimations are answers to any questions about the 'why' of institutional arrangements." p. 29.

7 Dysfunctions are behavioral consequences which are maladaptive with regard to the continued well being of the individual or group which is so behaving. No distinction is made here between manifest and latent or individual and social functions.
CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This paper began by pointing out that the study of dreams is a virtually unexplored area within sociology. Dreams, it was said, have often been the subject of scientific studies conducted by psychologists, but very few attempts have been made to determine the effects of particular social contexts upon dream life, or the effect of dreams and their interpretations upon the social contexts within which they occur.

It is noteworthy, that the well-known psychologist William James long ago pointed out the reality, for the individual experiencing it, of the dream world. His point was that, throughout the day, we all live in a series of realities which come into being and pass away. The social sciences make the mistake of assuming the unity of such realities. As a result, they either study only one reality, or study other realities as though they were no different from the primary "wide awake" everyday world.

Alfred Schutz, the well known European phenomenologist applied the name "finite-provinces of meaning" to
James' conception of multiple realities. He wished to point out that each reality, including the dream world, has an internally consistent meaning structure. That is, the dream world may not be consistent with waking life, but internally it is uncontradictory.

Schutz felt that the dream world is "essentially lonely" because it can never be simultaneously experienced by others, nor can it be communicated except through the medium of another reality. However, the fact that dreams are communicated, even if it be in terms of the cognitive style peculiar to waking life, makes it possible to study them scientifically. In other words, dreams become social phenomenon when communicated. As such, they influence, and are influenced by, aspects of the particular social and cultural context within which they manifest themselves.

At its inception, this study recognized both the need for, and the possibility of, a sociological study of dreams, as well as the lack of previously existing studies in this area. Lacking such literature, the present study became descriptively oriented, and, of necessity, exploratory, since insufficient data existed for the establishment of specific hypotheses. In addition, such hypotheses were seen as potentially limiting
given the breadth of the area to be explored. As previously mentioned, it was felt that interaction between dreams and the social order should be investigated in terms of the effects each has upon the other. As a result, three broad areas for investigation were established: 1) Dream content. 2) Dream interpretations, and 3) Dream use, or dream function. The first of these general areas was intended to include the effects of the social order upon dream life, while the latter two areas are concerned with the effects of dreams upon the social order.

Before this study was concretely formulated however, an historical and cross-cultural investigation of attitudes toward the dream experience was undertaken utilizing the existing literature. Over twenty differing interpretations of dreams in general were encountered. On the basis of these numerous interpretations a typology of five inclusive attitudes toward dreams, or interpretive types, was established. These five types, described in detail in the second chapter are as follows:

1 Physiological: The belief that dreams have their genesis in physical conditions, or can be used for physiological diagnosis was found to have existed from ancient times. It is still common to many societies
today including our own, in which it is thought that
dreams may be produced by various foods or certain phy­sical conditions.

2. Prophetic: This category requires little elu­cidation. Prophetic dream interpretations are common in
the Bible, and the popularity of "dream books," sold in
many drug stores and supermarkets today, is evidence
that the belief in the prophetic quality of dreams is
still very much with us.

3. Psychological: The psychological interpre­
tation of dreams, while perhaps the dominant interpre­
tation in western society at present, is not new. Psy­
chological dream interpretations were commonly rendered
by Plato, Aristotle and Lucretus. Their popularity de­
clined considerably during the middle ages, as they came
to be replaced by religious dream interpretations. Of
course, they have once again attained a position of pro­
minance in our society.

4. Theological: This study considers dream inter­
pretations which depend upon a religious framework for
their establishment, to be "theological." Such inter­
pretations may simultaneously be prophetic, physical, or
even psychological. Indeed it would seem that almost
all dreams which depend upon a religious perspective for
their interpretation serve some purpose other than an intrinsically religious one.

5. Occult and Spiritualistic: Dreams interpreted in terms of an occult perspective were placed in this category. Occult perspectives typically have much in common with religious perspectives but may be seen as separate insofar as they are not generally accepted as part of the traditional religious cultural "baggage" of a society. Of course, occult dream interpretations also may be prophetic, psychological, physical, or any number of things, depending upon the purpose for which they are utilized.

These five perspectives or types of interpretation are, in some respects, overlapping. The important point, however, lies not in the neatness of a typology, but in the fact that each of these perspectives has existed, and does exist somewhere today. In addition, the non-exclusive character of the various types points out the possibility that each may exist simultaneously in a given society, as they indeed do in America.

The Method

As mentioned, the descriptive, exploratory nature of this study necessitated the exclusion of overly-
specific hypotheses. It led, likewise, to the recognition that a broad, general, data base would be the most useful to this type of study. As a result an attempt was made to investigate the role of dreams in many different and widely divergent, groups. Eventually data were collected on over forty groups. Of these, nine were selected on the basis of the nature of their orientation to the material and transcendent aspects of human existence. It was believed that groups who's members shared attitudes toward the material and transcendent, would also evidence common attitudes toward other phenomena, especially dreams, and the subjective and social experience involved in these phenomena.

As described in Chapter III, groups were classified initially along the transcendent and material dimensions, in accordance with the nature of their apparent attitudes toward these dimensions. Three attitudes were considered: Static, Passive, and Dynamic. Static attitudes were described as those which could be considered "normal" or non-innovative with regard to the traditional attitudes prevalent in the culture under consideration. Dynamic attitudes were defined as "innovative" when compared to the prevalent cultural attitudes.
A passive orientation was thought of as one which is neither static nor dynamic. Groups having a passive orientation toward the material or the transcendent were defined as relatively "uninvolved" in these dimensions. Catholic nuns, for example, are actively uninvolved and relatively unconcerned with traditional attitudes toward the material dimension of existence, and may therefore be said to be passive with regard to the material.

Groups

The nine groups used in this study, described in detail in Chapter III, were the following:

1. Catholic charismatics: Charismatics have much in common with revivalistic protestant denominations. They are, however, Catholic. Speaking in tongues, the laying on of hands, intense personal religious experiences, and a lay clergy characterize Catholic charismatics, who continue, however, to maintain their association with the Catholic church.

2. Catholic nuns: the second group to be included in this study was composed of Catholic nuns belonging to the Dominican order. They are all on the teaching faculty of a small midwestern Catholic college.
3. Satanists: The Church of the Satanic Brotherhood in Columbus, Ohio was included in this study as representative of groups possessing dynamic attitudes toward both the transcendent and material. Satanists call themselves by that name in order to symbolize their alienation from traditional religious as well as to indicate their interest in the glorification of man and the individual self.

4. Senior Citizens: Senior citizens living in a retirement home were included in this study to widen the data base with respect to certain socio-economic variables; particularly age. Since residence in the home is an expensive proposition financially, all of the residents can be considered "middle class."

5. The Ohio Correctional Medical Facility: The Ohio Correctional Medical Facility is housed in what was previously known as the Ohio Penitentiary in Columbus, Ohio. Inmates from prisons around the state are transferred to the facility if they require medical attention to an extent not available in the prison at which they are confined. Upon recovery, inmates are returned to their respective prisons.

6. Church of the Nazarene: The Church of the Nazarene is a revivalistically oriented, fundamentalist
protestant denomination. The Church prohibits its members from swearing, consuming alcohol, using tobacco, working on Sunday, and partaking of literature or entertainment not devoted to the glory of God. The old and new Testament are believed to contain all the knowledge necessary for Christian living.

7. The Divine Light Mission: Members of the Divine Light Mission are followers of the young Guru Maharaji Ji. They live in a communal group in the Columbus, Ohio area and devote their lives to the achievement of spiritual knowledge and religious experience.

8. Jaycees: The Junior Chamber of Commerce of a small city in Ohio was the eighth group to be studied. Young men who desire to become socially and economically successful in their community join the Jaycees in order to acquire the social and financial skills necessary for success. The Jaycees orient themselves toward community service, which they use as an opportunity to develop management and organizational abilities.

9. Occultists: The members of a white occult group comprise the last group in this study. They meet weekly for the purpose of developing occult and psychic skills and to increase their knowledge of the western occult tradition. The group is led by a female psychic
who had previously been a fundamentalist minister.

Data Collection

Data were collected from each group through the use of questionnaires. Response rates were generally high probably because most groups were small making non-respondents conspicuous. Static, dynamic, and passive orientations toward the transcendent and material were operationalized and groups ranked along both of these dimensions on the basis of individual responses to the questionnaire.

Questions concerned with dream content, interpretation, communication, and dream usage were asked, as well as questions concerned with other socio-economic variables such as income, education, religion, religiosity, sex, age, and the like. Likewise, the background, group philosophy, and present situation of each group was determined through personal, unstructured interviews with group leaders, and members when available.

Findings

Through the use of Kendall's Tau, the following relationships were established:
1. Income, educational level, and degree of self-reported religiosity were not found to correlate significantly with the reported importance of dreams.

2. Frequency of dream recall was found to be directly related to dream importance. That is, the more importance group members attributed to dreams in general, the more often they reported remembering their dreams.

3. Dream recall was not found to increase in situations where dreams had the potential to perform "compensatory" (psychological) functions. This was probably due to the fact that dreams are not well-integrated into American social structure and as a result cannot perform functions of this type as well as other, better integrated phenomena, like religion.

4. Members of groups with conservative attitudes toward the transcendent in American culture were found to not remember their dreams frequently, nor did they consider dreams to be of importance.

5. Groups possessing conservative attitudes toward traditional American conceptions of the transcendent were found to likewise interpret dreams in a conservative fashion, evidencing a consistancy of world view.
6. Dream content was found to be related to immediate individual and situational factors, but not to the nature of group attitudes toward the transcendent or material.

The Case Study

The last group studied, the occult group provided a unique opportunity for an in-depth case study type of analysis. Not only were a number of meetings attended and tape-recorded by the author, but recordings of many previous meetings already existed as did notes on most of the group's meetings for a number of years prior to the researcher's being introduced to them. All this made it possible to study in depth the manner in which dreams function in a particular group context.

Manifest Functions

Investigation uncovered the existence of the following functions:

1. Knowledge: Occultists were found to look upon dreams as paths to knowledge. Depending upon their interpretation dreams may provide knowledge of the past (and especially of previous lives), the present (in
terms of the dreamer's physical, spiritual, and emotional life), and the future (as when a dream is interpreted as pre-cognitive or prophetic).

2. Guidance: Because occultists see dreams as potentially high in informative value they use them for physical, spiritual, and emotional guidance. Members of the occult group were sometimes found to employ dreams in ordering their lives and in deciding upon courses of action.

3. Personal Development: Since occultists highly value the development of inner perceptual abilities, it was not surprising to find they use dreams to increase individual psychic skills. A number of techniques were found to exist which could be employed by those desiring to utilize their dreams in such a fashion.

4. Social Interaction: Dreams may function to facilitate social interaction among occultists by providing a realm in which such social activity may take place. This realm, referred to as the "astral," is believed to possess properties similar to the physical realm, in that, during dreams, occultists may contact one another, engage in communication, relay information, and do most anything which they can do in the realm of the physical.
5. Accomplishment: because the dream world is experienced by occultists as similar to the physical they were found to view it as a realm of potential accomplishments. Friends, for example, may be made in the dream world, powers developed, strange entities encountered, and activities undertaken. It was learned that the possibility of accomplishment through dreams is facilitated by the existence of an occult technology which permits one to manipulate aspects of his dreams, giving him a degree of control over the dream.

6. Enjoyment: As mentioned previously, members of the occult group enjoy their dreams and look forward to them. They also enjoy discussing them with one another and evidence little of the reserve which the average American seems to feel toward such discussion. Likewise, dreams are never given negative interpretations. They are seen as enjoyable and desirable experiences.

Latent Functions

7. Re-socialization: Dreams were found to be useful in accomplishing the necessary transition between a new occult group member's everyday world view, and the occult world view. Through appropriate dream interpretations the seasoned occultist can introduce the raw
recruit to a new reality.

8. Identity Creation and Status: We learned in Chapter IV that dreams contribute to the maintenance and creation of occult identities and status. Group members sometimes formulated new self-concepts on the basis of appropriately interpreted dreams, and began to fashion their social behavior in terms of these concepts. For example, should a person be told that he would die shortly, and he were to unquestioningly accept what he is told, his social and personal behavior would probably undergo severe modification.

Likewise, dreams were discovered to have the power to provide status to those who dream desirable or informative dreams. In addition, status may be obtained by members of the group who evidence the ability to accurately interpret dreams in terms of the occult world view.

9. Creating and Legitimating Deviance: Lack of appropriate dream behavior by occult group members at times provided the occasion for conferring negative identities. However, dreams were also used, in some situations, to legitimate deviance and provide positive identities through favorable interpretations. Inaccurate predictions for example, were explained away by saying that the prediction came true on the astral realm or in the dream world, if not in the physical.
10. Therapy: It was previously demonstrated that dreams may function within an occult context to alleviate physical, spiritual, and psychological problems. An example was given of an occult dream interpretation made for the purpose of allowing a suicidal group member to re-evaluate herself and her situation.

11. Legitimation: It was discovered that dreams, and the experience they entail, legitimate the occult world view. Through appropriate interpretations they were made to provide occult concepts with intimate personal meaning, thus facilitating the acceptance of occult concepts.

Additionally, occult dream interpretations were referred to Biblical sources for support. As mentioned previously, the Bible contains no lack of prophetic and other occult dream interpretations.

**Dream Dysfunctions**

Dream dysfunctions were also discussed and will be briefly summarized here:

1. Dreams may inhibit the objective pursuit of knowledge insofar as they are believed to themselves provide knowledge in many areas.
2. Dreams may inhibit the development of personal competence to the extent that they are relied upon in matters of individual choice.

3. Because dreams contribute to the legitimation, and thus the maintenance of occult reality they inhibit social change, even when it may be desirable.

4. Because dreams legitimate deviance they have the potential to maintain identities which, while perhaps acceptable within the context of the occult group, are negative when viewed from the perspective of the larger society.

5. The acceptance of dreams as valid paths to knowledge has the tendency to assure occultists of low social standing in the wider community.

6. The possibility exists that differing dream interpretations could prove divisive to the occult group. It was pointed out that the strong personality of the group leader has prevented this from happening in the group to date.

7. Finally, the point was made that occult dream interpretations may inhibit objective accomplishments because of the demands they make upon individual and group time and energy as well as the reliance upon prophetic expectations which they engender and which makes
for the ineffective organization of activities.

In addition to the functional role of dreams within the context of the occult group, Chapter IV established that a considerably developed technology is shared by occultists with regard to dreams. The techniques used to produce dreams, to change them, and to control the course of individual dreams were described and discussed.

**Peripheral Findings**

This study proved beneficial to areas of sociological interest only tangentially related to dreams. For example, with regard to values in American society, it was discovered that none of the study groups could be characterized as "indifferent" with regard to traditional American conceptions of the transcendent. The majority of members in each group held either dynamic or static attitudes toward the transcendent, but very few in any group could be characterized as "passive" with regard to traditional religious conceptions.

This indicates that religion is still a vital force in America, although its vitality arises not from the fact that the majority of Americans accept traditional religion, but rather from the fact that they either
accept or actively reject it. They take some stand with regard to it. They are not passive or unconcerned. The crux of this is that America is not a secular society, if by secular one means indifference toward the transcendent.

Additionally, while about half of the groups in this study could be characterized as "dynamic" with respect to the transcendent, none of them could be characterized as dynamic with regard to the material. That is, in no case did the majority of a group's membership report dynamic attitudes toward the material. This means that while the traditional American religious world view may be frequently and actively rejected, traditional American material values are accepted by the majority of people in American society.

Also, the findings in Chapter IV indicate that those individuals who do reject traditional American material values do so in a passive, not an active, fashion. They are not seeking to replace traditional material values with other innovative values. They are simply uninvolved in material concerns.

**Contributions to Sociological Research**

While the analytical techniques employed in this study are by no means unique their application to dreams
This study is the first of its kind to investigate dreams in detail from a sociological perspective, and thus constitutes the description of a previously unexplored area of human social behavior.

This research is particularly significant as it had been previously maintained by the famous European phenomenologist Alfred Schutz, that dreams are not amenable to sociological investigation. Schutz believed that since dreams were a personal, solitary experience, they were by their very nature essentially lonely and ultimately unknowable by others. This paper sought to demonstrate that any human experience is essentially lonely because of unavoidable differences between observers in terms of perspective and interpretation. Human experiences become social phenomena only insofar as they are communicated and interpreted within the context of a group. The same is true of the dream experience.

The present research, conducted on the basis of this realization, sought to investigate dreams in terms of their social manifestation and social consequences. The research problem, formulated in this fashion, led quite naturally to an exploration of the functions performed by dreams under varying social conditions. As
such, the completed study represents the first detailed attempt to utilize a functional approach in the study of dreams.

In addition to its unique qualities, this study provides a detailed description of the world view of a "white occult" group existing within the context of American culture. Such groups are rarely found and less frequently available for study. As a result, the description of occult reality contained in this paper is sociologically worthwhile even when disassociated from the study of dreams.

Finally, the developing theoretical discipline phenomenological sociology can benefit from the recognition that transitions between phenomenological "realities" (the dream world and waking-reality) may be facilitated by certain social relationships existing within specific group contexts. In other words, the individual is not dependent, as had been previously believed, upon purely psychological factors (such as the "tension of consciousness" referred to by phenomenologists) in making transitions between realities. Investigation of the occult group demonstrated the existence of "techniques," developed by the group, to facilitate and control such transitions.
Suggestions for Future Research

Three aspects of future research will be considered. They are: 1) opportunities for secondary analysis; 2) possibilities for new research; and 3) methodological innovations.

The data which have already been studied may be analyzed in new ways. Instead of only identifying relationships within pre-established group contexts, cross-correlations can be constructed between variables such as income, age, sex, education, religion, religiosity, and similar variables, considered independently from the groups utilized.

New research is possible using either new groups or by undertaking a deeper study of the groups already investigated. As done in the case of the occult group, these groups, new or old, can be approached in terms of the effect upon dreams of variables like group philosophy, historical development, contemporary environment, and official and unofficial world view.

On the other hand, exciting new possibilities exist for the analysis of dream functions in more limited institutional settings. For example, "psychological" dream interpretations rendered in the context of mental hospitals, by the administration, staff and patients
with regard to the dreams of inmates might be found to function to maintain social control and personal identities. Other institutions might be also considered. Had the monestary mentioned earlier become available for study it would no doubt have provided interesting information concerning the functions dreams provide under a truly unique set of circumstances.

New areas for research have also been established by the basic premise of this study. If personal phenomena like dreams can be studied on the level of the social, then so can other subjective experiences which are communicated and interpreted, such as fantasy, daydreams, artistic and religious experience, love, etc. Likewise, the influence of socio-cultural contexts upon subjective experiences such as these should be investigated.

Social factors or events like the growth of science, which either increase or decrease the significance of dreams in society, could be researched. In a similar vein, the functional equivalents of dreams might be identified in groups which do not attribute great importance to dreams.

Finally, the methodology employed in the study can be considerably improved by future research. Simple modifications such as the updating of the questionnaire
item relating to income, necessitated by recent economic events, and made possible by the availability of constantly revised data, need to be undertaken. Also, the dream content scale would benefit from the addition of new items derived from open ended responses to the question itself, and from recently conducted research.

With regard to more complex methodological matters, it should be mentioned that the questionnaire items intended to measure "self-reported religiosity" would benefit from clarification. Apparently, this question was interpreted in a wide variety of ways by different individuals. Some responded in terms of personal religious convictions, others in terms of participation in religious institutions. In addition, the word "religion" is particularly offensive to some groups, and readily identified with by others.

The groups themselves were, for the most part, quite small. More meaningful statistics could be computed by conducting dream research utilizing larger groups.

Finally, that part of the questionnaire designed to measure attitudes toward the material and transcendent contained questions concerning both personal goals, and preferred techniques for the achievement of
these goals. An attempt should be made to conceptually clarify whether attitudes can be best defined in terms of goals or means, or both. Likewise, those attitudes herein described as dynamic, static, and passive should be operationalized in such a fashion that measures relating to them could be readily combined to form a unidimensional ranking of groups along either a transcendent or material dimension.
APPENDIX A
Table 8
RESPONSE RATES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Total Membership</th>
<th>Individuals Approached or in Attendance</th>
<th>Complete Responses</th>
<th>Response Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Occultists</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satanists</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divine Light</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charismatics</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaycees</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio Pen.</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior Citizens</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuns</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fundamentalists</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals/Average</td>
<td>493</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>85%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 9

STUDY GROUPS BY EDUCATION (%)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>Medium</th>
<th>High</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nuns</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charismatics</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior Citizens</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satanists</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaycees</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occult</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divine Light Mission</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio Pen.</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fundamentalists</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*This table is constructed on the basis of question 7 of the questionnaire. Individuals who had a grade school education or some high school were recorded in the "low" column. Those who had graduated from high school, or technical school and those who had attended college were recorded in the "medium" column, and those with college degrees, in the "high" column.
### TABLE 10
**STUDY GROUPS BY INCOME (%)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>Medium</th>
<th>High</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jaycees</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divine Light</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mission</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occult</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charismatic</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fundamentalist</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio Pen.</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satanists</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior Citizens</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuns</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*This table is constructed on the basis of responses to question 3 on the questionnaire. An income of less than $6,000 was considered "low", one of $6,000-$10,000, "medium", and an income above $10,000 was considered "high."
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>Medium</th>
<th>High</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fundamentalist</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charismatics</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuns</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guru</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occultists</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior Citizens</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>100</td>
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<tr>
<td>Satanists</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>100</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ohio Penit.</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaycees</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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* Since each respondent was free to choose each category if he wished, each cell in the table could be as large as 100%.
APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE, PART I

Circle all answers that apply

I To get more money, I would consider:
(a) more education (b) praying for it earnestly
(c) looking for a better job (d) learning to use
occult power to get money (e) waiting for auto-
matic pay raises (f) taking on a second job (g)
joining a political movement to get my just share
of the wealth (h) I am not actively concerned with
making more money.

II To improve my status (social position), I would
consider:
(a) meeting influential people (b) joining a mili-
tant group (c) learning to influence others through
psychic power (d) getting a better job (e) I am
not actively concerned with improving my status
(f) earnest prayer.

III To improve the lot of the poor, I would
(a) encourage them to get jobs and education (b)
encourage major social change (c) pray for their
welfare (d) participate in an occult ritual to
help them materially (e) I am not very concerned
with the problems of the poor.

IV Concerning religion, I believe the following:
(a) I think people should be more concerned with
religion (b) I am open to new forms of religion
(c) I am content with conventional forms of reli-
gion (d) I am not concerned with religion or
spiritual matters (e) I have my own personal re-
ligion.

V If a friend told me he had a serious spiritual
problem, I would probably suggest that he:
(a) see a psychiatrist (b) talk to his minister
(c) pray earnestly (d) look for a new religion or
philosophy that might satisfy his needs (e) participate in a healing ritual, or consult a mental healer.

VI9 I like:
(a) science fiction (b) fantasy (c) occult fiction (d) none of the above.

VII How long have you been a member of this group?
(a) less than a month (b) 1 month to 1 year (c) more than a year.

VIII Have you seen the movie "The Exorcist?"
(a) yes (b) no.

Did it influence your dreams?
(a) yes (b) no

If so, how?

QUESTIONNAIRE, PART II

PLEASE CIRCLE THE APPROPRIATE RESPONSE FOR EACH QUESTION

1. My age is:
   a. under 20  b. 21-40  c. 41-60  d. over 60.


3. My family's yearly income is:
   a. under $6000  b. $6000-10,000  c. $10,000-25,000  d. over $25,000.

4. I am:
   a. single  b. married  c. divorced  d. widowed.

5. My primary occupation is:
   a. housewife  b. laborer  c. skilled worker  d. professional
   e. small business owner  f. farmer  g. executive  h. student.

6. The primary occupation of my spouse is:  (use same responses as in 5 above)_____. 
7. My highest educational level:
a. grade school  b. some high school  c. high school graduate  d. technical school  e. attended college  f. college degree or higher.

8. Race: a. black  b. white  c. other__________


10. Where do you live?
a. a rural area  b. a small town of less than 25,000 people  c. a medium size town of between 25,000 and 100,000 d. a city of over 300,000 people  e. a city of over one million people.

11. Do you regularly take medication?
a. yes  b. no. If yes, what kind?____________________ What do you take if for?____________________

12. About how many hours do you sleep each night?

13. How often do you remember your dreams?
a. nightly  b. more than once a week  c. about once a week  d. about once a month  e. never.

14. If you dream, are your dreams (visual images) usually:
a. very vivid  b. clear  c. somewhat unclear  d. unclear.

15. Do you dream in color? a. yes  b. sometimes  c. no

16. Are dreams of importance to you? a. yes  b. no. If yes, why?________________________________________

17. Have dreams ever influenced you life? a. yes  b. no. If yes, how?________________________________________

18. Would you say that dreams are sometimes (please circle all that apply):
a. indicators of physical tension or bodily problems.
b. caused by eating various types of food.
c. indicators of subconscious processes.
e. divine communications
f. useful for spiritual guidance
g. psychologically significant as indications of one's mental state
h. sometimes communications from the dead or from spirits
i. entertaining
j. real, or more real than waking life
k. indicators of good or bad luck
l. of no importance
m. caused by something recently discussed or read
n. other

19. Have you ever felt that you were out of your body while dreaming? a. yes b. no.
If yes, describe______________________________

20. Place an X in front of those things which you have often dreamt about. Put an O in front of those which you have dreamt about, but not often. If you have never dreamt about an item leave it blank.

_____ losing your teeth, or having them fall out.
_____ flying
_____ falling
_____ being tested or taking an examination
_____ being in a struggle or physically threatened
_____ the death of a loved one
_____ being naked or scantily dressed in the presence of strangers
_____ being younger than you are
_____ seeing frightening nonhuman entities or beings
_____ being embarrassed
_____ overt sexual activity
_____ of beautiful things or events
_____ religion, prayer and/or Christ
_____ a bright light or brilliance
_____ being castrated or sexually molested
_____ being sick
_____ birth
_____ of your parents
_____ of unlawful activities
_____ of business affairs
_____ of politics
_____ of sports
_____ nightmares

Is there anything about which you dream regularly that is not included in the above list? a. yes b. no If yes, what is it?


22. While you are dreaming do your dreams often seem real? a. very real b. real c. not so real.

23. Are you concerned about other individuals in your dreams? a. often b. sometimes c. rarely d. never.

24. Would you say that most of your dreams are good or bad? a. mostly good b. mostly bad. c. about evenly divided.

25. Do your friends or relatives discuss their dreams with you? a. yes, often b. yes, sometimes, c. no, never.
26. With whom did you last discuss a dream?
a. a member of my immediate family  
b. a relative  
c. a friend from my neighborhood  
d. a friend at work (or at school)  
e. I don't talk about my dreams.

27. If you ever discuss your dreams, or the dreams of others, on what sort of occasions, or at what times are you most likely to do this?

28. Would you describe yourself as:
a. a deeply religious person  
b. somewhat religious  
c. not very religious  
d. not religious.

29. Have you ever studied any of the following:
a. psychology  
b. sociology  
c. the occult  
d. science fiction  
e. the physical sciences or math  
f. business or commerce  
g. dream books.

30. Do you ever have a sense of time in your dreams?
a. always  
b. sometimes  
c. never.
APPENDIX C

CODING INFORMATION

Responses to Part I of the Questionnaire were coded as follows:

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3E Passive-Material

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4E Dynamic-Transcendent

5A Passive-Transcendent
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