

A SOBRIETY MOVEMENT
AMONG THE SHUSWAP INDIANS OF ALKALI LAKE

By

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ABSTRACT

Twenty years ago the Shuswap Indian community of Alkali Lake was like many other reserve communities in the northern Interior of British Columbia, with life characterized by high levels of drinking, violence, suicide, accidental death, and child abuse and neglect. In 1973 this pattern of life was challenged by the newly-elected Band chief and his wife. Working as a team, and by drawing upon the powers of the Band Office and applying confrontational tactics, the two initiated an anti-alcohol campaign in the community. For three years the chief and his wife persisted, despite extreme hostility and occasional threats against their lives. In 1976 their efforts began to achieve success. By 1981 most adults on the reserve had become committed to a sober lifestyle, and by 1985 the reserve was essentially "dry".

This thesis traces the development of the recent events at Alkali Lake. To refer to these events the term "Sobriety movement" has been used. The movement is analyzed largely from a political processual point of view, with attention paid not to the underlying sources of "deprivation" or "stress" that may have generated the movement, but to the strategies and tactics utilized by the movement leaders to promote their cause. In this manner the resource mobilization approach to the study of social movements provides an analytical framework for this study.

Several factors are identified as key ingredients in the success of the Sobriety movement. First, the Band chief and his wife were able to use effectively the powers of the Band Office to impose economic sanctions on drinkers. Second, as community leaders they were able to solicit the aid of powerful outside agencies, namely the R.C.M.P. and the Ministry of Human Resources, to support them in their efforts. Third, the personal

resources of the two leaders - their courage, strength and determination - were crucial to the movement's survival during its early years.

The success of the Sobriety movement can not be understood simply by looking at the leaders' actions. The social and cultural context within which they operated must also be considered. Three underlying and fundamentally important factors are identified: the pre-existence of a strong sense of community within the Alkali Lake village, the inherent readiness of the Alkali Lake people for new leadership and social change, and the use by the Band chief of a leadership tradition that permitted the application of strict punishment as a means of social control.

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CHAPTER ONE:

INTRODUCTION

The village of Alkali Lake lies in a picturesque valley three kilometers east of the Fraser River and fifty kilometers south-west of the city of Williams Lake in the Central Interior of British Columbia. Situated on Indian reserve land amongst hills covered with sagebrush, bunchgrass and a scattering of pine growth, the village exists, as it has for over a century, as the principal settlement for Shuswap Indians of the Alkali Lake band.

The Alkali Lake Shuswap have received relatively little ethnographic attention apart from the work of Teit (1909) and Brow (1967). The recent success of this Band in overcoming a serious alcoholism problem eventually to become a "dry" community - all within a period of ten years - has resulted in a great deal of public attention. The Band is now actively involved in promoting sobriety in other Native communities both within B.C. and across Canada and the United States. Various newspaper and magazine articles have described the Band's achievement, and a two-part video series on the Band's successful fight against alcoholism has been created by a professional film-maker and has now gained world-wide distribution. This thesis presents an anthropological perspective on the process by which the Alkali Lake reserve community achieved sobriety.

The recent events at Alkali Lake are viewed as constituting a social movement. This assumption will be discussed in the concluding chapter. To refer to these events I have used the term "Sobriety movement", a term which was created simply for ease of discussion. At present there is no general name given to the movement by community members themselves.

Alternative labels such as "anti-alcohol movement" or "temperance movement" are less satisfactory. Alcohol per se was not seen as the problem by the movement's leaders; rather, the problem lay in the individual's behaviour while under the influence of alcohol, and the solution to the alcohol problem was to be achieved by a shift in the drinker's attitude toward self and others. Use of the word "sobriety" reflects this emphasis on individual attitude and comportment. The term "A.A. movement" is also less appropriate. Although the Alcoholics Anonymous program played a fundamental role in shaping the philosophy of the Sobriety movement, it is important to keep in mind that this philosophy developed through a cultural interpretation of the formal A.A. philosophy. Other events, specifically the participation of community members in personal growth training programs, also may have had a significant influence on the philosophy of sobriety as it now exists.

The social and cultural changes that have occurred in the Alkali Lake community since 1973, the year of initiation of the Sobriety movement, have been of an immense and complex nature. This thesis presents only a preliminary, and largely descriptive, study of these changes. In Chapter Two the resource mobilization approach will be introduced as the orienting perspective in this study of the Alkali Lake Sobriety movement. In contrast with theoretical approaches that emphasize the general social and cultural conditions giving rise to a collective sense of dissatisfaction, the resource mobilization perspective focusses on the central political processes of the social movement: how within a certain social context leaders can manipulate conditions effectively to mobilize resources, encourage recruits, and create an organized movement. As Native Indian alcohol abuse is a widespread and persistent problem, it seems that the most important

question at this preliminary stage is not what were the underlying sources of "deprivation" or "strain" that resulted in the movement, but what strategies and tactics were used to turn Alkali Lake into a sober community. The resource mobilization perspective provides a suitable framework from which these issues can be explored.

Chapters Three and Four present an account of the initiation of the Sobriety movement and the eventual conversion of the community to sobriety, with emphasis on the strategy and tactics used, and on the organizational shifts that occurred within the movement through this period. Chapter Five discusses the Alkali Lake community as it was in 1985, with particular reference to the routinization of the Sobriety movement within the village, and the activities of the Band in promoting sobriety in other Native communities. Chapter Six examines some features of the historical context in which the Sobriety movement emerged. Attention is paid specifically to the development of alcohol use among the Alkali Lake Shuswap and forms of social control that were historically operative within the community. Chapter Seven summarizes the findings of this thesis and suggests areas for further study.

Methodology

My first visit to the Alkali Lake community occurred in October of 1984. Subsequent brief visits were made in February, May, and August of 1985, during which a fieldwork proposal was presented to and approved by the Band Office. The field research on which this thesis is based was conducted mainly in a three month period between September and December of 1985, during which time I resided in the community and participated in various reserve activities including Band meetings, community dinners and

dances, A.A. meetings, sharing sessions, and cleansing and ceremonial sweats.

Fieldwork entailed first a study of Band Office and Department of Indian Affairs records relating to Band elections, Band Office operations, and demographic data. An almost complete set of the community newspaper "Alkali Speaks", which first appeared in October of 1973, was eventually compiled after many days digging through the dust in "The Shed", which houses all Band Office records since 1971. These newspapers provided a valuable source of information on community events and sentiment over the last twelve years.

Fifteen tape-recorded interviews were conducted during the course of this research. Much of the information gathered and presented in this thesis, however, was obtained through more informal means, such as casual conversations and unstructured and untaped interviews. Especially as the residents of Alkali Lake today talk freely and openly about the changes that have occurred in their community and their personal experiences with alcohol, it becomes very difficult to distinguish "interviews" from everyday conversation. An effort was made to meet and talk to a cross-section of the reserve population (in terms of age and involvement in community activities). Household surveys were conducted in 51 of the 65 Band-member households. The total number of Band members living in the Alkali Lake village in the Autumn of 1985 was approximately 260. The process of conducting these surveys was valuable in that I was exposed to a variety of perceptions and opinions regarding the reserve's recent history. Conversations (over 30 minutes) of a more structured nature were carried out with a number of Band Office workers, among them one Band Councillor, the Band Social Worker, the Drug and Alcohol Counsellor, the Housing Co-ordinator, and the Economic Development Advisor, as well

as with the two leaders of the Sobriety movement, two leading members of the reserve's A.A. group, and several women actively involved in community groups and events.

There is a danger in attempting to reconstruct history from people's recollections of it, in that often these recollections will become distorted through time, or will conflict with regard to significant details. These dangers are especially true in the case of the history of Alkali Lake, first because the significant events in the initiation of the Sobriety movement and the conversion of the community have today attained almost mythic proportions, and second because many persons I spoke to with regard to specific events during these periods claimed that they were too frequently drunk during those years to remember anything that went on, making the cross-checking of different accounts difficult. Wherever possible I have attempted to cross-check the details of significant events; where this was not possible I have attempted to get a consensus among the two or three individuals who were the most directly involved in the specific event.

Pseudonyms have not been used in this thesis. Real names have been used with the individuals' permission.

The Setting

The Alkali Lake Indian Band presently holds 18 small reserves with a total acreage of 9785.9 (see Appendix, Map 1). The main village is situated on I.R.#1, on benchland just above Alkali Creek. One mile to the west this creek flows into Alkali Lake, and continues from there to the Fraser River. To the west of the village bunchgrass and sagebrush are predominant forms of vegetation; to the east, spruce, pine, and

deciduous trees become dominant. The village, situated at the bottom of this valley, has a spectacular location.

The visitor to the reserve is immediately struck by the density of the settlement. There are a total of 67 houses on the main reserve. With the exception of 10 older log houses and 6 trailers, all are of frame construction, with almost half having been built within the last 20 years. The older houses are situated on either side of the main street, a dirt track lined with streetlamps and running roughly in an east-west direction. The newer houses are located at both ends of this street, which branches off into a number of tangled and confusing tracks, and at the south-east, on a ridge overlooking the village and the valley.

A number of service facilities are present on the reserve, including a church, laundromat, community hall, medical trailer, automechanics shop, Band Office and Co-op store, and school and gymnasium. The school, gymnasium, Band Office and Co-op store are main areas of activity. The Band-owned and operated cafe, located in the store, is a popular gathering place in the daytime; the gymnasium is a main center of social activity in the evenings, with intramural sports scheduled nightly. Pow-wow grounds were recently constructed immediately behind the school and the Band Office, and are used primarily in the summer months during the invitational pow-wows, A.A. roundups, and cultural gatherings hosted by the Band. Numerous sheds, barns, and old outhouses also exist within the village. The outhouses are rarely used, as the village has had electricity and running water since the late 1960s.

In recent years the Alkali Lake Band has put much effort into the agricultural and horticultural development of the reserve lands. This presents an impressive view to one visiting the reserve in the summertime. Lush hay fields exist on either side of Alkali Creek and

provide a frame for the village. Several acres of land at the east end of the village have been developed as a commercial vegetable garden. Just before the entrance to the reserve can be seen a series of barns which house the Band-operated piggery; on the north hill above the village is the Band's greenhouse.

The nearest business center to the Alkali Lake village is the city of Williams Lake, fifty kilometers to the north-east. Virtually all adults of the village have a vehicle, or have access to one, and travel between Alkali Lake and Williams Lake is almost a daily occurrence. The road from Williams Lake (Dog Creek Road) is paved only for the first thirty kilometers, the rest being of gravel surface with numerous potholes. The Dog Creek Indian reserve is situated a further sixty kilometers south-west from Alkali Lake, and the Canoe Creek reserve lies several kilometers beyond. Dog Creek Road, for part of its length, takes the route of the old Cariboo Trail, used by the early gold seekers before the completion of the Cariboo Waggon Road in the 1860s. Thus, although the Canoe Creek, Dog Creek, and Alkali Lake villages are now "off the beaten track", over one hundred years ago they were situated on one of the principal highways in the Interior. In addition to Dog Creek and Canoe Creek, other Shuswap Bands with which the Alkali Lake Shuswap have had close historical association include Soda Creek, Williams Lake (or Sugar Cane), Big Bar, High Bar, Clinton, and Canim Lake (see Appendix, Map 2).

CHAPTER TWO:

THE RESOURCE MOBILIZATION APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

In this chapter the resource mobilization approach to the study of social movements will be introduced. The term "social movement" has been defined in various ways. According to The Dictionary of the Social Sciences, a social movement is "an informal organization, which may include organized sub-units, of a large number of persons to gain a social goal" (Reading 1976:136). Aberle (1982:315) defines a social movement as "an organized effort by a group of human beings to effect change in the face of resistance by other human beings", and thus highlights the importance of resistance to the movement. McCarthy and Zald, major contributors to the resource mobilization school, define a social movement as "a set of opinions and beliefs in a population which represents preferences for changing some elements of the social structure and/or reward distribution of a society" (1977:1217-1218). Their definition intentionally avoids mention of an organizational component as a necessary criterion. The term "social movement", thus variably defined, has been applied to a wide range of social phenomena, from religious movements such as millenarian movements, cargo cults, messianic and prophetic movements, to modern rights-seeking protests, to revolutionary movements (Tarrow 1985).

With the diversity of social processes included in this category, the derivation of a theory of social movements both general enough to account for all movements, and specific enough to relate to particular cases, has proven difficult to achieve. The theoretical literature on the topic is vast, and a comprehensive review will not be attempted.

My intention here is rather to introduce the resource mobilization perspective, and to briefly contrast this approach with other theoretical approaches to social movements.

Virtually all social scientists accept the notion that social movements arise as a response to dissatisfaction with existing social conditions. It is with regard to the emphasis placed on the underlying conditions that give rise to this dissatisfaction that the resource mobilization approach may be distinguished from traditional social movement theories.

Many theorists have emphasized the importance of underlying conditions that give rise to a collective sense of dissatisfaction. Consequently, concepts such as "relative deprivation", "stress", "anomie", and "structural strain" abound in the literature on social movements. Some brief examples will serve to illustrate how such concepts have been applied within social movement theory.

Wallace (1956), in his study of revitalization movements, claimed that the experience of individual "stress" was fundamental to the emergence of a movement. Stress arises initially due to the discrepancy between an individual's "image of the world" and reality. If this discrepancy is not resolved, the level of stress rises and becomes manifested not only at the individual level, both psychologically and physiologically, but also in the social and cultural realms. The high stress level may be resolved if the individual undergoes a radical "change of mind", through which his image of the world and the "real" system are brought closer together. The effort of a number of individuals collectively to modify and realign their "image of the world" with the new reality is the essence of the revitalization

movement.

Aberle (1982) suggested that the experience of relative deprivation lies at the heart of social movements. Relative deprivation is defined as "a negative discrepancy between legitimate expectation and actuality, or between legitimate expectation and anticipated actuality, or both" (1982:323). Deprivation can occur in the realms of possession (i.e., loss of land, sources of subsistence, luxury items); status (failure to achieve a desired social position); behaviour (negative evaluation of an individual's behaviour); worth (negative assessment of an individual based on inherent characteristics such as race or gender); or power (i.e., inability to control events through traditional means). The experience of deprivation in any of these realms usually leads to efforts to change the situation. Collective efforts in this regard constitute a social movement.

Smelser (1962) has argued that structural strain is an essential condition in the emergence of collective behaviour (a category which includes social movements). He refers specifically to strain in the realm of social action. Under normal conditions, social action is guided by four components: values, norms, organizational context (i.e. social roles), and situational facilities. Strain may arise in any of these four components. For example, normative and value strain may arise through cross-cultural contact, organizational strain may emerge through conflicting role expectations, and strain regarding situational facilities may appear when the means for attaining a goal become ambiguous or ineffective. Collective behaviour represents an effort to redefine a component of social action so as to bring order to the disturbed social system.

These three brief examples serve to illustrate an essential

similarity of many social movement theories, a similarity based on the emphasis placed on exploring the underlying conditions that give rise to the experience of collective dissatisfaction, which lies at the root of the social movement.

THE RESOURCE MOBILIZATION APPROACH

The resource mobilization (R.M.) approach to the study of social movements focusses specifically on the central political processes of these movements. Of prime importance are the strategic problems that face social movements: how within a certain social context actors can manipulate conditions to mobilize resources, obtain recruits, and create an organized movement. The R.M. approach differs significantly from the three examples presented above in its lack of emphasis on collective dissatisfaction and its underlying causes. Adherents of the R.M. perspective claim that the mere existence of a collective sense of dissatisfaction can not be used to account for the rise and fall of social movements, the forms of organization adopted, and the existence of differential recruitment. It is generally held that "grievances and discontent may be defined, created, and manipulated by issue entrepreneurs and organizations" (McCarthy and Zald 1977:1215). Consequently, the presence of a general sense of dissatisfaction (i.e., stress, relative deprivation, and so on) in itself is not of central concern. It is the way in which a sense of dissatisfaction is manipulated by movement leaders that is of interest.

The resource mobilization perspective will be further elaborated through a discussion of its three main assumptions regarding resources, recruitment, and socio-political context.

1. The most important assumption of the R.M. perspective is that social movement activity depends on the acquisition and effective utilization of resources. What is meant by the term resource? Essentially, a resource is anything that can be utilized to further the efforts of the social movement. Oberschall (1973) includes in this category:

Anything from material resources - jobs, income, savings, and the right to material goods and services - to nonmaterial resources - authority, moral commitment, trust, friendship, skills, habits of industry, and so on (p.28).

There are, however, differing views about the importance of certain resources. McCarthy and Zald, for example, in contrast to Oberschall, take a primarily economic approach to identify resources of value to a social movement. They focus on tangible resources to the exclusion of features of a social or symbolic nature, such as social solidarity or ideology.

The focus on resources is accompanied by an assumption that resources are limited. This generates competition, since "when one party to the conflict succeeds in obtaining some hitherto unallocated resources, these resources are no longer available to the opposition" (Oberschall 1973:28). Finally, the term "resource mobilization" may be defined as referring to "the process by which a discontented group assembles and invests resources for the pursuit of group goals" (ibid.).

2. A second critical assumption is that the experience of deprivation alone is insufficient to account for individual recruitment into a movement. This has emerged from empirical evidence showing that in a generally deprived population only some individuals will become

involved in social movement activity. An individual's decision to become involved is assumed to be based on a rational assessment of the personal costs and benefits associated with movement participation. Consequently, the process of differential recruitment into the movement is of prime interest within the resource mobilization perspective.

Most of the work done on the problem of recruitment has utilized as a model Olson's economic theory of collective behaviour (Olson 1968). This formulation is based on the assumption that individuals act in a rational, self-interested manner, and that choices of action involve consideration of the costs and benefits of each alternative course, and that the action chosen is that perceived to most likely further that individual's selfish interests. Yet, Olson asserts, it does not follow logically that an individual becomes active in a group (defined as "a number of individuals with a common interest" [ibid.:8]) simply because the group's goals represent the individual's goals. His model is directed at the "free-rider" problem. In a situation where an organized and active social movement is already in existence, what motivates an individual to join, if he is already enjoying the benefits produced through the group's actions? Olson argues that it is only when selective incentives exist to provide an individual with benefits above and beyond those of achieving the group's goals, that that individual will become engaged in collective action (1968:51).

Olson's theory is geared toward explaining recruitment into large groups pursuing economic goals within the context of contemporary American society. His concept of incentives refers mainly to economic incentives, although motives such as the desire for social status and social acceptance may also be important as these represent "individual,

noncollective goods" (ibid.:61). Within the resource mobilization school his selective incentives model has been both criticized and modified to apply to recruitment into social and political movements within American society (see Oberschall 1973; Gamson 1975; Heath 1976; White 1976; Fireman and Gamson 1979 for examples).

As some of these critics have pointed out, the usefulness of Olson's model in predicting and explaining recruitment is questionable. Although there are a number of problems with his model, the major difficulty, in my view, lies in defining what constitutes a selective incentive. Olson uses this term in contrast to the term "collective goods", which are distributed indiscriminately. Selective incentives are goods (or benefits) which can be gained only through participation in the movement. For this concept to be useful in the analysis of recruitment, we must first delimit the range of possible selective incentives, and then use this definition to determine whether members in a movement do, in fact, enjoy these benefits, and whether these potential benefits were significant considerations in the individual's decision to join the movement. The absence of such positive correlation between selective incentives (as we have defined them) and participation does not result in disproof of the model. It may mean that our definition of what constitutes a selective incentive is too narrow. Thus we could expand the definition and consequently always find some selective advantage to account for participation. In doing so, however, the model loses its predictive and parsimonious quality, and the argument for the existence of selective benefits becomes tautologous.

In reality, there exists a wide range of potential benefits to the individual for joining a group, benefits not only of a material nature,

but of a social and psychological quality as well. This fact further negates the usefulness of the "selective incentives" model in accounting for recruitment.

One incentive of a social nature , not dealt with adequately in Olson's formulation, relates to social solidarity. Subsequent work within the resource mobilization perspective has attempted to include solidarity as an important factor in accounting for the emergence of social movements (Oberschall 1973; Fireman and Gamson 1979). In contrast to the "mass society" theorists, who assume that marginal individuals, i.e., those who do not exist within relations of close solidarity, who are adrift and anomic, are the individuals most likely to participate in a social movement (here achievement of solidarity is the incentive), social scientists working within the resource mobilization approach claim the opposite: that the pre-existence of solidary relations is an important factor in predicting which individuals will become mobilized. Fireman and Gamson (1979), for example, state that:

A person whose life is intertwined with the group [through solidary relations] has a big stake in the group's fate. When collective action is urgent, the person is likely to contribute his or her share, even if the impact of that share is not noticeable (1979:22).

Here perpetuation, rather than achievement, of solidarity, is the incentive. Oberschall (1973) concurs with this belief, and has developed hypotheses in an effort to identify how different types of solidary relations inhibit or facilitate the emergence of social movements. Thus when recruitment is viewed as an attempt to maintain solidary relations, the emphasis shifts from recruitment as an individual response, as in Olson's model, to recruitment as a group or collective

phenomenon. This latter perspective will be useful in the analysis of the Sobriety movement, whereas the question of individual recruitment will be discussed only briefly.

While there is some debate among theorists working within the resource mobilization perspective on the usefulness of the selective incentives model as an explanatory tool, most have agreed on the value of assuming that collective behaviour has a rational basis. Herein lies Olson's main contribution to the resource mobilization approach.

Two additional comments should be made regarding this notion of rationality. First, Olson's understanding of what constitutes rational behaviour, and what values underly such behaviour, are specific to the situation of Western capitalistic and individualistic society. If the problem of individual recruitment into a movement is to be explored using this concept of rationality, (and most within the R.M. school do emphasize the rationality of behaviour, to the exclusion of social-psychological factors) it must be done with consideration of the socio-cultural context - specifically the cultural values and cultural definition of rationality - in which this behaviour is enacted.

Second, it may be found problematic to determine "rational" reasons for an individual's recruitment into a movement. Both the researcher's interpretation, and the individual's own account of his behaviour, may reflect rationalizations in hindsight. It is often not possible for an individual to articulate the reasoning underlying behaviour; furthermore, the decision to act often involves a consideration of a multitude of factors, thus there may be numerous reasons which together led to the action. The resource mobilization perspective, in its emphasis on rationality, can illuminate some of the positive consequences of joining a movement, but whether these were significant factors leading up to the

decision to join a movement is often difficult to determine. This may be true especially in the case to be described here, where for some individuals the decision to join the movement involved a process of conversion, not only to sobriety, which initially entailed simply the cessation of consumption of alcohol, but to an entirely different lifestyle and set of attitudes toward the self, others, and reality in general. Olson himself points out that his theory may be insufficient in dealing with movements having non-economic goals.

3. The third central assumption of the R.M. approach is that the socio-political context has a fundamentally important role in shaping a social movement. Strategies and tactics to achieve the group's goals are decided upon through a rational process, in consideration of various contextual features such as the availability of third party supports, possible opposition from external agents of social control, and pre-existing networks of social relations within the group to be mobilized. As a movement grows, the effective use of resources necessitates the creation of a social movement organization to serve as a co-ordinating center, through which such strategies and tactics will be drafted and revised to fit changing situations. Some brief examples of the influence of contextual features will now be presented.

The mass media represents one of the most powerful forms of third party support available to social movement organizations. Indeed, Molotch (1979) argues that not only can the media influence strategy decisions and perpetuate a movement, but they can define issues and manipulate discontent to the point where a social movement is actually precipitated. Third parties may provide support in a number of other

forms, from money or material resources, to time or labour, to simple moral encouragement.

That external agents of social control may influence the course of a social movement is obvious. In a repressive political context such movements simply would not be permitted to persist. In less repressive societies external social controls may effect movements in more subtle ways. For example, Marx describes various efforts undertaken by the FBI to quell anti-war activities in the 1960's. Such efforts ranged from letterwriting campaigns to the parents of student activists, requesting that the parents intervene in the situation, to the more explicit tactics of intimidation, direct threats, and even kidnapping (Marx 1979).

Tilly suggests the importance of some additional considerations that influence strategy determination. The concept of the "repertoire of contention" is developed on the observation that:

Within any particular time and place, the array of collective actions that people employ is (1) well defined and (2) quite limited in comparison to the range of actions that are theoretically available to them (Tilly 1979:131).

He argues that the repertoire is constrained according to both the response of authorities (i.e. only some activities will be tolerated) and to the participants' familiarity with forms of contention: "the idea of a repertoire implies that the standard forms are learned, limited in number and scope, slowly changing, and peculiarly adapted to their settings" (ibid.). Thus he introduces the notion that cultural features (that is, patterns of learned behaviour) shape the forms of collective behaviour. Unlike most others working within the R.M. perspective, Tilly denies that social movement strategies are always a product only of cool and premeditated rational choice, and states that protests can also derive

from a predominantly emotional response.

Apart from the availability of third party supports, opposition by authorities, and the awareness of pre-existing models of contention, social structural considerations have also been of primary interest to those within the R.M. school. Most agree that the prior existence of associational ties among the target group facilitates the mobilization process. The most extensive consideration of the relationship between social structure and the emergence of social movements has been presented by Oberschall (1973). In essence, he suggests that within pluralistic societies two social structural types can be identified: "superimposed segmentation", where individuals may be participating actively in a number of groups, but the membership of these groups is drawn from one segment of society, be it religious, political, socio-economic, or other; and "linked pluralism", where individuals participate in a variety of groups whose membership cross-cuts various classes and social groups. In the latter, a "checks and balances" mechanism exists to inhibit mobilization, while in the former such a mechanism is lacking, and mobilization occurs more readily.

In summary, the relative lack of emphasis within the R.M. approach on the role of dissatisfaction in generating a social movement may be understood when we take into account the level of analysis being undertaken. The R.M. perspective is geared toward the specific issues of differential recruitment, movement strategy and tactics, and the rise and fall of social movements over time. In contrast, theories emphasizing dissatisfaction are concerned with the more general features of the social movement, and the overall social and cultural conditions in which it arises. Furthermore, the R.M. perspective, with its emphasis

on the manipulation of resources, including cultural beliefs and norms regulating social behaviour, presents more of a political processual model of social movement activity. "Dissatisfaction" theorists, on the other hand, provide a model of social movement activity that has less emphasis on manipulation and choice, and greater emphasis on structural constraints on social movement activity.

It is as an orienting perspective that the resource mobilization approach will be applied to the study of the Alkali Lake Sobriety movement. Why use the resource mobilization perspective? This thesis is intended to stand as an initial study of the Alkali Lake Sobriety movement. Since extensive alcohol abuse among Native Indians is a widespread and persistent problem, and efforts to reduce Native alcoholism have met with generally little success, it seems that the important question to be asked first is not what were the general underlying conditions that resulted in the emergence of this movement, but what strategies and tactics were used successfully to turn Alkali Lake into a sober community. The R.M. perspective provides a suitable framework through which these questions may be posed.

This thesis, however, should not be considered as providing a formula for the solution of alcohol problems in other Native Indian communities. It may be that the Alkali Lake movement presented a uniquely Shuswap solution to the problems associated with alcohol use. The use in this thesis of a processual viewpoint does not imply the lack of importance of cultural features in shaping the Sobriety movement. Some mention of the way in which cultural features influenced the leaders' choice of strategy, and contributed to the eventual success of the movement, will be given. A more in-depth study of the historical

and cultural context in which the Sobriety movement emerged would complement the largely descriptive and interpretive account presented here.

The fundamental questions that will be posed in the following pages are:

1. What resources were critical in the initiation of the Sobriety movement, and how were they mobilized? With what contextual constraints (forms of external opposition) did the movement leaders have to contend? What role did third party supports play? How did the leaders justify the movement?

2. With regard to the period of community conversion: What appears to have motivated (some) individuals to stop drinking? What role did social structural factors play in the mobilization of the reserve residents? As the number of recruits grew how did the movement's organization change?

3. With regard to the Sobriety movement as of Autumn, 1985: How has the movement become routinized within the Alkali community? Is there evidence today of differential recruitment (the presence of drinkers) in the community? If so, how can we account for this?

4. With regard to historic forms of social control operative in the Alkali Lake community: Did that the leaders' efforts to encourage sobriety reflect culturally acceptable, or at least historically precedented, patterns of contention, as suggested in Tilly's concept of the repertoire of contention (1979)?

CHAPTER THREE:
INITIATION OF THE SOBRIETY MOVEMENT

ALKALI LAKE IN THE 1960s

The village of Alkali Lake has existed as the central settlement for the Alkali Lake Shuswap for more than one hundred years (Teit 1909). In the decades preceding the initiation of the Sobriety movement there had been a gradual move by families from the outlying homesteads to take up more or less year round residence in the village. In the summer of 1966 some 200 Band members were residing in the village (Brow 1967), representing about 77 percent of the Band membership.

During the 1960s the vast majority of the adult population was unemployed and dependent to a large degree on government transfer payments for subsistence. Reserve life in the 1960s was characterized by high levels of drunkenness, violence, child abuse and neglect, and accidental death and suicide. Cultural beliefs and social values were disintegrating: elders were no longer respected, and formal social control mechanisms were ineffective. It was in this general context of social and cultural upheaval that alcohol use prevailed.

The main instances of social interaction between community members centered around alcohol. Drinking parties occurred virtually every weekend on the reserve, frequently continuing for several days into the next week or as long as the liquor supply lasted. Drinking was especially intense at the end of the month, when social assistance, family allowance and old age pensions were given out, and during certain times of the year such as at Christmas and during the Williams Lake Stampede in July. Those few individuals who were employed off reserve -

specifically those employed at the nearby sawmill - were often at the center of drinking activities, as their regular paychecks provided a steady alcohol supply.

Alcohol was obtained from a number of sources. In the 1950s and early 1960s amendments to federal and provincial legislation pertaining to intoxicants resulted in B.C. Indians having for the first time the legal right to purchase alcohol from licensed stores, and to consume alcohol in licensed premises. Consequently, the incidence of liquor purchase and drinking in the town of Williams Lake increased. As well, orders for alcohol could be placed with the driver of the Dog Creek Stage, the local bus which ran from the Dog Creek reserve, through Alkali Lake and on to Williams Lake. Alcohol would then be delivered on its return trip the same day. As few of the village residents owned cars, the twice weekly Stage trips provided a major source of alcohol, at times delivering thousands of dollars worth of alcohol in one trip. Local taxis in Williams Lake also were used to supply alcohol. On a phone call cab drivers would buy the alcohol requested and deliver it right to the reserve.

Homebrew, made from malt, sugar, yeast, and dandelions or "whatever was around and easily got", was another important source of alcohol, especially in the years preceeding the opening up of the liquor stores and bars to Indians. In addition, alcohol could be purchased from any of a number of known bootleggers on the reserve.

The vast majority of adults of the community - women as well as men - engaged in these drinking activities. The 1981 Outreach Services Report of the Williams Lake Alcohol and Drug Program estimated that in 1972, 93 percent of the adult (age 16 and over) population on the reserve was drinking heavily (Bickford 1981:37). Informants describe

some features of reserve life in the height of its drinking days:

This reserve was just a real town then, people walking all over, like, every weekend you seen people walking on this whole reserve, people holding bottles and jugs and hollering around... people invited each other to their houses, and they drank... [Female informant, age 50.]

Everyone used to get together - the friends - we used to order on the Stage. The Stage used to go through on Friday, we'd order in the morning and pick it up after three or whenever it came. So, we'd let some of our friends know and they'd come over and the party would start and, about Sunday or maybe Monday it'd stop. There was nobody sober, I guess. [Female informant, age 36.]

Excessive drinking was frequently associated with instances of child neglect:

A lot of neglections I did with my kids. Like every family allowance day I took off to town, me and my husband, and come back with booze...Not only to me it happened like this, I guess the whole reserve kids were going around dirty, snotty, muddy...I often think about it today. I wonder what kind of groceries I lived on, when I was pretty heavy into drinking. [Female informant, age 50.]

My mom and father used to be alcoholics.. they used to be drunk most of the time...I raised my three younger, two brothers and sister. [The informant was in his early teens at this time.] Raised them through that. I had to cook for them and do all that stuff. That was - I call it survival. We used to - sometimes we didn't have food in the house, we used to go steal it. We used to get so that we know where to go and where to steal it from. Whoever's drunk and you'd know where to go. [Male informant, age 24.]

Drinking was considered a "normal" activity, in which at times even children participated:

I remember my younger brothers and sisters, they were drinking along with us. Myself, when I was 15 I started drinking with my Mom when she just started drinking. I guess we were hanging around with her, like we used to take off on my Dad because he used to be pretty mean when he was drunk. So we used to take off and hide - sitting around somewhere by ourselves but we'd have a bottle and we'd start to drink. [Female informant, age 36.]

Although alcohol in many respects had a fragmenting effect on social relations - where it was related to violence and child neglect - in other ways it had an opposite effect: social bonds between peers, and between family members, were reaffirmed through the reciprocal sharing of alcohol. As such a dominant social activity, drinking could be considered almost as a requirement of reserve life.

A PORTENT OF CHANGE

Before beginning discussion of the initiation of the Sobriety movement, I wish to point out one event of crucial significance that occurred in 1971: the switch to Band elections for chief and council according to Section 74 of the Indian Act. Prior to this, the Alkali Lake Band chief and councillors were elected according to "Band custom" - that is, they were elected by the Band membership to lifetime terms, or until such time as they wished to resign from office. Since the early 1900s there had been three "lifetime" chiefs, the term of the first ending at about 1940 or 1941, the second chief's term running from approximately 1941 to 1951, and the third chief being in office from about 1951 to 1971.

The major change resulting from adoption of Section 74 of the Indian Act was that chief and council were henceforth to be elected to two year

terms, with their position being renewed according to the wishes of the Band membership. What were the possible reasons for this desire for change? The following is a transcript of the 1971 letter sent out to Alkali Band members in which it was announced that a Band meeting would be held to discuss and decide on the issue of Band elections.

Dear Band member,

The following is the agenda for Sept. 29 so please read it carefully before coming to the meeting and be prepared to speak on the topics mentioned in the agenda. (Agenda means the topics to be talked about during the meeting). Here is the agenda:

(1) The importance of By-Laws on the Reserve so that the Reserve can be run in a proper way so that the people may be happy in the place which they call HOME.

(2) Are the Band Members satisfied with the Chief and Council that are now in power? If not let us talk about it and decide what the next move is. The Chief and Council have already agreed to talk about this and feel that the people should have a voice in the issue. The Chief and Council feel that much can be done but it means that everyone must cooperate and get behind the idea. THIS RESERVE COULD BE ONE OF THE BEST IN B.C. [Emphasis in the original.]

(3) It has been suggested that at an early date after the coming Band meeting, that members of the Council meet with the young people of the Reserve to talk things over regarding the Reserve and to find out their feelings and what should be done to better the situation on the Reserve so that everyone can be proud of the village that they call home. This will be an open and honest meeting and each one will be expected to give his or her idea of what is wrong on the Reserve and why.

(4) Regarding number 1 (on the By-Laws). Some suggestions are:

1. Speeding of cars around the Reserve with the danger of safety to the children and others on the Reserve.

2. The broken glass around the reserve which is a hazzard to the children and cars as well as to the mess of the reserve in general.

3. Each home owner be responsible for the cleaning of the home area (inside and out) for the sake of health and cleanliness of the Reserve.

4. If you have more suggestions for the meeting please bring them along with you and let them be known to the rest of the meeting. If you wish you may place your ideas in a box provided at the door and they will be read at the meeting. (you need not sign your name unless you wish).

NOTE: THIS IS A VERY IMPORTANT MEETING AND YOUR PRESENCE IS URGENTLY REQUESTED. NO ONE DRUNK WILL BE ADMITTED TO THE MEETING BECAUSE IT IS TOO IMPORTANT TO THE FUTURE OF OUR RESERVE.

Chief and Council,
and Coordinator.

This letter clearly spells out a sense of dissatisfaction with reserve life, and the idea that a revision of the elective system (and a change in the Band chief and council) might improve the situation. Especially interesting is the stress placed on the need for a sense of pride in their village, and the idea that "this reserve could be one of the best in B.C.". This indicates that, on the part of the letter writer at least, there existed a desire to increase, or perhaps renew, a sense of community solidarity and identity among the village residents.

At the September 29, 1971 Band meeting it was unanimously decided to change the system of Band elections to follow section 74, subsection (3)(a)(i), of the Indian Act. Forty-eight out of a total of one hundred and six eligible voters attended the meeting.

The first election under the new system was held in February, 1972, at which time a new chief was elected. In September 1973, after the resignation of this chief due to off-reserve work commitments, a by-election was held, and Andy Chelsea became the new Alkali Lake Band chief.

INITIATION OF THE SOBRIETY MOVEMENT

Andy Chelsea and his wife Phyllis are identified by Band members today as the two individuals who initiated the Sobriety movement. At this time both were newly-reformed alcoholics, having stopped drinking in 1972. In his drinking days Andy Chelsea, who was one of the few to be employed at the nearby sawmill, frequently had been at the center of drinking parties. He also had been a well-known bootlegger on the reserve. Phyllis Chelsea was the first to decide to stop drinking, a decision made after realization of the negative effects drinking was having on her family. A few months later her husband followed suit.

The two began their efforts to reduce drinking on the reserve only after Andy Chelsea had been elected to office. Chelsea had not run for office on an anti-alcohol campaign, nor did he have at the time a well formulated plan for the Band. In the election he was given a clear mandate. Of the total of 64 votes cast (representing a 43 percent voter turnout), Chelsea received 42 votes, while the other two candidates received 16 and 6 votes.¹

In the early 1970s most Band programs were administered by the Williams Lake district office of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (commonly referred to as the D.I.A.), with the Band administering a very small budget of about twenty thousand dollars.² As with the chief before him, Chelsea's general goal was to increase the Band's independence from the D.I.A. by gaining greater control over Band programs. In the new chief's view, however, the major problem facing the reserve was not its suppression by D.I.A.. The problem, instead, was alcoholism, and the negative consequences drinking was having on the reserve population. Thus before the Band could advance itself politically and economically, Andy and Phyllis Chelsea believed that the

problem of alcohol had to be faced.

TACTICS UTILIZED:

The Control of Bootlegging

In the 1973-76 period (which I call the period of movement initiation) the Band chief made extensive use of his powers of office in an attempt to reduce drinking on the reserve. The first major tactic undertaken by the Chelseas was directed specifically at the reserve bootleggers. Bootlegging was a common activity on the reserve, being engaged in by almost all adults at one time or another. After discussing the problem with the R.C.M.P. in Williams Lake, the two devised a scheme to have reserve bootleggers arrested:

There was a time when we decided - well, let's go and do it because it was after S.A. [Social Assistance cheques] from D.I.A. got sent out, it was allowance day, it was pensioners' day, and we knew bootleggers were going to be in their glory! So we decided "Well, let's do it this weekend". We knew how we were going to do it. So we sat down and we marked some bills. Some people were walking back and forth there, drinking across there and all over. I called a guy in and tell him "Hey go get me a bottle of wine" and he look at me and say "Hey, you starting to drink again?" and I said "Go get me a bottle of wine" and he go get it. And I ask him where he got it from and he'd tell me, and I'd write that on the bottle on the label. And then I ask him "Where did the guy put the money" and he said "Well, he put it in his wallet" so that's all I needed to know. About the same time we were calling the R.C.M.P. [A.C.].

As prearranged, upon their arrival the R.C.M.P. were directed by Phyllis and Andy Chelsea to the houses of the suspected bootleggers. A number of individuals, including the Chief's mother, were searched for the incriminating marked bills. Seven individuals were arrested and later tried in court. The cases were eventually dismissed due to a legal technicality arising from the fact that the charges purposely had

not been laid under the Indian Act. This dismissal had been expected by both the R.C.M.P. and the Chief and his wife. Their intention in taking this action had not been to have Band members sent off to jail, but instead to discourage them from further bootlegging activity.

This decision to take such strong measures against the bootleggers on the reserve had been a difficult one for the two, especially as it had involved action against some very close relatives. Both believed, however, that if the alcohol problem was to be seriously challenged, such measures were necessary. This gave village residents reason to believe that the two were determined in their efforts to deal with the reserve's alcohol problem, and that to further this cause their chief was willing to use his powers of office to the fullest (for example, by utilizing outside bodies of authority, such as the R.C.M.P., a move which within most Indian reserve communities is usually done only under extreme circumstances [Hawthorn et al. 1960]). As well, the bootlegging incident showed that Andy and Phyllis Chelsea were prepared to impose sanctions upon close family as well as those more distantly related. This, I believe, was of fundamental significance. It is a common expectation (or a frequent criticism, depending on one's relation to the chief) that a Band chief will use the position to provide favours to closer relatives. Through the bootlegging incident the Chief broke this implicit expectation, which further indicated to the Band his determination to fight the alcohol problem on the reserve.

Finally, Chelsea, due to his official position, believed he had the right to take measures to improve the welfare of the Band membership. He was in office by the majority vote, and if Band members were unhappy with his actions they could remove him from office.

In this first action against alcohol we get an initial glimpse of

what may be considered the crucial resources in the initiatory period of the Sobriety movement: the strength, courage and determination of these two individuals to improve the conditions of life on the reserve.

In another measure to cut off the alcohol supply to the village, Andy Chelsea confronted the driver of the Dog Creek Stage during one of his regular liquor deliveries and forbade him to enter the reserve from that time on. This is reported by Band members as one of the major steps taken by the Chief in this initiatory period; however there is some testimony to indicate that the Stage did in fact continue to take Alkali passengers to and from Williams Lake. Further fieldwork is necessary to clarify the details of this issue.

The Social Assistance Voucher System

The second major step undertaken by Phyllis and Andy Chelsea to combat alcohol use on the reserve was to gain control over the Social Assistance (S.A.) program. Prior to 1974 this program was administrated through the D.I.A. office in Williams Lake. This meant that an Alkali Lake Band member wishing to receive Social Assistance would apply directly to a designated officer of the Department, who would be responsible for evaluating the applications and delivering the monthly cheques. After training for several months, in April 1974 Phyllis Chelsea became the Band's Welfare Aide (later this position was called Band Social Worker), and assumed the responsibility for interviewing S.A. clients and distributing the S.A., family allowance and old age pensions within the Alkali community.

The Chelseas saw control over the S.A. program as a critical resource in their campaign against alcohol. S.A. cheques represented

primary source of cash income for the majority of the reserve residents, and thus the main fund from which alcohol was purchased. Misuse of S.A. at times resulted in neglect of the needs of children on the reserve:

Social assistance was first [the first program to be taken over by the Band] because it was the problem, because it had something to do with the kids, it had something to do with the parents. The parents were always drunk. When you see kids walking into the school that don't have any breakfast or don't even have nothing...Everyone was drinking and neglecting kids. The person who was here for education was really supportive of what we were doing. He was asking us how come these kids are coming to school like this?... You know, you go into the home and visit somebody, and instead of offering you a coffee or something they offer you a glass of wine, early in the morning yet. That didn't make sense. I guess it was really why it was first [A.C.].

The Chelseas were dissatisfied with D.I.A. handling of the S.A. program. The D.I.A. employee responsible for administration of the program did not visit the reserve or personally interview the clients on a regular basis, and when the problem of misuse of the money was pointed out, the D.I.A. employee was reluctant to take action. On occasion the S.A. cheques were sent out by mail via the store at the nearby Alkali Lake Ranch, and problems related to control of the money arose:

There was a lot of complaints about the store down at the Alkali Ranch. We found out where the people were getting the money. The Department was sending the Social Assistance cheques directly. When that happened, [the storekeeper] just grabbed them all, without authorization from the person that has that S.A. - open it up, get them to sign it, gather all their money and then the people had nothing. It was like a bank...the storekeeper was drinking with his own customers. All the money that was taken from the store, money left over for groceries and stuff - if the people asked for it they'd get it, then they'd turn around and order wine on the Stage [A.C.].

The store at the Alkali Ranch was also the closest grocery store to the reserve, and many Band members believed that the store was cheating

its Indian customers. In reaction, in 1973 Phyllis Chelsea and another Band member decided to open their own small grocery store on the Alkali reserve. (The Band assumed ownership of the store in 1976.)

By achieving control over the administration of the S.A. program in April 1974, and in opening the food store on the reserve, Andy and Phyllis Chelsea decreased the control that the Alkali Ranch store had over the reserve residents. Phyllis Chelsea now had the authority, inherent in her position as Welfare Aide, to ensure that S.A. cheques were being used to supply the basic necessities of food and clothing, instead of being spent on alcohol.³

Once the S.A. program was in the Band's control, Phyllis Chelsea, as the Welfare Aide, began to take steps in an attempt to reduce the reserve's problems of drinking and child neglect. Earlier in the month the Chelseas had drafted a set of guidelines for a voucher system, and had arranged to have the vouchers printed and ready by the end of the month. Andy Chelsea had approached the manager of a department store in Williams Lake, and after he had presented his plan to reduce the alcohol problem on the reserve, the manager had agreed to have his department store accept vouchers from Alkali Lake Band members. Band members subsequently were informed (either by word of mouth, or when they came to Phyllis Chelsea to collect their S.A. allotment) that those S.A. recipients who were "drinking up their money", or bootlegging on the reserve, would have their S.A. cheques replaced by food or clothing vouchers redeemable at the reserve store or at the department store in Williams Lake. In the first month of Band control vouchers were assigned to all S.A. recipients. Given the high unemployment rate on the reserve, this action was felt by almost the entire reserve population.

Band members were outraged by this action. Nevertheless, Phyllis Chelsea persisted. In the second month two elderly people who had been put on vouchers because of their involvement in bootlegging activities came to Phyllis Chelsea to discuss the problem. They decided to put an end to the bootlegging, and that month received assistance in the form of cheques, while the other S.A. applicants remained on vouchers. As the months wore on other individuals were taken off vouchers when they demonstrated a willingness to stop bootlegging or to try to stop drinking. It was up to the discretion of the Welfare Aide to determine whether individuals were actually making concerted efforts in these regards. Chelsea's method of evaluation was not so much based on objective criteria of actual instances of drinking, but rather on a consideration of the personal circumstances of each individual and an assessment of that person's attitude toward the problem of alcohol.

Despite the extreme unpopularity of this measure, and extreme social pressure on the Chelseas, the S.A. voucher system continued to operate and is still utilized at Alkali Lake.

Individual Confrontation

A method of individual confrontation was also utilized by Andy and Phyllis Chelsea in order to control drinking behaviour on the reserve and to promote the value of sobriety. A confrontation was initiated typically after a specific alcohol-related incident, after which either the two felt compelled to intervene, or a concerned community member (usually a close relative to the individual to be confronted) requested that the Welfare Aide or the Chief intervene to try to resolve the problem. Incidents of violent assault and child neglect were common examples of the events which prompted confrontation.

The approach of Phyllis and Andy Chelsea in confronting an individual was generally low-key and personal. The overriding tone was one of concern for the individual and for "what alcohol was doing to him". First, disapproval would be expressed of the individual's recent actions, and the negative impact of those actions on others would be pointed out. A second component of confrontation emerged later in the initiatory period. When Phyllis or Andy Chelsea deemed the time appropriate, the individual being confronted would be presented with a choice: either he do something about his drinking ("doing something" about his drinking meant that in some way the individual was to make a general effort to stop drinking - later in the initiatory period this became specified more often to mean that the individual was to participate in an alcoholism treatment program), or accept the consequences that would be imposed.

These consequences would be clearly spelled out. For example, the Human Resources Agency might be called in to remove the children from his home, the individual might lose his job with the Band or his home on the reserve, or the R.C.M.P. might be called in to lay charges, depending on the specific incident that spurred the confrontation, and on the Chelsea's assessment of what might be an effective deterrent in the particular case. Again, as with the use of the Social Assistance voucher system, the sanctions were applied not so much in an authoritarian manner (by which I mean as a response simply to the breaking of a rule, or the enactment of "inappropriate" behaviour, without consideration of the person who took such an action) as in a personal manner, in which the individual's circumstances and attitude were taken into consideration in deciding when and what sanctions were to be imposed.

It can be seen once again that Andy and Phyllis Chelsea drew upon the powers of their respective offices in order to apply these controls. In the period between 1973-76 there were a number of instances in which the Human Resources Agency (Williams Lake office) was called in by the Welfare Aide to help deal with a situation of child neglect or abuse. The Agency co-operated with the Welfare Aide to reach a compromise solution. Instead of removing children from the reserve, which was the typical response of the Agency in such cases, children were placed in the homes of other reserve families where a safer environment existed.

Other Actions

In 1973, at the request of Andy and Phyllis Chelsea, a counsellor from the Williams Lake Alcohol and Drug Program began to hold weekly "Alcohol Awareness" meetings on the Alkali reserve. This counsellor was also a Brother of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, an order of the Roman Catholic church. The Alcohol Awareness meetings, however, had no explicit religious content. During the meetings various topics related to alcoholism would be discussed or presented through films or tapes. The meetings were open to all Band members, with the participants receiving follow-up visits by the counsellor in their homes. Attendance ranged between fifteen and twenty individuals on those evenings when films were presented, dropping to perhaps only five when the meeting took the format of group discussion of alcohol-related problems (Bickford 1981). A number of Band members claim that the persistence and moral support provided by this counsellor played a significant role in their decisions to become sober. After 1976 the Alcohol Awareness meetings were reorganized to assume the structure of the Alcoholics Anonymous meetings.

It should be noted that Andy Chelsea did not try to use Band by-laws to reduce alcohol use on the reserve. This was a conscious decision on his part. First of all, a by-law required the approval of the majority of the Band's eligible voters (as specified in the Indian Act), and it was unlikely that such approval could have been achieved. More important, however, the by-law approach was considered an inappropriate method of dealing with the alcohol problem. The philosophy of alcoholism held by Andy and Phyllis Chelsea was one in which alcoholism was seen as a disease. An alcoholic could not be forced to stop drinking. Only if the alcoholic himself made the decision to stop drinking, and consciously worked at perpetuating his sobriety, could the disease be controlled. The use of by-laws was seen by Chelsea as too extreme a measure, and one that would probably have been ineffective.

RESPONSE OF THE COMMUNITY

The Band Council

Some decisions enacted by Andy Chelsea, such as those regarding reserve housing and the implementation of the S.A. voucher system, required the consent of the Band Council (i.e. the passing of a Band Council Resolution) to be official according to the definition of the powers of Chief and Council as stated in the Indian Act. Apparently, this consent was always readily obtained - I know of no situation in which a Councillor attempted to block the Chief's decision. As one Councillor in the 1970s stated:

I remember when Andy started. I was on Band Council, I was drinking when I was on Band Council. But if you were talking about a drunk, and I was sitting there, I never would have believed that you were talking about me...I'd tell myself "He's not talking about me, I'm not part of the problem. It's them other guys"... You always would say "Yeah", because you don't think about "Well, how was this connected", you don't think "Well, I'm going to be confronted, because now it's Andy and Phyllis looking after this".

The Reserve Community

Band members were all outraged by the actions of the Chelseas, believing that these two had no right to tell other Band members what to do or how to live their lives. The firm position taken by these two on alcohol resulted in their social isolation, first because as non-drinkers they were excluded from a main form of social interaction - that based on alcohol - and second because of the hostility of Band members. At times their lives were threatened for their anti-alcohol stance. Nevertheless, they persisted. They countered this hostility by insisting that these actions against alcohol were motivated only by a concern for the welfare of the Band. Phyllis and Andy Chelsea made conscious efforts to maintain informal social contact with the village residents, by continuing to drop in to visit family and friends as well as individuals who were having particularly difficult times related to alcohol.

Phyllis would visit. I don't know if she ever came when we were out of it! But on Monday like we would sometimes be all sober by then, she'd still come and visit us and talk with us, and she'd tell us her own problems. We'd say "Oh, she has the same problems we have" but, not really bawling us out, but just telling us how her side of it was. And that helped, you'd know this person has the same problems as you do. What they were in seemed to be helping them, so, we got more and more to see their side of it. [Female informant, age 36.]

A further example of this interest in initiating and maintaining communication within the community was the creation by Andy and Phyllis Chelsea of the community newspaper "Alkali Speaks". The monthly paper, first introduced in October 1973, contained news of reserve events as well as reports from the Band Council, the reserve school, and the various clubs and groups within the community. One or two articles on alcohol and alcoholism were usually included, but this topic was not a dominant theme of the newspaper.

Band Elections: 1974-76

The ultimate justification used by Andy Chelsea regarding his efforts to combat the alcohol problem was that he was acting within his official capacity as chief. If the community did not approve, he reasoned, they could remove him from office. It is somewhat of a paradox that despite their outrage at his actions, Band members twice re-elected Chelsea to office in the 1974-76 period.

In the February 1974 elections (just a few months after the bootlegging arrests) Chelsea was re-elected by acclamation, there being no other nominations for the position. His re-election may have been a result of no one else wanting the job, instead of being an expression of support for the Chief. I heard from two different sources, however, that at the nominations meeting, an elderly woman, who just a few months ago had been extremely angry with the Chief because her son had been one of the seven arrested for bootlegging, stood up to voice support for Andy Chelsea, claiming that he was strong and just what the Band needed. In the course of my fieldwork I asked this woman what Chelsea was like in the early days, when he had just been elected, to which she replied "He

was awful", and mentioned such examples as the voucher system and the bootlegging arrests. I then asked her if he did such things, why was he re-elected? She responded simply "He was mean. That's why we chose him". This response indicates the importance of exploring the expected role of the Band chief in social control for our understanding of Andy Chelsea's apparent popularity.

In the February 1976 elections Chelsea received a clear mandate from the community. There were six candidates for the position of chief. Andy Chelsea received 54 of the total 82 votes cast (representing a 59 percent voter turn-out). His closest competitor received only 11 votes.

There were a number of instances in the 1974-76 period when Chelsea, frustrated by the apathy and opposition of the community members, threatened to resign from office. On one occasion he went as far as to present the Band with a letter of resignation, a condensed version of which follows:

June 2, 1976

To whom it may concern:

This is to let everyone know that, I wish to be released from the role as chief. I never let the name go over what the people wanted. My ideas are still there, but it [seems] the people want to drink themselves to death, I feel that I am wasting my time and the people's money on something that they themselves don't really want. What I mean is that you are paying me, for something that you don't want, so why should I drive myself to where, I'm not wanted by the whole band...

Of all the problems that ... we have had in the past, I have sat and thought this out. Land Claims being the biggest thing happening all over B.C. and possibly a settlement over the next two years, so I hope you get off butts and do something, other wise you will be setting there until the government walks up to you and asks you, what you want, and if you tell them land then you better be ready to tell them what you are going to use that land for or you will not get it.

And as for you people that drink every penny you get, after working your ass off, they will hand you a cheque and tell you Okay you are not an Indian anymore.

If you don't believe this, ask some of the Old timers that are still around. You are entitled to more money and land then you have now. And if you don't put your head's together then you are going to lose it all. If [you] don't have a leader that will work with all the people you are also in trouble; the same people or family of the leader always expect's something extra because of the family relation...

I expect that some body will call a meeting when you all get this letter, I hope you will all [accept] this as a total resignation of all band business,

Your So Called Chief,
Andy Chelsea

Again, in this letter we see that Chelsea was generally concerned with the political and economic advancement of the Band, but believed that the continued abuse of alcohol would inhibit any such advancement from occurring.

Upon receiving this notice some Band members did call a general meeting in an attempt to discuss the issue and encourage Chelsea to stay in office; however, the meeting was not necessary as by then he had withdrawn his resignation.

OPPOSITION FROM THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

The presence of representatives of the Catholic church in the Alkali Lake village extends back over one hundred years. It is undeniable that through this time the church has had some role in social control within the community (see Chapter Six). Between the late 1800s and the mid-1900s the authority of the Band chief and the authority of the church

seemed to merge somewhat, as up until 1940 the Band chief appeared to act under the authority of, or at least in conjunction with, the Catholic church in controlling behaviour deemed to be "immoral", often with strict punishment used as a negative sanction. Another body of social control, operating on the reserve since the 1950s, was the "Women's group"; however, the authority of this group appears to have been limited to the ability to impose rules regarding the behaviour of children on the reserve (Johnson 1984).

Through the decades preceding the emergence of the Sobriety movement the influence of the Catholic church, and the effective exercise of the Band chief's authority, diminished. The majority of the younger generation had rejected the values and beliefs of Catholicism, and no longer attended church (Brow 1967). The Band chief during this period was reluctant to attempt to control the behaviour of other Band members, for which he was often criticized by the elderly people. When he did attempt such control his authority was not recognized. Brow relates one incident when the Band chief did call the R.C.M.P. to the reserve to break up a fight, after which this chief was severely beaten for his interference. Thus, just prior to the initiation of the Sobriety movement, there were no effective bodies of formal social control operating on the reserve.

It was shown above that the Sobriety movement was initiated with Andy Chelsea's election as Band chief, and that he used his powers of office to further the cause of sobriety. One avenue of recourse for the Band members was to remove Chelsea from office (the Chief himself frequently reminded the Band membership of this option), yet no such attempt was ever made. Another method of resolution possible was for

Band members to leave the Alkali Lake community. It seems that few, if any, took this measure.⁴ Instead, Band members expressed their opposition to the anti-alcohol tactics by applying personal pressure on Andy and Phyllis Chelsea, and on some occasions by making veiled or direct threats on their lives. The two demonstrated their fortitude in persisting in the face of such strong pressure.

The Catholic Priest on the Alkali reserve also voiced strong opposition to Andy Chelsea's tactics. The Priest was a part-time resident in the Alkali village, holding church services there several times per month. His congregation was composed mainly of the elderly women on the reserve. After the initiation of the anti-alcohol campaign it gradually became apparent that Andy Chelsea and the Priest would not be able to work together to promote sobriety on the reserve. The Priest himself was reportedly a heavy drinker and an occasional bootlegger, and he sided with the Band members in their resentment of Chelsea's efforts to control their lifestyles. Although there was a tradition in existence within the Catholic church to help individuals with alcohol problems - this tradition consisted of a ceremony officiated by the Priest in which an individual made a pledge on the Bible to refrain from drinking alcohol for a certain period of time - it was related to me in several instances that the Priest would not perform this duty when it had been requested.

As community hostility mounted toward the anti-alcohol campaign of Phyllis and Andy Chelsea, the Priest became increasingly opposed to the Chief, and attempted to mobilize the community to oust Chelsea from office. These attempts were unsuccessful, even though the Priest and the community were united in their dislike of Chelsea's anti-alcohol tactics. At one point the Priest went so far as to attempt to organize

a Band meeting for the purpose of removing the Chief from office. That meeting never materialized. Thus it was not the lack of organization per se that inhibited Band members from taking collective action against their chief, a fact that the Priest only later came to realize.

The conflict between the Priest and Chelsea eventually came to a head. One Sunday outside the church Chelsea confronted the Priest and demanded that he leave the reserve permanently. A lengthy and violent argument ensued, after which the Priest immediately departed from the reserve as requested.

THE TURNING POINT

In the period between 1973 and 1976 efforts to promote sobriety on the reserve met with little success. Only two individuals had followed the example set by Phyllis and Andy Chelsea. According to most Band members the turning point for the success of the Sobriety movement came in 1976, when a total of ten Band members attended alcoholism treatment programs. Upon returning to Alkali the majority decided to adopt a sober lifestyle. This trend continued in the following years. By 1981 it is estimated that 70 percent, or 115 of the total of 165 adults (over age 16) on the reserve were sober (Bickford 1981), and by 1985 about 90-95 percent of the adults were committed to sobriety (fieldnotes).

SUMMARY

The following questions were posed in the preceding chapter regarding the movement's initiatory period:

1. What resources were critical in the initiation of the Sobriety movement, and how were they mobilized?

2. With what contextual constraints (i.e. forms of opposition) did the movement leaders have to contend?

3. What role did third party supports play?

4. How did the leaders justify this movement (what image of the movement was created)?

These questions may now be answered. Resource mobilization in the initiatory period was achieved through the Chief's and the Welfare Aide's utilization of their respective powers of office. Summoning the R.C.M.P. to the reserve, takeover of the Social Assistance program and instigation of the S.A. voucher system, and calling in the Human Resources Agency were major tactics that reflected the use of these official powers. The personal resources of the two leaders, their emotional strength, courage and determination, were also critical in this initiatory phase.

Opposition to their tactics was intense. Opposition was expressed by the community mainly in the form of extreme social pressure. The leaders were socially isolated, and on a few occasions veiled or direct threats were made on their lives. Band members, however, made no attempt to remove Andy Chelsea from office. He was re-elected twice in the 1974-76 period, and his offers of resignation during this period were not accepted by other Band members.

The Chief encountered strong opposition from the Catholic Priest at Alkali Lake. The Priest sided with the majority of Band members in their anger at the Chief's attempts to alter their drinking lifestyle. The Priest attempted to mobilize community members to have Chelsea ousted from office. This effort failed, despite the groundswell of public support, and the Priest's willingness to lead and organize the opposition

(and thus take primary responsibility for its actions).

Third party support played a crucial role in this initiatory phase. Andy and Phyllis Chelsea were able to secure the co-operation of the R.C.M.P., who, according to the wishes of these two, deliberately did not charge bootleggers under the Indian Act, thus making it likely that the charges would be dismissed in court; the Human Resources Agent, who permitted neglected children to remain in foster homes on the Alkali reserve; and the manager of a department store in Williams Lake, who agreed to accept Social Assistance vouchers from Alkali Lake Band members. The two also gained the support of a dedicated counsellor from the Williams Lake Drug and Alcohol Program, who established weekly Alcohol Awareness meetings on the reserve and made personal visits to community members. Finally, both Phyllis and Andy Chelsea stated that in this early period they gained a great deal of moral support from one of the teachers of the reserve school, who became a close personal friend.

The leaders justified their anti-alcohol campaign by claiming that it was for the good of the Band members. They expressed the view that alcoholism was a disease, and that problems on the reserve such as frequent violence and child neglect were its consequence. They countered the effect that their tactics were having on their relationships with community members by making purposeful efforts to maintain informal personal contact with all members of the village. The ultimate justification of Andy Chelsea's actions was that as the elected Band chief, he had the mandate of the community to do as he saw fit to provide for the welfare of the Band. When opposition to his tactics became strong, he reminded the Band that they could remove him from office if they chose. This course of action was never taken.

Apart from the above mentioned strategies and tactics, two other factors may have contributed to the dramatic change that began in 1976. First, the strong anti-alcohol stance of Andy Chelsea, plus the sober example that he set for the community and the fact that, by general consensus, he used to be one of the "biggest drunks" on the reserve, may well have caused reserve residents to re-examine seriously their own drinking habits. Second, there may have existed an implicit readiness for new leadership and social change within the community. This is suggested in the switch to the two year Band elective system, the 1971 letter to Band members (pages 40-41), and in the community's apparent support for Andy Chelsea's actions through continually re-electing him as Band chief and refusing to support the Priest in his efforts to have the Chief removed from office.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

1. It is interesting to note that Andy Chelsea ran for the position of councillor in the 1972 elections, and received the fewest votes of the five candidates. At this time he was still drinking: could this be associated with the difference in his popularity?
2. In the 1973-74 period the funds administered by the Alkali Lake Band totalled \$21,858.00, as compared with \$221,445.94 just two years later, and \$1,429,104.90 in the 1984-85 fiscal period.
3. The B.C. Region Social Development Policy Manual (1981) states:

10.2 ASSISTED MANAGEMENT OF ALLOWANCES

A recipient of financial assistance has the right and responsibility to manage his/her own affairs. However, if for any reason financial assistance is not used in the best interests of the recipient and dependents, help in managing allowances may be offered as follows:

...(c)... the recipient may be helped by partial administration of the financial assistance. Partial administration of financial assistance by the Administering Authority provides a means of ensuring that essential goods and services are available to the individual or family unit. Under this type of administration the Administering Authority may issue part of the client's financial assistance in the form of a cheque or purchase order payable to the supplier of goods or services, e.g., rent, electrical service, fuel, food, clothing, or items approved as special needs, or payable to both client and supplier, with the balance of the allowance issued by separate cheque to the client. The Administering Authority should limit its income-management activity only to the area(s) in which severe problems exist, so the client may retain maximum possible responsibility for his/her own affairs (pp.79-80).

4. The following data indicate that although there has been a slow decline in the percent of Band members living on the Band's reserve land, in the years between 1974 and 1980, when opposition to the anti-alcohol tactics was greatest, there was no mass exodus from the reserve.

TABLE 1. ON-RESERVE RESIDENCE DATA
FOR THE ALKALI LAKE BAND, EVEN YEARS, 1974-1984

YEAR	TOTAL BAND POPULATION	<u>BAND MEMBERS</u> NUMBER	<u>RESIDENT ON RESERVE</u> PERCENT
1974	302	257	85.1
1976	323	265	82.8
1978	328	270	82.3
1980	347	290	83.6
1982	360	293	81.4
1984	382	313	81.9

Source: "Registered Indian Population by Sex and Residence", Departmental Statistics Division, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Ottawa.

Compared with the percentage of registered Indians living on-reserve for B.C. as a whole, which was 70.2 in 1971 and is expected to drop to 57.6 by 1986 (Siggner and Locatelli 1980), the Alkali Lake on-reserve residence figures are high. On-reserve residence data for Shuswap Bands in the Williams Lake district show considerable variation:

TABLE 2. ON-RESERVE RESIDENCE DATA, IN PERCENTAGE,
FOR SHUSWAP BANDS IN THE WILLIAMS LAKE DISTRICT,
EVEN YEARS, 1974-1984.

<u>BAND</u>	<u>YEAR</u>					
	1974	1976	1978	1980	1982	1984
ALKALI LAKE	85.1	82.8	82.3	83.6	81.4	81.9
CANIM LAKE	83.1	83.6	82.3	83.4	81.2	81.2
WILLIAMS LAKE	75.0	72.8	66.7	71.9	75.6	77.2
SODA CREEK	70.7	64.2	64.2	61.7	66.1	68.0
CANOE CREEK (Includes Dog Creek)	62.7	50.1	46.1	47.3	49.0	49.7

Source: "Registered Indian Population by Sex and Residence",
Departmental Statistics Division, Department of Indian Affairs and
Northern Development, Ottawa.

For the location of these reserve villages see Appendix, Map 1.

The similarity in on-reserve residence between the Alkali Lake and Canim Lake Bands should be noted. These data indicate that since at least 1974 there has existed some commitment to community life among these two Bands.

A second point of similarity is the size of the Bands. Alkali Lake and Canim Lake are the most populous, with Alkali Lake having 410 members and Canim Lake having 366 members as of 1985. In comparison, the Williams Lake Band had 267, Canoe Creek had 311, and Soda Creek had 176 members in 1985.

Today Canim Lake and Alkali Lake are seen as the two most "progressive" Bands of the district, Alkali Lake for its recent success in dealing with the alcohol problem, and Canim Lake for its efficient Band administration and success in providing employment, modern housing, and a Band-operated school for reserve residents. Thus the initial commitment to community life shared by these two Bands has been mobilized since 1974 and the development of the reserve communities, aided by the greater availability of "people power", has been the result.

CHAPTER FOUR:
CONVERSION TO SOBRIETY

After 1976 the Alkali Lake community underwent dramatic change. By 1981 approximately 70 percent of the adult population on the reserve were sober (Bickford 1981), and by 1985 this ratio had increased to about 90 percent. This chapter presents a discussion of the organizational shifts that occurred within the Sobriety movement in this period, and a description of the more general changes that occurred in the Alkali Lake community consequent to this increase in sobriety.

ROUTES TO SOBRIETY

The Treatment Center

Through the late 1970s the process of confrontation continued to be the main precipitating factor in the decision of community members to become sober. Once individuals had indicated a willingness to do something about their drinking, the most frequent route to sobriety was through initial attendance of an alcoholism treatment program. The Williams Lake Drug and Alcohol Program continued to play an important role as a third party support in co-ordinating and referring individuals to these and other off-reserve services.

The treatment centers attended most commonly by Alkali Band members between the years of 1976 and 1981 were located in Alberta (Poundmaker Lodge and Bonneville), Kamloops (Kiwanis House), Vancouver (Aurora House), Maple Ridge (Maple Ridge Treatment Center), and Vernon (Round Lake). Poundmaker Lodge, Bonneville, and Round Lake were geared specifically to the problem of Native Indian alcoholism, and treatment included the Pan-Indian rituals of ceremonial sweats (at Round Lake only)

and sage and/or sweetgrass ceremonies. Indeed, the theme of the Round Lake Treatment Center is "culture is treatment". Emphasis is placed on instilling in the client a sense of self-worth and pride in Native heritage. The Nenqani Training and Treatment Center, operating until recently out of the old St. Joseph's Mission just south of Williams Lake, opened in the early 1980s to provide a more local alcoholism treatment and counselling service for Natives in the Williams Lake area. Individuals from Alkali Lake were actively involved in the establishment of this center.

The typical treatment program lasted about six weeks. In the course of this treatment participants were presented with basic medical information about alcoholism, followed by illustration of the emotional and behavioural aspects of the disease. One-on-one and group counselling sessions occurred in which personal problems related to alcoholism were discussed. Therapy consisted in raising the client's sense of self esteem and developing his ability to communicate openly his thoughts and emotions to other individuals. As well, clients were encouraged to adopt alternate interactive and general behavioural patterns in order to cope more effectively with problems related to alcoholism.

Other Routes

Several months after the hasty departure of the previous Church representative, a new priest was assigned to the Alkali Lake village. This individual was able quickly to establish a positive and supportive relationship with the Band Chief and the Alkali community. Two individuals who had been heavy drinkers for many years became sober in

1976 by taking pledges from the new Catholic Priest and by subsequently attending the weekly A.A. meetings on-reserve.

Other individuals claim that participation in personal growth training programs in the early 1980s led them to the decision to become sober. Still others, more common after 1980 when it became "the thing to do", simply made the decision to stop on their own. Some utilized the weekly A.A. meetings for support, while others relied instead on the advice and help of sober family members or friends to see them through the difficult early stages of sobriety.

FOLLOW-UP SERVICES

The Band Office

The Band Office served as a co-ordinating center to provide support services to the individual both during his absence from, and upon his return to the reserve. The powers of Chief and Council were utilized to access sources of funding that permitted the creation of employment opportunities for individuals returning from treatment, and the renovation of homes to provide a more positive environment for the newly-sober individuals. The Welfare Aide ensured that the individuals' children were taken care of during his absence, and worked closely with the Williams Lake Drug and Alcohol Program to co-ordinate the attendance of Band members in alcoholism treatment programs.

The "Intervention Committee" was formed after 1976 and worked under the authority of the Band Council. The committee was composed of a number of Band employees, including the Welfare Aide (now called the Band Social Worker), the Chief, one or more Councillors, and the Community Health Representative. Its specific responsibility was the confrontation and negative sanctioning of drinkers on the reserve.

Members of the Intervention Committee, as well as the Drug and Alcohol counsellor and other concerned individuals who had converted to sobriety, often dropped in to visit and to encourage those who had recently returned from treatment. This form of support - emotional support - was to become crucial to the success of the Sobriety movement.

Thus we can see that after 1976 there occurred a division of labour within the Sobriety movement. The responsibility for promoting sobriety, and sanctioning drinkers, became less that of Phyllis and Andy Chelsea, and more the domain of the Band Office, which became responsible for mobilizing resources and providing services to the sober population on the reserve. The Intervention Committee, working under the authority of the Band Council, became the "official" unit responsible for the confrontation and negative sanctioning of drinkers in the village. This trend toward routinization of the Sobriety movement was especially evident after 1978, when Andy Chelsea declined to run for re-election as Chief, and Phyllis Chelsea resigned as Band Social Worker. Their respective replacements continued in what were now perceived as their "official" duties (a more comprehensive discussion of these duties is presented in Chapter Five).

Williams Lake Drug and Alcohol Program

The Drug and Alcohol Program, funded by the Alcohol and Drug Commission of the B.C. Provincial Government's Ministry of Health and Welfare, and operating out of the Cariboo Friendship Center, continued to play a vital role in the co-ordination of off-reserve support services for Alkali Lake Band members. Program counsellors were responsible for booking a client into a treatment center, for arranging transportation to

and from the treatment center, and for ensuring that transportation and treatment costs were covered. These costs were paid by the Indian Health Services of the Federal Department of Health and Welfare, and more recently by the National Alcohol and Drug Abuse Program of the Federal government. The Bands were responsible for providing the clients with a "comfort allowance", to cover items such as cigarettes, candy, magazines, and so on. The comfort allowance amounted to about thirty dollars per month, and could be secured as an advance from the client's monthly Social Assistance payment. It was a crucial factor in the therapy of the alcoholic. Some other Bands in the district neglected to provide their Band members with a comfort allowance, and these clients, already feeling vulnerable and impatient, (especially those who arrived at the treatment center not having had a meal, for lack of money, during their two days of travel), often did not remain for the duration of the treatment program.

The Program also provided information on local A.A. groups and A.A. activities. Individuals (both White and Indian) within the Williams Lake A.A. network played major supporting roles in the development of the A.A. group at Alkali Lake. Ten to fifteen White A.A. members from Williams Lake frequently were in attendance at the weekly A.A. meetings at Alkali Lake during the early years (1978-79). This participation proved to be a very positive experience for both the Indian and White A.A. members. The A.A. meeting provided a forum in which members could share their common, and very personal, experiences with alcohol. Through this sharing of experiences racial barriers were broken down, and the support offered by the White A.A. members was greatly appreciated. A number of Alkali Lake A.A. members had non-Indian sponsors from Williams Lake, to whom they could turn for support in times of crisis.

Through the sponsorship program many close relationships were formed between Indian and White A.A. members, and these relationships persist today.

This situation is in contrast with Jilek-Aall's observations (1972) of Coast Salish Indian participation in A.A. groups in the Fraser Valley area. There the mixed Indian-White A.A. meetings resulted in an intensification of feelings of racial conflict, and did not create a conducive environment for therapy of the Indian A.A. members. These mixed meetings, however, were not held on Indian reserve land. In the Alkali Lake situation, White members travelled to the reserve as volunteers, with the explicit intention of supporting the newly-formed A.A. group. A great deal of racial prejudice exists within the Williams Lake district. Indian reserves are viewed, both by the Indians and by many non-Indians as well, as "fortresses", which Whites are generally reluctant to enter. The willingness of the White A.A. members to attend meetings on the Alkali Lake reserve therefore was a very important symbolic gesture, and undoubtedly was an important factor in the positive relationships that developed.

The Williams Lake Drug and Alcohol Program also offered a "drop-in" service. Individuals could stop in at the Friendship Center to discuss their problems with the counsellor or just to have coffee. This was a critical form of support. As trips to town were a major social event and were in the past an occasion for heavy drinking, the Center provided an alternate "non-alcoholic" environment where people could casually associate while in town.

The Outreach Services Report (Bickford 1981) provides some data regarding the individuals from the Alkali community who used the

program's services between 1973 and 1980. A total of 77 Alkali Lake Band members are recorded to have used the Program's services in this period. (The actual total was 89, but files were kept for only 77 of these clients.) The following data were compiled from these files. Of the 77 clients, 37 were men and 40 were women. The majority of clients (74 percent) were between the ages of twenty and forty.

TABLE 3. ALKALI LAKE RESERVE CLIENTS
OF THE WILLIAMS LAKE DRUG AND ALCOHOL PROGRAM, 1973 - 1980

<u>AGE</u>	<u>ALKALI LAKE CLIENTS</u> <u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
15 - 19	1	1.3
20 - 29	30	39.0
30 - 39	27	35.0
40 - 50	8	10.4
51 - 65	11	14.3
Total:	77	100.00

Source: Bickford 1981, p.76.

TABLE 4. WORK RECORD OF THE ALKALI LAKE RESERVE CLIENTS
OF THE WILLIAMS LAKE DRUG AND ALCOHOL PROGRAM, 1973 - 1980

<u>WORK CLASSIFICATION</u>	<u>WORK AT INTAKE</u>		<u>WORK AT DISCHARGE</u>	
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Full time ¹	20	26.0	28	36.3
Part time	3	3.9	9	11.7
Unemployed ²	29	37.6	16	20.8
Homemakers ³	20	26.0	19	24.7
Apprentice/Training	2	2.6	2	2.6
Retired	2	2.6	2	2.6
Student	1	1.3	1	1.3
Totals:	77	100.00	77	100.0

¹ Includes seasonal employment at time of intake.

² Includes those on Social Assistance.

³ Women occupied in the home raising their children.

Source: Bickford 1981, p.77.

TABLE 5. SOURCE OF INITIAL REFERRALS OF ALKALI LAKE CLIENTS
TO THE WILLIAMS LAKE DRUG AND ALCOHOL PROGRAM, 1973 - 1980

<u>SOURCE OF REFERRAL</u>	<u>ALKALI LAKE CLIENTS</u>	
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Family Pressure	17	22.1
Self-Referral	31	40.2
Social Agency ¹	13	16.9
Human Resources	--	----
Corrections ²	--	----
Other ³	7	9.1
Band ⁴	9	11.7
Total:	77	100.00

- 1 Includes the Crisis Center, the Friendship Center, Mental Health, Medical Services, doctors, and Homemakers (this last category is not clear).
- 2 Includes (presumably) the Court System, Probation, lawyers, and Legal Aide.
- 3 Includes "Twelfth Step" workers (individuals belonging to Alcoholics Anonymous), employers, and again lawyers.
- 4 Includes the Intervention Committee and specific individuals such as the Chief, the Band Social Worker, and the Community Health Representative.

Source: Bickford 1981, p.78.

The preceding data are not representative of all individuals at Alkali Lake who became sober between 1973 and 1980. The report estimates that in 1981 there were 115 sober adults on the reserve. Of the total of 89 clients to have used the Center's services, 64 were known to be sober in 1981, with 13 drinking and 12 unaccounted for (Bickford 1981:90).

The data regarding sources of referral to the Center are of interest. The majority of individuals from Alkali Lake who decided to do something about their drinking in the 1973 - 1980 period did so only after confrontation by the Chief or the Welfare Aide, and most utilized an alcoholism treatment center as a first step to sobriety. These individuals were referred to the Center, where arrangements for treatment were made. (In fact, 90 percent, or 70 out of 77, of the Alkali Lake clients were referred on to treatment centers.) What is striking about the data is the low number of clients who identified the Band as the agent of referral. Forty percent (31 out of 77) of the clients claimed to have been self-referred, while twenty-two percent (17 out of 77) identified family pressure as the main reason they had sought treatment. Only twelve percent (9 out of 77) stated that they had been referred to the Center by the Band. This supports the impression gained from discussion with community members that for most the process of confrontation did not result in the individual feeling "forced" to attend treatment. An ultimatum was presented to the individual, but it remained up to the individual to choose a course of action. Indeed, for alcoholism treatment to be effective, as it was for the majority of people from Alkali Lake, the decision to change had to come from within the person.

The data also indicate a general increase in employment after the clients' return to Alkali Lake. Twenty-six percent of clients at the time of referral to the Center were employed full-time, while at discharge thirty-six percent had secured full-time employment. Part-time employment among the 77 clients increased at discharge from four to almost twelve percent, and the rate of unemployment dropped from thirty-eight percent to twenty one-percent. These increases may well reflect the Band Office's success in creating employment opportunities for newly-sober individuals.

At this point we may ask: To what extent is the increase in sobriety at Alkali Lake directly related to the success of the Band administration both in securing funds to initiate Band employment, housing, and other such programs, and in imposing economic sanctions to discourage drinking? Is the Sobriety movement primarily a story about the economic power of the Band administration?

In the preceding chapter it was noted that the total funds administered by the Alkali Lake Band increased dramatically in the mid 1970s. In the 1973-74 fiscal year the funds administered totalled only \$21,858.00, as compared with \$137,926.21 in 1974-75 and \$221,445.94 the year later. Data presently are not available for the years between 1977 and 1980. In the 1980-81 fiscal year the Band administered a total of \$856,527.60.

When Chelsea first took office in 1973 the Band had very few administrative responsibilities, with core funding (for the salaries of two Band office employees) comprising the majority of the budget. The increase of over \$100,000 administered in the following year reflects the Band's takeover of Social Assistance administration (\$73,000), the development of the reserve school (about \$17,000), and their initiation

of a Work Opportunity program (\$10,000). In the following year the funds administered again increased by almost \$100,000. The bulk of this increase can be accounted for by about \$60,000 in capital expenditures (for housing and water/sanitation) and additional program administration costs of about \$15,000. Funding for the Work Opportunity program remained at a similar level, but an additional \$10,000 was spent on Band Training.

The housing and Band Training projects could have had a direct impact on increasing Band employment levels. Although concrete figures are not available, it is certain that an increasing number of men were trained and found work in housing construction on the reserve in the late 1970s and early 1980s. With the development of the reserve school in the 1970s a small number of Band members found steady employment as janitors, teacher's aides, and Shuswap instructors. Economic development projects were initiated through the 1970s. An agricultural co-op, construction company, and logging company were formed. These have achieved only limited and short-term financial success, and today only the logging company provides on-going employment.

For a point of comparison we may examine the 1980-81 budget. A total of \$856,527.60 was administered by the Band. About \$700,000 of the budget was spent on operation and maintenance of the reserve community. Of this, and in approximate figures, \$350,000 was budgeted for education, \$25,000 for economic and employment development (with no funds spent on Job Creation), \$190,000 for social services, \$32,000 for community infrastructure maintenance, and \$98,000 for Band government support. The remainder of the total budget (about \$150,000) was used for capital expenses. Of this, approximately \$126,000 went toward

housing and school construction.

What is clear from this brief discussion is that the administrative activity of the Band Office increased dramatically between 1973 and the early 1980s. The major projects undertaken included the takeover of S.A. administration, the development of the reserve school, the initiation of economic development projects, and the construction of new homes on the reserve. This expansion may perhaps have been too rapid, as the Band encountered severe financial management problems in the early 1980s. This was in part due to the fact that funds were being used not according to the strict regulations imposed by the Department of Indian Affairs, but according to what the Chief and Council thought would best benefit the community.

The economic power of the Band Office was an important factor in the Sobriety movement. The increase in funds coming into the Band Office meant that money was available to sponsor projects such as personal development trainings, even if those funds were not officially earmarked for such projects. Short-term employment was created for Band members, and this served as a therapeutic activity for the newly sober. This employment, however, did not solve the problems related to alcoholism. As is discussed later, in the late 1970s and early 1980s problems of poor attitude and lack of incentive to work prevailed in the community, and this situation induced the Chelseas to believe that "something else was needed". They sought a solution through encouraging village residents to enroll in personal development trainings.

ALCOHOLICS ANONYMOUS MEETINGS

A crucial form of follow-up support was the existence of the on-reserve Alcoholics Anonymous meetings. Prior to 1978 these meetings

had been led by the Drug and Alcohol counsellor from Williams Lake. In 1978 Band members took over the responsibility for organizing and chairing these meetings. In keeping with the A.A. philosophy of egalitarianism, the meetings were organized by a system of revolving chairships, each individual holding the position for one month. Any individual interested in becoming involved in the organization of the A.A. activities was free to do so.

The local organization and leadership of the A.A. meetings reflects an additional process of functional differentiation within the Sobriety movement. While the Band Office remained the central organizational unit responsible mainly for co-ordinating off-reserve services and for confronting drinkers within the community, the A.A. group, led by a core of dedicated individuals and supported by other A.A. members from the Williams Lake district, assumed the vital role of providing a personal support network for Band members struggling to perpetuate their sobriety. The organization of the A.A. meetings was seen to be clearly separate from the operations of the Band Office.

The organization and philosophy of sobriety presented in the on-reserve A.A. meetings were based on an interpretation of the formal Alcoholics Anonymous program. Central to this program are the "Twelve Steps"² and the "Twelve Traditions"³, which provide, respectively, the practical steps through which personal recovery from alcoholism can be achieved, and the principles by which the A.A. group ideally operates. The basic features of this philosophy, as it existed in 1985, will be presented in Chapter Five.

The A.A. meetings provided a forum through which sober individuals could get together to talk about their personal problems related to

alcoholism. For those individuals who were residing in households where drinking was still occurring, or who found themselves socially isolated from friends through reluctance to partake in drinking activities, the solidarity of the A.A. group was a vital resource, and many A.A. members continued to seek support from each other outside the regular meetings. As the social division between drinking and sober village residents widened, the A.A. group increasingly became the only viable unit of social solidarity within the reserve.

Some core members of the A.A. group at Alkali Lake began to participate in off-reserve A.A. activities as well. These individuals would gather as many interested people from the reserve as they could, and travel en masse to attend A.A. meetings in Williams Lake and in the outlying reserve communities in the district. For some, this meant sometimes attending as many as six meetings a week.

When I came back from treatment one of the things that I was encouraged to do in the treatment center was to continue, to go to A.A. as a follow-up for whatever I learned in treatment center... like if you need five meetings a week, then they tell you "Go to five meetings a week". Until you can get on your feet... So one of the things that I did was go to A.A. meetings here, go to Williams Lake, go to Clinton, go to Round Lake... We did that for, I guess, two years. We hit all the meetings, learn and listen to people. I guess to hang on to sobriety we did that.

The Drug and Alcohol Program again played an important role in providing information regarding the dates, times and places of these various A.A. activities.

The A.A. meetings on the Alkali Lake reserve were open to all community members, children as well as adults, and non-drinkers as well as drinkers. A second weekly A.A. meeting was added in 1978. As the sober population on the reserve grew, the A.A. meetings became increasingly popular social events, especially on the occasion of an A.A.

"birthday", when a cake would be presented to an individual to celebrate the anniversary of a decision to become sober. Al-anon and Alateen groups, providing group support for the adult and teenage relatives of alcoholics, were initiated by interested community members in the early 1980s. With the increasing number of sober individuals within the village, a very strong sense of "community" developed within the A.A. group. Indeed, the A.A. group became the new foundation of the Alkali Lake community.

In addition to the annual New Year's Day party, begun in 1974 by Phyllis and Andy Chelsea and the Drug and Alcohol counsellor, other "dry" events such as community dances began to appear on the reserve. With the increasing interest of some Band members in Native (Pan-Indian) spirituality various activities such as Pow-wow dancing, drumming and ceremonial sweatbathing became popular. It was an implicit rule, and in the case of the Drum and Dance group (formed in 1978) it was an explicit requirement, that for individuals to participate in these activities they must be sober, as alcohol was believed to be foreign to "the Indian way".

PERSONAL GROWTH TRAINING PROGRAMS

Implicit in the A.A. philosophy is an emphasis on personal development as a means of recovering from alcoholism. A number of Band members (most of them core members of the A.A. group) began to attend personal growth and Drug and Alcohol workshops in an effort to further their personal development and to acquire counselling skills to help others with alcohol problems. In the 1979-1980 period about 10 Alkali Lake Band members participated in courses (both in personal development and counsellor training) offered by the Alberta-based and Native-

oriented Nechi Institute on Drug and Alcohol Education.⁴

The training program that was to have the most dramatic impact on the Alkali community was that of "Lifespring", owned by a California-based company. In the Fall of 1980, after learning from friends of the Lifespring training program, Phyllis and Andy Chelsea travelled to Vancouver to attend a five day Lifespring "Basic" training. Upon completion of this course the two decided to continue directly into the more intensive Lifespring "Interpersonal Experience" course that was offered the following week. These training sessions were very positive experiences for the Chelseas.

[Lifespring] was something I needed at the time. It was tough. When I went I really enjoyed myself. For the first time in my life I started thinking about what I'd been doing. When I went back home we went to a dance. Those guys thought I started drinking again, or I was just stoned or whatever. I really had a ball! And I started wondering about what the people would be like here if they felt as good as I did at that time. [A.C.].

Upon returning to Alkali the Chelseas shared their experiences with others. The two recognized that more and more people were becoming sober, but that "nothing else was happening". Problems of attitude persisted, as manifested by job dissatisfaction, reluctance to work, and neglect of children. Phyllis and Andy Chelsea thought that the community might benefit from these trainings, and put this suggestion to the Band membership. Heeding their suggestion, that winter (1980-81) thirty-eight Alkali Lake Band members travelled to Vancouver to attend a Lifespring "Basic" training course. The cost of this training totalled \$15,200.00 (\$400.00 per person), which was released from the Band's Capital funds. A subsequent group of 28 Band members attended the "Interpersonal Experience" course, again in Vancouver. The cost for this training was \$11,200.00 (again \$400.00 per person), which was

secured initially from the Education component of the Band's Operation and Maintenance (O&M) budget. The Lifespring training programs were later brought up to the Williams Lake district, where a total of six or seven trainings were held in the 1981-82 period.

It is somewhat difficult to get a clear idea of exactly what these trainings entailed, since participants were requested not to discuss the actual training exercises with those who had not taken the course, as the effectiveness of the training was believed to lie partly in its "shock" value. This hesitancy persists as the New Directions program uses techniques similar to those in the Lifespring trainings. It may be generally stated, however, that the training sessions utilized group therapy and confrontation techniques, and promoted the existentialist values of personal responsibility and positive thinking. Emphasis was placed on exploring and discussing the adequacy of certain behaviour patterns, and on overcoming emotional "blocks" that inhibited realization of one's goals and effective communication among family and friends. The individuals from Alkali Lake who participated in Lifespring trainings (and this constitutes the majority of the adult population) generally stated that through these trainings they learned how to communicate openly their thoughts and feelings to others, and how to listen to and care for others; in terms of personal growth the participants claimed to have emerged from the trainings with an increased sense of self-confidence and a more positive outlook on life.

The Lifespring company dissolved in 1982. To ensure that trainings would continue in the district and at the local reserves, the "New Directions" training program was created in 1983 by Phyllis Chelsea, a facilitator from the previous Lifespring program, and a third individual

from one of the other Shuswap Bands in the district. This company was formed as a non-profit organization geared specifically to the needs of Native people. New Directions continues to offer and hold a variety of training programs in the Williams Lake region.⁵ Most adult Band members have taken part in these trainings.

INDIVIDUAL RECRUITMENT: THE DECISION TO BECOME SOBER

It became clear through this study that although there were precipitating circumstances, it would be difficult to use a rational "risk-reward" model to account for the individual's decision to join the Sobriety movement. Informants gave a variety of reasons for their decision to become sober, such as the fact that alcoholism was interfering with their work performance, that it was causing a breakdown in family relations, or that alcohol was beginning to have serious negative effects on the individual both physically and mentally. The precipitating influence of being confronted by the Chief, the Band Social Worker, or the Intervention Committee was also mentioned frequently. No individual, however, offered one simple reason for his decision. Many stated that a variety of factors were taken into consideration in making the decision to stop drinking, with some informants emphasizing different underlying causes when asked on different occasions, and others claiming that they did not really know why they sobered up. The philosophy of sobriety that developed after 1976 served to define and explain the disease of alcoholism. Many of the sober individuals at Alkali today explain their decision to become sober in the terms presented in this philosophy - in other words giving a post-hoc "cultural" explanation (see example one, below).

In the following section I wish to present, simply for illustrative purposes, two personal accounts of the circumstances that led up to individuals' decisions to give up drinking.

Informant # 1, sober since 1976:

I took my first drink at the age of 13 - experimented - and after that it was just to have fun. To get high...And then later on I drank to get drunk, and really get drunk. But I noticed as I drank on and on, from 13 years old to when I was 28, drinking started to take its toll. You started to drink now because you need that drink. Scary things started to happen, like all of a sudden you're throwing up blood...Pretty soon there's monsters talking to you from outside, calling your name, pretty soon you don't like night time because that's when things come out - bad things - and somehow deep in my mind I knew that death was coming... One time I drank for ten days straight. And my hands got stuck like this [fingers curled up like claws], and then your hands are bent back like this, because it must be that alcohol's affecting your nervous system or whatever. So it's little things like that starts happening...So all this kind of things when you're sitting around maybe with a hangover and you're thinking about it, you think "Well, it's starting to have its effects". So that was the reason I sobered up. What happened was there was people sobering up, and you watch and you watch, and they aren't suffering like I was suffering, and what happens is you say "Well, I wouldn't mind being like that"...

Then I realized my behaviour - attitude - my behaviour started downhill also. Like that time I didn't connect it to alcohol. I thought about it a lot of times, I pushed it back because I didn't want to let go of that bottle. I guess the kind of guy I am I had to hit real hard before I'd open my eyes and say "O.K., I'll change". But alcohol is like that, you go downhill and you hit bottom - that's when people realize... There's all kind of incidents that different people would wake up, like you wake up and say "O.K., I'm going to stop doing that". For me, I guess family violence is what did it...

From this account we see that a variety of factors contributed to this individual's decision to become sober. The combination of the perceived negative effects of alcohol on his physical and mental condition plus the example set by sober individuals in the community were important considerations. Comments about the gradual downhill slide as

the individual became more dependent on alcohol, the realization that alcohol was "starting to take its toll", and the hitting of a "bottom point", or a "low point in the drinker's career" from where the decision to sober up is often made, reflect the common A.A. analysis of the progression of the disease of alcoholism. The actual decision came after this individual was confronted by the Chief after an incident of family violence. After discussing the problem with this individual, the Chief presented him with an ultimatum. He was either to attend an alcoholism treatment program, or the R.C.M.P. would be called in to lay charges of assault against him. The individual chose to enroll in a treatment program, and has been sober since.

Informant # 2, sober since 1976:

[The Drug and Alcohol counsellor] used to come visit us... I used to hide on [the counsellor]. I used to hide on him all the time. He used to come over and ask my kids - my kids weren't too big then - he used to ask my kids "Where's your mom?".. and I'd tell my kids "You tell [the counsellor] and I'll beat you up!" I didn't want to go [to the Alcohol Awareness meetings]. But sometimes he used to catch me, I didn't even know and he'd come in, and he'd tell me "I'd like to see you at the meeting tonight" and I said "You know, you don't have to force people. If I don't want to go I don't have to go!"...I didn't really realize then that he was trying to help out the reserve, trying to help out our families, on account of what we were doing with our children. So it seems like all of a sudden I sort of started realizing what [the counsellor] was doing, but it seemed like I really got worse so. I had a feeling "O.K., if somebody's going to start bugging me about going, I might just as well drink harder - if they continue doing me this they're going to finally make me quit, quit drinking. So I just thought I might as well make use of all my drinking time while I could.

Anyhow, they got a hold of us, go to treatment. One day Phyllis got over here, she said "You know what?" and I said "No" and she said "I care that you go to treatment". I said "I don't have to, I can stop on my own if I want" and she said "You know, things are getting too far...Your kids are starting to leave you and you're beating up on your kids" and these things, and I said "That's not so!" You know, that's how I thought I was hiding things, but people out there were watching me, they cared about what I was doing. So I guess I just had to go. But I was really glad I did.

For this individual social pressure seemed to be an important factor contributing to the decision to become sober, a factor especially evident in the remark about how she believed the constant pressure applied on her to stop drinking would inevitably cause her to quit. The decision to attend an alcoholism treatment program was made after confrontation by the Welfare Aide, who presented this individual with the choice of either enrolling in a treatment program, or having her children removed from her home. In this case the decision to attend the treatment program did not correspond with the decision to become sober. This informant related how she brought some alcohol along for the trip and arrived at the treatment center in Alberta in an extremely drunk state. Both she and her husband, who also went in for treatment, initially felt they had been forced into taking the alcoholism treatment program. On returning to Alkali, however, they both became committed to sobriety.

COMMUNITY MOBILIZATION: SOCIAL STRUCTURAL CONSIDERATIONS

It is difficult to identify with assurance, without utilizing a comparative perspective, the particular features of this society that facilitated the mobilization process. At this stage information on the sequence by which specific individuals were recruited to the movement also is lacking, and consequently we are unable to discuss the mobilization of sub-groups within the community. I would like to point out, however, two preliminary observations that might direct further research. First, a number of interest and service groups were active on the reserve in the early 1970s, including a men's hockey team, a Weight Watcher's group, a Homemaker's group (also known as the Women's

group), and a Youth group. In the late 1970s additional clubs were formed, among them the Drum and Dance group and the Rodeo club, which are still active today. The notion of participation in community group activities therefore was not foreign in this society. The on-reserve A.A. group was structurally compatible with this feature of reserve life, and this compatibility may have facilitated its success in drawing newly-sober individuals into the group. Second, there perhaps existed a latent sense of "community" among village residents, as is suggested in the letter to Band members regarding the 1971 switch in the Band Council elective system (pages 26-27). This would have facilitated both the mobilization process and the success of the group therapy techniques of the A.A. program.

SUMMARY

The period between 1976 and 1985 was a time of immense change within the Alkali Lake community. According to most community residents the "drying up" of the reserve and the experience of Lifespring trainings were the two events that most influenced reserve life in that decade. Through this period sobriety eventually became a generally held value. A process of community development was initiated. A variety of economic development projects were undertaken by the Band Office; responsibility for the operation of the reserve school passed from D.I.A. to the Band's Education Authority; an increasing number of Band members enrolled in high-school and post-secondary educational programs; and many individuals came to experience a renewed interest in Native (Shuswap and Pan-Indian) culture and spirituality. The Lifespring experience resulted in a new openness of communication that in many cases enabled old "hurts" to be healed and relationships to be mended. By the early 1980s there had

come to exist among Band members a very strong sense of community pride and solidarity.

In this decade the Sobriety movement underwent some distinct changes in organization. The responsibility for controlling drinking behaviour on the reserve became associated with the Band Office. The Intervention Committee was assigned the "official" responsibility for confronting and imposing sanctions on drinkers, and for providing newly-sober individuals with forms of support such as employment, child-care, home improvements, as well as emotional support in the form of personal counselling. The on-reserve A.A. group, which after 1978 was independent in organization and operation from the Band Office, grew to provide a much more comprehensive form of emotional support for sober Band members. As participation in the A.A. meetings increased, the solidarity achieved within the meetings began to be carried into other aspects of community life.

The two individuals responsible for initiating the Sobriety movement retained very significant leadership status within the community. Even after their resignations in the late 1970s from the positions of chief and social worker the two frequently were approached by community members for help and support with personal problems. The strength of their leadership is evident especially in the enthusiastic response by Band members to their suggestion of participation in Lifesprings training. The two have maintained an involvement in community affairs. Andy Chelsea again was elected chief on the Band Council of 1980-82 (and again in 1986, by acclamation), and Phyllis Chelsea has continued her involvement in social services, in the Autumn of 1985 again being employed as the Band Social Worker. The two continue to be viewed by virtually all community members with great affection and respect.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

1. A sober individual may be defined as one who has made the decision to attempt to refrain permanently from consuming alcohol. The implicit goal is permanent abstention, but in practice, following the A.A. philosophy, the individual works "one day at a time" at maintaining sobriety.
2. THE TWELVE STEPS:
 1. We admitted we were powerless over alcohol - that our lives had become unmanageable.
 2. Came to believe that a Power greater than ourselves could restore us to sanity.
 3. Made a decision to turn our will and our lives over to the care of God as we understood Him,
 4. Made a searching and fearless moral inventory of ourselves.
 5. Admitted to God, to ourselves and to another human being the exact nature of our wrongs.
 6. Were entirely ready to have God remove all these defects of character.
 7. Humbly asked Him to remove our shortcomings.
 8. Made a list of all persons we had harmed and became willing to make amends to them all.
 9. Made direct amends to such people wherever possible, except when to do so would injure them or others.
 10. Continued to take personal inventory and when we were wrong promptly admitted it.
 11. Sought through prayer and meditation to improve our conscious contact with God as we understood Him, praying only for knowledge of His will for us and the power to carry that out.
 12. Having had a spiritual awakening as the result of these steps, we tried to carry this message to alcoholics, and to practice these principles in all our affairs.

3. THE TWELVE TRADITIONS:

1. Our common welfare should come first; personal recovery depends upon A.A. unity.
2. For our group purpose there is but one ultimate authority - a loving God as He may express Himself in our group conscience. Our leaders are but trusted servants; they do not govern.
3. The only requirement for A.A. membership is a desire to stop drinking.
4. Each group should be autonomous except in matters affecting other groups or A.A. as a whole.
5. Each group has but one primary purpose - to carry its message to the alcoholic who still suffers.
6. An A.A. group ought never endorse, finance, or lend the A.A. name to any related facility or outside enterprise, lest problems of money, property, and prestige divert us from our primary purpose.
7. Every A.A. group ought to be fully self-supporting, declining outside contributions.
8. Alcoholics Anonymous should remain forever nonprofessional, but our service centers may employ special workers.
9. A.A., as such, ought never be organized; but we may create service boards or committees directly responsible to those they serve.
10. Alcoholics Anonymous has no opinion on outside issues; hence the A.A. name ought never be drawn into public controversy.
11. Our public relations policy is based on attraction rather than promotion; we need always maintain personal anonymity at the level of press, radio, and films.
12. Anonymity is the spiritual foundation of all our traditions, ever reminding us to place principles before personalities.

4. The Nechi Institute was formed in 1974 as a non-profit society. It is joint-funded by provincial (Albertan) and federal Native Drug and Alcohol Abuse programs.

5. The courses offered by New Directions in 1985 include:

- Basic and Advanced Five Day Personal Growth Trainings
- Elders Four Day Awareness Training
- Family Four Day Training
- Relationships and Communication
- Weight Workshop
- Leadership Workshop
- Alcohol and Cultural Awareness
- Cross/Cultural Workshop
- Sexuality Workshops
- Basic Alcohol and Personal Growth
- Youth Basic and Advanced Trainings
- Staff, Boards, and Committee Workshops

CHAPTER FIVE:
ALKALI LAKE IN 1985

SOBRIETY ON THE RESERVE

Within the Alkali community sobriety now has become a fundamental value. The Alkali Lake reserve is becoming increasingly well known for its achievement in overcoming alcohol abuse, and community members are actively promoting and encouraging sobriety in other Native communities across Canada. Consequently there exists a great deal of social pressure on individuals within the community to abstain from alcohol use. It is an implicit expectation that visitors to Alkali Lake are not to bring alcohol into the community or drink alcohol during their stay. This is an explicit requirement of those teaching in the reserve school, who reside in the community during their term of employment.

Despite the fact that the majority of the community members now are sober, the perpetuation of sobriety for some is an on-going task. Indeed, it is part of the A.A. philosophy that one perpetuates his sobriety "one day at a time". A form of social interaction referred to as sharing has emerged to become a fundamental form of grassroots support for sobriety in the community today. Sharing may be roughly defined as the open and honest expression of thoughts and feelings among two or more individuals. An institution referred to as the sharing session also has emerged, where in a group setting individuals have the opportunity to relate their thoughts and feelings. It is believed that sharing, whether manifested simply through verbalization of one's problems, or through the more dramatic release of emotional energy through crying, loud wailing, or other specific actions, is central to

the process of recovery from alcoholism. In sharing an individual can release his feelings of frustration, anger, fear, or depression in a positive and harmless manner, instead of turning to the bottle to drown his sorrows, or in turning to acts of violence against others. The prototypical sharing session is that of the A.A. meeting.

The A.A. Meetings

A.A. meetings continue to be held twice weekly on the reserve. Since 1981 the attendance at these meetings has dwindled, and today only about 15 to 30 Band members attend the Thursday meetings held in the Band Hall. A.A. members (Indian and non-Indian) from the Williams Lake community, and from other reserves in the district, also may be in attendance at these Thursday meetings. The Sunday evening meetings usually are held in the home of a Band member, and typically no more than 10 individuals attend.

During the course of fieldwork I attended three Thursday A.A. meetings. Based on this somewhat limited experience, and on discussions with A.A. members, a general description of the typical A.A. meeting is now presented.

The Thursday A.A. meeting is scheduled to start at about 7:30 p.m.. Most individuals arrive between 7:30 and 8:00 p.m.. Chairs in the Hall are arranged either in a circle, or in straight rows with an aisle up the middle, depending on the whim of the particular chairperson. In the latter case, the chairperson sits at a table in front of the group; in the former, the chairperson sits with others around the circle. When he deems the time suitable, the chairperson initiates the meeting by quietly handing each of three people seated nearby a sheet of paper, on which is written the 12 Traditions, the 12 Steps, or a brief description of the

A.A. group.¹ The individuals, one after another, stand up and read the contents of their sheet out loud to the group. With this by way of introduction, the meeting commences. The chairperson welcomes the participants, and announces the topic for the evening, which is taken from one of the twelve traditions. The identification of a specific topic for the meeting in theory serves to orient to some degree the content of the speeches, but I was not always able to discern a close connection.

The chairperson then invites an individual to speak to the group by posing a question such as "(---), do you want to share anything with us?" If willing, the speaker then introduces himself by saying "Hello, my name is (---) and I'm an alcoholic", to which the group responds "Hi (---)". The individual may speak as long as he desires, but usually the speeches last around 15 minutes. The speaker may end by saying simply "That's all I have to say" or "Thanks for my sobriety", following which he resumes his seat. The chairperson then thanks the speaker and calls upon another person to speak to the group. Only on rare occasions will an individual decline this request. It is up to the chairperson to decide who to invite to speak. The chairperson generally is believed to choose individuals who, he suspects, are presently having personal difficulties - in the small and close Alkali community, the knowledge of such personal problems is rarely private. It appears that core A.A. members also may be called upon to speak in order to get the meeting off to a good start, as such members are usually proficient public speakers. Being called upon to speak has an element of honor to it, as through this the individual is publicly recognized as a member of the group. The invitation to speak given to certain community leaders

with many years of sobriety in particular seems to reflect this honorary aspect of the A.A. speeches.

The speeches given in the A.A. meeting resemble personal confessions, and typically center around the speaker's emotional state, often including references to recent personal and family problems, or to negative experiences that the individual went through in his drinking days. When talking about recent problems a person may begin to cry and their speech might cease for a minute or two. The chairperson always has a box of Kleenex available, which is passed to the speaker. If the individual continues to cry at length a group member may approach the speaker and offer physical comfort by simply putting a hand on his shoulder or by putting an arm around the speaker. Crying is considered acceptable behaviour, and speakers in fact are encouraged to "let it out", as the release of negative emotional energy in this form is preferable to its release in more destructive forms, such as violence toward the self or others.

The meeting usually lasts for about two hours, during which time perhaps eight to ten individuals are called upon to speak. After the last speaker has finished, the chairperson thanks all the participants for attending. The participants then rise, join hands in a circle and recite the A.A. Serenity Prayer: "God grant me the serenity to accept the things I cannot change, the courage to change the things I can, and the wisdom to know the difference". In unison the group then says "Keep coming back!" and with this the clasped hands are raised and squeezed tighter. This signifies the end of the meeting. Many participants do not leave immediately, but stay behind for ten or fifteen minutes to drink coffee and visit with various friends. The post-meeting conversation is characterized by much lighthearted talk and joking, in

contrast to the serious tone of the A.A. meeting.

The A.A. meetings serve to reinforce in the individual a specific set of beliefs and values regarding the problem of alcoholism. According to the philosophy of sobriety that is expressed in the A.A. meetings, alcoholism is seen as an incurable disease that may be controlled through the adoption of the appropriate attitude. This attitude consists of thinking positively, taking responsibility for one's own situation, and not harbouring negative thoughts and feelings such as anger, hurt, resentment, and fear. As indicated above, another function of the A.A. meeting is to provide a forum in which such negative feelings may be released, or shared. The role of the listener is not so much to offer advice, but to witness the testimony. It is the open sharing of negative feelings that serves as a therapeutic mechanism.

Although many of the community members have been sober for a number of years, still personal problems persist, and an A.A. speaker may relate a recent incident in which he responded "as if [he] was drunk". The actual abstention from alcohol is less important as an indicator of change. What is important is the individual's attitude toward his self, others and life in general. The A.A. meetings function in a third way, in continuing to provide a vital form of social support for others as they attempt to overcome these problems of attitude.

Undoubtedly the philosophy of sobriety is heavily influenced by the beliefs and values contained in the formal A.A. program. Indeed, many A.A. members have copies of what they refer to as the Big Book, meaning the A.A. publication Alcoholics Anonymous, which contains the basic elements of the A.A. program. A number of members have cassette tapes of readings from the Big Book and other A.A. publications, which often

are played in their homes. To what extent the philosophy of sobriety as it exists on the reserve today is a product of the A.A. philosophy (or more accurately, a product of the interpretation of this philosophy) and to what extent it has been influenced also by the experience of personal growth trainings, awaits further comparative studies. Some non-Indian A.A. members who have attended the Alkali Lake meetings have remarked that these sessions are unique in their emphasis on the sharing of feelings; with regard to the open encouragement and occurrence of crying, the Alkali A.A. speeches differ also from those in Coast Salish Indian A.A. meetings as recorded by Jilek-Aall (1972). This suggests that the personal growth training experiences of Alkali Lake Band members indeed were significant. For these reasons I have not referred to the Alkali Lake Sobriety movement as an A.A. movement.

Other Sharing Sessions

The institution of sharing exists in other contexts within the Alkali Lake community. Sharing sessions occur once a week for the students of the higher grades in the reserve school. These are mandatory sessions, led by one of the core members of the A.A. group. The bi-weekly Band Office staff meetings also take the form of sharing sessions, as do some of the general Band meetings (depending on time restrictions - in meetings where fifty or sixty people are in attendance, there may not be enough time to allow each person in turn to speak). Again, the speeches given in these sessions relate to recent events in the person's life and their positive and negative emotional reactions to these events. Within the Band Office staff meetings the sharing format in theory provides a neutral forum in which personal problems between staff can be worked out.

Sharing sessions frequently are initiated or terminated with all the participants in turn greeting and embracing each other (this is sometimes referred to as the Good Morning ceremony). In fact, the embrace is a common form of greeting between individuals outside the context of sharing sessions as well.

These sharing sessions also have incorporated as an opening ritual the sage-burning ceremony. This ceremony is never performed in the A.A. meeting, as the ceremony is a Pan-Indian religious ritual, whereas the A.A. group must have no specific religious affiliation. The smoke produced by the burning sage is considered a sacred incense that serves as a means of spiritual purification. In these sharing sessions participants always are seated in a circular formation. All stand for the duration of the ceremony, in which a dish of burning sage is presented in turn to each participant, who "washes" himself by wafting the smoke over his hands, arms, head, chest, and lower body. An elderly person, or an individual fluent in the Shuswap language, may then be asked (by the Chief in the case of Band and Band Office staff meetings) to say a short prayer. The prayer is given in the Shuswap language. (English is the standard language used among community residents, with Shuswap typically heard only in religious contexts, such as in prayers during a ceremonial sweatbath or a pipe ceremony.) Following this, the meeting commences. The length of the sage-burning ceremony depends, of course, on the number of participants, but a ceremony involving 20 to 30 individuals might last perhaps ten to fifteen minutes. Sweetgrass occasionally is burned along with, or in place of, sage. Sweetgrass, however, cannot be obtained locally, and its use is less frequent.

Sharing sessions also exist in a religious context as part of the ritual of the ceremonial sweat. Here the concept of sharing finds its most intense symbolic expression. From two to twelve individuals, the upper limit being dependent on the size of the sweatlodge, may take part in this ceremony. The ceremony is led by a recognized spiritual leader, who brings into the sweatlodge a variety of ritual paraphernalia. Seated in close proximity around a central pit of rocks, on a floor of fir boughs, and in an intensely hot and humid environment of complete darkness, the participants in turn are given the opportunity to pray and to share with the Creator their personal problems and feelings. Often the Creator is asked for forgiveness for recent behaviour. In this respect the speeches in the sharing sweats have an explicitly religious focus of confession as compared to the more general confessions in other group sharing contexts. During the ceremony participants may provide support by making quiet utterances of encouragement, or simply by listening and witnessing the confession; at times the leader may quietly sing a wordless song to the accompaniment of a hand drum. Crying and loud wailing are common occurrences during the sharing, and are encouraged, as they are all signs of the healing process. These acts are directed toward the rocks in the central pit, which act as the link between the material world and the spiritual world of the Creator. The rocks accept and transmit the confession to the Creator and disperse the "hurt", leaving the individual strengthened and cleansed. Thus in the ceremonial sweat the cleansing and healing process is manifested not only by verbal confession, but by the physical excretion of sweat, tears, and on occasion even vomit. Purification of the individual is total, involving physical, emotional and spiritual components of his being.

Many individuals have applied the concept of sharing to their daily lives, and have established close personal relationships in which they can talk openly about their problems on a one to one basis. These relationships may have been established spontaneously, or under the direction of the A.A. or Al-Anon program. In these programs members are paired into mutually supportive sponsorship relationships, the intention being to provide members with a form of support outside the group context as may be needed in times of crisis.

The initiative for providing support to help individuals maintain their sobriety may be taken by community members as they see fit. This is evident in the creation in the Autumn of 1985 of a women's support group, which was formed by a small number of women concerned with the social isolation of many of the mothers in the community.

With the twice weekly A.A. meetings, the weekly (or more frequent) ceremonial sweats, the sharing sessions in the school and in the Band Office, plus the individual support networks that now exist, there is frequent opportunity for an individual to share and in this manner gain support for maintaining sobriety. A number of community members, however, view the reserve today as being in a plateau phase of development. Sobriety has been achieved, and in most cases maintained, but many of the old problems believed to be associated with alcoholism, such as lack of employment and dependency on welfare, loss of cultural values and identity, and among some people the lack of incentive, and generally negative attitudes toward life, still persist. The need for further personal and community development is recognized by community leaders as the fundamental issue facing the reserve today.

THE BAND OFFICE

Efforts Toward Community Development

The Band Council of the 1984-86 period responded to the perceived problem of the reserve's plateau phase of development by emphasizing the need for further social, as compared with economic, development (although numerous economic projects have been initiated as well). To this end, a five-year social development plan was created for the Alkali community (by consultants from the Four Worlds Development Project, discussed below), and a variety of workshops on topics including Native (Pan-Indian) culture, effective parenting, nutrition, and sexuality, as well as New Directions trainings and a seminar by Jon-Lee Kootnekoff on developing a positive self-image have been held in the community for the benefit of Band members.

Promotion of Sobriety in Other Communities

A second issue of fundamental importance to this administration was the community's role in helping other Indian Bands to overcome the problem of alcoholism. This interest in helping others with alcohol problems is consistent with the formal A.A. program of recovery (see Step 12 in the notes to Chapter Four). Since the late 1970s individuals from the Alkali Lake community have been involved in drug and alcohol workshops and A.A. programs in other reserve communities in the district. As Alkali Lake became better known for its success in overcoming alcoholism, the number of requests for speakers from the community increased, and today Alkali Lake residents are travelling, on invitation, to Indian communities throughout Canada and the United States promoting sobriety. These delegations do not promote a formula for the solution

of Native alcoholism. With the exception of the emphasis placed on the importance of having community leaders who are sober, and who thus provide positive role models and who lead by example, it is believed that it should be up to the particular community to decide which tactics are suitable for the encouragement of sobriety. The primary message communicated by the Alkali Lake delegations is simply that Indian alcoholism can be overcome, and that the Alkali case can serve as an example to give hope and inspiration to other communities struggling with the problem of alcohol abuse.

Today the Band Office serves as a co-ordinating body for these activities. Requests for speakers are directed to the Band Office, specifically to the Housing Co-ordinator, who then attempts to locate an individual to act as a "resource person" to speak at the function. The group holding the function (typically a drug and alcohol workshop or conference) may request a specific individual, the most commonly requested being Andy Chelsea, Fred Johnson, and the present Band Chief. At times a group may contact a desired speaker directly, but the Band Office prefers to maintain its control over such activities. Travel expenses, accommodation, and honoraria are provided by the organization that made the request. Honoraria are kept by the invited speakers.

An exception to this model of Band Office control is the work of two or three core A.A. members at Alkali who for years have been active in the district A.A. network. These individuals continue their attendance and often may speak at A.A. functions off-reserve, or on the reserves of other Bands, and do so independently of the Band Office. Travel expenses and honoraria may or may not be provided by the host A.A. group to these visiting speakers.

During the Fall of 1985, in addition to numerous local invitations

to such places as Williams Lake, the Nenqani Treatment and Training Center, nearby Indian reserves such as Dog Creek, Canim Lake, and Sugar Cane, Round Lake Treatment Center, Tofino and Port Alberni, delegations from Alkali also travelled to a five-day conference at Norman Wells, N.W.T., and a youth conference on drug and alcohol abuse sponsored by the Gordon Indian Band in Saskatchewan.

As part of the therapy for individuals who have recently become sober (as will be discussed later, a number of the young people on the reserve, aged between 15 and 25, are drinking and/or are struggling to maintain sobriety), these individuals may be sent out, usually in the company of an invited speaker, to act as resource people at local drug and alcohol workshops. This serves as therapy in two ways. As resource people, they must speak or share their own experiences with the group. This sharing of negative emotions and experiences is believed to be central to the healing process. Second, by being identified as Alkali Lake community members at these outside activities, the resource people experience a sense of community identity, an identity which has sobriety as its fundamental characteristic. With the increasing promotion of the Alkali community as a dry reserve, those struggling with sobriety feel a great deal of pressure from the outside to live up to this image of sobriety.

The Alkali community has experienced an influx of visitors in recent years as a result of its successful fight against alcoholism. A number of visitors with alcohol problems have come in search of a positive environment in which to work on their own sobriety. Such visitors generally are welcome to stay as long as they like, provided that housing is available (housing is in fact in short supply even for the Alkali Band

members themselves). The Alkali community has had particularly close ties in this respect with the Halfway River Band of Beaver Indians, and presently several Halfway River students are attending school at Alkali Lake. Other visitors to the reserve include those working in the field of drug and alcohol abuse prevention, who come in order to observe the community and to learn about the process by which sobriety was achieved, with the hope of being able to apply this knowledge to reduce alcoholism in their own communities. The reserve receives a number of visitors involved in Indian education, as the Alkali school is one of the few Band-operated schools in the province. Still other visitors, such as news reporters and writers, have come simply to document the recent history of the community. Visitors to the reserve are given a warm welcome. Band members have much pride in their reserve and welcome the opportunity to share their achievement with others.

The Alkali Lake Movie and International Sharing Conference

The community of Alkali Lake has gained immense publicity through its involvement, beginning in 1984, with the Four Worlds Development Project. According to its literature, this organization was formed in 1983 and has as its explicit goal the eradication of Native Indian drug and alcohol abuse by the year 2000. The Four Worlds Project is a non-profit organization that is attached to the Faculty of Education at the University of Lethbridge. The Project receives core funding from the National Native Alcohol and Drug Abuse Program of the Federal Department of Health and Welfare. Funding also comes through private donations, and as a particular community becomes involved in a Four Worlds project it is requested to make financial contributions for the continuation of the project.

In contrast to the medical model of alcoholism, the Project promotes a community-based and wholistic approach to the problem of alcohol abuse, an approach that emphasizes the importance of "physical, mental, emotional and spiritual development". The Project developed in Lethbridge under the direction of spiritual leaders and Elders, and Pan-Indian spirituality and unity are fundamental elements in its philosophy. It sees the solution to Native alcohol abuse to lie in reconstructing a Native Indian culture. This involves a learning process, and the Four Worlds Project sees its role as providing workshops and other resources to foster this learning process.

Representatives of the Four Worlds Project first visited the Alkali community in 1984. They saw the community as having the potential to be a great inspiration to other communities struggling with alcoholism. In order to share the Alkali Lake story with the rest of the world, the Band and the Four Worlds Project decided to create a film on the reserve's successful struggle with alcoholism. This project consists of a two part video series. The first part is a docu-drama of the history of Alkali Lake between 1940 and 1985 and features Alkali Lake Band members as actors; the second part presents more in-depth discussions by Band members on the past, present and future of their community, and the general solutions they found to the problem of alcohol abuse. Part one of the video series was completed in Autumn, 1985. Largely due to the promotional efforts of the Four Worlds people, this first video has already achieved widespread publicity and distribution. It has been aired on various cablevision networks and has been shown in both Native and non-Native communities throughout Canada and the United States, and even as far away as Europe.

The International Sharing Innovations That Work Conference held at

Alkali Lake at the end of May, 1985, was a joint Four Worlds/Alkali Lake Band venture, with its goal again both to inspire and educate other individuals and communities working toward the eradication of Native alcohol abuse. Workshops were held by the Alkali Lake Band, the Four Worlds Development Project, the Nechi Institute, and private consultants, and dealt with issues pertaining to Native alcohol and drug abuse and personal and community development.² It is estimated that over one thousand people from Canada and the United States attended the three-day conference.³

Throughout the three days a number of Pan-Indian religious ceremonies were held in the central arbor, which had been constructed especially for this conference. Pow-wows (featuring Native drumming, dancing and singing) were held in the arbor in the evenings. The organizers of the conference believed the gathering to be of great spiritual significance, as is evident in this excerpt from a general letter from the co-ordinator of the Four Worlds Development Project and the Alkali Band Chief to the conference participants:

Dear Friends,

We are proud to welcome you to Alkali Lake and to the "Sharing Innovations That Work" conference. In the few days that we will spend together history is being made.

The elders of many tribes long ago prophesied that there would be a day when the Native people would come together like the joining of many streams and rivers. They said that this coming together would be a turning point for the Native people of North America. They said that when this great coming together happened, it would signal the end of a period of great suffering and confusion for the people, and the beginning of a time of great progress and development. They also said that this "gathering time" would signal the beginning of a process of Native people sharing their deep cultural understanding of human beings and human development with the whole world.

We believe that this conference at Alkali Lake is one visible example of the fulfillment of those prophecies... (from the "Camp Crier", May 29, 1985).

The Band's involvement with the Four Worlds Project, as well as helping other Indian Bands, served the Alkali community itself in two general ways. First, in projecting to the outside a very positive image of the community, in promoting the inspirational role that this community offers to others struggling with alcohol problems, and in increasing the actual frequency of interaction between this community and others still working toward sobriety, a means of reinforcing a sense of community identity is provided. Not only are Alkali people reminded of their achievement, but their collective identity as a sober community is validated by others. Second, through the Four Worlds activities the community members are exposed to a great deal of Pan-Indian religious and ethnic sentiment. In these two ways the opportunity is presented for the reinforcement of both community identity and the development of cultural - Pan-Indian - values and beliefs. As such, the problem of a plateau phase of development is addressed in social and cultural rather than economic terms.

THE BAND OFFICE AND SOCIAL CONTROL

The Band Office today continues to be active in the control of drinking behaviour on the reserve. The Intervention Committee still operates, the process of confrontation continues, and in isolated cases the replacement of S.A. cheques with vouchers occurs. A general description of the Band Office structure and operation will now be presented to provide the context in which this Committee operates.

Internal Structure and General Operations

In 1985 the Alkali Lake Band Office was the center of a relatively

high degree of activity, administering a total of over 1.4 million dollars in the 1984-85 fiscal period. The Band continues to be represented by one Chief and three Councillors, all elected to two year terms. The basic financial and administrative duties are carried out by the Housing Co-ordinator (this employee is less often referred to as the Band Manager), two bookkeepers (one full-time and one part-time) and the secretary. All are Alkali Lake residents. Due to past difficulty in financial management, at the request of the Department of Indian Affairs a Controller was recently hired by the Band to oversee the financial activities of both the Band Office and the Reserve School. The Controller is a non-Indian and resides in Williams Lake. Apart from this one instance of overlap (and the presence of one Councillor on the Education Authority), the administration and operation of the Reserve School is separate from that of the Band Office. The Education Authority, composed of seven elected Band members plus one Council member, and the School principal and the Education Administrator, are responsible for making decisions affecting the operation of the school. All are Alkali Lake Band members.

Economic development projects are largely the domain of the Economic Development advisor, who also is a non-Indian resident of Williams Lake. The Economic Development advisor has been employed by the Band since 1978 and works relatively independently from the Chief and Council and other Band staff. A number of economic development programs have been initiated in recent years. The Band-owned logging company, in operation since the early 1980s, typically employs between eight and ten Band members. A pig-raising facility, and a horticultural program geared toward producing vegetables for the Williams Lake market, are more recent developments. These projects created employment for six individuals in

the summer of 1985. Agricultural activities include the management of a small herd of cattle and horses, and cultivation of the reserve's hay meadows. Ten Band members were employed in the agricultural program in the summer of 1985. The meadows once were considered the property of individual family groups, who harvested the hay for their own use and established seasonally-occupied homesteads on these sites. Since the early 1970s, and following the decline of the families' utilization of the meadows, a process of collectivization has occurred, and the Band Office now co-ordinates the harvesting of these meadows and sells the hay on the local market.

The Band Office also directs the operation of a number of services on the reserve, including a grocery store, cafe, gas pump, laundromat, automechanic shop, and day-care center.

A number of individuals are employed by the Band under the general category of social development. These positions include a Band Social Worker, a half-time Social Worker Clerk, a Community Health Representative, a Drug and Alcohol Counsellor, and a Recreation Worker.

Despite the high level of activity of the Band Office, and the numerous Office employees, a specific structure of job responsibilities and decision-making amongst Office staff is not immediately apparent. Although formal job descriptions have been prepared, in practice the employee frequently performs a variety of other duties as the need arises, and the duties that he performs may be due less to his official position than due to his personal interests and his relationships with the Chief, Councillors, and other office workers. Indeed, the Controller has attempted, with much difficulty, to impose some kind of formal hierarchical order on the Band Office operations. Yet a rather

flexible structure of job responsibilities and decision-making persists. Thus the operation of the Intervention Committee, described next, is influenced somewhat by the particular individuals presently filling the committee positions.

The Intervention Committee

The Intervention Committee, also known as the Social Development or Social Services Committee, presently is composed of those individuals holding the positions of Band Social Worker, Social Worker Clerk, Community Health Representative, School Principal, Drug and Alcohol Counsellor, and Recreation Worker. One Band Councillor also sits on the Committee. It is the official responsibility of the Intervention Committee to confront, counsel and impose negative sanctions upon individuals who are guilty of drinking or other inappropriate behaviour (such other behaviour generally refers to behaviour that leads to child neglect or abuse). At present the committee is co-ordinated by the Band Social Worker, who works closely with the Drug and Alcohol counsellor. The Social Worker activates the Committee when she deems it advisable.

The Social Worker, upon learning of an individual having specific alcohol or family problems, may approach the individual during the monthly Social Assistance interview, if the individual is a S.A. applicant, or in more serious situations may go to the individual's home, perhaps with another member of the Committee, to discuss the problem. The resolutions to emerge from such a discussion depend on the personal circumstance of the individual, the nature of the problem, and the willingness of the individual to make an effort to deal with the problem. After discussing the matter with the individual the Social Worker might call in outside people (non Band Office employees) to talk

to and encourage the individual. The most common outside people to be called are Andy Chelsea and Fred Johnson. The latter is a core member of the A.A. group and a spiritual leader in the community. As well as sharing his personal experiences with alcohol, he might hold a ceremonial sweat with the individual and talk to him about Indian spirituality. The individual may decide to change his situation by attending a personal growth training session, by enrolling in further educational or technical training courses, or by going in for alcoholism treatment. The Social Worker would then inform other social service workers such as the Drug and Alcohol counsellor or the Home-School Co-ordinator, who would make the appropriate arrangements.

The Drug and Alcohol Counsellor is primarily involved in providing counselling and co-ordinating off-reserve alcoholism treatment services, with the assistance of the Williams Lake Drug and Alcohol Program, for individuals with alcohol or other related problems. The client's transportation and treatment expenses continue to be covered by the National Alcohol and Drug Abuse Program. The Counsellor may be approached directly by an individual seeking help, or may have an individual referred to her via other Committee workers. Funding for the position of Drug and Alcohol counsellor was secured in 1981, with the intention of relieving the Band Social Worker of the heavy counselling work load.

In some cases it may be decided that a meeting with the individual and his family should be held. The family, if concerned about the situation, may request such a meeting, or the Social Worker, perhaps in consultation with other members of the Intervention Committee, may herself make the decision. In such cases, the meeting is typically held

in the home of the family. In more serious situations, the Intervention Committee participates in the family meeting. It is up to the discretion of the Social Worker to decide on where the meeting should be held and how many of the Committee members should attend. In general it seems that the more serious the situation the more Committee members become involved in the intervention. The Chief participates in the intervention only as a last resort, when previous confrontations have failed to produce results.

Meetings between the individual, his family, and members of the Intervention Committee take the general form of sharing sessions. The dominant tone of these meetings is one of concern for the individual. All present have the opportunity to speak and to share their thoughts and feelings about the problem situation. Family members are invited to become more involved in resolving the problem situation, and the individual is encouraged to become aware of, and assume more personal responsibility for, the negative effects that his behaviour is having on himself and his family. In more serious cases the individual is presented with an ultimatum. Either he must make an effort to resolve his problem (which typically is one of alcohol abuse or family problems such as violence or child neglect), for example by attending alcoholism treatment, or he must accept the consequences to be imposed, such as the loss of his job, the substitution of S.A. vouchers for actual cheques, or, in some extreme cases, his possible expulsion from the reserve.

The intervention process is similar to that which occurred in the 1970s. With the increase in activity of the Band Office, and the greater number of Band Office employees, a division of labour has since occurred and today a number of individuals are involved in the control of behaviour on the reserve. The Band Chief, however, is considered to have

the ultimate authority in social control. In this sense some hierarchical order of authority is recognized.

DIFFERENTIAL RECRUITMENT: THE EXISTENCE OF DRINKING IN THE COMMUNITY

Alkali Lake is not a completely sober community. There exist two general clusters of drinkers in the community: a number of the elderly men and a proportion of the youth (aged 12-25). The drinking among these two groups is viewed quite differently by both the Band Office and the general community.

Drinking Among the Youth

The increasing incidence of drinking among the youth is a recognized problem in the community. During my stay at Alkali there were several instances of public drunkenness among young people. The more dramatic instances included one occasion in which a group of four or five young adults was seen drinking in the arbor of the Pow-wow grounds, an especially flagrant violation not only of the implicit rules against drinking on the reserve but also of the sacredness of the arbor, as it is an essential belief that Indian culture and alcohol do not mix. On another occasion a young man who had been drinking went on a "joy ride" around the reserve on some farm machinery, eventually having an accident and damaging the equipment. Children as young as age 12 occasionally experiment with alcohol. On one such instance in the Autumn of '85 a young boy, who had been drinking with a group of friends, had consumed so much alcohol that when he was discovered by some adults, they became extremely alarmed for his health. He was rushed to the hospital, where it was found that he had a near-fatal blood-alcohol reading of 2.1.

Drugs, mainly marijuana, are also being used increasingly on the reserve, and may also be a cause for intervention by the Band Office.

Most community members when they come face to face with instances of public drinking and drunkenness react by ignoring or avoiding the drinkers. It is believed to be the responsibility of the Band Office to confront and control such behaviour. In more serious situations, the Chief, a Councillor, the Band Social Worker or the Drug and Alcohol Counsellor might be telephoned, regardless of the time of day or night, and asked to intervene in the situation.

The Band Office is presently having difficulty in controlling this drinking behaviour. The use of sanctions such as possible loss of employment with the Band, and substitution of vouchers for S.A. cheques, are proving ineffective long-term deterrents to drinking. When confronted, the individual simply agrees to make an effort to change, but eventually goes back to drinking. The more severe sanction of taking out a peace bond (arranged between the R.C.M.P., the Band Council, and the drinker) to bar a particular individual from entering the reserve for a set period of time was being considered in the Autumn of 1985; however, there is some reluctance to take this measure, as such an action does not have the support of the families affected.

The present difficulty in social control is complicated by the age of the offenders. Most are between 18 and 25 years old and may still be living in the homes of their parents. There now exists within the community a disagreement regarding whether the Band Office, or the parents, should be more responsible for the control of drinking among the youth. It is the opinion of most in the Band Office, and some other community members as well, that now that the community has achieved sobriety, and now that most have gone through personal training, the

reserve residents should rely less on the Band Office to control the behaviour of others. These people believe that the families, and other community members, should intervene in situations themselves, instead of "going running to the Band Office" and asking the Chief, or the Social Worker, to deal with the situation. The families, however, are reluctant to take on this responsibility. Many parents feel a great deal of guilt for the neglect their children suffered during the reserve's drinking days, and they consequently are reluctant to discipline their children too harshly. Some parents, although willing, are at a loss as to how they might control their child's drinking, particularly where the drinker may be a young adult and therefore semi-independent. The parents of these older (i.e., over age 18) drinkers generally believe that their child has made his own choice to drink, a choice which they disagree with but respect as his right. All that the parents believe they can do is to continue to show support and hope that their child soon decides to stop drinking.

Instances of public drinking on the reserve frequently center around a particular group of five young men, most of whom work at the nearby sawmill and live off-reserve, but who visit family and friends on the reserve during the weekends. The behaviour of these individuals is particularly difficult to control. As they are employed off-reserve, S.A. vouchers cannot be used to curb their purchase of alcohol, nor can the threat of job loss be used to encourage them to stop drinking. Furthermore, by living off-reserve, they are away from the constant social pressure that exists in the Alkali community with regard to drinking. A number of the men have been confronted by the Social Worker and other members of the Intervention Committee, who have offered them

support in making an effort to give up drinking, but to no avail. Their employer at the sawmill is reluctant to co-operate with the Band's efforts to encourage the men to become sober.

The frustration and concern of those working in the Band Office, and of other individuals in the community, regarding this situation reached a peak this summer after the death of a young Alkali man in a hit-and-run accident involving drunk driving at one of the local rodeos. At the time the man was with some of these known drinkers, although he himself had been making efforts to stop drinking. It is not generally known whether the young man had been drinking prior to his death. Yet despite this incident, his companions at the time have persisted with their drinking. It is commonly believed that alcoholics make the decision to sober up only after having "hit bottom"; that is, after a certain traumatic experience that causes the individual to reexamine his situation. That these men have continued drinking even after this tragic incident has increased the sense of frustration of those working toward helping and encouraging sobriety in these men.

Off-reserve drinking is also a cause for concern, and confrontation, by the Social Worker and other Intervention Committee members. For example, another young man who had been making efforts to stop drinking, and who in fact had been sober for several months, had a setback during the July Williams Lake Stampede, which is an especially popular time for drinking. (Knowledge of instances of drinking, regardless of where the drinking occurred, seems to spread quickly through the gossip network at Alkali soon to become common knowledge among community members.) After his return to the reserve this individual was again confronted by the Social Worker. Evidently, where the drinking took place is at times not important. The Social Worker, perhaps with other Committee members,

will get involved not just because of a violation of the community's "no drinking on the reserve" rule, but more especially because of their concern for the individual.

There are a variety of ideas as to why the young people are starting to drink. The most common one expressed is that they are drinking to "get back at their parents" for the mistreatment that they received in the past due to their parents' drinking. It is believed that these youth are finding it difficult to deal effectively with their anger and frustration. Instead of sharing their problems, and talking things through with their parents, they are turning to alcohol as a way of getting even. Some say that the parents are partly to blame, in that some are not taking proper care of their children. Even though they may be sober, some parents still might slip into a "dry drunk", in which feelings of frustration, depression and anger become manifested in child neglect and family violence.

A third factor, mentioned by some of these drinkers themselves, is that of boredom. They drink because there is nothing else to do. Yet if they become involved in off-reserve activities, such as playing hockey, attending or competing in rodeos, or going to community dances in Williams Lake, in these situations alcohol is often a facilitator of social interaction, providing an additional temptation. Finally, some account for drinking among the youth simply by the belief that it is the nature of youth to rebel - given the existing taboo on drinking in the community, this provides a very effective means of protest - and that their drinking is only a stage through which they soon will pass.

The Elderly Drinkers

In the Autumn of 1985 there were a total of 27 Band members over the age of 55 living on the reserve. Of these, 14 were female and 13 were male. All of the elderly women are believed to be sober. (One woman is totally incapacitated due to a stroke.) Of the thirteen men, all of whom are able-bodied, five are known to be regular drinkers.

There exists a correlation between those presently drinking and those who previously held positions on the Alkali Lake Band Council (before the switch to the two-year elective system). Of the thirteen elderly men living on the reserve, two are past Chiefs and two are past Councillors. All four are known drinkers today. None of the elderly women have held positions on Council. Thus there appear to be two significant variables in this incidence of drinking: gender, and past involvement in the Band Council.

Drinking among the elders is a more private affair, occurring typically in the home. Incidents of public drunkenness do occur, however. During one of the community dances in the Fall of '85 one of the elderly men, obviously drunk, took the floor during the band's break and for several minutes danced his way around the room, all the while hooting and hollering to the crowd of onlookers, who applauded loudly at his performance. Obviously, in this situation the elderly man could not be ignored, although his drunkenness still could have been, at least overtly. The elderly drinkers have a marginal role in the Alkali Lake community, very rarely appearing at community activities such as banquets, Pow-wows, workshops, and Band meetings. They are generally not included in the cultural category of "Elder", which is a term of respect applied to certain individuals according to their age and/or extent of cultural knowledge. Elders do not constitute a clearly defined group.

It is a rather flexible category with membership varying according to the situation in which the term is used.

Most of the elderly drinkers have in the past been confronted about their drinking, usually at the request of concerned family members. One has twice attended a treatment center. Today, however, they are simply tolerated. Their drinking is not a cause of great concern to the community, and there is very little open discussion in the community about the presence of this group of persistent drinkers.

SUMMARY

There are a variety of ways in which the Sobriety movement has become routinized within the Alkali Lake community. Sobriety has become a generally held value, and social pressure, plus the existence of numerous forums for sharing, serve as positive mechanisms for the maintenance of sobriety. There also is increasing interest in Indian culture and spirituality, with Pow-wow dancing, ceremonial sweating, ritual fasting and pipe ceremonies being its manifestations. It is an explicit belief that Indian culture and alcohol do not mix, and a number of individuals have gained strength for maintaining their sobriety through involvement in these cultural activities.

The Band Office continues to play a major role in promoting sobriety and controlling drinking on the reserve. At present the responsibility for controlling drinking and other inappropriate behaviour remains that of the Band Office, specifically the Intervention Committee, although there is some desire by Band Office staff to have this role reduced and to have the families take a more active role in controlling such behaviour. In response to the perceived problem of the community being

in a plateau phase of development, the Band Office has taken steps to further the social development of the community by introducing a variety of social and cultural development workshops for village members. The Band is now actively promoting sobriety in Native communities elsewhere in Canada and the United States. Third party support - that provided by the Four Worlds Development Project - plays an important role in these endeavours. The Band Office is the main co-ordinating center for these off-reserve activities.

Some drinking still occurs at Alkali Lake. Drinking among the youth is a recognized problem, and the social control tactics of the Band Office are proving ineffective long-term deterrents. The situation is complicated by the young age of the offenders, as there is disagreement as to whether the families or the Band Office should be responsible for the control of their behaviour. As well, a number of the youth live and work off-reserve, and so are away from the environment of constant social pressure that exists within the Alkali community regarding drinking, and also cannot be threatened with the loss of employment or the imposition of S.A. vouchers. The Band Office has not been able to secure the support of the employer of these drinkers in the Band's efforts to promote sobriety. Drinking persists among another sub-group within the reserve, namely a small number of elderly men. This is not a situation of great concern to the general community. These individuals are somewhat marginal in the community, and their drinking is tolerated and usually ignored.

As few of the drinkers on the reserve were interviewed, at this time the rational risk-reward model of differential recruitment cannot be applied to account for non-recruitment into the movement. As drinking can be correlated with specific sub-groups within the community, it seems

more appropriate to analyze the incidence of drinking in terms of sub-cultural features rather than in terms of individual rationality and motivation. With regard to the elderly drinkers, the correlation between drinking and gender, and past involvement with Band government, is especially interesting and necessitates further study.

Among the youth, there is a correlation between the hard-core drinkers and those who are beyond the economic control of the Band Office. In itself this fact does not explain their drinking habits. Indeed, their economic independence may have been a product of their desire to maintain a drinking lifestyle. The simple argument that the reserve residents sobered up because of economic domination by the Band Office is inadequate. Why was this economic domination never challenged in what seems to be the simplest way, by voting the Chief out of office? Why did few Band members leave the reserve (as the present group of young drinkers have done) and thus escape the control of the Band Office? These questions will be explored in Chapter Seven.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

1. The following is the formal description of the A.A. group read at the beginning of each A.A. meeting:

Alcoholics Anonymous is a fellowship of men and women who share their experience, strength and hope with each other that they may solve their common problem and help others to recover from alcoholism. The only requirement for membership is a desire to stop drinking. There are no dues or fees for A.A. membership; we are self-supporting through our own contributions. A.A. is not allied with any sect, denomination, politics, organization or institution; does not wish to engage in any controversy; neither endorses nor opposes any causes. Our primary purpose is to stay sober and help other alcoholics to achieve sobriety.

2. The following is a list of workshops offered at the 1985 Sharing Innovations That Work Conference:

Workshops offered by the Alkali Lake Band:

1. Grand Tour of the Community
2. Land Claims
3. Special Programs at Alkali Lake (including the Youth Group, the Elders' Group, the Women's Group, the Drum and Dance Group, and the Church Group)
4. Alkali Lake: Past, Present and Future
5. Education by the Alkali Lake Band
6. Social Development by the Alkali Lake Band

Other workshops offered:

7. Douglas Lake School: A Demonstration by Students and Faculty of a Highly Successful Community-Based Education Program.
8. Wholistic Healing Methods - private consultant.
9. Community Action Planning: An Effective Way to Involve Community Members in Developing their Own Action Plans - private consultant.
10. Utilizing Drama for Effective Community and Youth Involvement - private consultant.
11. Project Charlie - Nechi Institute.
12. Alcohol and Drug Abuse Prevention Curriculum for children and Young People - Four Worlds Development Project.
13. Kipohtakaw Education Center: A Wholistic Approach to Native Education - Alexander Band, Alberta.
14. Adult Children of Alcoholics - Nechi Institute.
15. Wholistic Youth and Community Development at Alexander Reserve, Alberta - Alexander Band.

16. Indian Education Programs for Public Schools: Planning and Implementing an Effective and Innovative Approach - Native Education Programs, Victoria Public Schools.
 17. Overcoming Family Violence - private consultant.
 18. Understanding Between Young People and Adults: A Wholistic Program - Four Worlds Development Project.
 19. Indian Dream and Song Healing - private consultant.
 20. Utilizing the Four Worlds Concept for Community and Human Development - Four Worlds Development Project.
 21. Suicide Prevention - private consultant.
 22. Caravan for Youth '84: An Innovative Approach to Youth Involvement - private consultant.
 23. Solvent Abuse - Nechi Institute.
 24. The Development of Effective Community Based Research Projects - Four Worlds Development Project.
 25. Sexual Abuse - Nechi Institute.
 26. Community Prevention Development - Nechi Institute.
 27. The Importance of Native Culture in the Prevention and Treatment of Alcohol and Drug Abuse - (individuals associated with the Four Worlds Development Project).
 28. Cross-Cultural Development: Exploring Ways to Utilize the Best of Two Cultures in Community and Personal Development - private consultant.
 29. Friendship Centers: The Innovative Role They Can Play in the Development of the Native Community - Kermode Friendship Center, Terrace, B.C..
 30. Alcoholism as a Family Disease - Nechi Institute.
 31. Round Lake Treatment Center Story - Round Lake Center.
 32. Fetal Alcohol Syndrome - private consultant.
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4. The conference was boycotted by the Chilcotin-Ulkatcho-Kluskus Nation, the Shuswap Nation Tribal Council, the Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs, and the Assembly of First Nations due to the expected participation in the conference of a representative of the Guatemalan government.

CHAPTER SIX:
SOME HISTORICAL CONSIDERATIONS

In this chapter I will discuss some features of the historical context in which the Sobriety movement emerged. In particular I am interested in exploring, from a historical perspective, why the office of Band chief was seen by leaders as a suitable position from which to initiate the Sobriety movement. This chapter provides a descriptive background of general changes that have occurred in western Shuswap society since first contact with Europeans. Special reference will be made to the development of alcohol use. Also provided is a discussion of what we know about the historic relationship between chieftainship and social control within the Alkali Lake community. I will assert that there is historic evidence indicating that the office of Band chief entailed authority to control behaviour of the village members. This chapter is an attempt to support the contention that the choice of strategy of the movement leaders (using the office of Band chief) was influenced by this cultural tradition, and that the response of the community members reflected an implicit recognition and acceptance of this tradition of "strict" chieftainship.

EARLY POST-CONTACT SHUSWAP CULTURE

The most comprehensive account of early post-contact Shuswap culture is found in James Teit's 1909 ethnography. Teit conducted fieldwork among the Shuswap between 1900 and 1904. By this time much of their traditional way of life had been disrupted through contact with non-Native people. Working with a few elderly male informants Teit

attempted to construct a picture of Shuswap culture as it had been before this disruption. Teit had a strong appreciation for the dynamic nature of culture and social organization, and his ethnography represents an interesting account not only of "traditional" Shuswap lifestyle, but of a society in transition.

Until the 1900s, the Shuswap were a semi-nomadic hunting and gathering people. Their subsistence was based primarily on salmon, deer, and elk, with caribou, moose, bear, and smaller game being of secondary importance (Teit 1909; Palmer 1975). Plant foods supplemented the diet in the summer months. During the winter the Shuswap resided in permanent settlements, dispersing into smaller migratory family units during the summer. Those bands in the westernmost Shuswap territory (the Alkali Lake band included) were almost completely sedentary, their subsistence based largely on the predictable and abundant runs of Fraser River salmon.

The Shuswap recognized at least three levels of social groupings within their nation. The first, and most encompassing social group, was represented by the word "Sex'wa'pmux", meaning "our people" (Brow 1967), the anglicized version of which was "Shuswap". Within this group were included seven tribal divisions, each named after a particular geographic location. The social and political significance of these divisions is not clear. Each division was composed of a number of "bands". Teit defines the term band as "being composed of a group of families closely related among themselves, who generally wintered within a definite locality, at or within a few miles of a larger village or center" (1909:457). His informants provided him with a list of thirty bands and the principal village of each, those being all the recognized Shuswap bands that existed in the mid-1800s. Through the 1800s there was a

tendency for bands to become more readily identified, as more and more family groups congregated at a central village for the winter months. At that time ten bands, including the Alkali Lake band, were listed as belonging to the Fraser River Division. Six of these today are recognized by the Department of Indian Affairs, the others having disappeared through population decline.

According to Teit, the western Shuswap bands¹ were distinct not only in their relatively high degree of sedentism, but also in several unique features of social organization: ranked classes, crest groups, and dance societies. These were believed to have been transmitted through contact with the neighbouring Chilcotin, Carrier, and Lillooet people, who in turn had adopted these features from direct or indirect contact with the Northwest Coast societies. The type of social organization displayed by the southern and eastern Shuswap bands was believed by Teit to be the older form once shared by all Shuswap.

Kinship in the southern and eastern bands was bilaterally reckoned. The basic socio-economic unit was the extended family, which travelled together in the summer and winter months. The only formal class distinction existed in the presence of slavery. This, however, seems to have served as a temporary classification of war captives, who gained equal status upon marriage into the band. Some recognition of unilineal principles of descent was apparent in the use of hereditary names, and in the determination of band chieftainship. There was one hereditary chief per band (determined partially by patrilineal descent) who, according to Teit, "had no special privileges, and (his) only duties were to look after the general welfare of the band... the chief was looked upon as a kind of father and leader of the people, and was expected

to set a good example, and to act fairly, in all matters" (1909:570). Hunt chiefs, war chiefs, and dance leaders emerged as the occasion necessitated. These leaders attained their position according to recognized abilities.

Teit asserted that social organization of the western Shuswap bands differed in exhibiting features of a Northwest Coast influence: ranked classes, crest groups, and dance societies. He argued that these features were integrated into western Shuswap society in the early 1800s, having been adopted through contact with the Chilcotin, Carrier, and Lillooet Indians. By the late 1800s the system had fallen into disuse. Consequently, Teit had difficulty reconstructing a clear picture of this system, particularly regarding principles of membership, status, and privileges of the nobility, crest groups, and dance societies.

Grossman (1965) has questioned the accuracy of Teit's identification of dance societies and crest groups. Following Grossman, it seems more plausible to view Western Shuswap social organization as being based on stem lineages. At the center of the lineage would be a patrilineal core of chiefs, who resided in close proximity and who exercised control over the resources of a certain territory. Individuals more distantly related could claim membership in a number of descent groups, according to the principle of bilateral descent. Thus Teit's crest group may in fact be a patrilineal core, with his "band" being the stem lineage. Ranked classes may be a product of relative distance from the patrilineal core, and dance societies could be explained simply as ceremonies adopted through diffusion and attached to specific stem lineages.

An examination of some of the other forces of change felt by the western Shuswap in the 19th century will now be presented.

FIRST WHITE CONTACT

The first white man to enter Shuswap territory is believed to have been Simon Fraser, who passed through in 1808 en route to the Pacific Ocean. In the early decades of the nineteenth century the Hudson's Bay Company established a number of trading posts in New Caledonia. In 1834 the most southerly of these posts were Fort Alexandria, Fort Thompson, and (the short-lived) Fort Chilcotin (Morice 1978). It is probable that Shuswap Indians visited these forts. It is also likely that it was from these sources that alcohol was first introduced to the Shuswap. The introduction of a fur-trade economy, however, did not severely disrupt the traditional way of life of the Indians of this region. Trapping was a pursuit that was easily integrated into their seasonal round of activities; in fact, the traders relied on the continuation of the Indians' traditional economy in order to obtain their furs (Fisher 1978).

The first missionary to visit the western Shuswap was the Roman Catholic Modeste Demers in 1842. Contact with the missionaries remained infrequent until the late 1860s.

THE GOLD RUSH AND THE MISSIONARIES: 1858-1876

It was not until the late 1850s that Shuswap culture began to be seriously disrupted by contact with non-Natives. The first source of this disruption came through indirect contact with Whites, when a series of epidemics swept through the Shuswap and other Indian groups, causing a drastic reduction in population. The most severe epidemic to hit the Shuswap occurred in 1862-63, when smallpox virtually wiped out the 700-member Cañon division, who occupied territory on the west side of the Fraser River north and south of the mouth of the Chilcotin River. The

second disruption was initiated by the discovery of gold in the Cariboo. In 1858 a Gold Rush emerged that brought thousands of non-Native prospectors into Shuswap country. The opportunity for wage-labour employment in packing and guiding, and the availability of alcohol through the numerous saloons and road-houses that lined the Cariboo Trail, contributed to increasingly frequent Indian use of alcohol and to drunkenness. By 1865 the Cariboo Road between Yale and Barkerville was completed; by 1870 the Cariboo Gold Rush was over. Many of those who had been lured to the Cariboo by the promise of gold remained in the area to take up the more mundane pursuits of farming, ranching, logging and trapping. Through these activities much of the Shuswap's traditional hunting territories were lost.

An event that was to have great impact on the western Shuswap bands was the establishment in 1867 of St. Joseph's Mission.² Situated just south of Williams Lake, the Mission became the center of Roman Catholic activity in the Cariboo. Twenty-two bands were included in the Mission's "territory". These included the Fraser River division Shuswap bands (including Alkali Lake), the Southern Carrier, and some Chilcotin bands. Within one year of the establishment of St. Joseph's, ten churches had been constructed in the area, among them St. Pierre's at Alkali Lake (Whitehead 1981). The Shuswap in particular seemed to welcome the missionaries and their teachings (ibid.:51).

One missionary, Father LeJacq, was delegated the responsibility of paying regular visits to the various Indian bands in the area. Father LeJacq was an ardent believer in the "Durieu system". Developed in 1850 by Paul Durieu, O.M.I. missionary to Oregon, this system was aimed at replacing traditional organization of the winter settlements with a system of hierarchical village organization based on Catholic beliefs and

values. Whitehead describes the Durieu system:

In accepting the new administration, the Indians had to reject forever all tribal celebrations, all patronage of the medicine man or shaman, intoxicants and gambling. Sunday observance was strictly enforced. Weekday attendance at mass (wherever possible) or at daily prayer or catechism sessions was mandatory. Marriages had to have the priest's consent and leisure activities were frowned upon unless all necessary work was completed. Every aspect of life operated under puritanical restrictions... Feast days held by the church were to be celebrated in great style, with processions and pageantry, special services, religious plays, even, on occasion, firework displays (ibid.:19).

Local missionaries, such as Father LeJacq, acted as supervisors in the establishment and operation of the new village system. Within the village administration there existed a number of roles: chiefs, sub-chiefs, watchmen, policemen, catechists, chanters, and sextons (bell-ringers) (Whitehead 1981:18; Lemert 1954:24). Among the western Shuswap it appears that there was only one chief per village (Whitehead 1981). Whitehead states that the missionary would generally attempt to appoint the hereditary chief to this position, although there were alternate "chiefs" - possibly referring to crest group chiefs - who could be approached if the former declined. This chief, as appointed by the missionary, was considered to be the local representative of the church. He had supreme authority for social control within the community. His duties included ensuring that White bootleggers were kept out of the village, and deciding upon suitable punishment for those found guilty of transgressions of the new rules (ibid.:18). Watchmen and policemen worked under the direction of the chief. It was the duty of the watchmen to patrol the village and to report to the chief any infractions of the rules. The policemen's role was to carry out the punishment of the offender, as had been decided upon by the chief.

Father LeJacq claimed to have had great success at gaining the Shuswap's acceptance of the Durieu system. To what extent Shuswap culture was influenced at this stage by the system is unclear. The Shuswap still pursued a semi-nomadic lifestyle. For a significant proportion of time they lived away from their central villages and thus in theory did not have to conform to the behaviour codes of the system. Also, the missionary, Father LeJacq, made regular visits to each village, but remained there for only a short period of time, and what went on in the village during his absence may have been quite different from what went on in his presence.

Regardless of the extent to which the Durieu system influenced Shuswap life in this early period of missionary contact, with the transfer of Father LeJacq out of the territory in 1873, the system began to wane in popularity. His successor, Father Charles Marchal, "did not have the same charismatic appeal for the Indians as Father LeJacq" (ibid.:81), and within three years he had "visibly lost the regard of several Shuswap bands"(ibid.). Virtually all the Shuswap, Carrier, and Chilcotin bands in the region openly reverted to the old ways: dancing, gambling, potlatching, ... and drinking.

THE PROBLEM OF ALCOHOL

Regulations prohibiting the sale or gift of intoxicants to Indians had been in place in Upper and Lower Canada since the late 1700s, and in the territory later to become British Columbia since the mid-1800s (Canada: Historical Development of the Indian Act, 1978). The Indian Act of 1876 consolidated and amended the existing laws concerning Indians. Under Sections 79, 80, and 83, it was illegal to furnish intoxicants to Indians, for Indians to make, sell, or have in their

possession any intoxicant, and for Indians to be in a state of drunkenness (Canada: Statutes of Canada, pp.66-68). Possession carried a possible fine of \$100 or imprisonment for six months; drunkenness was punishable by incarceration for thirty days.

Reports of the Indian Agent to the Williams Lake Agency (which was established in 1881 and included in its jurisdictional territory the Shuswap, Chilcotin and Carrier bands "served" by the St. Joseph's missionaries) provide information regarding the problems of alcohol use and its control on the local reserves. In 1884 the Williams Lake Indian Agent reported that he had:

Appointed constables [on the Sugar Cane] reserve giving them instructions as to their duties in preserving law and order in the village. This village has been at the mercy of a number of persons, who were in the habit of prowling around at night with liquor, for purposes needless to mention (I.A.B. Annual Report 1884:106)

Constables were also appointed in this year on the Soda Creek reserve, for the purpose of "securing law and order in the village" (ibid.). The appointment of constables here received the full support of the Soda Creek chief (see page 120).

Presumably, the Indian constables were to report any instances of wrongdoing to the local Indian Agent, who would then initiate the legal proceedings against the offenders. It is significant that in the Shuswap region the only mention of constables being appointed occurs in these two reserves, which are situated closest to white population centers.

In themselves, the intoxicant laws probably had little effect on Indian drinking. Implementation relied heavily on the willingness of individuals to become informants. While it is theoretically possible

that in regions of more frequent missionary or Indian Agent contact an Indian may have been motivated to inform through residual devotion to the Durieu system, or through some calculation of political advantage to be gained through working with the Whites, this would be less likely in the more remote territories where the traditional social order had been less disrupted by White contact. In these more isolated regions, laws were virtually impossible to enforce, even if an informant did come forth, due to the slowness of transportation and communication.

In 1884 the Indian Agent, reporting from the Quesnel reserve, expressed his frustrations at the ineffectiveness of the liquor laws:

The law requiring two J.P.'s [Justices of the Peace] to try an Indian whiskey-giver, is the great loop-hole through which such offences escape. In this part of British Columbia Justices live far apart - fifty miles, as an average. There is no law to compel a Justice to attend the summons of another J.P.. Nor is it sometimes possible for him to leave his home at a day's notice. And in all cases the delay is such, that the offender generally hears of the information having been laid, and has ample time to "move off" to a distance until the matter has "blown over" (I.A.B. Annual Report 1884:108)

Another problem involved the reluctance of the B.C. Provincial Government to co-operate in the enforcement of Federal laws:

The actions of the provincial government, in refusing the use of court houses, gaols and constables to Indian agents when acting in the capacity of magistrates, as the Indian Act empowers them to do in respect to all violations of its provisions, will here, as elsewhere, greatly impede the proper administration of justice, as similar cases of violation of the law occur (I.A.B. Annual Report 1885:1x).

In an effort to improve the efficacy of the liquor regulations a series of amendments were made to the "intoxicants" sections of the Indian Act through the late 1800s and early 1900s. These amendments did not succeed in providing an effective deterrent to Indian drinking.

INDIAN CONTROL OF DRINKING: 1880s

Under the short-lived Durieu system of the 1870s the Durieu chiefs had the authority to punish those guilty of intemperance. Some chiefs' commitment to temperance persisted after the dissolution of the system, and they worked with the missionaries and Indian Agents in an effort to control drinking and bootlegging in the villages. Frustrated by the inefficacy of the liquor regulations, the chiefs seemed at times to have taken matters into their own hands. Exactly what methods of control they used is unclear, however, Father McGuckin of St. Joseph's Mission described the Indians' mode of punishment as "too rigorous" (Whitehead 1981:92).

The Williams Lake Indian Agent presented some observations on the effectiveness of some of the Shuswap chiefs in controlling drinking behaviour in this period:

The [Dog Creek] chief, Missou, is a young man. He is a terror to drunken Indians and white whiskey-givers; and as this place is where the licensed liquor houses are situated (three houses for six white residents!) his energy in discovering and informing against offenders has put a stop to the drunkenness which formerly was so prevalent among Indians here, at Alkali Lake and at Canoe Creek (I.A.B. Annual Report 1884:110)).

The [Soda Creek] chief, Camusells, is one of the few remaining "old-time" chiefs - feared and obeyed by his tribe, and a mortal enemy to all drunkenness and immorality of any kind. Before he became too old, he used, sometimes, to execute his sentences with his own hand.. this village, like Williams Lake (Sugar Cane), has often been at the mercy of unprincipled whites, prowling about after night with whiskey; and the chief was eloquent in his expressions of delight at the stop put to such proceedings at the latter reserve... (ibid.:106).

Several comments should be made on these passages. We must examine these descriptions of Shuswap chieftainship with reference to their source. The local Indian Agent probably spent relatively little time

among the Indians, and may have been viewing the actions of these chiefs with pre-conceived notions of what a chief's role should be; thus the reliability of his interpretations of the effectiveness of the Shuswap chiefs in social control may be questioned. Second, it would be in the best interests of the Indian Agent to emphasize in his annual report to Ottawa any success, however brief, of temperance efforts among the Indians of his Agency. Granted these qualifications, the observations of the Indian Agent about chieftainship are not inconsistent with what we know of the role of the chief under the recently abandoned Durieu system.

THE RE-EMERGENCE OF THE DURIEU SYSTEM

In 1890 the Durieu system showed a dramatic resurgence of popularity among the Shuswap and other bands in the Mission's territory. This turnaround was triggered by one event. In May 1890, a group of Shuswap and Carrier Indians, led by Father Marchal (the same Father Marchal who "lacked sufficient charismatic appeal" to maintain Indian acceptance of the Durieu system in 1873), travelled en masse down to Sechelt to attend the opening of a new church. The Sechelt Indians had wholeheartedly embraced the Durieu system, and their village was considered a model to which other Indians (and more important, missionaries) could aspire. The week-long ceremonies and festivities, in true Catholic fashion, were "elaborate and impressive" (Whitehead 1981:94). The church blessing itself was attended by almost two thousand Indians from various tribes in the north west region. A contingency of missionaries and chiefs departed mid-way through the week from Sechelt to attend the funeral of Bishop D'Herbomez in New Westminster, which was to be a ceremony equally rich in symbolism and drama.

The witnessing of these events seems to have set off a new round of religious fervour among the Shuswap bands (ibid.). Five months after the party's return to the Cariboo, the Alkali Lake Indians held a ceremony, similar to that which had occurred at Sechelt, for the dedication of the village's new church, with other Indian bands of the district invited to attend. This was only the first of a number of dedications which were to occur in the next few years.

One significant innovation within the Durieu system was the creation, in 1895, of the "Total Abstinence Society of British Columbia". Initiated by Bishop Durieu during a church dedication at the Sugar Cane reserve, the society was aimed specifically at the control of Indian alcohol use. According to Whitehead, the society was:

a "regular association" with a constitution, regulations, and statutes... The Bishop wished to establish a branch of the society in every Indian village, and the chief - wherever possible the hereditary chief - was made the local president of his branch. As the local president, the chief was empowered "without being subject to arrest and prosecution to maintain order and discipline among the Indian members of the said society" (1981:95-96).

The society was inaugurated in the same elaborate ceremonial style that characterized other public events of the Catholic church. Lining up the ten attending chiefs by his side at the altar, Bishop Durieu instructed them in their duties as representatives of the temperance society. Each chief was given a "temperance flag", and each was later assigned a register bearing the statutes of the society. All Indians were requested to sign the register, which was to be placed by the altar of the village church to serve as a reminder for all who entered the church of their promise of temperance (ibid.:97).

The Shuswap continued to show an interest in the Catholic religion

through the early 1900s. The missionary to attend the Indians through this period, Father Thomas, would visit the bands of the district three or four times per year, his visits when possible corresponding to special celebrations such as Easter or Christmas. Courts would be held during the missionary's visit, during which cases of intemperance, or other instances of immorality as defined by the Durieu system, would be heard and punishment delivered. It is not clear whether such courts were held in the absence of the missionary.

The court system persisted among some of the district bands (including Alkali Lake) until the 1940s. Whitehead describes one such court held at Redstone (a Chilcotin reserve) in the later years:

Mr. Christie [the Indian Agent to the Williams Lake district], who as a JP had legal authority, presided at a court held in front of the church. Indians who had caused harm while drunk had to kneel in front of the Chief and Mr. Christie while their crimes were assessed. The Chief levied fines against those found guilty, and, Mr. Christie recalled, "if they didn't pay, they'd take a horse or a cow and sell it and the money went to the church, to buy candles and stuff like that" (ibid.:131).

Whitehead adds that:

Even without church or government authority present, one or two chiefs continued to hold these courts but the Indians refused to participate; in one case, where the Chief had taken a man's horse for non-payment of a fine, the Indian reported it to the R.C.M.P. - a sure sign of the loss of tribal and church authority (ibid.).

THE DURIEU SYSTEM AT ALKALI LAKE: ELDERS' RECOLLECTIONS

The system of social control described above is well remembered by the elderly people of Alkali Lake. The elders from which this information was collected (all of whom were women) were between the ages of sixty and eighty, and thus their personal recollections of the system

probably refer to the years between 1920 and 1940. The system is associated with Chief Sxoxomic (also known as Chief Samson), who was the Alkali Lake band chief (as recognized by the Department of Indian Affairs) possibly from 1899 (the I.A.B. Annual Report for this year lists the Alkali Lake band chief as "Hoch-o-me", which bears close similarity to the Shuswap pronunciation of "Sxoxomic"), but certainly from 1915 (Royal Commission on Indian Affairs, 1913-1916), to the time of his death around 1940.

Chief Sxoxomic is remembered as "that strict little chief" who was "partners with Father Thomas" in maintaining discipline in the Alkali Lake village. The elderly people described the three cardinal sins as drinking, dancing and gambling. The Chief did not permit these activities in the village. "The Chief would tell people if they want to drink, go up into the hills to do it". Immorality was also punished. If a young unmarried man and woman were caught "playing around", or frequently were seen "running around together", they would be called up in front of the Chief, who would "make them get married or stop". If an unmarried girl was discovered to be pregnant, she would be sent in front of the Chief and forced to confess the name of the father, after which the couple would be urged to marry. (Many of the elderly people look back with approval on the Chief's punishment of immorality, noting that "nowadays young kids are getting pregnant and no one knows who the father is".)

According to these informants, Sxoxomic had two or three "constables" at his disposal who would occasionally patrol the reserve at night. The constables would report any instances of wrongdoing to the Chief. The offenders would then be called up in front of the Chief. They were made to kneel down in a line in front of the Chief and were

forced to confess their crimes. The Chief then imposed a fine. If an offender had no money, the Chief would take a valued possession, such as a gun, until such time as the offender was able to pay the fine. One informant claimed that people found guilty were sometimes made to stand up at the front of the church during Mass - their hands held straight up above their heads - and had to remain in that position until the end of the service.

During these years the elders claim that there was virtually no drinking on the reserve. With Sxoxomic's death, around 1940, the old system of social control eventually broke down. The chief who replaced Sxoxomic lacked the same commitment to this system, and as alcohol use became more frequent, he himself began to drink openly, further undermining his authority. The revised Indian Act of 1951, as amended in 1956, permitted Indians to buy and consume alcohol in licensed premises, a move which was granted provincial approval in British Columbia in 1962 (Duff 1965). Alcohol use at Alkali Lake became even more frequent as a result. By the 1960s reserve life had become characterized by high levels of drunkenness, violence, accidental death and suicide. A researcher (Brow 1967) who conducted fieldwork on the Alkali Lake reserve in 1966 reported that, among the elderly people especially, the Band chief was held to blame for the lawlessness of reserve life. He was not setting a proper standard of conduct nor was he attempting to control the behaviour of others.

When Andy Chelsea was first elected to office he was not consciously attempting to resurrect the system of social control as it existed prior to 1940. There is evidence to indicate, however, that both the Chief's actions, and the expectations of the community, were guided by an

implicit recognition of this older cultural tradition.

First, after Chelsea was elected to office reserve residents expected him at times to act as a policeman on the reserve. He frequently was called into people's homes to break up fights, to quell violent arguments, and to otherwise deal with uncontrollable behaviour. This expectation of the Band chief persisted after Chelsea stepped down from office in 1978, and subsequent chiefs, including one who was rather slight in build and one who was female, were called upon to deal with similar situations.

Second, Chelsea consciously was following an implicit cultural rule that a Band chief should not drink:

Speaking of leadership - I know its got to start from the top down. If a chief is still drinking he shouldn't be holding office...I know our Elders, and our Elders way before us, never did drink. They made clean decisions. When those decisions are made then they're kept. I guess the way I was thinking, and that's the way I heard it from my Granny and my Mother, that as long as you're chief you'd better not drink...

It is interesting to note that a similar cultural rule existed in the 1960s among three Coast Salish groups (Lemert 1958). Chiefs of these Bands were expected to refrain from drinking, and in fact their status as leaders depended on their abstention from alcohol. Yet for others, drinking was an acceptable and frequent social activity. Incidentally, or perhaps not, these Coast Salish groups (the Homalthko, Tlahoose and Sliammon), like the western Shuswap bands, also had been subjected in the 1800s to the Durieu system of the Catholic missionaries. Lemert's informants claimed that drinking and dancing ended after the arrival of the missionaries, although in fact these activities continued covertly. A more comprehensive cross-cultural study of chieftainship and drinking in Native Indian societies would help to shed light on the

origins of this expectation of sober chieftainship.

SUMMARY

This chapter has described some features of the historical context in which the Alkali Lake Sobriety movement emerged. What has become apparent is that Chief's attempt to control behaviour on the reserve by the imposition of negative sanctions has a historical precedent. Regardless of the origin of the tradition of strict chieftainship that did exist among the Alkali Lake people in the early 1900s - whether it originated in the late 1800s through the efforts of the Durieu missionaries or through the efforts of the Shuswap chiefs to impose some order in the midst of cultural disorganization, or whether it was a pre-existing cultural tradition that was enhanced by the Durieu system of social control - there is evidence to indicate that traces of this system did exist among the Alkali Lake people during the 1960s and 1970s. It is suggested here that the Chief's tactics to encourage sobriety, his apparent popularity as Chief, and the eventual success of his sobriety campaign, are related to the fact that the Band Chief was working within this cultural tradition of "strict" chieftainship, and that his authority was implicitly recognized and accepted by community members.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX

1. By "western Shuswap" Teit is referring to the Shuswap bands west of the Fraser River (the Cañon division, now extinct), and the bands of the Fraser River division north of Dog Creek (Alkali Lake, Williams Lake [Sugar Cane], and Soda Creek). By 1850 the Canim Lake, Dog Creek, High Bar, and Pavillion bands were showing similar institutions (Teit 1909:575-576).
2. The following discussion is based largely on Whitehead (1981).

CHAPTER SEVEN:

CONCLUSION

The resource mobilization perspective has provided an analytical framework for this study of the Alkali Lake Sobriety movement. This perspective provides a political processual model of social movement activity. We have focussed primarily on the strategies and tactics used by the movement's leaders to encourage others to adopt a sober lifestyle, and have analyzed their efforts in terms of the mobilization of resources, the utilization of third party support, and the opposition from other bodies of social control. Deviating somewhat from the processual model, we have also made mention of the way in which cultural features influenced the leaders' choice of strategy, and contributed to the eventual success of the movement. These findings are now summarized.

SUMMARY

Initiation of the Movement

The office of Band chief was used as a point from which to initiate the movement. This was a most important factor in the movement's success. It gave the leaders the political power necessary both to enforce economic sanctions on the drinkers and also to obtain support from outside agencies such as the R.C.M.P., Human Resources, local department stores, and the Williams Lake Drug and Alcohol Program. The support of the last was particularly important, not only in providing a Drug and Alcohol counsellor who worked relentlessly to encourage Alkali Lake residents to give up drinking, but also in arranging the Band member's attendance in residential alcoholism treatment programs and in

supporting the development of an on-reserve A.A. group.

The political and economic power wielded by the Band Chief can not by itself account for the success of the Sobriety movement. The Chief's tactics made it more difficult for drinkers to obtain alcohol, and made their lives on the reserve more uncomfortable, but the decision to become sober was one that could be made only by the drinker himself. Indeed, it is a common belief today at Alkali Lake that "you can't force an alcoholic to become sober". Even greater evidence against the economic argument is the fact that the Band Chief could have been stripped of his political and economic power simply by being voted out of office. Yet twice within the 1973-1976 period the Band Chief was re-elected, once by acclamation, and once in a landslide victory over five other candidates. Furthermore, when on one occasion the Chief offered to resign, the reserve residents refused to accept his resignation.

How can we account for this paradoxical situation? An equally important resource utilized by the movement leaders was that of the leadership role inherent in the position of Band chief. Shuswap cultural tradition held that a Band chief should not drink, and that he should lead by setting an example. Chelsea clearly demonstrated this type of leadership. The fact that he at one time had been one of the heaviest drinkers on the reserve lent extra weight to the example he now set for the community.

The leadership tradition of the Band chief also involved the authority to control behaviour of the reserve residents. Up until the 1940s, the Band chief had been the ultimate body of formal social control within the community, and had punished individuals guilty of intemperance, sexual immorality, dancing, or gambling within the village. After 1940, with the death of the old Band chief, this system

of social control began to break down. By the early 1970s the Alkali Lake community was in a state of cultural and social chaos. Alcohol use and drunkenness were common, and incidents of rape, child abuse and neglect, suicide and violent death were too frequent. The family unit, traditionally having the responsibility for instilling in the children the cultural beliefs and values of that society, was no longer an effective body of informal social control. At the community level there was no consensus about what constituted appropriate social behaviour. All the traditional norms had been transgressed without punishment. Since 1940 the two successive "lifetime" chiefs had been unable to exercise their formal authority to control behaviour, having lost the respect of the community due to their frequent public drunkenness.

It was within this milieu that Chelsea began his efforts to bring sobriety to the village. Although his campaign was specifically geared toward solution of the alcohol problem, what the Band chief implicitly was offering was much more comprehensive: to restore social order to the community, and to restore that order by use of a traditional system of social control.

A third factor in the success of the movement was the community's readiness for new leadership and social change. In 1971 the reserve residents voted to switch from a lifetime to a two year elective system for determining Chief and Council. They were dissatisfied with their chief and were looking for new leadership to improve conditions of life on the reserve. At the subsequent 1972 election (in which the outgoing chief was not nominated as a candidate) a young, energetic, and progressive-thinking man was elected. After his resignation a year later, Andy Chelsea was elected. Although his tactics were at times

extreme, Chelsea lived up to the implicit expectations of the community.

Chelsea's reliance on the leadership tradition of the chieftainship and the readiness within the community for new leadership and social change were necessary but not sufficient conditions for the success of the sobriety campaign. Equally important were the personal qualities of both Phyllis and Andy Chelsea. For three long years the Chelseas persisted in their anti-alcohol campaign, despite the extreme social pressure exerted upon them by the community and despite occasional threats against their lives. During this time the Band Chief in particular proved himself a worthy leader for the community. The more opposition he received to his tactics, the stronger and more determined he became. The economic sanctions enforced by the Chief were significant, not so much in forcing individuals to stop drinking, but in indicating to the village residents that he was willing to use his powers to the fullest - even on close family members - to promote his cause. The manner in which the leaders applied economic sanctions and confronted drinkers was also important. The leaders consistently justified their actions on the basis of concern for the welfare of the community residents, and they made conscious efforts to reduce the alienating effect of these measures by maintaining informal social contact with the reserve residents. Had the two leaders been less persistent and dedicated in their efforts the eventual conversion to sobriety would not have occurred.

Conversion to Sobriety

By 1981 a very dramatic and rapid conversion to sobriety had taken place. The Chelseas' continuing use of confrontational tactics, their provision of follow up supports for the newly sober alcoholics, and the

assistance of the Williams Lake Drug and Alcohol Program were fundamental to the success of the sobriety campaign.

Of great importance was the development of the on-reserve A.A. group. The newly sober individual, cut off from his drinking family members and friends, sought emotional support and social contact within the A.A. group. The A.A. group began to provide members with a social experience similar to that once found within the drinking party. The A.A. meetings became the most popular social activity on the reserve. Through the public confessions and apologies that occurred in the A.A. meetings (and especially so after the personal growth training experiences), old hostilities and rifts among family members, and between community residents, were resolved. The A.A. group eventually redefined the "community" of Alkali Lake.

Pressures to conform and fear of social exclusion played significant roles in the rapid conversion of the community after 1978. A counsellor from the Williams Lake Drug and Alcohol Program described the number of Alkali Lake members wanting to attend treatment in the late 1970's as "a stampede... They didn't want to be left out, they all wanted to find out what this neat experience was". The counselling staff had barely enough time to process all the applicants. In a very real sense, the Alkali Lake Sobriety movement was a case of community conversion.

In summary, in the initiatory period it was through the sheer strength, courage, and determination of the two leaders that the Sobriety movement persisted. After 1976 the Sobriety movement quickly picked up a momentum of its own as a result of the collective energy of the new recruits. The process of confrontation, increasing pressure to conform to the standard of sobriety, and fear of social exclusion contributed to

the rapid and almost total conversion of all community residents.

The on-reserve A.A. group, led by a core of dedicated members, became a critical resource in the success of the movement. This program proved to have tremendous success as a therapeutic mechanism. However, it is suggested here that although the A.A. group provided a forum for the expression of social solidarity and the provision of emotional support, it was something in the nature of Alkali Lake society that to a large degree predetermined the overwhelming success that the A.A. program would have. The A.A. program did not cause the mobilization of the community, but it provided a mechanism for the expression of community solidarity and the perpetuation of the movement.

Alkali Lake in 1985

The situation today on the Alkali Lake reserve with regard to drinking indicates the complexity of the processes that led to the reserve achieving sobriety in the 1970s. In contrast with the past, today the use of sanctions such as the substitution of vouchers for S.A. cheques, the loss of Band employment, and even the threat of possible expulsion from the reserve, are proving ineffective long term deterrents to drinking among the youth.

There are a number of differences between the present and past situation that make current efforts to control the youth's drinking more problematic. First, whereas in the early 1970s the target group of the Sobriety movement consisted of the middle-aged reserve residents (as a consequence of the leaders concern for the welfare of the young reserve children), today the target group consists of young adults generally between the ages of 18 and 26. The Band Office requires the aid of the drinkers' parents to make sanctions effective, yet this co-operation is

not always achieved. There now exists conflicting expectations regarding who should be responsible for the control of these drinkers. Leadership by the Band Chief is an additional factor. The Chief today does not enjoy the same status within the community as Chelsea did, and has been criticized for being inconsistent in her application of sanctions. Second, the core of the drinking youth have taken up residence off-reserve, and are beyond the range of any economic sanctions applied by the Band Office. They are also less affected by the intense social pressure within the community. Thus the tactics applied today by the Band Office are less effective in controlling drinking in part due to conflicting social control jurisdictions, inapplicability of economic sanctions, and reduced effectiveness of social pressure.

It should be stressed once more that the success of the Sobriety movement in the 1970s can not be seen simply as the result of pressure exerted by the Band Office. Even more important in accounting for the present ineffectiveness of the control tactics is the motivation of the youth for drinking. Drinking today is both an act of rebellion and a response to boredom. Whereas in the 1970s people sobered up partly in response to not wanting to be "left out", today the youth are drinking precisely because they do want to be left out from the mainstream of Alkali Lake society. Confrontation only marks their success and reinforces their desire to drink.

Drinking among the elderly men, in contrast, is tolerated and not regarded with particular concern. The majority of these men have received Old Age pensions since 1980. These cheques are mailed directly to them. The elderly drinkers are therefore not subject to sanctions in the form of vouchers from the Band Office. One of the elderly drinkers

is employed at the nearby Alkali Lake Ranch, where he has worked steadily for most of his adult life. Again, this man is economically independent from the Band Office. That all five of the elderly male drinkers were previously involved in the Band government, before the 1971 change in the system of election, suggests that immunity to economic sanctions imposed by the Band Office is only one factor in their reluctance to stop drinking. None of the men enjoyed a great deal of respect, or had much authority, during their terms in office. Their continued drinking may well reflect resentment at the later Chief's success (and their failure) in commanding respect and in bringing order to the community.

Thus, the context of drinking at Alkali Lake is very different from that of the 1970s. The conflicting lines of social control, the perceived inconsistency and the inapplicability of the Band Council's use of sanctions, and most of all the motivation of the youth and the elders in drinking, have resulted in its persistence among a small minority at Alkali Lake. The statements being made through drinking, and the social consequences of drinking, are not comparable with the situation at Alkali Lake in the 1970s. This only underlines the importance of the implicit desire for change that seems to have been crucial in the conversion to sobriety in the 1970s.

THE SOBRIETY MOVEMENT AS A SOCIAL MOVEMENT

What evidence is there that the recent events at Alkali Lake do in fact constitute a social movement? For this discussion the definition of McCarthy and Zald (1977), who are major contributors to resource mobilization theory, will be used. According to these authors, a social movement is "a set of opinions and beliefs in a population which represents preferences for changing some elements of the social structure

and/or reward distribution of a society" (ibid.:1217-1218). This, they claim, is an inclusive definition that allows comparison with past approaches to social movements. In short, they view social movements as "nothing more than preference structures directed toward social change (ibid.). In this category may be included movements with millenarian, evangelistic, and withdrawal themes (ibid.:1219).

McCarthy and Zald distinguish a social movement from a social movement organization, and this is important to our analysis of the Alkali Lake situation. A social movement consists of a collective sense of desire for social change, with this desire for change being generally or specifically defined; a social movement organization is "a complex, or formal, organization which identifies its goals with the preferences of a social movement... and attempts to implement those goals" (ibid.).

The analytical separation of the social movement and the social movement organization allows for the possibility that social movements are never fully mobilized; it focusses on the central organizational components of such activity; and it provides a means of accounting for the rise and fall of social movements over time (ibid.).

A third category of analysis is the social movement industry, composed of all social movement organizations directed toward achieving the broadest preferences of the social movement. This recognizes the complexity of many contemporary social movements such as the current Aboriginal Rights movement in Canada. For our purposes we need not consider this category, as only one organizational unit existed at Alkali Lake.

Given this framework, can we consider the recent events at Alkali

Lake as a social movement? It has been shown that at the time of initiation of the sobriety campaign there did exist a general and relatively undefined sense of desire for change at Alkali Lake. When the Chelsea's began their efforts, their most important contribution was to provide a definition of the problem, and a means of its resolution. The preferences for social change became specified: alcohol-related problems of child neglect and abuse, violence, and sexual assault were the primary target. These problems were attacked at the individual level. Their solution was to be achieved by each reserve resident giving up alcohol. The Chelseas, and later the Band Office personnel, became the organizational force mobilizing and directing the community's energy toward achieving these goals.

From an external analytical perspective, the events at Alkali Lake clearly fit this definition of a social movement. Did the residents have a sense of "joining a movement" when they decided to become sober? For most, this was a deeply personal decision, as it involved a commitment to a radically new lifestyle. This, however, was a consequence of the Chelseas' translation of the goal of community improvement into a program for individual action. Although it was a personal decision, it reflected an implicit effort and contribution toward the broader goals of the Sobriety movement.

Most newly-sober individuals did join the local A.A. group. The A.A. group, however, did not constitute the Sobriety movement, but provided one means of support for sobriety. The decision to become sober came first; the decision as to how to perpetuate sobriety was secondary. After 1978 social pressure to stop drinking became intense, even though it was exerted by still a minority of reserve residents. Many drinkers gave up alcohol as a result. Clearly, these people had an acute sense

of "joining" something. They saw their sober family and friends united by close ties of solidarity, manifested not only in the A.A. meetings but in other aspects of daily life, and they wanted to become a part of this new brotherhood. For those joining the Sobriety movement in the later years, it might not have been so much their belief in the goals of the movement as much as a desire not to be "left out" that triggered their decision to stop drinking. This is consistent with the resource mobilizationists' contention that the importance of generalized beliefs in accounting for social movement activity have been overemphasized.

Throughout this process, the organizational unit of this movement was directing the energy of the reserve members. The goals of community improvement continued to be paramount. As more and more were giving up alcohol, the specific focus of the movement as defined by the movement leaders shifted from the negative consequences of drunken behaviour to the need for further personal growth of the sober members. When the leaders believed that something else was required to maintain the movement's momentum and to achieve its broader goals, they encouraged the community residents to enroll in Lifespring training programs. Personal development was seen as the second stage of sobriety. Once sobriety had been attained, one had to learn how to live a productive sober life. Like the A.A. program, Lifespring became the mechanism by which the broader goals of the Sobriety movement were to be achieved.

The distinction between different degrees of participation within the movement further clarifies this question. Not all participants were equally involved in promoting sobriety. Some became actively involved in the A.A. group, in other sobriety-related functions, and in the operation of the Band Office. Yet the personal decision to give up

drinking remained the baseline for membership in the movement.

At Alkali Lake today there is no general term to refer to the recent events in their community. I have referred to these events as the Sobriety movement simply for ease of discussion, "sobriety" being the most suitable label given the circumstances (see Introduction). Whether these events are given such a label or whether they remain unnamed, it is clear that they do fit into the category of social movement as defined from the resource mobilization perspective.

LIMITATIONS OF THE RESOURCE MOBILIZATION PERSPECTIVE

The resource mobilization perspective represents a methodology rather than a theory of social movements, since it can not predict or explain, other than in a post-hoc manner, the various aspects of social movement activity. This automatically limits the usefulness of this approach. The emphasis on political and economic bases of social movements, the manipulation of resources, and the rationality of behaviour, plus the lack of attention to social-psychological dynamics, values, and cultural beliefs, again result in limitation of the general picture of social movement activity.

How have these factors affected our understanding of the Sobriety movement? Undoubtedly political and economic resources were crucial to the movement's success, especially in the period of movement initiation. The assumption of the rationality of collective behaviour, and the model of selective incentives used to account for individual recruitment, however, are inadequate to account for the overwhelming response of the community after 1976. These concepts have been criticized theoretically in Chapter Two. In applying them to the Sobriety movement we have found that there are methodological problems that arise as well. When

questioned about their motivation to stop drinking, it was found that most informants gave a variety of reasons for their decision, instead of providing one neat, concise, "rational" explanation. Some informants gave different reasons when asked on different occasions, others offered post-hoc explanations shaped by their subsequent experience in the A.A. program, and still others simply stated that they did not know why they sobered up. Thus the selective incentives model is methodologically inappropriate. Furthermore, the model would be inapplicable to the Sobriety movement, as it was developed to account for the free-rider problem; namely, what is to motivate an individual to join a movement when he may, without joining, already enjoy the benefits that the movement supplies to the general population. In the case of the Sobriety movement, however, the benefits produced by the movement were not available to non-members.

The question of why the mobilization of the Alkali Lake people was so rapid can not be explained within the resource mobilization perspective. As mentioned in Chapter Two, Oberschall (1974) has related the relative ease of mobilization to the pre-existence of solidary ties amongst the target group. This idea is useful mainly in comparative studies of social movement activity. It also leads to the notion that the desire to maintain social ties plays an important factor in the decision of such individuals to join a social movement (Fireman and Gamson 1979). We have seen that in the late 1970s drinkers found themselves on the outside with regard to the new community at Alkali Lake, and that the desire to be incorporated into this new group was a very strong motivation for the decision to stop drinking. Whether this was due to a desire to maintain social ties, or to create new ones, requires further study. Such a study must recognize the fact that

within Alkali Lake society there existed several dimensions of association, such as the household group, the larger bilateral extended family, the interest groups such as the Hockey and Rodeo clubs, the drinking groups composed of age-mates, and finally the community itself, defined perhaps by residence in the village, by kinship ties, or by other criteria yet to be determined. I strongly suspect that the rapid mobilization of the Alkali Lake people was based on a strong pre-existing sense of community within the village. For this idea to be advanced seriously a study is needed of the way in which these various - and conflicting - lines of association interacted to shape the community's activation. This study would involve an examination of the social-psychological aspects of collective action. Again, such a study can not be assisted by the resource mobilization perspective, as it downplays the importance of such factors.

The A.A. program proved to have tremendous appeal to the Alkali Lake people. Its success in dealing with Native Indian alcoholism elsewhere has generally been poor (Jilek 1972). The resource mobilization perspective can not account for this favourable response by the community. Instead, we might approach the A.A. program's success at Alkali Lake from the perspective of "dissatisfaction" theory. Presuming that excessive drinking is a response to social and cultural breakdown, or more precisely to socio-cultural deprivation (Dozier 1966), we might explore the specific roots of this deprivation at Alkali Lake and the way in which the A.A. philosophy posited solutions to these particular problems. The degree to which the values and beliefs expressed in the A.A. philosophy were congruent with traditional Shuswap beliefs and values also would be of great importance to an understanding of the program's success at Alkali Lake.

The focus of this thesis has been on the dynamics of the Sobriety movement, with alcoholism and drinking not being central categories of analysis. There certainly is room for further study of the Alkali Lake Sobriety movement from a perspective of the cause and function of excessive drinking and the relative effectiveness of programs of alcoholism therapy, especially considering that Alkali Lake is such a rare example of a Native Indian community successfully dealing with the problem of alcohol abuse. A comparative study of Native Indian drinking, and methods of the control of drinking and treatment of alcoholism, would necessarily be involved. A sketch of this literature and the questions that it raises regarding the Alkali Lake Sobriety movement will now be presented.

NATIVE INDIAN DRINKING AND ALCOHOLISM

With the exception of some Indian groups in the American Southwest, alcohol use among North American Natives was unknown until European contact. Alcohol was first introduced as a trade commodity, and its use among Indians rapidly grew. Excessive alcohol use, and the violent, destructive behaviour frequently associated, has been seen generally as symptomatic of a larger problem: the destruction of the Native Indian way of life due to the imposition of a foreign, dominant culture.

Many theories of Native Indian drinking emphasize its negative, compensatory functions. It has been argued that Native Indian alcohol use is a response to socio-cultural deprivation and reflects an effort to escape from feelings of cultural and personal inferiority: "Alcohol... temporarily gives a sense of superiority and confidence, while dulling the senses so that the unpleasantness of life may be forgotten" (Dozier 1966: 74-75). Similarly, Graves (1970) has claimed that the main

structural pressure for drinking among urban Indians lies in the Indians' marginal position in the economy of the dominant society: "When goals are strongly held for which society provides inadequate means of attainment...the resulting means-goals 'disjunction' produces pressures for engaging in alternative, often non-approved adaptations, of which excessive drinking is one common form" (1970:42). Lemert (1958) has approached Indian drinking from a cultural-psychological perspective. Individual aggressiveness and competitiveness were basic components of Coast Salish Indian personality, and in traditional culture these components were channelled into warfare and potlatch activities. He argues that with the decline of these activities after European contact, drinking arose as an alternate - and culturally tolerable - forum for the expression of aggression. Thus these Indians did not become aggressive because they drank, rather they drank so they could express aggression (also Levy and Kunitz 1974).

Cross-cultural studies of drinking have had a similar negative focus. Horton (1943) argued that alcohol use functions universally as an anxiety-reducing mechanism, with anxiety, and drinking, most significantly correlated with acculturation pressure and insecure food supply (i.e. hunting-gathering economy). Field (1962) found social organization a more significant variable in drinking than level of anxiety. Relative sobriety was correlated with well-defined, formally-structured societies with a village-oriented rather than a nomadic lifestyle. The highly structured nature of social life thus served to control the behaviour exhibited at communal drinking parties. Bacon et al. (1965) asserted that drinking reflects an effort to reduce mankind's inherent psychological state of dependency-conflict in adulthood, and

correlated the acuteness of this conflict with certain child rearing techniques.

Other studies have attempted to analyze Indian drinking in terms of its relationship to culture and values (Lemert 1958; MacAndrew and Edgerton 1969; Levy and Kunitz 1974). Such studies show that Indian drinking is not always a reflection of cultural breakdown, but may also function to perpetuate traditional cultural values and social institutions. Here it is the pattern of drinking, the meaning and value placed on drinking, and the social consequences of drinking that are central to the analysis. Cross-cultural approaches and breakdown theories of drinking in general have tended to ignore these factors.

For example, Lemert (1958) has argued that the drinking party or "whiskey feast" evident among three Coast Salish Indian groups served as a functional equivalent of the potlatch. After the potlatch had been suppressed by White legislation, the whiskey feast emerged as a new forum in which individual status and prestige could be achieved, with the host reaffirming his position by the generous distribution of large quantities of alcohol. Cultural traditions were also perpetuated in the context of the whiskey feast, which became an occasion for the telling of old stories and myths and the singing of drinking songs.

The argument against breakdown theories of Indian drinking has been stated even more clearly by Levy and Kunitz (1974), who maintain that

In the case of Indian drinking... much of the behaviour is learned; that is, cultural, and this, in turn, is largely determined by the ecological adaptation of the tribe in question. We maintain that drinking behaviour is mainly a reflection of traditional forms of social organization and cultural values instead of a reflection of social disorganization (1974:24).

Using comparative data on Hopi, Navaho, and White Mountain Apache drinking patterns, they concluded that the Navaho pattern of boisterous public drinking is related to the relative looseness of traditional Navaho social organization, somewhat reminiscent of Field's conclusions. Navaho, in contrast to Hopi, have a cultural predisposition to such patterns of drinking:

Hunting-gathering societies depend for their survival on individual prowess, competitiveness, and aggressiveness. Social controls of individual aggressiveness and self-assertion are relatively weak... to the extent that insobriety facilitates aggression and promotes feelings of personal strength and omnipotence, we would expect such peoples to be fond of drinking because the experience would strengthen the image of the self rather than weaken it (ibid.:181).

It was suggested also that alcohol use may serve as the modern correlate of the vision quest process. The mind-altered state produced by alcohol was a familiar and positively valued experience, and may indeed function as means through which individual power can be gained.

Finally, they found that boisterous public drinking was most prevalent among those Navaho leading a traditional lifestyle, and least prevalent among Navaho living in towns and participating in wage-labour economy. They argue that these findings do not result from traditionalists being more deprived, or more in need of anxiety-reducing mechanisms. Instead, the findings reflect efforts to adapt to the values and behaviour norms of the socio-cultural environment. Drinking had earlier been incorporated into Navaho culture as a high-status activity, and drinking among traditionalists reflects a continuity of these traditional values. In contrast, urban Navaho had adopted White drinking patterns in an effort to adjust to the Anglo-urban lifestyle.

A third perspective on Indian drinking comes from the medical field. It is recognized today that alcoholism is not simply a medical disorder, but also involves social and psychological factors. Alcoholism is identified where the regular use of excessive quantities of alcohol causes damage to an individual's normal functioning within society (thus damage could be in terms of physical health, family relationships, employment, etc.) (Pinkerton and Anderson 1986). Thus alcoholism is defined variously in different cultures (see Jellinek 1962). Within the medical field, however, the focus is specifically on the physiological and genetic correlates of alcoholism.

It has been suggested that excessive drinking among Native Indians is related to genetic differences that exist between Mongoloid and Occidental populations regarding alcohol metabolism (Wolff 1972). Individuals of Mongoloid ancestry may produce atypical forms of alcohol dehydrogenase and aldehydase, enzymes crucial to the body's metabolism of alcohol. Consequently, acetaldehyde may build up in the body more rapidly than normal to produce symptoms of headache, nausea, and general discomfort. Today, this argument to account for susceptibility to alcoholism has been discounted. Not only would such side effects of drinking logically seem to discourage alcohol use, but the incidence of alcoholism within societies bearing this enzymatic peculiarity ranges from very low (for example, the Chinese) to very high (Native North Americans) (Pinkerton and Anderson 1986).

Addiction to alcohol has been used to account for the excessive drinking among alcoholics; however, the addiction factor is less useful in accounting for binge drinking, a very common pattern of drinking among Indians. Very heavy drinking may proceed over several days, during which vast quantities of alcohol are consumed. Participants drink until

they black out, only to resume drinking when they regain consciousness. This cycle usually continues until the alcohol supply is exhausted. The binge may then be followed by several weeks or even months of sobriety. Binge drinking is typical in isolated Indian communities where alcohol is not readily available. Here drinking binges usually are associated with trips to town and with the receipt of monthly social assistance cheques. This sporadic pattern of drinking tends to negate the usefulness of the addiction factor as an explanation of this form of Indian drinking.

For many years it had been thought that alcohol acted physiologically to reduce inhibitions and to promote aggression, and that the often violent and destructive behaviour of inebriated persons was simply a manifestation of alcohol's toxicity. It is undeniable that alcohol consumption results in some physiological changes, namely an impairment of the individual's sensorimotor capabilities. Yet it has been decisively argued by MacAndrew and Edgerton (1969) that consumption of alcohol does not in itself cause behavioural changes, such as a "loss of inhibition" or a "suppression of moral conscience".

These authors draw from ethnographic and historical accounts of Native Indian society and culture to support this claim. They show that there existed a number of Native North American societies in which excessive alcohol consumption did not result in uninhibited or anti-social behaviour, that alcohol has not consistently produced uninhibited or anti-social behaviour within Native Indian societies when viewed from a historical perspective, and that there have been occasions where highly intoxicated persons have recognized limits to their drunken behaviour, for example by directing violent acts only at specific individuals or by

suddenly sobering up during a crisis. Instead, they conclude, drunken comportment is learned behaviour. It is shaped both by cultural expectations of how one should act when drunk, and by social controls that limit the behaviour that one can "get away with" while drunk.

THE CONTROL OF DRINKING

Whatever the reasons are for drinking among Native Indians, its control and treatment have proven difficult. As mentioned in Chapter Six, the imposition of laws in the 1800s restricting the Indian's access to liquor and punishing his drunkenness had little effect. Methods of control emerging from within Indian societies had more success. The system of village control adopted by the Alkali Lake Shuswap through contact with the Catholic missionaries is one historic example.

Today many Native Indians are gaining sobriety through participation in religious groups and cultural activities. In the Yukon Territory evangelical Christian movements have achieved dramatic success in rehabilitating heavy drinkers among the Indian population (Cruikshank, pers. comm.). Among Coast Salish Indians there has been a renewed interest in the winter spirit dancing, which, Jilek (1982) argues, has served as a means of alcoholism therapy by reintegrating "anomic" Indians into society. As well, during the spirit dance the individual may release pent up feelings of anger and aggression by shouting to the crowd and generally acting wild - signs of spirit possession - thus permitting emotional catharsis in a more positive manner than through excessive alcohol use. Elsewhere, involvement in the Peyote Religion has helped other Indians to give up drinking (Aberle 1982). Still others have gained sobriety through participation in Pan-Indian cultural activities such as Pow-wow dancing. Alcohol is not permitted at most

Pow-wows, and it is an explicit belief that Indian culture and alcohol do not mix. These observations lead one to conclude that the integrating function of these religious and cultural activities is fundamentally important in their therapeutic effectiveness.

To my knowledge, nowhere has the A.A. program achieved such success in dealing with Indian drinking as at Alkali Lake. In her 1972 study Jilek-Aall concluded that A.A. was only rarely utilized by North American Indians. The reasons for this included the Indians' dislike of confessional speeches, their reluctance to admit personal weakness, and their unwillingness to participate in "White" programs. Mixed Indian and White A.A. groups in the Fraser Valley were not successful in dealing with Indian alcoholism, as racial tension and hostility within the group prevented open communication and consequently inhibited the development of group solidarity, which is the essential ingredient of A.A. therapy.

As previously mentioned, the developing A.A. group at Alkali Lake was able to avoid such problems. The White sponsors demonstrated their willingness to help by travelling out to the reserve to attend A.A. meetings. The Indians were in familiar territory, and this reduced their potential for intimidation within the group. The Drug and Alcohol counsellor from Williams Lake was acutely aware of the importance of Indian leadership of the A.A. group. He encouraged local leadership and stepped out from the group when he believed the time appropriate. Finally, it should be noted that public confessions were at one time widely practiced among the Shuswap and other Plateau cultures, in the context of prophet dancing (to be discussed later). In traditional Shuswap culture oratory skill was highly valued, and individuals possessing such skill were regarded with considerable respect. This

value continues today, with individuals demonstrating their public-speaking abilities within the A.A. groups. This may partially account for the Alkali Lake Shuswap's general receptivity to new ideas, given that they are presented by an eloquent speaker.

It has been only within the last ten years that alcoholism treatment facilities specifically for Native Indian clients have developed in B.C.. The Round Lake Treatment Center in Vernon offers a six-week residential treatment program for individual Native Indians. The program emphasizes wholistic treatment. The treatment program is based on one to one and group counselling sessions, and therapy consists of raising the person's self-esteem, encouraging the open and honest expression of thoughts and emotions, and developing alternate means of coping with life's problems that before had led to alcohol use. The Pan-Indian rituals of sweetgrass/sage ceremonies and sweatbathing have been incorporated as a basic component of treatment, with emphasis on developing pride in one's Native heritage being a dominant theme throughout the treatment process.

In contrast to the Round Lake program, the Kakawis Family Development Center on Meares Island has developed a family-based alcoholism treatment program for Native Indians in accordance with the predominance of family groups within West Coast Indian society (Pinkerton, pers. comm.). The Kakawis program has achieved significant success using this format. The basic elements of alcoholism therapy are similar to the Round Lake program, although the use of confrontational tactics are reduced. It is interesting to note that the Pan Indian themes of sweatbathing and sweetgrass/ sage ceremonies, which have been incorporated with success in the Round Lake Treatment Center, have been given only minimal notice by the Kakawis clients.

The preceding discussion of drinking and alcoholism has raised questions regarding the function of drinking (either negative or positive), the root causes of drinking (perceived in terms of socio-cultural deprivation) and the manner in which various treatment mechanisms have dealt with excessive drinking. Specifically, we might ask: What were the functions of drinking at Alkali Lake prior to the 1970s? Can we make sense of the Sobriety movement as providing a functional equivalent to drinking practices? Was drinking a response to deprivation, and what might the specific sources of this deprivation have been? Did the Sobriety movement posit solutions to these problems? Did the A.A. program provide a means of therapy that was specifically suitable to a Shuswap context? If applied to the Alkali Lake Sobriety movement these questions would further enhance the understanding that we have achieved thus far using the resource mobilization perspective.

A HISTORICAL NOTE ON SHUSWAP MOBILIZATION

Before closing I would like to present one final historical observation. The response of the Alkali Lake residents to the Sobriety program after 1976 was exceedingly rapid. When we look at the history of the Alkali Lake people we see a remarkable repetition of the type of dramatic community mobilization that characterized the Sobriety movement.

This first appears within the context of the prophet dance. Throughout the nineteenth century a number of prophets arose from within the Indian tribes in the northwest of North America. Their emergence induced an outbreak of religious fervour and community ceremonialism. These prophetic movements, the most discrete and well-articulated being the Christianized Prophet Dance (arising in the 1830s), the Smohalla Cult (emerging in 1860), and the 1870 and 1890 Ghost Dance are

considered to be largely influenced by the underlying Prophet Dance complex.

The Prophet Dance complex was present throughout the tribes of the Northwest Interior, "from the Babine and Sekani on the north to the Paviotso of Western Nevada far to the south" (Spier 1935:5). Evidence, including statements by early travellers, testimony by Native informants, and the temporal association of the Prophet Dance and the "dry snowfall" (ash fallout) from a volcanic eruption in 1790, indicates that this complex was present in the Northwest at least as early as 1800 (ibid.).

There were four basic elements to the Prophet Dance complex:

1. Focus on the central figure of dreamer or prophet who has "died", travelled to the land of the dead and returned, thus gaining the ability to communicate with God and the dead through dreams.
2. Reference to unusual or cataclysmic natural events portending the destruction of the world.
3. Prediction that the world's imminent destruction will bring about immediate reunion of the living with the dead and a return of figures from mythic times.
4. Exhortation of people to believe and demonstrate their belief through dancing, to lead a righteous life, and to prepare for the coming apocalypse (Ridington 1978:4).

The Prophet Dance persisted among the Shuswap throughout the nineteenth century (Teit 1909). From time to time a prophet would emerge with a message from the spirit world. Communal dances would then be performed vigorously. These dances were circular in form. All individuals, young and old alike, were urged to participate, as it was through such group demonstrations that the apocalypse would be hastened. Interest in the dancing gradually waned with time, only to be renewed with vigor upon the announcement of a new revelation.

Teit makes specific reference to prophet dancing among the Alkali Lake Shuswap:

The Alkali Lake band had not performed their ceremonial dance for many years, when an aged woman fell into a trance; and the people, thinking she was dead, carried her away some distance, and laid her on the ground, covering her over with some old mats and a pile of fir-brush, in the manner that poor people were buried. Eight days afterwards the people were surprised to hear her singing, and some of them went to investigate. She said to them, "I am not dead. I have been to the land of souls, and the chief has sent me back with a message to the people. Let the people assemble, and I will give it to you". For several days the people flocked there, until a large concourse from all the northern and western bands had assembled. She said to them, "I saw all your dead friends. They are happy and dance, and sing many strange songs"... She continued, "The chief gave me several new songs, such as are sung by the shades, and sent me back to earth to teach them to you, and also to show you the proper way to dance"... Then the people danced in circles... and she stood in the centre and directed them...The dancing was kept up with great energy for several days, and after the people dispersed they continued to dance every few days at their homes for several months. [This prophet] lived many years afterwards, and could fall into a trance and go to the land of souls whenever she desired...Each time she brought a message or a new song from the spirit-land, she assembled the people and held dances (Teit 1909:604-605).

The periodic mobilization of the Indian bands, in the context of the prophet dance, set a backdrop for the introduction of the elaborate pageantry and ritual of the Catholic Church. The same energy that the western Shuswap devoted to prophet dancing was later devoted to the Roman Catholic ceremonies. Certain parallels between the prophet dance and the Roman Catholic ceremonies are evident: first, initiation of a new round of prophet dance fervour with the gathering of bands to hear a newly-emerged prophet, and the initiation of the religious fervour associated with Catholicism and with the gathering of Indian bands from throughout the province to witness the church dedication at Sechelt; second, the return to the home community to spread the new prophet's - or the missionaries' - message for salvation; third, the participation by

the entire community in group ceremonies, circular dancing in the case of the prophet dance, and church dedications and other public ceremonies in the case of the Church's activities.

The reason for this transference of collective energy is less obvious. Spier (1935) has argued that the christianized version of the Prophet Dance that swept through the interior plateau in the 1830s served to "prime" at least some Indians to accept Christianity, or at least to overtly accept the Christian symbols and practices, as later introduced by missionaries. However, although the christianized Prophet Dance caused a renewed religious fervour amongst the majority of the interior tribes, later on not all responded as well to Christian teachings as did the western Shuswap. Furthermore, the western Shuswap had first contact with a Catholic missionary in 1842, and from 1867 on the missionaries made great efforts to convert the Indians. Yet it was not until the 1890s that they achieved any real success, as defined by the overt acceptance of the Durieu social institutions. Clearly, then, factors apart from the Shuswap's pre-existing familiarity with Christian symbols and rituals were involved in their favourable response to the Durieu system.

Lemert relates the success of the Durieu missionaries among the Coast Salish to the compatability of the hierarchical village administration with pre-existing status differentials in Coast Salish society (1957). Western Shuswap social organization, however, was in a state of quite significant flux through the nineteenth century, due to the destabilization of Shuswap society through drastic population decline and encroachment by non-Indians. Although the Durieu chiefs were usually selected from among hereditary chiefs, the culturally-defined

authority of the hereditary chief during this period is unclear, due to the shifting nature of Shuswap society. The argument for the compatability of the Durieu social institutions with Shuswap society can not be made due to the changing nature of their social organization.

The elaborate pageantry and religious festivities resulted in a great amount of collective fervour and an intensification of community among the participants. Lemert (1962) has elsewhere argued that the success of the Durieu system in controlling alcohol use was related to the diversionary effect of the pageants and ceremonies, in that they temporarily served as a functional replacement for collective drinking activities. That they were functional equivalents may be true, but this does not account for why they were accepted as suitable equivalents in the first place.

It is equally likely that the system of village control promoted by the missionaries achieved success not necessarily because of structural compatability, but simply because the system offered one possible solution to the disorder that was confronting the Shuswap. However general and systemic this disorder was, it was epitomized by the growing alcohol problem. By the latter half of the century many of the western Shuswap chiefs had become violently opposed to alcohol use and drunkenness, and willingly worked with the Indian Agent and the missionaries in an attempt to control its use. The combination of a system for social control, especially alcohol control, plus the highly symbolic and elaborate pageantry of the festivities, which provided an opportunity for positive expression of community, served as a redirecting force. Although in the following years the pageantry and the general religious fervour among the western Shuswap died down, the systems of village control remained in place.

The fact that the Shuswap, in contrast to the Chilcotin and Southern Carrier, responded particularly well to the Oblate missionaries indicates that there were deeper cultural factors guiding this response. The Chilcotin have been noted for having a history of cultural conservatism, while the Shuswap, at least the Alkali Lake Shuswap, have had a history of adaptability and receptiveness to new ideas and institutions. These generalizations only restate the problem. The question of what lies at the root of these differences awaits further study.

What we are left with from this historical study is a picture of periodic mobilization of the Shuswap people: first within the context of prophet dancing, second within the context of Catholic missionary activities, and third within the context of the Alkali Lake Sobriety movement. Again, certain parallels can be noted, especially between the prophet dance and the Sobriety movement. Chelsea's transformation from a heavy drinker to a confirmed sober alcoholic symbolically parallels the death and rebirth of the nineteenth century prophets. Furthermore, after this transformation Chelsea brought a message to the community: salvation could be achieved only through the rejection of alcohol. Finally, acceptance of the message was expressed through participation in the A.A. meetings, which became imbued with great significance and infused with much "collective effervescence", as was the collective dancing of the previous century. The similarity between the prophet dance and the Sobriety movement is particularly evident in what one Alkali Lake individual referred to as the round dance, the closing ritual of the A.A. meeting where participants stand to join hands in a circle and recite the Serenity Prayer.

It may be argued that the prophet dance, the Shuswap's reaction to the Catholic missionaries, and the Sobriety movement were all responses to social disorganization and cultural breakdown (see Aberle 1959; Spier et al. 1959 for a discussion of the origin and function of the prophet dance), and that all reflect efforts at community revitalization. The symbolic parallelism and the historical frequency of such events among the Shuswap indicate that the Alkali Lake Sobriety movement was greatly influenced by the underlying cultural context, and that it may indeed represent an essentially Shuswap solution to the problems of alcohol abuse, social disorganization, and cultural upheaval.

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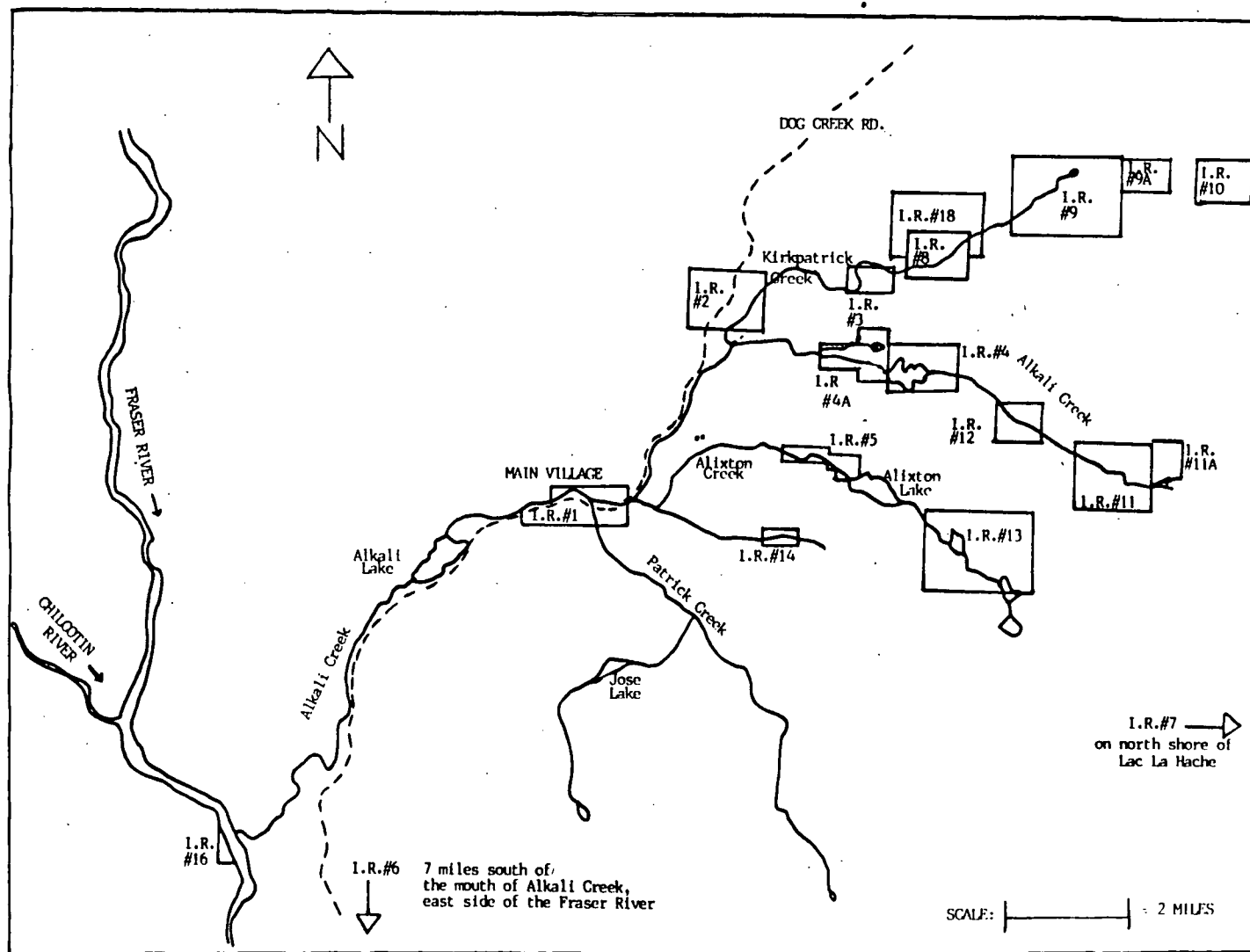
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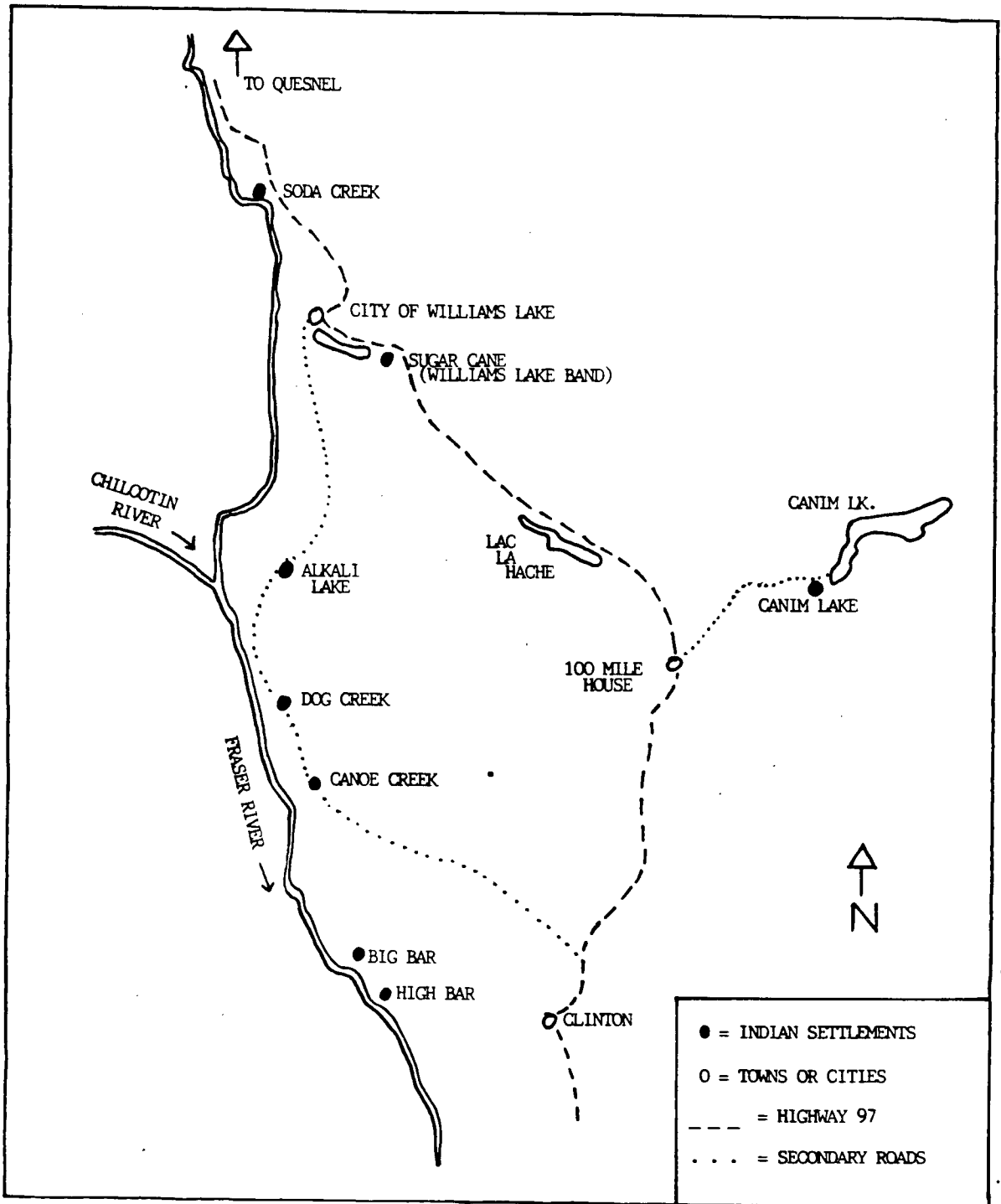
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APPENDIX:

MAPS



Map 1. Reserves of the Alkali Lake Indian Band, 1985.



Map 2. Shuswap Indian Settlements in the Williams Lake Area.