

A CROSS CULTURAL STUDY OF DRINKING PATTERNS IN  
THREE ETHNIC GROUPS, COAST SALISH INDIANS OF THE  
MISSION RESERVE, IMMIGRANT ITALIANS AND ANGLO-  
SAXONS OF EAST VANCOUVER

by

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## ABSTRACT

Amongst the important social problems today in both rural and urban areas, is the condition of inebriety. Although considerable research has been conducted on the condition of alcoholism, little has been undertaken on the condition of inebriety. It is an observable fact that, while members of some ethnic groups who drink substantially and frequently become inebriated, members of other ethnic groups who also partake of alcoholic beverages in substantial quantities do not experience inebriety. This suggests that the culture of the ethnic group determines the group's drinking patterns to a large measure, and that drinking patterns may be such that they lead participants to the condition of inebriety. In this thesis, I have attempted to examine drinking patterns of three ethnic groups in relation to several aspects of their cultural background. I devised and tested five hypotheses which are relevant to attitudes towards drinking, reasons for drinking, settings and times of the day in which drinking occurs. I have attempted also to examine Indian and Italian drinking patterns to determine to what extent each group matches or differs from Anglo-Saxon drinking patterns.

The study was made on a comparative basis, and field work was conducted amongst three ethnic groups in the Greater Vancouver area during the summer, fall and winter, 1967-1968. The three groups are the Coast Salish Indians of the Mission Reserve, Immigrant Italians and Anglo-Saxons of East Vancouver. Data on the problem briefly outlined

above, were sought through interviews with thirty representatives of each group, as well as by observations of members of the ethnic groups in their social drinking establishments. Two key informants in each ethnic group, as well as several pertinent documentary sources, were also consulted.

The available data collected in the study suggested that the proposed hypotheses were valid. There appears to be a close relationship between the cultural background of an ethnic group and its drinking patterns. However, it needs to be stated that there were many inadequacies and limitations in the reference literature used, basic premises and hypotheses proposed, and research techniques employed. Data also suggested that there was a high degree of similarity between Anglo-Saxon and Indian drinking patterns and a high degree of difference between Anglo-Saxon and Italian drinking patterns. Additional and enlightening information which the data suggested was that many of the cultural aspects of the Indian group, particularly, are in a marked stage of transition.



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## CHAPTER I

### THE PROBLEM

#### A brief Introduction to the Topic

This is a study of the drinking patterns of three ethnic groups, Coast Salish Indians of the Mission Reserve, Immigrant Italians and Anglo-Saxons of East Vancouver. Members of two of these groups frequently become inebriated when they partake of alcoholic beverages on a regular basis, whereas amongst the third group this does not occur. This suggests that the culture of the ethnic group determines — the group's drinking patterns to a large measure, and these drinking patterns may be such that they are conducive to inebriety. Specific cultural aspects of drinking which will be examined in this study are: Attitudes of an ethnic group towards drinking alcoholic beverages, some reasons for drinking, settings and the time of day in which drinking occurs.

I undertook this particular research topic because of previous experience with social problems associated with drinking amongst teen youth and young adults. Prior to returning to university, and for about four and a half years while I was studying in the undergraduate program, I worked in an agency which provided counselling services to teen youth and young adults who resided in the West End of Vancouver. Drinking by both male and female youths was a common accompaniment to many of the agency's social programs although it was penalized. The

condition of drunkenness was one with which I had to deal on frequent social occasions in the agency. For the most part, the young people involved were of Anglo-Saxon extraction. I worked also in the summer of 1966 with youths in the Italian district of the City. During the four-month period I served in this area the incidence of drinking and the condition of drunkenness amongst these Italian youths, were almost negligible. This suggested to me that cultural differences might be significant in youth drinking patterns of different ethnic groups.

This personal experience combined with information I had obtained from certain literature dealing with studies of the use of alcohol in the Italian community, <sup>1</sup> stimulated my interest in a cross-cultural exploration of this subject. I have had a special interest in Indians of the Northwest Coast for several years, therefore, included them in the study as well. Furthermore, a thorough perusal of all theses written at the University of British Columbia up to the present time in the disciplines of anthropology, sociology, psychology and social work, indicated that no cross-cultural studies of drinking patterns have been done here to date. Specifically, no studies have been done at U.B.C. which examine any aspects of drinking in regard to Anglo-Saxon, Italian or Indian groups, although this appears to be an area where much interest, concern and social problem exist. A number of studies have been done which have some relevance to Indians and their drinking of alcoholic beverages, in British Columbia -- the Hawthorn, Belshaw, Jamieson study, <sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> Indians of British Columbia, the Lemert Indian study, the Clairmont <sup>4</sup> study, Deviance Amongst Indians and Eskimos of the Aklavik.

The project, however, proved to be very extensive and my limited knowledge of the subject and lack of experience in research technique lead me to believe that it might have been handled more effectively and more expediently by a team rather than by an individual.

### Definitions

In this dissertation culture refers to all that which is non-biological and socially transmitted in a society, including the social, artistic, ideological and religious patterns of behavior as well as all the techniques for mastering the environment and may or may not be unique to one society or ethnic group alone. In this dissertation each of the ethnic groups is considered to have its own culture.

It is difficult to devise a precise definition for the term inebriety as well as difficult to draw a clear, specific line where this condition occurs in various individuals, and within different ethnic groups. I would not profess to state that the following definition is objective nor scientific, however, I believe it is reasonably useful to this study. Inebriety refers to the physical condition one may develop after substantial amounts of alcoholic beverage have been consumed and wherein one becomes raucus and rowdy in voice and manner and, wherein one's body movements become unsteady or wherein one passes out. I provided the various persons who served as key informants for the study as well as the police constables involved in the research, with this definition and asked them to use it as a criterion in making their



statements about the incidence of inebriety which they believed to prevail in the three ethnic groups. Sobriety refers to the condition wherein one has or has not consumed substantial amounts of alcoholic beverage but has remained relatively sober and in full control of one's voice modulation and gestures and one's body movements.

#### Definition of the Problem

Drinking patterns in some societies serve religious purposes, medicinal purposes and nutritional purposes. Some drinking patterns of certain societies are conducive to its members becoming inebriated when they drink alcoholic beverages. Some practices of drinking in some societies do not. Later in this chapter I have provided a detailed inventory of drinking practices in various societies to indicate the scope and the diversity of these practices. Sometimes the drinking practices of an ethnic group lead its members to drinking problems. Drunkenness is one of the conditions which may be regarded as a social problem. Alcoholism is another. For many years both social and medical scientists have been concerned with these problems. <sup>5</sup> Psychologists, psychiatrists, biochemists, as well as sociologists and anthropologists have conducted much research in their attempts to throw light on such vital questions as: Are some persons more capable than others of consuming substantial amounts of alcohol without ill effects? Are some persons more susceptible to alcoholism than others? Are there psychological, physical or temperamental differences amongst various ethnic

groups' drinking patterns? Considerable literature is available on both detailed and comprehensive research projects, and on exploratory discussion of alcohol use and the condition of alcoholism in the United States. The Quarterly Journal of Studies of Alcohol, which has been in publication since 1940, is one example. However, most writings deal with the subject from the point of view of the individual and the biochemical, the biological or medical approach. Many have been conducted over a very limited segment of the population, or within a limited age range -- or over a very short time period. Few have looked at it from a cultural perspective and very few deal specifically with the condition of inebriety. The recent Field study is one example,<sup>6</sup> and the Lemert study of the Northwest Coast Indians is another.<sup>7</sup> This dissertation however, is concerned with the cultural differences which determine relatively high incidence of inebriety in one ethnic group and relatively low incidence of inebriety in another. What are the cultural differences and similarities which lead some members of two ethnic groups to substantial conditions of inebriety, and members of the third group to little or no inebriety? How similar or how different are these ethnic groups in their drinking patterns?

#### Aims of the Study

The main aim of the study is to examine the ways in which cultural differences affect the drinking patterns of three ethnic groups. Other factors are relevant also, such as the kind of alcoholic beverages

consumed, beer, wine or hard liquor, the physiological, psychological and emotional conditions of the individuals within the ethnic group. However, this study focuses chiefly on the cultural factors and I propose that whether ethnic groups' members become inebriated or remain relatively sober when these members partake of alcohol, depends to a large degree on the drinking patterns of the particular ethnic group. Some ethnic groups are similar in such drinking patterns. Some differ.

A second aim will be to make an examination of Indian and Italian drinking patterns to determine to what extent they match or are different from Anglo-Saxon patterns.

A third and subsidiary aim is to stimulate more interest amongst students doing post-graduate work at the University to conduct research relevant to culture and drinking patterns of both the young adult and the adolescent levels in the Indian and the Anglo-Saxon communities.

#### A Brief History and Inventory of Drinking Patterns in Various Societies

The following history and inventory of drinking patterns will serve to: (a) show the diversity of drinking patterns in various societies and (b) serve to introduce pertinent literature which has provided the basis upon which I formulated my hypotheses.

The drinking of alcoholic beverages appears to be common to a great number of societies known to man through the course of history. Drinking practices, however, often have useful functions in a society

and do not always lead persons to the condition of inebriety. In some societies drinking practices focused on, and were involved mainly with the religious activities of the society. The Chinese were such an example.

The most important uses of fermented beverages were related to religious practices. The Chinese resorted to libations of all types and for many different occasions....Wine was used at the worship of ancestors, and during the Shang dynasty wine was the only product of the soil offered to the gods.<sup>8</sup>

The Hebrews saw the most important use of wine as being associated with religion.

The most important use of wine among the Hebrews was for religious purposes, especially for the celebration of special religious days, and for purposes of libation -- a ceremony common to their culture.<sup>9</sup>

It appears that today, in the late twentieth century, few societies other than the Jews and the Catholics continue to drink alcoholic beverages for religious purposes. Robert Bales, in a recent publication, discusses briefly the Jewish culture and its use of wine, and states:

In the Jewish culture wine stands for a whole complex of sacred things. Wine is variously alluded to as the "work of God", and "the commandment of the Lord". Similarly, the Torah (the sacred body of the Law), Jerusalem (the sacred place), Israel (the sacred community), and the "Messiah" (the righteous) are all compared to wine.<sup>10</sup>

Another society of the old world known to use alcoholic beverages for religious purposes was Persia. "In the religious sphere as in other parts of the ancient world, wine was a prerogative for libations and sacrifices."<sup>11</sup> The Indians used a relatively large series of fermented beverages in their daily life and for religious rituals "....In religious useage the fermented beverage soma, was so highly revered that it was worshipped as a god in its own right."<sup>12</sup>

Alcoholic beverages have been used also in both ancient and modern societies as a dietary source. "In Egypt...a distinct division is made in that beer was the beverage of preference in the corn country,<sup>13</sup> and wine the table drink of the grape country." In India, "as a dietary beverage the various Indian tribesmen used different types of fermented beverages, depending upon the caste to which they belonged."<sup>14</sup> Today, Italians are amongst the ethnic groups who appear to continue to consider wine as having some food value. "Within the frame of the Italian culture...the tie between drinking and eating was obvious. Italians have apparently always viewed the use of wine as an integral part of their nutrition."<sup>15</sup> The Romans too, considered wine to be an important food item in ancient times.

As a dietary beverage wine was overtly as common as bread and so recognized....Bread and wine were the cardinal elements of the diet in pagan times, and they ultimately became the all-embracing symbols of Christianity and survival.<sup>16</sup>

For medicinal purposes several fermented beverages have been used extensively in the past in many societies. The Hebrew people used wine in this manner. "The Hebrews were specific as to its antiseptic value, and they used wine to wash the wounds of circumcision."<sup>17</sup> In Persia, "among the medicinal uses of fermented beverages the most common was as a stomachic. The haoma was more general in its use since by inference it conferred longevity and good health to him who partook of it."<sup>18</sup> In India, "the concept of soma as a medicinal agent enjoys a universality second to no other medicinal substance recorded in human history."<sup>19</sup>

Alcoholic beverages in many societies have been an important part of the ritual attached to entertainment. The Hebrews, from earliest times, used wine extensively on such occasions. "At folk festivals, banquets, and other forms of communal entertainment and relaxation, wine flowed freely as it had in Egypt. Yet one must admit that the Hebrews were temperate drinkers, and drunkenness was severely discouraged." <sup>20</sup> Among the Persians, "in entertainment the prerequisite was wine served in lavish quantities." <sup>21</sup> Lucia states that: among the ancient Chinese, "in entertainment, wine was the beverage of banquets and official occasions." <sup>22</sup> In India, "for entertainment wine was commonly used at banquets, and exclusively by men and their mistresses, but it was strictly tabu to the wives." <sup>23</sup> In Greece, "In entertainment, wine was the most important element." <sup>24</sup> Amongst the Egyptians and their attitudes towards wine, "there were elaborate formulas and rituals for the blending and service of wines which, at feasts, were offered in silver and gold goblets." <sup>25</sup> In present day Italian culture, to a large extent in America as well as in Italy, wine is used regularly with meals and extensively on social occasions. One of my key Italian informants stated it this way: "Italians drink usually on happy occasions at family or friendly get-to-gethers, weddings, anniversaries, social events." <sup>26</sup>

In American and Canadian societies, except in some cases where there are religious sanctions against the drinking of alcoholic beverages, a substantial segment of the population uses these beverages

as an important part of their entertainment ritual. Christenings, graduations, weddings, birthdays, special holidays, sporting, artistic and musical events, are a few of the occasions when alcoholic beverages are served to participants and to guests in these societies.

While there appear to be many drinking practices in various societies which have little or no association with inebriety, there have been other drinking practices in some societies where the consumption of alcoholic beverages frequently, and sometimes deliberately results in the condition of inebriety. One of the few comprehensive studies undertaken on drinking practices and the functions of drinking in primitive societies, was that of Donald Horton. Horton's study was done on a comparative basis and included over 130 societies about which he was able to obtain relevant information. His study indicates that some societies condone deliberate drunkenness. He states:

Drunkenness is very frequently regarded as the primary and approved object of drinking. Among the Tarahumara drinking is a "serious ceremony of getting drunk" (213). The Dusun host who does not provide enough liquor for his guests to become dead drunk is "lacking in hospitality" (143). Drunkenness is described as the "ideal of personal happiness" (92) of the Ainu. At a Tanala feast "the person who does not become intoxicated fails to enter the spirit of the occasion (139).<sup>27</sup>

The Irish are amongst those societies with drinking patterns which appear to frequently lead their members to the condition of inebriety.

Robert Bales, in a comparatively recent publication which offers some discussion on Irish drinking practices, states:

The Irish have been noted for their inebriety during the past several centuries. In statistics of admissions for alcoholic disorders to various hospitals in this country the Irish have consistently had rates two to three times as high as any other ethnic group.<sup>28</sup>

The French also drink in a pattern which frequently leads members of this ethnic group to the condition of inebriety and alcoholism. Mouchot relates the problem to frequency of drinking:

How much alcohol can be drunk safely is a disputed question, but it cannot be denied that 28 liters of pure alcohol a year is too much for anyone. This latter amount, which was the per capita consumption for the adult population in 1951, was the highest consumed by any nation and was double that of the next highest consumer, Italy, and three times greater than the consumption of Great Britain.<sup>29</sup>

Some Indian tribes of the Northwest Coast also appear to follow a pattern of drinking deliberately to get drunk. Lemert describes this pattern in his study on some Coast Salish Indians:

There is little doubt that the objective of drinking by the Homalthko, Tlahoose and Sliammon is to get drunk. This is apparent from their consuming home-brew before it is completely fermented, in their gulping down of drinks, drinking until the supply is exhausted, and in their preference for strong liquor whenever it can be obtained. It also comes out in occasional spontaneous comments about how they like to drink, i.e. to get drunk quickly.<sup>30</sup>

This statement about Indian drinking patterns, however, was made in a study conducted over fourteen years ago and it is possible that it may be less applicable to these Indians today. As well, it does not apply unconditionally to all Coast Salish Indians. According to my Indian informants, it did apply to some extent, at an earlier time. Only a small percentage of Coast Salish who live in urban areas follow this practice today. A segment of the Anglo-Saxon population which includes mostly white loggers and fishermen of British Columbia, frequently drink heavily and rapidly for the purpose of getting drunk also.



### Proposed Hypotheses

The foregoing inventory of drinking patterns in various societies as described by several social and medical scientists, have contributed substantially to the formulating of the writer's working hypotheses. In the general hypothesis I suggest that whether a society's members become inebriated or remain relatively sober when these members partake of alcoholic beverages depends to a large measure, upon the drinking patterns of the particular society. Some societies or ethnic groups have similar drinking patterns. Some differ.

My work experience with Italian youth in Vancouver in the summer of 1966 suggested to me the possibility that the incidence of inebriety amongst Italians might be lower than that amongst Anglo-Saxons and Indians. Since this is a basic premise to the formulation of my hypotheses, I made many attempts to secure evidence to provide it with further support. However, this was a very difficult task. Evidence I have managed to obtain, with a description of its weaknesses and limitations, follows. The Yale Center of Alcohol Studies project provided one relevant recorded statement. This research team stated:

It was impossible not to notice that within the general society, plagued by a variety of alcohol-related problems, there were recognizable sub-groups which seemed immune to them.... First there are the Jews...the Chinese in America...and finally there are the Italians. In this group, the focus of the present study, it will be seen that the drinking of wine is almost universal. Yet among persons arrested for drunkenness (28) and among patients in alcoholism clinics, (13), Italians are relatively scarce.<sup>31</sup>

The limitations of the Yale Center of Alcohol Studies project as a source of evidence are: (a) The research team states that they make no claim to randomness or representativeness in the strict sampling sense, but they believed that they had sufficient reasons to think, on the basis of experience, that the sample substantially resembled the larger Italian and Italian-American populations from which it was drawn.<sup>32</sup>

(b) "Arrests for drunkenness" may be only a partial indication of the incidence of inebriety in this ethnic group. Italians who drink at home, may become inebriated but are not in a location where they are exposed to possible police apprehension. (c) A major limitation of the Yale Center of Alcohol Studies project as a reference source for this study, is the fact that it was undertaken in New Haven, Connecticut, not Vancouver, British Columbia. A low incidence of inebriety amongst Italians in New Haven provides no justification for assuming that the situation is similar in Vancouver. However, it suggests the possibility which I believed merited more exploration here. I made many attempts to obtain statistics on the incidence of inebriety amongst Italian, Anglo-Saxon and Indian groups here, in full knowledge that such statistics also may have weaknesses and inadequacies. Pertinent government agencies at all levels had very little information that was applicable. Some limited amount of statistical evidence to support my premise, was secured from a police official in charge of records at the Vancouver City Police Department. After a close perusal was made of the names of all those persons who had been charged with a liquor offence during the past two

months, March 1st to April 30th, 1968, it appeared that there were no Italians on this list. Two months represents a very short period of time. Although statistical in form, this is hardly sufficient evidence upon which to base a generalized statement. Therefore, I made other attempts to secure impressionistic evidence which might be supportive to my premises. I contacted a total of twelve police constables individually, who work generally in the downtown areas of the city. I provided them with my definition of inebriety and asked them, individually, to indicate which ethnic group members they found least frequently in this condition of inebriety. The consensus of opinion amongst the twelve constables was that it is a very rare occasion when they find or charge an Italian with inebriety. I contacted also my two key Italian informants for the purpose of securing their views about Italians and the condition of inebriety. Both informants agreed that occasionally, Italians, after consuming a substantial amount of wine, become very lively, happy and exuberant, but they do not become belligerent usually, or lose control of their body movements. To this collection of impressionistic evidence, I add my personal experience of working in the Italian community of Vancouver for four months with Italian youths, to provide support to my premise that the incidence of inebriety amongst the Italian community tends to be lower than that amongst the Anglo-Saxon or Indian groups.

That the incidence of inebriety amongst Indians is somewhat higher than that amongst Anglo-Saxons is another premise of importance

to the formulation of my hypotheses. Again, I had some difficulty in obtaining statistical evidence to lend support to this premise. Some recorded evidence was secured from the same police official in charge of records at the Vancouver City Police Department. An examination of the names of all those charged with a liquor offence during the past two months, indicated that there were more Indians charged than Anglo-Saxons, by a small margin. However, it must be remembered that most people charged and placed on these records, reside in, or frequent the downtown area. Other persons of all ethnic origins may become inebriated in other parts of the city but are not exposed as readily to possible police apprehension. I also consulted twelve police constables who work in the downtown area of the city. Again, I provided them with my definition of inebriety and asked them to indicate which group, Anglo-Saxons or Indians are most frequently found in this condition of inebriety. The consensus of opinion amongst these constables was that Anglo-Saxons and Indians are found to be drunk in about the same proportions. Since the Anglo-Saxon's population is substantially greater than the Indian one, this would indicate that the incidence of inebriety is higher amongst Indians than Anglo-Saxons in this area. I also consulted an official in a government agency involved with the Indian community. She stated that although she did not have written accounts available at the moment, she was certain that the incidence of inebriety was higher for Indians than for Anglo-Saxons in many of the Coast Salish areas. It must be remembered however, that police files or government

files do not show discriminatory practices which operate against Indians in the matter of liquor offences. Not only are Indians apprehended more quickly than Anglo-Saxons, but as well, in compliance with the Indian Act, they are charged for liquor offences which are not illegal for other Canadians. This counteracts, to some extent, my collection of limited statistical, and more extensive impressionistic evidence which I secured to provide support to my premise that there is a higher incidence of inebriety amongst Indians than Anglo-Saxons. However, I would maintain that there is sufficient evidence to assure that my premise remains valid to a degree.

#### Hypothesis 1

One area of culture relevant to inebriety is the attitude towards drinking prevalent in a cultural group. In the discussion of Anglo-Saxon attitudes I have taken the liberty of using writings on American society in general, as reference literature, since it appears that a dominant strain of Anglo-Saxon heritage has continued in American society specifically, and Western societies in general. Robert Bales, one of the few writers who has examined the socio-cultural aspects of drinking in various societies, states that he believes that the kinds of attitudes a society produces in its members is one factor in determining how excessively they will drink and how alcoholic they may become. He suggests four possible attitudes group members may have towards drinking:

It is possible to distinguish four different types of attitudes which are represented in various cultural groups and which seem to have different effects on the rates of alcoholism. The first is an attitude which calls for complete abstinence. For one reason or another, usually religious in nature, the use of alcohol as a beverage, is not permitted for any purposes. The second might be called a ritual attitude towards drinking....It requires that alcoholic beverages...should be used in the performance of religious ceremonies...the third can be called a convivial attitude towards drinking. Drinking is a "social" rather than a religious ritual....The fourth type seems best described as a utilitarian attitude toward drinking. This includes medicinal drinking and other types calculated to further the self-interest or exclusively personal satisfaction.<sup>33</sup>

Bales' "theory of attitudes" towards drinking does not emerge from a specific, scientifically oriented field study but it would seem to be sufficiently useful to merit serious consideration and perusal. The research team from the Yale Center of Alcohol Studies discusses Italian attitudes towards drinking:

Although some subjects were unable to recall their earliest experience, only one subject -- a woman in the second and third-generation Italian-American group -- reported never having tasted alcohol. The exposure of all other subjects to alcohol is presumably due to the fact that they were drawn from a population which has no prohibitions against alcoholic beverages. In such a population there are practically no fears attendant upon the drinking of alcohol, and the experience is so widespread as to represent a fact of life of almost the same import as the use of bread.<sup>34</sup>

Anglo-Saxons on the other hand, have an attitude which seems to be in contrast to that of the Italians. Gusfield expresses one of the attitudes prevalent amongst Americans towards the use of alcoholic beverages. "Organized efforts to control and limit drinking or the sale of alcoholic beverages have been persistent in the United States since the

early nineteenth century. Although alcohol has not been the only item of consumption with which reformers have been concerned, it has been the one most provocative of controversy.<sup>35</sup> I consulted my two key Anglo-Saxon informants to obtain their views on attitudes of Anglo-Saxons towards the use of alcohol. They stated that they believe most people approve of, and accept the use of alcoholic beverages, but that such use should be controlled and restricted to certain occasions. Literature on attitudes of Coast Salish Indians towards the use of such beverages was not available. Therefore, I consulted my two Indian informants to obtain their views on Indian attitudes. They stated that they believe some Indians associate "getting drunk" with a relatively high status, however, most Indians of the Squamish Band approve of drinking and indulge in it, but think it should be controlled and restricted in its use. Therefore, it appears that there are variations in attitudes towards drinking amongst ethnic groups. Although the Yale Center of Alcohol Studies project had limitations and the Bales writing presented theories not yet tested, and my informants' statements are only impressionistic, nevertheless, I believe they provide sufficient information about which I can generalize and arrive at my first hypothesis. In this hypothesis I propose that the incidence of inebriety in adulthood will tend to be lower in a group which sees alcoholic beverages in a positive way and regards them as contributing to the well-being of the group, than in a group whose attitudes toward alcoholic beverages are negative or ambivalent and do not consider them as contributing to the well-being of the group.

## Hypothesis 2

Attitudes vary with regard to the views taken toward children drinking. Italians permit children to drink. Lolli and his researchers state:

It is evident that 61 percent of the Italian men and 58 percent of the Italian women tasted an alcoholic beverage before reaching their eleventh birthday....A further analysis shows that a considerable number of Italians were exposed to an alcoholic beverage between the ages of 2 and 5 years.<sup>36</sup>

Another study of Italian drinking patterns conducted by Williams and Straus in 1952 also pointed out that Italian children start drinking  
<sup>37</sup>at an early age. Anglo-Saxons on the other hand, believe that children should abstain from the consumption of alcoholic beverages. Maddox, in a discussion of teen-age drinking amongst American youths states: "Children in our society are generally thought to be abstinent and, excepting for youngsters in certain sub-groups like the Jews,  
<sup>38</sup>for the most part probably are." The foregoing information provides sufficient evidence to permit me to suggest a second hypothesis. In this hypothesis I propose that the incidence of inebriety in adulthood tends to be lower in groups who permit children and youths to partake of some alcoholic beverages than in groups who prohibit children and youths from such beverages.

## Hypothesis 3

Societies also have various reasons for drinking. Edwin Lemert states:



The more important symbolic associations of alcohol derive from its function as a behavior modifier. Mild to severe intoxication promotes the expression of a variety of idiosyncratic values in the individual and a large measure of socially shared and communicable values. Perhaps the most important of the former is the relief or relaxation from fatigue, tension, apathy, and the sense of isolation.<sup>39</sup>

Donald Horton, in his very detailed and comprehensive study of over 130 societies in the early 1940 period, states that he believes anxiety is the most universal condition which can be reduced by the consumption of alcoholic beverages. From the findings of his study he concludes that drinking to reduce anxiety is an explanation of its use which has almost universal validity. The social structures of all societies induce some degree of tension and anxiety in the society's members. All societies require mechanisms which reduce and relieve their members of these anxieties. Alcohol provides one mechanism. Horton states:

The best possible explanation that I can offer you, based on a review of the use of alcohol in a good many primitive societies, is that the value is primarily in its anxiety-reducing function. This is apparently the only explanation which will serve as a key that has universal validity, with which you can begin to understand the use of alcoholic beverages, the customs surrounding their use, the attitudes that people have towards them in any society anywhere in the world, whether it is a highly sophisticated and civilized society or a very simple society of hunters and gatherers of seeds and berries.<sup>40</sup>

The Horton study, although comprehensive and extensive, had many limitations. Horton was aware that by examining societies and their drinking patterns in terms of anxiety within the social structure, he was neglecting to consider anxieties which might stem from individual personalities. However, he states that "For us, then, the problem of

personality in relation to culture is a far more complicated matter than it might be in a primitive society in which there is much greater uniformity and in which the experiences of all individuals are seen to be very similar if their effects are studied.<sup>41</sup> Horton is aware that there are general psychological conditions arising out of the conditions created by our culture which are the responsibility of the psychiatrists and the psychologists to solve and which he considered to be outside the realm of his present study. Though thorough and comprehensive, his study was limited to those societies on which he was able to obtain adequate data. As well, he indicated that data varied in quality and quantity from one society to another. The findings of the Horton study are most relevant to my next hypothesis. Before presenting this hypothesis I wished to observe to what extent, if any, Horton's "anxiety-drinking theory" was substantiated by evidence in the three ethnic groups of my study. I attempted to secure literature which might indicate this, or, which provided further investigation of the Horton study. Many studies deal with condition of anxiety and a limited number deal with the condition of inebriety. However, in the time available to me I was not able to find any studies which extended or elaborated upon the Horton study as it pertained to the relationship of anxiety and inebriety. I also provided my key informants in each group of the study with the Horton "anxiety-drinking theory" for their assessment of it in terms of its appropriateness and applicability to Italians, Anglo-Saxons and Indians located in the areas covered in the study.

In the case of the Italian group, my two key informants stated that they believed the major reasons for which Italians drink have little or no association with the reduction of anxieties, that is, because of financial, domestic or personal problems. The major reason Italians drink is because they consider alcoholic beverages to have food value and to be a vital part of the meal. However, on a later occasion one of my key Italian informants who is a parish priest, said that he could recall some very rare occasions during his ten years in this parish, when Italians, under stress, had come to him for advice and spiritual guidance and had consumed substantial quantities of alcoholic beverage (wine) before they arrived at his church. Therefore, in the case of the Italian group, some limited impressionistic information was obtained which gave a small degree of substantiation to the Horton "anxiety-drinking theory". Although generally, the reduction of anxiety is not the major reason for which Italians drink.

In the case of the Anglo-Saxon group, my key informants, believed that members of the Anglo-Saxon community drink to reduce their anxieties, that is to escape temporarily from problems about limited income, domestic or work difficulties and loneliness. Such information, although very limited in quantity, suggests that Horton's "anxiety-drinking theory" is substantiated to an appreciable degree in the Anglo-Saxon group.

I consulted my two key Indian informants in order to obtain their impressions of the Horton "anxiety-drinking theory", and how it

applied to Coast Salish Indians of the Mission Reserve. They stated that they believed frequently Indians drink alcoholic beverages excessively in order to forget about their condition of poverty, their feelings of inferiority and low status in the eyes of the non-Indian community, and often because they experience loneliness.

Although some limitations have been indicated in the studies of Horton and the evidence collected from the key informants in the three ethnic groups is mostly impressionistic and limited in quantity, I believe these sources provide sufficient evidence from which I can draw to suggest a third hypothesis. In this hypothesis I propose that the incidence of inebriety will tend to be higher in ethnic groups where the major reasons for drinking are to reduce anxieties, including those arising from financial, domestic or occupational problems and loneliness, than amongst groups who drink generally for other reasons.

#### Hypothesis 4

Ethnic groups also have different views on appropriate settings in which they choose to drink. Some ethnic groups drink with their meals and some do not. In the Italian group this is the traditional setting. Lolli and his researchers state: "Italians have apparently always viewed the use of wine as an integral part of their

<sup>42</sup>  
nutrition." My Italian informants agreed with this statement. In the past, and to a limited extent in the present, some members of the

Coast Salish Tribe drank, and continue to drink in a setting in marked contrast to that of the Italians. Lemert described it this way:

The Homalthko drinkers ordinarily gather at a "party" in someone's house, or in small groups outside of the council hall when there is a dance, or on board a boat....The drinkers at a party in a house stand or sit around the home-brew keg while a water glass is dipped full and handed to each one in succession....The momentum of the drinking accelerates with the intoxication of the drinkers, who, even when very drunk, are under considerable social pressure to accept the proffered drinks. Few refuse.<sup>43</sup>

I consulted my key informants in the Indian community and asked them to assess the above statement in terms of its application to Indians of the Mission Reserve. They indicated that they believed the Lemert statement was applicable at an earlier time and to some extent, in rural areas, today. They said that some Indians have continued to drink in this fashion, but they are only a small segment of the total group. As well, today they drink wine or beer, not usually home-brew.

I also consulted my Anglo-Saxon informants for the purpose of obtaining their impressions on settings wherein they believed Anglo-Saxons frequently drink. They believed that a considerable amount of Anglo-Saxon drinking takes place in beer parlors, cocktail bars, private clubs and private homes, frequently as a full evening or partial evening's activity. The foregoing statements, although limited in scope and mostly impressionistic in quality are, nevertheless, sufficient, I believe, to permit me to suggest a fourth hypothesis. In this hypothesis I propose that the incidence of inebriety will tend to be lower in groups who drink with their meals mainly, than in groups who drink in other

settings. Drinking with meals, according to the Lolli research team study, tends to retard the development of inebriety and alcohol-addictive traits.

As a result of the presence of solid food in the stomach, the passage of alcohol into the blood stream is delayed and the blood alcohol concentrations remain consistently lower than those noted when alcohol is ingested on an empty stomach.<sup>44</sup>

#### Hypothesis 5

Ethnic groups also differ as to the time of day they consider it appropriate to drink. Some ethnic groups drink in the late afternoon before their evening meal and some do not. To a large extent, this is considered to be an Anglo-Saxon drinking practice. My two key Italian informants said that they believed that generally, Italians in Vancouver do not partake of alcoholic beverages in this before-dinner period. My Indian informants stated also that they did not consider this to be a popular drinking practice amongst Coast Salish Indians of the Mission or Capilano Reserves. However, to a limited degree, it may be practiced. Some Coast Salish Indians who live on the North Shore and who work in industries with Anglo-Saxons, have developed the practice of going occasionally with their Anglo-Saxon co-workers to a local beer parlor to have a few beers on their way home to their evening meal. Lolli and his research team provide a description of the biochemical process involved and the potential alcoholism-inducing factors attached to this practice of drinking in a before-dinner cocktail period.

The cocktail hour fulfills all the qualifications for favoring the development of latent addictive traits into obvious alcoholism. Customarily scheduled late in the afternoon, the cocktail hour comes at a time when the individual's general resistance, and specifically the resistance of his central nervous system, are usually at their lowest ebb during the day. Fatigue is the theme of the hour...enhanced by dietary habits followed by many Americans -- certainly by many of those who adhere to the cocktail custom. Their noon-time meal is usually small, and sometimes is omitted....Thus the individual begins this hour in a state of general starvation plus a specific starvation for sugar -- an internal environment which provides the central nervous system with little protection against the toxic effects of excessive amounts of alcohol.<sup>45</sup>

Although this statement deals specifically with potential alcoholism, not inebriety, the same body conditions and biochemical reactions are also conducive to a fairly rapid development of inebriety by persons who participate in this drinking practice. I should add that I contacted a total of ~~ten~~ taxi-drivers who patrol the uptown area of Vancouver regularly and asked them if they could provide me with an approximate estimate of the number of Anglo-Saxon persons who are in a state of inebriety when they transport them to their homes during the early evening hours. I provided them also with my definition of inebriety for this study. The consensus of opinion was that the incidence of inebriety amongst Anglo-Saxons in the early evening of almost any day (except Sunday) is relatively high. They stated that they believed about seven out of every ten calls during the period from 7:30 p.m. to 10:00 p.m. are from persons, (mostly Anglo-Saxons) who have become slightly or considerably inebriated after drinking in the uptown drinking establishments. This represents an extremely limited amount of

impressionistic evidence. Time did not permit me to make a more comprehensive survey of the incidence of inebriety amongst Anglo-Saxons who participate in the cocktail hour at this particular stage of the study. As well, the personal bias of the taxi-drivers in deciding whether or not a person is an Anglo-Saxon is only one of many inadequacies of this very limited survey. However, from the foregoing statements by ethnic group informants and Vancouver taxi-drivers, though very limited in quantity and only impressionistic in quality, I have collected information from which I have generalized to offer a fifth hypothesis. In this hypothesis I propose that the incidence of inebriety will tend to be higher in groups who drink substantially and frequently in a socially specified period before their evening meal, than amongst groups who do not follow this practice.



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## CHAPTER II

### RESEARCH PLAN

The first step in the field work involved intensive inter-  
views with key informants in the three ethnic groups of the study. In order to gain some depth of understanding of the cultures in the three ethnic groups and to acquire information essential to the formulation of the hypotheses as well as to the construction of the questionnaire, I held many intensive interviews with key informants of each group.

Meetings on three occasions were arranged with Joan Adams, the director of the Vancouver Indian Centre. Miss Adams provided me with a substantial amount of information on Indian drinking practices derived from her experience as a school teacher for several years in a Northern Indian community in British Columbia, and as Director of the Indian centres in Los Angeles, California, and in Vancouver, British Columbia.

I contacted also several prominent Indian leaders of the Greater Vancouver Area, including Simon Baker, promoter of Indian leadership and Indian enterprises on the Capilano Reserve, Sam Lewis, Business Manager of the Squamish Band Council, Marshall Bro, President of the Coqualeetza Fellowship, which organization partially finances the Vancouver Indian Centre, and Gertrude Guerin, Indian worker on the Musqueam Reserve.

I held six meetings with Mario Tomsich, an Italian who has lived for about seven years in Vancouver. Prior to becoming a director of a recreation centre in Kerrisdale district, he served in a similar capacity in the heart of the Italian community in East Vancouver. Another Italian, Father Sordi, parish priest of Our Lady of Sorrows Catholic Church which is located in the Italian district, was interviewed on six occasions.

The key informants for the Anglo-Saxon community were Sheila Fry and Margaret Lamb. Mrs. Fry is a librarian in the Kerrisdale Branch of the Vancouver Public Library and Margaret Lamb is a proof-reader and a housewife. Both women lived for several years in the East End of Vancouver, where the thirty representatives of the Anglo-Saxon segment of my study were selected. Each was contacted six times.

The second step in the field work was the formulation of a concise and appropriate questionnaire. In constructing this questionnaire, attempts were made to formulate the questions in such a way that they would not influence the interviewees in presenting their answers. I am not certain that this can ever be achieved. It is an extremely difficult task to formulate a questionnaire which is scientifically objective and devoid of all biases of the researcher. I have no hesitancy in stating that this questionnaire inevitably contains some elements of bias and has many weaknesses from a scientific point of view. Nevertheless, I believe it is adequate to serve the purpose for which it was devised, and that is, to provide answers to the questions which

in turn give support to, or negate the proposed hypotheses. (See a copy of the questionnaire in the appendix.) The yes and no answers were used to constitute a part of Table 1 located in Chapter IV.

The third step in the field work was the selection and interviewing of thirty representatives from each ethnic group. Persons were chosen on the basis of attempted random selection from the three lists. Anglo-Saxons were chosen from the 1966 Voters List for the East Vancouver Electoral District. This list contained approximately 3,800 names. The Italian sample was chosen from Our Lady of Sorrows Catholic Church list. This list contained approximately 1,000 family names which represented about 2,200 individuals. The Coast Salish sample was chosen from the Squamish Band Council list which contained about 400 names. Approximately one week after letters introducing the researcher were mailed, persons receiving the letters were contacted personally by the researcher. Generally, interviews were arranged at this time of meeting between interviewee and researcher. Interviews were held either in the interviewee's living room or in their gardens. Interviews lasted from about 30 minutes to two hours. On most occasions the questionnaire provided an introduction to the topic and frequently a discussion of the topic in a more detailed and personal manner followed.

Although attempts were made to choose representatives of the three ethnic groups by random selection, there were some departures from strict, prescribed sampling techniques, and considerable inadequacy was involved in the total selection process. (a) The Voters

List contains all nationalities of persons who live in the East Electoral District of Vancouver. However, in order to obtain a relatively exclusive Anglo-Saxon sample, I selected only from those persons with Anglo-Saxon sounding names. This is one marked departure from the prescribed sampling technique necessary for representativeness of sample.

(b) Had the three ethnic groups members' lists been of comparable size then the samples obtained would have been comparable. However, this was not possible to achieve. The source from which I obtained the Anglo-Saxon sample contained approximately 3,800 names. The source from which I secured the Italian sample contained approximately 2,200 names, while the source for the Indian sample contained only 450 names. Therefore, the respective group samples are lacking in a desirable measure of comparability. This indicates another departure from the prescribed selection process. (c) Although the Voters List appears to be a relatively comprehensive and reliable document, it does not represent the total East Vancouver population. Not included on the list are the following: 1) Those who resided in the district in July of 1967 but were not there one year earlier when the enumeration of voters took place, 2) Persons who resided there in 1966, and at the time the sample was taken, 1967, but who were not Canadians at the time the enumeration of voters took place, 3) Persons who chose to be excluded from the Voters List. These three groups of non-registered persons form a category not represented in my sample.

Limited time did not permit me to use the Voters List in securing the Italian sample. After considerable exploration of other possible sampling sources, I was advised to use the Catholic Church list, which contained the greatest number of Italians living in the Greater Vancouver Area. Therefore, it appeared that this church list was the most comprehensive and reliable source at my disposal. Father Sordi, the parish priest who provided me with the list from which I selected the Italian sample, said that the largest number of the Italian population in Vancouver attend his church. A considerably smaller number, about 150 to 200 Italians, attend St. Francis Catholic church which is located in an adjacent area. Father Sordi also assured me that there were no non-Catholic Italians living in Vancouver. Although Our Lady of Sorrows Church List seems to be the most comprehensive and complete list of Italians available, it is inevitable that it is not representative of the total Italian population in Vancouver. Not on the list are the following Italians: (a) Those Italians who attend St. Francis Catholic Church, (b) Those Italians who may have been attending Our Lady of Sorrows Church at the time I made my selection, but were not yet recorded on the membership list, (c) Those Italians who have moved out of the district and now attend a church in another part of Vancouver. (A small percentage of immigrant Italians are scattered throughout the Greater Vancouver Area.) These three groups are not represented in my sample. I speculate that had they been included in the sampling source, and had some been selected for this study



who were more acculturated than the sample actually obtained, their presence might have skewed the findings in a way to give less support to the hypotheses than was actually given.

In the case of the Coast Salish Indians I would have preferred to include all Indian Reserve members of the Greater Vancouver Area. This was not possible. The Musqueam Reserve was not approachable since another researcher from the University of British Columbia had commenced a study there earlier in the year. A second study conducted on the same Reserve was not advisable. The Capilano Reserve was also not available as the Band leader considered it to be too small for this study. The Business Manager of the Squamish Band Council, however, assured me that a study of drinking patterns on the Mission Reserve would be acceptable and welcomed. My study of Indian drinking patterns was confined, therefore, to the Mission Reserve.

In the case of each group, samples were selected from limited and unrepresentative sources. Findings in the study therefore reflect both the many inadequacies of the sampling technique and unrepresentativeness of the sources from which samples were taken. However, I believe that the samples represent the three populations sufficiently for me to make the generalizations necessary to the study.

The Consequences of Rejection and Unavailability of Some Members Selected For the Sample in the Three Ethnic Groups.

Some degree of rejection occurred in each of the ethnic groups. In the Anglo-Saxon group, 55 letters of introduction were mailed in order

to obtain the thirty desired interviews. Twelve persons refused to take part. In the Italian group, 45 letters of introduction were mailed in order to get the thirty required interviews. Two persons refused to be involved in the study. In the Indian group, 50 letters were mailed in order to secure the thirty interviews. Eight persons refused to take part in the study. Time did not permit a survey of persons who refused to take part in order to determine the reasons for their refusal. It is difficult to speculate upon their reasons. However, in order to indicate the possible effects such refusals may have upon the findings, some limited impressionistic speculations about refusals are offered.

In the case of the Anglo-Saxons, I would speculate that twelve persons or a portion thereof, refused to be involved in the study because, (a) they have a drinking problem, (b) they resent intrusions to their privacy, (c) their comparatively low educational background makes them unaware of excessive drinking as a social problem. Therefore, they see no value in the study. In the case of the Italians, I would speculate that: (a) they may be very conscious of their cultural difference and feel insecure in a society which is still somewhat strange and unfriendly to them, (b) their comparatively low educational background also makes them unaware of social drinking and its problems and therefore, are not interested in participating in the study, (c) they too, resent intrusions. If the twelve Anglo-Saxons and eight Indians refused because they have a drinking problem, and were treating it, then, had

they taken part in the study, it is possible that their problem would have made them develop more negative views towards the consumption of alcoholic beverages. Findings would, therefore, be skewed in a direction to give additional support to the hypotheses generally. If the twelve Anglo-Saxons and eight Indians refused because they resent intrusions, then, had they taken part in the study, it is likely that their answers would follow the normative Italian pattern and this in turn would have skewed the results in a way to give more support to the hypotheses generally. If the two Italians refused because they resent intrusions it is likely that their answers would have been brief and their attitudes towards drinking followed traditional Italian views and this would have resulted in a skewing of the results to give additional support to the hypotheses. However, if the twelve Anglo-Saxons and eight Indians refused because they have a low educational background and are unaware of drunkenness as a social problem, then, had they taken part in the study, their lack of knowledge and appreciation for the seriousness of this problem may have directed them into a more positive attitude towards drinking and this would have skewed the results in a way to give less support to the hypotheses than was actually given. If the two Italians refused because they felt unsure in the dominant white society, then, had they participated in the study, it is likely they would have provided answers which followed the lines of traditional Italian attitudes towards drinking and this would have skewed the results to give additional support to the hypotheses generally. If the two Italians

refused to participate because of their comparatively low educational background and lack of knowledge of the incidence of problem attached to social drinking in our society, then, had they taken part in the study, it is highly likely that they would still provide answers typical of traditional Italian attitudes towards alcoholic beverages and these would have skewed the results in a way to give additional support to the hypotheses.

In the three groups of the study some members selected were not available. This was due to, (a) a change of residence, or, (b) some selected persons were never at home at the time I called. Again, had these persons been involved in the study, there is a possibility that the findings would have been different from those actually obtained. Thirteen persons were unavailable in both the Anglo-Saxon and Indian groups, while twelve persons were unavailable in the Italian group. Therefore, the incidence of unavailability is about the same in all groups. Had these persons been available, and had they participated in the study, how would the results have been affected? On the basis of impressionistic speculation I offer the following possibilities. If the thirteen unavailable Anglo-Saxons had taken part in the study and possessed a more positive view towards drinking than those who actually took part, then the results would have been skewed in a way to give less support to the hypotheses than was actually given. If the thirteen unavailable Indians had taken part in the study and were more acculturated to the dominant Anglo-Saxon society than those who actually participated, then the results would have been skewed in a

direction which would give more support to the hypotheses than was the case. If the thirteen Indians who were unavailable had participated in the study and had a more positive view towards drinking than those who actually took part, then the results would have been skewed in a way to give less support to the hypotheses. If the twelve unavailable Italians had taken part in the study and were more acculturated to the dominant Anglo-Saxon ways than those who did take part, then the results would have been skewed in a way to give less support to the hypotheses than was actually the case. These are only speculations, however, they indicate some of the potential inadequacies in the selection process resulting from rejection and availability of some members in the three groups. I suggest that they be taken into account when assessment of the validity of the findings actually recorded in the study, is made.

The fourth step in the field work involved the observation of ethnic group members in their drinking establishments. In an attempt to find additional information which might be used to test the hypotheses, I went on twelve consecutive Friday evenings and eight Wednesday evenings to beer parlors and other drinking establishments that members of the three ethnic groups were known to frequent. Saturday evenings are considered by many persons as the most appropriate and most popular evening on which to drink. Therefore, had I attended these establishments on Saturdays, it is possible that I might have acquired a different set of observations than those actually obtained. It was

physically impossible, however, for me to make observations on Saturday evenings.

I usually followed a set procedure on my evenings of observation. I arrived at the drinking establishments at about 10:00 p.m. I sat at a table where only one or two persons were seated. I started a conversation with those present. I stayed in the beer parlor or restaurant for two to three hours. While there, I occupied my time by (a) holding conversations with people in an attempt to find out the reasons for their excessive drinking, (b) watching persons striking up conversations with those whom they did not know previously, and (c) attempting to hear conversations of others sitting across the table in the expectation that some of their conversation might offer evidence to test some of my hypotheses.

#### Critique of the Research Design and the Data

I have indicated some of the weaknesses and limitations of the research design in describing the steps involved in the method. Following is a summary of the major areas of weakness. Additional factors operative in affecting the quality of the data also need to be indicated.

1. The questions included on the questionnaire may have contained some elements of bias on the part of the researcher.
2. Limitations of the samples resulted from (a) the fact that samples selected could not claim randomness and representativeness in

the strict sampling sense, (b) the sources from which representatives were selected for the three ethnic groups were not wholly comparable in size and, (c) the sources from which representatives were selected in each ethnic group were not wholly representative of the total ethnic group which resides in the Greater Vancouver area.

3. Observations of members of the ethnic groups drinking in their social drinking settings were extremely limited in quantity. The researcher believes that had she been able to live with a family in each of the ethnic groups for three months or longer, observations made and findings obtained undoubtedly would have been more useful and more comprehensive. This was not financially possible.
4. In the absence of desired statistical evidence required to give support to the basic premises of the study which were relevant to the relatively low incidence of inebriety amongst Italians and a relatively higher incidence of inebriety amongst Indians, the researcher relied heavily upon impressionistic evidence obtained from law enforcement and government officials. The use of such impressionistic evidence rather than statistical evidence provides only a limited substantiation of these premises.
5. In the absence of useful and appropriate literature on the cultural background of the three ethnic groups, the researcher relied heavily upon the impressionistic statements of her key informants. Such evidence is less valid in substantiating descriptions of the

respective group cultures than documented writings.

6. There was a variation in the quality and the quantity of data from one interview to another, depending upon how satisfactory the rapport was between the researcher and the interviewees. This ranged from very friendly and cooperative rapport with discussions that lasted two to three hours, to relationships that lasted no longer than the length of time required for the interviewees to complete the questionnaire.
7. There were considerable variations too, in the conditions under which interviews were held. (a) On most occasions the researcher was invited into the interviewee's home and sat comfortably with only the interviewee and the researcher present. On other occasions, wives, children, relatives or friends were present. Where this occurred, I would speculate that the presence of such persons probably directed the interviewee in each ethnic group to provide answers which gave support to the sanctioned or traditional views the respective group held on its drinking patterns. Therefore, in all groups, on such occasions, the results would tend to be skewed in a direction which gave greater support to the proposed hypotheses, than on occasions where such persons were not present at the interview. (b) On some occasions, interviewees were interrupted in the interview by phone calls, crying children or barking dogs. After the interview was resumed, sometimes the attitude of the interviewees changed from one of interest and cooperation to one of disinterest



and slight annoyance. I would speculate that on these occasions, regardless of the ethnic group representative involved, interviewees probably provided answers which generally supported the sanctioned or traditional views the respective group held on its drinking patterns. Therefore, on these occasions it is possible that the results were skewed in a way which gave greater support to the proposed hypotheses than on other occasions where there were no interruptions. (c) On some occasions interviewees offered the researcher wine, beer or coffee as an accompaniment to the interview. On these occasions I observed that the interviewees usually appeared to be more relaxed and less inhibited in answering the questionnaire than on some occasions where this did not occur. I would speculate that where this occurred in the Anglo-Saxon sample, interviewees may have provided answers which did not necessarily enforce the traditional Anglo-Saxon Protestant view which tends to regard alcoholic beverages generally, in a negative or ambivalent way. Therefore, possibly on these occasions they may have felt less pressured to follow the prescribed, social, normative attitude of their Anglo-Saxon heritage. Thus, it is possible that such results were skewed in a way which gave less support to the hypotheses than on occasions where such beverages were not provided. I would speculate that where such beverages accompanied the Italian interviews, there was probably little or no difference in their answers. (Italians generally view alcoholic beverages in a positive light and as

containing nutritive value.) Therefore, it is possible that there was little or no skewing of the results on these occasions and little or no alteration in the degree of support given to the hypotheses. On no occasion did the Indian interviewees offer the researcher beverages as an accompaniment to the interview. Therefore, there is no need to speculate on variations in their answers which might have created alterations in the degree of support rendered to the hypotheses.

### CHAPTER III

#### BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON THE ETHNIC GROUPS OF THE STUDY

This study focuses specifically on cultural similarities and differences as manifest in drinking patterns of three ethnic groups and the condition of inebriety. In order to put drinking patterns in proper perspective with the over-all cultural framework of each group, it is necessary to provide some information on various cultural aspects of the three groups. Therefore, a brief discussion follows on the socio-economic position, the kinship structure, family relationships, the concept of childhood, attitudes towards occupation and status, and attitudes towards material possessions in the three groups. The relationships between these cultural aspects of each group and its drinking patterns will be considered in the concluding chapter of the dissertation.

Before commencing this section of the study, I would like to re-iterate that the lack of appropriate background literature on the ethnic groups of the study effected a serious limitation to the study. This was particularly so in the case of the Italian group where no literature on local or Canadian-Italian culture exists. While a limited number of written accounts are available on some of the Coast Salish Indians, no appropriate literature was available on the local Anglo-Saxon community. Since a strain of Anglo-Saxon heritage seems to have continued to be evident in the American society, I am assuming

that the cultural background of the Anglo-Saxons in the study is similar to that of American society. I realize the validity of this assumption can be questioned. Therefore, I consulted my informants for their views on the appropriateness to the local group of any American literature I used in the study. I am aware however, that my Anglo-Saxon informants' views may contain elements of bias. I consulted also my Italian and Indian informants for their opinions on the appropriateness and applicability of writings on Italian and Indian literature used in the study. Consequently, the impressionistic statements of my informants for each group, form a large part of my reference material. However, while there are no studies available on Italian culture in Vancouver, a substantial amount of research has been done on Italian culture in Boston, U.S.A. Therefore, I have taken the liberty of selecting one of these comprehensive American studies -- specifically one by<sup>1</sup> Herbert J. Gans, for the purpose of providing information on traditional Italian culture. Immediately several questions are posed. Is it advisable for one to use a reference which was conducted on Italian culture in another locality for this study? From a scientific point of view it is not advisable and serves to weaken the validity of the study. However, it appears at the present time, that there are few, if any, alternatives in securing essential background information on the Italian portion of the study. Is it likely that the traditional background culture of the Italians in present-day Boston, as described by Gans, is similar to that of Italian culture in Vancouver? What

evidence, if any, can be secured to support this view? In an attempt to obtain some such evidence, even though it is limited and impressionistic, I consulted my two key Italian informants and presented them with portions of the Gans' study which described some of the cultural features of the Italian community in Boston and asked them for their views as to whether or not these traditional cultural features appear to continue to prevail amongst Italians in the Vancouver area. Both stated that Gans' statements on much of the traditional Italian cultural background in Boston could be applied, with some degree of minor modification, to the Italian community in Vancouver. My informants' impressionistic opinions provide limited evidence. However, it suggests the strong possibility that similarities in cultural background of the two Italian communities, one in Boston, U.S.A. and one in Vancouver, Canada, may exist.

Sources of literature used as reference in the study on the cultural background of the Coast Salish Indians included one study by Barnett,<sup>2</sup> two studies by Lemert,<sup>3</sup> and one by Hawthorn, Belshaw and Jamieson<sup>4</sup> which discussed Indians of the Northwest Coast in general. I have attempted also to assess the usefulness and appropriateness of these studies in discussing the Coast Salish Indians of the Mission Reserve. As I indicated earlier, my key Indian informants, to some measure, participated with me in these criticisms and assessments.

A Brief Discussion of the Socio-Economic Positions of the Three Ethnic Groups.

In establishing socio-economic indices for any group, several criteria are applied. Extensive, comprehensive analysis of statistics on education, incomes, organizational membership, church affiliation and other relevant information is essential. No attempt is made here to offer any such detailed analysis in the three groups. All that I attempt to do is make some broad, general comparisons of the annual average incomes of male members of the three groups, with a view to finding out to what extent they appear to be comparable. (See Table 1). I obtained these annual average incomes for male members of the respective groups from the Census of Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics for the year 1961, hence they are useful only as an index for comparing the three ethnic groups and not as an indication of contemporary incomes;. From the annual average income listed on Table 1., for each occupation, in each group, I calculated the average annual earnings per male adult group worker. In the Anglo-Saxon sample, this figure was \$3,671.00 and in the Indian sample the figure was \$3,371.00 while in the Italian sample it was \$3,374.00 in the year 1961. Therefore, according to this one criterion, income, the socio-economic positions of the three groups appear to be comparable. However, this statement needs some clarification and interpretation. It contains at least five underlying assumptions as it stands. (a) The incidence of employment and unemployment was the same for all three ethnic groups. (b) Male members in each ethnic group were employed the same number of months of the year.

TABLE 1.

Occupations for the Three Ethnic Groups and the Average Annual Incomes for Each Occupation for the year, 1961.

Occupations	Anglo-Saxons	Italians	Indians	Annual Average Income, 1961*
Waiter	1		2	1,967
Janitor	2	1		2,249
Cook		1		2,663
Laborer		7	6	2,678
Handyman			1	2,720
Warehouseman	2	2	1	3,109
Fisherman		2	2	3,140
Bartender	1			3,174
Finisher		1		3,280
Cabinet Maker	1	1		3,378
Contractor	1			3,430
Bookkeeper	1			3,437
Lather	1			3,460
Planer			1	3,464
Carpenter		2		3,500
Packer (meat)	1			3,505
Clerk	8	2		3,532
Trimmer			1	3,616
Watchman			1	3,690
Longshoreman	1	2	11	3,733
Welder			1	3,798
Presser (saw mill)		2		3,825
Truck driver	2			3,885
Painter		2	1	4,110
Cutter (saw mill)	1			4,112
Machinist	2			4,367
Mill worker			2	4,638
Chain grinder		1		4,793
Boatman	1			4,968
Foreman	1			5,037
Railway Engineer	1			6,014
Manager (hotel)		1		6,105
Sub-foreman		2		
Widows	2	1		
Total Number in Samples	30	30	30	
Average Annual Income per Male Worker	\$3,671.00	\$3,374.00	\$3,371.00	

\* Census of Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Bulletin 3.3-8, Catalogue, 94-540, 25-97, 25-110, 1961.

(c) Generally, the members of each group made the same annual income,  
(d) All tradesmen in each ethnic group made the same annual income,  
(e) The socio-economic position in terms of life style for each group, is likely to be similar. These assumptions require a closer examination. Although I have limited available statistics to support my view, I have considerable impressionistic information from my key Indian and Italian informants, as well as from my personal knowledge, which would indicate that these assumptions are invalid, to a large degree. My key Indian informants say that seven years ago unemployment amongst Indians of many of the local Coast Salish Reserves was a serious problem. Today, however, the problem has lessened considerably. This information, combined with the probability that Indians experience some degree of discrimination in the labor market at any time, leads me to believe that unemployment generally would be greater amongst the Indian group than amongst the Anglo-Saxon and Italian groups. As well, according to one of my key Indian informants, Indians who are employed in sawmills, plywood plants and other related industries frequently work only during these companies' busy periods and thus work only a part of the year. Therefore, it is highly likely that Indians work a shorter number of months per year than their Anglo-Saxon and Italian neighbors. A segment of the Anglo-Saxon population is also employed in these types of industries and consequently also may frequently work only a part of the year. Anglo-Saxons however, are not subject to discrimination for the same reasons or to the same degree, as are



Indians. Unemployment amongst the Italian group seven years ago and today, tends to be relatively low according to one of my key Italian informants. Father Sordi states that close family and friendship ties tend to develop a sense of mutual responsibility amongst Italians for their shared economic welfare. Brothers, cousins and friends help one another secure and retain employment in the Italian community. Therefore, unemployment amongst the Italian group would tend to be lower than that amongst the Indian group and possibly the Anglo-Saxon group as well.

Tradesmen in each group do not necessarily make the same annual incomes. Factors such as (a) size and financial position of the business or industry wherein one is employed and (b) the length of service one has in his particular position or occupation are just two factors involved in determining an individual's annual average income within any one trade. Therefore, there are likely to be several levels of income for any one trade and these may vary substantially from one ethnic group to another.

Life style also may vary greatly from one ethnic group to another although the average annual income of its male members may appear to be comparable. The comparatively large family of the average Indian makes this group considerably poorer than their Anglo-Saxon and Italian neighbors. This is reflected in their lower level of life style and comfort. Duff provides some statistical information on the generally large family size of average Indian parents.

As a result of the recent rapid increase, the (registered) Indians of today form an extraordinarily young population. Their median age is between 15 and 16, while that of the non-Indians of the Province is about 30. There are exceedingly large numbers of infants and children. 35 per cent of the Indians are under 10, compared with 22 per cent in the general population. There are also large numbers of teen-agers; 23 per cent are between 10 and 20, compared with 15 per cent in the general population. Adults of working age are proportionately few. 36 per cent in the 20-60 age bracket, as against 49 per cent in the Province as a whole....One-quarter of the Indians are 6 and under, half are under 16, three-quarters are under 32.<sup>5</sup>

In summary, therefore, it is noted that although the annual average income of the male members of the three ethnic groups appear to be comparable according to the statistical table provided, a closer examination of the underlying assumptions implicit in the table, shows that Anglo-Saxon, Italian and Indian groups are likely to differ in varying degrees in terms of incidence of unemployment and employment, portions of the year employed, levels of annual income within the same trade, and in levels of life style. Therefore, the socio-economic positions of the three ethnic groups may be considerably less comparable than the statistical table would indicate. However, lending some degree of support to possible similarity in socio-economic position between the Anglo-Saxon and the Italian groups is a recent publication<sup>6</sup> by the United Community Services. This publication contains maps which indicate the socio-economic positions of individuals living in various census tracts in Vancouver. Criteria used for establishing these positions were: (a) income -- percent of male labor force with annual income \$6,000 or more, (b) occupation -- percent of male labor

force in managerial or professional occupations, and (c) education -- percent of total population 5 years and over, not attending school, who have attended university. (See maps 1 and 2 in the appendix.)

### A Brief Discussion of Kinship Structure in the Three Ethnic Groups

Before commencing discussion on the kinship structure of the Anglo-Saxon group involved in the study, I should state that I have assumed it to be largely typical of American society in general. However, the only evidence I have to substantiate this assumption are my own impressions of local Anglo-Saxon society and the limited, impressionistic statements of my key informants. I believe Homans and Schneider provide a relevant and appropriate description of kinship in America:

The American kinship system is marked by bilateral descent, and the nuclear family and the kindred are the basic kin groups. Marriage is monogamous and residence is neolocal, and inheritance by testamentary disposition.<sup>8</sup>

The Anglo-Saxon kinship system may be considered patrilineal in two respects: children inherit their surnames and their nationalities from the father's side of the family. To provide an explicit definition of the term "nuclear family", I refer to Murdock's description:

The nuclear family consists typically, of a married man and woman with their offspring, although in individual cases one or more additional persons may reside with them. The nuclear family will be familiar to the reader as the type of family recognized to the exclusion of all others by our own society.<sup>9</sup>

The Italian kinship system, like that of the Anglo-Saxons, is bilateral. Residence is neolocal and marriage is monogamous. Household structure is nuclear. However, Gans, in his comprehensive study of

Italian culture in Boston, observes that: "Although households are nuclear or expanded, the family itself is still closer to the extended type."<sup>10</sup> This does not apply to their economic situation for there are few, if any, opportunities for people to work together in commercial or manufacturing activities. For social and psychological purposes the kin group seems to resemble an extended family:

The extended family actually functions best as a social circle, in which relatives who share the same interests, and who are otherwise compatible, enjoy each other's company. Members of the family circle also offer advice and other help on everyday problems.<sup>11</sup>

Assuming that the traditional Italian culture in Vancouver is similar to that of Italians in Boston, (my key informants suggest this probability), a question arises. To what extent does this continue to prevail amongst Italians in the Vancouver Area? After conducting the thirty interviews for my study in the Italian community, I have the<sup>12</sup> impression that traditional Italian culture, as described by Gans, to a large extent, has continued to prevail amongst local Italians in Vancouver. Frequently, when in the interview setting, interviewees would introduce me to their sisters, mothers, cousins and other kin members who happened to be visiting them at the time of our interviews. Several Italian families told me that at least twice a week all their married children and their families gather for social get-togethers. (See photographs of one of these occasions in the appendix.) These observations, though limited in scope, offer some support to Gans' statement about the extended family and its need for shared social activities. Gans states:

For the West Ender, sociability is a routinized gathering of a relatively unchanging peer group of family members and friends that takes place several times a week. One could almost say that the meetings of the group are at the vital center of West End life, that they are the end for which other everyday activities are the means.<sup>13</sup>

Barnett discusses the kinship structure of the Coast Salish Indians in the early and traditional form:

Blood relationship was as binding on the maternal as on the paternal side, but the fact that new family units generally took up residence with the husband's family tipped the balance in favor of paternal affiliation. Sometimes the new family unit moved into the home of the wife's father or brother, but not usually.<sup>14</sup>

My two key Indian informants stated, that to their knowledge, Barnett's statement was applicable to Coast Salish Indians of the Squamish Band at an earlier time. However, many aspects of kinship structure of the Coast Salish people have experienced much change in the past few decades. According to my key Indian informants, Sam Lewis and Simon Baker, the Coast Salish Indians are considered to be amongst the most acculturated Indians on the Northwest Coast. We need to bear in mind, however, that some elements of personal bias may be contained in these informants' opinions. Nevertheless, it would appear to the researcher that those Reserves within the Coast Salish Tribe which are located close to non-Indian communities, have experienced a substantial degree of acculturation. The economic pursuits of Indians residing on the Mission and Capilano Reserves in the non-Indian, industrialized society, combined with their geographic proximity to the Anglo-Saxon communities, offers them little opportunity today to perpetuate many of their tradi-

tional cultural life patterns, involving traditional kin responsibilities. The Mission Reserve, where I conducted part of this study, is in the centre of a North Vancouver commercial and residential area. Members of both the Mission and Capilano Reserves, located about two miles apart, have many opportunities to mix and socialize with members of the non-Indian community. Most male adult members of these two Reserves work in the immediate district or across Burrard Inlet in Vancouver. They are employed in lumber mills, sawmills, plywood plants, logging companies and as skilled and unskilled laborers. All associate with the non-Indian community in their occupations. The children attend integrated nursery, elementary and high schools. Many children and teenagers are members of the North Shore Neighborhood House where they have the opportunity to mingle freely with non-Indian children and young people in recreation programs.

Although Indians are involved economically and socially in many non-Indian activities and have experienced much acculturation, my observations at the time of the interviews, indicate that they, like the Italians to some extent, continue to stress the extended family, or parts of the extended family group, in both social and psychologically supportive ways. Frequently, when I was conducting an interview, the interviewee's brothers, sisters, father or cousins were visiting him. Sam Lewis, one of my key informants, said he believes strong ties remain in many instances between brothers and cousins on this Reserve. I noticed too, that brothers and cousins often live next door to one another or across the street from one another on the Mission Reserve.

In summary, I would suggest that while both Indians and Italians are neolocal in residence with a nuclear family structure, in social settings and for the purpose of providing one another with psychological support, they continue to a large extent, to act as a kinship unit. Anglo-Saxons on the other hand, involve kin and family much less in their social life and their problem situations.

#### Family Relationships in the Respective Ethnic Groups of the Study.

In the Anglo-Saxon family the closest bond is that between husband and wife. Broom and Selznick describe it:

Entering a primary relation presumes acceptance of a whole person. This is recognized in the relation between husband and wife, which is understood to be not a contract but an unlimited commitment one to the other, where each assumes full responsibility for the other's well being.<sup>15</sup>

Traditionally, and today in the Italian community, according to Gans, although the husband-wife bond is close, it does not compare with that of the Anglo-Saxon group.

With the West Ender...not only is there less communication and conversation between husband and wife, but there is also much less gratification of the needs of one spouse by the other. Husbands and wives come together for procreation and sexual gratification, but less so for mutual satisfaction or emotional needs or problem-solving.<sup>16</sup>

Bonds between siblings of the same sex are often stronger than those between husbands and wives in Italian society.

In a society where male and female roles are sharply distinguished, the man quickly learns that, on many occasions, his brother is a better source of advice and counsel than his wife.<sup>17</sup>

Although I was not able to secure recorded information on the specific relationships between husband and wife in the Coast Salish society, the opinion of two of my Indian informants is that the wife-husband bond was less important than the male sibling bond. We know also that traditionally, the extended family was predominant and that blood relationship was the primary factor uniting members of the extended family.<sup>18</sup> From such evidence I would suggest that the relationship between male siblings probably was closer than that between husband and wife.

In the Anglo-Saxon group relationships between child and mother tend to be stronger than those between child and father. Mother is usually seen as being the authority figure. Broom and Selznick offer an explanation::

Conditions of suburban life in the United States have given rise to a "matricentric" family pattern within a formal patriarchalism. Because commuting keeps the husband out of ~~touch~~ with the family during the daylight hours, because the wife controls day-to-day expenditures, and because she is the family "social secretary", she makes most decisions about the domestic and social life of the family, and the children look to her as the seat of effective authority.<sup>19</sup>

The relationship between child and mother in the Italian family also appears to be stronger than that between child and father. This relationship differs little from that in the Anglo-Saxon family.

While the husband's main role is breadwinning, the wife is responsible for all functions concerning home and child, even the finding of an apartment....Responsible for overseeing the rearing of the child, the mother may even administer discipline, although this is usually left to the father when he comes home from work.<sup>20</sup>

In the Indian group grandparents held an important position in the society. While grandmothers played an important role in socializing



their female grandchildren and in advising daughters, grandfathers were important where grandsons were concerned, and in advising sons. Again, one of my key informants, Sam Lewis, supports Barnett when he states:

Each male child was the especial charge of his father or, more particularly, his father's father who was better informed on the customs of the group and more habituated to its traditions and values. The approved man, the successful man, was the one who had "listened to his grandfather's words."<sup>21</sup>

According to my key Indian informants, the role of grandparents in educating the children is less important than it was at an earlier time. However, they continue to wield some influence within the family and to retain a position of esteem and respect. Today, like the Anglo-Saxon family, mother plays a very important role in the socializing of Indian children.

In summary, I would suggest that amongst the Anglo-Saxon group, the husband-wife relationship is one of mutual responsibility and respect, while amongst the Italian and Indian groups, male sibling relationships are often stronger than husband-wife relationships. From my observations of Indians drinking in their social establishments, I would suggest that the relationship between husband and wife in the Indian community is becoming similar to that in the Anglo-Saxon community. Frequently, husbands and wives were seen drinking together in the beer parlor in a fashion similar to that of their Anglo-Saxon neighbors. (See photographs in the appendix.) Furthermore, most Indian children are educated in integrated schools and the close relationship which formerly existed between children and fathers or children and

grandparents is considerably less important than it was at an earlier time. Sam Lewis, a key Indian informant states it briefly: "The whole Indian society is in a process of transition."<sup>22</sup>

A Brief Discussion of the Concept of Childhood in the Three Ethnic Groups.

Anglo-Saxons today, and for the past half-century, consider childhood to be a clearly defined and important part of the total life experience. In America this concept of childhood emerged after the inception and growth of Labour Unions following World War I. Amongst the occupational grievances with which Labor Unions were concerned was child labor. Therefore, during the past fifty years as Labor Unions have gained stature, power, and success in effecting the abolition of child labor, childhood in Western Anglo-Saxon dominated societies has become a progressively more extended period with characteristics and an importance of its own. In the Western world, children have developed their own games, stories, kinds of communication, ways of seeing and dealing with the world, in short, their own sub-culture. Opie and Opie describe this Western concept of childhood and refer to it as a "self contained community."

No matter how uncouth schoolchildren may outwardly appear, they remain tradition's warmest friends. Like the savage, they are respecters, even generators, of custom and in their self-contained community their basic lore and language seems scarcely to alter from generation to generation.<sup>23</sup>

Traditionally, Italians regarded childhood as a relatively short unimportant period.

Childhood as noted earlier, was a brief period, which ended about or even before the age of ten. From then on, the young person occupied an adult economic role, but remained in the household, contributed to the family income, and obeyed the patriarchal regulations until he married.<sup>24</sup>

Coast Salish Indians, like many pre-literate societies, and literate societies before the inception and growth of the Labor Union Movement, placed little emphasis on the period of childhood. Children were encouraged to prepare themselves very early in life for the adult world and to become involved in the economic pursuits of the society whether it be food gathering or agriculture. In a discussion of the Coast Salish Indian children, Barnett states: "Children were impressed with the importance of industry and ambition from an early age."<sup>25</sup> Coast Salish Indians considered maturity and adulthood to arrive at puberty:

Ceremonies marking the attainment of maturity were held for both boys and girls. The celebration for the girl followed the period of seclusion which coincided with her first menstruation. For the pubescent boy, comparable recognition ceremonies were held within a wider time range.<sup>26</sup>

In summary, I would suggest that traditionally, Coast Salish Indians, Italians and Anglo-Saxons all had a similar view about the concept of childhood. They perceived it as a relatively short period with much stress placed on the need for children to become economically productive. The Anglo-Saxon society however, experienced change in its concept of childhood after the development and growth of the Labor Union Movement in Western societies. The abolition of child labor

provided children with a span of years which permitted them to participate in more extensive education as well as recreational and creative activities. It is only during the past 50 years that the period of childhood in Western, Anglo-Saxon societies has come to be regarded as an important segment of an individual's total life experience. While the concept of childhood appeared to be different in the Anglo-Saxon society, from that in the Indian and Italian societies during the past decade or two, this concept is changing for both Italians and Indians. Their sustained and close contact with Anglo-Saxons is effecting their acculturation to the dominant Anglo-Saxon way of viewing childhood.

#### Attitudes Toward Occupations and Status in the Three Ethnic Groups.

Since the spread of Protestantism in Western societies, Anglo-Saxons, it appears, have placed much importance on individual effort, ambition and success in one's occupation, all of which usually result in accumulated wealth and good status in one's group. These acquisitions provide the Anglo-Saxon with security. Indians, on the other hand, it appears, hold to a different view about occupations, promotions and status; Hawthorn and his researchers state:

In primitive society, however, the individual is secure because he can claim customary subsistence at least, from family and kinsfolk. But the reciprocal of this is that family and kinsfolk can make similar claims on him, particularly when he has the good fortune or ability to earn a superior income. Such possibilities sometimes discourage extra effort or ambition. Promotion, accumulation of capital, or

successful entrepreneurship may entail greater risk for the individual in primitive society, as they require, in effect, that to protect his enterprise from claims, he cut himself off entirely from the familiar ties with family and neighborhood.<sup>27</sup>

Status also, was acquired in a different way in Indian society, than it was in Anglo-Saxon society. Hawthorn and his team continue:

In many Indian cultures, status tends to be inherited rather than acquired, by virtue of identification with and position in a particular family or kinship group. Status or prestige may have little or nothing to do with possession of wealth.<sup>28</sup>

Hawthorn also provides a lucid treatment of the solidarity of family ties and their relationship to employment:

Steady wage-work away from family and village threatens to destroy such relationships and may give rise to feelings of anxiety and insecurity...To the Indian, security is likely to mean casual employment, the right to leave the job in order to preserve the ties with home and village and to engage in band activities.<sup>29</sup>

The Hawthorn team study conducted between 1954 and 1956 needs to be assessed for its appropriateness to this dissertation which has been undertaken about twelve years later. One obvious limitation of the Hawthorn study is that it involved Indians of the Northwest Coast in general, whereas this study is concerned specifically with Coast Salish Indians residing in an urban area. As well, during a period of twelve years, considerable change may have occurred within the Indian concept of status and security and within their attitudes towards employment. I consulted my key Indian informants and asked them to assist me in assessing the above statements in terms of Coast Salish present day view of the acquisition of status, security and attitudes towards

engagement in a regular employment. They said that they believed Hawthorn's statements in regard to those factors continued to prevail, but to a much lesser degree today than formerly.

Traditionally, Italians did not show themselves to be strongly ambitious or to seek occupations which offer substantial salaries and high prestige. Gans states:

For the West Ender, work means labor, and the expenditure of physical energy under frequently unpleasant working conditions....The ideal job is thought of as one that pays the most money for the least physical discomfort, avoids strenuous or "dirty" physical labor, demands no emotional involvement, such as "taking the job home with you," requires no submission to arbitrary authority, and provides compatible companions at work.<sup>30</sup>

In summary, I would suggest that neither Indians nor Italians were very ambitious in the Anglo-Saxon interpretation of the word. Neither did they have a great desire to accumulate wealth on an individual basis. Both groups attached more importance to kinship relations and specifically it appears, to peer group ties, than has been the custom amongst Anglo-Saxons. Anglo-Saxons, since the spread of the Protestant Ethic appear to have been in strong contrast to Indians in respect to their attitudes towards ambition, occupational success, and in their concept of security and status. However, as Indians and Italians are experiencing closer and sustained contact with Anglo-Saxons, they are becoming acculturated to the dominant Anglo-Saxon way of life. Consequently, substantial change is occurring in many of their attitudes and concepts. By their employment in industry and

commerce both on the North Shore and in Vancouver, Coast Salish Indians of the Mission and Capilano Reserves, to a large degree, appear to be accepting the Anglo-Saxon idea of associating regular wages with financial security. The earlier discussion in chapter two on the socio-economic position of the Indians, indicated that a fair percentage of the Indians of this community are employed on a regular and permanent basis.

#### Attitudes Towards Material Possessions in the Three Ethnic Groups.

Anglo-Saxons place a high value on the accumulation of wealth and material possessions. Hawthorn offers an explanation. "Material<sup>31</sup> possessions can indicate status and offer prestige." In the Anglo-Saxon sample of this study, I observed that in every home I visited, there was a television set -- and at least one automobile. Some Anglo-Saxon homes had barbeques, sun decks and attractive flower gardens. Many homes had comparatively new major appliances and living room furniture. In no instances was there any noticeable evidence of material deprivation.

From my observations at the time of the interviews it appeared that members of the Italian sample held to a similar view about the importance of material comfort and emulative expenditures on material items in home furnishings, furniture and automobiles.

Homes on the Mission Reserve however, for the most part, were in strong contrast to those of the Anglo-Saxons and Italians.

Traditionally, all Northwest Coast Indians had a rich material culture as compared with many other Indian tribes of America. This was manifest in fishing and hunting gear, cooking utensils, serving dishes, spoons, platters, storage boxes, moccasins, blankets, cradles, pipes, hats, mats, and an abundance of highly decorative and intricate ceremonial paraphernalia.<sup>32</sup> However, it did not compare with the high level of development and refinement of Europeans in the late neo-lithic period. Today, however, traditional Northwest Coast Indian materialism is no longer a vital part of their culture. Nor does it appear that they have acquired the desire for Anglo-Saxon material possessions, to any appreciable degree. I suggest however, that the lack of importance the Indians seem to attach to material comforts and possessions is not due solely to an attitude of disinterest. The Indians of British Columbia generally, are poorer than their Anglo-Saxon and Italian neighbors. "It must be remembered that much of the bareness, poor construction, and overcrowding of Indian homes today is the result of limited resources."<sup>33</sup> This is the view expressed in the Hawthorn study which was made between 1954 and 1956. Their low economic positions continues to be a serious problem for the Indian today. Duff explains this difficult situation in the Indian community in terms of an age-distribution which is much younger than the average:

Even if they were the most highly paid wage-earners in the Province, the relatively small number of men of working age would be hard pressed to provide housing, clothing, and education for the large number of children. But they have a relatively low rate of employment and relatively low cash incomes.<sup>34</sup>



The most realistic explanation for their lack of material possessions may well be their relatively poorer economic position than that of the Anglo-Saxons and Italians in the study. However, another explanation which I believe merits some consideration is their apparent disregard for and disinterest in, Anglo-Saxon material possessions. This was evident when I visited Indian homes on the Mission Reserve as a part of this study. I gained the impression that Indians generally, are much less concerned with impressive and elaborate appearances and decorative furnishings than their Anglo-Saxon neighbors. Most of the Indians homes had a television set but the rest of the furnishings and furniture were often minimal. What they did possess was often worn, faded or broken. In many homes no attempts appeared to be made to mend broken furniture. Carpets and curtains were frequently absent. Very few had flower gardens of any size. In only a small number of homes were the furnishings of a comparatively new or good quality and in good repair.

Statements by Lemert in his study of some Coast Salish Tribes conducted between the years 1952 and 1953, provide some support for the view that Indians are less concerned with emulative consumption of material goods than the white man. These statements also indicate the relationship between their attitude towards Anglo-Saxon materialism and their drinking patterns.

The Indian necessarily spends money for manufactured and processed foods, clothing, fuel, engines, and parts for boats, but beyond this level of essential expenditures it is highly

questionable whether he has adopted the standards of emulative consumption that typify white expenditure behavior. In a very real sense many coastal Indians are confronted with the problem of what to do with surplus money once their immediate economic needs have been met. No longer committed to the traditional potlatch system of distributing their wealth, the coastal Indians have difficulty in making use of money in ways sanctioned by white culture. Considering its meaning for Indian-white relationships, the expenditure of money for liquor may be the most satisfactory alternative for many Indians.<sup>35</sup>

The Lemert study needs to be examined in the light of its appropriateness and applicability to Indians of the Mission Reserve. From a scientific point of view, it has some limitations. Lemert did not indicate the adequacy of his sampling methods specifically, nor his research method generally. As well, the study took place more than twelve years ago and considerable changes in attitude and values of Indians may have transpired since that time. Although the Lemert study involved Coast Salish tribes, they were not located in urban areas. To assist me in assessing and criticising the usefulness and appropriateness of these statements, I consulted my key Indian informants. They believed that there are indications of change in the Indian attitude towards white man's material possessions and the use of money generally. Some Indians of the Mission and Capilano Reserves have started to improve the general condition of their homes and have managed to save money for these undertakings or have obtained credit for this purpose. They agreed that the Lemert statements are applicable today, but only to a limited degree. There are some Indians who continue to spend substantial amounts of their earnings beyond those required for the necessities,

on the purchase of alcoholic beverages. This is a much smaller group than at an earlier time and a much smaller group in the urban areas than in the more remote Indian communities within the Province.

In summary, I would suggest that the Lemert statements indicated, are less applicable to present day Coast Salish Indians of the Mission Reserve than they might be to Indians located in other more isolated or rural areas. I would suggest also that Anglo-Saxons and Italians have tended to place more importance upon affluence and material possessions than have the Indians. However, the Indian attitude towards Anglo-Saxon materialism and the concept of saving is changing slowly. Some Indians it appears, are becoming acculturated to the Anglo-Saxon view of placing value on accumulating wealth and material possessions.

Footnotes to Chapter III:

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2. Homer G. Barnett, The Coast Salish of British Columbia, University of Oregon, University Press, 1955.
3. Edwin M. Lemert, "Alcohol and the Northwest Coast Indians", University of California Publications in Culture and Society, Vol. 2, No. 6, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1954. Also see, Edwin M. Lemert, "The Use of Alcohol in Three Salish Tribes", Quarterly Journal of Studies of Alcohol, No. 19, 1958.
4. H.B. Hawthorn, C.S. Belshaw and Stuart Jamieson, The Indians of British Columbia, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1960.
5. Wilson Duff, The Indian History of British Columbia, Vol. 1, Anthropology of British Columbia Memoir, No. 5, Victoria, 1964, p. 48.
6. L.I. Bell, Overview For Planners, The Community Chest and Councils of the Greater Vancouver Area, Vancouver, 1965.
7. Ibid., p. 7.
8. David M. Schneider and George C. Homans, "Kinship Terminology and the American Kinship System", American Anthropologist, Vol. 57, No. 6, 1955, p. 1194.
9. George P. Murdock, Social Structure, New York, Free Press, 1949, p. 1.
10. Herbert J. Gans, The Urban Villagers, New York, Free Press, 1962, p. 46.
11. Gans, Urban Villagers, 1962, p. 46.
12. Ibid., pp. 45-97.
13. Ibid., p. 74.
14. Barnett, Coast Salish Indians, 1955, p. 242.
15. Leonard Broom and Philip Selznick, Sociology, New York, Harper and Row, 1955, third edition, p. 135.

16. Gans, Urban Villagers, 1962, p. 51.
17. Gans, The Urban Villagers, 1962, p. 52.
18. Barnett, Coast Salish of B.C., 1955, p. 241.
19. Broom and Selznick, Sociology, 1955, p. 357.
20. Gans, Urban Villagers, 1962, p. 50.
21. Barnett, Coast Salish of B.C., 1955, p. 141.
22. Sam Lewis, one of my key Indian informants who has been involved in intensive interviews from June of 1967 to the present time, August, 1968, made this statement.
23. Peter and Iona Opie, The Lore and Language of Schoolchildren, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1959, p. 7.
24. Gans, Urban Villagers, 1962, p. 64.
25. Barnett, Coast Salish of B.C., 1955, p. 141.
26. Barnett, Coast Salish of B.C., 1955, p. 143.
27. Hawthorn, Belshaw and Jamieson, The Indians of B.C., 1960, p. 87.
28. Ibid., pp. 87-88.
29. Ibid., p. 87.
30. Gans, The Urban Villagers, 1962, p. 123.
31. Hawthorn, Belshaw, Jamieson, Indians of B.C., 1960, p. 85.
32. Philip Drucker, Indians of the Northwest Coast, New York, Natural History Press, 1955, pp. 57-106.
33. Hawthorn, Belshaw and Jamieson, The Indians of B.C., 1960, p. 43.
34. Wilson Duff, The Indian History of B.C., 1964, pp. 48-49.
35. Lemert, University of California Publications in Culture and Society, 1954, p. 323.

#### CHAPTER IV

#### FINDINGS

#### The Extent to Which Hypotheses Were Supported or Negated In the Three Ethnic Groups and the Extent to Which Groups Were Similar or Different.

The findings in the three ethnic group samples generally supported the hypotheses. However, there were some variations in degree of support rendered. Following is a concise interpretation of Table 2.

#### Hypothesis 1.

In this hypothesis, I propose that the incidence of inebriety in adulthood will tend to be lower in a group which sees alcoholic beverages in a positive way and regards them as contributing to the well-being of the group, than in a group whose attitudes toward alcoholic beverages are negative or ambivalent and do not consider them as contributing to the well-being of the group. About half of the Italian sample indicated that they held positive views about the consumption of these beverages and considered them to be acceptable at almost any time. Almost all the Anglo-Saxon and two-thirds of the Indian sample held to a more negative view in that they believed alcohol should be consumed only on a restricted basis or not at all. Therefore, findings in all three groups provided some support for hypothesis one. The Anglo-Saxons and the Indians had similar ambivalent or restrictive views about the use of alcohol.

TABLE 2.  
Number of Yes Answers by Ethnic Groups Samples  
(Total respondents in all cases, 30.)

Hypotheses	Questions eliciting approval or rejection in Testing the hypotheses	Anglo-Saxons	Italians	Indians
Hypothesis I.	Is drinking all right most of the time?	4	14	10
	Does drinking have some value to the group?	3	18	8
Hypothesis II.	Should children be permitted to drink some alcoholic beverage?	5	26	3
	Should youths be permitted to drink like adults after 16 years at least?	9	23	13
Hypothesis III.	Do you think persons sometimes drink to forget their troubles?	28	8	29
	Do you think persons sometimes drink when they are lonely?	27	6	27
Hypothesis IV.	Do you drink alcoholic beverages with your meals?	4	30	0
	Do you drink as a social activity for an evening, without food, occasionally?	27	27	25
	Do you consider alcoholic beverages to have some food value?	2	30	10
Hypothesis V.	Do you drink alcoholic beverages in a cocktail bar or beer parlor before dinner frequently?	16	5	8

### Hypothesis 2.

In this hypothesis I propose that the incidence of inebriety in adulthood tends to be lower in groups who permit children and youths to partake of some alcoholic beverages than in groups who prohibit children and youths from such beverages. Over five-sixths of the Italians in the sample supported a view that children should be permitted to drink some alcoholic beverages, whereas almost the same proportion of Indians and Anglo-Saxons supported a view that children should not be permitted to consume alcoholic beverages. Therefore, findings in all three groups substantially supported hypothesis 2.

While almost three-quarters of the Anglo-Saxons and more than half of the Indians believed that youths should not drink like adults until they were past 21 years of age, more than three-quarters of the Italians believed it permissible for youths to drink substantially at 16 years of age or considerably younger. While Anglo-Saxons and Indians have similar views about teen drinking and tend to look negatively or with ambivalence at its practice, Italians, on the other hand, permit teen-agers to drink and tend to view it in a positive way. Findings in the three groups substantially supported hypothesis 2.

### Hypothesis 3.

In this hypothesis I propose that the incidence of inebriety will tend to be higher in ethnic groups where the major reason for



drinking is to reduce anxieties including those arising from financial, domestic or occupational problems and loneliness, than amongst groups who drink generally, for other reasons. While over two-thirds of the Italians did not think people drink to forget their troubles, that is, to reduce their anxieties, almost all the Anglo-Saxons and Indians believed this was a major reason for drinking. Italians however, had some difficulty in trying to understand why people would wish to drink when they are lonely. Italians associate drinking with happy occasions and view it as a pleasant group activity. Over three-quarters of the Italian sample did not believe that people drink when they are lonely. In contrast, almost all the Anglo-Saxon and Indian sample agreed that people drink to avoid loneliness. All three groups, therefore, produced substantial findings to support hypothesis 3. Anglo-Saxons and Indians again held to a similar view about the relationship of drinking and loneliness.

#### Hypothesis 4.

In this hypothesis, I propose that the incidence of inebriety will tend to be lower in groups who drink with their meals mainly, than in groups who drink in other settings. While all the Italians in the sample drink alcoholic beverages with their meals, only four of the Anglo-Saxons follow this practice and no Indians in the sample drink with their meals. The findings for all three groups therefore, supported hypothesis 3. Social drinking as an evenings' activity with-

out food, is practiced by over three-quarters of the Anglo-Saxon sample and the same amount in the Indian sample. An equally substantial number of Italians also follow this practice. Since Italians are not expected to drink alcoholic beverages without food, the findings for the Italian portion of the study do not support the hypothesis.

#### Hypothesis 5.

In this hypothesis I propose that the incidence of inebriety will tend to be higher in groups who drink substantially and frequently in a socially specified period, that is, the cocktail hour, before their evening meals, than amongst groups who do not follow this practice. About one-quarter of the Indian group and over one-half of the Anglo-Saxon group drink frequently in a specified period before their evening meals. Only five Italians in the study follow this practice. Therefore, findings for the Anglo-Saxon and Italian groups only provided evidence for this hypothesis.

In summary, I would suggest that the findings in all three ethnic groups offered substantial support to three of the five hypotheses and in four of the hypotheses there were strong similarities between Anglo-Saxons and Indians, and strong differences between Anglo-Saxons and Italians. There were variations in the degree of support rendered in some hypotheses. In chapter five, I will attempt to offer some possible explanations for the similarities and differences between the ethnic groups of the study in respect to their drinking patterns.

Observations of Ethnic Group Members in Their Drinking Establishments.

In an attempt to find additional information which would test the hypotheses, on twelve consecutive Fridays and eight Wednesdays, I went to beer parlors and other drinking establishments that members of the three ethnic groups were known to frequent. In order to observe the Anglo-Saxon segment of the study, I went to the Astoria Hotel beer parlor. Following are some samples from the collection of observations I made. On several evenings I noted that it seemed to be a common practice for persons to come alone, join a table where one or two persons were seated, then proceed to converse with them. In a short time the total group at the table were engaged in friendly, lively conversation. Although I made this specific observation on a very limited number of evenings, twenty, they tended to provide some limited support for hypothesis 3, wherein I propose that the incidence of inebriety will tend to be higher in groups where the major reason for drinking is to reduce anxieties over financial, domestic or occupational problems and loneliness, than amongst groups who drink generally, for other reasons. During the course of these twenty evenings' attendance at beer parlors, I observed that many persons exhibited drunken and rowdy behavior.

In further attempts to test hypothesis 3, when I attended these drinking establishments, I usually engaged in conversations with one or two persons during the course of an evening, in anticipation that they might express reasons for their excessive drinking. I did

not confront them in a direct manner with questions aimed at eliciting their reasons. But generally, after we had been engaged in conversation for a substantial portion of the evening, these persons volunteered reasons for their drinking. It should be remembered however, that reasons offered may have been what they considered to be a socially approved rationalization for their heavy drinking, rather than the "real" reasons. It may be difficult for any person to be consciously aware of the "real" reasons why he drinks excessively. Generally, I had the impression however, that after one to two hours of continuous and friendly conversation with these persons, they were relating what they believed were their own particular reasons for drinking. Following are a few examples of the twenty conversations I recorded. On one occasion in the Astoria beer parlor where the Anglo-Saxons from the sample often drink, a woman said that she was drinking heavily because she was worried about her job. She had many financial problems. On this particular night she was drinking because she was very worried and decided to come and have a few beers in order to relax and forget about her problems, temporarily. Another person said he was getting drunk deliberately because he was worried about his wife. He was not sure whether or not she was being faithful to him. At that time he found it difficult to stand the suspense of not knowing. He decided to go to the beer parlor and have a few beers in order to put this problem out of his mind for a while. Another person said that he was worried about his son who had left school and was disinterested in everything including

both education and employment. He, too, was drinking heavily to forget about his problem. These are just three of the twenty conversations I recorded wherein persons volunteered reasons for their excessive drinking. However, I reiterate, reasons offered may be a rationalization of their drinking which they believe to be socially approved and accepted. In most instances, however, I believe reasons volunteered were those which the persons volunteering them ~~thought~~ were the "real" ones. All recorded conversations tended to support hypothesis 3.

Observations in Italian Drinking Establishments.

Observations made in Italian social drinking establishments differ considerably from those made in Anglo-Saxon and Indian drinking settings. I visited two Italian restaurants on four separate occasions. My two key Italian informants told me that it was not a common practice amongst the Italian people for persons to go alone to these restaurants in order to meet and make friends with strangers. Italians usually go to the restaurants in family groups or sometimes in couples. On the occasions I attended these restaurants at no time did anyone appear to be inebriated. There were no loud arguments, rowdy behavior or fights. No persons at any time seemed to be unsure of their steps or exhibited uncontrolled body movements. Although my observations of Italians in their drinking establishments were even more limited than those made in the Anglo-Saxon and Indian beer parlors, they suggest that Italians do not generally drink to avoid loneliness and therefore, some degree of support was provided for hypothesis 3.

Observations in Indian Drinking Establishments

My observations of Indians in their drinking establishments appeared to follow closely the patterns of Anglo-Saxons, particularly in terms of their reasons for drinking. To observe Indians drinking, I went on twelve Fridays and eight Wednesday evenings to either the Princess Alice Hotel beer parlor in North Vancouver or the Rainer beer parlor in Vancouver. I noted that the Indians, similarly to the Anglo-Saxons, came alone to the beer parlor and often started conversations with strangers who were sitting alone at a table. On the twenty evenings I attended these establishments I found the Indians, similarly to the Anglo-Saxons, anxious to be friendly and cooperative, and welcomed the opportunity to meet people. Indians, like Anglo-Saxons, do not appear to wish to remain alone and drink alone in a beer parlor. Although I made these specific observations on a limited number of occasions -- twenty, they tended to provide some limited degree of support for hypothesis 3.

From the conversations I held with these Indians in their drinking establishments, again it was apparent that Indians, like Anglo-Saxons, drink to reduce their anxieties, temporarily. Following are a few of the conversations I held with Indians in beer parlors. One Indian said that he was worried about his wife from whom he had separated recently. He knew that she had been in a car accident and was in St. Paul's Hospital at the present time. He kept repeating constantly,

as he continued to drink, that he was "worried sick about her, just worried sick about her." He said drinking beer helped him to forget about this worry, if only for a little while. On another evening I sat with an Indian who said he had about \$500.00 earlier in the week but some one had stolen it the day before while he was drinking. Now he was concerned about how he was going to take care of his family for the rest of the month. He was drinking on this particular evening in an attempt to forget about this problem, temporarily. On another evening I had a conversation with two Indians who had been drunk most of the day and had now run out of money. They too, were concerned about their families. These are three of twenty conversations I recorded with Indians in beer parlors during this part of the study. All recorded conversations tended to provide some support for hypothesis 3 wherein I propose that the incidence of inebriety tends to be higher in ethnic groups whose major reasons for drinking are to reduce anxieties, including those arising from financial, domestic, or occupational problems and from loneliness, than amongst groups who drink generally, for other reasons.

## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSIONS

In evaluating the foregoing data it must be remembered that it is based on only thirty interviews in each of the three ethnic groups and that there were many weaknesses and limitations in the reference literature involved, in the basic premises and hypotheses proposed and in the research techniques employed. Therefore, the conclusions may be regarded at best, as only tentative. However, findings which emerged from the study appeared to provide substantial support for proposed hypotheses generally and attitudes towards drinking, reasons for drinking and settings in which drinking occurs, appear to be functions of the cultures of the respective groups. Findings showed also that while there are strong similarities between Anglo-Saxon and Indian drinking patterns, strong differences exist between Anglo-Saxon and Italian drinking patterns. Following I will attempt to offer some possible explanations for these similarities and differences. I will attempt to show also, that a close examination of the findings indicates that frequently there is a close relationship between a group's drinking patterns and many other cultural features of the group.

#### Suggested Explanations for the Apparent High Degree of Similarity Between Indian and Anglo-Saxon Drinking Patterns and the High Degree of Difference Between Italian and Anglo-Saxon Drinking Patterns.

One possible explanation offered to account for the similarities between Anglo-Saxon and Indian drinking patterns stems from the



fact that these Indians lacked alcoholic beverages in their aboriginal environment.<sup>1</sup> Consequently, they lacked also a knowledge and understanding of its use. The White man introduced alcohol to them, and, ever since that time, has provided models for their behavior in its use. An early model exposed to the Indian by the White man was one of heavy, rapid drinking. Lemert, in his study of three Coast Salish Tribes offers some support for this proposed explanation:

A difficult question to answer is whether the pattern of Indian drinking is unique or is simply a post-frontier pattern, largely assimilated from white loggers and fishermen. Evidence for the latter view is not absent. The drinking of white neighbors of the Indians has much in common with that of the Indians. This includes drinking to get drunk, drinking until the supply is exhausted, and restless excursions to find more liquor when this happens.<sup>2</sup>

As well, I consulted my Indian informants and invited their assessment of this statement in terms of its applicability to Coast Salish Indians in both rural and urban settings. They said that to their knowledge, this pattern of drinking continues to be followed by white loggers, fishermen and Indians -- but mostly Indians in the isolated and rural areas of the Province. Lemert described it this way:

Much of the drinking by Indians on the coast seems to be of the week-end variety and in this respect does not differ materially from that done by white loggers and fishermen. This is truer of the Indians in the vicinity of Alert Bay, Prince Rupert, and Duncan than it is of those in the more urbanized southern coastal area and the Fraser River Valley.<sup>3</sup>

However, my informants stated that it had been their experience to see Anglo-Saxons on many occasions, in both North Vancouver and Vancouver proper, drink heavily and rapidly and become inebriated. Therefore,

it would appear that to some degree, the Anglo-Saxons are still providing this heavy, rapid drinking model for the Indians to emulate. During the time I was conducting this study on both the North Shore and in Vancouver, I, too, observed white persons in beer parlors following this early Anglo-Saxon model of heavy, rapid drinking. However, it is not the dominant Anglo-Saxon drinking model perpetuated in urban areas. I noticed that on some occasions this occurrence of heavy, rapid drinking by Anglo-Saxons seemed to be about equal amongst the Anglo-Saxon community and the Indian community. I observed also that on these evenings when I visited social drinking establishments often about the same number of Anglo-Saxons as Indians were apprehended by the police. I made these observations however, on a very limited number of occasions and in a limited number of areas in the city. Therefore, evidence upon which I have based a generalized statement is scanty. However, such evidence combined with my personal experience in working with Anglo-Saxon youths and young adults in Vancouver's East End and West End, suggest to me that to some degree, some Anglo-Saxons have perpetuated this model of rapid, heavy drinking in both the Vancouver and North Vancouver areas.

In the Italian population it appears that alcoholic beverages have always been a vital part of their culture from earliest times.

"Italians have apparently always viewed the use of wine as an integral part of their nutrition."<sup>4</sup> Through the course of time they have developed their own cultural way of using it. This is not to say that all

Italians who live now in Vancouver follow only their traditional and historical practices of drinking. For example, it is noted that 15 of the Italians in the sample of the study drink in cocktail bars or beer parlors before their evening meal. However, generally the findings of the study show that their long established, traditional practices of partaking of alcoholic beverages with their meals, and of regarding such beverages as having food value have not changed, for the most part, in the Italian community in Vancouver. This provides one possible explanation for the apparent differences between Anglo-Saxon and Italian drinking patterns in Vancouver.

An alternative explanation which merits consideration and which attempts to account for the similarities between Anglo-Saxon and Indian drinking patterns is related to time span. The Indians of the Northwest Coast generally, have been exposed to Anglo-Saxon models of drinking for over 100 years. The Indians, therefore, have had ample opportunity to become acculturated to the White man's mode of drinking. Suttles in a study on the Lummi Indians in 1954 indicates that "con-  
5  
tact has existed since 1790."

In the case of the Italian community their contact with the Anglo-Saxon groups has been relatively short. Father Sordi, one of my key Italian informants, said that the major influx of Italians to Vancouver occurred during the past ten to fifteen years. In other words, they have not had sufficient time to become extensively acculturated to the dominant Anglo-Saxon culture.

Some limited degree of acculturation of the Italian group to the dominant Anglo-Saxon group however, has transpired. In hypothesis four, the findings show that 27 of the Italian members of the sample drink occasionally without food and as an evening's activity, similar to the practice of Anglo-Saxons. Close daily contact of Italians with Anglo-Saxons in occupations and recreational activities is likely to result in such Italians acquiring some of the cultural traits of their Anglo-Saxon co-workers.

Findings in hypothesis five which is relevant to the time of day members of ethnic groups choose to drink, indicate that one-sixth of the Italian sample at the present time, participate in the Anglo-Saxon working class custom of drinking in a beer parlor before their evening meal. Again, close contact with the Anglo-Saxons in occupational and recreational activities has provided the Italians with the opportunity to learn another model of Anglo-Saxon drinking.

However, based on the findings of the study in general, I would suggest that the extent of acculturation of the Italians to the Anglo-Saxon drinking patterns has been relatively little compared with that which has transpired between Coast Salish Indian and the Anglo-Saxon groups.

The Relationship Between the Socio-Economic Position of an Ethnic Group And Its Drinking Patterns.

Although the annual average income per male person in the Anglo-Saxon, Italian and Indian samples all appear to be comparable, according

to Table 1, a closer examination of the implications of these statistics on Table 1 indicate that they are not as equal as the statistics would lead us to believe. Two areas where the Anglo-Saxons and Italians differ from the Coast Salish of North Vancouver are relevant to amount of money available per individual family member, and levels of comfort and life style. Even if the average male Indian worker earned the same annual average income as his Italian and Anglo-Saxon neighbors, which is not generally the case, he would still be considerably poorer because of the large size of his family. This economic situation of the Indian group is discussed in detail in chapter two where Duff provides statistical evidence to substantiate this view.

In summary, because of the large number of mouths each Indian father is committed to feed, the average Indian family is relatively poor compared with its Anglo-Saxon and Italian neighbors. One way of coping with the despairs and bleakness of poverty is to drink. Based both on the findings of the study which support hypothesis three wherein reasons for drinking are indicated, and from my limited observations made in beer parlors where Indians drink, I would suggest that one of the reasons for which Indians drink excessively is to reduce their anxiety levels temporarily. One of their anxieties develops from concern over low income. However, this is not to say that income is the only source of their anxiety. Feelings of inferiority, domestic problems and personal conflicts are other sources. But a condition of poverty prevalent amongst these Indians may be one factor which tends

to lead them to frequent bouts of excessive drinking. Cultural approval of the Indian group for its members to drink in order to reduce their anxiety may also be an important factor in determining excessive drinking within the group.

The annual average income per male in the Anglo-Saxon area of the City where I conducted the study, was also relatively low (See Table 1), and findings in the study as well as my concentrated though limited observations of Anglo-Saxons drinking in beer parlors, leads me to suggest that Anglo-Saxons also drink excessively to reduce their anxieties and that one area of anxiety is relevant to their limited incomes. Anglo-Saxons also, to some extent, give sanction to their members drinking when confronted with problems which create anxieties. Therefore, one reason we may observe a close relationship between the low socio-economic position of the Indians and Anglo-Saxons and their heavy drinking is because there is a cultural approval to some extent, in both groups, for their members to drink as a means of lowering anxiety levels stemming from personal or social problems.

Although the annual average income per male for the Italian group in the year 1961, appeared to be similar to that of the Anglo-Saxon and Indian groups, (See Table 1), members of the Italian group do not seem to develop anxieties about their relatively low socio-economic position as readily as do Anglo-Saxons and Indians. And if they do, their society appears not to sanction excessive drinking by its members as a way of coping with financial or other personal or

social problems. Therefore, there is little or no apparent relationship between the drinking pattern of the Italian and his relatively low socio-economic position, possibly because his society does not condone his drinking excessively as a means of coping with anxieties stemming from financial or other personal problems. Furthermore, the incidence of inebriety is very low in all socio-economic levels of the Italian society.

The level of one's income might also be an important factor in determining whether or not one participates in the Anglo-Saxon practice of drinking in a specified period before one's dinner, that is the cocktail hour. One possible explanation which may account for why only about half of the Anglo-Saxon sample participated in this practice, according to the findings, may be due to their limited incomes. In the case of the Indians, their relatively low economic position also might account for the very small number of Indians who follow this practice. From the findings in the study, I would suggest that in the case of the Italians, their limited participation in before-dinner cocktail drinking is relevant to their cultural uniqueness rather than their socio-economic position.

The level of one's income might also be an important factor in determining what kind of alcoholic beverages an ethnic group's members drink. The relatively low average income of the Indians and the Anglo-Saxons might also account for these groups being restrictive in the selection of their alcoholic beverages, generally, to wine and beer.

My key Indian informants substantiated this view. However, according to my key informants in the Italian group, the Italian's relatively low average income is not a factor in determining his selection of alcoholic beverages. My informants stated that wine is the major alcoholic beverage in all Italian groups regardless of their socio-economic position .

Kinship Structure and Its Manifestation in the Drinking Patterns of an Ethnic Group.

In the discussion of kinship structure in Chapter three, it is noted that although both Anglo-Saxons and Italians have nuclear households, the Italian family tends to operate, at least in part, like an extended family. In the Indian group, traditionally, the extended family prevailed. However, through sustained contact with the Anglo-Saxon groups, these Indian households for the most part, today, resemble the nuclear family of the Anglo-Saxons.

Before the spread of industrialization, kin ties within the Anglo-Saxon family were much more elaborate and more extensive than they are today. Individuals in such a wide kin network found ample psychological support and emotional security. Today, however, the Anglo-Saxon family with its nuclear form, offers the individual considerably less emotional support and security. When confronted with problems, some individuals, it appears, resort to drinking alcoholic beverages as a way of coping temporarily, with their problems. Italians on the other hand, continue to have the support of a wide network of family and kin



to assist them when they are confronted with personal crises. Generally, they do not turn to the consumption of excessive alcohol as a means of coping with their problems. Coast Salish Indians, now strongly acculturated to the Anglo-Saxon family structure to a large measure, also tend to resort to the partaking of alcoholic beverages, often excessively, when confronted with problems. Therefore, kinship structure to some degree, appears to be manifest in an ethnic group's drinking practices.

Family Relationships and Their Manifestation in the Drinking Patterns of an Ethnic Group.

In the discussion of family relationships in chapter three, it is noted that the closest relationship within the Anglo-Saxon family appears to be between husband and wife. A common social drinking practice in the Anglo-Saxon society is for husbands and wives to attend cocktail bars or beer parlors together. Statements from several of the Anglo-Saxon interviewees involved in the study substantiated this view. On the twenty evenings I observed Anglo-Saxons in their drinking settings, I noticed that the major portion of persons present were young adult or middle-aged couples. On the six evenings I attended Italian drinking establishments (restaurants), it appeared that such shared social occasions between husbands and wives were not as common as were social family gatherings. (See photographs in the appendix.) In the Coast Salish Indian family the closest relationship

traditionally, was thought to be between male siblings. However, on the twenty evenings I observed Indians in their drinking settings, I noticed that there were many Indian couples drinking together. (See photographs in the appendix.) Although the above observations of the various ethnic group members drinking in their respective social settings were made on a very limited number of occasions, and therefore, provide only a limited amount of impressionistic evidence, I believe that it is sufficient to suggest that the close husband-wife relationships which presumably prevail in the Anglo-Saxons' everyday life, are manifest in their drinking patterns. However, the close male sibling relationships and family solidarity which appear to exist in everyday Italian family life, are manifest in Italian drinking patterns. Although traditionally, the male sibling relationship was considered the most important tie within the Indian family, the close contact of these Coast Salish people with their Anglo-Saxon neighbors has, to a large measure, resulted in their adoption of the Anglo-Saxon husband-wife shared social drinking practice.

The Relationship of the Concept of Childhood of an Ethnic Group to its Drinking Patterns.

Chapter three offered some discussion of the concept of childhood as perceived by the three ethnic groups. It was noted that the present-day Anglo-Saxon view was in striking contrast to that of the Italian view. While Italians regard childhood as a relatively short

period of little importance, the Anglo-Saxons for roughly the past half-century, have regarded it as an extended period of considerable importance. In the Anglo-Saxon society, childhood appears to have developed its own sub-culture. This difference in the concept of childhood appears to be manifest in the respective drinking patterns of these two groups in the following way. Findings in the study showed that more ~~than~~ three-quarters of the Italians in the sample agreed with a view that children should be permitted to drink some alcoholic beverages. I suggest one possible explanation for this view is that since Italians see childhood as being a very short period and tend to regard children as adult-like at a comparatively early age, they see no harm in children's partaking of some alcoholic beverages. Anglo-Saxons, on the other hand, with their view of childhood as an extended period, unadult-like in nature, prohibit children from consuming alcoholic beverages. It would appear, therefore, that the concept of childhood of an ethnic group may be an important factor in determining whether or not the group permits its children and youths to partake of alcoholic beverages. Although the Indians, like the Italians, considered the period of childhood to be a very brief one, traditionally, the close contact of these Coast Salish Indians with their Anglo-Saxon neighbors has resulted in their being acculturated in a large measure, to the present-day Anglo-Saxon concept of childhood which prohibits children from drinking. Findings in the study show that over three-quarters of the Indians in the sample supported the view that children and youths should not be permitted to drink until they were 21 years of age or more.

The Relationship Between Attitudes Towards Occupation and Status of an Ethnic Group and Its Drinking Patterns.

The discussion in chapter three on the attitudes of members of the three ethnic groups towards occupation and status shows that Anglo-Saxons and Indians appear, to some extent, to be in marked contrast. While Anglo-Saxons value, and see security in steady, regular employment, many Indians attach little, if any value to these factors. While Anglo-Saxons associate a good occupation and steady employment with the accumulation of wealth and status, many Indians have considered family relations to be the most important source of security and believe that status is acquired not through accumulated wealth but through family position. According to Hawthorn and his researchers, this was the traditional Indian view as to how status and security were acquired. In chapter three the Hawthorn team provided a lucid and detailed description of the Indian's acquisition of status, attitudes towards steady employment and family unity and solidarity in their traditional setting, and how these appear to have continued to the time of their study in 1954. However, an appraisal of the Hawthorn team study by the key Indian informants and this researcher indicates that since 1954, considerable changes have transpired in the Indian's concept of status, attitudes towards occupations and the relationship between family solidarity and drinking practices. Today, particularly in the Coast Salish tribes close to urban areas, many Indians have full-time occupations and drink on the week-ends but generally do not attend drinking

parties during the week when they are engaged in their regular occupations. Since I conducted the interviews in the three groups, for the most part, on week-day evenings and made observations in Indian drinking establishments on Wednesdays and Fridays, the week-end pattern of drinking was not observed in the study. Since Anglo-Saxons place so much importance on their occupations and the resulting benefits and rewards attached to such occupations, they have tended to develop models of drinking which permit them to continue in their daily employment and drink after the completion of the day's work or on week-ends. Therefore, the concept of occupation, status and security of the Anglo-Saxon group appears to be closely related to the drinking patterns of the group. The findings show that one-quarter of the Indian sample has adopted this latter Anglo-Saxon drinking pattern. However, one key Indian informant stated that there are some Indians on the North Shore Reserves who continue to find security and status within the family unit, and sometimes remain absent from their employment when opportunities to drink with family and friends arise. However, it occurs only amongst a limited number of Indians today in the urban areas.

In summary, I would state that Anglo-Saxons and Indians traditionally, held to a contrary view as to the value and importance of occupation, as it related to status and security. These differences appeared to be reflected in their respective drinking patterns. However, to a large degree, Coast Salish Indians of the North Vancouver

Reserves have become regularly employed in non-Indian occupations and have been adopting the Anglo-Saxon concept of relating steady employment with status and security, and have been changing their drinking patterns to accomodate their full-time employment.

The Relationship Between Attitudes Towards Material Possessions of an Ethnic Group and Its Drinking Patterns.

One of the cultural aspects of an ethnic group discussed in chapter three and believed to be of substantial significance to this study was the group's attitude towards accumulation of wealth and its manifestation in material possessions. It was noted that while Anglo-Saxons and Italians appear to attach much importance to material possessions, Indians for the most part, do not. Nor do they appear to be motivated to save money for the purchase of these material possessions which the non-Indian seems to cherish. This is not to say that all Indians do not save. Even today, according to one of my Indian informants, many Indians continue to save for potlatching. Statements made earlier in chapter three by Hawthorn and later by Lemert, pertaining to Indian attitudes towards White man's material possessions and the relationship between attitudes towards the expenditure of money and the Indian drinking patterns, upon critical examination by the researcher and her key informants, appear to be less applicable to Indians today than formerly. This is particularly the case for Coast Salish Indians residing in urban areas. Today, some Indians on the Mission and Capilano Reserves have started to improve the general condition of their homes and have managed

to accumulate sufficient sums to undertake these projects or have managed to obtain credit for this purpose, and have discontinued the practice of spending excessive amounts of money on the purchase of alcoholic beverages.

#### Summary Statement

Findings in the study suggested that the cultural background of an ethnic group is closely related to its drinking patterns. Attitudes towards drinking, reasons for drinking and settings in which drinking occurs, appear to be functions of the culture in the respective ethnic groups. Specific cultural features of the ethnic groups, such as socio-economic position of the group, its concept of childhood, kinship structure and family relationships, attitudes towards occupations and status, as well as attitudes towards material possessions, were shown also to be manifest in the group's drinking patterns. The data indicated also that many of these aspects of the Indian group particularly, are in a stage of marked transition. The data indicated further, that there was a high degree of similarity between the Anglo-Saxon and the Indian drinking patterns and a high degree of difference between the Anglo-Saxon and the Italian drinking patterns. One possible explanation which may be presented to account for the high degree of similarity found between Anglo-Saxon and Indian drinking patterns is based on the fact that alcoholic beverages were not in the aboriginal culture of the North-west Coast Indians. The white man not only intro-

duced these beverages to the Indians, but provided them with the models for the consumption of such beverages. Drinking quickly and heavily, that is "drinking to get drunk," was a model practiced by some early white traders. Today, in some of the more isolated areas of the Province, white loggers and fishermen are amongst those who perpetuate this model, to a degree. In the more urban areas where the Coast Salish Indians of the North Shore Reserves are located, other Anglo-Saxon models of drinking, such as "drinking before the evening meal" moderately or excessively, and drinking "as an evening's activity," have been provided by the Anglo-Saxons and to some degree, accepted by the Indians. Findings in the study substantiate this view. An alternative explanation to account for the high degree of similarity between Anglo-Saxon and Indian drinking patterns is relevant to close contact between these two ethnic groups over a long period of time. Because of this long, sustained contact between the two ethnic groups, the Indians have had ample opportunity to become acculturated to the Anglo-Saxon drinking patterns. Italians, however, have had an historical association with alcoholic beverages and a relatively short period of sustained contact with Anglo-Saxons here. Therefore, there has been little time for the process of acculturation to be operative. Consequently, strong differences are apparent between Anglo-Saxon and Italian drinking patterns. Further, while a small amount of change has occurred in other aspects of the cultural background of the Italian group, a substantial amount of change has transpired in other aspects of the cultural background of the Coast Salish Indians on the Mission Reserve.



Footnotes to Chapter V:

1. Harold E. Driver, The Indians of North America, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1961, Map 12.
2. Lemert, The Quarterly Journal of Studies of Alcohol, 1958, p. 96.
3. Lemert, University of California Publications in Culture and Society, 1954, p. 310.
4. Lolli et al., Alcohol in Italian Culture, 1958, p. 4.
5. Wayne Suttles, "Post Contact Culture Change Among the Lummi Indians", The British Columbia Historical Quarterly, Victoria, B.C., January-April, 1954, pp. 37-38.

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1. Police apprehension of an Anglo-Saxon in the condition of inebriety.

Police apprehend Anglo-Saxons and Indians in the downtown area of the City in approximately the same proportions according to information secured from a small sample of City Police constables.





2. An Anglo-Saxon in the condition of inebriety.

Frequently on Saturday and Sunday mornings particularly, some Anglo-Saxons can be observed in the condition of extreme inebriety (passed out), on certain streets and alleys of the downtown area.





3. An Indian in the condition of inebriety.

Indians, like Anglo-Saxons, also can be observed in a state of excessive inebriety on Saturday and Sunday mornings in certain sections of the downtown area. Shortly after this photograph was taken the Police escorted this person to the pick-up wagon.





4. A group composed for the most part, of Anglo-Saxons, partaking of alcoholic beverages as an evening's social activity, without food.

This is a common practice among Anglo-Saxons. The consumption of some food may follow the drinking period, but it does not usually accompany it.



5. An Anglo-Saxon and an Indian drink together as an evening's social activity.

In the beer parlor where Indians have established themselves and where they feel comfortable and accepted, frequently Indians and Anglo-Saxons can be observed drinking together as an evening's social activity.





6. Italian children drinking alcoholic beverages (wine), with their meal.

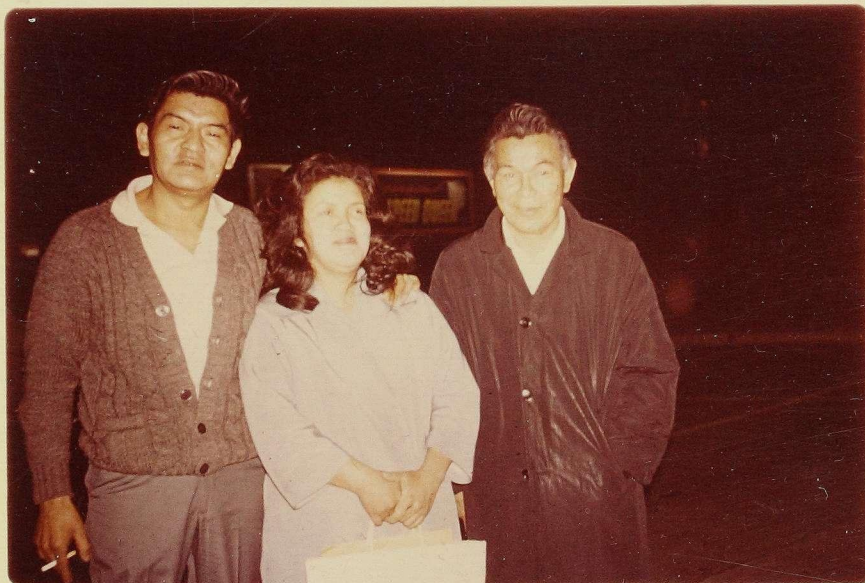
From an early age, Italian children are permitted to drink some alcoholic beverage with their meal. This is a photograph of one of the Italian families in the sample selected for this study.





7. Some Anglo-Saxon married couples drinking in a cocktail bar.

In the Anglo-Saxon society where there is a very close bond between the husband and wife, it appears to be a common practice for married couples to drink together, at home, or in cocktail bars or beer parlors.



8. An Indian couple and their friend after a drinking session in a downtown beer parlor.

Like the Anglo-Saxons, Indians also are frequently noted drinking with their wives in the beer parlors or at their homes.





9. A typical Italian extended family partaking of a Friday evening dinner.

Several of the representatives of the Italian sample stated that about twice each week, their married sons and daughters and all their grandchildren join them for dinner.



10. A typical Anglo-Saxon nuclear family partaking of a Friday evening dinner.

Unlike the Italian family, Anglo-Saxon families generally partake of their meals without the presence of other consanguine or affinal relationships.





11. An Anglo-Saxon departing from a beer parlor with a quantity of beer.

Frequently Anglo-Saxons, after drinking for two or three hours in a beer parlor, purchase additional beer or other alcoholic beverages for consumption in their homes on the same evening or at a later time.



12. An Indian departing from a beer parlor with a quantity of beer.

Like Anglo-Saxons, Indians also frequently follow this drinking practice. They, too, purchase additional beer for consumption in their homes either on the same evening, or at some later time. This practice was not possible for Indians to follow however, until Legislative changes occurred in 1962.

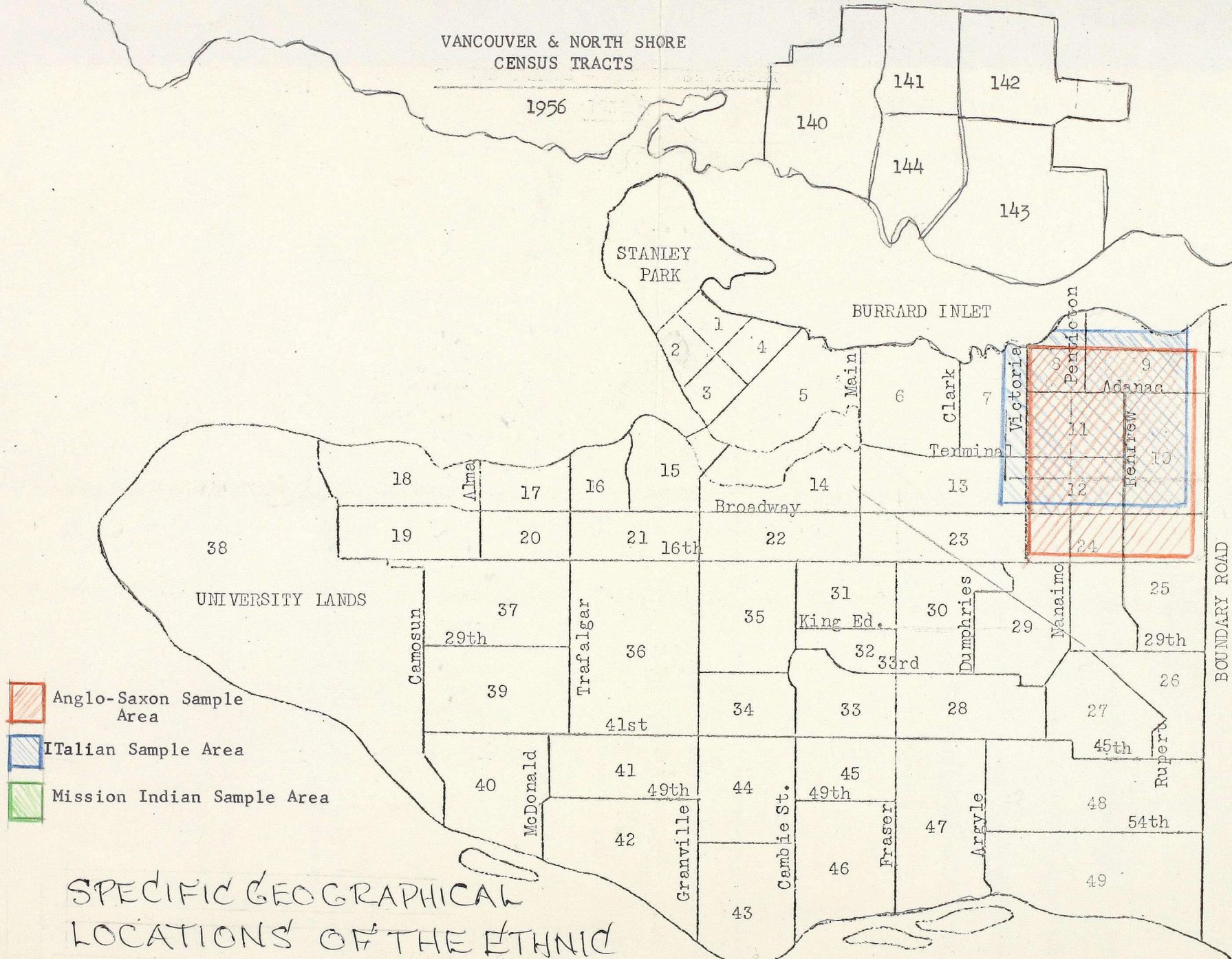
QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Is drinking all right most anytime? Is drinking all right on a limited basis, or not acceptable at all?
2. Does drinking have any value to the society or does it not have any value to the society?
3. Should children be permitted to drink some alcoholic beverage or should children not be permitted to drink any alcoholic beverage?
4. Should youths be permitted to drink some alcoholic beverages or should youths not be permitted to drink alcoholic beverages until they are 21 years of age or older?
5. Do you think persons sometimes drink to forget their troubles or do you not think persons sometimes drink to forget their troubles?
6. Do you think persons drink sometimes when they are lonely or do you not think persons sometimes drink when they are lonely?
7. Do you drink alcoholic beverages with your meals or do you not drink alcoholic beverages with your meals?
8. Do you drink as a social activity for the evening and without food, or do you not drink as a social activity for the evening without food?
9. Do you consider alcoholic beverages to have some food value, or do you not consider alcoholic beverages to have any food value?
10. Do you drink alcoholic beverages in cocktail bars or beer parlors before dinner frequently, or do you not drink alcoholic beverages in cocktail bars or beer parlors before dinner frequently?



VANCOUVER & NORTH SHORE  
CENSUS TRACTS

1956

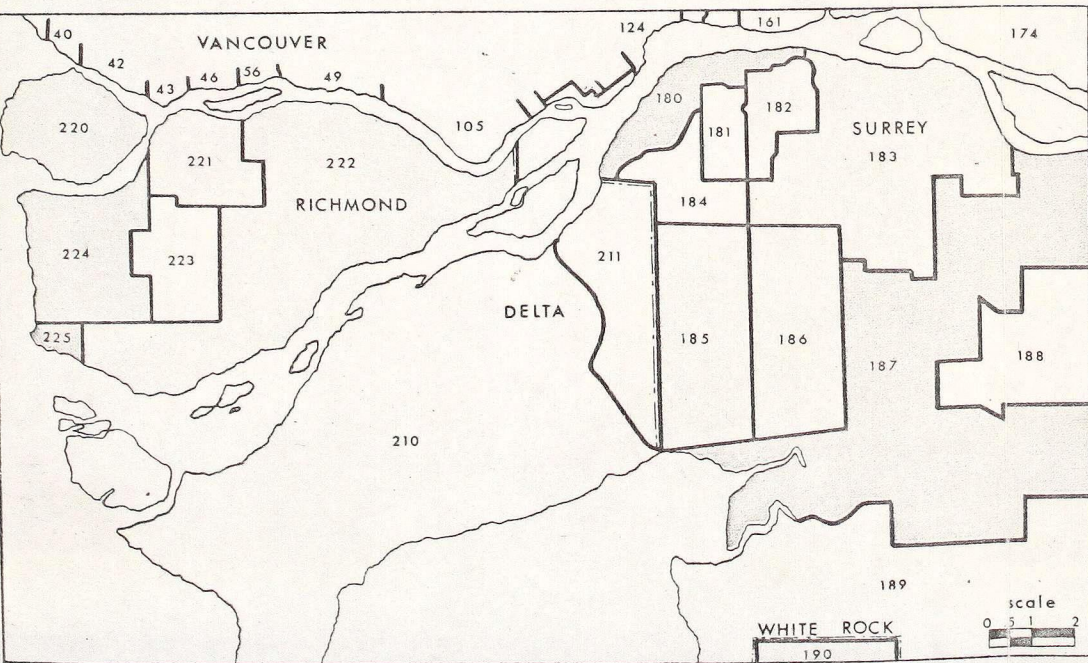
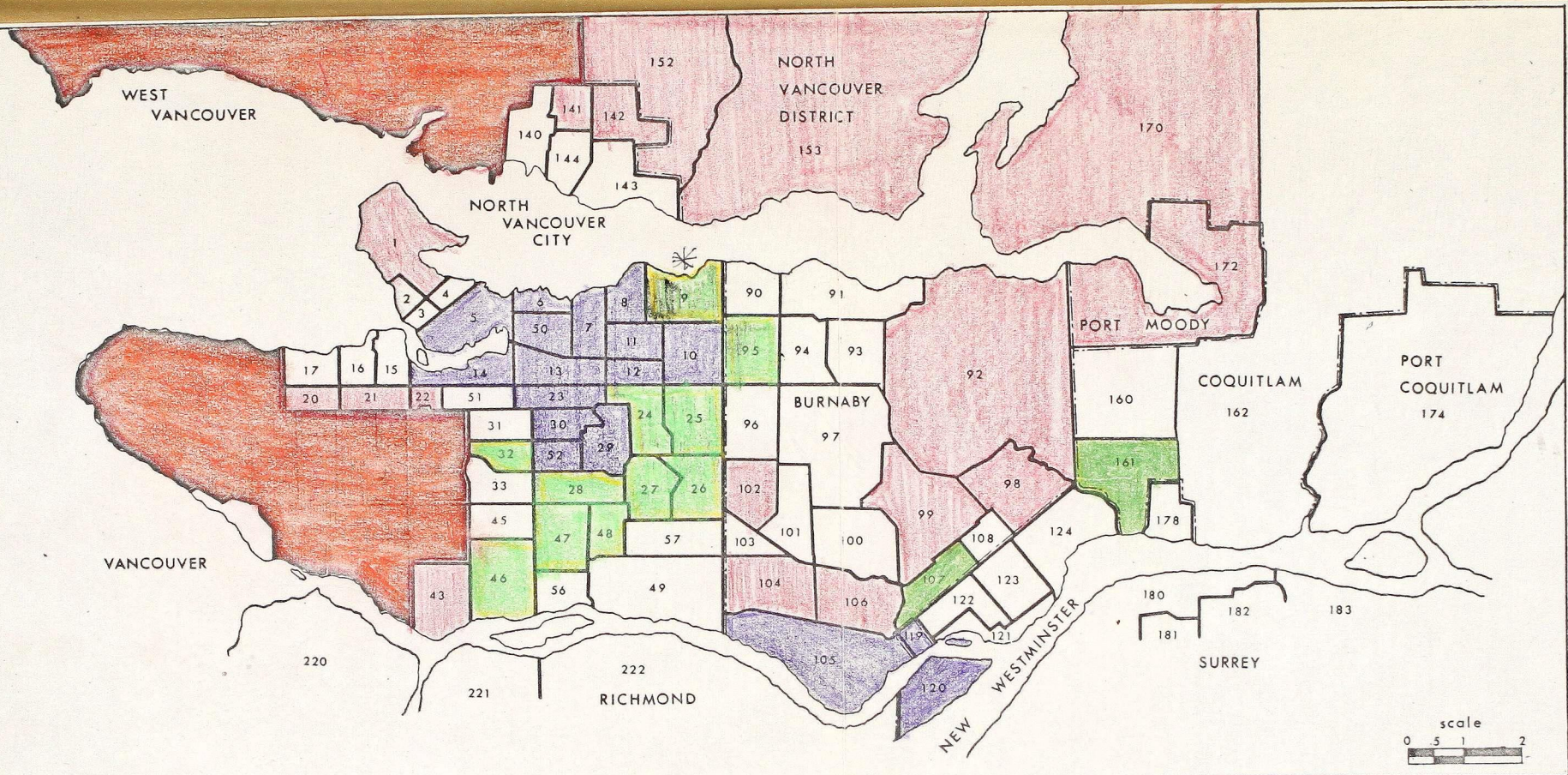


SPECIFIC GEOGRAPHICAL  
LOCATIONS OF THE ETHNIC  
GROUPS IN THE STUDY

★ DBS BULLETIN 4-14  
24-12-57

MAPI.





METROPOLITAN VANCOUVER  
**SOCIO-ECONOMIC INDEX**

See Census  
 Tracts 9, 10,  
 11, 12, 24 and  
 25.

- HIGHEST
- ABOVE AVERAGE
- AVERAGE
- BELOW AVERAGE
- LOWEST



MAP. 2.