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“We Will Get by, We Will Survive”:
Deadhead Resilience During the
COVID-19 Pandemic

ADAM D. BROWN

The Grateful Dead formed at a time when the United States was convulsed by unrest over the Vietnam War, Civil Rights, and the rise of what would soon be called the counterculture. As the band matured and endured, it came to be a focal point for conservative backlash and mainstream denigration and dismissal, with both band and fans enduring stigmatization and even persecution for their perceived values, lifestyle, and taste. These attacks could take serious forms, with the band losing the right to perform in venues and locales and fans targeted by law enforcement. Yet the band and its community of fans survived, continuing to attract new listeners even after the death of founding member and charismatic leader Jerry Garcia in 1995.

That endurance has attracted commentary and attention at least since the 1970s, but to date, no clinical assessment of the Grateful Dead phenomenon has studied what factors have contributed to the band’s remarkable cultural longevity. The COVID-19 pandemic offers a unique lens for assessing the Dead scene’s durability. This paper does not make an argu-

ment for Grateful Dead exceptionalism, but it does suggest that the lyrics and cultures of the Grateful Dead foster resilience in fans. Scholars in a range of disciplines are studying resilience on different levels (Centeno 2021; Wohlforth 2021); those studies include how to shape systems as a whole as well as how individuals and communities cope with threats, challenges, and trauma. Deadheads offer an interesting test case for resilience studies. For scholars of the Grateful Dead, the pandemic reveals that for those who self-identify as Deadheads, the lyrics and community mores that define the larger Grateful Dead experience align with processes that help to bolster wellbeing in the face of adversity and trauma.

I.

The COVID-19 pandemic has been characterized by profound uncertainty, loss, grief, and the disruption and reshaping of most basic ways in which people interact, travel, and communicate with each other. Although the exact dates of when COVID-19 began to spread are not fully known, from the beginning of January 2020 through October 2021 (the time of this writing), the world has witnessed a medical crisis of unprecedented pace and scale in this century. The pandemic has raised serious concern about the mental health impacts and associated fears of contracting the virus, recovery from the illness it can cause, as well as the economic, social, healthcare, and educational challenges and disruptions that it occasioned, especially in the earlier phases of the pandemic. Indeed, there is now considerable research from data collected throughout the world showing that people with existing mental health conditions were more likely to experience an exacerbation of symptoms (e.g., Mutlu et al. 2021) and there was an increase in onset of new mental health diagnoses and deaths (e.g., Simon et al. 2020). It was well established that mental health disorders are among the leading cause of disability worldwide prior to the pandemic, and public health experts were rightfully concerned about the additional stressors this would place on systems of care throughout the world, especially in contexts in which access to care may be significantly limited (Horesh and Brown 2020; Radfar et al. 2021).

Yet, amidst all of the pain and tragedy of the pandemic, there is also evidence of considerable resilience. In the field of mental health, resilience refers to the possibility that when confronted by adversity, poten-

tially traumatic stress, and sudden life upheavals, individuals are not necessarily destined to experience chronic mental health conditions. That is, while people may (and indeed are likely to) experience temporary changes in mood, self-evaluation, relationship qualities, and an understanding of one's self, many people will find that they have the capacity to continue to live, work, and engage in meaningful activities similar to levels they did prior to exposure to a serious adverse event. In fact, some individuals report that in the overcoming and processing of tragedy, for some, there is even a sense of growth—greater insight, wisdom, and compassion—sometimes referred to as post-traumatic growth (Tedeschi and Calhoun 2004). Importantly, although studies are still being conducted, despite the high levels of mental health issues documented in the face of COVID-19, there seems to be considerable resilience and adaptation as well.

Over the past two decades, mental health researchers from various disciplines have been employing a range of methodologies aimed at characterizing and identifying factors that may predict different mental health outcomes following exposure to stress and trauma. Such research has the potential to be enormously beneficial as it may guide the development of prevention strategies and treatments that may aid in the facilitation of recovery. Although the efficacy of current interventions (prevention and recovery) are still mixed (Joyce et al. 2018), there seem to be a number of factors that are often associated with resilience and positive adaptation to stress and potentially traumatic events. While some of these factors may be inherited (genetic polymorphisms), many of the strongest predictors are associated with cognitive, social, and cultural practices (e.g., Davydov et al. 2010). Although future work in this field would benefit from empirical studies, this paper traces how Deadheads have adapted elements of the Grateful Dead's lyrics, cultural narratives, and cultural practices to create a collective sense of resilience during the pandemic. On an individual level, Deadheads may have varied considerably in their own wellbeing, but as a collective community, there has been ample evidence of considerable resilience as reflected in both the engagement of Grateful Dead-related experiences and the discourse of Deadheads about their struggles to cope with the threats and challenges of COVID-19. Importantly, this is not to say that Deadheads did not suffer during this time nor is this to say

that some Deadheads, likely many, did not struggle with their own mental health concerns over the past eighteen months. Rather, the language, tone, and commitment expressed by Deadheads in writings, during call-in radio shows and podcasts, and in social media posts reflected processes of resilience rather than despair or hopelessness.

This response is significant, both for scholars of the Grateful Dead as well as for professionals studying the social response to the pandemic. If Deadheads found ways, either individually or collectively, to remain resilient throughout the different phases of the COVID-19 pandemic, what factors in particular may have contributed to these positive adaptations? Drawing on previous models and data from resilience research, this paper identifies factors in the music, shared memories, and cultural expressions of the Deadhead community that shaped and informed its resilience. In the face of tragedy, Deadheads could draw on a body of music and cultural practices that mitigated the negative impacts of even this historic calamity. The variables discussed here are not meant to be exhaustive, but they form a foundation for developing a framework that helps us understand how the Grateful Dead phenomenon and the Deadhead experience can serve as a positive basis for coping with and processing trauma.

II.

The beginning of COVID-19 was marked by deep despair, fear, and uncertainty. Countless studies and bodies of work indicate that when confronted by existential threats we turn to what is familiar and comforting. For Deadheads, including me, one place of refuge was in the lyrics of Robert Hunter and John Perry Barlow. I had always wondered how, even as young men, these lyricists were able to tell vivid and evocative stories where protagonists faced uncertainty and braved the unknown. While their stories, including the most tragic, have helped to cushion and provide context for listeners in our darkest hours, the lyrics took on a heightened urgency as the pandemic spread. Theorists and studies (e.g., East et al. 2010) have shown that narratives and, more broadly, language itself can aid in the processing of traumatic information. There is an important shift that takes place when emotions are translated into words. It is believed that this shift helps the individual to more fully integrate the memory into a larger, coherent framework.¹ Language may also offer

a sense of distance, providing a way to evaluate and gain perspective on the experience as well as a means of communicating that experience with others, offering as an important mechanism for social support.

It is in this context that Grateful Dead lyrics provide the language and narratives that allow fans to mourn and grieve, even in the face of the seemingly unending numbers of lives lost to the virus. My own experience is relevant here. I was in upstate New York in April 2020. There was a late snow, always a somewhat unsettling seasonal phenomenon—a last expression of winter before spring finally arrives. That seemed emblematic of the destabilization and disorientation wrought by COVID-19 and its impact. Seeing the snow quietly but ominously falling recalled the words of “Dire Wolf”: “In the timbers of Fennario / the wolves are running ’round / The winter was so hard and cold / froze ten feet ’neath the ground / Don’t murder me / I beg of you, don’t murder me / Please / don’t murder me” (Trist and Dodd 2005, 82).

Of course, fear is not the only emotion that emerges in the face of trauma and adversity. Among the emotions that were so dominant at the beginning of the pandemic was a sense of helplessness. Although full protection against the virus is not yet possible, there is a vast amount of information and data on how to reduce chances of infection and severe illness. At first, however, there was a vast array of conflicting, evolving, and at times, highly contradictory information, and throughout this time, the death toll continued to quickly rise, and still is, at the time of this writing. While some communities have been hit disproportionately harder than others by the virus, there was a feeling in the early days of the pandemic that COVID-19 was like an apparition, invisibly living on food, surfaces, even in our breath, arbitrarily waiting to infect its victims. That invoked the fatalism so perfectly captured by Reverend Gary Davis’s “Death Don’t Have No Mercy,” hauntingly sung by Jerry Garcia, with the band’s moody setting conveying the sense of futility and helplessness the pandemic provoked.²

Davis’s lyrics convey both the magnitude of the fear caused by COVID-19 and the uncertainty that exacerbated it. The speed and spread of the pandemic, and the enormous numbers of people throughout the world who experienced severe illness and mortality, made plain, on a

global scale, how unpredictable life is, and how random death can be. Yet, at the same time, from even the earliest days of the pandemic, it was documented that some communities were impacted significantly more than others. In New York City, for example, communities of color and older adults had significantly higher rates of morbidity and mortality. The terror of uncertainty compounded the structural inequities that made some individuals and communities more vulnerable, a feeling poignantly reflected in the lyrics of “Black Peter.” Uncertainty haunts the third verse, even as the narrator describes the inevitable course of his illness: “Fever roll up to a hundred and five / Roll on up / gonna roll back down / One more day / I find myself alive / tomorrow / maybe go / beneath the ground” (Trist and Dodd 2005, 100).

Likewise, the inequity that defines his condition informs the narrator’s stoic awareness of his plight: “People might know but / the people don’t care / That a man could be / as poor as me / ‘Take a look at poor Peter / he’s lying in pain ...’” (Trist and Dodd 2005, 101). As the US continues to grapple with the issue of medical insurance, Hunter’s words remind listeners that healthcare is a fundamental and universal concern.

That frames another tension that emerged towards the beginning of the pandemic: a feeling of unfamiliarity. The potential for exposure and infection made places, spaces, interactions, and work all feel strange. Mundane tasks—running errands, saying hello to a neighbour, popping into one’s local coffee shop—suddenly felt fraught with danger, even potentially life-threatening. For some, a “Groundhog Day”-like feeling, where every day resembles the day before, defined this “new normal,” with habits, patterns of behavior, and routines reduced and constricted. Travel and recreation, especially seeing live music, immediately became curtailed or disappeared completely. The affective, simultaneous experiences of unfamiliarity and roteness can be found in the comforting and validating opening lyrics of “Uncle Johns Band”—“The first days are the hardest days”—and the repetition and entrapment conveyed by “Mission in the Rain”: “I turn and walk away / then I come ’round again / It looks as though tomorrow / I’ll do pretty much the same” (Trist and Dodd 2005, 259).

III.

Although the pandemic has been replete with stories of adversity, stress, trauma, and loss, there are also countless examples of individuals and communities finding ways to persevere, thrive, and contribute to the wellbeing of others during this dark time. This is especially apparent in the Deadhead community, which has always prized community as both an ideal and a practice, including resilience, philanthropy and charity, and caring for others (Wilgoren 1999). Indeed, one study of Deadheads explicitly linked Deadheads' positive personality traits with "resilience, life satisfaction, and interpersonal stability" (McCown and Dulaney 1999, 117).

What is "resilience" and what are some well-known factors that contribute to this outcome following stress, upheavals and trauma? Many definitions of resilience exist, as well as related terms that reflect similar mental health outcomes and processes, but for this discussion, there are three salient concepts. Resilience can be thought of as "The capacity and process of adaptively overcoming stress and adversity while maintaining typical psychological and physical functioning" (Wu et al. 2013, 2); "A pattern of positive adaptation in the context of past or present adversity" (Wright, Masten, and Narajan 2013), and "A set of skills which direct people to cope or adapt in ways that maximize emotional, physical and psychological well-being—especially in the face of adversity" (Hill 2004). These definitions differ from older models of psychopathology by emphasizing agency: people are not destined to suffer from trauma. In fact, there may be cognitive, social, and affective strategies one can employ to disrupt the onset of a wide range of mental health conditions. Over the past two decades considerable research has been carried out to identify such factors. A comprehensive list of proposed mechanisms associated with resilience exceeds the bounds of this paper, but four commonly observed variables are relevant here: positive emotion; self-efficacy; social support; and hope and optimism.

Positive Emotion

Numerous models and studies of resilience posit the importance of positive emotions in the regulation of stress and capacity to adapt

to severe stressors. Researchers have shown, for example, that higher levels of positive emotion and lower levels of negative emotion among individuals routinely exposed to stress and potentially traumatic events were significantly more likely to exhibit resilience over several years (Galatzer-Levy et al. 2013). Like all communities, the Grateful Dead and their fans have endured a complex history comprised of positive and negative events. Yet, the search for and pursuit of joy, bliss, and connection have always been primary themes in the music and fundamental goals of the scene. Unfortunately, the pandemic precluded the most direct way that Deadheads engage in positive emotion: the experience of live music, but that made other community practices such as private listening and online meeting even more important. Although the Dead's lyrics are nuanced and multivalent, even a cursory reading highlights the central role of positive emotions in the band's songbook, and Deadhead cultural practices are even more focused on the positive (McCown and Dulaney 1999). Numerous examples of positive affect inform the lyrics, from the lines "Thank you / for a real good time" in "Loose Lucy" to the cup in "Comes a Time" that "only love can fill". These images range from literal to metaphoric, but Barlow combined both in "The Music Never Stops," where positive affect can even stop time for an audience: "Sun went down in honey, / and the moon came up in wine / Stars were spinnin' dizzy, / Lord, the band kept us so busy, / We forgot about the time". As the song concludes, "The fields are full of dancin', / full of singin' and romancin' / The music never stopped" (Trist and Dodd 2005, 249; 250).

No wonder fans find ample evidence for positivity in the band's lyrics. Positive emotions can also be easily found in many of the comments sections of Grateful Dead fan websites, social media posts by members of the band, and especially in the comments sections of shows on the Internet Archive (archive.org). This is especially noteworthy given the generally negative tenor of social media commentary, especially in anonymous posts. Yet Deadheads focus almost entirely on positive emotions when they discuss shows they attended, a quality that plays an important role in psychologist Mark Mattson's research (Mattson 2012); his findings support the continuing power of the Dead's music to continue to elicit such strong emotions over time. This is an important element of the various

radio shows and podcasts that explore the Dead's legacy. While there is considerably heterogeneity in the topics and perspectives covered, these efforts feature callers who express admiration for the band, the music, and the scene, praising the positive impact those have played in fans' lives. During the pandemic, callers often discussed the explicit connection between the positive affect associated with this culture and how it has helped them to overcome some personal challenge or persevere in the face of adversity.

Self-Efficacy

Self-efficacy often refers to the belief that one has the capacity to shape one's environment, overcome difficulties, and emotionally self-regulate when confronted with challenges (Bandura 1977). Self-efficacy is consistently associated with resilience in studies examining this construct. In many ways, the concept reflects the belief that people have the capacity to persist and persevere, even with the chips are down—perhaps even when playing with “loaded dice,” as the narrator complains in “Mississippi Half-Step.” Like positive emotion, there are numerous examples of the central role played by this construct in the band's history as well as in their lyrics. Even when the motives or character of a narrator or protagonist may be shady or dubious, the moral or message is clear. To counter the sense of futility and hopelessness that COVID-19 precipitated, consider the determination fans could find in “Saint of Circumstance”:

Holes in what's left of my reason
 Holes in the knees of my blues,
 Odds against me been increasin'
 But I'll pull through
 Never could read no road map
 And I don't know what the weather might do
 But when that witch wind whinin'
 See that dog star shinin'
 I've got a feelin' there's no time to lose
 No time to lose! (Trist and Dodd 2005, 302–03)

Hunter provided an even more authentic evocation of that sense of self-efficacy in his moving refrain to “Stella Blue”: “I've stayed in every blue-light cheap hotel / Can't win for tryin' / Dust off those rusty strings just /

one more time / Gonna make 'em shine” (Trist and Dodd 2005, 194).

The determination to persevere despite hardship and adversity winds throughout the Dead’s songbook, often rooted in or paired with metaphors of the journey, the tour, and the road. Hunter’s chorus for “The Wheel” offers a particularly powerful example, one that felt especially apropos of the challenges the pandemic posed: “Won’t you try just a little bit harder? / Couldn’t you try just a little bit more?” And the song connects that explicitly to the road with the ringing close to the third verse, “Bound to cover just a little more ground” (Trist and Dodd 2005, 256; 257).

“Touch of Grey” may be the most literal expression of self-efficacy in the Dead’s cannon. The song’s powerful message derives as much from its performance as it does from the lyrics: one of the band’s most beloved anthems, it quickly became a crowd sing-along, with every voice joining in the final chorus, “We will get by / We will survive” (Trist and Dodd 2005, 314). In those moments, the lyrics were both personal and universal, a reminder that everyone has their own unique challenges to face, their own adversity to overcome, even as everyone was bound together by singing this impassioned collective declaration of resistance. The convergence of the collective around these lyrics fortified souls then and continues to do so today: at the very beginning of the pandemic, Deadheads shared a widely distributed photograph of a doctor, in a white jacket, walking past a graffito on a Haight Street storefront: “We will get by, We will Survive”³ (fig. 1).

The increased audience sparked by the pandemic that Dead-focused radio shows and podcasts experienced also reflected the community’s positivity. These could be viewed as a form of flexible adaptation, growth, and innovation by and for the community during very challenging times. Their prominence and accessibility at a time when concerts were prohibited contributed to the community’s self-efficacy, providing an important sense of stability during a season of uncertainty and upheaval.

Social Support

Few variables are more strongly linked with resilience than social support (cf. Ozbay et al. 2007). For mental health researchers, social sup-



Figure 1. A doctor walks past a Haight Street storefront, March 17, 2020. © Josh Edelson/AFP via Getty Images. Used with permission.

port has been shown to greatly mitigate the negative impact of adverse life events and is associated with lower levels of mental health issues following negative life experiences. For Deadheads, the human need for social support is a central theme in the band’s lyrics, often expressed as the importance of community and a recognition of interdependence. The importance of maintaining social bonds was underscored by the pandemic, as gathering socially became more complex and increasingly unfamiliar. Even the idea of “social” became imbued with fear and anxiety since human contact is the mechanism by which the virus spreads. Lyrics that remind listeners of the power and primacy of community may have functioned as a salve for the isolation and loneliness instigated by the pandemic. Hunter’s lyrics to “Attics of My Life” offered fans reassurance that they were not alone, and that there were others who would care and support us even in the most challenging of moments: “When there was no ear to hear / You sang to me”; “When there were no strings to play / You played to me”; “When I had no wings to fly / You flew to me”; and the final couplet: “When there was no dream of mine / You dreamed of me” (Trist and Dodd 2005, 116).

Similarly, the interconnectedness between people and the greater natural world took on a degree of peril as we confronted the enormity of the realization that novel and deadly viruses can be transmitted across species and over vast landscapes. Once nurturing spaces between people and the environment were now dangerous, arousing caution and dread. Revisiting real and imagined landscapes defined by benevolent ways to coexist, such as “Eyes of the World” describes, not only offered comfort but also provided perspective, even for an event as traumatic as the pandemic:

but the heart has its beaches
its homeland and thoughts
of its own
Wake now, discover that
you are the song that
the morning brings
but the heart has its seasons
its evenings
and songs of its own (Trist and Dodd 2005, 202)

The sense of community and social support that Deadheads create can emerge informally as well. After all, Deadheads often use the term “Family” to refer to each other, an example set by the band, as Jerilyn Brandelius’s *Grateful Dead Family Album* made clear (recently reissued in a handsome new edition). That sense of familial bonds is reinforced every time a fan sees a Dead-themed bumper sticker or a Grateful Dead T-shirt. Deadhead books and magazines are filled with stories of making lifelong friends and romantic partners at shows.⁴

In addition to the casual ways in which social support manifests itself for Deadheads, there are also organized efforts. The band set that example through their many benefit concerts, which made Deadheads equal supporters of those causes, and the Dead were especially outspoken in their work through their own Rex Foundation as well as dedicated charitable organizations such as Seva, the Rainforest Foundation, and HeadCount. Fans took that responsibility seriously: When the pandemic began to disrupt the lives and incomes of the many people involved in the production of live music (especially in the jam band scene), Deadheads

raised an impressive amount of money for those in need through Shakedown Stream and other Dead-related philanthropic platforms. The success of those efforts speaks to the long history of giving and charitable work by the band and fans.

Hope and Optimism

Hope and optimism are well-known predictors of resilience, especially during difficult times such as the COVID-19 pandemic. Those less versed in the band's lyrics might find puzzling fans' utilization of Grateful Dead songs as a source of hope and optimism: like many folk songs, the Dead's canon has bad guys, violence, double-crossing, and crime. Yet darkness is never celebrated, only addressed, and in doing so, even bleak allegories such as "Jack Straw" and tragedies such as "China Doll" point to hopeful morals and brighter tomorrows, making us consider, even if naively, that better times are ahead. Even when lyrics discuss the darker side of life, they support rich visual imagery (also shown to help regulate emotion) that helps to take us out of negative affective states. "Comes a Time" leavens its poignant message with the gentle affirmation, "got to make it somehow / on the dreams you still believe", just as "I Know You Rider"—a traditional folk song that the Dead made their own—affirmed, "The sun will shine in my back door some day / March winds will blow all my troubles away" (Trist and Dodd 2005, 172; 11). The Dead found a similar message of hope and optimism in the traditional song "Goin' Down the Road Feeling Bad," with its determined narrator expressing independence: "Going where the climate suits my clothes" and "Going where the water tastes like wine" (Trist and Dodd 2005, 136). And both Barlow and Hunter tapped those roots for their own paeans to stubborn independence and hopeful endurance, Barlow with "Cassidy" ("Come grow the scorched ground green") and Hunter with "New Speedway Boogie," written in response to the tragedy at Altamont: "One way or another / this darkness got to give" (Trist and Dodd 2005, 224; 109).

IV.

COVID-19 has been a devastating virus. It has caused profound loss of life and wreaked havoc socially, culturally, and economically

across the globe, shattering lives and communities. As clinicians and health researchers study how we have survived and coped with these traumas, the experiences of fan communities such as Deadheads offer useful insights. Music, arts, culture, and community all help to uplift people during challenging times. The Dead are one of many sources of those comforts and coping mechanisms, but the strong sense of collective resilience shown by Deadheads throughout the pandemic is significant and noteworthy. As this paper shows, Grateful Dead lyrics, fan practices and philosophies converge with a number of factors strongly associated with resilience. Although individually, Deadheads suffer from mental health issues no differently from the rest of the population, collectively, the ongoing mechanisms of engagement in the Deadhead community have enabled fans to muster considerable momentum, energy, and innovation.

Humans find solace, meaning, and support in many ways during times of crisis. The Deadhead experience has always been informed and conditioned by the band's lyrics, as scholars in several disciplines have noted⁵; it is no wonder that fans would draw strength from those lyrics during a crisis as severe and prolonged as the pandemic. Although more empirical work is needed, already it seems clear that the band's lyrics—and the ways that Deadheads draw on them for guidance—combined with ongoing cultural practices that draw on various factors of resilience have provided Deadheads with a framework and infrastructure that have enabled them collectively to avoid some of the most negative psychological outcomes. For mental health researchers, further work would benefit from a more careful examination of how specific factors may underlie different aspects of well-being among Deadheads and how these influences within the framework of the Grateful Dead phenomenon converge with other forms of art and music.

For Grateful Dead studies, this report adds to the small body of work by psychologists and underscores the ability of the discipline to highlight the objectively positive nature of the larger Grateful Dead phenomenon. The ways that Deadheads use lyrics to help navigate challenges, change, and trauma offers insights into issues in fan studies, but these are especially important for Dead studies as the field continues to grapple with the lingering problems of stigma, misunderstanding, and unfair dismissal

that complicate the band's reception, impact, and legacy. Psychology and medicine have played a role in that process, with articles focused on drug problems and other health issues in the scene (cf. Millman and Beeder 1994); studies such as this provide important counterbalances, highlighting the positive aspects of the Grateful Dead phenomenon. Perhaps most of all, what this preliminary report shows is that not only can the Grateful Dead experience provide strength and comfort during a global health crisis, it continues to do so, more than two decades following the death of Jerry Garcia. Resilience takes many forms, as the continued power and appeal of the Dead makes clear.

NOTES

I would like to offer my sincerest thanks to Nicholas G. Meriwether for his intellectual generosity, thoughtful insights, and discerning editing of this manuscript and to Jesse Jarnow for his encouragement to consider *Grateful Dead Studies* as a space to explore these ideas.

1. Psychologist Mark E. Mattson's work on Deadhead memory has documented the power of the Grateful Dead experience for fans (Mattson 2012).
2. Downtown Music Publishing holds the copyright to Davis's lyrics; the fee required to quote the relevant lines is prohibitive.
3. The full caption for this photograph, as supplied by AFP via Getty Images, is: "Stuart Malcolm, a doctor with the Haight Ashbury Free Clinic, walks by a supportive sign on a boarded-up shop while speaking with homeless people about the coronavirus (COVID-19) in the Haight Ashbury area of San Francisco California on March 17, 2020. Cities across the nation are worried about the homeless population as the coronavirus pandemic surges with the US death toll reaching 100."
4. See, for example, Kelly (1995) and the letters pages of the Deadhead fanzines *The Golden Road* (1984–1993) and *Dupree's Diamond News* (1986–1997).
5. See, for example, Gimbel (2010). Stan Spector (2010) has identified how the band's lyrics established a coherent philosophical position that fans could appreciate.

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