CULTURAL RECONSTRUCTION IN THE SHUSWAP COMMUNITY OF ALKALI LAKE

MARCELLE GAREAU, B.A.

CULTURAL RECONSTRUCTION
IN THE SHUSWAP COMMUNITY
OF ALKALI LAKE

BY

MARCELLE GAREAU, B.A.

A thesis submitted to the School of Graduate Studies in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

Department of Anthropology
Memorial University of Newfoundland

July 1991

St. John's Newfoundland

ABSTRACT

The focus of this thesis is a small Indian reserve located in the Cariboo district of British Columbia, Canada. In recent years Alkali Lake has gained the reputation of having transformed itself from a community that was ravaged by alcoholism to a community that is predominantly sober. After attaining almost complete community sobriety, individuals from Alkali Lake found themselves in the position of having to reconstruct a culture that did not involve the use of alcohol while facing numerous community difficulties stemming from past and present child neglect, violence and sexual abuse. The thesis examines the achievement of community sobriety as a revitalization movement, and focusses on the process of cultural construction and reconstruction.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my thanks to the community of Alkali Lake and especially to Phyllis, Virginia, Thomas, Sharon, Nelson, Louie, Doris, Pre7, William, Tessie, Edna, Kenny and Lily and to the beautiful children of Alkali Lake for whom we envision a new future.

I would like to thank Memorial University's Institute of Social and Economic Research for providing the funding which enabled me to proceed with my field research.

A special thanks is to be extended to my supervisor, Dr. G. Inglis for his guidance and assistance. I would like to thank Dr. R. Andersen, Dr. M. MacLeod, Dr. G. Park, Dr. J. Briggs, Dr. E. Leyton, Dr. B. Neis, Dr. J. Kennedy, Dr. A. Tanner, Dr. T. Thuen, and Karen Allen for the support they have shown me during my years as a graduate student.

I would like to extend my thanks to Stephanie Dalton for assistance in the clerical aspects of graduate studies, the staff in computing services and a special thanks to Marilyn Furlong the secretary of the Anthropology Department.

I would also like to thank my friends, Alice, Coralee, the Davids, Elizabeth, Gerry, Johnny, Linda, Pauline, the Susans and the Elders who have provided me with guidance and support.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The destructive effects of alcohol on American Indian populations has been noted since very early contact period, and various attempts were made throughout the period of European expansion to prevent or limit its use, mostly without success. Alcohol abuse remains a serious problem among Native peoples, and many efforts to ameliorate it have been undertaken by governments, Native organizations and voluntary agencies. Efforts by community leaders to curtail drinking are usually futile, while detoxification programs appear to work in only limited cases, and often for only a limited time. Long term sobriety appears to be a goal that is rarely achieved. On the other hand, there have been occasions among American Indian populations where sobriety has not only been achieved but maintained for many years.

In 1987 I became aware of a Native community located in the Cariboo district of British Columbia that was receiving a great deal of attention among Native people and in popular publications, such as People (January 1987) and Chatelaine (September 1987), for having undergone a radical transformation from alcoholism to sobriety. Until recently Alkali Lake had a very high incidence of alcoholism, family violence and child neglect. By 1985 Alkali Lake was claiming that ninety-eight percent of its community members

were sober. Professor R. Dale Walker of Washington University was quoted in People magazine as having described the revitalization of Alkali Lake as "one of the most important movements in the Indian community in the last twenty or thirty years" (Green 1987:84).

How did Alkali Lake undergo the transformation from a community ravaged by the effects of alcoholism to being almost alcohol-free? According to the popular press accounts Phyllis Chelsea, a resident of the reserve who used to be a heavy drinker, began the route to recovery in 1972. One day after she and her husband, Andy Chelsea, had been on a drinking binge, her daughter refused to go home with them unless they both stopped drinking. This was the turning point for Phyllis. Determined to keep her family intact she gave up drinking and her husband soon followed suit (Zwarun 1987:88).

Phyllis and Andy's children are now adults, but the Chelseas continue to maintain the sobriety they achieved in 1972. The intervening years were not always easy ones for Phyllis and Andy, who at first were the only sober adults in Alkali Lake. Initially they were ostracized, laughed at and even threatened with physical violence by the rest of the community who continued to drink. Their only companion was Ed Lynch, an Oblate Brother who with the Chelseas formed an Alcoholics Anonymous group within the community (Zwarun 1987:88).

By 1974 Andy Chelsea, who had been elected as Band Chief in 1972, began to use his power as the elected Chief to put a stop to the liquor traffic. Incoming trucks selling liquor were told to leave and not return. With the help of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police the community was able to put a stop to the bootleggers, including Andy's and Phyllis's mothers. The community's White priest and store-keeper were also asked to leave Alkali Lake, since both had drinking problems. As the community went 'dry' the Chelseas were even more intensely harassed by those who still drank and had lost some of their sources of supply of alcohol. Phyllis was ostracized by her family and Andy was threatened by drunk community members carrying shotguns. In spite of this, neither Phyllis nor Andy faltered in their efforts to achieve a sober community. By 1987 Alkali Lake claimed that ninety-eight percent of their community was sober (Zwarun 1987:88).

A great deal of publicity for the community's achievement came about in 1984 when Alkali Lake became involved with the Four Worlds Development Project, which decided to use the community's success in maintaining almost total sobriety as a role model for other Native communities. The Four Worlds Development Project, operating out of the Education Faculty of Lethbridge University in Lethbridge, Alberta, produced a two-part video documentary entitled "The Honour of All: The Alkali Lake Story". This docu-drama

dramatized the struggles and eventual success of Alkali Lake in overcoming their drinking problem. Although romanticized, the video was inspirational and evoked admiration for a people that had succeeded in freeing themselves from alcoholism. It was widely distributed among Native groups, and was quickly adopted as a Native role model in alcohol rehabilitation across Canada and the United States. Members of the Alkali Lake Band began to travel to other Native communities in order to give presentations about the dynamics of alcoholism and how they had personally attained sobriety (Green 1987:84). By 1985 the Alkali Lake Band, in conjunction with the Four Worlds Development Project, developed a five-year plan to make Alkali Lake a national training centre, and hosted their first conference which was attended by 1,200 Native people.

Alkali Lake's sobriety was extremely significant in view of the severe alcohol problems that can be observed within many American Indian communities. Yet there were few indications in the published reports of what had brought about the transformation of this community and not others. In the Chelseas's case, love for their children was apparently a motivating factor. Yet in other American Indian communities it is often not enough: in A Poison Stronger Than Love, a study of an Ontario Ojibwa community, Anastasia Shkilnyk quotes an alcoholic parent as saying, "The only thing I know about alcohol is that alcohol is a

stronger power than the love of children. It's a poison, and we are a broken people" (Shkilnyk 1984:48). Given the serious problem of alcohol abuse among so many Native communities I felt that should these reports of a revitalization at Alkali Lake prove accurate it could possibly provide a model that could be used in applied work in other communities that face a similar problem.

In order to obtain permission from Alkali Lake to document the sequence of events that led to the sobriety movement I initially contacted Phyllis Chelsea by letter and then by telephone on January 24, 1988. Mrs. Chelsea was receptive to the idea and proposed that arrangements could be made for me to stay in Alkali Lake for an extended period of time. As we discussed some of the aspects of the community's sobriety Mrs. Chelsea proposed that "Sobering up is just the beginning" and outlined how most of most of the community, except for approximately ten people, had participated in Alkali Lake's self-growth program, New Directions. She stated that this five day training was an important component of the community's social growth and that it would be a good idea for me to participate in New Directions, during my stay.

Having obtained permission to stay in Alkali Lake I then proceeded to apply for funding from various sources and ultimately received it from Memorial University's Institute of Social and Economic Research. During this same period I

also received funding from the graduate student's union to travel to Toronto, Ontario, to attend the Second National Conference of Canadian Adult Children of Alcoholics (CACOA). I had determined that it would be of use to attend this conference since Phyllis Chelsea was one of the guest speakers and this would provide me with the opportunity to meet with her in person.

'The Journey Is My Home' Conference, which began on May 12, 1988, was attended by approximately 250 people who were mostly professional counsellors and social workers from all over Canada. Mrs. Chelsea was scheduled to speak about Alkali Lake's transformation from a high level of alcoholism to sobriety. When I initially saw Phyllis, on the first morning of the conference, I was able to immediately recognized her from the video,"The Honour of All". I proceeded to introduced myself and she remembered me from our telephone conversation. As we began to chat she told me in a quiet voice that she was very tired since she had been unable to sleep on the overnight flight from British Columbia. She also told me she was feeling very nervous about speaking in front of such a large group of people. Letting out a nervous giggle she pointed out to me that she had brought the video cassette of "The Honour of All" and said she was glad that it would run for an hour since that would give her the time to calm herself before speaking.

Once in the conference hall there was a short introduction given about Alkali Lake and the role Phyllis had played before "The Honour of All" was viewed by the audience. The end of the video met with a thunderous amount of applause and when Phyllis went up to the podium it resumed. The audience was clearly impressed with Alkali Lake's story of success and Phyllis's role in the sobriety movement. When the applause ceased, Phyllis, looking very small behind the huge podium, began to speak in a low and quiet voice about Alkali Lake. She did not elaborate upon the sobriety of Alkali Lake or her role in the community's achievement but instead focussed upon the problems the community was now encountering in dealing with the community's youth and the issues surrounding sexual abuse.

After her short, but moving presentation about her present concerns in regards to Alkali Lake, there was once again a great round of applause and then the audience slowly filtered out of the conference room. Many individuals in the audience, on their way out, stopped to offer Phyllis congratulations and praise for her own and the community's achievement. By the time the room emptied there were only a few women left, all Native, and as a group we proceeded to go have lunch. During lunch I once again discussed my plans to live in Alkali Lake for an extended period of time with Phyllis Chelsea. Mrs. Chelsea confirmed my plans and told me with a small laugh that her husband Andy, the Chief of

Alkali Lake, had found it unusual that I had been so nervous when I had initially requested for permission to be allowed to live in Alkali Lake in order to document their process of recovery from alcoholism. She further elaborated that since "The Honour of All" had been released many individuals had come to Alkali Lake and that visitors were commonplace, since community members wished to share their story of recovery in order to help other communities with similar problems.

After the conference I returned to Memorial University to present my fieldwork proposal to go to Alkali Lake. After it was accepted by the Anthropology Department's faculty, I then proceeded to head out to British Columbia and Alkali Lake. Once I arrived in Alkali Lake I became aware through various conversations that some individuals thought that the sobriety movement of Alkali Lake had been recently documented. After I had been there for approximately two months I was able to locate the Master's thesis which had been written by Elizabeth Furniss (1987), for the Anthropology Department at the University of British Columbia. In view of this development I changed the focus of my fieldwork and began to concentrate on some of the problems that Phyllis had outlined to me in our various conversations: the concerns the community was experiencing in regards to dealing with the issues surrounding sexual abuse, some of the community's youth who continued to drink

and social development for those who were sober. (For a discussion of my personal circumstances in relation to fieldwork, see Appendix A.)

In 1990 Geoffrey York noted in The Dispossessed that some of the people in Alkali Lake were having difficulty with the choice they had made in staying sober. In his chapter on Alkali Lake, York outlined that some of the youth were still drinking and in need of treatment and quoted a drug and alcohol counsellor from the community as follows:

> Even the sober adults are sometimes described as "dry drunks" ...It means you're sober but you still act like you're drunk. The biggest problem is that some people aren't doing anything with their sobriety. They think that's enough. But the old ideas are still there. Some say they feel like going back to drinking again (1990:186).

York further noted that although Alkali Lake had become "...the inspiration for hundreds of other Indian communities...the shadows of the past are never far away. This is a village where the laughter of a child is soon followed by the tears of a man or a woman. In the evening, at counselling sessions and support groups, they cry openly as memories of the past come flooding back" (1990:176). In an attempt to document some of the difficulties encountered by the people of Alkali Lake in maintaining a sober community and their desire to go beyond being sober, I have concentrated upon these "shadows of the past" (York

1990:176) and have tried to understand how the people of Alkali Lake are dealing with them.

Throughout this thesis I have not used the real names of individuals who provided me with information, except in the case of well-known community leaders and spokespersons. No purpose, however, would have been served by attempting to disguise the community: the sufferings and the courageous struggle of the people of Alkali Lake have already been the subject of numerous reports in newspapers, popular magazines and on television.

CHAPTER TWO

HISTORICAL PERCEPTIONS AND THE REVITALIZATION OF ALKALI LAKE

Prior to the 1980's little attention had been focused on Alkali Lake. Previous ethnographies consisted of The Shuswap, by James Teit (1909), and Catherine Judith Brow's (1967) Master's thesis, A Socio-Cultural History of the Alkali Lake Shuswap, 1882-1966], written for the University of Washington. In recent years however, Alkali Lake has become the focus of popular media, academic circles, and other Native groups.

In 1985 Elizabeth Furniss, an anthropology student from the University of British Columbia, spent three months at Alkali Lake and produced a Master's thesis entitled A Sobriety Movement Among The Shuswap Indians of Alkali Lake (1987). In 1986, Francis Johnson, a resident of Alkali Lake, presented a Master's thesis for the Department of Education at the University of British Columbia. In K'ulentum Re Sumec-kt E Sle7s: (We Made our Lives Good) (1986), Johnson concentrates on the transformation of Alkali Lake from a drinking community to a sober one, with an emphasis upon community development and more specifically upon the development of the Band school. My own five-month stay in 1988 also coincided with the linguistic research of Andie Palmer, a PhD student from the University of

Washington. In 1990, Geoffrey York included a chapter entitled 'Alkali Lake: Resisting Alcohol' in his book on contemporary Native problems, The Dispossessed.

James Teit's The Shuswap (1909), is the seventh in the series of ethnographic studies from the Jesup North Pacific Expedition. Teit does not "fix" the Shuswap people into time with a specific set of characteristics, but presents them as a population group that is continually changing. He notes that the north-western Shuswap's social organization is very similar to the Chilcotin and Carrier, while the remaining Southern Bands have retained the social organization that was characteristic of the Thompson. Teit suggests that there is a strong possibility that without European contact the entire Shuswap population would have taken on north-western characteristics, since he encountered not only two separate social organizations but also individual groups, such as High Bar and Dog Creek, that were in transition from the southern system of social organization to the north-western one (1909:569). In presenting the transitional and changing aspects of the Shuswap culture Teit demonstrates the adaptability of the Shuswap people. With the influx of White population and settlement the Shuswap found themselves having to adapt to an entirely new way of life that involved alcohol, missionaries, and diseases such as small-pox, which killed off entire villages (Teit 1909:463). Teit notes that the

Shuswap were less conservative than their Thompson neighbours, and rapidly gave up many of their traditional practices such as shamanism and accepted the teachings of the missionaries (1909:469,470). This flexibility and adaptation of the Shuswap of Alkali Lake can also be noted in Catherine Brow's field study of 1967.

In A Socio-Cultural History of the Alkali Lake Shuswap, 1882-1966 (1967), Catherine Brow describes numerous changes that the people of Alkali Lake have undergone in the face of White settlement. Brow notes that until the later part of the 18th century Shuswap contact with the White population had been limited to a few explorers, such as MacKenzie and Fraser, followed by the creation of a few trading posts by the Hudson's Bay Company. However, in 1857, gold was discovered in the Cariboo region which led to a large influx of White prospectors. Although the gold rush was short-lived many of those who had initially came into the region because of the gold decided to settle and remain in the area and found employment in logging, sawmilling and cattle ranching (Brow 1967:51).

During this period the Williams Lake District did not have a local Indian agent to look after Indian interests and available Crown Land was readily purchased by the new White settlers, leaving the local Indians with no access to land. Brow proposes that during this period the Shuswap population not only suffered from the loss of their traditional lands

but also from their traditional modes of subsistence which was not replaced by wage employment (Brow 1967:52). This resulted in a high level of economic difficulty characterized by alcoholism and cultural disruption (Brow 1967:54).

These difficulties experienced by the Shuswap appear to have continued until 1884 when a newly appointed Indian Affairs Branch agent was provided for the Williams Lake area and 590 acres of land was purchased as reserve lands for the Alkali Lake Band. However, by this time the only land left available in this semi-arid area was poor and virtually non-productive without access to water rights for irrigation (Brow 1967:54,55). By 1913 the Alkali Lake Band's reserve lands had increased to 8447.5 acres, however most of it was still non-productive with the exception of small areas that produced swamp hay. This lack of productive land and access to irrigation did not allow the Alkali Lake Band to diverse into cattle or horse ranching, as some of the neighbouring White population did (Brow 1967:56). In spite of their hardships Brow notes that between 1900 and 1930 the Shuswap were considered to be "industrious, law-abiding and progressive" and "many of the Shuswap were attempting to farm at this time, and were supplementing their income through trapping and freighting" (Brow 1967:61). At this point in time it was noted by the Indian Affairs Branch

reports that alcoholism was not an evident problem (Brow 1967:61).

Brow notes that after 1900 the Indian Affairs Branch reports cease to provide information regarding specific bands but concentrate on overall information concerning the Williams Lake District. Therefore, the reports were a summarized overview of several Indian bands, including the Shuswap, Chilcotin and Carrier Indians. Although these reports give a generalized overview of the Williams Lake District they do not focus upon any specific band. Thus it is difficult to determine the level of economic activity or lack of it within each individual band (Brow 1967:62).

Throughout the period of 1900 to 1915 Brow notes that the income in earned wages, hunting and trapping from the Williams Lake District Indians was decreasing, however in the following years income from these sources increased and Brow proposes that it is possible that this occurred because of the economic boom during the war years. Brow suggests that the subsequent steady drop in income from hunting and trapping after 1920 was due to the depletion of region's game animals. On the other hand, wage income for the entire district was noted to have increased until the depression years between 1930 to 1935. This period was characterized by a decrease in all of the three previous sources of income including labour, hunting and trapping. On the other hand, income from farming increased during this period. Brow

cautions however, that since the Indian Affairs Bureau reported only the overall economics of the Williams Lake Agency this increase in farming income may not have occurred in Alkali Lake since most of their land was not suitable for farming or ranching (Brow 1967:64,65).

In the years prior to Brow's study the Alkali Lake Band began to be adversely affected by an increase in modernization. The pack freight industry was replaced by railway and road traffic, while the mechanized farming equipment and modern agricultural methods of the White ranchers reduced the value of Indian farm products such as swamp hay (Brow 1967:65,66). Brow's description of Alkali Lake in the 1960's is that of a community undergoing cultural breakdown reflected in its high incidence of alcohol use and physical violence. This description is confirmed by Francis Johnson's thesis (1986), which is based upon his own story of growing up in the community.

In K'ulentum Re Sumec-kt E Sle7s: (We Made Our Lives Good) Johnson examines the progressive change from alcoholism to sobriety within his community. In his thesis he initially outlines both the individual and community problem; in the second section he describes how both individuals and the community overcame their problem with alcoholism; and in the third he concentrates upon the community's economic successes after attaining sobriety. In the final section Johnson presents a "Four Cycles Model"

(1986:51) which outlines a link between Native people and alcoholism.

Burridge notes that revitalization movements occur when a population group begins to be dissatisfied with their present way of life and envisions change (1987:369), and Anthony F.C. Wallace (1956:267) proposes that throughout the course of history there have been many revitalization movements. Some, such as Christianity, have had an enormous impact, while others have lasted for only a day or two and are quickly forgotten. Wallace describes revitalization as a " ...deliberate, organized, conscious effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture" (1956:265), and suggests that revitalization movements have been noted to enable cultures to undergo rapid change through community effort rather than the usual gradual adaptation through time and diffusion (1956:265).
Wallace notes that when dominated population groups are faced with rapid cultural change these groups often find themselves unable to cope with the influx of new ways and the resulting stress. Wallace proposes that people require adaptive strategies to help them minimize stress encountered in day to day life, and he introduces his concept of "mazeway" (1956:266):

> It is therefore functionally necessary for every person in society to maintain a mental image of the society and its culture, as well as of his own body and its behavioral regularities, in order to act in ways which

> reduce stress at all levels of the system (1956:266).

When a person's mazeway ceases to be effective in reducing stress the individual must either decide to change the mazeway or put up with the increased stress (Wallace 1956:267). Wallace (1956:267) proposes that upon alteration of a mazeway, if the individual realizes that the social structure is also in need of change this can be the beginning point of a revitalization movement.

Yinger (1970:316) notes that revitalization movements not only help people adapt their mazeways to present conditions but also enable them to achieve a higher personal status (1970:316). For minority groups who experience revitalization, cultural renewal and status improvement are closely intertwined. Population groups who face discrimination by an oppressive society find themselves placed in the position of having to conform to the dominating society's standards of work, education and culture: in other words, to assimilate with the 'enemy' (Yinger 1970:316). A revitalization movement can help the oppressed group adapt "by describing them [goals] in terms of sectarian values, not as the standards of an oppressive society" (Yinger 1970:316). Such a movement can also unite previously divided factions within a population group by concentrating on common cultural aspects (Yinger 1970:316).

Wallace stresses that cultural distortion begins when the level of accumulated stress reaches intense levels.

People in these circumstances respond to crises in different ways. Some will attempt to cope by incorporating small variations to their mazeway while others will adapt by using psychodynamically regressive methods. The later strategy usually involves behaviour such as dependency relationships, intragroup violence and alcoholism. With persistent use these regressive actions can eventually become a new culture thus causing further stress. Eventually these self-destructive coping methods can lead to apathy and the eventual extinction of the population (Wallace 1956:269,270).

Wallace suggests that when individuals perceive their identity to be unsatisfactory they may turn to religion and salvation. Individual salvation, however, ceases to be a solution when a greater proportion of the individual community members feel unable to attain their goals because the culture or other community members are preventing them. He suggests that:

> Most, if not all, cultures recognize at least some such identity problems in individual instances and provide culturally standardized ways for the unfortunate victim of identity conflict to achieve relief, by way of possession, becoming a shaman, mystical withdrawal, or good works (Wallace 1966:157).

These culturally standardized ways of coping cease to be effective when the number of people experiencing a negative self image reaches such high proportions that these socially acceptable forms of coping become overstrained and

ineffective (Wallace 1966:158). Using Merton's theory of anomie and Beals and Siegel's theory of pervasive factionalism Wallace proposes that when these coping strategies become overburdened and cease to be effective there may occur the rise of "a prophet who has undergone an ecstatic revelation ... aimed at the dual goal of providing new and more effective rituals of salvation and of creating a new and more satisfying culture" (Wallace 1966:158).

Wallace suggests that although there is a great diversity in revitalization movements the movements themselves follow a pattern of development which includes the following five stages: The Steady State; The Period of Increased Individual Stress; The Period of Cultural Distortion; and The Period of Revitalization which, if it is successfully carried through, is followed by a New Steady State (Wallace 1966:158-163). Wallace further categorizes the Revitalization Stage into six components which include, the formulation of a code, communication, organization, adaptation, cultural transformation, and routinization (Wallace 1966:160-162).

In Wallace's framework, the Steady State is a condition in which the disorganization and stress levels of a society are at manageable levels that most individuals can tolerate. The society can incorporate new ideas and cultural changes while maintaining a slow and steady pace of change (Wallace 1966:158). From Brow's description (1967), it can be seen

that, although Alkali Lake experienced a great deal of trauma upon initial contact with White populations, once reserve lands were allotted the people adjusted and began to earn their livelihood by working on pack freight teams along the Cariboo Trail, and through farming and trapping (1967:61). She notes that this period was characterized by the absence of drinking among the Indians and cites the Annual Report of the Indian Affairs Branch of 1884 which stated that "'Drunkenness used to prevail much in this tribe ... but a drunken Indian is now seldom seen.'" (Brow 1967:54). This period of relative stability of the late 1800's and early 1900's can be referred to as a steady state as outlined in Wallace's revitalization framework, since it would appear that a high percent of the population of Alkali Lake adjusted their lifestyle to their new circumstances with a minimum of antisocial behaviour or anomie within the population group.

With the advent of modernization, however, it becomes apparent that Alkali Lake entered the second phase of Wallace's revitalization framework, the period of Increased Individual Stress. Previous occupations within the freight packing industry were now being replaced by trains and motor vehicles, while mechanized farming equipment and modern agricultural techniques employed by White ranchers reduced the worth of once valuable Indian farm products such as swamp hay. Fur bearing animals had became scarce, thus

ending the Shuswap fur trade, while many of the non-Natives who had initially come to the Cariboo to take part in the gold rush now decided to settle in the area and subsequently took over the jobs previously held by Indians in the areas of logging, ranching and in the sawmill industries. Once again the Shuswap found themselves in difficult economic conditions (Brow 1967:66). Wallace notes that in the period of Increased Individual Stress "the sociocultural system is being 'pushed' progressively out of equilibrium by various forces" (1966:159). This increase in individual stress can be caused by circumstances such as a war or an epidemic disease which can place individuals under an enormous amount of stress. This stress can become intolerable if the cultural system can no longer provide individuals or the community with effective outlets. As the culture becomes increasingly ineffective and disorganized, there will be an increase in crime, antisocial behaviour and an increased level of anomie. Wallace notes, however, that this stage is still viewed as only a shift within the steady state (Wallace 1966:159).

Brow's (1967) description of Alkali Lake in the mid-1960's is that of a community that is undergoing rapid cultural deterioration which conforms with Wallace's third stage of revitalization, the Period of Cultural Distortion. When the cultural system can no longer provide the individuals of the community with effective stress outlets,

in an attempt to reestablish balance entire population groups will begin to use socially dysfunctional approaches and behaviours, such as alcoholism or violence (1966:159). Brow describes Alkali Lake in the mid-1960's as a community in "economic destitution" (1967:66) which was "aggravated by frequent recourse to alcohol and violence" (1967:66). Community cooperation appears to have been almost non-existent and any major economic activities such as fishing, gardening and hay cutting relied solely upon the immediate household. Brow notes that there was a "lack of communal work parties involving more than a single household..." (1967:96), and that "assistance is occasionally acquired from beyond the immediate household on the basis of kinship ties, but is not only rare but also somewhat unreliable" (Brow 1967:94). Brow emphasizes this lack of community cooperation by recounting how a tractor which was purchased by the Band Council for communal use ended up never being used because of the community's inability to work out sharing practices (Brow 1967:96). In recapitulating the economic activities of the Alkali Lake reserve Brow points out that the largest effective unit was the household, characterized by the important role played by women who met most of the household's subsistence needs through gardening and fishing (Brow 1967:97).

According to Brow this lack of economic co-operation also extended to other aspects of community life: "The

communal water-pumps, which in other cultures are scenes of social interaction between women, do not have this function at Alkali Lake" (1967:118). She also stated that the open areas between the houses were usually empty, with most household visiting taking place between kin, an activity which was "...dramatically increased by the presence of alcohol" (1967:118). Other activities such as sweatbathing were also customarily initiated by a single household (Brow 1967:118). In fact it would appear that the major source of community cooperation occurred during the drinking parties, when community members established lines of solidarity amongst one of the four peer groups they drank with. These four groups consisted of the elderly, who were over 50; mature adults between the ages of 30 and 55; young adults between the years of 15 and 30; and finally children under the age of fifteen (Brow 1967:117).

Brow reflects upon the violence within the community and notes numerous accounts of "...men who had, while drunk, beaten their wives to death, or who had killed one another during drinking bouts" (1967:123). Women were also further scapegoated with a breakdown in sexual mores and Brow recalls that "the progress of a weekend's drinking is not infrequently punctuated by the distraught cries and tears of an adolescent girl" (1967:123). These observations are confirmed by Johnson who remembers that during drinking bouts;

> ...it was common to see them [women] with "black eyes" or puffed up faces following the weekend. Some were even hospitalized. Girls were raped and even gang-rape was usual. Sexual abuse was also common... (Johnson 1986:13,14).

Johnson also recalls that "I witnessed men being kicked around and punched-out by other men.... These were common occurrences" (1986:14).

According to Wallace's scheme, the use of these socially dysfunctional approaches by the majority of the population is a direct progression from the previous stage of Increased Individual Stress where individuals participated in antisocial behaviour. However, in the Period of Cultural Distortion these behaviours have become incorporated as part of the social norm of the population group even though they generally prove ineffective and only cause further disintegration within the society (Wallace 1966:159). Wallace proposes that "Once severe cultural distortion has occurred, it is difficult for the society to return to a steady state without the institution of a revitalization process" (1966:159), and that without a revitalization "the society is apt to disintegrate as a system" (1966:159,160).

The initial phase of a Revitalization Movement, the Formulation of the Code, refers to the development of a code, by either an individual or a group, which depicts an ideal sociocultural organization. This ideal organization can then be compared to the existing culture, which is

looked upon as unacceptable and corrupt. Wallace notes that this stage also embodies the idea of a transfer culture which is "a system of operations which, if faithfully carried out, will transform the existing culture into the goal culture" (1966:160). Wallace proposes that when the code is received by an individual in a trance state, the revitalization will take on a religious aspect. If a trance state is not involved, the revitalization will generally take on a political form (Wallace 1966:160).

In the case of Phyllis and Andy Chelsea, who can be viewed as the two "prophets" of the sobriety movement, the code was not received in a trance state and the movement, at least in its initial stage, was more political in form. Andy Chelsea's primary goal as chief was to gain independence from the Department of Indian Affairs and take action that would enable Alkali Lake to develop economically. He and his wife Phyllis, who were both recently sober, perceived that the greatest problem in achieving either economic or political development was the high degree of community alcoholism (Furniss 1987:28,29). Therefore, although Chelsea had not had an election platform that involved alcohol, both he and Phyllis decided that something had to be done to sober the community up (Furniss 1987:28, 29).

At this point Aberle's classification criteria of social movements can be of use. Aberle proposes that social movements are a consequence of relative deprivation, which

he defines as "a negative discrepancy between legitimate expectation and actuality, or between legitimate expectation and anticipated actuality, or both" (1966:323). Aberle notes, however, that relative deprivation is a "social and cultural phenomenon, not necessarily identical with such phenomena as physiologically induced pain, hunger, thirst, stress, suffering from cold, etc." (1966:323). Relative deprivation depends on what the group wants, what the socio-cultural system can provide and what changes within the social system will disrupt the obtaining of these wants (Aberle 1966:323).

Aberle classifies four categories of relative deprivation: possessions, status, behaviour, and worth (1966:326). "Possessions" include all material goods that a person or group is free to have or can earn based on certain regulations placed by the group or individual himself (1966:327). The "status" category is socially defined and ranked within a cultural group. Individuals who perceive themselves as not having obtained the status they want will be subject to feelings of relative deprivation (1966:327). "Behaviour" involves the moral creed of the group population which includes areas such as the group's drinking behaviour or the way people dress. The "worth" category involves those characteristics that are not controllable such as ethnicity and sex (Aberle 1966:327,328).

According to Aberle (1966:329), these categories of deprivation have a tendency to follow a certain sequential order when non-industrial population groups come into contact with Western civilization. First, there is the deprivation of possessions that occurs as the dominant group takes over the land and removes the subordinate group's livelihood. This is followed by status and behaviour deprivation as previous ways of life are now found to no longer be effective. Deprivation of worth occurs when the subordinate group becomes aware that the dominating group considers them inferior. These conditions of social deprivation may lead to the emergence of social movements (Aberle 1966:329).

Aberle (1966:30) notes that a theory of social movements is difficult to pinpoint since there is enormous variation among the dynamics of individual groups. He proposes two classification criteria for social movements, the locus and degree of change. "Locus" refers to whether the change sought is in the individual or in the total society. The second criterion, "degree" refers to whether the change envisaged is total or partial (Aberle 1966:316). Aberle refers to movements which envisage total change of the supra-individual system as <u>transformative</u> movements, while those that envisage only partial change are labelled <u>reformative</u>. Movements that aim at a total change of the individual he terms <u>redemptive</u>, while those which involve

only a partial change are classified as alterative (Aberle 1966:316,317).

When observing the initial effort towards sobriety in Alkali Lake one notes that the initial change from drinking to sobriety began with one individual. Soon Phyllis Chelsea's sobriety was followed by her husband's. Andy, who was now Chief of Alkali Lake, determined that one of his priorities for the community was to gain independence from the Department of Indian Affairs and take action that would enable Alkali Lake to develop economically. Both Andy and Phyllis perceived that the greatest problem in achieving either economical or political development was the high degree of community alcoholism (Furniss 1987:28,29).

It would appear that initially a partial or alterative change, which involved abstinence from alcohol, was envisioned at the individual level. This in turn would be followed by a reformative change at the community level enabling greater economic development and autonomy for the community. As an increasing number of individuals altered their behaviour, and became sober, the goal of a reformative movement became more attainable and thus provided the incentive for more individuals to abstain from alcohol. This interdependence is noted in K'ULENTUM RE SUMEC-KT E SLE7S: (We Made Our Lives Good) where Johnson examines the transformation from alcoholism to sobriety in Alkali Lake and notes:

> This paper attempts to document the change. It does so by drawing on the writer's own experience in living through and being part of the change process. The change came from within, that is, from within the community itself. For this reason, the writer's own personal change is seen as an important parallel to the change in the community. There are in essence, two stories which unfold side by side, one for the individual and one for the community (Johnson 1986:3).

Once a high percentage of Alkali Lake's population became sober, and the Alcoholics Anonymous program began to play a greater role in the community, the initial goal of partial individual change which simply revolved around abstinence from alcohol changed and began to incorporate the vision of an almost total change of the individual, in a redemptive fashion. In discussing the philosophy of one of Alkali Lake's primary influences, the Alcoholics Anonymous program, Furniss notes that alcoholism was seen as "... an incurable disease that may be controlled through the adoption of the appropriate attitude" (1987:82) and that "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" (1987:82). Aberle suggests that "A redemptive movement "aims at a state of grace in a human soul, psyche, or person. The defining characteristic is the search for a new inner state" (1966:320). Along with the increasing participation in Alcoholics Anonymous one can note that the hope for a redemptive movement was also reflected in the band decision to send people to alcoholism treatment centres

and to provide community members with the option of attending personal growth trainings.

Andy and Phyllis's initial goals surrounding a sober community followed by economic development and greater autonomy from Indian Affairs was successful. If one can term this success as a partial change in the infra-structure of the community it would appear that after the initial period of sobriety and economic development there also occurred a transformative movement at the community level. Alkali Lake began to gain a great deal of publicity on both a national and international basis and became a role model community. They were no longer seen as a small Indian reserve with a high level of alcoholism but rather as a community that had achieved and maintained an incredible goal, sobriety. With this newly found fame, Alkali Lake opened its doors to other Native communities in the hopes of providing them with knowledge and support in attaining sobriety. Community members began to travel to other Native communities to give talks on the dynamics of alcoholism. In effect, Alkali Lake took on the new role of becoming a resource centre for both individuals and other communities.

The period of 1973 to 1976 at Alkali Lake appears to conform to the second phase of Wallace's revitalization process, Communication. This phase refers to the conversion of the rest of the population group who have not been initially involved in the development of the new code,

through the presentation of the code as "the means of spiritual salvation for the individual and of cultural salvation for the society" (Wallace 1966:160). Wallace points out that the code may provide the promise of material goods, but this is not a necessary component since the importance is placed upon the promise of attaining non-material goods such as self-respect and the implementation of a better social structure. Those who refuse to accept the code are felt to be placing themselves in "immediate spiritual, as well as material, peril..." (Wallace 1966:161).

It is on this phase that Furniss (1987) concentrates her analysis in A Sobriety Movement Among the Shuswap Indians of Alkali Lake. Using the resource mobilization perspective to examine the Alkali Lake sobriety movement, she proposes 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" (1987:20).

Furniss determines that resource mobilization came about through the Chief and Welfare Aide using their powers of office in implementing a voucher system and the utilization of outside resources such as the Human Resources Agency, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, the co-operation of the manager of the Williams Lake department store and the

drug and alcohol counsellor from Williams Lake (1987:45,46).

In the case of Alkali Lake strong material motivations were implemented. It was at this point that Andy Chelsea began to make full use of his authority as chief. In 1974 Phyllis Chelsea became the Band's Welfare Aide and gained control over the Social Assistance (S.A.) program which provided community members with their main source of income. Furniss notes that "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" (Furniss 1987:33). Together the Chelseas introduced a voucher system for food and clothing which replaced Social Assistance cheques thus leaving the community with little access to drinking funds (Furniss 1987:33). This voucher system was along the same lines as the voucher system implemented by the Department of Indian Affairs in the 1950's and 1960's: however, its one difference was that it was used only until an individual made an effort to stop drinking, at which point it would be revoked for that individual. This decision by the Chelseas to implement a policy of vouchers was very unpopular and met with a great deal of resistance, but they remained adamant and gradually gained the support of community members. The voucher system was still in use in 1985 (Furniss 1987:34).

The Chelseas also began to present the new anti-alcohol code to others while using their authority to confront individuals after drinking episodes that resulted in violence or child neglect. Confrontation involved issuing a warning to the drinker that they would have to do something about their drinking or bear the consequences, which could include such measures as having their children removed and placed in another home, or in extreme cases the offenders being expelled from the reserve. In spite of the severity of the measures outlined, the dominant approach of intervention was one of concern about the negative impact alcohol was having on the individual and those around them. Furniss notes that the consequences were presented in the same fashion as the voucher system had been, not in an authoritarian manner, but in a personal fashion that examined each person in a procedure that was individualistic (Furniss 1987:34,35).

Wallace's third phase of revitalization is labelled Organization, the period when people begin to convert to the new code of behaviour. While some individuals may simply want to take advantage of the benefits offered through adherence to the new code others will convert to it in search for a solution to their problems, and will reorganize their mazeway to conform to the new code (Wallace 1966:161). This third phase would appear to have begun around 1976 when the idea of sobriety became a popular concept and a rapid

conversion among community members took place. Through the alcoholism treatment centres, the personal growth training programs, and the Alcohol Awareness meetings, community members now began to reconstruct and adapt their mazeways to the new code of sobriety as proposed by the Chelseas (Furniss 1987:52,53). As Wallace notes, with the increase in converts there will also occur a "tricornered relationship between the formulators, the disciples, and the mass followers", with the disciples taking on the responsibility of the executive organization while the mass followers providing the time and funds to the movement (Wallace 1966:161). This pattern was also to be found in Alkali Lake. After 1976 an '"Intervention Committee"' (Furniss 1987:53) was implemented which took over the responsibility of confronting individuals who were still drinking while also providing emotional support to those had recently returned from an alcoholism treatment center (Furniss 1987:53,54).

Wallace's fourth phase of revitalization, Adaptation, involves the process of changing and adapting the code to the social context. In all probability he suggests, there will be groups within the community who feel that it is to their advantage to maintain the status quo and not adapt to the new code. However, those who object will find themselves facing increasing hostility from the movement's disciples (Wallace 1966:161,162). In the case of Alkali

Lake it does not appear that those who chose to continue drinking were exposed to hostility from sober band members. However, drinkers were faced with negative sanctions such as having to continue to live on vouchers. Another effect method used to control those who chose to drink was making the individuals accountable for their actions. Furniss notes in one case where an individual was confronted by Andy Chelsea for an incident of family violence, he was told that if he did not go to a treatment centre he would have charges of assault pressed against him (1987:71). One woman told me that she had been confronted by Phyllis for her drinking and was given the ultimatum to stop drinking or have her children taken away from her. Although these were harsh sanctions, Furniss notes that "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" (1987:35).

The fifth phase of revitalization Wallace terms Cultural Transformation, a period when the majority of the population has reached the point where the transfer culture or perhaps even the goal culture can be applied. "For such a revitalization to be accomplished,..." Wallace observes, "the movement must be able to obtain internal social conformity without destructive coercion and must have a successful economic system" (Wallace 1966:162).

By 1985 Alkali Lake had achieved economic development to such a degree that it caused Furniss to question as 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 (1987:61).

In 1973 when Andy Chelsea first came became Chief there had been few administrative responsibilities. However, throughout the years between 1973 and 1981, the Band Office responsibilities and administration greatly increased, coming to involve the administration of Social Assistance, the reserve school, economic development projects and construction projects. Furniss concludes that although economic power played an important role in the Sobriety movement by allowing personal development trainings to occur and the creation of short-term employment, it did not solve all of the problems that were alcohol related (1987:63).

Wallace's final phase of revitalization is Routinization, in which "the movement's function shifts from the role of innovation to the role of maintenance" (Wallace 1966:162). If the movement had a religious orientation, the end product will possibly be a new church or cult that will maintain the memory of the revitalization through ritual and myth. On the other hand, if the movement was political it will become routinized and maintained by various structured organizations (Wallace 1966:162).

By the late 1970's community members had taken over the responsibility of Alkali Lake's organizations. The on-reserve Alcoholics Anonymous group, which had initially been led by the Williams Lake Drug and Alcohol counsellor, was taken over in 1978 by Band members, thus allowing for internal social conformity (Furniss 1987:63,64). Furniss notes that this "...reflects an additional process of functional differentiation within the Sobriety movement" (1987:64) since the Band Office continued to participate in the intervention and treatment of community members whereas the Alcoholics Anonymous meetings became an important social event that provided emotional support and solidarity amongst those who were sober (65-66). Furniss states that "...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" (1987:66).

At the request of individual organizations and communities, people from Alkali Lake had also begun to visit other Native communities in the late 1970's to talk about issues of drug and alcohol abuse. These visits were co-ordinated by the Band Office, and if the requesting organization did not have a particular individual in mind the Housing Co-ordinator would pick a person to attend (Furniss 1987:87,88). The Band Council would often take the opportunity to send out those who had just recently attained sobriety, since this served the dual purpose of allowing

those individuals to share their feelings on their newly acquired sobriety while also allowing them to "experience a sense of community identity, an identity which has sobriety as its fundamental characteristic" (Furniss 1987:89).

Wallace proposes that the New Steady State, which is the fifth and final stage of a revitalization movement, occurs when the code and the movement have become routinized. At this point the past events and people who were involved in the movement will take on a mythical and divine aspect (Wallace 1966:162). When one observes the impact that the video of Alkali Lake, "The Honour of All" had upon Native and Non-Native groups and the subsequent popularity of the community's population, especially Andy and Phyllis Chelsea, it can be said that the past events and people have taken on a mythical aspect. Furniss's description of Alkali Lake in 1985 also carries a strong resemblance to Wallace's description of a New Steady State. Furniss notes that:

> 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 (1987:105).

From her study in 1985 Furniss noted that the on-reserve service facilities included "a church, laundromat, community hall, medical trailer, automechanics shop, Band Office and Co-op store, and school and gymnasium" (1987:6). There was also a Band-owned cafe that served as a daytime gathering place while in the evenings intramural sports were held in the school's gymnasium. Behind the school were the newly constructed pow-wow grounds used for pow-wows, cultural gatherings and Alcoholics Anonymous roundups in the summer months. There had also been a recent effort to develop agriculture in the form of hay fields, a commercial vegetable garden, a greenhouse and a piggery (Furniss 1987:6,7). The development of these economic ventures such as the store and social ventures such as New Directions would seem to indicate a stability in Alkali Lake that allowed these new economic and social ventures to develop.

In his theory of revitalization, Wallace suggests that, once a revitalization movement has successfully passed through the stages as outlined above to Routinization, the movement will enter its final phase of a New Steady State (1966:163). This, Wallace cautions, does not mean that the movement has come to a standstill but rather that there will be a continuity of change. "In particular, changes in the value structure of the culture may lay the basis for long-continuing changes in other areas" (1966:162). Although by 1985 sobriety had become a "fundamental value" (Furniss

1987:78) of the community, Alkali Lake was still in the process of long-continuing change. Many of the community members observed that it would take three generations before the effects of alcoholism were removed from the community. In view of this concern and because of the perceived lack of role models in the community the Band Council and members would often invite guest speakers or initiate on-reserve workshops that dealt with many of the various features of alcoholism.

In conclusion, when one takes into account the material presented by Brow, Johnson, Furniss, and the video, "The Honour of All" and examines the series of events surrounding Alkali Lake within the context of Wallace's Revitalization Framework it would appear that there occurred a revitalization movement in the late 1970's and early 1980's and that by the mid 1980's the community was stabilizing into a New Steady State.

CHAPTER THREE

NATIVE AMERICANS AND ALCOHOLISM

Various theories have been presented to explain why Native populations appear to be vulnerable to alcoholism. Some hypotheses have included genetic predisposition (e.g. Waddell 1985:246), learned behaviour from European traders (e.g. Fisher 1987:91) or as a pastime providing temporary relief from anxiety and anger at being forced to assimilate into the industrial way of life (e.g. Baker 1982:243). In The Dispossessed Geoffrey York quotes Mohawk journalist Brian Maracle as follows:

> Old Man Canada has forced Indian people to drink themselves to death just as surely as if he had held us down, used a funnel and poured the booze down our throat. In my lifetime, tens of thousands of native people have gone to an early grave with alcohol in their blood. Did these people die because of thousands of individual acts of free will? Or were they driven to their deaths by powerful outside forces that gave them no other choice? When your land has been taken, when your language has been degraded, when your spirit has been crushed, when you have been forced to live in squalor, when you face existence without hope, and when you are offered escape through drink...what choice do you really have? (1990:200).

Alcohol was introduced to northern North America in the 17th century by Europeans involved in the fur trade (Hamer 1980:3). Realizing the potential economic advantage that could be gained from using alcohol as a bargaining item with the American Natives for furs, Europeans proceeded to make the trade in liquor an established practice (Baker 1982:241;

Hamer 1980:5,6). By the mid-eighteenth century, European-based trading companies had established set rates of alcohol exchange for Native furs. For example, the Hudson Bay Company had the set rate of four beaver skins per gallon of brandy (Hamer 1980:8). Alcohol was also used by Europeans with other interests, with American Indians being given liquor with the intention of getting them so intoxicated that they would sign away portions of land to the Europeans (Baker 1982:241). Since there had been little previous exposure to alcohol before the advent of the fur trade, Amerindian societies lacked social constraints regarding alcohol consumption and resulting behaviour (Baker 1982:240,241). Many Native groups eventually incorporated the state of alcohol intoxication with traditional Native beliefs that had traditionally revolved around contact with the spirit world in order to obtain insight and power (Hamer 1980:3). Consequently drunken behaviour was not controlled nor condemned since it was felt that a person was not responsible for what he did while in a drunken state (Baker 1982:240). Baker emphasizes that this lack of social restrictions and undefined drinking code is quite possibly what led the Amerindians into destructive drinking patterns (Baker 1982:240). Following the traditional Native manner of sharing, once alcohol was obtained it was shared among a group until none was left (Baker 1982:241).

Baker points out that it is reasonable to suppose that American Indians developed their style of drinking through observation of European frontier men who drank to get drunk (1982:241), and Hamer (1980:19) quotes Alexander Henry who felt that the traders did very little for the Native population save "... to teach them roguery and destroy both mind and body with that pernicious article, rum". Hamer proposes that unlike Europeans who scheduled their drinking binges to accommodate their long-term goals within the fur industry, the American Indians did not have the same concept of time and long-term goal orientation, since their nomadic lifestyle was not conducive to the accumulation of excess supplies or material goods and consequently the Natives lived for the moment and not for a future point in time (Hamer 1980:23). Spree and group drinking punctuated by periods of total abstinence continue to be the two major drinking patterns among Native populations (Lex 1987:298; York 1990:195). Hamer proposes that this behaviour is a continuation of what he terms a "live for the present" (1980:23) attitude.

Fisher (1987) argues that while it is possible that Native drinking takes on the form of sprees because of individual preference, it is far more probable that it has been due to geography and the political economy. Rural Natives often find themselves living in isolated communities that do not have licensed establishments, and alcohol has to

be transported over great distances. Consequently, those Natives who choose to travel to the nearest retail outlet take advantage of the opportunity to drink. Upon temporary migration to urban centers they may continue to exhibit the same drinking patterns (Fisher 1987:91).

In the American Indian pattern the primary purpose of group drinking is to get drunk and there is a great deal of peer pressure to drink since refusal is considered impolite (Baker 1982:245). Since participants rarely experience guilt over drinking or drunken behaviour, it is reasonable to assume there would be more reason to join a drinking party and enjoy the companionship of friends than not to (Leland 1976:38,39; Lemert 1980:65).

Given the dynamics of these drinking parties it is quite common to have members exhibiting drunken behaviour after having consumed only small quantities of alcohol (Baker 1982:245). It could be said that the Natives are acting out the traditional White stereotype of the "drunken Indian" since this stereotype allows them to participate in otherwise unacceptable behaviour such as aggression (Lemert 1980:65). Baker notes that this assumed drunken behaviour may play an important role in the reasoning surrounding the belief that American Natives become so quickly intoxicated due to racial differences (1982:245).

Up to recent times it was accepted that Native Americans were racially predisposed to alcoholism and could not

control their drinking behaviour. Natives were said to crave alcohol and would do almost anything to attain it (Waddell 1985:246). This "racial" explanation led to the stereotype of the "drunken Indian" (Baker 1982:246). As Baker notes, once a stereotype is applied it is assumed that the problem has been dealt with and there is no further reason to search for other explanations (1982:239). York proposes that the myth of Indians being genetically predisposed to alcoholism is a "...convenient way for white society to disavow any responsibility for alcohol abuse among native people" (1990:188). To assume that Native Americans drink because they are racially predisposed is to oversimplify the case. As Brody points out, much of the White's perspective on the stereotype of the 'drunken Indian' comes from the fact that White populations observing Indians who had come into town to get drunk tend to assume that the Natives are always in this state. Rarely having the opportunity to observe Natives in the bush, the White population has not been exposed to the traditional sober and non-violent way of life (Brody 1981:253).

Waddell (1985) argues that it is reasonable to postulate that alcohol was used as a means of adapting the Native traditional cultural behaviour and values to the social changes that were forced on them by the ever-increasing White population. He proposes that the typically heavy drinking was a response to the social disorganization

and deprivation that Native Americans were undergoing due to White contact (Waddell 1985:246). Within the span of a very short number of years American Indians underwent tremendous changes, which included relocation to reserves and reservations where they were victims of inadequate education and discrimination (Baker 1982:239). In this view, drinking became a response to the drastic changes and hardships and the resulting anomie. It is suggested that today, American Indians continue to drink for a variety of reasons such as friendship or as a pastime in an otherwise boring existence. Alcohol can also provide temporary relief from anxiety and anger at being forced to assimilate into a foreign and often repugnant way of life (Baker 1982:243; Lex 1987:298).

Populations that have no contemporary social roles, after traditional ones are removed, stand the highest risk in developing alcoholism. Unemployment, although likely to cause anxiety, is not enough by itself to cause excessive drinking (Lex 1987:293). However, unemployment combined with a lack of family stability or valued community roles increases the risk of alcoholism (Lex 1987:298). York notes that alcohol experts who are themselves Indians acknowledge that many Indians drink "...to ease the pain and frustration of a life of conflicting value systems and dependence on outside institutions for economic survival" (1990:193). Natives who have achieved a higher state of integration in both their own Native system and the modern one are less

likely to develop alcoholism than those who are only integrated into one or neither structure (May 1986:189). Paradoxically, those who have failed to integrate their altered roles into the existing social structures find that alcoholism continues to break down and ultimately destroy these very key social factors (Lex 1987:298). Many Amerindians are aware of this. In reference to the revitalization of the Shamans in the Yukon, Frank Lacosse, an Ojibwa government adviser, points out that " ... The old people say you've got to have a good job in one hand and your culture in the other. If you have a job in one hand and a bottle in the other, you're not going to make it" (Harvey 1983:174).

It would appear, however, that the most common feature of alcoholism is its variability. No one theory seems adequate to explain its causes. Alcoholics may be found in all walks of life, with many different lifestyles and family histories, combined with different drinking patterns (Wallace 1982:3,4). E.M. Jellinek, who was considered a "pioneer in the scientific analysis of alcohol use and abuse" (Wallace 1982:4) compiled a typology of alcoholism that was useful but still could not explain the variability (Wallace 1982:4). Many researchers have reached conclusions similar to Schuckit's, who describes alcoholism as a " ... polygenic and multifactorial problem, with genetically

influenced biological factors that interact with environmental events" (1987:303).

A precise definition of alcoholism and its causes is problematic. Lex notes that most theories and definitions have changed over time while many ethnographic studies have used unsystematic samples and local definitions that are often based on self reports. Individual disciplines have also developed their own definitions of alcoholism, causes and possible treatment (Lex 1987:294). It is reasonable to conclude that alcoholism is the result of multi-determined factors and that in all likelihood a universal solution cannot be found. In all probability individual prevention programs for individual populations will have to be determined (Lex 1987:293).

Alcoholism Treatment Among American Indian Populations

Some key factors that have been determined as effective in controlling alcohol problems are: the involvement in traditional practices such as Native religions, participation in community affairs, the practice of traditional ceremonies, work on traplines and command over situations that involve dealing with White populations (Fisher 1987:92). For the most part, however, these factors have been overlooked in prevention programs, which have usually been based upon programs designed for White populations. By not taking into account the Native culture

there arises the same pattern of conflict in treatment programs as in other facets of Amerindian and White contact. Some of the cultural factors that have been suggested as significant are: the Native orientation to the present not the future, their concept of time which is different from most White populations, and the high value placed on sharing and giving, not the accumulation of material goods (Baker 1982:245,246).

Among most American Indian populations there is also a strong tradition of noninterference, and the White method of treatment which includes counselling and helping are often viewed as interference and are not considered socially acceptable (Baker 1982:247). Many Natives who find themselves placed in a position where they are being told what to do and how to go about it will make every attempt to leave as quickly as possible (Baker 1982:246). Organizations such as Alcoholics Anonymous have also had a low success rate because of the White ideology and sometimes insensitive or racist comments from White members. Also the organization's emphasis on public confession of personal problems is incompatible with the customary behaviour of most Native populations (Jilek-Aall 1981:151) and in small communities it is difficult to maintain anonymity (York 1990:197).

In recent years, however, there has been an increase in Native involvement in the development of alcohol treatment

programs which rely to a great extent upon traditional Native culture. The Poundmaker's Lodge, which is a Native alcohol and drug abuse treatment centre located in Alberta, stresses in its brochure that 'alcohol and drunkenness have never been a part of Indian culture' (Poundmaker 1986) and attempts to integrate traditional Native practices, such as the sweatlodge, into its treatment program. The use of the sweatlodge in treatment centers began in Oregon and other Western States within the United States in the 1970's, after the United States National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism gave the power to implement alcohol treatment programs to the Indian Health Service, which in turn chose to leave the decision-making to individual tribes. Upon investigation Hall (1985) found that the sweatlodge was being used in many treatment centers and could be considered "a pan-Indian phenomenon in the tradition of reformative nativist movements that have emphasized personal reform ... and abstinence from alcohol" (1985:134). Hall further notes that in previous nativistic movements such as the Handsome Lake cult, the Native American Church and the Sun Dance, although they were not entirely focused on alcoholism, stressed the importance of abstinence (1985:134).

Although there has been a great deal of speculation surrounding American Indians and alcoholism until recently there has been little focus upon community dynamics once a Native community becomes sober. York proposes that "Alcohol

abuse tends to decline when a band succeeds in reviving its traditional way of life, when the jobless rate is reduced, when education levels are improved--in short, when a sense of community is restored and collective values are developed again" (1990:194). In other words a new way of life that does not revolve around the consumption of alcohol. In a discussion for Carleton University on alcoholism as a response to life, C.H. Aharan proposes that recovery from alcoholism is dependent upon "The discovery and practice of a new way of life" (1978:4). As previously noted, Phyllis Chelsea, the woman from Alkali Lake who initiated the move towards a sober community, also stated that "Sobering up is just the beginning" (Personal Communication, January 24, 1988).

As part of its mandate The Four Worlds Development project has assisted communities in recording their process of recovery from alcoholism, and in the 1989 Winter/Spring volume of The Four Worlds Exchange it was proposed that:

> Anyone who has stopped drinking will tell you that when you take away the alcohol, there are still many problems that remain.
>
> On a personal level, the alcoholic must continue to deal with the feelings and compulsions that lead him to drinking. This process goes on for a long time because, according to AA, alcoholics cannot stay static. They must either get better or worse. This on-going process of personal growth is supported by AA meetings, personal counselling, and support groups ('Co-dependence: The Next Frontier' 1989:7).

This reference to the difference between sobriety and being sober is becoming commonly referred to in popular literature on alcoholism. Light, in Psychodynamics of Alcoholism states that "Obsessive-compulsive features are prominently exhibited in addictive disorders, especially alcoholism" (1986:34). Therefore, it would appear that to give up only the addiction is not enough but individuals in recovery must learn a new lifestyle in order to cope with the reasons that they initially began chemical abuse. In recent years there has developed the concept of 'co-dependent'. In The Co-Dependency Trap Sharon Wegscheider-Cruse a social worker, describes the concept of co-dependency as:

> It is a specific condition characterized by preoccupation and extreme dependence on another person (emotionally, socially, sometimes physically), or on a substance (such as alcohol, drugs, nicotine, and sugar), or on a behavior (such as workaholism, gambling, compulsive sexual acting out). This dependence, nurtured over a long period of time, becomes a pathological condition that affects the co-dependent in all other relationships (1988:6).

Wegscheider-Cruse elaborates:

> My own definition of co-dependency is that it is a toxic relationship to a substance, a person, or a behavior that leads to self-delusion, emotional repression, and compulsive behavior that results in increased shame, low self-worth, relationship problems, and medical complications (1988:8).

In the community of Alkali Lake where the majority of community members have been sober for approximately ten years and others up to twenty some of these dynamics can be

observed and during my stay in the community I was slowly made aware that the drinking had in all probability been the 'tip of the iceberg', a symptom for a learned pattern of behaviour that provided the community with the means to avoid some of the serious concerns of their individual selves and of the community.

CHAPTER FOUR

ALKALI LAKE 1988

I arrived at Alkali Lake's closest urban centre, Williams Lake, in the first week of July, in 1988. Upon my arrival I attempted to telephone my contact, Phyllis Chelsea, only to find that there was no answer at the various numbers I had been given. Since I did not have a vehicle, going into Alkali Lake was out of the question, so I decided that I would stay in Williams Lake until I could make contact with Phyllis. I made my way to the Native Friendship Centre and rented a room for the night. The women who ran the centre were interested in why I had travelled so far and as I proceed to explain it to them they outlined to me that I would enjoy my stay in Alkali Lake since it was a wonderful community. One of the women explained that she had stayed in Alkali Lake for a week to attend one of their training sessions. She expressed that she had learnt a great amount about herself through this training and that she had found the people of Alkali Lake to be very compassionate and determined in their sobriety.

The next morning, after attempting to contact Phyllis Chelsea once again, I went for a walk around Williams Lake. When I returned to the Friendship Centre one of the women told me she had reached Alkali Lake while I was gone. She explained to me that she had spoken to Phyllis's daughter

who told her that I should stay at the Friendship Centre until she contacted her mother in Alaska. Once Mrs. Chelsea's daughter had contacted her mother she called back and said that Phyllis thought that the best thing to do would be for me to stay at the Friendship Centre for the weekend until she came back to Alkali Lake, on Monday morning, and found accommodations for me.

Unknown to me, however, one of the women from the Centre decided to do me a favour and find me a ride. Within a couple of hours she came back and told me she had met some people from Alkali Lake and had arranged for me to get a ride to the reserve. In no time I found myself introduced to Dave, who had come up to meet me and help me carry down my duffle bag. The worker from the Native Friendship Centre, however, would not allow Dave to enter any further than the entrance. Dave gave her a puzzled look and said that he wanted to help me carry my luggage. When she responded that no men were allowed on the floor, Dave raised his eyebrows in surprise. Once we were in the elevator on the way to the ground floor, Dave turned to me and said that he guessed she would not let him go any further because some of the women were using the hostel as a refuge from abusive spouses. While we were chatting about this, I was struck by Dave's appearance which, to me, greatly resembled that of the singer Roy Orbison.

Once outside Dave introduced me to Violet, his wife, who was a very petite woman with a warm, shy, smile, and their two young daughters. The eldest, Sonia, was four years of age and the youngest, Tina, a little under two. I attempted to explain that I felt rather unsure about going into Alkali Lake since Phyllis had proposed that I wait until she could make arrangements. Dave and Violet, however, did not appear to be concerned and minutes later I found myself seated in the back of their station wagon beside Sonia who proceeded to give me a big toothless grin whenever I looked at her. On our drive into Alkali Lake both Dave and Violet pointed out some of the sights along the road and expressed their concern about how low the lakes were since there had been a drought for the past three years.

At one point Dave pulled over and picked up a hitch-hiker he recognized who was staying at Alkali Lake Reserve Number Two. This hitchhiker was a young man in his early or mid-twenties and he told me he had come to stay in Alkali Lake at his grandfather's request that he live in the community for an extended amount of time to learn what Alkali Lake had to offer. When we reached Alkali Lake Reserve Number Two we dropped him off and continued on the dusty gravel road for another half hour before we drove up a ridge and there below us was Alkali Lake Reserve Number One, where most of the people from the Alkali Lake Band resided.

Nothing could have prepared me for the absolutely breathtaking view of this small community nestled in between two huge mountains of the Cariboo range. The hillsides were covered in grass and hay that had taken on the rich hue of burnished gold and were dotted with what appeared to be minute evergreen trees. Alkali Lake itself was built on a small plateau which allowed a spectacular view of the surrounding valley and the emerald green fields of the ranch beyond. Once on the reserve Dave turned around and asked me if I had any idea as to where I was supposed to stay. When I told him that I didn't he said, "You come up to the house with us".

Home turned out to be a one story, three bedroom style of uniform planned housing that is commonly seen on reserves. This house was rather new having been built approximately five years ago. When we arrived in their home, Violet indicated to me that I should sit down in the living room. Dave immediately went into one of the bedrooms where he was going to listen to a cassette recording of the Night Hawks, Alkali Lake's local band. Violet told me that he wanted to review some of their songs since he was playing with the group that night at a dance in Williams Lake.

Violet joined me in the living room. It was very quiet, the only sound that came from outside was the buzzing of the flies as they attempted to enter through the screened windows into the coolness of the house. Violet and I began

to chat about her children, who had since fallen asleep, and then she asked me why I had come to Alkali Lake. I explained to her that I wanted to write my Master's thesis on how Alkali Lake had become sober. Violet immediately understood what I was doing and she told me that her brother who lived across the way had completed his Master's degree at the University of British Columbia. After we got over our initial shyness we found that we had little difficulty in talking to each other. This facility of interaction partially came about because of the major role Alcoholics Anonymous played in the community. Violet had attended many of these Twelve Step meetings and I had also attended some of these meetings prior to my arrival in Alkali Lake. This gave us a common point of reference and language that facilitated discussion. We immediately began to speak of intimate details of our past and present lives and Violet discussed the efforts that both individuals and the community were now making in attempting to overcoming the effects of the high incidence of sexual abuse that had occurred in the community during the past drinking years.

Before we knew it the afternoon had slipped away and Violet hurried to cook a fast supper of hot dogs for her family, which was quickly eaten in an informal fashion. Once finished, we once again found ourselves back in the station wagon on the dusty road to Williams Lake. Before going to the hall, where Dave was going to play that

evening, we went out to the airport to pick up Violet's older brother, her brother-in-law and the Chief, Andy Chelsea. Violet told me that the three men had gone to another Native community to give a talk about Alkali Lake's recovery from alcoholism.

Dave went into the airport to meet the three men while Violet and I stayed in the car with the children. Once the men arrived Violet introduced me, as their luggage was being stowed into the trunk. When she introduced me to her brother, she said with a giggle, "This is my brother, Bruno. He's not married. I just thought I'd tell you that". At this point Bruno and I both looked around a little sheepishly while the others laughed. On our way to the dance hall in Williams Lake Andy Chelsea elaborated along this line of thought and told me with a grin that since I was from far away I probably did not realize that this was the weekend of the Williams Lake Stampede. He chuckled and told me that I had better stay close to Violet's brother since I might find myself picked up by a cowboy and thrown onto his horse before I knew what had happened.

Once we arrived at the hall, the two men left to find their families while the rest of us, including Violet's brother, went into the hall. Dave immediately went on stage to set up his equipment with the band. Violet and I sat close to the stage by the wall while her daughters joined some other children and began to play and run about the

hall. The hall appeared large in contrast to the rather small turnout. Although this was the weekend of the Williams Lake Stampede, most of the visitors and participants did not attend the dance. This was by no means a reflection upon the musicians who were good players and produced a variety of rock and roll music that went on non-stop throughout the evening. It was more a reflection of the fact that this was a "dry" dance. There was no alcohol on the premises.

At one point during the dance, Dave leaned forward and looking at Violet pointed at the door while mouthing Sonia's name. Violet immediately stood up and said to me that from his vantage point, high up on the stage, Dave had seen Sonia go out the door. Violet and I both left the building and looked around, calling out Sonia's name. We could not see her. Further down the hill from the hall there was a fair that had been set up for the Stampede. Stepping out into the darkness we headed in that direction calling Sonia's name along the way. Once at the fair grounds we wandered about looking for the small girl. In our concern for Sonia it seemed to me that the deserted and dimly lit fair grounds were growing in size, as we looked around the booths and the huge mechanical rides. Violet was visibly worried as she took short, quick steps turning her head quickly all the while calling Sonia's name. I happened to turn around and I spotted the little girl, as she stood beside a booth,

looking very scared and overwhelmed. When I touched Violet's arm and said "Sonia" she immediately spun around and stretched out her arm towards her daughter. Sonia recognized her mother and walked over to us very slowly and stiff-legged with her fingers in her mouth. Violet immediately took her hand and said, "Sonia, I'm glad I found you. Mummy was very scared". We then slowly walked back up the hill to the hall with a very subdued Sonia between us. Once back in the hall Dave saw us and beamed a huge grin when he saw that we had found Sonia.

It seemed that the dance was over rather quickly after that incident and once again we were back in the station wagon going back to Alkali Lake. After we dropped off Violet's brother we drove up the ridge to their home. Once inside Dave turned to me and pointed to an empty room and said "That's the guest room and you're the guest so that's your room". Like everyone else, I was exhausted by the day's events and tumbled gratefully onto the bed where I immediately fell asleep in spite of being still fully dressed.

When I awoke the next day I went into the living room where I was greeted by Dave. Violet was in the children's bedroom. Dave was busy mopping the floor and said to me in passing "The floor was sticky, the kids must have spilt something". After breakfast I was told the day's agenda involved cleaning up the car since Dave and Violet were

going to go into Kamloops to trade it in for a newer one. In a very unhurried fashion, we proceeded to wash the inside of the car, stopping every once in a while to talk to the children or play a little with them. After a little while Tina, whom I noted was called "Baby" by her family, seemed to get bored with being around the car and she got on her tricycle and sailed down the small slope to the bottom of the driveway. Once at the bottom she at once entreated Dave to pull her back up. Dave had been cleaning the car but upon Tina's demand strolled down the driveway and pulled her back up the slope. When he saw me watching him he chuckled and pointing to Tina said "My boss". Dave proceeded to repeatedly pull her back up the slope until she grew tired of the game at which point he picked her up and headed towards the house to change her diaper. When I looked at him he grinned and said "My job".

Once the inside of the car was cleaned we drove down to a where a small make-shift wooden ramp had been built on the edge of a ridge. Dave wanted to get under the car to secure the muffler with some wire. As the ramp was already in use, Dave stopped the car. As we waited for our turn one of the men who was there prior to our arrival, came over and got into the back seat of the car. Dave introduced me and mentioned that I was from out East. The man looked at me and then turning to Dave said, "Too many strangers in town". After Dave and this man had finished talking, Dave decided

that we would go into town to the car wash and to do the laundry and come back later to fix the muffler.

Once in Williams Lake, we drove to the car wash where we waited for our turn. As we waited Dave went in to pay the attendant and came back with some bottles of juice. He handed them out and then gave me a bottle of apple juice. I had not expected this and at my surprised look he mentioned that he thought that was what he had seen me drinking the day before. I responded that it was and thanked him, feeling awkward at accepting his continued generosity. After the chores were done we went to the local Dairy Queen for lunch. Determined to repay Dave and his family for their generosity I insisted on paying for lunch in spite of Dave's questioning look and asking me if I "was sure". Once we sat down for lunch, Violet turned to me and thanked me. She followed this by saying "I've decided that you can stay at the house while we are gone". With that, my lodgings for the immediate future were settled.

When we returned to Alkali Lake in the late afternoon we stopped at the house where Violet's brother and sister lived. Violet explained to me that they were going to meet up with Dave's sister who had decided that she would take their two children out camping to a pow-wow that was being held at the Adam's Lake Reserve, which was further South. Violet lingered at her brother's house and then told me that she was prolonging the moment before her children set off

with their aunt since this was the first time that she had ever left the children for such a long time and she felt very nervous about it. Dave's sister teased her and said this was supposed to be a honeymoon for her and Dave and not to worry about the children, they would be fine. With this we returned to the house to pack what the children would need for their weekend camping trip while the children stayed in Dave's car and played. Once packed the two girls were put into the other car and drove off for the weekend with their aunt.

Violet looked a little lost as she watched the car go down through the reserve. However after a few minutes she turned to me and said she wanted to introduce me to her brother and sister-in-law who lived across the way in case I got lonely over the weekend and wanted to talk to someone. I gathered that Violet had a great deal of respect for her brother since she told me that he had been one of the first people in the community to sober up and that he had dealt with many of his issues long before any of the other community members. Once at her brother's home Violet introduced me and explained that I would be staying at her house and that she felt that it would be better if I knew someone else in the community. Her brother, whose dark brown hair was neatly combed into two braids, greeted me with a huge smile that crinkled his eyes and said "Welcome to Alkali".

When we went back to Dave and the car, Violet said good-bye and hugged me. Both got into the car and found that it would not start. Peering inside the keyhole Dave said that he thought that something was jammed into it. He got a small piece of wire and for the next half-hour or so worked at getting out a small piece of metal that had been lodged in there. When he finally succeeded he showed me the small bit of metal and chuckled that one of the kids must have put it in while they had been playing in the car. With that he started up the motor and they both drove off, leaving me, a virtual stranger, in charge of their home.

This weekend that I spent alone was to be one of the few times I would ever be alone for an extended amount of time in Alkali Lake. Housing in this community was strained and extremely overcrowded. However, on this weekend, it appeared that most of the community was deserted. I assumed that most of the population had either gone to the pow-wow or into town for the Stampede. This enforced solitude gave me some time to reflect on the previous days' events which seemed to have occurred in a whirlwind fashion and to take stock of my new environment.

I was clearly impressed with the way that Violet and Dave dealt with their children, since during the time we had spent together not once did I hear them raise their voice or express any kind of impatience towards them. When Sonia had wandered off from the dance, Violet had not shown any

visible form of anger. Even in the midst of fright, where I have often seen parents display anger in their relief, Violet showed only concern. The fact that Dave had also been keeping an eye out for their children as he played on stage also made me realize to what extent Dave played an active role in looking after the welfare of their children.

I had also noted that Dave appeared to freely participate in the care of both of their children and the household. Although he did not cook, he washed up the floor and changed diapers without a word of complaint and without direction from Violet. He appeared to simply realize that a chore needed to be done and proceeded to do it. He also appeared to be very patient towards the children's antics, such as when he had found the piece of metal in the car's keyhole. He did not express anger or impatience, but simply worked at solving the problem.

They had also impressed me with their generosity in allowing me to stay in their home not only while they were present, but also when they were away. Before they left there was no mention of paying board and in fact Violet had stopped at the grocery store to pick up a few items for me to eat while they were away. Violet had also shown considerable concern for my well-being when she introduced me to her brother, so that I would not feel alone in a strange community. I also reflected on the way that Violet had spoken to me, in what appeared to be a very open

fashion, not attempting to hide the problems that she and the community of Alkali Lake were attempting to overcome. Of course, at this time it was impossible to come to any concrete conclusions since I had only spent a little over twenty-fours hours in their company. However, as time went on I was to find that in all my future interactions with Violet and Dave, my initial observations concerning their interactions with their children and generosity did not waver.

The physical setting of Alkali Lake was truly beautiful. The hot lazy days were followed by cool evenings which were heralded by spectacular displays of brilliant blues and reds fringed by pastel shades of purple and pink as the sun sank out of view beyond the mountains. The nights were unclouded and allowed a tranquil exhibition of millions of crystal-like stars that slowly followed the moon on its journey over the coal black skies. The ever-present scent of sage brush drifted on gentle breezes that rustled the long golden hay in a rippling dance and song across the valley. A melody of peace and tranquillity that was occasionally hushed by the distance whinnying of untethered horses.

Most of the settlement on the reserve was located down the ridge from Dave's and Violet's home. Their house was the last one on the dirt road that went up the hillside. A little to the left across from their house, on the other side of the road, there was another house that was identical

to theirs except the siding was not finished. Beside this house was an enormous canvas teepee with a sweatlodge located directly in the front of it. The sweatlodge was a small structure that resembled a beehive and it was covered over by large green plastic garbage bags which in turn were covered by small ropes, pegged to the ground, that kept the plastic securely in place.

In the following weeks I came to realize that there were quite a few sweatlodges in the community. Many of them had been built by individual families and were used for spiritual ceremonies. There were also two others that were located down the hill from the main reserve near a stream. These were the cleansing sweats, one for the women and one for the men. The cleansing sweats, which were still in use, were a traditional way of bathing oneself and involved pouring small amounts of water over heated rocks to produce steam. By the fire, which was used to heat the rocks, there was a huge oil drum which was filled with water. Exposed to the fire this water would slowly heat up and was used by those who came out of the sweatlodge to rinse off.

Continuing my walk down the road from Violet's house to the main part of the reserve I noted that on the left hand side there were two more houses that were identical to Dave and Violet's, while on the right-hand side there were two larger homes that were both two stories high. After this there was a stretch that did not have any housing but was

bordered on the right by an expanse of evergreen trees. On the left was an underground structure, covered over in grass and weeds, that had a wooden log front with a small wooden door. I initially assumed that this was a root cellar but found out later on that this was one of the traditional homes that the Shuswap had lived in, in years gone by. The stretch of trees on the right ended at the bottom of the ridge and turned into fields of hay. In the last little stretch of woods there was a small clearing, partially hidden by trees, that housed another sweatlodge.

At this point the dirt road made a sudden loop, that resembled a horseshoe, to the left and reversed back into the same direction I had come from, only this time going below the ridge and breaking off into numerous wide dirt tracks that wound through the lower part of the reserve. Continuing along this road on foot proved to be a challenge since there was a cattle guard fixed at both ends of the loop. Each cattle guard, which are also called Texas Gates in other areas, consisted of a huge pit that was covered over by a series of evenly spaced round metal pipes firmly fixed at approximately six inch intervals that ran flush with the road. These cattle guards were installed to prevent cattle and horses from going into certain areas of the reserve. In effect they serve the same function as a gate. However unlike a gate a vehicle could drive right over it without stopping. The metal pipes were smooth and very

slippery and as I ventured over them I found myself doing lots of arm swinging in an attempt to keep my balance, so I would not find myself flat on my face or in a worse scenario with one foot caught between the pipes.

Once I had overcome these two challenges, in the form of cattle guards, I was on one of the dirt tracks that combed the lower part of the main reserve. This lower section was quite crowded, when compared to the upper ridge, and consisted of a variety of housing that included older style log homes, a few trailers and wooden frame houses that were mostly one story, without a basement, and were painted in a variety of colours such as bright orange, royal blue and dark green. The village also had an older style wooden church that had a small log house at the back. This was where the community's priest stayed when in Alkali Lake.

To the left of the church was a huge wooden building that was the community hall and on the back of it was an old wooden outhouse that no longer had a door. At the approximate centre of the village, behind the gas pumps, there was a two story building that housed the Band-operated community store and the Band office. To the left of the Band office was a medical trailer and to the right was the large modern Alkali Lake school which included a large gymnasium and some temporary buildings in the front of it. Behind the gymnasium was an arbour, with numerous unpainted wooden benches, that was used for the community's pow-wows.

Further down the road at the end of the dirt trek was an automechanics shop.

In her community study of Alkali Lake, in 1985, Furniss (1987:6) noted that there was a total of 67 houses on the reserve. When I arrived in 1988 the situation had not changed since there had been a freeze on housing funds and the last house building project had occurred five years ago when the houses on the ridge had been constructed. This lack of housing was of concern to the people of Alkali Lake (population of approximately 370) who often found themselves living in crowded conditions and in some cases in houses that should have otherwise been condemned.

The quietness of the weekend was quickly replaced with an enormous bustle of activity the following week. My arrival into Alkali Lake also coincided with their second national conference. Although attendance was not as extensive as at its predecessor in 1985, which included over one thousand people (Furniss 1987:92), approximately 400 Native and Non-Native people attended. Many had travelled great distances from as far away as Nova Scotia, Alaska, and Arizona to participate in the events promoted by this small community. Most of the activities were held at the school gym or at the pow-wow grounds at the back of the school. Beyond the pow-wow arbour five enormous tepees had been erected which served the dual purpose of meeting rooms and sleeping quarters for the conference.

The conference activities were organized into a flexible schedule that consisted of guest speakers in the mornings followed by afternoon sharing sessions in the tepees. In the late afternoons spiritual leaders of the community conducted sweats while evening activities consisted of dancing to taped music in the community hall and on one occasion a fashion show.

The four morning speakers included one of the spiritual leaders from Alkali Lake who welcomed the visitors, on the first morning, and spoke of the importance of Native Spirituality. The remaining guest speakers were not from the community and included Russell Mason, who was the Chief of the Alcoholism and Substance Abuse Program for the United States Department of Health and Human Services; Dr. Madeline Meuzer, a psychologist from Victoria, British Columbia; and Mary Chris Martin, a prevention specialist with the Navajo Alcohol Program in Arizona. The speakers covered various topics, such as grieving and alcoholism prevention in communities. Although the speakers were from different professional and ethnic backgrounds they all had the common thread of referring to the twelve-step programs such as Alcoholics Anonymous and combining theoretical knowledge with their own personal experience. For example, Russell Mason spoke of his own recovery from alcoholism, while both Dr. Meuzer and Mary Chris Martin spoke of their own childhood and the sexual abuse they had encountered and how

they had overcome the emotional and spiritual damage that resulted from this violence. Such openness and vulnerability from the speakers set the stage for the afternoon group discussions where participants spoke from the heart and shared some of the their own past tragedies. Due to the confidential nature of the sharing circles what was said cannot be repeated, however the general tone of the participants was sadness characterized by intense weeping by members of both sexes.

On the first day of the conference Violet brought me down to the school so that I could participate in the activities. Upon arrival I became so involved in looking around at the activity outside the conference doors that I did not go up to the registration desk to pay the fee. Violet had been watching me and decided that I was not immediately registering because I did not have the necessary funds. After a few minutes she looked at me and said, "I'm going to go home and get my purse and lend you the money. When you go back home and go back to work you can give it back to me". The sum of money Violet was referring to, $150.00, represented an enormous amount for her and her family, yet had been generously offered after only a slight deliberation. I quickly reassured her that I had the money and marvelled that this woman, who had previously told me that sometimes when funds were limited before payday, she

would deprive herself of food to ensure her children had enough, would offer me financial help.

Once I had registered, I mentioned to Violet that it would probably be a good idea for me to try to locate Phyllis Chelsea. Violet agreed and drove me to a small wooden building across from the community hall. She explained to me that this building had previously been used as a laundromat, but when the machines began to cost too much in repairs they had been sold to individual families and the building had been converted into an extension of the Band office. Recognizing Phyllis's dark blue truck in front of the building, Violet told me I would find her there. As I got out she asked me if I would be all right alone in the community and expressed that she didn't want me to feel lost. I thanked her for her consideration and told her I would be fine and with that she drove off.

Once in the building I walked up a small hallway and encounter a woman at the reception desk. I asked her if she could tell me where I could find Phyllis Chelsea. She responded yes and then called out "Phyllis". Phyllis Chelsea came out from around the corner, looked at me with a puzzled expression, and then smiled and gave a laugh as she came over to hug me. She turned to the woman at the reception desk and told her that I was from out East and that we had spoken on the phone and then had met each other in Toronto. She asked me where I was staying and I told her

at Violet's. She responded, "Oh good, she's my cousin." and then expressed that I should continue to stay there until she made further housing arrangements for me. While we were talking Phyllis was given a message and turned to both myself and the woman by the desk and said, that something had come up and she would be back in a half an hour.

After she had left the woman at the desk told me that Phyllis probably would not be back since she was always so busy. I found out that this woman, along with Phyllis, was a part-time community social worker. She was also Phyllis's cousin. I proceeded to chat with her and mentioned an incident that I had noticed that morning when walking up to the school with Violet. Just outside of the school grounds we had encountered a woman who was emptying the garbage. As we passed by she picked up an empty liquor bottle and showed it to Violet and I and then laughed. Seeing the empty bottle Violet had also laughed. I had been surprised to see the evidence of alcohol in the community that had gained its reputation because of its of extended absence from alcohol. However I had also remembered that Alkali Lake had not professed 100 percent sobriety and that because of the conference there were a great many strangers in the community who quite possibly might be drinking.

When I mentioned the incident of the empty liquor bottle to the community's social worker, she also laughed and admitted that a number of youth in the community were

drinking. She took great pride in the fact that her sixteen-year old son did not drink. She said that he was a role model and consequently had been asked by the Band Council to take on the role of a security person around the campsites to ensure that drinking did not occur. On the other hand, she made no attempt to hide the fact that her daughter did drink. She expressed concern about her daughter's drinking but felt resigned to the fact that she could not do anything about it. She pointed out to me, with a shrug of her shoulders that was accompanied by a sigh, that the community's youth had to find out about the dangers of drinking and alcoholism on their own, but it distressed her that some might die in the process.

One of the events that occurred on the first day of the conference was the arrival of Tassie Nelson from a fund-raising walk to Alkali Lake. Although not originally from the community, Tassie had moved there and had opened up the Esket Wellness home for those who wished to recover from alcoholism. One of Alkali Lake's goals was to open up an alcohol treatment centre, and Tassie had decided that one of the ways to obtain the necessary funds was through publicity and donations. With these objectives in mind she had decided to go on a 'walk for wellness' from Vancouver to Alkali Lake with the goal of raising one million dollars. She had timed her arrival to occur on the first day of the Second National conference.

Tassie arrived, on schedule, and walked at a fast clip through the village towards the centre of activity at the school. She was closely followed by an older woman dressed in a blue jogging suit. The social worker I had been speaking to identified this woman as her mother, who until fairly recently had been so crippled from arthritis she could barely walk. However when she stopped drinking she had attended an Elders workshop given by the Four Worlds Development project, where a combination of a new diet and therapeutic exercise had enabled her to walk again. Smiling happily and waving to people standing outside of the houses this Elder was soon joined by many others who followed her to the pow-wow grounds where Tassie proceeded to give a speech. Wearing shorts and a white terry-cloth bandanna around her head Tassie stepped in front of the gathering and gave a description of her journey and its difficulties. She spoke about walking all day in the heat only to go to bed at nights with such sore legs and feet that it made it difficult to sleep. Tassie did not say whether she had achieved her goal of one million dollars. For that matter, she did not state how much she had managed to raise on her journey across south-western British Columbia. However she did mention that she had the same amount of personal money she had left with and that her walk had not cost her anything from her own finances. After Tassie concluded her speech there was a friendship dance which involved circling

around the arbour to the drum beat and concluded with everyone shaking everyone else's hand in an upward gripping motion. When the dance concluded most of the participants left the area smiling and chatting with each other on the way back home or to their campsites.

As this was my first week in Alkali Lake I was not adept at identifying community members as opposed to visitors. However, Violet did point out to me that the majority of the people from Alkali Lake were not attending the presentations or the workshops. Violet thought that this might be due to the fact that community members did not know they could attend the conference at no charge. I found this rather puzzling since communication was one of the things that this community seemed to stress.

One of the evening events that a large number of community members did attend was the fashion show. Originally scheduled for the Tuesday, night it was delayed until Wednesday. Violet, who had previously taken a course in beauty culture, had been asked to style the models' hair. Violet readily agreed and mentioned that it would be hard work but worth it to have a good showing.

On the evening of the fashion show Violet prepared to leave with Sonia while Dave stayed behind with "baby". When it was time for us to leave the house Dave began to keep Tina occupied so she would not get overly upset because Violet was leaving without her. The school doors had been

locked to allow the participants to ready themselves. Once we were let into the school Violet immediately set about styling the models' hair while Sonia, shyly set about playing with some other girls around her age. Once the school doors were opened the gym slowly filled up. Later on Violet told me that most of the individuals were from Alkali Lake, and had come to view this exhibition of clothing that had been prepared by the local high school girls. These young women had obviously spent a great deal of time sewing a variety of beautiful clothing for both adults and children.

The gym had been set up with numerous wooden chairs and two long wooden benches in the front, close to the runway. One of these benches quickly became occupied by a group of young children including Sonia. The children squirmed restlessly about on the bench and one of them placed his hands under the edge of the bench and proceeded to lean over backward and started to rock back and forth in a swinging motion. His action was enthusiastically copied by the rest of the children. This shift in weight proved to be too great and the bench quickly toppled over backwards sending the children sprawling to the floor. There was a brief silence and then one of the girls, who was around five years old, began to scream while clutching her hand which had been trapped under the bench when it toppled. Most of the children stared at her while a few of the older ones righted

the bench. The little girl continued to scream and some of the children began to look around in confusion. Although the gym was a bustle of activity no adult approached the group of children. The child's screams soon subsided to sobs while another small girl, sitting beside her, stroked the injured hand and every so often wiped the tears off of her face. Approximately twenty minutes later a Royal Canadian Mounted Police officer came in and briefly spoke to the child and left. Afterwards, her mother, a woman in her early thirties, came in and took the child by the hand and led her out of the gym. At the end of the fashion show I saw the injured child again. She was standing by the wall alone. She was no longer crying but held her injured arm at a forty-five degree angle and continually glanced at her hand. I left the school with Violet and Sonia, perplexed by this marked neglect of an injured child in a community that prided itself for its "sharing and caring".

The following evening, I attended a feast that had been provided for the community, with the main course consisting of moose meat. The gift of the roasted moose had been provided by an Elder who proceeded to explain to us why he had left early that morning to go on a hunting trip in order to have something to offer for the feast. This Elder explained to us that morning he had gone to pray before the fire which was beside the sweat lodge and teepee on top of the hill and had been kept continually lit day and night

throughout the entire duration of the conference. He referred to the fire as a sacred fire and explained that he had prayed to the Creator for help in the community. In turn he would go out hunting and anything he caught he would provide as a feast to the visitors. He had shot the moose and asked visitors to eat it all and not allow any to waste and then to "Pray for our families and our community that is going through hard times". While listening to him I began to develop more of an appreciation for the difficulties Alkali Lake was experiencing. He spoke of the youth of Alkali Lake, including his son, who continued to drink, and finished up by saying "So don't forget when you stop drinking your problems is just begun".

On the final day the conference was concluded by late morning and although most of the participants left on this final day, some stayed on for the weekend Alcoholics Anonymous Roundup. Two of the women who stayed on decided to go into Williams Lake for the afternoon and I accompanied them. While picking up a few items at the local shopping mall we ran into a woman who was known by one of my companions, and introduced to me as Kathy. Kathy was one of the trainers for Alkali Lake's personal growth training program. We left the mall and as a foursome went for supper.

The Alcoholics Anonymous Roundup, which began the next morning, consisted of day-long presentations by speakers

involved in the Alcoholics Anonymous program. Most of the speakers were Non-Natives from surrounding communities, and very few people from Alkali Lake attended. Perhaps the people most notable by their absence were the Chief Andy Chelsea and his wife, Phyllis. The day's events were followed by an evening dance which many of the people from Alkali Lake attended. The following morning the community provided a breakfast which was followed by some Native round dancing and a ceremonial prayer, marking the end of the gathering.

Once the round-up was over and the tepees had been taken down a transformation came over the community. After the bustle of the previous week it was to be expected that the village would settle down to its normal routine. The change, however, was extreme. People appeared to retreat within their homes, and the community took on the appearance of a ghost town. Since this was the summer-time, quite a few people were off-reserve attending pow-wows and Sundance ceremonies. However, I noticed that those few people, who were mostly young, walked about in a dispirited shuffle, looking at the ground, passing each other wordlessly. Very few visitors had stayed on once the conference was over but those who did also found people in the community transformed. One young man in his late teens who stayed reflected upon this change:

> During the conference Alkali Lake appeared to be a great place to be. It was busy, there were

> guest speakers, sharing circles and dances every night. People were friendly, nice, kind, open and sharing. People would wave at you, smile, and say 'Come in for coffee'. I was given a key to the house where I was staying and the only rule I was told was no alcohol or drugs.
>
> After the conference people's behaviour changed. They weren't friendly, they don't talk to you they just turn and walk away. They began to judge me by the friends I had made. I chose to hang around with young guys because I didn't want to sit around all day listening to AA talk or booze stories about the good old days when they drank.
>
> If Alkali Lake can keep people down to staying only during the conference times they can pull off the caring, sharing community thing for a limited time. If I had left after the first week I would have thought it was great.

This young man had been camping with his sister in the back yard of one of the community's prominent leaders. During the week of the conference both he and his sister had begun to develop friendships with some of the village's younger members. At one point their host took them aside along with one of their new friends and told them he did not want them to be with these new friends, including the young man they were with. He did not want them to bring these new friends into his house, because they were bad examples in the community and it would reflect badly on him to have them in his home. He did not approve of their new friends because some continued to drink, and although one of them did not drink this man felt he had been irresponsible towards his children.

Also attending the second national conference was a group of Natives from Manitoba who had previously been in Alkali Lake to participate in the community's personal growth training session. One of these women who stayed on told me, as we went for a walk towards the ranch below the reserve, that there was a great deal of negativity in the community and she felt that there were bad spirits there. On the night of their arrival a ten year old girl, who had travelled with the group, had run wildly out towards the hillside screaming "Mummy, help me!". When the group managed to catch her she explained that she had seen a vision of her deceased father who had beckoned her to come to him. This combined with the uncomfortable feelings they were getting from the community, made the group decide to have a prayer session on their first night in the community.

This woman also revealed to me that she had awakened one night only to see black spirits all around her bed and elaborated that, "They weren't nice ones either". She warned me that as long as I stayed in Alkali Lake I would have to protect myself from these spirits. She further informed me that Alkali Lake had not previously been like this and that the change in the community was very apparent.

It soon became evident that the people from Alkali Lake also felt that there were bad spirits around. Most of the Band-operated businesses, except for the store and the

logging company, had long since gone bankrupt and the people were suffering from chronic unemployment. Many of the houses were in disrepair and covered with dust stirred by passing trucks on the dirt road. The water running to the communal cleansing sweatlodges was garbage-strewn. Few people walked about the community and people I passed on the road averted their eyes and did not speak. Although I did not expect the utopia the popular media had projected, I had not expected this level of apparent anomie.

The community was also suffering from the effects of a series of five alcohol-related deaths in 1988. The most recent had occurred two weeks before the conference, when a popular young man had committed suicide. There was also a problem with approximately twenty young people in the community who continued to indulge in alcohol and narcotics. These youth when drunk would get involved in violent incidents which sometimes ended up in violence such as stabbings. There was also a high incidence of sex crimes such as individual and gang rape and ongoing sexual abuse to children. Child neglect was also of concern. People appeared to have difficulty communicating, and the once-popular Alcoholic's Anonymous meetings which Furniss (1987:66) had described as forming a basic structure to the village, were now hardly attended. This appeared to be in such contrast to public expectation after viewing the "Honour of All" that one visiting woman noted:

> The movie "The Honour of All" really leads to expectations of a community life that does not exist there. At the meetings very few people participate, it is mostly outsiders who participate.

"The Honour of All", although romanticized, had also led me to expect a higher degree of cohesiveness and community spirit. One young woman, who was in her mid-twenties and from the community expressed her concern about this situation:

> I'm just really concerned for the young people because they're really suicidal, a lot of them are really suicidal. We had a couple of people tried attempting suicide, so right now I'm just really concerned about the young people because even I was like that when my friend committed suicide. I just wanted to die. We have a hard time with the young people because they're really into drugs and alcohol and they're still, I don't know, they're still being neglected and rejected by their parents, because their parents go to Bingo. It just pisses me off. I hear young people talk about their parents, "Oh my Mum went to Bingo again this night". Like this young girl, her mum's always at Bingo. She comes over, sometimes we talk. We got close together after a few weeks when we completed the suicide workshop and that young girl got close to me and now she comes and talks to me about her mum going to Bingo and she said sometimes she feels like killing herself because her mum's always at Bingo and she feels that there's nobody to turn to and I told her, "You can come here and talk to me. You can go see my brother, 'cause he's a counsellor he'll listen". But that really made me realize what Bingo can do to a young girl or any young child. That already affecting them as well or worse than alcohol affected their lives is Bingo now, I'm really concerned.

Some of the Elders also expressed concern for the community and their youth. They pointed out that the adults

should not be continually travelling to different reserves to give lectures on sobriety while they neglected their own families. In the Winter/Spring issue of The Four Worlds Exchange it is noted that:

> Since the Video was released, the people of Alkali Lake have been overwhelmed with invitations to do workshops, give talks, and make visits. And they have been so generous in accepting invitations, maybe too generous. The invitations are accepted because of the feeling of obligation these people feel to help others with their struggle. But in helping others they are removed from Alkali Lake and its on-going struggle ('Alkali Lake The Story Continues' 1989:4).

Phyllis Chelsea, the woman who had played a major role in getting the community of Alkali Lake sober, suggested that people had put Alkali Lake on a pedestal. People thought of Alkali Lake as the community that had found the cure for alcoholism and consequently they were under a great deal of public scrutiny. Individuals and groups of people were coming in from all over North America hoping to be cured from their own alcoholism or at least to find out the secret of Alkali Lake's success so they could bring it back to their own community. One Elder from another reserve spoke of this:

> You know it's quite a thing when you do this thing [sober up] you notices how you can afford to buy a loaf of bread and something for the table now and maybe buy a car to get around on. When you sober up it's really good.
>
> How did you do it? That is the question all the time. Every time you hear that on the radio or tv they still wondering how they keep up the good work. Speak to your people, never hold

> nothing back, all our people wants to learn these things. How you done everything. That's very interesting, let's share all these things.

When the idea of making a movie had been proposed Phyllis Chelsea says that she had been hesitant. The Chief at the time was not originally from Alkali Lake and in the past had married into the community. Phyllis noted that: "It's easy to come from outside into it [Alkali Lake] and say what should be done. People say it's the truth [a sober community] and should be talked about but we have to live with it". Since the production of "The Honour of All" Alkali Lake had not only gained national, but also international recognition: the film was seen in other countries such as the United States, Australia, South Africa and England. Band Councils and sometimes even individuals, such as Elders, in other Native communities would request that Andy or Phyllis Chelsea or other community members come to their community in the hope that they would provide the inspiration and the cure for alcoholism. Phyllis and her husband Andy, who was the present Chief of Alkali Lake, along with other community members travelled a great deal in response to these requests that they share their story.

There was also the expectation that now that Alkali Lake was sober, it was a perfect community. Community members who travelled to share their story of becoming sober were often perceived as saviours who had succeeded in performing the impossible. Phyllis, however, clearly did not place

Alkali Lake on a pedestal and was always quick to point out that although Alkali Lake had come a long way from the alcohol-ridden community it used to be, there were still numerous problems and finding the solutions was not always simple. I had previously noted at her presentation for the Second National Conference of Children of Alcoholics in Toronto (1988) the predominant theme of her speech was that once the people in Alkali Lake had stopped drinking they found themselves confronted by numerous other difficulties. Issues such as coping with past and on-going sexual abuse, were now coming to the forefront and demanding attention.

Another issue of great concern to Phyllis revolved around problems the community's youth were facing. Some of them were drinking and many of the girls were "young mothers" who Phyllis felt needed care and attention. Phyllis proposed that it was the youth of the community who should have the opportunity to tell their story, rather than the adults. She had a rather humble view of herself and the other adults who had stopped drinking, and summed it up with "We're just a bunch of drunks who stopped drinking. The youth are the ones who took care of their younger brothers and sisters and hid them and cooked". In an article ''Alcohol Lake': Story of Success' published in a Regina newspaper, the Leader-Post, Freddie Johnson from Alkali Lake pointed out: "Even though the reserve is 95 per cent dry, we're still dealing with the problems related to past

Strangers in Alkali Lake

In spite of the honest assessments of Phyllis Chelsea and other community members, many individuals continued to place Alkali Lake on a pedestal. I became increasing aware of the extent of Alkali Lake's popularity when I began to do some voluntary work with the community's personal growth program, which was called New Directions. This opportunity to work with the organization came about through Kathy, the trainer I had previously met in Williams Lake during my first week in the community.

I had entered the small building which had previously been the laundromat and was now an extension of the Band Office. As I entered the area Kathy, who was sitting in a corner by the back door, immediately recognized me and indicated I should come over to speak to her. She was speaking to a man I had previously met and asked us if we knew each other. When we responded yes, she told me that since I was going to be in town for awhile I should do some work, such as answering the phone and correspondence that dealt with the training program. When I eagerly agreed she told me to come back the next morning and she would show me how to operate the computer. We spoke for a while longer and when we left I went home feeling very pleased that I had found myself a "niche" in one of the community's operations. This would give me the opportunity to contribute to the

community and also would allow me to interact on a day to day basis with a variety of people.

While working for New Directions I would receive a variety of calls concerning the personal growth program, requests for community members to present the Alkali Lake story and strangers continued to come to the reservation to be "healed" from alcoholism. Some visitors stayed for short periods while others remained for an extended period of time. For example, one day while working in the Band Office I received a call from a drug and alcohol counsellor in Southern Ontario who wanted to send a family of five glue sniffers to Alkali Lake's treatment centre, which did not exist. Some counsellors, however, did not bother to call, and would simply place an individual on a bus to Alkali Lake. A few days later this person would be found wandering the streets of the community wondering where to go.

One such person who ended up in Alkali Lake for a little over a year was a twenty-three year old Ojibwa man from Northern Ontario. His counsellor had called Alkali Lake's drug and alcohol counsellor and impressed upon him that this young man was a hopeless case who would die if he continued to drink. On his last drinking spree he had burnt his house and attempted to throw his girlfriend and himself into the fire. The counsellor from Alkali Lake hated to say no, especially after realizing that the Ontario counsellor had given up hope for his client. He decided to see if he could

find him a place to live, and told the counsellor he would call him back on Friday. He did not get the opportunity, however, because the counsellor rather than waiting for him to call showed up with his client that Friday. The Alkali Lake Counsellor then made a mad scramble to find him a home. This particular young man stayed a little over a year. During his stay he paid his rent, did not drink or get involved in any destructive behaviour towards himself or the community.

On the other hand, some other strangers were not as easy to cope with, and abused the generosity of the community. One such incident occurred during the conference week, when Phyllis Chelsea offered a family of five the use of her cousin's house. This family was from Alaska and consisted of a couple and three children, the oldest being fourteen and the youngest under two. Phyllis had asked the young couple who lived in the house if they would mind letting the family stay in their three-bedroom home while they were away during the week of the conference. They already had one boarder, but since they would not be there for the week they agreed. However, when they returned, the family did not leave as scheduled, and extended their stay an additional two weeks because they did not have the money to return home. This presented a burden to the couple since not only did they have to share their limited space with this family,

they also found themselves also having to feed them and provide diapers for their baby.

Both of these Alaskan adults were facing minor charges back home for assault and illegal hunting. The woman also practised witchcraft which made her host very uncomfortable. When these visitors received the money sent down to them from Alaska they did not pay any board to the couple. They also decided they did not have enough funds to bring back their fourteen-year old daughter with them, and left her at the home of one of the girls she had become friends with. When I asked her host how the young girl was managing to live she grimly responded "Off of me". Their daughter continued to stay at this woman's home for close to a month and then was asked to leave when she, along with a few other girls from the community, got intoxicated. Unfortunately for this young girl her only recourse at this point appeared to be to move into one of the houses which was viewed as a 'hang-out' where the occupants still occasionally drank.

Some of the strangers, such as Derek, came to Alkali Lake as a last resort. Derek came from another reserve where he had been arrested for having beaten his wife so badly that he had almost killed her. Derek's sister, Edith, was a reformed alcoholic who had moved to Alkali Lake. Edith and two of her friends, one from the community and one who had also moved to Alkali Lake, had attended Derek's court case and pleaded with the judge that he be released

into their custody. The judge, who knew of Alkali Lake's reputation, complied and released Derek into Edith's custody under the condition that he remain in Alkali Lake for a specified probation period.

Once in the community Derek moved in with Edith. Edith had a hard life and in the worst period of her alcoholism had ended up living on the streets of Vancouver. Most of her family and friends had given her up for dead. Once recovered Edith believed that recovery from alcoholism depended upon discipline and spirituality. She felt that walks, fasts and a proper diet, which meant no fried foods or coffee, were essential to the recovery process. Edith felt that it was amazing that she had recovered from alcoholism by sitting in Alcoholics Anonymous meeting rooms that were smoke filled, and offered an abundance of caffeine and sugar to those newly recovered.

Derek, however did not agree with Edith's method of becoming sober and during his stay in Alkali Lake continued to go out on drinking sprees until Edith told him he would have to leave her home. He was then taken in by another household where he continued his drunken behaviour and sometimes stole from the other occupants. He eventually ended up living in one of the homes where the occupant still drank. Derek did not like being in Alkali Lake and it was difficult to trust him. At once point he told me quite clearly that if he ever saw me in a vulnerable position he

would take advantage of me. He was eventually forced to leave Alkali Lake when he went on a drinking binge in town and missed his appointment with his probation officer, who notified the Band Council that he would have to return to court.

Youth in Alkali Lake

Some of the strangers in town were youths who were sent there by their parents to attend school in a non-drinking environment. One sixteen year old girl had been left in Alkali Lake by her mother who felt she could not cope with her. Once in the community Rita found herself being shuffled from her uncle's home to her cousin's and then to another cousin because sometimes she would get drunk while at other times she would disappear for days without informing the adults in her home. While residing in the community Rita continued to break curfews and at one point went into town and did not return. Her guardians immediately went to look for her when they realized she had disappeared. Unable to locate her that night they again returned to look for her throughout the community and in town the next day.

On the other hand, some of these young people who came to the community to go to school also found themselves victimized by those youth who continued to drink. I was told of one young girl who was repeatedly sexually assaulted

by three adult males who lived in the home where she boarded. In another case I was told, three young men had decided to leave the reserve after they found themselves being continually picked on and sometimes beaten up by some of the young men who continued to drink.

Victimization, however, was not restricted to strangers. Fighting often occurred among the twenty male youth that still drank. When these young men were sober they were quiet, stayed home and participated in few of the community's activities. When they drank they would walk or drive around the reserve together looking for a house to go into. Fighting would occur over an incident such as a disagreement of opinion in a conversation. Some of these young men would attempt to deliberately start an argument and actual physical fighting often involved taking advantage of someone who was a bit more drunk. For example, one young man beat up another because he staggered towards him. Sometimes, however, the fighting had serious consequences and at one point one of the young men was stabbed.

One woman who played an active role in the school and in the organization of the community's activities noted that:

> The toughest part that we're going through, we're realizing that what we're really worrying about now is preventing our young kids from getting into drugs and alcohol. So we have a youth worker there that's working with them. And we find right now that for some of the young people that are already experiencing drugs and alcohol those are the ones that sometimes it feels like they give up and sometimes I feel like that, because they go good for awhile and all of a

> sudden you know they just go right back on. And I think, you know, it's maybe one or two probably can change but there's some that's going to take a while for them. Like they're still hurting, they're still carrying all that anger, you know, from their childhoods, and it's really, I don't know, it seems like really tough job trying to help them. And what we found like getting them to the sweats you know trying to help them that way because it seems like all the other ways they don't fit in. We try working with them through the sweats and ceremonies and stuff like that.
>
> This year the drug and alcohol counsellor's been able to get some into treatment. It's hard getting them into treatment because they're too young for treatment. You know there's really no youth treatment around and so this year he's been able to get some into treatment. I don't know how that's going to turn out because you know they're still there but I know there's some that go into treatment they come out and end up drinking again. It's sort of like a real challenge trying to work with them. I don't really know what it's going to take.

In Furniss's study of Alkali Lake in 1985 she suggested that community members expressed a variety of reasons for why the youth drank. In spite of being sober some parents continued to neglect their children, while some individuals felt that the youth who drank did so because they had not found the way to deal with their anger towards parents who had previously abused them when they were younger and so drank to get even with them. The final suggested reason revolved around boredom and some individuals felt that the youth drank because there was nothing else to do (Furniss 1987:103). Although as previously mentioned there was a youth worker who attempted to create a small amount of diversion in his role of recreation director, he was often

limited by a lack of resources. In 'Alkali Lake The Story Continues' the role of the recreation director was outlined as follows:

> Alfred is able to manage organizing recreation nights at the school gym most nights of the week, a lot of tournament trips, and the occasional workshop with youth from other communities. But not much more because there just is not the money available. The Band recognizes this problem and is helping Alfred to write proposals for more funding, and has offered the renovated community hall for use as a youth centre. Other than this, however, there is not much happening for the youth and many people in Alkali Lake are concerned (1989:5).

Another young man was quoted in the same article as follows:

> ...and our young people, don't forget about them. I've noticed that a lot of the young people that are running around in our community are the young people that have parents that go to Bingo. I guess that's the problem with Bingo again. Also we need to start talking about expanding, about bringing other stuff into the community for people, such as something new for the young people, 'cause we don't. Some of the things that have been going on in this community have been the same and a lot of young people get bored with it. I'd say in the past year we had about 20 young people around there that go out drinking almost every weekend, smoking up and that's started to be a problem. It is starting to make us look bad again ('Alkali Lake The Story Continues' 1989:4,5).

When I spoke to another community member he noted that:

> It's us who hurt our children, this is why they won't listen to us. It will take two generations before the community will be without the effects of alcohol. The youth is already hardened. They already tell you to fuck-off.
>
> I don't like to talk to our youth because I'm the guy who hurt them.

The frustration that some of the adults were beginning to feel with the youth who continued to drink was perhaps best expressed by one incident that occurred at the school's library. Two of these young men went into the library after they had been drinking and proceeded to disrupt and scare the children. When the school principal, who was well respected and also considered a spiritual leader of the community, became aware of the situation, he lost his temper and physically attacked both of the young men. Afterwards the principal expressed great remorse over his action. However, he did not appear to be censured by the community. In fact, one man who was a model of patience and kindness towards his own family pointed out that he felt that "I might of done the same thing if I'd seen those guys scaring those little kids". Another man noted, "He [the principal] has to work on himself but maybe if I had seen them aiming that fire extinguisher and the fear in those children's eyes, maybe I would have done the same thing". Ironically, this display of aggression apparently had a positive affect on one of the young men who proceeded to go to an alcohol treatment centre.

Violence Against Women

Young men who drank were also violent towards women. I was told by one young man that in one group setting one man grabbed a young woman's arm so hard as to bruise her in

spite of her protests. The rest of the group did not intervene but allowed him to continue. On another occasion one of the women told me that one day when she had been playing volleyball she was pushed onto the gym floor and called a bitch when she missed the ball.

There were also sexual assaults. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police in Williams Lake told me that although Alkali Lake was predominantly sober, there was an incredibly high number of sexual assaults in the community. During a dance one teenage girl was gang-raped by three adult men behind the community hall. Gang-rapes also occurred in the school and other isolated areas. One young woman, spoke of being repeatedly gang-raped, in the not so distant past, every day after school for two and one-half months. I was told that it was not uncommon for men to brag to each other about these assaults. One young man, who had family in the community but was not from there, told me he had even heard one young man bragging about how he and his friends had gang-raped his eight year old sister.

Initially, people did not speak to me about this ongoing violence towards women. I was slowly made aware of it after I had gained a bit of insight. This came about after I had been in the community for a month and I was out walking with one of the women. In my previous encounters with Lily I had found that she was generally very open about what she felt was delinquent behaviour. For example, one of her sons, who

was still drinking, had been living with a fifteen-year old girl. He was repeatedly physically abusive towards her, and his grandmother told me that "His fun is to beat the woman". His mother, however, when she saw "the blue mark on her face" told his girlfriend to leave him and to press charges against him. His girlfriend took her advice and he spent a week in jail.

One night Lily's son, who worked outside of the community, arrived at her home drunk. The next day Lily made no attempt to hide his behaviour and informed everyone at the Band Office about how he had been drunk. That evening when I was walking up the hill to go home I met her as she was coming down the road. She told me that her son was not at home and she assumed he was out drinking again. She asked me to go for a walk with her to try to find him. I agreed and we proceeded to walk down the hill to the lower section of the reserve. As we were walking along the dirt road I heard a truck coming up behind us. Turning around Lily spotted her son sitting in the passenger's side while one of his friend's drove. Standing in the middle of the road, she lifted her arm and with a flick of her hand signalled that she wanted them to stop. When the driver pulled up she went over to his side of the truck and through the open window told her son to "Stop drinking and put the truck away". At this her son responded "I'll stop tomorrow". Looking directly at him Lily answered in a curt

voice, "You want to stay in the house, you stop tonight". The driver, in spite of the fact that he was physically caught in between the two during this confrontation, did not appear to be overly uncomfortable. With one arm resting on the bottom of the open window he looked back at both of us with a huge grin. When Lily moved away from the truck after her last statement, he drove off.

During this time we had been observed by a man who was sitting in the doorway watching his two-year old niece who was playing in the sand. I followed Lily as she walked over to him. With a serious look on her face Lily proceeded to tell him about her son's drunken behaviour. She shook her head and then looked down at his niece who was still happily playing and said "The road's not safe for kids tonight with those guys drinking".

On the walk back home Lily expressed the concern she felt for her son. She told me that at one point, in the past, she had sat down with him to talk about why he drank. The conversation had resulted in him airing out many of the grievances he held against her from during her drinking days. She had thought that after he had expressed some of this anger towards her he would be less inclined to drink, but to her disappointment he had not stopped. She also told me that although he made a high salary working off-reserve she would prefer it if he quit and came back home since the

men he worked with all drank and she felt that this was not a good environment for him to be in.

As we were walking back up the hill she told me that she figured her son had probably gone to the "green house". This was accompanied by a fast shrug of her shoulders and quick uplift of her head as she pointed out the general direction of the green house she was referring to. I looked over to where she had indicated and saw at least three houses in various shades of green. When I looked back at her she elaborated that it was all single men who lived there and that they all drank and raped girls. At my astounded look she said, "Girls come out of there screaming with no clothes on. But I say whose fault is it? You know better than to go in there". She then looked directly at me and said with a serious look on her face, "So don't you go to no green house". She punctuated this with a short, curt laugh.

This bit of knowledge I had gathered allowed me to get more information from other women. The next time I was with another woman, I knew fairly well, I brought up what Lily had told me. We were standing outside in her driveway and after a quick look around she confirmed Lily's information and went on to tell me in a low confidential voice of sexual violence by a man that I did not know. She then told me the colour of his truck so that I could avoid him in the future. This further piece of knowledge allowed me to speak to

another woman who told me about another man who had assaulted many women on the reserve and she "had been his victim twice". One of these women was still very scared of one of her previous abusers and feared retaliation should he realize she had been speaking about him. This fear meant that she did not warn others and then would find herself, fraught with guilt, and in a dilemma as to whether she should have warned someone, especially the younger girls, or continued to protect herself by remaining silent.

Once I was armed with this knowledge I was able to communicate to other women in a way that made them realize that I had knowledge about some of the abusers and they began to talk about the situation in a more open fashion around me. In effect, it was at this point that I became more of an "insider" with some of the women since they realized that although they were "insiders" and I was an "outsider" we both had a common fear: the men who committed these sex crimes.

I found out that there did not appear to be any specific places or events to avoid in order to remain safe. The assaults seemed to occur in a variety of places, although this violence seemed to revolve around drinking and finding a woman who was alone. When drinking, individuals or groups of these men would sometimes venture into a private home when they knew a woman was alone or only with her children and assault her. One woman whose husband was absent one

night woke up when one of these men came into her room and tore the blanket off her. Through quick thinking she managed to avoid assault by telling her would-be assaulter that she was just having a rest while waiting for her husband to come home. She emphasized that her husband was due any minute and if he found him there he would get very angry. The intruder challenged her story a little but decided that she was probably telling the truth when he saw that she was still fully dressed under the blanket. He decided the risk was too great and left through the back door. When she informed her husband he told her that she "had asked for it".

Violence was not always perpetuated by the youth who drank. One such incident concerned the rape of a fourteen year old girl by her uncle. The day after this assault occurred I was speaking to a woman who briefly mentioned the incident and that the girl's mother had said she was going to press charges. The woman agreed with this action and said, "If it was my daughter I would press charges". She further elaborated that the assaulter had previously assaulted another young girl when she was approximately thirteen years old, which had resulted in her having to obtain an abortion. When I asked who this man was she looked down at her feet with an embarrassed look on her face and did not answer. I explained that I wanted to know so I could avoid him and that I had been previously warned to

stay away from other individuals. She then looked at me, gave a curt laugh that sounded more like a snort, and responded "A guy in a blue truck," and refused to say anything further.

At this point I returned to the Band Office and Lucy, one of the women who did some informal counselling, came in. She moved in extremely close to myself and another woman who was working there and spoke in a whisper through lips that hardly moved that a girl had been raped last night. The other woman asked who, and Lucy did not answer. Kathy and I continued to work and after a few minutes Kathy turned to Lucy and curtly asked her what had happened down at the woman's cleansing sweatlodge while she had been away for the past few weeks. Lucy's eyes widened and she shook her head while responding that she did not know, and asked what had happened. Kathy looked directly at her and told her that she was obviously in a better position to know, since she had not left the community, and the women's sweat had not been used for the past three weeks since there had been an incident of sexual abuse there.

As previously mentioned there were two cleansing sweats available, one for the women and one for the men. Both were located down the hill from the main reserve near a stream. The men's sweatlodge, however, had been built in a well sheltered area that was covered over by trees while the women's sweatlodge, was in an exposed area that enabled it

to be clearly seen from the village road. This relative isolation from the village while at the same time noted visibility, made it a potentially dangerous place. Many women had been previously assaulted in this cleansing sweatlodge.

After this point Lucy, once again stepping in close to us said in a low voice that on the previous evening Sophie had been raped by her uncle behind one of the older log homes. She elaborated that when Sophie had come back home covered in dirt and cactus needles, everyone knew that something was wrong because "Sophie's always so prim and proper".

This shook up Kathy a bit because on the night of the rape this man had gone to her home which was about a half hour drive before the main reserve. He had arrived at Kathy's around two o'clock in the morning and told her that he had just driven in from Kamloops and was too tired to continue. Kathy explained that he had been very agitated and was sweating profusely. He also had cactus needles in his hand and as he worked on removing them he offered the explanation that his radiator had boiled over, and when he had gone to the creek to get some water he had gotten the cactus in his hand. Kathy told us she had felt very uncomfortable around him because he had kept staring at her and made her feel like she could not relax, but had to keep busy and moving about. She had finally decided to go back

to her room and later at dawn she heard him leave. The next day two plain clothes policemen came to question Kathy. Once arrested, he said he did not remember anything that had occurred that night.

As a stranger in town, I had been initially cautious, since I did not know what to expect from others. However, now as I was becoming less of a stranger I was becoming increasingly aware of the potential danger I could find myself in. One Elder told me that if the people I lived with went away I should not to stay alone in the house because "The men will come". At this point I understood why I had been asked to stay over at another woman's house numerous times when her husband had to leave the reserve. I now also lived at the far end of town where the street lights were few and far between. Some areas on the way home were very isolated and tumbled down sheds presented the possible hazard of assault by a hidden group of men. As the days grew shorter with the coming of autumn, I would find myself hurrying home in the near darkness while continually looking about, attempting to spot anything out of the ordinary. It seemed that in every shadow lurked a potential danger. Sometimes while walking in the darkness along the deserted road I would hear a noise and jump with fright only to find, with the noise of my heart pounding in my ears, that it had only been a dog or the creaking of an old building.

A large number of houses in Alkali Lake did not have telephones and such was the case in two of the three places I lived in. For this reason it was impossible for me to phone home to see if anyone was there. So after my hurried rush through the darkened road, if I found myself alone, I was still on guard as the house itself was not very secure since the locks on the door were broken. As a boarder in a family home I felt uncomfortable about taking the initiative to change the locks although I did mention it to the woman I lived with. Although she agreed that she also felt uncomfortable and vulnerable in her home when her husband was not there, the locks remained broken. At a later date I raised my concern with the individual in charge of the upkeep of band housing and while he acknowledged that the locks on that house had been broken for a long time, he asserted that I did not have to worry about my personal safety. He advised that all I had to do was to continue living what he perceived as my "good" way of life and people would respect me and not try to hurt me. This sort of advice was often given to women. They were advised to avoid assault by "behaving" themselves and by dressing in a fashion that was not considered suggestive. One woman had been told by her husband that she should not wiggle her hips so much when she danced because one day she would get raped and she would have asked for it.

I did not believe that a woman could control a rape, since my belief was that rape is an act of violence that has to do with power and control, not sexuality. However, I found myself increasingly attempting to fit this image of a "good woman". To play down my gender, I wore loose clothing, pulled my hair back and never wore makeup. I became increasingly careful in selecting the men I spoke to and avoided those who I knew were still drinking. However, one day when I was speaking to a man who had been sober for a number of years he made a very aggressive physical pass at me. This man was not from the community but had been living there for approximately one year. When I told the woman I was living with about this she responded that he had raped one of her previous boarders. From this point on I found myself avoiding situations where I would be alone even with the men who were sober.

Throughout my stay in Alkali Lake I lived in fear of being assaulted. People would walk in and out of the house freely and whenever I heard the door I would ready myself for a potential attacker. One evening I was sitting around the kitchen table chatting with one of the women I lived with. We were alone with her three year old son and were having a rather light-hearted conversation that involved telling each other about humorous events that had happened in the past. While we were chatting and laughing the front door suddenly swung open and one of the young men who was a

known drinker and perpetrator of assaults came in. Immediately we were both silent and stared at him. As I held my breath and listened to the pounding of my heart I hardly heard what he asked for, only vaguely realizing it had something to do with hockey equipment. At Diana's response to his question he left just as quickly as he had come. However, like the blast of cold air that had accompanied his entrance, the atmosphere in the kitchen that had previously seemed so cosy and warm had changed. Diana and I were quiet for what seemed like a long time. When Diana finally spoke she said she felt very uncomfortable and scared when "those guys" came over and her husband was not home.

In spite of the information I was receiving from some of the women I still often felt like an "outsider" since I could not identify all of the men who were actively involved in abuse towards women. Some of the information that had been given to me helped. However, on the other hand, information concerning what vehicles some of these men drove was only of use when they were in their vehicles. Unlike the women who lived in the community, I was initially unable to identify these men once they got out of their vehicles. At one point I came to realize that I had lived in the same house with one of the abusers. Emotionally I began to feel as if I was playing a form of Russian Roulette. Of course, the longer I lived in the community identification became

easier but this did not ease my mind and I still proceeded with extreme caution in situations which involved the men.

CHAPTER FIVE

'SOBRIETY' VERSUS BEING SOBER OR 'DRY'

The drug and alcohol counsellor told me that the problems the community was experiencing in the areas of youth drinking, child neglect and violence were occurring because although people were 'sober', meaning they no longer drank alcohol, they did not have 'sobriety'. He outlined that they were in a state that was commonly referred to in Alcoholics Anonymous as 'dry drunk', a term used to describe the behaviour of persons who had ceased to drink alcohol but had not changed their attitudes, behaviour patterns or lifestyles that were destructive to themselves or others. The community's drug and alcohol counsellor noted that although Alkali Lake had a high percentage of sober people, many were still in dry drunk and had not achieved sobriety or serenity with their new life that did not include alcohol. He proposed that approximately ten percent of the reserve's population was applying the theory of the Alcoholics Anonymous program in their life. This was commonly referred to as "walking the walk", "working the program", or in some cases as Stage II recovery. He told me that ninety percent of the reserve's adult population were in dry drunk or only "talking the talk, but not walking it".

In Getting Better (1988) Nan Robertson outlines the process of sobriety and although she uses the word sobriety

in a different context than Alkali Lake's drug and alcohol counsellor, she states the following in reference to the process after a person stops drinking:

> This [the process of sobriety] may come as a surprise to people unfamiliar with A.A. and Al-Anon. The reason lies in a crucial misunderstanding, a myth believed by almost all those who have ever been close to an alcoholic. It is: If only he/she would stop drinking, everything would be all right.
>
> Wrong.
>
> Sobriety is not the answer or the end. It is only the beginning. The alcoholic has taken years to get drunk; it will take months and years for him or her to clear cobwebs out of the brain, to get comfortable with the idea and practice of abstinence. Other problems that have been smothered by alcohol also tend to surface within the alcoholic and those who love that person. An alcoholic's family is a neurotic family with neurotic habits of coping with one another. Very few people in such a household can deal sanely and realistically with life's demands all at once (Robertson 1988:173, 174).

When I spoke to Brother Ed Lynch, a former drug and alcohol counsellor who had played an instrumental role in helping Alkali Lake to sober up, he referred to the time when a person stopped drinking as the "beginning point" of sobriety. He stressed that sobriety, not to be confused with being sober, was more a state of mind rather than the actual point when a person stopped drinking alcohol. Sobriety was a process that started when an individual or community ceased to drink alcohol. People had to learn the theory surrounding alcoholism and being sober, but then they also had to learn the concepts of sobriety and serenity and

the implications this had upon their life by applying it to every day life.

Brother Ed saw becoming sober followed by sobriety as a process which he explained as follows. Pointing to his coffee cup he told me to imagine that there was water dripping into the cup. Then he asked me to imagine how long it would take for the coffee to become completely diluted to water and how many in-between stages of dilution would occur until the coffee became completely water. He explained that sobriety followed the same pattern. First there was a formulation of the ideas, which was followed by individuals talking amongst each other about these new ideas. The next phase involved the application of these new ideas and subsequently developing new behaviour. Brother Ed further referred to the stage of becoming sober, that is ceasing to drink alcohol, as First Stage Recovery followed by the implementation of newly learnt behaviour in Second Stage Recovery which is a continuation of the first. Brother Ed stressed that without Second Stage Recovery, even though active alcoholism has been stopped, people would go into 'dry drunk' and develop other compulsive behaviours.

This development of other compulsive behaviours such as Bingo was true of Alkali Lake. As previously noted the Band's drug and alcohol counsellor suggested that many individuals were in dry drunk. He also told me although many individuals no longer drank, a high proportion of the

community had now become involved in other compulsive behaviours such as Bingo, which was having an adverse effect upon individual families and the community.

> These young people that we're having problems with today are the people that saw what happened twenty years ago. And I guess it's hard for them even today and for their parents to get that communication and that understanding because we have 98 percent of the people in Alkali Lake sober but we have only about ten percent who go to the self-help group, and you can just see the difference when the people that go to AA, Al-Anon, ACOA every week. You can see the difference in their kids and the people that don't have nothing, just stay home and get into self-pity and stay on that dry drunk. That's the people's kids that we're having really tough time with and the way to help these young people, for me, I believe the role modelling should come from where they start off from every morning, home, but that doesn't happen. Like there's no role models at home and you know I talk to a lot of them young people and they say, well you know a lot of times I hurt and I want to talk to my mum. Well my mum just says I don't have time for you.
>
> Because we get rid of one addiction, alcoholism, all of a sudden came on another and all of a sudden their parents are out playing Bingo until 11:30 and their kids still run around at 3 o'clock in the morning. We had a house that burnt down and there was six little kids in there. Six little kids. And the oldest daughter was about ten. Their mother and their father went to Vancouver for a $3,000.00 Bingo or something like that and they left their kids at home and the house burned and they was lucky those little kids. One of them couldn't even crawl and that's lucky they got out of there alive. I don't know how they did but they did. Their house is rebuilt but they're still going to Bingos. They didn't learn anything from it.
>
> I guess that's where our problem lies in our community with the young people, because there are no role models for them. When they hurt they can't go nowhere and a lot of them depend on their families, well you've been sober for ten years can I talk to you? But that dry drunk you know, ah, I

don't have time for you. I try to do something else. And that's why they end up suicidal.

It's just like us when we was kids. Our parents were drinking at the time and they say Christmas time well I'll go to town and I'll buy you a nice Christmas present when we were kids you know. And they go to town and we were kids and we're standing there waiting for our Christmas present and when they came back and come in holding the case of wines, beers and whisky and where's our Christmas present? Well we couldn't get you nothing because we got broke. Same thing only a little different with Bingo.

In our community, believe it or not, Bingo is seven days a week every night. And this husband came to my trailer once, I was living in the trailer, and he was really crying and he was a husband and he said my car is sitting up there with no insurance and my wife blew $500.00 in four nights. Can you imagine what the kids are going through?

The Spring issue of Exchange examines the role of Bingo in 'Bingo: Still Addicted' and reports:

When you talk to healers, counsellors, health care workers - people who work with alcoholics - you find out that often one addiction (to drugs or alcohol) is being replaced by another - to gambling, more particularly, to bingo. It may appear that addiction to bingo has [sic] somewhat less harmful than addiction to alcohol, but the underlying hurts that cause addiction are still there and still messing up lives. Many healers say people addicted to bingo need treatment just like alcoholics.

"Bingo players who have gone through alcohol treatment are like dry drunks," comments Evelyn Blondin, a trainer-counsellor with Northern Addiction Services in Yellowknife. "The bingo players say they're not drinking, so they don't have a problem." But they do have problems: they are spending money they don't have, they are neglecting their families and their communities (1989:13).

This Exchange article further outlines and quotes Wayne Christian, who is the director of the Round Lake Treatment Centre, in Vernon, British Columbia, and the President of the National Native Association of Treatment Directors as follows:

> "People are addicted to a process." "Bingo tends to attract the sober, but they haven't attended formal therapy. Bingo fills the time. It's a pattern they ran while they drank. They're replacing it with Bingo."
>
> ... What's needed is treatment, treatment for the hurts and pains that underlie the addictive process. Wayne Christian: "You have to understand it's an addiction to a process. The addict has to be taught to do things differently. (The bingo players) think that since they're sober, they're healthy" ('Bingo: Still Addicted' 1989:13,14).

The drug and alcohol counsellor at Alkali Lake elaborated that it was important for individuals to work the Alcoholics Anonymous program in their life. To emphasize his point he outlined his own recovery from active alcoholism. He pointed out that even four years after he had stopped drinking he was still suffering from the effects of his drinking days. When first sober he had refused to leave his mother's house and at one point had taken blankets and tacked them completely across the door and window to his bedroom because he did not want to see any light or people. He elaborated:

> I was sober for four years and I was still throwing my mother against the wall if the eggs were burnt. If my sister was in the bathroom too long I would punch her in the face when she came out. When I got up in the morning I would throw the wood around while making fire.

> One day I prayed, got on my knees and asked for help and over the next year I could feel those old hurts being healed. I started to get up and make the fire, and cook my own sandwich for breakfast. If the rice was burnt I didn't get angry at my mum.

He explained to me that this aggressiveness, after he became sober, continued until he began to attend the Alcoholics Anonymous meetings. Once he began to "work the program" he found himself releasing his pent-up anger and found that he was no longer aggressive in his interactions with others.

He was adamant that the community's problems were occurring because people were not "working the program" and instead of releasing some of their pent-up anger they were developing other addictions such as Bingo. He felt that he could understand this because at one point he had started to stray from the meetings and at that he had to take a hard look at his behaviour.

In the August community publication of 'Alkali Speaks' this drug and alcohol counsellor voiced his viewpoint to the people of Alkali Lake as follows:

> Well for myself I'm enjoying my summer so far. Keeping it simple one day at a time. I really enjoyed the conference and A.A. round-up that went on this past summer they both had some excellent speakers and there were also three other workshops that happened there [sic] was the anger workshop and two adult children of alcoholic Workshops. This workshop really helped a lot of people that attended them. Because I believe personally to be able to grow in sobriety we need this type of Workshops as well as the self help groups like A.A., AL-NON and A.C.O.A. [Adult Children of Alcoholics] in our lives that still drink and want to help them with their problem, we have to get rid of our own problems first.

> We have to be good examples and role models to them. We can only take people as far as we are, if we never really change they will not change. The same goes for the youth or young people, the reason their having problems today is because there are no role models where it should come from, at home. All they want is for their parents to take time out for them, to tell them they care. Not I'm going to Bingo I'll talk to you some other time.
>
> There is a difference between being dry and living sober. Being dry is what is known as being sober but not doing nothing about it, it's the easiest way to set yourself up to drink again.
>
> But living a happy sober life is not doing it alone, going to A.A. and AL-NON meetings talking and getting rid of the hurt.

As the drug and alcohol counsellor of Alkali Lake noted, there was not only a lack of application of the Alcoholics Anonymous program but there was also a lack of attendance. In previous years the meetings had been held in the community hall where an average of 70 to 75 people would participate. In Furniss's study of Alkali Lake she had noted that sobriety had become a "fundamental value" (1987:78) of the community in the early 1980's and that the Alcoholics Anonymous meetings became an important social event that provided emotional support and solidarity amongst those who were sober (Furniss 1987:65-66). Furniss stated that "...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" (1987:66). By 1985 the Alcoholics Anonymous meetings were being held bi-weekly and the attendance on the Thursday night meeting had dwindled to between 15 and 30 Band members while less than

10 people attended the Sunday night meetings held in individual homes (Furniss 1987:79).

I had initially noted this lack of participation during the first week at the Alcoholics Anonymous Roundup, where it was obvious that few individuals from Alkali Lake were participating since the roundup was predominantly attended by Non-Natives from surrounding areas. By the Autumn of 1988 the Thursday night Alcoholics Anonymous meetings had been moved to the reception area of the Band Office and participation involved 15 to 25 people on average. The Sunday night meetings were still being held in individual homes, but were attended by immediate household members and two or three other individuals.

The on-reserve Alcoholics Anonymous meetings were characterized by a pattern of speech that often revolved around past drinking days. Sometimes a person did not speak much but instead would stand up and start crying for five to ten minutes. Both patterns had the common factor of ending with the individual expressing gratitude to the Alcoholics Anonymous program. Usually the person who could talk about the past and make it amusing was the one who would get the most response in the forms of nods of agreement, laughs, or applause. When other speakers would get up and talk or cry most of the people would watch the children or play with them until the end, when the speaker would express his or her gratitude towards the Alcoholics Anonymous program and

then all would nod in agreement and clap. Sometimes the children who were playing with each other made it impossible to hear the speaker.

I mentioned to Brother Lynch how individuals seemed to concentrate on past drinking days in almost a nostalgic fashion, which seemed to generally amuse the audience. He agreed and suggested that the people of Alkali Lake had the ability to emote easily but did not have the vocabulary to describe "working the program" in their lives. He said that he had also noted this tendency to speak about past drunks, and told me that it was commonly referred to as "drunkalogs" in Alcoholics Anonymous.

Brother Lynch explained that initially it had been difficult to get individuals to speak up at meetings but community members eventually managed to overcome that problem. However, now there were individuals who would sometimes speak up to forty-five minutes in an Alcoholics Anonymous meeting. Brother Ed felt individuals now needed to develop the sensitivity to know that others might also want to share. As an example Brother Ed told me that at one meeting a woman stood up and cried in front of the group for twenty minutes. On the one hand, he felt that it was admirable that she could express her feelings: however, he also felt frustrated because she could have sat down and cried thus giving others the opportunity to speak. Brother Ed felt that although the crying was therapeutic and

provided a release for the individual it did not solve the problem. He noted that when this sort of behaviour began to occur it was time to challenge people, but that one got tired of challenging others over and over for such behaviour as crying or presenting drunkalogs.

Brother Ed further argued that there was "a real danger in talking things to death" but not actively doing anything about the situation. He referred to the fourth step of Alcoholics Anonymous program which is, "Made [sic] a searching and fearless moral inventory of ourselves." (Alcoholics Anonymous 1976:59) (See Appendix B) and noted that by ten years people ought to be at the fourth step for the second time but many in Alkali Lake had not done it once.

The Role of New Directions in Alkali Lake

Brother Ed also informed me that one of the events that had an impact on the population of Alkali Lake was the New Directions personal growth program which initially had been known as "Lifespring". Furniss also proposed that the California based Lifespring program, introduced to the community by Andy and Phyllis Chelsea, was the training that had the most impact on community members. Furniss notes that because participants of the trainings were asked not to speak of the procedures it was difficult to know what the

programme consisted of, but that one could summarize that the trainings involved:

> ... 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 (Furniss 1987:68).

When the Lifespring program was discontinued in 1982, Phyllis Chelsea along with two other individuals took over the organization and renamed it "New Directions" in 1983. This was to be a non-profit training program orientated towards Native people (Furniss 1987:68,69), and the Official History of New Directions explains:

> As community members of Alkali Lake grew in sobriety they sought methods of learning to live fuller and richer lives. The absence of role models within the community prompted Andy and Phyllis Chelsea to leave the Reserve in 1979, in search of a method of developing personal living skills. On the recommendation of a trusted friend, they travelled to Vancouver, B.C. to experience LIFESPRING a personal development training. With that training they found the individual living skills they sought, and began relearning how to live "normal" lives, interrelate, not only as a supportive couple but, also as a healthy family unit.
>
> They saw a way for community development to evolve from this personal development training and encouraged fellow Alkali Band Members to follow their lead. Within the next two months approximately 100 Band members experienced the LIFESPRING training in Vancouver.
>
> Community members continued to participate in personal development trainings with various

organizations, each with a specific emphasis. Alkali's growing need for culturally specific trainings bridging the gap between social dysfunction and joyful community living led to the development and implementation of a totally unique and special training model - NEW DIRECTIONS.

In 1981 Phyllis Chelsea and Margaret Gilbert sought the expertise of a training consultant, Lois Thain, Vice-President of INNER DIMENSIONS TRAININGS, whom they first met in 1979 while she was Family Training Co-ordinator for LIFESPRING. INNER DIMENSIONS' association with Alkali had already been established on a personal and professional level through their presentation of trainings at the Mission (formerly a Catholic Residential School). The Mission trainings brought personal development concepts to to[sic] many central B.C. people including members of the Canim Lake, Soda Creek, Dog Creek, Aniham, Alkali, Canoe Creek, and Chase Indian Bands.

Phyllis and Margaret worked with INNER DIMENSIONS as Team Members for two years and during that time Lois began teaching them the skills necessary to become trainers.

Together they identified unmet needs within the native community and prepared a specific training targeting those needs. In March 1983 they presented the first NEW DIRECTIONS TRAINING at Alkali Lake itself. The response was immediate and positive.

NEW DIRECTIONS is not a static training. It has evolved as Alkali has evolved; generating a [sic] everchanging dynamic capable of meeting the needs of each specific training group. As the community and trainers develope [sic] their personal skills NEW DIRECTIONS continues its growth creating an atmosphere of positive change.

One of the community members and a graduate from the New Directions program described it as follows:

There's a five day basic training and there's advanced training and you go through it for five days and it's really intensive, you know. It's something you make a commitment to and you can't leave. Well you can get up and leave but there's a commitment there and all it is, it works through

dealing with ourselves and looking at ourselves. Looking at everyday problems and how we can deal with those things.

We have people who take the training up in those places [Alaska, Arizona] and they do workshops. Their people who have already graduated from New Directions assist with the training. That's what we've been doing for the last eight or nine years. Since the training started at Alkali we've had people come in. I think we've had over 6,000 people graduated, something like that. Three thousand or six thousand I can't remember. Most of the community took the training and we've found that it's helped. It doesn't have anything to do with drugs or alcohol, it's personal growth. But when people come out of that they start looking at their own lives how they can start working on their drug and alcohol problem. Looking at how they can start caring for people. Go out and assist people however they can. For me I took it for myself because there's a lot of things I didn't understand about myself and through that training I looked at more, you know, and wanting more after that I just didn't stop there.

In the article 'Panel Discussion on Aftercare' Phyllis Chelsea describes New Directions as:

New Directions is a program that we've been having here on a monthly basis and now we are beginning to go out into other communities throughout North America. It is a personal growth training. It's about dealing with the self, and for some people they go from that training to dealing with alcoholism or they make their individual goals and it's five intensive days.

The first couple of days are intensive in the way we open up ourselves to allowing, for us to look at what we do that maybe we never thought of, that hold us away from people. But also the way the actions and images that other people see that maybe we are not aware of.

We take a look at letting go of the past, for some people that is a big issue and they hold onto some things, from their mums and dads, and the way they grew up and allow that to hold them back in

> life. Then we go past that and look at hate and fear - the other big issues that we take a look at in letting go. These are maybe still there from when we were kids, if there was violence involved with our lifes [sic], so any big hurt that we want out. We also acknowledge our world and ourselves and the people around us try just seeing the world in a different way (Exchange) 1989:19,20).

Although community members did not reveal what the training consisted of everyone I spoke to agreed that it was difficult and demanding. Individuals who participated in the training met with public approval and encouragement for having the courage to take on such a difficult exercise to improve themselves. Younger community individuals, especially those who were having difficulty with remaining sober, were given positive praise for taking up the challenge to work on their personal growth. Community members outlined that the first three days were especially difficult and that it exhausted not only those who were participating but literally drained energy from community members. These were the days when the most difficult issues were met. Since the training's schedule was tightly organized, the same events occurred at the same time at each training and individuals who had previously participated knew which exercises were being experienced by participants. During one of the exercises that was deemed particularly difficult, individuals from Alkali Lake would often seat themselves in the hallway outside of the training room. Although first time participants were unaware of their

presence I was told that this was done to provide support to those who were in the midst of this difficult exercise.

The two final days were said to be less difficult and were more positive for both those involved in the training and the community. One of the events which met with a high response from the community would occur during the fourth day. On this day participants would gather in the community hall dressed in various costumes. Community members, although not participating in the event, would watch the participants making their way across the reserve dressed in assorted fashions and would comment on their dress and tease them in a kindly manner, that made one think that this particular event must be enjoyable. Some of the previous participants mentioned how much they had enjoyed this event and that it had been wonderful to go up front and make a fool of themselves without having had anything alcoholic to drink.

The training always terminated with a graduation that could be attended by anyone who chose to. These graduations included speeches by the head trainers followed by each of the graduates declaring personal affirmations, such as "I am a proud and beautiful person", to those assembled. One of the graduations was for a youth training where all the participants had been under nineteen. As the individuals introduced themselves and made their personal affirmations I noted that many of the affirmations revolved around how an

individual perceived themselves sexually. Some of the graduates who were as young as ten years old affirmed themselves with statements such as "I am beautiful and sexy". Statements such as these met with the greatest response from the audience in the form of hoots of approval and clapping. When the affirmations were over community members would go over to the graduates to congratulate them and present them with silk flowers. This was followed by a dance later on in the evening with the music provided by the local Night Hawks.

These trainings were also mobile, and met with varied responses in the communities where they were held. Some communities would quickly initiate another training, whereas other communities found they created problems. The training which took place in Kake, Alaska, encountered difficulties during and after the training. When I spoke to a counsellor from Kake, she explained that Kake has a small population of 1,200 and that the Assembly of God, (the Pentecostal Church) was very upset with the New Directions group for using sage and feathers and denounced them as heathens. The trainers explained what they were doing and that soothed many but still left individuals divided amongst themselves. The community was further divided by an unfortunate incident which was through no fault of the New Directions team but rather through the local press who wished to report the event. The editor of the newspaper, the Anchorage Daily

News, had asked for permission to report on the New Directions program as part of a ten part series entitled "Peoples in Peril". He was given permission to do so after he gave his word that the names of the individuals who participated would not be divulged, and that he would respect the privacy of the information he heard during the course of the training. However, when the article was published names were used or in some cases individuals were described so thoroughly that in the small population of Kake everyone knew who was being referred to. Matters that had been spoken of in a confidential fashion were now made public and the community was torn apart, much to the delight of the Pentecostal church who blamed it on the use of "heathen" approaches.

One the other hand, New Directions met with a great deal of success in many communities near Alkali Lake and as far off as Manitoba and Arizona where numerous trainings were held. One woman from another reserve described to me what she had reported to her band council after she completed her training:

> ...I was the first one they asked to share my experience about the training course. I told them it was very intense. But that I wouldn't change anything about it. And that I thought it was an unreal but excelent [sic] training course. And also the people that I met were all beautiful. ...If I get a chance I'll take the course over again (Written correspondence.)

Another man, also from another reserve, noted upon his completion of the training that:

> The personal growth I went through has helped tremendously. It's showing in everything I do. I have my Contract and flowers hung up in the kitchen to remind me of the beautiful people I met. ...It's hard to believe a person can learn to love and care for so many people in such a short time (Written correspondence.)

New Directions also made an impact on the Hollow Water Reserve in enabling them to deal with their problems surrounding the issue of sexual abuse. Hollow Water reserve is described in the Exchange publication as follows:

> Hollow Water, Manitoba is a reserve of about 500 people located about an hour from Winnipeg. It is situated near three Metis communities, Seymourville, Manigotogan, and Aghming. These communities, led by the initiatives and determination of the Hollow Water Band, have made a major breakthrough in dealing with sexual abuse on the Native community level ('Dealing With Sexual Abuse: The Hollow Water Story' 1989:30).

In the same article the role that New Directions played in the community is outlined as follows:

> One of the key things that we did was to send our care resource team (about 20 people, including the school principle [sic], social workers, alcohol workers - all the community resource people) as a group to Alkali Lake's New Directions training. That had a **big** effect.
>
> What we were doing was starting with ourselves in the healing process. Some of us couldn't face issues around sexual abuse because we hadn't dealt with those issues in our lives. New Directions really helped us that way. So with the core resource team we started with ourselves to model the healing process we were trying to get going in the whole community.
>
> It's probably good we didn't bring New Directions into the community right away. That program really opens people up. You have to have

> things in place to support people when they open up. Otherwise you just leave them hanging. We're a lot more ready now ('Dealing With Sexual Abuse: The Hollow Water Story' 1989:31,32).

New Directions also gave the youth of Alkali Lake who were still using alcohol the opportunity to participate as assistant trainers under the condition that they commit themselves to remaining sober for the duration of the training. Those who had participated numerous times were sometimes paid and while others were not it did give them the opportunity to travel outside of the community and receive approval. A tight control was maintained on trainers and if they were found to break the ground rules they were dismissed.

Most of the community except for approximately a dozen individuals had participated in New Directions. Initially many individuals who had graduated from the training continued to participate as assistant trainers. However most of those who presently assisted the head trainers within the community were younger community members in their early to mid-twenties. Although New Directions appeared to have helped many individuals in dealing with some aspect of their past or present life some individuals also interpreted it in their own fashion which seemed to present difficulties in their life. One counsellor explained to me that one of the aspects of the training revolved around the concept of assuming responsibility for one's own life and feelings and to accept that other people are not responsible for how the

individual chooses to feel about the situations that life presents. However, some people carried this point a further step and decided that if others were not responsible for how they felt then they in turn were not responsible for anyone else's life or feelings and began to disavow any responsibility towards others. Some individuals decided that regardless of their actions towards another they were not responsible if that person was emotionally hurt in the process. This attitude would sometimes result in couples separating when they decided they were no longer responsible for participating in each other's emotional well-being.

I noted that this also held a common thread with some individuals' interpretation of the Alcoholics Anonymous focus on one's self and assuming responsibility for one's own actions and emotions, while also acknowledging that one could not control the emotions of another individual. In other words, you could not "make" another person happy no matter how hard you tried, only that individual could choose to feel happiness. This idea went along the same lines of allowing yourself to acknowledge that you did not make someone drink. No matter what you did, they chose to drink. Sometimes individuals interpreted this concept in a fashion that allowed them to use it in a manner to deflect responsibility for their actions. This particular interpretation of this viewpoint was not restricted to Alkali Lake as I had previously encountered it when speaking

to some other Alcoholic Anonymous members in other areas. For example in an encounter outside of Alkali Lake, I once heard a woman comment that the previous statement her boyfriend has just made was rude and had hurt her feelings. Rather than discussing it further, the man commented "I'm not responsible for your emotions". Angry, she got up to leave the building without him. When he protested, she in turn told him that she was not responsible for his emotions. This conversation did not appear to further communication but only inhibit it.

The Role of Other Self-Help Programs in Alkali Lake

Along with the ever present Alcoholics Anonymous program and the New Directions training there were many other self-help groups, often created to meet specific needs of the community. These groups were often organized in a fashion which Furniss described as, "A form of social interaction referred to as sharing ...which may be roughly defined as the open and honest expression of thoughts and feelings among two or more individuals" (1987:78). During Furniss's stay in 1985 "sharing" was also used in other areas such as the Band Office staff meetings and within the reserve school, where it was a mandatory session for students in the higher levels (Furniss 1987:83).

Furniss notes that sharing sessions either began or ended with an embrace and as an opening ritual, sage was

burnt, in a Pan-Indian Religious fashion. This was followed by a prayer in Shuswap (1987:84). Sharing also took place in the Ceremonial Sweat and took on the form of confession to the Creator where "Crying and loud wailing are common occurrences during the sharing, and are encouraged, as they are all signs of the healing process" (Furniss 1987:85).

One woman who worked with the Alkali Lake Band operated school described the importance of the sharing sessions in the school as follows:

> Keeping all this work with the kids. Like for people in that work in the schools. Like there's ways to work with the kids; one way we do it is like we don't want the kids to start hating their parents. You know that's the worst thing so what we do with our kids is let them look at themselves. You know how they can change. And the thing that we have in our school is the sharing circles and we do it with our student from kindergarten to grade ten in every class. Every hour there's a different group and they come in and pass around the talking rock and share. You know about how they're feeling and a lot of times Bingo does come up you know and kids are hurt by it. And kids are hurt because they can't get toys, they're not going into town, they're not going to MacDonalds like they want to and stuff or they're home alone at nights. Those things come up and that's where you know I think a lot of people like our staff can work with the kids because you know sometimes talking to parents is just like talking to the wall. I think there are positive ways to work with the kids so they can see positive things in life. You know, be able to change themselves. Some parents it's just like trying to get an alcoholic to stop drinking. Until he can see it there's no way he's going to stop.

Special groups were also set up for the adults and the drug and alcohol counsellor outlined how they were necessary for community members.

> We have the ACOA, Al-Anon and AA and this is my second year I set up a Men's sharing session at my house every Tuesday nights, where just the male can come and share because a lot of times in the AA, some of the men couldn't share, because their wives sitting in there. You know they need a place to come and share so we have a men's sharing session, a women's sharing session.

Interestingly, the Al-Anon, Alateen and Adult Children of Alcoholics groups, which were also twelve-step programs based upon a pattern similar to Alcoholics Anonymous, did not meet with much success in the community. In the early 1980's both Al-Anon and Alateen had been introduced to Alkali Lake by interested community members (Furniss 1987:66). By 1988 the Al-Anon meetings, a support group for spouses or individuals whose lives were being affected by an alcoholic, had stopped meeting and although there was an effort to start it again it did not meet with much success. The Alateen group no longer existed. In August of 1987 a new group, Adult Children of Alcoholics, was introduced into the community but it was also having a limited success with meetings that tended to be sporadic with few people attending. Rather than go to Al-Anon or Ala-teen some people (although they were few) who did not have a drinking problem or had never drank would attend Alcoholics Anonymous.

Community Workshops

During the five months I spent in Alkali Lake there were numerous workshops and guest speakers whose topics dealt

with various aspects of alcoholism and Stage II recovery. The alcohol and drug counsellor pointed out to me that the people of Alkali Lake had reached a plateau in their recovery and the Band Council was attempting to provide workshops that would enable people to grow past this point. He noted the state of disrepair the houses were in and told me that this was because the Band Council chose to spend their money on more important things than paint, namely "the development of the people". One of the Band councillors also noted that there had to be a continuous development of the people. She proposed that for the first fifteen years community members had been happy to be sober and that "Now the challenge has to be in people reaching their potential".

In an effort to allow community members to achieve personal growth, and to deal with specific community problems, such as suicide, the following workshops were provided for community members. In July there was the Second National Conference, in August there was a one day seminar on Adult Children of Alcoholics. In September there was a ten day treatment for Adult Children of Alcoholics and a workshop on suicide, in October there was a workshop on grieving, followed by a Wellness Workshop given by the community's priest.

The workshop which lasted the longest and had a strong impact upon the community was The Adult Children of

Alcoholics Treatment. The Adult Children of Alcoholics is a relatively new movement which began in the early 1980's. In Getting Better this new group is described by Nan Robertson as follows:

> The Adult Children of Alcoholics, who call themselves ACAs or ACOAs or COAs, are stampeding into the movement by the thousands all over the country. ...In 1983, the nonprofit National Association for Children of Alcoholics was founded in South Laguna, California, put together by a team of therapists, teachers, authors and physicians. Their aim was, they said, "a network of information and caring for the sake of young, adolescent and adult children of alcoholics everywhere". NACOA had drawn almost 7,000 dues-paying members by the end of 1987 (1988:176,177).

Robertson describes some of the characteristics of the Adult Children of Alcoholics meetings:

> Often, the meeting will open with what has come to be known among adult children of alcoholics as the Laundry List. It defines, in fourteen points, the kinds of characteristics they tend to take on because of the drunks in their families. "We judge ourselves harshly and have low esteem," says one point. "We have become addicted to excitement after years of living in the midst of a traumatic and often dangerous family 'soap opera,'" says another. "We confuse love with pity, and tend to love people whom we can pity and rescue," goes a third. The last point is, "We had to deny our feelings in our traumatic childhood; we thus became estranged from all our feelings, and lost our ability to recognize and express them."
>
> Now, in Adult Children of Alcoholics meetings, members are giving those feelings full vent. They have been raised in families where they learned very early not to trust, not to feel, and above all not to talk about the specter that haunted their households. Full-grown and still frustrated, they are angry, and their anger is making Al-Anon deeply uncomfortable. It does not matter to the ACOAs that the majority of the members of A.A. and Al-Anon are children of alcoholics themselves. The focus in the first society has always been on the

> drunk, and in the second, mostly on wives. Many children of alcoholics feel their own problems have been ignored or shunted aside in A.A. and Al-Anon. Often, parents recovering in both groups do not want their children to attend even Al-Anon's own offshoot, Alateen; they see Alateen members as "troublemakers" who are "talking about us" and perhaps hatching rebellions against parental authority (Robertson 1988:177-178).

The Adult Children of Alcoholics treatment was held in the Alkali Lake community hall and facilitated by two trainers from the Nechi/Poundmaker Alcohol and Drug Treatment Centre. The notice which was given to those employed by the Band Council concerning the treatment was as follows:

To: All band staff

From: Band council

You may be aware that there will be an Adult Children of Alcoholics Program at Alkali September 5 to 15, 1988.

At Council Thursday, August 25 it was decided that Band Council would mandate staff to attend. We felt that some of you would not attend unless you were mandated. Community members look up to the Leadership and Band Staff to be examples not only in sobriety but in growth. Everyday as staff you are working with an ACOA. It would be to your benefit to learn about this topic as it will assist.

Instead of mandating staff to attend all 10 days we request that you attend a session Monday, September 15 at 7 pm to hear what the 10 day program will involve, how it will benefit you and assist you in your job. Monday night you can decide for yourself if you want to participate. @end(quotation)

After the initial introductory evening many did not attend the treatment. Some said they could not get approval from the Band Administrator, an employee from the Department

of Indian Affairs, for the time off from work. On the other hand, some individuals said they felt under pressure to attend the whole ten days because they thought that their jobs would be at a risk if they did not. However, many of those who did attend, including some who had initially attended because they felt their jobs were at stake, told me at a later date that they were glad they had participated since they had learnt significant factors in regards to their own recovery process from alcoholism. Many agreed with the Nechi/Poundmaker facilitators who had told the participants that although Alkali Lake was 95 percent sober it did not have 95 percent recovery. The community was sober but did not have sobriety and serenity and had not learnt how to enjoy what life had to offer them.

One of the community's women spoke of her own recovery process, after attending the Adult Children of Alcoholics Treatment:

> For myself, I'm recovering. I've been around AA for almost 12 years. I've been sober for ten years in January. It's been a long struggle for me and there's a lot of work that goes along with being sober and that's part of what we do when we travel out today, is we just share our story because you know a lot of people need to hear what we've been through and that it's not impossible, you know, it's possible to sober up and to have happy lives. Where, you know, the kids are happy and the parents are happy and, you know, not always having to live in that alcoholic environment. Anyway, myself, I am an adult child of an alcoholic. My parents were alcoholics, my whole reserve was alcoholic, let alone my parents.
>
> We started a new group a year ago and it's Adult Children of Alcoholics. We started our group

and what I realized there is that a lot of things that I'm experiencing today came from my childhood. Like, a lot of my behaviours, a lot of my emotions and those are things that I'm looking at now and last month we had a ten day ACOA treatment program at Alkali and there was about thirty-five or forty people who took the treatment and all we did there was look at ourselves. And I started realizing that sobering up wasn't the only thing. Like I had to find different things in my life, like my spiritual side. I really had to look at that, and my emotional, my physical, well not so much my physical [Laughing]. Like really look at the four parts [spiritual, emotional, mental and physical] of my life, my spiritual part, and really look at how I could change, you know, myself, because it wasn't up until a couple of years ago where I was still scared. I was always afraid. I was really insecure I was really ashamed of who I was. And with those feelings I knew I could never help anybody. Like I knew I had to do something about myself. And there's still a lot of things I have to do like to work on myself and to become like a real, the person I want to be.

Right now I'm in training to be a drug and alcohol counsellor and there's a lot of steps that I took which were really risky for myself but I know that to be able to grow and get out of my old behaviours you know, those things I had to do. ACOA for me is like a real big step in my growth because I'm starting to learn to talk about what happened when I was a child and that's something new because growing up I was told to never talk about what was happening. You know like in my family there's a lot of things that have happened and I was always told not to tell anyone. You know, don't tell so and so. So I grew up with all this hurt and pain that I thought I couldn't talk about. And now I'm starting to learn how to release some of it. How to look at myself as a person, somebody that I can care for and other people can care for. And that was a big step for me because I was never able to feel that and some of the things, you know, that I went through that really affected my life, my behaviour and how I felt about myself. I was watching all the violence and watching all the abuse, physical and sexual abuse, you know watching. Just seeing everything, like happening, where I thought everything was normal and yet it wasn't. And those things today, those are the kind of things that I talk about

because I know for myself it's really important. And you know looking at myself and how I came from being a child of an alcoholic and then become an alcoholic myself and just sobering up was a real struggle for me too. I always talk about it. When I sobered up in Alkali I was one of the youngest ones and everybody else was you know, thirty or over and I was about 18 or 19 and that is really hard because you know I felt like I still needed to go out there and drink like I didn't belong there but I kept going back there and after awhile I realized that people did care and it really made a difference.

Another woman who attended the ten day treatment outlined:

I quit drinking on my own for five years and then I decided I wanted to go to treatment because I wanted to become a drug and alcohol counsellor and somehow lead my people. For me I didn't have my people, I grew up as a non-status Indian. And I found I didn't belong to either the White society or the Indian society. That was really difficult for me and it was really a hard struggle for me so I became really rebellious and angry at people and frustrated with the work I had to do in between the two worlds and trying to fit in somewhere. It was pretty tough.

When I decided to go to treatment and take that first step to do it on my own. I guess that was the biggest step for me, because I learnt that it was all up to me, to start belonging, start fitting in for me. And I guess when I was there the first two weeks I was really rebellious and angry because all they kept telling me was what do you want? And I couldn't figure out what did I want. Seemed like everybody else knew what they wanted to do. I guess the problem for me was, I was so busy in my own little world looking after my brothers and sisters and my relatives that I forgot that I needed to do things other than for other people. So in treatment that's where I learnt that I live, I have feelings, I hurt, I cry, I need things. I guess to start functioning at that level, start looking around for things I want. Things I needed to do and so I started going to self-help groups. Like, becoming more aware of myself, where I was coming from sexual abuse. I guess I went to those for quite a while to start understanding why I was reacting the way I was, so rebellious, so angry. I had to go right back to my

childhood I'm still doing that today and going to self-help groups like Adult Children of Alcoholics Treatment.

> The Treatment and New Directions and just giving myself in there because I wanted to do it. Not because somebody else wanted me to do it. Because of me. I wanted to learn things, the way I see things, the way can I express myself. Only then could I learn to express how I felt and how I saw things was to participate in those things and to take that risk of belonging and understanding people and through that learning being able to listen to all other people share and learn from each one and not be afraid to open up their mind. Absorb things from different group areas, not only from Native culture, but also from the White society and the different races learn from them 'cause each one of us has a special tool. Learn not to close out and look in just one direction. I guess that's what I'm learning to do and I still feel pretty scared learning to share stuff like that.

The Adult Children of Alcoholics Treatment allowed many individuals to talk about their past childhoods and to deal with its effects in the present. When speaking to those who had attended the treatment one could notice a change in their vocabulary and this new vocabulary allowed them to express ideas and emotions they previously had not had the words for. During the treatment the facilitators had brought up the concepts of second stage recovery and post-traumatic stress. Dr. Frank Ochberg, the editor of Post-Traumatic Therapy and Victims of Violence, uses the definition of the American Psychiatric Association in the DSM-III-R (1987) to describe Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder as:

> ...an event that is outside the range of usual human experience and that would be

> markedly distressing to almost anyone, e.g., serious threat to one's life or physical integrity; serious threat or harm to one's children, spouse, or other close relatives and friends; sudden destruction of one's home or community; or seeing another person who has recently been, or is being, seriously injured or killed as the result of an accident or physical violence (1988:7).

As one woman from the reserve noted to the Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, "As a child growing up I was always afraid, there was never a time when the fright left, wondering what the drunks would do" (May 6, 1989). When one compares the following life story from a young woman who grew up in Alkali Lake it is evident that many of features of post-traumatic stress as defined above are evident.

> I'm a single parent, my daughter is five years old. I've grown up in a real dysfunctional home. I grew up seeing a lot of violence and like learning how to survive a lot of my times when I was a kid. I've seen myself come to where I was really shy and be really scared of people. To just be me, just be able to share my story in my way, where I don't have to be phoney, 'cause a lot of my stories is a lot with pain. I was raised up by my grandmother and my sister took part of being my mother when I was a young kid. I'm really thankful for, I guess having my sister and my brother in my life today and my family and their sobriety. I was the last person to sober up in my family. I stopped drinking about 18 months ago and I've been only sober that long and I'm just beginning in the AA program.
>
> I can't remember a lot of things but I can remember the pain I went through for myself as a kid running away and hiding. Hiding under the beds, hiding under the table. Mum, my grandmother, used to always take me, put me in somebody else's home where I would be safe. Where I would be able to eat. I remember a lot of times coming home from school or going to school with messy hair, the same old clothes on. It was awful you know, sitting in

> the classroom really dirty and then going home and have nothing to eat. Like trying to cook macaroni and stuff on my own. Going home to a house where it was broken windows and stuff and white walls all over the place, and cold and dirty, and it was just awful.
>
> I grew up without a father all my life. I didn't have a father in my life and that's really painful for me today cause my daughter doesn't have a father either in her life today and I'm a single parent. So that's why I'm really grateful that I have programs like Adult Children of Alcoholics and AA meetings and my therapy. I'm going through therapy right now. I've really grown in the last while and I'm glad I decided to quit drinking last year because right now I've been going through a lot with myself. Like my friend committed suicide in June. He was 23 years old and a lot of people was really hurt by that, like when my friend committed suicide in June [she began to cry]. ... I'm going through a lot of pain with my daughter not really know how to be a parent 'cause I never was a parent, I was never taught to be, you know to be, to do things. I always had to do it on my own. Now when my daughter acts out, my rage, anger comes out. It's the only thing I knew 'cause I saw that in my home. I used to see my grandmother get hit around. Get hit by two by fours. And today when I get mad at my daughter that's what I see and I can't stop myself and that's why I keep going to self-help groups like AA, ACOA and therapy and it's taking me a long time to heal. It's taking a long time to get over those resentments that I have in my life.

One the other hand, the Adult Children of Alcoholics treatment also inadvertently caused at least one crisis in the community. Although participants had agreed to maintain confidentiality of all that was said during the course of the treatment, this agreement was broken when one woman spoke of having been repeatedly sexually abused as a child, by her older brother. The circulation of this information caused a great deal of gossip and a family crisis. Once

this woman's brother and his nuclear family became aware of what she had said in the privacy of the treatment they refused to speak to her and in turn began to talk about her and what they perceived as her shortcomings.

In a statement entitled Healing is Possible it is noted that:

> Sexual abuse is not a problem that will go away by itself. There will be more and more disclosures. Many communities will discover that as high as 80 percent of their numbers have been abused, and that many of the members have been abusers. The fallout from these discoveries can be so terrible that families and communities can be ripped apart by the explosion (Nechi Institute et al. 1988:3).

Two consultants, from Williams Lake, who worked with the community and individual families from Alkali Lake noted that after self-help events, such as the Adult Children of Alcoholics treatment, there was always an enormous amount of what they referred to as "fallout" that would need to be dealt with. One of these consultants also told me that one of the problems with the workshops was that individuals from the community would often think that this was the answer to their difficulties and would ignore the fact that some of the problems were multi-faceted, and that recovery was an on-going process that could not to be resolved by a "quick-fix" such as a workshop.

These two particular consultants were dedicated to assisting Alkali Lake in their recovery work and although at the time Regional Health and Welfare had refused to fund any

individual or group counselling provided by these two, they proceeded to volunteer two evenings of their time for individual and group counselling, no small feat, considering they lived in Williams Lake and had a one hour drive in and out of the community over a slippery, unlit dirt road after a day's work. Some community members mentioned to me that these counsellors had been refused payment by Health and Welfare since they did not possess the required qualification of a PhD. 'Alkali Lake The Story Continues' noted the struggle Alkali Lake was experiencing in obtaining professional help to deal with the community issue of sexual abuse:

> While some families are receiving individual counselling from outside psychologists, there is neither the money nor available psychologists to really deal effectively with the problem. The Band is currently trying to get money to hire a full-time psychologist who could work with each family (1989:6).

CHAPTER SIX

HEALING FROM SEXUAL ABUSE IN ALKALI LAKE

The healing from the issues of sexual abuse was a long continuing process that had begun in 1986 with a community workshop. Since this time there had been a number of other workshops facilitated by individuals such as Maggie Hodgson, the Executive Director of the Nechi Institute, and Dr. Cruz Acevedo, who worked with the Four Worlds Development Project ('Alkali Lake The Story Continues' 1989:6). Phyllis Chelsea is quoted in 'Alkali Lake The Story Continues' as follows:

> ... as a social worker, I get to deal with sexual abuse about once a month. I am still involved in things that go on within different families, whether people are living here or in town (Williams Lake). In that way there are still some investigations that do go on that I am involved with. But there is another level of people who are going through healing of things that have happened while there was a lot of drinking going on here 20 years ago, and those things are being dealt with here daily, whether they're with professional people or between people supporting each other within the community (1989:6).

This article, 'Alkali Lake The Story Continues' also noted the complexities in dealing with sexual abuse in small communities:

> The process of dealing with sexual abuse is not easy. Fred told us that "three people have been charged with sexual abuse in the community. That affects the climate of the community, the extended family - and we have big families - and the school." He went on to say that "every year people are accepting more, they are more ready to deal with their problems. Different couples are beginning to work on their problems - problems like

> sexual abuse - and this is a really big step. We can deal more openly with our problems because we see them as a sickness. And if we don't deal with our problems, guess who will be having the same problems 10 years from now - the young people" (1989:6).

One of the groups that the two consultants from Williams Lake worked with on an on-going basis was a family who had experienced great difficulty in resolving the issue of sexual abuse in their extended family unit. They were also the first extended family in Alkali Lake to deal with sexual abuse after this issue reached a peak when a previous case of sexual abuse had been brought to the attention of the Department of Social Services in the nearest urban centre of Williams Lake.

This case surrounded a family where two members had been brought up on charges of sexual abuse years ago. One of these individuals had moved in with his married daughter. Until a social worker from the Williams Lake Department of Social Services arrived one day and told her of these charges, she had been unaware that they had even existed. The social worker also told this family that if the offender did not immediately move from the household they would take their children and place them in a foster home. The parents were horrified by this action and felt that the security of their family was jeopardized. They also felt so helpless in their attempts to deal with the social worker and the Department of Social Services that the situation almost caused the disintegration of the family unit. Left on their

own to deal with the situation, they had to find another home for their children's grandfather and were forced to bring in their oldest daughter to the health centre for a physical examination. The family entered therapy with these two consultants in an attempt to deal with the traumatic effects these charges had on them and the extended family unit.

These two consultants began to work with the entire extended family unit and in the process also became involved in assisting other individuals. When some community members decided to participate in the filming of a CBC television production for "Man Alive", one of the consultants agreed to assist and participate along with community members. This production, entitled A Circle of Healing, dealt with the issue of sexual abuse and was aired on National television for the first time in January 1989. In view of the sensitive nature of the subject it was a courageous demonstration of the willingness of those who participated to break what is referred to as the 'Conspiracy of Silence' in the article 'Dealing With Sexual Abuse: The Hollow Water Story':

> Many people in many communities are currently in denial about sexual abuse. Not surprising, it is a hard ting [sic] to face up to. Most of our lives we are in denial of some pain we have suffered or caused. It seems much easier to deny the unpleasant, painful part of our lives. Also, most victims of sexual abuse feel ashamed and alone. Somehow many victims come to believe that they brought the abuse on themselves and that they are the only ones who were abused.

> Denial happens on a community level because of fear of what will happen if the story of a person's abuse gets out. There is also no trust: both the abused and the abuser know that you can't really trust people. As a result, there is almost a conspiracy of silence. ...many agency personnel and Band leaders have themselves been abused and have not dealt with it. These victims of sexual abuse often will try to stop the process of dealing with sexual abuse issues because it threatens them personally and maybe economically and politically.
>
> Everyone is afraid of what will happen if their sexual abuse comes out into the open. "I will look bad, my family will be disgraced, my community will look bad." Yet we have to deal with it because the hurt and pain that linger in peoples hearts are killing many Native communities (Exchange 1989:31).

The decision to participate in the two-part special by "Man Alive" was largely initiated by Tassie Nelson in conjunction with a few other community members and Maggie Hodgson from the Nechi/Poundmaker Institute in Edmonton. Tassie explained to me that she had encouraged the production of this documentary since she felt that the issues surrounding the area of sexual abuse needed to be talked about and brought out into the open for the benefit of not only Alkali Lake but other Native communities. Another Native woman who was a counsellor/facilitator pointed out during the filming:

> Alkali has so much to give the people, are so open and real leaders in this field and I think role models are important. It's something we don't have enough of and when people see the willingness to share and the willingness to do whatever it takes to heal and that healing can take may forms (A Circle of Healing 'Man Alive', CBC 1989).

In the documentary Roy Bonisteel, the narrator, for the production also proposed that:

> A community's pain turns into a blueprint for the future, for themselves and for all of us because in confronting the causes of sexual abuse the Native people have learned a lot they can teach the rest of us (A Circle of Healing 'Man Alive', CBC 1989).

Maggie Hodgson, of the Nechi Institute, noted:

> Sexual abuse, I think, is a manifestation in all the races. The unfortunate thing that I think that happens is that more of our people are in jails, more of our kids are in care so that society may see more sexual abuse from their perception within the Indian community and maybe they're hearing about it more and why they're hearing about it is because we're talking about it. Within the Indian community we're working at breaking the "don't talk, don't trust, and don't feel" rule that's related to alcoholism and family violence (A Circle of Healing 'Man Alive', CBC 1989).

A Circle of Healing consisted of two parts. The first was entitled "Breaking the Silence" followed by "When the Eagle Lands on the Moon". Roy Bonisteel introduced the documentary with a commentary that referred to the high incidence of sexual abuse among Canadian Indians as follows:

> ...the first of a special two-part look at one of our darkest unspoken secrets. The enormous rate of sexual abuse within Canada's Native population and the profoundly disturbing story of how much of the blame can be traced to our main churches and the heroic struggle within one community to deal with the problem.
>
> ...Alkali Lake, B.C. is one of the leaders of a new awakening in the Indian community. A community that most of us know only through its long and tragic record of alcoholism, family violence and chronic unemployment. Over a period of seventeen years they've achieved 95 percent sobriety at

> Alkali. They made a film about their struggle that's been shown on television all over the continent. In the last few years they've given hundreds of workshops in other Native communities.
>
> But lately there's a different feeling at Alkali Lake. A couple of deaths and a suicide hang in the air. As every alcoholic knows, in the light of sobriety the mind begins to disclose its darkest secrets (A Circle of Healing 'Man Alive', CBC 1989).

The filming for "Man Alive" took place in the community hall and in the school. The first part of the filming occurred in the community hall after the weekly Alcoholics Anonymous meeting. While we sat in the basement of the community hall waiting for the Alcoholics Anonymous meeting to begin it was announced that there would be a 'Survivors' meeting immediately following the Alcoholics Anonymous meeting. The term survivor was used to refer to individuals who had suffered from sexual abuse in their childhood or adult life.

The room in the community hall where the filming was to take place was surrounded by lighting equipment. Although most of the equipment had been set in place prior to the Alcoholics Anonymous meeting, I realized when chatting to a few people in-between meetings that not everyone was clear that the Survivors meeting was going to be a filmed that evening. Some individuals told me that the equipment had been set up so that it would be ready for use in the next few days.

However at the beginning of the Survivors meeting the group was immediately informed filming would occur and that those who did not wish to appear on camera should immediately inform the production crew and move to the extreme right of them. Some individuals looked surprised and others looked worried. Those who had not realized that the meeting was to be filmed were placed in the positions of having to immediately decide whether they should allow themselves to be filmed. Although those who were at the meeting agreed that it was important to speak about the issues surrounding sexual abuse some felt uncomfortable with being filmed since they did not wish to be identified. For those who had been caught by surprise, it seemed that they were faced with a dilemma that they had not really had the opportunity to think about: the desire to tell their story and help other people through it, versus their desire to remain anonymous. Two of the women who chose to remain anonymous did so from fear of retaliation from their past abusers.

Those who had agreed to participate in the production, prior to the actual filming, had been informed that they would have the option of withdrawing before the final version of the film was made. One of the men who participated, who as a youth had been a victim and then as an adult became an abuser, decided at a later date that his participation would adversely affect his career. When he

called up the contact person in Toronto to exercise his option of withdrawal he found himself talked into staying in the film, although he expressed his discomfort with it. The individual explained to him that although his story initially was to have provided a major focus to the documentary the story line had now taken a different focus and his exposure would be minimal. This individual decided to stay with the production but felt uncomfortable with it. Once the film was aired his role had not been minimized, and he was presented as both a victim and an abuser.

The documentary had many personal interviews and showed some of the actual dynamics of a survivors group. The filming did not concentrate solely upon the victims but also the perpetrators who had also been previously victimized as youth. One of the main story lines focused upon a man who had been let go from his teaching position with the Alkali Lake Band school when he began to sexually abuse two of his female students. This man agreed to go into counselling in an attempt to understand his behaviour. In therapy it became clear that he had suffered sexual abuse by one of the brothers at the Mission (Indian Residential School). It also became apparent that he was not the only one to have been abused at the residential schools. As Bonisteel noted:

> As the Native people begin to break years of silence about sexual abuse what is emerging in case after case is a causal link pointing back to the

residential school system to individual priests, ministers and nuns (A Circle of Healing CBC 1989).

In an effort to enable Alkali Lake to cope with these problems the Nechi Institute agreed to train one community member to become a counsellor specializing in the area of sexual abuse. At a later date the Four Worlds Development Project agreed to provide a workshop in conjunction with New Directions for the Spring of 1989 entitled "Healing the Hurt and Shame of Residential Schools".

Maggie Hodgson suggests that 80 to 90 percent of the Native population has suffered from sexual abuse in the form of rape and incest. Peggy Reeves Sanday, an anthropologist at the University of Pennsylvania, points out "It is important to understand that violence is socially and not biologically programmed. Rape is not an integral part of male nature, but the means by which men programmed for violence express their sexual selves" (in Warshaw 1988:46,47). Hodgson proposes that violence and sexual abuse developed in Native communities through two processes of learned behaviour. The first involved the practice of European men using Native women to initially survive or adapt to their environment only to discard them and their offspring once settled and married to European women. The second learned behaviour involved the residential schools. In the case of Alkali Lake many community members also felt that the high incidence of physical and sexual abuse was a learned behaviour of establishing "power and control" over

individuals that had evolved from the previous years of residential school (A Circle of Healing CBC 1989).

Furniss proposes that one of the events "...that was to have great impact on the western Shuswap bands was the establishment in 1867 of St. Joseph's Mission" which "...became the center of Roman Catholic activity in the Cariboo" (1987:115). Perhaps what was to have the greatest long-term effect upon the people of Alkali Lake and the surrounding Native population was the Oblate introduction of the Indian Residential School at St. Joseph's Mission, in the Spring of 1891 (Whitehead 1981:112,113).

The Indian Residential School of St. Joseph's Mission, like other religiously administrated residential schools across Canada, was a form of boarding school, which was implemented to educate Native children. In Resistance and Renewal, Celia Haig-Brown outlines their function as follows:

> ...the [Canadian] federal government saw the schools as essential to educating the Indian to an agrarian lifestyle and ultimately to assimilation into a 'superior', European society. The Oblates recognized the advantages of working with children in isolation from the influence of their parents and of the importance of daily religious participation and instruction in molding young minds. It was these two forces - government and church - which had the strongest cultural impact on the Native people of the Kamloops area (Haig-Brown 1988:25).

Children at the St. Joseph's Mission Residential School found themselves having to conform to the religious and work

ethics of the school and in The Cariboo Mission Margaret Whitehead notes:

> The Indian child, who had never been confined for long periods of time, who had been educated in the closeness of the extended family group, and who had seldom, if ever, been physically punished for his misdeeds, was expected to accommodate himself to his new environment (1981:122).

The Native children who attended the residential school which was commonly referred to as the "Mission" by individuals from Alkali Lake, had to adapt and conform in a variety of ways. Matthew Dick, from Alkali Lake, who was one of the first students to enter the Cariboo Residential school, was told to change his last name from Johnson to Dick since the Oblate Priests felt there were already too many Johnsons in the school (Williams Lake Tribune, December 22, 1987). Another man told me that when he initially went to school he could barely speak English. When he was asked to tell his name, he responded with his Indian name. He was told that his Indian name was not satisfactory and that he must have an English name. At this point he told the Brother one of the few English names he knew and this became his name.

In her study of Alkali Lake in 1967 Catherine Brow further outlines that:

> In the early part of the century no students, once enrolled, were allowed to leave, even during vacations, until they were sixteen years old. At that time most girls were provided with husbands, chosen by the school authorities, without regard to the personal or other wishes of the parties concerned (1967:70).

The Mission often found itself in the position of having to deal with those who ran away. In the summer of 1901 forty-eight students ran away. Sometimes these attempts to escape resulted in fatalities and in 1902 eight year old Duncan Stick from Alkali Lake was found dead of exposure after he ran away during the winter (Whitehead 1981:124).

It was not until 1951 when the Indian Act was again revised that Native children were permitted to attend public schools (Haig-Brown 1988:119). At this point St. Joseph's Mission School became a General Education School and Indian students were now taught the same Provincial curriculum that was taught to non-Native children. During this period day schools were also implemented for the lower grades and Catherine Brow, in her study of Alkali Lake in 1967 notes that Alkali Lake had its own day school which went up to grade six, thus allowing the students to remain in their home environment until they were older. However, once students reached grade seven they were expected to go to the Mission school until they reached the mandatory grade nine (1967:76,77). Although the Mission still dealt out discipline in the form of beatings, the children were now allowed to go home during the Christmas, Easter and summer holidays. If students chose to go on to further their education in High School, through occupational training or college preparatory, they could not attend the non-Native High School in Williams Lake but went to either the Prince

George or Kamloops boarding school which were both located 100 miles from Williams Lake (Brow: 1967:77,78).

In keeping with the traditional practices of the residential school the Mission the children were forbidden to speak their own language and Whitehead records the perplexity of a former Mission student who questioned why the Nuns were allowed to speak together in French while the Indian children were not given the same opportunity to use their own language (Whitehead 1981:123,124). Haig-Brown argues that one of the primary roles of the residential school was to banish Native languages and replace them with English since "As with all cultures, language served as an expression of and for the transmission of the culture" (1988:23). She further refers to this repression as a policy in antidialogical action, "...action which is based on the desire of one group in society to dominate and control another group through silencing that group..."(Haig-Brown 1988:130).

Once in the residential school the children were separated along the lines of gender and age. With this system the children were alienated from family ties and the older children could no longer look after their younger siblings (Haig-Brown 1988:48). Haig-Brown also notes that due to segregation along the lines of age and gender many of the youth who went to the residential schools did not learn parenting skills since once in school they did not get to

observe parenting and in fact were no longer parented themselves. The little they would learn of parenting and their culture would take place during the school holidays. For some children even this avenue was no longer possible as some parents unable to cope with the dominant White population and forced removal of their children began to drink and disregard traditional customs (Haig-Brown 1988:111,112).

The gender segregation rules were so extreme that brothers and sisters saw each other only upon rare occasions during a school year (Haig-Brown 1988:50). Whitehead notes that at the Cariboo residential school only during chapel service were the boys and girls together and even then they sat on opposite sides of the building (Whitehead 1981:123). One man from Alkali Lake told me that during the years he was at the Mission the only time he saw his sister was at church. He elaborated that the boys and girls were seated on separate sides of the church and were not supposed to look at each other but he would glance around from the corner of his eye, in an effort to see her. In the present day community of Alkali Lake one can still observe this form of gender separation during the on-reserve church services, as many of the women seat themselves to the left of the middle aisle while the men sit on the right.

One drug and alcohol counsellor, who was from a neighbouring Shuswap reserve, told me that he felt that the

segregation of the sexes during the Mission years had a long-term effect in the way men and women continued to interact. He asked me if I had noticed how the men and women in Alkali Lake rarely spoke to each other. I responded yes, that I had, and that at times I found it difficult to know who was a couple unless I observed them in the same vehicle or taking care of the same children. He nodded and said that this was one of the effects of the residential school where the boys and girls had been kept separate in an effort to enforce a strict morality upon them. He further proposed that many of the men felt that they "owned" the women they were with and had little respect for them. He elaborated that this was also one of the reasons why women often did not tell their spouses that they had been sexually abused since they feared they would be held responsible for their victimization and would be rejected by their spouses.

Haig-Brown notes that in keeping with the patriarchal system the administration of the residential schools was extremely hierarchal with Oblate priests controlling the policy and administration while the Sisters worked at the implementation of these policies (Haig-Brown 1988:32). It has been noted that the hierarchical structure of the residential school was similar to a prison although in a Foreword to Resistance and Renewal Randy Fred, representing the New World Media Society, argues that "...many people I

know who have been to Oakalla Prison tell me that doing hard time was easier than doing time in Alberni [residential school]" (Haig-Brown 1988:14,15).

In view of the hierarchy and oppressive social stratification with the residential school the children also began to develop their own systems of hierarchy amongst themselves. The boys tended to create what Haig-Brown refers to as "a counter-culture of clique-like groupings" (1988:50) that would subject new-comers to physical and emotional initiations in order to evaluate their individual strength. This behaviour was not the average interaction in the Indian home but became incorporated as part of the children's interactions with each other in response to the oppressive atmosphere of the residential school (Haig-Brown 1988:96-98). School gangs provided the children with an outlet for the aggression and oppression they were experiencing as part of their school life and Haig-Brown comments that "People who suffer oppression frequently react by oppressing others. Because the children lived in an inhumane environment, they learned to act in inhumane ways" (Haig-Brown 1988:98). The gangs also provided the children with a feeling of family: one Alkali Lake resident who went to the Kamloops residential school told me that she had coped in the school by forming a gang to protect herself and some of the younger children.

According to Haig-Brown the residential schools also introduced the concept of competition to a Native population whose culture had traditionally focused on co-operation. In the late 1940's the residential schools expanded their curriculum to include extracurricular activities such as boxing, soccer and basketball. Many of the students enjoyed participating on the teams since it enabled them to get away from the school for short periods of time. On the other hand, as Haig-Brown notes, this fostering of highly competitive sports among people who were not competitive might also have been of benefit to the administrators of the residential schools in the colonization policy of divide and conquer. In traditional times the Shuswap lifestyle depended upon co-operation, not competition. With the introduction of competitive sports the children not only learnt what it was like to be a winner but also that for every winner there was a loser (Haig-Brown 1988 70,71). One of the Elders from Alkali Lake told me that as a youth in the residential school the priest would always place the Shuswap and Chilcotins on opposing sides when they would box. He commented, "Never Shuswap against Shuswap. Always a Shuswap against a Chilcotin." He felt that this had caused hatred between the Shuswap and Chilcotins and that in consequence of this action many of the men were still angry at each other in present times.

In K'ulentum Re Sumec-Kt E Sle7s: We Made Our Lives Good (1986) Francis Johnson comments on his years at the Mission:

> My memory of first going to the "mission" is blank, but from what I have been told I knew how to speak Shuswap quite well. I went to the "residence" for five years following 1955 and spent three years at home until 1963. During these years when I would come home during the holidays I used to feel strange, as if I did not belong. There was a distance between my parents and me (Johnson 1986:5,6).

In 1963 Johnson returned to the Mission school, after the death of his mother and comments:

> ...I had to go back to the residential school which I dreaded. When my b[r]other and I went into the dorm I felt very sad and lost (Johnson 1986:11).

Maggie Hodgson, of the Nechi Institute further elaborates on this feeling of alienation and observes:

> The intention of the government was to provide them [Native populations] with education and opportunity to learn English and a Caucasian religion to enable them to fit into mainstream society. The results were there was a period of 100 years when our population was removed from our language, our parents and our Elders, which are all the integral elements of our culture and values. Emile Durkheim described the effect on cultures when this phenomena happens: a state of anomie sets in, a valueless society in which there is a loss of the original culture and an inability to adapt to the new culture. The results of the anomie within our Indian population manifested itself in the form of alcohol and drug addiction in pandemic proportions. By 1970, 50% of the Canadian Indian population was 20 years old or younger because we had such a high death rate from drug addiction (Hodgson 1989:102).

In Resistance and Renewal Randy Fred, notes that the account of the residential school and its effects upon

Native people is now coming to light not only in North America but also on an international level among Aboriginal people across the world. He argues that "Colonization works the same way everywhere, its policies geared toward displacement and elimination of indigenous culture: genocide. The residential school, wherever it has appeared, has been part of that policy" (quoted in Haig-Brown 1988:11). In drawing a comparison with the Coorgs of India, who were also forced to attend residential schools, Randy Fred notes that present lifestyles of the Coorgs are now characterized by many of the same features as modern American Indian life: economic dependency, alcoholism and suicide (in Haig-Brown 1988:11).

The Alkali Lake social worker told me that she felt that the sexual abuse and racial prejudice encountered in the residential school were also major factors in Native alcoholism. In describing his own experience in the residential school system Randy Fred states:

> I was first sexually abused by a student when I was six years old, and by a supervisor, an ex-Navy homosexual, when I was eight. Homosexuality was prevalent in the school. I learned how to use sexuality to my advantage, as did many other students. Sexual favours brought me protection, sweets (a rarity in the school), and even money to buy booze. But this had its long-term effects...including alcoholism, the inability to touch people, and an 'I don't care' attitude (in Haig-Brown 1988:17).

Later years have shown that many children of the residential school were sexually abused by the staff and

clergy who had been placed in a position of trust and chose to break that trust. One man from Alkali Lake described his experience at the Mission for the Man Alive special as follows:

> I went to confession to him. I didn't know what he was doing. Somehow he must of found my bed, like in a dorm there's just about forty, fifty beds. Anyhow he found my bed. He used to come at night, he used to put his hand under my blanket. I didn't know what was happening. Just didn't understand. So I didn't talk to anybody, I didn't tell anybody what was going on and I thought I was the only person it was happening to (A Circle of Healing CBC 1989).

The residential schools not only had an after-effect upon Indian people in the area of chemical dependency, it also had severe repercussions when Indian children and adults who had been physically and sexually abused in the residential schools began to abuse other children within the school and back in their own communities. Haig-Brown notes that some of the students brought this violent behaviour back to their homes and quotes one female informant as follows:

> My oldest brother, he wanted to prepare us for our life. Like he was teaching us how to fight and he taught us that we shouldn't cry if something happened to us....He wanted us to be tough (Haig-Brown 1988:50).

It is evident that the residential school experience had a profound effect on the people who attended them. Removed from their families at a young age they were denied parenting, and when returned home they often could no longer speak their Native language and were thus alienated from

their families. The skills that they learnt, in the form of housekeeping and agriculture, often proved to be of little use when they returned back to their home communities who initially were still semi-nomadic. The high level of violence and incidence of sexual abuse that individuals also encountered in the residential schools further depreciated their sense of self-worth and in many cases resulted in alcoholism which in turn prevented individuals from understanding or facing these past painful experiences. However, in a community such as Alkali Lake, where the majority of the community became sober and individuals could no longer hide from their pain behind a haze of alcohol they were forced to examine these previous experiences and to come to terms with their own actions, such as child neglect, violence and sexual abuse.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

The process of giving up dependence on alcohol that was initiated by Phyllis and Andy Chelsea at Alkali Lake conforms in many respects to Wallace's model of a revitalization movement, which he defines as a "...deliberate, organized, conscious effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture" (1956:265). The studies by Brow (1967), Johnson (1986), and Furniss (1987), and now my own, describe the change from a community with a high level of alcoholism to a community that is predominately sober, a process in which can be seen elements of the various steps and stages set out in Wallace's model. The life of the community as I observed it in 1988 approximates Wallace's concept of a New Steady State (1966:163), a condition in which at least some of the goals of the original movement have been realized and new behaviour patterns have been established. Wallace's conception of a "steady state" does not imply standstill or absence of problems but rather that, "Steady-state processes of culture change continue, many of them in areas where the movement has made further change likely. In particular, changes in the value structure of the culture may lay the basis for long-continuing changes in other areas" (Wallace 1966:163).

The previous years when Alkali Lake had been involved in a high level of alcoholism had an enormous impact upon community members, and simply to stop drinking was not enough. By 1988 many individuals understood that in order to remain satisfied with their decision to remain sober they would have to reconstruct both their individual "mazeways" and their culture in order to find satisfaction in their new chosen lifestyle which involved being sober as the basic value. One can observe in the years following the initial move towards a sober community that both individual community members and those involved in the infra-structure of Alkali Lake were exploring different ways to reconstruct new lifestyles that did not involve alcohol. Economic, educational and social ventures were implemented in an attempt to allow the community members to develop skills that would allow them to routinize and incorporate the values of sobriety and self-improvement in a reconstruction of a new culture. Many community members pointed out to me that although they had accepted being sober as a personal and community value it would take three generations before the effects of alcoholism, such as violence, sexual abuse and the effects of fetal alcohol syndrome were removed from Alkali Lake. This atmosphere of on-going change, in an effort to reconstruct a new, satisfying culture while retaining the value of remaining sober has been incorporated

into the institutions, rituals, and day-to-day life of the community.

As Furniss (1987:28,29) notes, the move to create a sober community was implemented by the Chelseas as a short range goal to achieve the long range goal of economic development and to gain political independence from the Department of Indian Affairs. Furniss questioned whether the high level of sober community members was a result of the Band's administrative capacity to secure the necessary funding to create employment and therefore the ability to impose sanctions on those who drank by refusing them employment. By 1988, when I did my fieldwork, most of the projects that had been generated to create economic development no longer existed, yet although the community had a high level of unemployment, remaining sober continued to be a strong community value.

Aberle (1966:326-328) describes revitalization movements as a response to feelings of relative deprivation that he classifies into four categories: deprivation in possessions, status, behaviour and worth. In spite of the decline in economic development projects most community members had experienced an increase in material possessions during their sober years. Individuals who no longer spent money on alcohol were now able to afford to buy consumer goods such as clothing, television sets and even vehicles which allowed them to travel to neighbouring communities and

participate in various activities such as pow-wows. In the drinking years even the basics such food and clothing had often been overlooked in order to have finances for liquor.

One of the projects generated by the sobriety movement that proved economically successful was the New Directions programme, which provided four individuals with steady employment and other community members with part-time employment. It was not, however, initiated primarily as an economic venture, but as a means for individual and community improvement. In 1988, it provided a number of individuals with rewards in the areas of status, behaviour and worth. Travelling to various communities was an attractive benefit since it was an opportunity to see new sights and meet new people. New Directions also provide individuals with the means to increase their self-esteem, since while working with the training program they were seen as experts by participating Natives and Non-Natives. It also reinforced the community internally and externally about who they were, namely a sober community that was considered to be a leader in the field of alcoholism and recovery. Whether New Directions trainings were held in the community or outside, it enabled Alkali Lake to be less insular by allowing new ideas to come into the community either by the people who came in or by community individuals who travelled outside of the immediate area and were exposed

to new situations and ideas which allowed them to compare their life experiences with others.

In general, and apart from New Directions, the sobriety of the community provided most members with benefits in the areas of status, behaviour and worth. Within Alkali Lake individuals gained recognition from each other for being sober and in the surrounding areas, such as Williams Lake, the non-Native population viewed Alkali Lake as a role model community. There were often articles in the Williams Lake newspaper which discussed Alkali Lake's progress, and individuals from Alkali Lake were asked to participate in Williams Lake activities that concerned alcoholism. Community sobriety also provided individuals with a measure of prestige in the White community. For example, one evening my landlord and his wife had lent me their truck while they went to a dance held at one of the schools in Williams Lake. When I returned to pick them up there were numerous barricades set up by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police to do spot checks on drivers in order to stop those who were drinking and driving. Although I was pulled over twice by the police, as soon as I told them that I lived in Alkali Lake they responded, "All right," and with a smile waved me on. Alkali Lake was well known for being sober and this commanded respect in Williams Lake. This was particularly significant since the area was noted for its high level of racism against Natives. The positive response

from the surrounding White population was empowering in a community that had often felt powerless in the face of the dominant non-Native population and the paternalistic control of the Department of Indian Affairs.

The Alcoholics Anonymous meetings also provided a form of liaison between the Native and non-Native community since individuals from Alkali Lake would go into Williams Lake to attend predominately non-Native meetings, and at times non-Native individuals would come to Alkali Lake to attend the weekly on-reserve meetings. This breaking down of racial lines also occurred in social situations in Williams Lake where non-Native members of Alcoholics Anonymous would interact with Native members on an informal basis. For example, if an individual from Alkali Lake was having a coffee in the local shopping mall often Non-Native members of Alcoholics Anonymous would come over for a chat.

Alkali Lake also received a great deal of recognition outside of their immediate area through New Directions and the Four Worlds Development Project as a role model community. The documentary 'The Honour of All' was being used in many drug and alcohol treatment centers throughout North America as a positive example of a community's recovery from active alcoholism. This public recognition was not limited to Natives but also included non-Natives, and thus contributed to the lessening of some of the racial barriers. For example, when the 'The Honour of All' was

shown at the Second National Conference of Adult Children of Alcoholics in Toronto (1988) the response from the predominately non-Native participants was very positive towards both the film and Phyllis Chelsea. Long after the session was over, individuals were still coming up to Phyllis to speak to her and offer their congratulations. The racial distinctions seemed to blur as people identified themselves first as members of twelve-step programs such as Alcoholics Anonymous, and only secondly as Native or non-Native.

In Wallace's description of "mazeway" he suggests that it is "...necessary for every person in society to maintain a mental image of the society and its culture, as well as of his own body..." (1956:266). The Alcoholics Anonymous program provided community members with an understanding and a vocabulary to describe the prior drinking years. Most households had a copy of the Basic Text of the Alcoholics Anonymous movement, entitled Alcoholics Anonymous and commonly referred to as the "Big Book". The Big Book deals with various aspects of alcoholism and also contains personal stories from Alcoholics Anonymous members. These allowed community members to understand that alcoholism was not only an "Indian problem", but was a problem that many individuals regardless of race or economic standing suffered from. In one of the personal accounts the writer says, "I wasn't mad or vicious - I was a sick person. I was

suffering from an actual disease that had a name and symptoms like diabetes or cancer or TB - and a disease was respectable, not a moral stigma" (Alcoholics Anonymous 1976:227).

Individual identity often revolved around the Alcoholics Anonymous disease aspect of alcoholism and also incorporated the idea that it was a family disease. One young man who had never drank told me that he was an alcoholic because his mother and father had the disease of alcoholism. Like community members who had practised active alcoholism, he also celebrated his Alcoholics Anonymous "birthday" even though he had never drank. Another young man who had drank only once also called himself an alcoholic. At times individuals would accidentally introduce themselves in social situations in the Alcoholics Anonymous fashion of "I'm Joe, and I'm an alcoholic". When this occurred the individual and others from the community would laugh at this slip of the tongue. In view of the Alcoholics Anonymous concept of alcoholism as a disease there was no negative stigma attached to being an alcoholic.

This concept of alcoholism as a disease allowed individuals from Alkali Lake to reconstruct their self-image in a fashion that did not involve negative moral judgement: they could perceive themselves in their prior drinking days not as bad people but rather as someone who had the disease

of alcoholism, a disease that affects a large number of individuals. Personal disclosures to other individuals involved in the Alcoholics Anonymous program resulted in acceptance. This allowed community members to accept their prior drinking behaviour as part of the disease of alcoholism and to feel a certain amount of compassion for themselves and others for having been "sick", and not as immoral or weak because they succumbed to drinking.

This was also an important factor in allowing community members to forgive individuals who in the past had harmed them while drinking. Many individuals I spoke to had incorporated the concept of a distinction between the individual and the individual's behaviour. An individual who exhibited inappropriate behaviour was not considered a "bad" individual but a person who needed to "work on" his or her behaviour patterns; this particular behaviour did not negate the individual's good qualities. This lack of negative judgement against a person who exhibited some negative behaviours allowed individuals to accept others and themselves as people who were made of both positive and negative components. This separation of behaviour from the entire individual also allowed individuals greater freedom to examine their own behaviour in order to determine if they wanted to change an aspect of it since they did not have to think of themselves as being a "bad" person should they find an area of their life that needed to be changed. The

separation of behaviour from the individual also allowed individuals to assess their situations in a more open fashion thus allowing themselves to find solutions.

For example, one woman told me, in a matter of fact manner without embarrassment, that she like to have boarders in her home because she knew that she would not physically hit her children when there were others around. I was surprised at this because I had never seen her exhibit any behaviour that I considered violent or aggressive, on the contrary I had always found her patient and soft-spoken. When I asked her to elaborate she explained that when she was a child she had often been physically abused and felt that one of her learned behaviours was to react in an aggressive fashion when she was upset. She also understood her own behaviour enough to realize that she would not become aggressive towards her own children in front of others. Therefore, she had decided that if she had a boarder that would ensure she did not allow herself to become aggressive if she became angry. She was determined in her application of her newly incorporated behaviour of non-aggressiveness. I noticed this determination on a particularly grey, rainy day when I went to visit her. Due to the weather her children were not able to go outside to play and were expressing this restlessness by teasing each other and taking each others toys, all of which resulted in a continual stream of yelling and crying. When she found

her patience being overly tried she said to me, "I'm going to take the children and go for a drive because if we stay in the house I'm going to yell at them and I don't want to". This woman had a clear view of how the past continued to affect her present life and in Wallace's terms was attempting to change her mazeway to incorporate behaviours that she felt were more acceptable to her present world-view.

This compassion was also extended to those who were still suffering from the active disease of alcoholism, and in view of this many community members practised the Twelfth Step of Alcoholics Anonymous which states "...we tried to carry this message to alcoholics..." Alcoholics Anonymous 1976:60). Practising the Twelfth Step of the Alcoholics Anonymous program allowed individuals to feel that they were being productive in a positive manner towards other active alcoholics who still suffered. Individuals who shared their stories concerning their prior years of active alcoholism and subsequent recovery were also reinforcing their newly incorporated "mazeway" of being sober and its benefits when they spoke to others who were still drinking. Practising the Twelfth Step also allowed community members to believe that all of the violence and abuse they had encountered in their lives was not wasted, since they were now in the position of being able to apply this knowledge of alcoholism and their process of recovery in their roles as informal

counsellors. Community members did not need to obtain degrees in counselling or social work; they were regarded as experts simply because they had been involved in active alcoholism and had become sober.

From the specific words and phrases used in the Alcoholics Anonymous program individuals were able to develop and incorporate into their world-view a vocabulary that allowed them to understand what they were experiencing in their day-to-day life in recovery from alcoholism. In effect, through the Alcoholics Anonymous program community members developed a common language that allowed them to communicate with each other about different aspects of sobriety. This vocabulary also allowed community members to travel to other communities or cities and be immediately understood by other members of the Alcoholics Anonymous program, since they had the common experience of alcoholism and a common vocabulary to discuss it.

This development of explanatory concepts and vocabulary was a continuing process in the community. Many individuals participated in other groups such as the groups for survivors of sexual abuse, the men/women's sharing groups, Adult Children of Alcoholics meetings, individual and family counselling and the cultural events such as the ceremonial sweat lodges. This participation in other activities, especially the Adult Children of Alcoholics treatment, allowed community members to articulate some of the concerns

the community was experiencing. Prior to the workshop individuals would describe such issues by Alcoholics Anonymous terminology, using phrases such as "dry drunk". After the workshop for Adult Children of Alcoholics it became common to hear people remark that other individuals who were now sober but continuing to participate in other compulsive behaviours, such as Bingo, were "not in Stage II recovery". This meant that these individuals had not dealt with issues that needed to be resolved, and were now using other compulsive behaviours much in the same fashion as they had previously used alcohol to cope with the inner dissatisfaction they were experiencing in their lives. Some of these other compulsive behaviours, such as Bingo, were proving to be harmful, as individuals neglected their families' welfare in order to pursue their new addiction. Second Stage Recovery focused more upon alcohol being a symptom, a learned behaviour that individuals had used to cope with issues such as neglect and violence, and it was felt that if these issues were not resolved other destructive behaviours would replace the previous one of active alcoholism. Along with the phrase "Stage II Recovery", it became common to hear other phrases such as "power and control" after the filming of the Man Alive special, when referring to sexual abuse. In a recent article in the Globe and Mail which discusses the wide public appeal that self-help recovery books have received in

the United States and more recently in Canada, it is of interest to note that John Bradshaw who is a PhD in philosophy and a popular author of recovery books was quoted as saying, "The recovery movement has given lay people the vocabulary to talk about their problems themselves" ("Reader, heal thyself", June 15,1991:C1,C2).

Alkali Lake had been immersed in alcoholism for so many years that most community members, on initially becoming sober, did not have an understanding of alternative ways to cope with situations without drinking. Phyllis and Andy Chelsea appear to have had a clear understanding of this issue (or in Wallace's terms, the need for on-going change within the New Steady State), when in 1979 they participated in the Lifespring personal development training program in the hope of developing new and positive coping skills that did not involve alcohol. The Lifespring venture proved to be successful for them and many community members participated and incorporated into their own lives or "mazeways" what they learned in Lifespring and later in the New Directions program. Community members quickly adapted to this method of learning new behaviours and the creation of role models through numerous workshops. Furniss (1987:108,109) noted that thirty-one workshops were offered at the 1985 "Sharing Innovations That Work" Conference and the New Directions program offered twelve courses in 1985. During the five-month period of my fieldwork in 1988 there

were four workshops at the Second National Conference, and five others. At times it appeared that the community's standard response to any problem was to hire a facilitator and have a workshop.

It was not necessary for everyone in the community to participate in any given workshop, since community members did informal counselling with each other. In effect, what was learned by one individual in a workshop was usually informally passed on to other community members. This process was vividly reflected in the New Directions graduation ceremony when all the lights in the community hall would be turned off and the head trainers would light a candle, then each graduate would in turn use their candle to light the next person's candle. This lighting of individual candles would continue until all of the graduates had lit their candles from the preceding one. Once all the candles were lit the head trainer would explain how one candle being lit had led to the community hall going from darkness to light, so that even those who did not have a candle could now see from the light of the others'. The workshops were looked upon as a means of lighting the initial candle by allowing individuals to develop an understanding of their problems and to develop new coping skills. For a small community with limited finances it was an effective way of obtaining information for the whole

community through the process of diffusion. Those who attended would relate what they had learned to others.

While I was in Alkali Lake one of the women I lived with and I went to visit another household. While we were in the kitchen her three-year-old son was sexually abused by two other boys between ten and twelve years old. When we realized what had happened we were in a dilemma as to what we should do. The boy's mother went to talk to Phyllis Chelsea who responded that she would go speak to the families of the two older boys. She then immediately sent us to speak to the principal of the school, since the two older boys were pupils there and she felt it was important that the principal be made aware of the situation.

The principal listened attentively to what the abused boy's mother had to say and then replied that he also did not know what to do about the situation even though it was a serious community concern. The only solution he could think of was that he knew of a workshop in Vancouver that was dealing with sexual abuse. He suggested that if the abused boy's mother would attend the workshop with another community member she would learn how to deal with the immediate problem regarding the abuse of her son, and then in the future she could organize a community workshop on how to deal with this sort of situation. He also expressed that they would have to figure out a way to get the money from the Band Manager who was an employee of the Department of

Indian Affairs. At this point the woman who was in charge of the New Directions accounts proposed that New Directions would be able to provide some of the money and immediately proceeded to draft up a letter to the Band Manager stating the importance of this issue and the funds that New Directions would provide and how much was needed from the Band funds. This resulted in three people being able to attend the workshop and bring back the information to the community.

It was impressive to watch people who did not know how to deal with the situation pool their knowledge and finances in a very short space of time in order to find a positive solution not only for the people who were immediately involved but also for the community as a whole. The solution took on a circular approach in that the healing of individuals would be used to help the community to heal and this in turn would continue to heal individuals.

As in the case of community members who continued to be involved in active alcoholism, the principal and the others seemed to make a conscious effort to avoid negative judgement against the two perpetrators. Rather, there was concern that they receive help to enable them to stop this sort of behaviour and not repeat it. It was felt that their sexual aggressiveness was a learned behaviour, and could be unlearned. In Wallace's terms, it was now necessary to incorporate a new understanding of sexuality into their

mazeway that did not involve aggressive behaviour or the use of power and control.

Many individuals in Alkali Lake saw sexual abuse as a learned behaviour involving the issues of power and control which had developed in the years of the residential school, where they had been exposed to extreme forms of Western patriarchy through the combined policies of the religious organizations and the federal government. Removed from their homes at a young age, children were denied access to their traditional ways of life, culture and language, while on the other hand were exposed to harsh discipline, racism, and sexual abuse. For some individuals the residential school experience left them with such a depreciated sense of self-worth that many turned to alcoholism as a coping mechanism and some continued to perpetuate this learned violence.

One can also note the inherent confusion that must have occurred to those who attended the residential schools. On the one hand they were separated from the opposite gender since as Haig-Brown notes, "Sexuality has often been viewed by conservative factions within the Catholic Church as an area which may lead to sin" (1988:50), while on the other hand the children were observing and were often the victims of their guardians' expression of power and authority through sexuality. It is easy to see how this could be interpreted into an idea that those who were weak and

vulnerable became victims. In "Child Sexual Assault" Alanna Mitchell notes that:

> Sexual assault of a child is an indelible lesson in powerlessness for that child and enforces that her role in life is to be helpless and ineffective.
>
> The dynamics of sexual assault of boys are similar in some ways to the sexual assault of girls, and different in others. Very few boys are sexually assaulted because they are male. They are assaulted because they are children (in Guberman 1985:99).

She further elaborates:

> ...a high majority of male victims of child sexual assault "either become batterers or sex offenders." Who were the victims? - women and children. Like their assailants, these men sought to regain or augment their power in the traditional, patriarchal, culturally accepted way of physically and sexually subjugating someone with less power than themselves (in Guberman 1985:100).

The concepts of Second Stage Recovery which revolved around dealing with issues such as past sexual abuse allowed individuals to develop the understanding that they needed to develop alternative coping strategies. In effect, individuals who were involved in Second Stage Recovery were reconstructing their mazeways to incorporate new behaviours that did not involve alcohol consumption or other compulsive behaviours such as Bingo or violence. At a community level, the Band Council was encouraging the reconstruction of a new culture that had remaining sober as its basic value while working to resolve other issues of concern.

The continual influx of new ideas through the numerous workshops and other therapeutic activities was at times overwhelming to individuals. They were receiving enormous amounts of information that were sometimes conflicting to process or incorporate in their world-views in short periods of time. It was a common consensus that the prior drinking years represented difficult times with enormous deprivation in the areas of housing, food and parental care, accompanied by elevated levels of violence. In 1988, however, it appeared to me that there was not such a strong consensus as to what sort of community Alkali Lake was in the present or was to be in the future. To the external world the community was presented as a community that had recovered from alcoholism, but internally there appeared to be difficulties in a vision as to what the community was in 1988, other than predominately sober. Successful economic ventures were few and this reflected itself in a lack of purpose and goals for many individuals; some of the young people were discontent and drinking; many Elders felt left out; and women were still afraid of assault. This variety of challenges that Alkali Lake was attempting to cope with on an on-going basis did not allow community members the opportunity to simply relax and enjoy the community's achievement of becoming sober.

In an effort to overcome the difficulties of coping with the various community problems there was a high influx of

new concepts and ideas through workshops and through individuals who travelled outside of the community. When noting the workshops that were implemented during the period of my fieldwork, and Furniss's (1987:108,109) list of the 1985 workshops, one can see that the topics revolved around, land claims, approaches to Indian education, holistic healing, overcoming family violence, suicide prevention, grieving, community action planning, alcohol and drug prevention curriculum for youth, approaches to youth involvement, fetal alcohol syndrome, and Native culture. Although there was a variety of topics the most dominant theme was the healing of the self or the community.

At times it appeared that the community was constructing a culture that was focused on therapeutic measures. Getting therapy and "healing" from alcoholism was an important component of Alkali Lake's reconstruction of a new culture. While socializing in someone's home, sitting on the front porch or going for a walk the most common theme of conversation was "recovery". Community jokes revolved around the drinking days, while everyday conversation revolved around issues such as dry drunk, sexual abuse, Stage II Recovery, and the incorporation of these ideas in every day life. Many individuals did informal counselling on a day-to-day basis and the most common individual future goal, by both youth and adults, centered on becoming a drug and alcohol counsellor. Community goals were also seen in

the light of "recovery" and often revolved around the New Directions training and the possibility of building an alcohol and drug treatment center.

Like many other Native communities Alkali Lake was also in the process of reconstructing a Native cultural identity. The previous years under the influence of the Roman Catholic church and the residential schools had almost completely overwhelmed their traditional Shuswap culture. In an effort to revive the Shuswap culture the Band School implemented Native crafts and Shuswap classes as part of its curriculum for its pupils. The adults, however, initially began to create a "Native" identity in a different fashion. I was told that in the past the Elders from Alkali Lake had refused to share the Shuswap spiritual traditions with younger community members in the fear that they would "sell" them to tourists. In view of this those who wanted to learn Native spirituality went to the Prairie provinces and learned spiritual traditions there. In the initial years of sobriety Phyllis Chelsea had asked for help from Albert Lighting, a well-respected medicine man from Alberta. Albert Lightning had provided community members with some of his teachings which included showing the community how to use sweetgrass for blessing oneself, and the uses of the ceremonial sweatlodge. One woman told me that many community members had initially used the large Prairie drums until the Alkali Lake Elders realized that they were serious

in their intent to learn Native culture, and then taught them about the traditional small individually-held Shuswap drums.

In 1988 many individuals continued to practice the traditions they had learned in the Prairies along with their newly acquired Shuswap traditions. Some individuals continued to attend and participate in Sundances, a religious ceremony usually practised in the Prairies, while also participating in Shuswap ceremonial sweatlodges when in Alkali Lake. Some individuals burned sage in ceremonials, while others used sweetgrass or cedar; others combined all three. Some individuals used the small Shuswap drums for ceremonies while others used the larger prairie drums. Some individuals who travelled to Arizona also participated in peyote ceremonies.

Some individuals, especially older community members, initially did not feel comfortable with this influx of Native spirituality. Through the Roman Catholic teachings they had learned that Native spirituality was a form of paganism. They began to accept it, however, when the parish priest began to incorporate the use of sage burning in the on-reserve Catholic church services and explained to those individuals who were uncomfortable with it that it was the same as using incense. This priest also began to participate in ceremonial sweatlodges which allowed some individuals to become more comfortable with accepting some

aspects of Native spirituality. Some individuals began to incorporate aspects of Native spirituality into their Catholic doctrine. One woman who was in her mid-seventies once gave me a bottle of holy water and a rosary as a means to keep out evil spirits when I moved into a home that had a reputation for being haunted. Although she also had sage in her home she told me that the holy water was "stronger" than the sage.

This combination of various aspects of different cultures could also be noted at a funeral that was held in Alkali Lake for a man who died of alcoholism while I was there. This man was brought from the Williams Lake funeral parlour to be "waked" in the living room of his family home in Alkali Lake. During his exposure community members went to the household and sat with the family while others helped to prepare the meals to be served to those who were mourning or who had travelled from other communities to pay their respects. It was not considered acceptable for the immediate family of the deceased to participate in the cooking. For three days a wood fire was kept burning outside of the family home. This served the dual purpose of allowing outsiders to know where the man was being exposed and provided a meeting place outside of the house where people stood around and chatted, sang Shuswap spiritual songs accompanied by the small hand held individual drums and prayed.

On the day of the burial most of the community attended the Roman Catholic service which included the use of sage burning and was followed by a procession, led by a man carrying a cross, to the community's burial ground. After the priest had prayed over the burial ground, one of the older community members sang a few Latin hymns. Although few community members participated since they did not know the hymns, everyone stood in respectful silence with bowed heads. This was followed by drumming and Shuswap spiritual songs after which members placed small rocks, flowers, eagle feathers and a few small statues of the Virgin Mary on the grave site below a large wooden headstone that had the symbols of the four directions, in pan-Indian fashion, carved into it. When leaving the cemetery one man suggested to me that I should wipe the bottom of my feet on a low-lying juniper bush so that nothing evil could follow me back to the main community. Later on in the evening there was a feast given by the deceased's family which was followed by a game of lahal on the main floor of the community hall and card games in the basement.

The above combined various aspects of different cultural influences from the Roman Catholic church, such as the service and singing of Latin hymns and traditional Shuswap culture which incorporated the drumming and the lahal gambling game which had been previously recorded as part of the Shuswap culture by both Brow (1967:143,144) and

as far back as Teit (1909:564). The placing of rocks on the grave was also not randomly done since many individuals used rocks as a personal source of strength and these were the rocks that were placed on the grave. One man had explained to me that rocks were a strong source of power since a rock could withstand extreme temperatures and not break or crumble. He had brought this point up after examining an agate pendant I was wearing at which he had commented that "It's a good rock". I believe that the regard for rocks as a power source had come from prior community exposure to the "New Age" philosophy that proposes that crystals and certain rocks can be used as a power source to "balance" people or environments.

The New Age movement had a certain influence upon community members and one young boy told me about a man in his early twenties who had a crystal that he put into the water can at the sweatlodge and called it "medicine", in an incorporation of the traditional Shuswap sweatlodge ideology with the New Age philosophy. This combination of different influences could also be seen in individual homes that contained such disparate items as the Alcoholics Anonymous Big Book, books on Second Stage Recovery, a crucifix, an Indian medicine bundle, along with "New Age" crystals on the windowsill. Although there was an enormous influx of new ideas that came into Alkali Lake in the form of Alcoholics Anonymous, Adult Children of Alcoholics, workshops, Native

spirituality, New Directions and the New Age philosophy, as the community reconstructed a new culture for themselves, these new ideas all held the common thread that individuals were using a variety of means available to them in an attempt to "heal" themselves. If an individual was feeling depressed, suicidal or wanting to drink, other people would offer suggestions such as they should participate in New Directions, attend a sweat, carry a rock in their pocket to gain strength or go to an Alcoholics Anonymous meeting.

Alkali Lake, like many other Native communities, was severely damaged by contact with the now-dominant Canadian society, and there were continual outbursts of community problems such as youth drinking and fighting, or an attempted suicide. It does appear that the attempt to cope with these continually emerging problems was resulting in the reconstruction of a culture that revolved around recovery. Individuals attended Alcoholics Anonymous meetings, workshops, sweatlodges, sundances, New Directions and counselling in an effort to heal themselves and others from the effects of the prior drinking years.

Alkali Lake was a community in search of answers which they often could not find amongst themselves and so community members were placed in the position of having to search for solutions that had proven effective for others outside of the community. Although the numerous workshops and the influx of new ideas were generally perceived as

beneficial, some community members were beginning to question whether the workshops themselves were becoming an addiction and another pattern of avoidance. They suggested that workshops allowed individuals to emote and vent a great deal of frustration, but unless they applied the knowledge they received in the workshop into their lives the workshop did not have a long-term impact or positive benefit. In The Co-Dependency Trap Sharon Wegscheider-Cruse expresses a similar idea:

> It seems that a popular theme emerges as another core issue every few months. It's cultural dependency, crystal power, root shame, pre-memory sexual abuse, etc., etc. To keep up with each new approach almost demands that "getting therapy" becomes a lifestyle instead of an enhancement to "living." It is no wonder that serenity, inner peace, and satisfying relationships are so hard to attain and maintain.
>
> Recovery isn't about doing. It's about "being" - being fully alive, aware and invested in day-to-day reality, meaning and joy. To develop a dependency on recovering is just to switch to another dependency (1988: 6,7).

With the high level of workshops in Alkali Lake it is possible that individuals and perhaps the community was turning to workshops dealing with recovery as another dependency. As previously noted one of the consultants who worked in Alkali Lake had expressed that some individuals saw the workshops as a "quick-fix" and had not come to the understanding that recovery, or in Wallace's terms the reconstruction of their mazeways, was an on-going day to day process. However, on the other hand, the lack of role

models and answers to numerous community problems that had previously been ignored in the years of active alcoholism made it difficult to determine whether community members were using the workshops more as a past-time that allowed them to keep busy by participating in a community event or simply as means to find solutions to the numerous concerns of the community.

Although the influx of new ideas was generally perceived as beneficial, The Four Worlds Development Project, New Directions, the Alcoholics Anonymous program, New Age ideas and the numerous workshops, could be seen as generating new problems. The high level of publicity that Alkali Lake had received through New Directions and the Four Worlds Development Project meant there was a strong external pressure that individuals in Alkali Lake remain sober. As previously noted one young man had mentioned in the article "Alkali Lake Revisited" that the fact that so many youth were drinking was "...starting to make us look bad again" (Exchange 1989:5). This was something that individuals were highly aware of, that if community members began to drink again, they would loose the prestige they had received because they were sober. This created a great deal of tension between those who enjoyed benefits from living in a sober community and those who continued to drink.

This loss of community anonymity also led to an influx of strangers who were often attempting to seek recovery from

their own histories of chemical dependency which placed an additional burden on individuals that already had a housing shortage. Further stress was created when these strangers caused problems when they drank or became violent against community members. Some strangers who came to Alkali Lake exploited local individuals, in the name of recovery, when they took advantage of community members by stealing or by not paying board. This was causing stress in the community and in the later part of my fieldwork I heard that the Band Council was in the process of attempting to implement a new rule that would put a tighter control on Alkali Lake's "open door" policy. Strangers would have to apply for permission from the Band Council before they were allowed to remain in Alkali Lake. Although this decision was felt to be necessary by the Band Council to control the influx of strangers it also placed individuals in the position of feeling uncomfortable in not being allowed to practice the Twelfth Step of Alcoholics Anonymous when they deemed it to be necessary. In the future this could possibly present problems within the community between those individuals involved in the infrastructure and community members who felt that should have the right to practice the Alcoholics Anonymous program in the manner they saw fit and help other individuals when they chose to.

The Alcoholics Anonymous concept of alcoholism as a disease which allowed individuals to reconstruct their self-

image in a positive manner also inadvertently allowed those who continued to drink considerable freedom since those who were actively involved in alcohol consumption were considered to be in the active stage of the disease and therefore not responsible for their actions. To get angry at someone while they were drinking would be like getting angry at someone for their behaviour while they were in the grip of suffering in any disease, and to express such anger meant that an individual was not "working the program". It was also felt that an individual would not stop drinking until they "hit their bottom": there was virtually nothing a person could do about another's drinking until the drinker had hit that bottom. This meant that numerous individuals felt a great deal of frustration and helplessness with some issues such as the youth who continued to drink, but they had little means of expressing their emotions except to talk about it. Consequently, community members tolerated a great deal of what would normally be considered unacceptable behaviour on the part of drinkers. The accepted way to deal with a person who was disrupting the community was to talk to them and show concern for their behaviour. This allowed some individuals a great deal of freedom without fear of punishment. In effect, it also permitted them to continue to abuse other community members, emotionally, physically and sexually.

In some ways the Alcoholics Anonymous approach fostered a sense of continual therapy within Alkali Lake. Since many community members counselled each other in the informal manner of Alcoholics Anonymous it was common to have an individual who was experiencing difficulties to drop over and talk about a problem they were experiencing. Through their experiences in the Alcoholics Anonymous program individuals did not find it appropriate to refuse to listen to those who needed it. This meant that individuals in their informal role as counsellors were virtually on-the-job twenty-four hours a day. At times it appeared to me that one of the few ways individuals could relax and not have to think about recovery or who might drop in to talk about issues surrounding recovery was to leave the community.

As Furniss (1987:7) noted Alkali Lake was a very mobile community, with many individuals travelling into Williams Lake on a daily basis. Privacy was scarce on the reserve due to limited housing, and a vehicle was often the only source of privacy available for an individual who wanted to be alone or who wanted to speak to someone else privately. I found that it was common to go off-reserve on an almost daily basis. In one of the households I lived in we would usually leave the reserve in the early evening after work, to go hunting or fishing. We usually did not spend much time hunting and fishing but usually drove around over the backroads until after dark. At one point a woman I lived

with said to me, "Come on, we'll go for a drive, I've got to get off the reserve". In another household I lived in it was common for the couple to drive into William's Lake on an almost daily basis where they would go to the local shopping mall and look around or sit and have a coffee. When we were away from Alkali Lake I noticed that individuals rarely spoke of issues surrounding "recovery" and these excursions outside of the community resembled a small vacation where one was removed from the on-going individual and community problems.

This influx of new ideas into the community also at times lead to the implementation of different ideas that were in contradiction to each other. Although the Four Worlds Development Project and New Directions provided an influence that was generally perceived as positive in Alkali Lake, the resulting publicity also broke one of the accepted rulings of the Alcoholics Anonymous program, anonymity. In view of the fact that most community members became sober through the Alcoholics Anonymous program it is of interest that they did not maintain their anonymity. This was not in keeping with the Eleventh tradition of Alcoholics Anonymous which states that "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" (Alcoholics Anonymous 1976:59). In the Alcoholics Anonymous Pamphlet <u>The Twelve Traditions</u>, a description of the

Eleventh Tradition notes that "According to a Conference opinion, members are breaking their anonymity when they are identified on TV as A.A.'s and their faces are shown-whether or not their names are given" (Alcoholics Anonymous World Services, Inc. 1971). In the docu-drama "The Honour of All", which was produced by the Four Worlds Development Project, there was clearly no effort made to disguise the community of Alkali Lake nor the community members who appeared in it. Although the community broke this Eleventh tradition there did not appear to be any negative censure against them by other Alcoholics Anonymous groups or individual members.

This lack of anonymity caused stress among community members, since some Alcoholics Anonymous members such as Phyllis and Andy Chelsea who had initiated the move to a sober community, were in great demand to go speak to other communities. As a result of this, New Directions, which was not only a social venture but also an economic one, charged a higher fee when a community asked for Andy and Phyllis than if another individual went to speak. This high demand for Andy and Phyllis as speakers also meant they were often removed from the community and many individuals felt that they were ignoring their duties as Band Chief and social worker in order to further their own economic gains at the expense of the community's welfare.

In a small community such as Alkali Lake it was very also difficult to maintain any form of anonymity on a community level. As previously noted at least one disclosure that was made in a workshop where confidentiality had been agreed upon quickly became public knowledge, and resulted in community gossip followed by a family disruption. Perhaps this was why the greater proportion of the community did not 'work the program' of Alcoholics Anonymous as some of the community members felt they ought to, and viewed the meetings as more of a social event where one spoke of past drunks and finished up the evening with clapping and cake and coffee. By speaking of events which revolved around past drinking days these "drunkalogs" allowed the meetings to be enjoyable and confirmed the progress that had been accomplished without causing factional disputes between individuals and family groups by discussing present difficulties and those of the past that had not yet been resolved.

Some aspects of the New Age philosophy could also be said to have the potential to disrupt community cohesion. The New Age philosophy incorporates a concept of reincarnation that professes that one is responsible for and chooses the events in one's life. This was sometimes referred to in a broad sense, as "creating one's own reality". For example, when I spoke to one woman who had been exposed to the New Age philosophy about my fear of

being assaulted in the community she proposed to me that I "created my own reality" and that if I feared being assaulted then it would happen.

This belief of one creating one's own reality would seem to indicate a need to feel in control of one's own life, since if an individual creates their own reality they are ultimately in control of their life. Should an individual profess to have created their own reality in reference to a positive event this could be empowering and allow an individual to acknowledge their responsibility in their success. In the case of victimization, it could allow one to note how they had possibly endangered themselves by placing themselves in a vulnerable situation. However, on the other hand, it could be very demoralizing to be victimized and then victimized again by a belief system that proposed one created one's own reality. In such a case this viewpoint of creating one's own reality could impede efforts made by the community to change negative behaviour that was proving harmful to the community and promote irresponsibility on the part of the aggressors.

In summary Alkali Lake, like many other Native communities, experienced severe cultural distortion and societal damage by contact with the now-dominant Canadian society. For a generation or more, the community lived with a high level of alcoholism and attendant problems of violence and family disfunction. In a short span of time

Alkali Lake made a remarkable achievement which began with one woman's decision to stop drinking in 1972, and resulted in 98 percent of the community becoming sober by 1985. Brow's (1967) description indicates that in the past the highest levels of community alcohol problems occurred during periods of decreased economic activity. In 1988 although many of the projects initiated to create economic development no longer existed the community still had a high level of sobriety, with drinking occurring predominately among some of the community's youth. That most community members chose to remain sober in spite of economic constraints and the difficulties they were experiencing in dealing with past and present issues of violence and sexual abuse demonstrates their determination to create a community that would be of benefit to both the present and future generations.

In becoming sober Alkali Lake residents realized that to simply stop drinking was not enough, and community members were strongly motivated by their desire to not simply be sober but to enjoy the fruits of sobriety. In order to achieve this goal Alkali Lake was often placed in the position of having to make difficult decisions in regards to their limited finances. In an effort to obtain professional assistance the community infrastructure often found itself in the position of having to put aside necessary community projects such as house renovations. In

view of the difficulties Alkali Lake was experiencing in resolving issues of concern such as past and present issues of violence and sexual abuse, the focus placed upon therapy was necessary. However, in order to provide individuals with a sense of worth and belonging not only within their own community but also in the now-dominant Canadian society, it will be necessary for Alkali Lake to expand its goals in other areas such as education and economic development, since employment not only increases an individual's immediate finances but also provides satisfaction through productivity. The opportunity for gainful employment also provides a strong initiative for youth to obtain an education. Due to its relative isolation and lack of access to natural resources this will be a difficult challenge.

Alkali Lake is in a situation that will face many Native communities in view of the current move towards self-determination. Many such communities will need access to funding that will allow them to employ professionals to provide assistance in the areas that are deemed necessary by the community and its infrastructure. The infrastructure must also be in a position to provide community members with goals that will allow them to develop a sense of pride and belonging. The development of successful economic ventures in remote isolated communities however, requires different strategies than the ones commonly used in urban centers.

In 1988 the Indian Services Program Social Development Branch noted in the Task Force on Social Assistance that 94 percent of the on-reserve Native population was located in rural areas, with 125 bands considered remote (1988:45). In order for remote Native communities to become viable it will be necessary, as noted by Lesley Bain, that alternative approaches to social assistance involve an examination of existing concepts of work which have been developed for economies that are labour-intensive. Bain proposes that alternative models for work should not only concentrate on capital gains but also on social and cultural benefits (1986:55). One can note when examining successful economic ventures in other small isolated communities that community members are often in the best position to evaluate their strengths and liabilities and potential successful economic ventures.

In the case of Alkali Lake, the majority of community members appear to be comfortable in their newly-found role as informal counsellors, and common community consensus appears to revolve around the development of a community drug and alcohol rehabilitation center. With the proper support, such a facility could prove to be a solid economic venture. Alkali Lake has proven its determination to become a viable community through its initial success in attaining almost total community sobriety and its development of the New Directions program which was a successful economic

venture. The opening of a drug and alcohol rehabilitation center has the potential to provide the community with an economic base that would allow for further development in other areas in the future.

In view of Alkali Lake's success in becoming a sober community they have been the recipients of an enormous amount of admiration and therapeutic assistance from both Native and non-Native populations. Perhaps it is now necessary for outside organizations to begin to assist Alkali Lake in developing viable economic ventures that could build on Alkali Lake's remarkable achievement.

REFERENCES CITED

A CIRCLE OF HEALING

1989 "Man Alive". Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

AHARAN, C.H.

1987 Alcoholism: A Response To Life. Victoria, British Columbia: Victoria Life Enrichment Society.

ABERLE, DAVID F.

1966 The Peyote Religion Among the Navahos. Chicago: Aldine.

ALCOHOLICS ANONYMOUS

1976 Alcoholics Anonymous (first published 1939). Alcoholics Anonymous World Services, Inc..

ALKALI SPEAKS

1988 July issue of the Alkali Lake Community Newspaper.

BAIN, LESLEY J.

1986 Social Assistance Policy Alternatives Issues and Options as Identified by Bands and Tribal Councils. Master's Thesis for the University of British Columbia.

BAKER, JOAN

1982 'Alcoholism and the American Indian' in Alcoholism. Edited by Nada Estes and Edith Heinemann. Toronto: The C.V. Mosby Company.

BROW, CATHERINE JUDITH

1967 A Socio-Cultural History Of The Alkali Lake Shuswap, 1882-1966. Master's Thesis for the University of Washington.

BRODY, HUGH

1981 Maps and Dreams. Toronto: Douglas and McIntyre.

BURRIDGE, KENELM

1987 'Millenarianism' in The Encyclopedia of Religion edited by Mircea Eliade. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company.

CLARK, JOREENE M.G. and DEBRA J. LEWIS

1977 Rape: The Price of Coercive Sexuality. Toronto: The Women's Press.

FISHER, A.D.

1987 'Alcoholism and Race: The Misapplication of Both Concepts to North American Indians.' In The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology. Volume 24, Number 1.

FOUR WORLDS HEALTH PROMOTION PROJECT
(A SECTOR OF THE FOUR WORLDS DEVELOPMENT PROJECT)

1989 'Alkali Lake The Story Continues'. Exchange. Volume One, Number Two, Winter/Spring.

1989 'Bingo: Still Addicted'. Exchange. Volume One, Number Two, Winter/Spring.

1989 'Co-dependence: The Next Frontier'. Exchange. Volume One, Number Two, Winter/Spring.

1989 'Dealing With Sexual Abuse: The Hollow Water Story'. Exchange. Volume One, Number Two, Winter/Spring.

1989 Panel Discussion on Aftercare'. Exchange. Volume One, Number Two, Winter/Spring.

FURNISS, ELIZABETH MARY

1987 A Sobriety Movement Among the Shuswap Indians of Alkali Lake. Master's Thesis for the University of British Columbia.

GOLDE, PEGGY (EDITOR)

1986 Women in the Field. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.

GONZALEZ, ELLICE B.

1984 Anthropology, The Study of Man and Occasionally Woman. Michigan State University. Office of Women in International Development. Working paper, Number 75.

GREEN, M.

1987 'A Girl's Anger Rouses Her Kinfolk From An Alcoholic Daze'. People. January, 1987.

HAIG-BROWN, CELIA

1988 Resistance and Renewal. Vancouver: Tillacum Library.

HALL, R.

1985 'Distribution of the Sweat Lodge in Alcohol Treatment Programs' in Current Anthropology Volume 26, Number 1.

HAMER, JOHN. JACK STEINBRING

1980 'Introduction' in Alcohol and Native Peoples of the North. Lanham, MD, U.S.A.: University Press of America, Inc..

HARVEY, DAVID

1983 'Hunters of the Lost Spririt' in National Geographic. February.

HODGSON, MAGGIE

1989 'The Nechi Institute on Alcohol and Drug Education'. Canadian Woman Studies. Volume 10, Numbers 2 & 3. York University Publication.

INDIAN AND NORTHERN AFFAIRS

1988 Task Force on Social Assistance. Indian Services Program Social Development Branch. Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs.

JILEK-AALL

1981 'Acculturation, Alcoholism and Indian-Style Alcoholics Anonymous' in Journal of Studies on Alcohol, Suppl. Number 9.

JOHNSON, FRANCIS (PRE7)

1986 K' Ulentum Re Sumec-Kt E Sle7s: (We Made Our Lives Good. Masters Thesis for the University of British Columbia.

LEADER POST

1987 ''Alcohol Lake': Story of Success'. Regina, Saskatchewan: October 8, 1987.

LELAND, JOY

1976 Firewater Myths. New Brunswick: Publications Division Rutgers Center of Alcohol Studies.

LEMERT E.

1980 'Alcohol in the Life of Northwest Coast Indians' in Alcohol and Natives Peoples of the North]. Lanham, MD, U.S.A.: University Press of America, Inc..

LEX, B.

1987 'Review of Alcohol Problems in Ethnic Minority Groups' in Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, Volume 55, Number 3.

LIGHT, WILLIAM

1986 Psychodynamics of Alcoholism. Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas Publisher.

MANYONI, JOSEPH

1983 "Eager Visitor, Reluctant Host: The Anthropologist as Stranger". Anthropological 25 (2) (N.S.).

MAY, PHILIP

1986 'Alcohol and Drug Misues Prevention Programs for American Indians: Needs and Opportunities' in Journal of Studies on Alcohol, Volume 47, Number 3.

MITCHELL, ALANNA

1985 'Child Sexual Assault' in No Safe Place. Edited by Connie Guberman and Margie Wolfe. Toronto: Women's Press.

NECHI INSTITUTE, FOUR WORLDS DEVELOPMENT PROJECT, THE NATIVE TRAINING INSTITUTE, NEW DIRECTIONS TRAINING - ALKALI LAKE

1988 Healing is Possible. A Joint Statement on the Healing of Sexual Abuse in Native Communities.

OCHBERG, FRANK M.

1988 'Post-Traumatic Therapy and Victims of Violence' in Post-Traumatic Therapy and Victims of Violence. Edited by Frank M. Ochberg, M.D.. New York: Brunner/Mazel.

POUNDMAKER'S LODGE

1986 'Alcoholism and Drug Abuse Treatment Centre' in Poundmaker's Lodge brochure.

ROSS, VAL

1991 'Reader,heal thyself' in Globe and Mail. Saturday, June 15,1991. (Section C).

ROBERTSON, NAN

1988 Getting Better. New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc.

SCHUCKIT, MARC

1987 'Biological Vulnerability to Alcoholism' in Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, Volume 55, Number 3.

SHKILNYK, ANASTASIA

1985 A Poison Stronger Than Love. London: Yale University Press.

STAR-PHOENIX

1989 Saskatoon: May 6, 1989

TEIT, JAMES

1909 The Shuswap, Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History 4(7):443-812. Reprinted as volume 2(7) of the Jesup Expedition, edited by Franz Boas. New York: G.E. Stechert.

THE TWELVE TRADITIONS

1971 New York: Alcoholics Anonymous World Services, Inc.

WADDELL, JACK

1985 'Malhiot's Journal: An Ethnohistoric Assessment of Chippewa Alcohol Behavior In The Early Nineteenth Century' in Ethnohistory. Number 32, Volume 3.

WALLACE, ANTHONY

1956 'Revitalization Movements' in American Anthropologist, April 1956, Vol. 58, Number 2.

1966 Religion An Anthropological View. New York: Random House.

WALLACE, JOHN

1982 'Alcoholism From The Inside Out: A Phenomenological Analysis' in Alcoholism. Edited by Nada Estes and Edith Heinemann. Toronto: The C.V. Mosby Company.

WARSHAW, ROBIN

1988 I Never Called It Rape. New York: Harper and Row.

WAX, ROSALIE H.

1986 "Gender and Age in Fieldwork and Fieldwork Education: "Not Any Good Thing is Done by One Man Alone"". In Self, Sex, and Gender in Cross-Cultural Fieldwork. Edited by Tony Whitehead and Mary Conaway. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

WEGSCHEIDER-CRUSE

1988 The Co-Dependency Trap. Rapid City, South Dakota: Nurturing Networks, Inc..

THE WILLIAMS LAKE TRIBUNE

1987 Centennial Edition. Tuesday, December 22. Williams Lake Archives.

WHITEHEAD, MARGARET

1981 The Cariboo Mission. Victoria: Sono Nis Press.

WHITEHEAD, TONY and MARY CONAWAY (EDITORS)

1986 Self, Sex, and Gender in Cross-Cultural Fieldwork. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

YINGER, MILTON

1970 The Scientific Study of Religion. London: The Macmillan Company.

YORK, GEOFFREY

1990 The Dispossessed. London: Vintage U.K.

ZWARUN, SUSANNE

1987 'How Sobriety Came to 'Alcohol Lake''. Chatelaine, September 1987.

APPENDIX A

PERSONAL REFLECTIONS ON FIELDWORK

In the Spring of 1989 after I had returned from the field I presented a working paper entitled "Gender, Native Identity and Fieldwork" at the annual meetings of the Canadian Ethnology Society. The session was entitled "Crossing Cultural Boundaries: The Personal Factor in Anthropological Discovery" and my focus was on how I perceived my Native identity and gender to have affected my fieldwork. It was also an attempt to sort out my feelings and the misgivings I had felt in the role of an anthropologist in my first experience at fieldwork. This section is based mainly on that paper.

More than academic curiosity was behind my choice of research, since my own youth had been troubled by growing up in an alcoholic environment that had been mentally and physically abusive. Although I was interested in understanding the dynamics of family and community alcoholism, I did not want to immerse myself in a community study where there was a high level of active alcoholism. I felt that having lived in an alcoholic environment for most of my youth was enough exposure to the situation. Therefore, when I first heard of Alkali Lake through a Native drug and alcohol counsellor I had met at an Ottawa pow-wow I felt

that this would be an opportunity to develop further understanding not only in regards to alcoholism but more importantly to the process of recovery. I was impressed not only by the fact that Alkali Lake claimed that their community was 98 percent sober, but also because they had been able to initially identify that alcoholism was a problem.

From my own experience I realized that living in a family and community that had alcoholism problems did not necessarily mean that one knew it was a problem. In my case, it took me years to figure out that it had been and in many cases continued to be a problem in my home environment. One would think that being constantly exposed to alcohol and individuals who drank excessively would have made this obvious, but it was not. Only when I left home and was exposed to other individuals and families who did not drink did I realize that alcoholism was not a normal way of life. Prior to this point I did not have the means of comparison.

My initial exposure to a different way of life came about when I decided to attend university. Although I was at first overwhelmed by academic life, my undergraduate years gave me unbridled freedom to pursue knowledge. While attaining this knowledge I also became aware that I was beginning to feel an increasing sense of power in dealing

with White institutions and individuals. The overwhelming sense of powerlessness I had felt in prior years when dealing with institutional authority figures was slowly ebbing away. University not only taught me a vocabulary that was effective; it also gave me the opportunity to learn how to articulate thoughts that previously I had been unable to express. As a youth I had observed my family's helplessness in dealing with authority figures in the dominant Canadian society. I had watched family members react in confusion and fear when faced with an encounter with a school teacher or a government official, and I had incorporated this helplessness as part of my own lifestyle. However, as my exposure to academia increased so did my confidence, and I found myself unwilling to tolerate verbal domination and abuse at the hands of others.

Although I enjoyed the pursuit of knowledge and the increasing confidence I was gaining, I was also bothered by conflicting feelings that I was selfish in my pursuit of an education. At times I felt that perhaps I should get a job, get married and settle down. Many individuals in my family often pointed out that I was not getting younger while "wasting my time" in University. I also had nothing to show for "this education" that I was spending so much time and money to obtain. I also came to realize that to some family individuals I was perceived as a threat, since

they perceived my wish to obtain an education as a rejection of themselves and their lifestyle.

My mother would often complain about how she and my father did not have any education; she frequently made comments such as, "I'm dumb and have to earn my living scrubbing other people's floors." She also pointed out that I would not have to do the same and predicted, "Soon you'll go by me on the street and won't recognize me". In vain I would attempt to reassure her that this was not the case and that although I had chosen a different way of life, I was not rejecting her.

Nonetheless, in spite of my insistence that I was still the same person, my undergraduate years provided me with an environment in which I underwent rapid changes in my perceptions and attitudes that did create a distance between myself and my family. That this distance had become a chasm was obvious the summer I finished my B.A. degree and returned home to work and be with my family. I realized that I had become a marginal person who did not really belong. I felt that I had been relegated to a status resembling that of a visitor on the one hand, and as a traitor to my social class on the other. This rejection caused me to feel a great deal of emotional turmoil as I attempted to readjust to my prior lifestyle and regain my place in my family.

At the same time I found myself becoming increasingly uncomfortable around family members who continued to exhibit a destructive life pattern and I began to avoid them. I also became tired of being placed in the position of having to defend my choice of having gone to university, and of being expected to participate in my family's ridicule of intellectuals and academics. I grew weary of being ridiculed when I attempted to explain that during my university years I had come to respect many individuals in academia and that some were now my friends. I also became resentful that many family members could not accept the part of me that had chosen to study and experience a different lifestyle.

The loss of control and helplessness I felt, living in an environment that was economically depressed and alcohol--ridden, where I was now considered an "outsider", left me with feelings of hopelessness. However, after having been exposed to a different world I found that I no longer wanted to resign myself to accepting this lifestyle. I came to realize that even though I still loved my community I could no longer live there. This realization caused me to feel bitterness at my initial decision to attend University; I felt that had I not gone I would still have a home. While I had decided to go to University because I enjoyed learning, I had not intended to make a career of it. After graduation I had assumed I would go back home to

work at yearly seasonal employment in the provincial park where most of my family worked. Now I found myself so changed that I could not return and yet I did not feel comfortable in any other lifestyle or setting.

Prior to this time, I had not considered going into serious academia. It was much too intimidating. However, as it became clear that I could not return home, I was forced to make a new place for myself in society. So, although I had physically crossed over into academic life some time before, it was not until I had completed my undergraduate studies that I made the emotional crossing into my newly chosen lifestyle.

In an attempt to reconcile my feelings of guilt at having abandoned not only my family, but also my social class, I was determined not to do as some have: to never look back. Instead, I decided that I would use my academic skills to help people: more specifically, Native people and our problems with alcoholism. I consoled myself that I was not going to do graduate work entirely for myself, but also for the good of the people. Ironically, my choice of research also enabled my family to form an understanding of what I was doing in school: I was going to be a drug and alcohol counsellor.

When I arrived in Alkali Lake my expectations were abruptly challenged. The businesses that had been reported as community operated had long since gone bankrupt and the

people were suffering from chronic unemployment. Many of the houses were in disrepair and covered with dust stirred by passing trucks on the dirt road. Few people walked about the community and those who did appeared to be preoccupied, looking at the ground, passing each other wordlessly. Although I did not expect the utopia the popular media had projected, I had not expected this level of apparent anomie. This anomie had a profound effect on me. I found myself in a continuous battle not to become despondent and depressed.

It was difficult initially to make contacts in the community. I learned that many strangers had previously come to the village to be "healed" from alcoholism, but some had taken advantage of the people at Alkali Lake by stealing from them or staying in their homes and not paying board. As Golde notes:

> Initial suspicion is a more expectable response to an outsider than is ready, congenial, unequivocal acceptance. ... The stranger is threatening on two counts: first, she is strange, unknown, different, unprepared for; and second, she can neither be relied upon to behave in familiar ways nor trusted to respect people's needs and feelings (1986:7).

Sensing this suspicion of the stranger, I attempted to present a self-sufficient image by paying my way and by helping out in what appeared to be conventional female chores such as cleaning house, cooking, babysitting and drying meat.

I was also able to offer my services in the community's office as a typist. This skill was acquired during my high school years when I had been denied the option to take a mechanics course because I was female. Although I had never enjoyed typing, the skill proved to be an asset; it enabled me to do volunteer work in the community's office, and gave me a place to go and meet people on a daily basis.

During my first few weeks in Alkali Lake I did not immediately begin to question people. I participated in numerous community functions, such as the Alcoholics Anonymous meetings, and would actively listen to anyone when they spoke to me. I especially enjoyed listening to most of the Elders. Some of them took it upon themselves to teach me how "to be Indian" and took me hunting, fishing, and berry picking. During these camp-outs they also told stories and taught me valuable herbal remedies. I enjoyed these times and felt very protected in this child student role. When one Elder said to me, "When you go home you can tell your father you learned how to be Indian here," I chuckled with her because I realized that it was true that I had little understanding of their particular traditional ways and culture. I did not feel ridiculed, but honoured when Elders took the time to explain their ways to me since it is part of my cultural understanding that when an Elder takes the time to share their wisdom it

is an indication that they like and trust you. This is not something that is done with everyone.

Initially I had felt that I would enjoy living in a community that was predominately sober. However, as I became aware of the high level of assaults against women I grew increasingly uncomfortable, and my desire to depart increased with each passing day. Torn between my career and my emotional well-being, I could relate to Chagnon who noted "Scientific curiosity brought me to this village and professional obligation kept me there.." (in Manyoni 1983:233), or to Gonzalez who proposes that "...as anthropologists, we must question and rethink a methodology framed in scientific terms that objectifies humans and reduces fieldwork to a judgement of who has the most courage or stamina to go to the most dangerous or distant place" (1984:15). Ultimately, the fear of academic failure and loss of professional reputation outweighed my dread of staying in the community, although I continually had a vivid image of myself playing Russian Roulette.

Due to the high level of assaults I found myself avoiding situations where I would be alone, even with the men who were sober. This made it difficult to obtain data from men and I was continually plagued with the idea that I would be unsuccessful in the work I was attempting to accomplish. I often felt that had I been male my movements

would have been less restricted and my fieldwork very different. Gonzalez proposes that:

> The restriction of Western culture and the culture under examination frequently prohibit or make difficult the crossing of gender lines. Yet, anthropological inquiry encourages female anthropologists to collect the same information as men. Thus, female anthropologists may be labelled as sexually provocative if they persist in interviewing male informants ...(1984:14).

On the other hand, my dilemma gave me something in common with all the other women in the community, and insight into the village social structure. The assaults and male non-responsibility involved a culture of male dominance and violence. Sanday points out, "It is important to understand that violence is socially and not biologically programmed. Rape is not an integral part of male nature, but the means by which men programmed for violence express their sexual selves." (in Warshaw 1988: 46,47). Warshaw further elaborates that "Men who rape in groups might never commit rape alone. As they participate in gang rape, they experience a special bonding with each other, a unity of purpose..." (1988:101).

Since the men of Alkali Lake were often not held responsible for their aggressive behaviour, the fear of assault kept women under a measure of control. Clark and Lewis note that, "It has been argued that rape is simply the ultimate weapon which men use to exercise power over women and to exhibit that alleged natural domination which

is their assumed birthright" (1977:27). Women who had been assaulted related to me that they had received little support from their families including their husbands, who said that they "had asked for it". Clark and Lewis further recognize that:

> In order to preserve and enhance male supremacy, rape must be both possible and probable; it must remind women who has power over them and keep them solidly in their places. Thus, it is hardly surprising that the practices surrounding rape are what they are; to preserve the sexual status quo, it is not accidental, but @I[necessary], that they remain so (1977:28).

In conclusion, my identity as a Native person and the concern I have for Natives and alcoholism was instrumental in my choice of study and fieldwork. However, once in the field the restrictions placed upon me because of my gender greatly influenced the direction of my fieldwork. Since my conversations and visits were restricted because of my gender, this limited the data I collected. Wax recognizes the validity of Mead's argument in regards to the importance of the variability of fieldworkers as follows:

> ...a team in which there is a great discrepancy of age, whether of the same or opposite sex, works better than a team of two men or two women of the same age. Each piece of knowledge that either member of the team acquires speeds up the learning of the other or others. ...especially one contrasted in sex or age, will be able to do, not twice, but four or five times as much work as one person working alone.(Wax 1986:134).

In view of my field experience I have to question the wisdom of doing applied fieldwork as a lone individual. Whitehead and Conaway, noted Rabinow (1977), who argued:

> As graduate students we are told that anthropology equals experience'; you are not an anthropologist until you have the experience of doing it. But when one returns from the field the opposite immediately applies: anthropology is not the experiences which made you an initiate, but only the objective data you have brought back (1986:2).

The experience of being in the field alone gave me many insights into my own personality. It also helped me to grow as an anthropologist and academic in a way I do not believe would have been possible had I gone into the field as part of a team or had I concentrated solely upon library research. My fieldwork gave me an opportunity to discover myself in many different ways much as Whitehead and Conaway have outlined:

> Although the fieldworker brings a sense of self to the field, he or she may not be fully conscious of who that self is. Indeed, most humans seldom go through life pondering why they behave as they do. The researcher's professional training may contribute to a separation of self from experience in the name of objectivity, but a funny thing happens during fieldwork: the fieldworker discovers the self while trying to understand others (1986:8).

I feel that during the time I spent in Alkali Lake I did discover many aspects of my personality that I had not known existed. I also learned a great deal from many individuals in Alkali Lake in regards to the importance of honesty and compassion in the process of healing from alcoholism. On the other hand, I am troubled by the knowledge that, although I chose to do applied work in order to "help" people, I found myself unable to partici-

pate in many events and therefore had limited access to information that could have proved to be of great use. I am conscious of Gonzalez's finding that "The most obvious distortion of data occurs when an ethnographer interviews only those persons of his/her own sex" (1984:4).

In conclusion, I feel that my identity greatly affected my fieldwork. Manyoni points out that "The very moment the ethnographer leaves the stalls of passive observation and enters the stage as a participant observer, he or she becomes a datum in the corpus of data collected..." (1983:223), and I would have to agree it was so in my case.

APPENDIX B

THE TWELVE STEPS AND THE TWELVE TRADITIONS

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 @I[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. Make 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 @I[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.

(Alcoholics Anonymous 1976:59)

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.

(Alcoholics Anonymous 1976:564)