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INDIAN ALCOHOLISM ON RESERVATIONS

by

CLEORA E. JACKSON

A practicum submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK

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Approved

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this practicum is to describe the destructive use of alcohol among Southeastern Idaho Indians. This practicum is based on John and Irma Honigmann's (1) theory of "loss of stake." It is John and Irma Honigmann's contention that whatever may be the social functions of drinking, and whatever the personal reasons, having a stake in society tends to induce people to conform to the norms of society with regard to drinking behavior. The three case histories in this practicum will illustrate more of what is meant by the theory of stake in society.

This practicum will provide illustrations of the damage caused by excessive preoccupation with alcohol. This damage extends to one's self and to one's family, and to Indian society in general. Such drinking is not "normal" use by any definition and therefore interferes with the drinker's health and with his economic and social functioning. E. M. Jellinek's definition of "gamma" alcoholism (2) is the definition of alcoholism which will be used.

Each of the case histories is taken from the author's personal recollections and observations and from the author's professional experiences while working as a counselor for a

local alcoholism treatment center. Field notes and records informally obtained from other psychologists, social workers, and public health nurses were also useful in providing material for this practicum.

Obviously, a great deal of misinformation concerning the subject of Indian drinking is published. The image of the "drunken Indian" is one of the most persistent and pernicious stereotypes found in American folk culture today. (3) The attitude that Indians somehow have an inherent inability to cope with alcohol is quite prevalent even among health and mental health professions, clergy, teachers, and police officers. Bartenders and private citizens also often subscribe to the prevalent stereotypes.

However, there are differences in the patterns of alcohol use by Indians, just as there are differences among the ways Jews, Englishmen, Irishmen and Italians drink. (4) Such differences include variations in attitudes toward drinking and drunkenness. Other differences can be formed in the way a culture or sub-cultural group responds to deviant drinking behavior; in the way young people are introduced to alcohol. The way in which the social group reacts toward excessive drinking--whether characterized by tolerance or by rejection may decisively influence drinking patterns. (5)

These patterns of behavior for any cultural group usually have reasonable historical, social and economic origins. (6) Since no definitive evidence is available to prove American Indians differ in any way from other cultural groups

in their physiological or constitutional response to alcohol, the phenomenon of Indian drinking, occurring on as large a scale as it does, must nonetheless be explained. The explanation offered in this paper is based on the "loss of stake" theory. American Indian society has been traumatically altered by the impact of Western European culture. Traditional Indian culture and society, containing the values held most dearly by its members, has been violently negated by that of its white European conquerers. From initial attempts to annihilate the Indian, white American society has moved through less physically drastic, but equally harmful policies of assimilation and termination of Indian society, culture and community.

At no time has the Indian been permitted to pursue his own world view; to evolve according to his own needs or in keeping with his own pace. Thus, many generations of Indians have been neither part of their traditional communities, nor full-fledged members in those of the dominant culture. This loss of a sense of self; of belonging leads to disintegration and self-destruction in these persons as well as in the group as a whole. Any human being, but particularly the Indian, perhaps, must feel that he belongs to an integrated and purposeful community before he can be positive and healthful toward it and himself in outlook. Loss of stake in Indian society and in the dominant is the primary reason, therefore, for Indian drinking.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Heavy use of alcohol to the point of intoxication, habitual or periodic, has been the focus of a good deal of attention on the part of social scientists and psychologists interested in behavior which does not conform to the accepted norms of modern middle-class society. (7) One tendency is to view heavy, apparently injudicious, drinking as a somewhat pathological response to stress. (8) Another viewpoint suggests that such drinking may be normal behavior as well as meaningful, outside the context of modern middle-class society and within a cultural group. (9) Both views have their validity. Neither, however, need exclude the other.

In an approach to the heavy use of alcohol somewhat different from either of these, but in support of conformity to norms* as an adaptive choice, John and Irma Honigmann (10) have introduced the variable "stake in society." The Honigmanns present evidence which supports their view. First, they designate steady employment and residence in a modern home as indicators of stake in this modern community. Examining arrests for drunkenness and amounts spent on alcohol in conjunction

*"Norms," as used here, mean socially defined and acceptable standards of behavior, not merely average behavior.

with native persons' stake, the Honigmanns find that native** persons with stake in society tend to avoid trouble with the law over alcohol--even though these same persons sometimes spend a larger amount on alcohol than do native persons without a stake who are arrested for drunkenness. According to the Honigmanns' hypothesis, native persons with a stake in the modern society refrain from public drunkenness--a feature of their former frontier-style drinking background, but a behavior considered deviant by authorities in the town. Their stake protects them from engaging in behavior which will arouse official social pressure. (11)

In the "stake in society" theory, the extent of conformity in the community of Indians as well as deviance in the community can be measured. The concern here is not so much with whether drinking is a response to stress as with how drinking patterns are controlled by two related factors: Societal expectations with regard to behavior, and a person's stake or lack of stake in society as illustrated in Chapter III. Something will also be said of the history of alcohol among Indians, as well as its contemporary use and what is known of the extent of alcohol problems on or near the Reservation.

Another cross-cultural study which is often quoted with regard to alcohol use and relationship to stress is one

**Native-Indians, Eskimos, and Metis.

by Donald Horton. (12) Utilizing Murdock's cross-cultural files, Horton suggests that the major factor in determining degree of drunkenness in a society is anxiety level. According to Horton, the presence of anxiety will result in an increase of drinking, but the amount of drinking will also vary in accordance with the expectations of social pressures regarding socially disapproved sexual activities or aggression engaged in while inebriated.

Not satisfied with Horton's conclusions regarding the role of anxiety in promoting alcohol use, McClelland, Davis, Wanner and Kalin (13) make a cross-cultural analysis of folk-tale content and drinking and find that in the folk-tales of heavily-drinking societies (most often societies with hunting cultures and simple social structures) change of stake occurs frequently due to the constant migratory nature of the people. Struck with the frequency of change of stake and its association, with the folk-tale content, the authors conclude that it is not anxiety which is associated with subsistence culture as Horton has suggested, but "a feeling of weakness in the face of heavy demands which leads men to dream of magical potency to seek it by drinking."

In another cross-cultural study, Bacon, Barry and Child (14) find that drinking is heaviest where children are not indulged and where adults are not dependent upon one another. Their conclusion is that culture has not allowed such people to satisfy normal dependency needs--in a sense, stress again is prevalent.

Currently prominent among studies of deviance and particularly the deviant use of alcohol, is that of Jessor.

(15) Data was compiled from tri-ethnic communities of Spanish-American, Indian and Anglo groups and categorized according to areas pertaining to socio-cultural, personality, and socialization features of the various groups. Conforming behavior has failed in the attempt to attain the goals. Position in the opportunity structure, meaning their social status, of alcoholics is poor. In addition, the expectations of alcoholics are few; social controls are weak, and access to illegitimate means is high. A declared focus of the study by Jessor, et al, (16) is stress on social norms. The assumption that deviant use of alcohol is a response to stress by the individuals studied is implicit.

Partially stress-oriented, Hamer's (17) study of Potawatomi Indian drinking tells of very heavy use of alcohol among this group, not only ascribing it to severe acculturation stress (18) but also attributing to it the function of creating and maintaining social solidarity.

Taking issue with the stress-oriented approach to alcohol use, Field (19) closely examines Horton's work, makes his own cross-cultural study, and finds that degree of drunkenness at periodic communal bouts is related to lack of normal social organization and is unrelated to anxiety. Field suggests that well-organized societies with a high degree of lineal solidarity, and interpersonal relationships geared along heirarchical and respect lines, are the ones in which

drunkenness will be controlled. He finds no indices of fear which relate significantly to drunkenness, nor does he find that psychoanalytic hypothesis can predict drunkenness. He does find that in sober tribes, parents tend to be more strict in controlling their children. Field's conclusion is that lack of tight social organization rather than anxiety is the determining feature in promoting drunkenness in societies.

Many positively-oriented studies of heavy drinking exist. A good one of recent origin is Robbins' (20) study of Naskapi Indian drinking in a new town in Quebec. Here, Robbins sees drinking as a means of validating or asserting identity (21) in the changing social scene, an occasion where prosperous persons show their beneficence by dispensing alcohol. Koolage (22) finds that, among the Chippewyan in Manitoba, spending at the liquor store is an assertion of status; the "good man," the "big man." Wadell, (23) studying drinking groups among the egalitarian Papago of southern Arizona, notes that drinking can also act as a leveling agent, inducing the more prosperous to share the wealth and at the same time all share the "one identity the group has." Simmons (24) speaks of the integrative role of drinking. Heath (25) has done what may be the first study high-lighting the group quality of Navajo drinking. Ferguson (26) and Topper (27) also emphasize the fellowship that exists in the Navajo drinking group. Kaplan (28) has remarked that Navajos look upon alcohol as a good. John and Irma Honigmann (29) see drinking

among Baffin Island Eskimo as "one of the pleasures of town," rather than as a response to stress.

Throughout much of history, men's eyes have lighted up at the scent of the cork, for alcohol is historically associated with joy and sociability. Turning to the popular belief that alcohol releases inhibitions, Mac Andres and Edgerton (30) take issue with the theory that alcohol assaults the nervous system and causes people to do things they would not otherwise do. They bring out an interesting point with regard to customary behavior. Referring to the reputed violence of Indian drinking, they recall to mind the fact that violent behavior in certain pre-alcohol contexts was institutionalized among certain tribes, hence the violence exhibited by those tribes when drinking is actually socially patterned by tradition. Instead of disinhibition, the authors propose that in the course of socialization, persons learn about drunkenness whatever their society presumes to be the case. Comporting themselves in consonance with what is thus imparted to them, they become the living confirmation of their society's presumptions and become drunkards. To understand drunken comportment one must focus on the shared understanding of the nature of drunkenness. For many societies, drunkenness means "time out" in conforming to the usual norms, hence an excuse for deviant behavior. Even during "time out" however, the behavior is socially-patterned, and as these investigations have pointed out, and tends to conform to the pattern of previous "time out" behavior. Lack of inhibitions, then,

according to these authors, derives from the social, but not physiological aspects of alcohol use, for "nowhere is it the case that once one is drunk, anything goes." (31)

Levy and Kunitz (32) bring out much the same point, maintaining that patterns of deviance (such as violent behavior) may not necessarily spring from acculturation stress but are instead socially-patterned types of deviant behavior which existed in pre-contact Indian societies, for example homicide and suicide. The authors suggest that the pre-contact Indian societies had their own profiles of deviance, perpetuated in behavior which is now often assumed to be the result of acculturation stress. Again the concept of "time out" can be seen in reprisals toward relatives, particularly spouses. This is also noted by Kaplan (33) on occasions when alcohol makes the person (by implicit social mandate) unaccountable for his deeds.

From the above congeries of alcohol studies, one notes that drinking can be a response to stress, a relief from anxiety, or it can serve social and/or psychological functions unrelated to stress. Drinking can be a pleasant activity; a way of having fun. Drinking often asserts social solidarity, frequently in conjunction with a particular life style. Drinking can be an occasion for accomplishing special ends such as resolving identity crisis. Drinking may be a means of gaining a sense of mastery over one's environment. Drinking may reflect the patterns of activity and the values of the society in its sober state. Drinking can also serve as a socially

approved excuse for behavior which would otherwise be inexcusable; nevertheless, behavior conforms to the expectations of society. Where activities associated with drinking flout the expectations of one's social group with regard to appropriate drinking behavior, anxiety is the result.

Even while under the influence of alcohol, persons do not tend to engage in behavior which is not socially condoned in the drinking situation. The drinking behavior of American Indians perpetuates--sometimes in different form--pre-contact patterns and functions. Violence exhibited by Indians when drinking is actually socially patterned by drinking. Excessive drinking may tend to occur in societies where the social structure is weak. Drinking tends to be heavy where alcohol is available and norms regarding its use are lacking.

Although the studies quoted were done on alcohol use among specific Indian groups, in this author's opinion any one or many of the conclusions may be generalized for other groups of Indians.

It is generally agreed that no one explanation of drinking behavior can be given and no one causative factor singled out for drunkenness. (34) Not only is drinking socially-patterned and socially-interpreted, each individual may have his own reasons for drunkenness, and in some cases, alcoholism. E. M. Jellinek (35) has remarked that alcoholism results from the intake of alcohol itself. Recent physiological studies suggest that the dependency of cells upon alcohol

is found in alcoholics, with accompanying addiction. Genetic factors may have a part in making some persons more prone to alcoholism than others. (36, 37) Why some persons exposed to heavy use of alcohol become alcoholics and others do not is beyond the scope of this practicum. It is enough in this case, to have knowledge of the sociological and psychological origins of alcohol use, not only for Indian cultures but for cultures elsewhere.

It is my contention that whatever may be the social and/or personal function of drinking, having a stake in society tends to influence most people to conform to the norms of society with regard to drinking behavior as well as in other activities. If norms relating to alcohol use are weak or non-existent, alcohol use is an area which can be fraught with danger, and an existing stake in society can be lost. In the case of such loss of stake, new norms can be cultivated in order to obtain the return of a stake in society. Those who find no stake in society, however, are inclined to ignore the norms of society, and often form an enclave with norms alien to the society in which they live--destructive to themselves and to the group.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This study of Indian alcoholism stems from the personal interests and experience of this writer, who is an Indian herself and therefore indirectly affected by the drinking behaviors and patterns of her people. It is believed that such a study will benefit other students of social work, since so little information about alcoholism, as seen by the Indian himself (or herself) is available. The basic methodology of this practicum is recall of the experiences and observations of this writer who, as an Indian, has lived most of her life on a reservation.

This practicum is being written with the "stake in society" hypothesis in mind since this particular theory of Indian drinking is most in keeping with the author's own notions and observations. The reader is also reminded, that there is no definitive answer to the causation of alcoholism. Many theories abound. The material presented here is intended to be thought provoking, but it is only one Indian's notion of why Indians drink. An essential point to be made is that Indians do not drink primarily because they are anxious but because of their "loss of stake" and because there are norms for tolerating excessive drinking.

In the old stake category are those who, in the family context engaged in cattle raising, farming, beadwork and hunting on the Reservation. For example, Larry returned to his family (who had evicted him previously because of his continual drunkenness) and assumed the responsibility of the family establishment on the Reservation. He spent his time caring for the cattle and doing a little farming. Once a year Larry and other family members went for a month or two to do seasonal labor in Utah. I have placed Larry and persons like him in the old stake category. Wage labor such as he did, for one or two months each year does not place him in the both stakes category. Such labor was seasonal, isolated, and done in company with other Indians.

Glen (case history 2) had several modern jobs with the promise of permanence. By modern job I mean a job which brings the person into contact with employed persons in the modern economic scene on an equal basis (or supposedly equal). For example, an Indian who has a professional or clerical job in one of the bordering towns, or one of the Bureau of Indian Affairs or tribal offices, wherein there is interaction with the outside world, has what I regard as modern stake.

Like Larry, Harry (case history 1) returned to his family establishment. Harry soon found a job as maintenance man in a large public building where he was well-paid and would get a pension at the end of twenty years service. His major interest, however, was the development of the family

place on the Reservation, into which he put his primary effort and the income from the permanent modern job. This man had a stake in both societies.

Persons who had no stake in society were all those who had no sustained interest or activity with expectation of benefit in the context of society. This includes persons who lived about town without jobs, or wandered aimlessly about, sometimes working briefly, but with no promise of permanence. It included persons who lived with relatives on the Reservation without participating consistently in the activities of the household or community, nor bringing in a permanent income, although sometimes these persons went away for a month or so to do seasonal labor. Included in the no stake are persons who tended cattle for families not related to them.

This theory is based on the assumption that Indians who were able to acquire a stake in society would have reason to avoid problem drinking while those who were unable to acquire a stake would lack reasons for avoiding it. This is not to say that all persons in general who lack a stake in society will be prone to alcoholism; nor is it to say that where societies are deficient in norms controlling areas of potential danger like heavy alcohol use, persons with stake will never become alcoholics.

Indians with stakes in both societies are more prone to alcoholism because of conflict with regard to values and loyalties.

To say that a person avoids deviant behavior when he or she has a stake in society is to add the corollary that one will be more apt to follow a rational behavior model of man. With this outlook, one assumes that a person is not merely a creature of impulses, living from moment to moment, but that he or she tends to adopt the most advantageous pattern of behavior available, given his personal resources and situational opportunities or status.

CHAPTER IV

INDIAN ALCOHOLISM ON A RESERVATION IN THE WEST

In the two local towns that border this Reservation most of the arrests for drunkenness are Indians. These arrests constitute a large percent of total arrests for the two towns and, this author estimates approximately 98% of total Indian arrests.

Over 90% of Indians arrested in the towns are Shoshone-Bannock, due to the proximity of the Reservation and the size of the population who visit the local towns frequently. Associated with some of these arrests are cases of temporary or permanent abandonment of children, and hospitalizations resulting from alcohol-related illness and injuries, the latter in conjunction with vehicle accidents. It is not uncommon for a drunken person to be struck by a train as he wanders home along the tracks. Sometimes in the winter, drunks are found dead from exposure to the cold.

It should be remembered that, along with other innovations, alcohol use was introduced to Indians by Europeans. Historically the Indians had no alcohol. Early in the 19th Century, the president of the United States was empowered to take measures controlling the sale or barter of alcohol to Indians. Congress passed an Indian Prohibition Act in 1832.

In 1953, Indian prohibition was repealed by the federal government, (38) although it was left to the state and to the tribes to determine whether or not liquor would be sold on reservations. The states of New Mexico and Arizona, for example, repealed the prohibition of sale of alcohol to Indians outside the reservations. The Shoshone-Bannock tribe of Idaho, however, is still debating the feasibility of repeal on the Reservation. Consequently, bootleggers flourish on the Reservation.

Often bootleggers are relatives or acquaintances of the drinker. In addition, many bars are located just outside the Reservation's borders. Arrests for drunkenness ("disorderly conduct") also occur on the Reservation. Of the Tribe's total population, local officials estimate that 95% are alcoholics and problem drinkers, with every family member directly or indirectly involved. A number of the Tribe's population drink excessively. One hears the Indians say that every family has some member with a drinking problem.

No one actually knows the exact number of alcoholics among the Shoshone-Bannocks. The incidence of alcoholism among Shoshone-Bannock may be lower than in the United States at large (where alcoholism affects approximately 10% of the population as a whole). Using deaths from Laenec's (alcoholic) cirrhosis in 1964-67 as an index of alcholoism, Kunitz, Levy and Everett (39) found Indian rates on the reservations and nearby areas about half what is reported for the nation. Their findings also indicate a significant increase in

cirrrosis progressing along an axis measured by degree of contact with and availability of off-reservation alcohol. My interpretation of this finding is that Indians who become alcoholics gradually drift away and congregate near the most reliable liquor sources, usually in nearby towns. This congregation is an Indian alcoholic's way of communicating with his peer group. Also, the Indian alcoholic has no place to go other than the bars. Fellowship exists in the Indian drinking group. A great deal of sharing alcohol exists within these group, with strong pressures on members both to be generous and to accept the generosity of others. Many alcoholics would have no friends if they do not join in the drinking group.

Group drinking is an especially noticeable feature of Indian use, which like many others of their activities, tends to be carried on outdoors. The fellowship, joking and sense of social solidarity which prevails in these groups, as well as the opportunity for asserting identity (40) constitutes a large part of the value drinking holds for Shoshone-Bannocks. In and around the two local towns, Shoshone-Bannocks can be seen drinking in small groups--predominantly male--sharing a bottle of cheap wine and drifting apart when the bottle is gone. By no means do all drinkers continue to the point of drunkenness. Serious drinkers search out other groups or share small change for another bottle. A returned seasonal field worker with pockets full of cash may act as host.

Passed-out Indians are sometimes "rolled" for their money and boots or anything they can pawn.

There are many documented instances of violence among inebriated Indians. Stories abound of wives beaten, family members pushed out of cars, noses broken by bottles on some occasions. These instances of violence occur most often with close relatives or drinking companions. Drinkers tend to forget and overlook these offenses in sober state.

Indian drinkers seem to seek a state of blackout or oblivion which may be due to the anxiety induced by the basic insecurities of their lives or which may be induced by the heavy demands imposed by the need to provide for family and employment. Perhaps the possibility of attaining these simple goals lead men to dream of magical potency and to seek it by drinking.

The hangover on the following morning constitutes yet another bond among drinkers. Sufferers gather together, share their woes, and scrape up enough money to remedy their "sickness" with more alcohol. Thus, the vicious circle is begun and perpetuated, reinforced by the positive sanctions of the drinking peer group.

As conspicuous as outdoor drinking is the drinking which occurs in bars, some of which are patronized almost exclusively by Indians. Drinking often starts in these bars, lively places where relatives and friends can congregate, or where fights and petty disagreements can be acted out from time to time, or gossip exchanged. A good deal of courting

takes place in the bars where men, their bashfulness overcome by alcohol, are able to approach the girls, and where girls gather to meet men. In the 1960's the bars were some of the few places in the local town where Indians could gather for a good time. Indians were allowed only in "Indian bars" and this was done because Indians prefer to be together.

Prosperous, well-behaved, families sometimes stop at bars during a shopping expedition, or purchase a six-pack at the grocery store and continue on their homeward journey apparently without any ill effects. Alcoholics, however, having spent their money and run out of friends, tend to join the drinking groups in alleys, fields, parking lots, or in a park around the railway station (a favorite spot) which is along the street where all the "Indian bars" are located. Eventually everyone meets in jail, a place where they've met before and will meet again. Significantly, everyone knows everyone else. Far worse, however, are those instances where inebriates get into vehicles and drive away. Of driver caused crimes committed on the Reservation, most are alcohol related. Serious marital quarrels involving injury and suicide often occur in the alcoholic context, possibly fostered by a shared feeling among Indians that a person is not accountable when drunk. (41)

While Tribal Police are empowered to arrest persons on the Reservation who are intoxicated, informal social sanctions with regard to drunkenness are very weak, except in special groups such as the Latter-Day Saints (Mormons),

and Native American Church members. Not only do Indian men drink in border-towns, but a great deal of drinking goes on at Indian Pow-wows. Indian men drink in order to gain courage to invite the girls to dance. This is also an occasion where the men show their masculinity by sharing their drinks.

While the young men very obviously enjoy their drinking peer group, it is not only the young who are involved in the heavy use of alcohol, as the records of border-towns reveal. (42) Drinking groups are composed of Indian men and women of all ages and degree of education and economic prosperity, or its lack. The question is sometimes asked whether border-town arrests for drunkenness are the result of prejudice. While in some instances it is said to be so, arrests of Indians in border-towns normally occur as a result of the public nature of the drunkenness. Public drunkenness is very much contrary to the norms of border-towns--as to most American communities. Arrests also occur in an attempt to prevent accidents or injuries known to be higher where there is drunkenness.

"Problem Drinking" or Alcoholism"

What is an alcoholic? There are many definitions of alcoholism. One of the most widely accepted is that of E. M. Jellinek, who wrote the following: "Alcoholism is any use of alcoholic beverage that causes any damage to the individual or society or both." (43)

One alcoholism expert, Mark Keller, editor of the Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol, Rutgers University

Center of Alcohol Studies, has this to say:

Alcoholism is a chronic disease, or disorder of behavior, characterized by the repeated drinking of alcoholic beverages to an extent that exceeds customary dietary use or ordinary compliance with the social drinking customs of the community, and which interferes with the drinker's health, interpersonal relations or economic functioning. (44)

The latter part of the Keller definition is essentially the same as the definition of alcoholism used by the World Health Organization.

Do the Indian drinkers who are arrested by white police or by Indian police for drunkenness actually "exceed ordinary compliance with the social drinking customs of the Indian community"? In this author's opinion, they do not. There is much excessive drinking in communities near dry Reservations where alcohol is not available. Indians drink more openly and frequently on the street or in the open, which is an indication there is little or no shame in being drunk. Most studies as we have seen point to the absence of negative sanctions against drunkenness among Indians. Because of the prevalence of public drinking and intoxication among Indians, they are thus simply more subject to police arrest than other ethnic groups who drink secretly or behind "closed doors." (45)

A problem drinker has been defined by the Tribal Alcoholism Program as a person who had ten or more arrests for drunkenness or alcohol-related offenses. From the viewpoint of Indian culture, ten arrests merely meant ten drinking parties with no destructive consequence except the forcible detainment in jail if arrested. Indian men and women

deny being with "problem drinkers" or "alcoholics." Obviously, the Tribal Program's definition is unusually liberal when compared to the criteria of non-Indian programs or the police.

The Indian Health Service, however, has defined alcoholism in the same way as alcoholism expert Mark Keller:

. . . disease, or disorder of behavior, characterized by repeated drinking of alcoholic beverages, which interferes with the drinker's health, interpersonal relations or economic functioning. (46)

Perhaps Indian alcoholism would be less of a problem if defined by the tribes and not by the dominant society.

CHAPTER V

HARRY

Harry was "educated" but his education did not go very deep. At the age of five he had been sent to school near his home. It is easy to imagine Harry being moved from grade to grade without having met the standards. Early in his schooling he may have dropped behind, due to lack of pre-school preparation for entrance into a new cultural milieu (that of non-Indian society) and, being too proud to ask for explanations, used his wits to pass along with the rest of of the class each year. Harry was very much in tune to peer group norms. Like a "good" Indian, he chose not to appear smarter than his classmates; not to assert his own opinion. He could read and write, but beyond this his education was very limited, nor had he learned a trade. His most successful activity in school was basketball, at which he was very good.

Harry was drafted into the Army where he served for three years. After the army he returned home and went to work helping his father on the ranch. Harry said he had never drunk before entering military service, nor did he drink while in the service. According to him, he had his first drink with friends at the age of 19. The sweet wine which he then drank became his customary drink. He always drank with friends and, like the others, never ate while drinking. He generally drank

from a shared bottle, just outside a bar, in an alley or field. At first he drank only two or three times a month, but in recent years he had begun drinking for three days at a time. At last he began to engage in sustained drinking bouts, with a two-day respite now and then and, of course, frequent intervals in jail.

Harry took up stakes in both societies. His stake in the old society is exemplified by his return to the Reservation to the traditional way of life. His stake in modern society is illustrated by time spent as a student; a wage earner, or as a soldier. Harry had been drinking very heavily for years and had almost 50 arrests for drunkenness. Although he occasionally left the Reservation to work, he always returned with around \$300 in his pocket which would disappear in three days of heavy drinking with friends. The money would be spent celebrating his return, setting up friends (buying them drinks), and sometimes by being stolen. Harry also worked on construction jobs but would be fired after going on a drinking spree. This happened with a number of jobs.

Harry was a fine-looking man who had once been very strong both physically and mentally. At the time I met him, his health had begun to deteriorate. Harry had spent some time at Alcohol Treatment Hospitals as a result of drinking. As Harry told me, "sometimes everything became a haze." He found it harder and harder to remember what had happened during the course of a day. But drinking was his major entertainment,

and the opportunity to communicate with his companions. Drinking, in fact, was his way of life--his life style.

One cold winter night after a drinking session, Harry awakened to find that his legs were numb. He knew that every winter intoxicated persons were found dead from exposure, for the temperature in southeastern Idaho often falls below zero. Harry began to consider. He could no longer control his drinking, and he knew others (from the Alcohol Treatment Centers) who had been able to quit. Now they had new boots or new hats and pick-up trucks and their families were happy. More important, the organizations--membership in groups such as the Cattlemen's Association or coaching a boys' basketball team--with which they were associated had taken on new prosperity as a result of their change in way of life. That winter, for the first time, it occurred to Harry that he might want to stop drinking.

The summer came, and with it the excitement of the Annual Shoshone-Bannock Festival, attended by tourists as well as other Indian Tribes in their finest clothes--the townspeople dressed in western or Indian costume. Many an Indian is known to say: "I'll quit drinking after the Festival." In the meantime, Harry, with dozens of others was incarcerated because of drunkenness.

After the Festival, Harry decided to enter an Alcohol Treatment Program. Harry had a charismatic personality. His qualities--he was very sensitive to the opinions of others; appealing and diffident; as well as a great clown--were so

quietly expressed that at first one was hardly aware of them. All of the other Indians in the program and their relatives, young and old; traditional and modern, looked to Harry for guidance. He had only to lift an eyelid, and make some dryly mocking comment; or ignore the person altogether to be effective. When he wished to accomplish something such as interpreting modernization to the traditionals or aiding the young moderns in reconciling their position of ambiguity in traditional society he could change the atmosphere of a room by a smile or a frown.

It is difficult to convey the effort and decision it must have required for a man like Harry to break away from the drinking culture, with its comraderie and established patterns of behavior. Serving him well, however, was the prestige which accrued to a former well-known drunkard who had maintained his sobriety, as well as the fact that Harry was able to return to his parents' place on the Reservation where he could once again legitimately take up a stake in the traditional society.

Harry lived with his father, and step-mother in a Reservation area which remained quite traditional, considering its proximity to town. The widely scattered home sites were in a completely rural setting. Almost every home site consisted of several other houses, outhouses, or small buildings, and perhaps a corral. Some hay might be raised nearby, but efforts were primarily directed toward the raising of horses, and cattle.

Visiting Harry's homesite, one can still see his 70 year old father working around the ranch. On his countenance is the peaceful, fulfilled expression one frequently observes in elderly Indian men. Harry would not invite us in. He would have been ashamed of the lack of modern conveniences, and at the same time not ready to accept us into the inner circle of traditional life (Harry considered the less than full-blood Indian as a "breed" and naturally to be treated with suspicion).

At the time of Harry's entrance into the alcohol treatment center, he had not resolved the ambiguity of being a partially acculturated Indian in a traditional setting. The resolution of this problem took place gradually through counseling. Despite the urging of his friends to drink, Harry never became drunk again.

Aided by Agency people, Harry got a steady job as a maintenance man at the Agency. With money from his permanent job, he began to help his parents to build up the ranch. He bought a fine-looking pickup truck, essential for stock raising in today's world. He also obtained new boots, a new hat, and a new woman. The expression on his face was now alert and confident rather than sullen and confused. He claimed that his "brain felt clear" for the first time in years. When Harry met his drinking friends on the street, he sometimes dodged into a store and out the back door for fear of being pressured into taking a drink that is offered. Once he went into a bar, but it made him feel "frightened" and he never

returned. In spite of this power which came to him so naturally, he showed no desire to "boss people around"--or to influence them one way or another.

While the young "modern" Indians with professional and white-collar status went about in slacks, shoes and hatless, Harry always wore the generally accepted garb of Indian males in the area--Levi's, boots, and a western hat.

By the time a year had passed, Harry's prestige was high. It can be said that, on the Reservation, Harry was the "talk of the town."

Harry now had a stake in both societies, but always his primary stake was in the old society. His most important role; his major social contacts and recognition, came from the context of the Reservation. His modern job, however, permitted him to have greater prestige on the Reservation because it gave him economic freedom by permitting him the luxury of additional material conveniences, whether a new saddle or

Interpretation

When Harry enlisted in the treatment program he gave up excessive drinking and took up a stake in both societies--by returning to the quasi-traditional way of life to which he had never before really committed himself. In addition, he was able to legitimately supplement his commitment by earning an income from modern society. He conformed to the norms of modern society to the extent necessary to keep his job, not only with reference to drinking but also in terms of dependability by being to work on time. It was in the context

of the "old stake" however that he gained approval and prestige from his relatives and from his associates--his primary reference group. Still, he had lost something of value to him, namely the comraderie of the drinking peer group. One of the major costs, was the affront to friends from whom he had to refuse drinks. In Indian culture this is often an insult (as refusal of traditional hospitality was an insult), and therefore behavior very difficult for a man in Harry's cultural milieu to justify and sustain.

While conformity to a society's norms in conjunction with having a stake in that society is not necessarily a conscious process, Harry's case is perhaps an example of the conscious weighing of the costs of either choice--particularly since he was aware of the social consequences of a decision to give up drinking. He worried about his health, accidents, loss of money, and family disapproval which, by the time of his acceptance of treatment, had become strong. He knew what the costs of sobriety were and made up his mind to pay them. This decision was immediately re-enforced by the benefits associated with taking up a legitimate stake in traditional society.

The increasing activity and independence of the local tribal government to instill or start programs offers an opportunity for a job to a man like Harry who is widely known and respected, particularly when he is a former alcoholic. There is a lack of articulation between Indian culture and the school system where Harry spent many years of his young

life, and where "essential striving sentiments" were perhaps blocked by unsympathetic teachers, unfamiliar with Indian culture or ways. His strongest role is actually that of a mediator between the old and the new, a role which cannot be so well fulfilled at this time by an Indian of greater sophistication than Harry's, since educated Indians tend to be suspected by their fellows as "apple Indians" who are really puppets for the white man and trying to "con" them. Harry is a traditional Indian, returned from the encounter with the modern world to report on his experiences and to act as a guide. He has been in both societies but since his role in the traditional is the strongest, he has more prestige among the more traditional and is therefore a living example of beating the alcohol problem.

A combination of factors are responsible for Harry's abandonment of a life of drunkenness, but most significant among those is his investment in a stake in both societies and the adherence to norms such as keeping his job and participating in tribal affairs (both government and ceremonials) which helped him to keep his stake.

GLEN

Having a stake in both societies seemed to be associated with favorable results in recovery of alcoholism among Indian men, but not all persons who had a stake in both societies are as successful as Harry.

Glen was a 34-year old college graduate and very much aware of the importance of having a respected role in society. Despite his background he was not ready to find this role in either the traditional or the modern Indian society. Nor was he able to combine the two successfully. Glen was known as a peer to the older members of traditional society and consequently the news of Glen's arrest for "driving while intoxicated" was disappointing to them. The counselors at the Crisis Center decided to help Glen keep his job, provided he sought treatment for the alcohol problem. This arrest for "DWI" had taken place two years previously and no one recognized his behavior at that time as alcoholism, even though Glen had already had ten arrests for drunkenness. He had also had several car accidents and lost a number of good jobs as a result of drinking. In some ways, Glenn's ten arrests appeared small when compared to the dozens of arrests in the records of many other of his peers.

Glen had been brought up on the Reservation, helping with cattle raising and other chores at an early age. As a small child he had lived with his parents in the traditional way of Indian living. He slept with his older brother and sisters and had been weaned at the age of fifteen months

because a child is made to feel inferior if he nurses at an older age. Glen wore his hair braided into three braids which signified he was a boy. His hair was cut when he was nine years old.

Glen's father had always been a hard worker and was a man of considerable presence in the community. In the old days, when he came home, the children would unsaddle, feed and water his horse. He'd give them pointers on irrigation and how to plant with different types of machines. He also served as a tribal councilman for a number of years. In addition to stock raising, Glen's father had a lucrative modern enterprise (a service station) going on the Reservation. In spite of his prosperity, however, he continued to live more or less in the traditional manner in a household site of several small buildings. The old Indian beliefs were an important part of Glen's life, but like many Indians he had at one time also belonged to and been influenced by a Christian church.

Glen's 70-year old father had five years of schooling at a Bureau of Indian Affairs Boarding School, and Glen's mother had only a fourth grade education and spoke mostly Indian. Glen said she spoke English only when she really had to. She led a good life and always provided for her family, she saw that they had clean clothes, clean bedding, and food to eat. She also knew a great deal about cattle raising and she knew all the brands of the cattlemen on the Reservation. In her late fifties she continued to work hard, sometimes going out on horseback after lost calves. When Glen mentions

his parents, he does so with fondness and respect. Of his mother he said, "She thinks about her children equally" (i.e. showed no favoritism).

Glen's parents encouraged him to go to school. At the age of nine he was sent to boarding school, for at that time his Dad could not afford to buy his lunch at a public school. At boarding school the children were not allowed to speak Indian. Glen spent at least part of every year at boarding school during his childhood and early youth. In his teens he excelled in athletics and held several school offices. He was graduated with honors and received a scholarship for recognition of merit. Later he received Tribal and BIA scholarships to continue his education.

Glen had an older sister, two older brothers, and a younger brother and sister. Two of the brothers had drinking problems. The younger especially was Glen's drinking companion. Both sisters held responsible modern jobs on the Reservation. One sister was a secretary for the superintendent and one was a dental technician for the Indian Health Service. All the brothers, sisters, and in-laws conferred with the father about the various family enterprises. Glen liked to have his Sundays free in order to be present at these meetings. In spite of the father's authority, he did not seem to want to be an autocratic figure, thus delegated authority to his sons. The sons' destructive drinking behaviors resulted in small or large disasters (i.e., being jailed often for ten or more days)

in which the father would have to intervene authoritatively to keep the business going.

Glen first began to drink with friends at a football game, and continued to drink at the schools he attended from then on. Glen explained, "Perhaps one reason Indians drink excessively is that they are not accustomed to carrying on social conversations." The spoken Indian language lacks ways of expressing many concepts which can be expressed in English. Glen felt that conversation for conversation's sake was alien to the Indian way. He also remarked that Indians do not think ahead to what drinking might do to them which I think is a true generalization based on the alcoholics I have been in contact with. Furthermore, Indians drink fast because they might be caught in illegal possession of alcohol on the Reservation.

Glen suffered from bad hangovers; had "lousy headaches" and sometimes felt he never wanted to drink again. Glen often drank to get over a hangover and would be seen in very poor shape after several days drinking in town. Because of his physical stamina he recuperated from these bouts rather rapidly but became afflicted with gall bladder trouble, which flared up in conjunction with his drinking.

Glen was married to an attractive high-school educated Indian girl who worked at the Indian agency. Glen said her family was much like his own. When he became acquainted with some of her relatives he found that they had the same strong cooperative bonds and sense of pride as his own family.

Glen, his wife, and their children lived in the low rent district of the local town in quarters that were tolerable but not very attractive. With Glen making a very good salary and his wife also employed, they could have had a more pleasant home except for his habit of losing good jobs and wrecking automobiles when he became intoxicated. These losses were the subject of many bitter quarrels between Glen and his wife.

Glen drank like other Indians--in the bars and streets of town with habitual drinking companions. His friendships extended throughout the network of young and old, prosperous and poverty-stricken, and he was never at a loss for a drink.

Glen mixed with modern middle-class society with what appeared to be success and ease, and spoke very effectively from a platform to groups. He retained his ties with the Reservation by attending Tribal meetings and drove many miles each month to visit his parents and siblings. Each spring he helped with the branding of cattle. Glen was an excellent roper and also competed in many Indian rodeos.

When Glen became drunk he expressed his feelings by remarks such as "My father knows far more about living than any psychologist." While under the influence of alcohol he spoke of Indian beliefs and teachings, and at the same time he expressed distress over his failure to conform to middle-class values of white society.

Glen continued to drink destructively every few months. During these bouts he said he was unable to stop.

Glen took antabuse but had learned to "drink through it"--enduring the nausea until it disappeared. He would continue to drink for several days without it until invariably he would be arrested for drunken driving, or hospitalized.

Interpretation

This life history is of particular interest in view of Theodore Graves' paper dealing with the factors associated with successful urban adaptation. Graves finds that predictors of good urban adjustment (51) are adequate training; attaining a job at a satisfactory income level; being married, and having a father who serves as a wageearner model (rather than a traditional type), and not have Indian friends in the locality. (52) As we have seen, Glen possessed a number of these predictors of success. His father was a traditional model, but also very successfully engaged in his own modern enterprise. The only predictor of success which Glen lacked was the one concerning friends; he had many drinking friends in the area.

Glen was intelligent and well-educated but lost well-paying, prestigious jobs because of drunkenness. It does not appear that having a good job is the primary predictor for successful adjustment, Graves is explicit about this.

In Graves' study he mentions one factor which is particularly applicable to Glen. It was found that persons with no expectations for success on the Reservation tend to do well in the city. Those with no expectation in the city

tend to return home quickly and therefore avoid a lengthy period of trouble such as adjusting to the "Urban Indian" life. Those in a "double-approach" conflict who felt they could do well in both places, tended to have a high drunkenness arrest rate.

How can one then explain the success of Harry, for one, (case history #1) in taking up stakes in both societies? Why was he not in a "double-approach" conflict? It can be suggested that while Harry's (case history #1) primary stake was in one society (and this was true of other persons with both stakes), Glen never made up his mind as to which stake he owed his primary allegiance, i.e., which was his preferred stake. Due to his parents' prosperity on the Reservation and his own interest in the family establishment, he was able to participate in the old life, like those successful persons with "both" stakes. Unlike those persons with a supplementary permanent job in modern society, Glen's job placed him in a position to do more than give token acceptance to modern middle-class norms as Harry did. Valuing the conveniences of an easier life style of modern society Glen had the potentiality to make a total move into middle class society but half-way rejected it because of his strong attachment to traditional life and values. Glen saw traditional values and modern middle class values as mutually exclusive. He constantly debated this incompatibility of traditional and white middle-class values to himself.

The Indians concepts of life differ greatly from the Anglo-Saxon concepts which causes a great diversity in value systems. An Indian's idea is not to accumulate a large personal fortune, but to share his good fortune with his neighbors.

His concept of time is not based on the Anglo concept that "time is moving" but time is when he gets mentally ready to do what he wants to do which can be exasperating to the more clock oriented Anglo.

JOE

Harry and Glen were men with potentially-strong traditional stakes in society. Joe, 26, was in a different situation. He was reared in the traditional manner and with close relatives still on the Reservation, but immediate family had moved to town where the mother worked as a hospital aide and the step-father as a machinist. Joe's education had progressed as far as junior college. Personable and witty, it was apparent that Joe would have been a popular and actively participating member in many university classes. He enjoyed discussions and did not reveal, if he had one, any handicap which might have been created by language and conceptual differences.

Getting a job which could have represented a stake in modern society was not a great problem to Joe, for he was skilled and a high school graduate. He had been a jet mechanic in the Air Force for three years. When he was honorably discharged from the service, he worked as a stickman for surveyors; a timekeeper for the Tribe; a foreman's assistant for a gas company, and as a machine operator on the Union Pacific Railroad. Like many young Indians, he sought jobs at a lower level than his actual training warranted, a circumstance that came about partly through lack of opportunities in the area and partly through lack of confidence. He also had a history of losing promising jobs through failure to report to work because of drunkenness.

Joe's last job had been a particularly memorable one for him. He was an interpreter for a film company which had temporarily stopped in this area to make a short film. Joe had almost unlimited opportunity for the kind of jolly and desperate drinking bouts he enjoyed--until he lost the job. Joe then found himself drinking uncontrollably for days on end. The fact that Joe had lived for a time in Los Angeles and worked as a technician enabled him to feel at ease with members of the film company and particularly with those who were heavy drinkers. All the money he earned he spent in treating white and Indian friends, or he'd lose it while drunk.

During Joe's stay in Los Angeles, he drank canned heat strained through a cloth and mixed with rubbing alcohol. He had become briefly involved in selling drugs but alcohol was his preferred drug. There was little of the unpleasant that Joe had not seen or experienced both in and out of jail, during his brief career.

Joe was a very good artist and often sketched or painted traditional Indian subjects in oils. He revealed an originality sometimes lacking in standardized Indian paintings seen in stores and trading posts. He could sing traditional songs and tell of traditional customs with conviction. Underneath the surface of the young modern street corner, bar crawling male, the old beauty of the Indian way still existed--at least in his mind.

Joe sometimes lived in a small house in town with his mother and step-father. Both spoke Indian and English, and Joe had been raised to speak English as his primary language. Various other relatives and friends lived in this same house from time to time. Joe also occasionally visited his own father on the Reservation. Joe's mother had separated from his father when he was five. At that time Joe had gone to live with his grandmother for a year, but he had been reared mostly by his mother and step-father. Joe's step-father was strict with him. Joe seemed to approve of the way his step-father had brought him up.

Joe's mother and step-father's income was fairly secure because both had steady jobs. Joe's mother did not drink and his step-father did not drink now but had been a heavy drinker in the past. Joe gave the impression that he was very fond of his family members, including his step-father, and seemed to get along well with them. He was a family favorite, but the family was fed up with his drunkenness and its costs and he was not very much of a favorite when this happened.

Joe and his mother were Roman Catholics but Joe had not attended Mass for several years. Neither did he attend traditional ceremonies except occasionally by chance. Like most other Indian drinkers and non-drinkers he attended the annual Pow-Wow. As already mentioned in Harry's case, this is an occasion which marks the peak of the drinking season in the area. Tribes from other parts of Montana, Wyoming,

and from more distant states, come each year for the Pow-Wow. Those who become intoxicated are taken to jail. Joe was always one of those jailed for drunkenness.

Joe always participated in the bull-riding in the rodeo. He felt that when he got thoroughly sobered-up he would be able to bull-ride again and win. This was a feat which he appeared to regard with both anticipation and dread. Aside from bull-riding, the nearest tavern or bar was the only consistent source of entertainment and sociability for the young Indians. For a person whose cultural background was impoverished due to the decline of the influence of the traditional, modern society lacked real meaning to him resulting in no other interests except drinking.

In speaking of his early encounters with alcohol, Joe said that as children they sometimes ran off with the wine when older people were drinking. When 17 years old Joe got hold of some wine at school and got drunk for the first time. In the Air Force Joe was in the habit of getting drunk on weekends with his buddies. He had been drunk a few times before going into the service, but after coming out he began to drink more often. His most frequent drink was wine, the familiar ~~to~~ day, although he drank beer or whiskey when the opportunity arose.

Joe never drank alone but always with friends. Meeting a friend on the street, the friend would usually say in Indian: "Are you sick today? I have some money." In this way they would start to drink again. Once started, Joe said

he could not stop. He and the others would drink until he no longer knew what he was doing. Next day he and the rest would have severe hangovers and, in order to feel better, they would all begin to drink again.

Joe said he thought most people drank because it was like a sociable get-together. He thought that for most people it calmed them down, like taking tranquilizers. Joe said he got drunk to forget his dissatisfaction with things and raise hell. Sometimes his drinking bouts extended several days and nights in which he experienced memory blackouts.

Joe said it was hard to spend time with his old drinking buddies especially if you didn't drink. Some of his drinking buddies would give him a bad time about not drinking with them but would not try to force him to start drinking. Some of his buddies would even be a little proud that he did not drink.

Joe thought the worst life he could imagine would be to end up on skid row. He thought the best life he could imagine would be "to have much money and peace of mind."

Joe's plans for the future were vague. This is not unusual because some Indians regard it as somewhat dangerous to verbally indicate future plans because to not accomplish those plans adds to the depressing effect of more failures. His life proceeded from day to day. He said he would like to live again in a big city but did not make any effort to bring this about. He could have put in an application with

the Bureau of Indian Affairs for relocation, but did not. Relocation was or is used to urbanize Indians--taking them from the Reservation to big cities for on the job training.

Joe's affiliation with the Reservation was one of values incurred from childhood but not to the point of full acceptance of those values to participate actively in the traditional way. He rationalized his accounts of traditional ways with "very few people do this anymore," indicating an apologetic explanation for his failure to participate. Joe spoke of how he thought man was too modern; young people too modern, the United States too modern, and that modern ways were putting the Indian in the white man's place now. That the Indian was getting weak, just like the white man, and there was nothing we could do about it because of the changing world. I think Joe's contention about the Indian getting weak comes from the old tradition where a man prided himself on his ability to endure cold, hardships, hunt and provide game, defend himself from his enemies, and speak his language eloquently. White man's society has taken these abilities away in the so-called schooling system to civilize and educate, consequently the system has made him "good-for nothing" in traditional terms.

Joe would endure the nauseating effect of the antabuse which had been prescribed for him and continue to drink every few hours until the effect wore off. Finally, with the help of the Alcohol Center's staff, Joe got a construction job and stayed sober for three months. He was well liked by

his boss and did well on the job but finally a series of
sprees followed and hope for his sobriety was abandoned by
his employer, consequently he was fired.

Finally, Joe got married. At first marriage seemed
to agree with him. With the help of the Tribal Employment
Office, Joe got a professional job in a state office and he
worked steadily for six months without lapses into drunken-
ness. Joe was highly valued in his job and well-liked by
his employer. At this time it appeared that Joe had taken
up a stake in modern society. His wife strongly disapproved
of his drinking habits and also of bull-riding which he com-
peted in on week-ends without drinking. After six months,
however, Joe resumed his drinking and bits of his wife's
jewelry and furniture began to disappear. Finally Joe left
with all his possessions in a paper bag and told his wife
the remaining possessions belonged to her.

For the next 12 months, Joe was always drunk and his
health had deteriorated noticeably. He was always planning
to quit but never quite made it and, still having no plans
for the future, he would express a great deal of misery.

The psychologists made sincere efforts to involve
Joe in analysis and even allowed him to call them at their
homes. He sought their help but not consistently. One
psychologist had tried an authoritarian approach, on the
principle that Joe in his immaturity needed a firm father
figure to help him learn to take responsibility. This did
not work because Joe was a basically mature person without

a father complex and with a strong belief in his own identity. Another psychologist took the permissive approach with the same lack of results, this also did not work and again this was due to Joe's basic traditional belief in being his own man.

Joe finally left the area and was last heard from in Ogden, Utah, on skid row.

Interpretation

Joe is a high-spirited man representative of the modern stake group. I say modern because he had skills such as a timekeeper, machine operator and stickman for surveyors which are all modern society jobs. Joe's light-hearted manner concealed his repressed hostility and depression.

Joe was not a part of traditional society but cherished many of the values such as the custom of eating only the raw kidney of his first deer killed during the hunting season and giving the remainder of the meat away to his family and neighbors. There are many traditional values such as making some restitution in replacing whatever one takes from nature in order to retain harmony and balance.

Joe had an opportunity for a modern stake in society but gave it up for the companionship of his drinking buddies.

Joe seemed to be building a stake in modern society for a few months during his marriage. His job was well paying enough so that he didn't suffer from a feeling of

economic loss. He was highly regarded by the staff where he worked and was well liked by his boss. Joe was doing well and expressed pride in his accomplishment but reverted to drunkenness.

Perhaps Joe reverted to drunkenness, not only from a failure to find a stake either in the traditional or the modern society, but perhaps because he is a good example of the younger person who cannot find a way to reconcile such divergent sets of values. Perhaps Joe was a victim of the ambivalence which characterizes many who are caught between the two worlds.

Joe's mother and step-father appreciate a cash income and a stake in modern society. Joe did not believe this was as rewarding as his stake in the drinking group, with its associated norm of drunkenness. Joe really did not find very much of value to seek in the modern society.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

Many studies have been concerned with drinking as a response to stress, my concern has been to show how drinking patterns are controlled by the presence or absence of a stake in society.

The evidence that clients with a stake in society tend to respond to some type of alcohol treatment program, while those without a stake tend to respond poorly, supports Honigmanns' theory that having a stake in society promotes conforming behavior.

One can venture to say that having a stake in society promotes conforming behavior when norms are established whether in contexts of old, modern, or both old and modern society and provided that the stake is a true stake including expectation of reward, as well as investment of energy. The reward associated with the stake must have a social component in order to out-weigh the satisfactions of whatever deviant behavior may be accessible such as recognition and respect with members of old or modern society. If the social component of conforming behavior is not sufficient to out-weigh those of participating in socially-disapproved (deviant behavior) in relation to rewards received, the socially disapproved behavior will be the preferred choice of drinking with his peer group.

There are three areas in which the stake theory has been based. These areas of Stake in Society are (1) old stake within the old traditional ways of stock raising and farming on the Reservation, (2) modern stake which connotes a potentially-permanent job in modern society, and (3) a combination stake in both old and modern societies.

Persons with a stake in old traditional societies are active in tribal ceremonies and affairs, and they primarily make their living in farming, stock-raising or a combination of both.

In addition, persons with a stake in both traditional and modern tend to find a satisfying reward in the Reservation life style with observations of family admonishments regarding alcohol abuse.

Persons with modern stake in society with a potentially permanent job usually did not regard this as a true stake because, as they perceive it, the job involved little expectation of reward in the context of that society. The effort of keeping the job meant giving up their fellowship with their drinking peer group. Consequently, their reference group was not in modern society nor was it on the Reservation. Their reference group resided in a similarly-placed group of males engaged in the same behavior--which was drinking at the local Indian hang-outs.

Difference in treatment response with what has been termed modern stake may be explained in terms of perceived gain from an income for those with modern stake, and tends

to be out-weighed by what is seen as higher gain in the fellowship and carousing of the drinking peer group. The effort of maintaining the modern job would have been abandonment of the drinking peer group, with its adventure, comaderie, and shared past the significance of which gives them, at least, some semblance of identity.

For most Indians with a modern job, expectations are few, and the ability to predict behavior in that context and to cope with the unexpected crisis and problems is limited. His information on the physical effects of continued drunkenness tends also to be inadequate which, however, doesn't seem to make any difference to him. As for the Indian with a modern job who is aware of the unequal distribution of resources, the fact that he chooses to carouse with old companions rather than keep his job is a sign of his resentment and despair since he is not accepted as an equal member of the non-Indian group, seldom participating in any non-Indian social activities. Often these Indians are in a state of conflict because they don't fit well with Reservation society either, although they value the old traditions. Such values as sharing with a group of kinsmen or lack of aggressiveness while valued in traditional society do not accompany success in a modern, or non-Indian, context. Successfully choosing between such opposite values becomes impossible for some.

Most Indian alcoholics from this Reservation have had a stake in society but have lost it. This initial loss

of stake can be attributed to lack of social controls with regard to heavy use of alcohol in Indian culture, where drunkenness in men is not regarded as deviant until important loss in home, family, or job is involved. Then possible physical dependency on alcohol and social pressures from drinking companions make it very difficult to alter the pattern which has been established. With the help of a treatment program and the participation of Indian staff members who have been former drinking companions, new values can be fostered in the patients and their families. One can see what may be the beginning of a more positive normative system for alcohol use evolving in the family context. While the earlier loss of stake came about without any initial behavior regarded as deviant, continued drinking for the patient and his family becomes strongly disapproved of when new norms of behavior based on knowledge of the destructive consequences of alcohol abuse and the desire to avoid these is acquired.

Indians caught between two stakes in society at least value norms which can be reformulated through education and positive experience. Thus, a value for non-abusive drinking can be developed if the collective group can be taught to agree that abusive drinking is not desirable for any reason.

FOOTNOTES

1. Honigmann, Irma and John J. Arctic Townsman. Ethnic Backgrounds and Modernization. Ottawa, Canada Research Center for Anthropology. Saint Paul University. 1970.
2. "Gamma" alcoholism: persons whose dependence is both psychological and physical and who progressed from psychological to physical dependence.
3. Books on movies such as "Flap."
4. Indian Health Service: Preliminary Report of the Indian Health Service Task Force on Alcoholism. DHEW, HSMHA, IHS. January, 1969.
5. Ibid.
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8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. Honigmann, Irma and John J. "Arctic Townsman. Ethnic Backgrounds and Modernization." Ottawa, Canada Research Center for Anthropology. Saint Paul University. 1970.
11. In some respects the Honigmanns' study parallels the work of Charles R. Snyder, who discusses expectancies of the social milieu in relation to sanctions regarding alcohol use in Jewish culture, in Pittman. 1962. 188-225.
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13. McClelland, David C., William Davis, Eric Hanner, and Rudold Kalin. "A Cross-Cultural Study of Folk-Tale Content and Drinking." Sociometry. 1969. 29:308-333
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16. Ibid.
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