

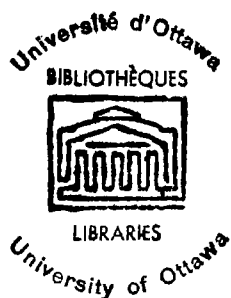
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THE NON-DRINKER AS A DEVIANT

by

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Thesis submitted to the School of Graduate Studies of the University of Ottawa, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in the Department of Criminology.



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CHAPTER ONE
THE MAKING OF A DEVIANT

"In the broad scope of intellectual history," Vold (31) tells us, "two basic approaches to the problem of explanation have been made - one is spiritistic or 'demonological', the other is naturalistic". The spiritistic or demonological, Vold goes on to point out, relied heavily on forces that transcended this world, was not bound by material and physical restrictions, and operated in such a way that it was not subjectable to the control or the understanding of the finite mind of man. The naturalistic, on the other hand, had recourse only to ideas and interpretations of objects and events, and their interrelation within the existing world of known reality. Within the framework of the naturalistic approach, there exists essentially two schools of thought following the traditional nature-nurture conflict, generated in the middle of the nineteenth century when the work of men such as Darwin and Mendel shifted the emphasis of explanation from parent-child similarity, dependent on inheritance, to dissimilarities associated with the notion of variation through selective adaptation and

mutation. The naturalists, if they could be called so, have concentrated on some biologically inherited characteristic, something found within the confines of the individual, while the nurturists have desperately sought for something in the environment - a force acting on the individual from the outside. Be this as it may, the acceptance that human behavior is the resultant of a continuous interaction between an ever changing something within the individual, variously identified as personality, values, attitudes, and an ever changing something outside, identified as opportunity, has shifted the forces, first, to the determination of which plays the greater role - the inside element or the outside -, and, second, to the ascertainment of the mechanism controlling the inside element.

The search for the causes of crime and deviant behavior has led social scientists to adopt what has been called the "medical model", or "disease model". Relying on a spurious similarity seen between non-conformist, or deviant behavior, on the one hand, and physical disease, on the other, for justification of the label, the label seeks to describe all that could be subsumed under one heading in a trend of thought assuming that the determinants of the disease of

unacceptable behavior occurs and unfolds within the individual (24), and because of that assumption refuses to recognize that inputs from the environment do occur, and can affect the individual. This model excludes consideration of forces outside the individual which might influence the individual's behavior not only by influencing the circumstances in which it is displayed - the opportunity, so to speak - but also his predisposition to act in that way, if such predisposition does exist. The recognition of the possibility of inputs from sources outside the individual, be it in the determination of the circumstantial configuration, or the dispositional one, forces the adoption of other approaches, and other paradigms, for the study of deviance. One such approach, or paradigm, is the "labeling approach".

The "labeling approach" holds, as a main tenet, that the societal reaction to an act is the key to the whole concept of deviance. The societal reaction to deviance, according to this approach, is necessarily related to whether or not a person, because of a particular form of behavior in which he may have indulged, is viewed as acceptable or unacceptable. If the individual remains within the radius of acceptable behavior, he is within the "boundary" of what people consider acceptable.

When, however, his behavior moves outside this radius, he begins to move outside the "boundary", and, as such, not only is his behavior considered inappropriate, he himself is considered not acceptable to those within the "boundary". This reaction apparently is a mechanism protecting the group's wholistic integrity, for, as Erikson (8) points out, when social groups or agencies of control search out the "deviant", and "call him to account for his vagrancy . . . , they are declaring how much variability and diversity can be tolerated within the group before it begins to lose its distinctive shape, its unique identity" (8,p.11). A similar sentiment, though stressing a slightly different aspect, has been expressed by Edwin Schur: "'deviant' individuals and situations involving deviant behavior result not simply from discrete acts of wrongdoing or departure from norms; they also reflect patterns and processes of social definition" (26,p.4).

Howard S. Becker stressed the importance of societal reaction:

. . . social groups create deviance by making the rules whose infraction constitutes deviance (his emphasis), and by applying those rules to particular people and labeling them as outsiders. From this point of view,

deviance is not (sic) a quality of the act the person commits, but rather a consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an 'offender'. The deviant is one to whom that label has successfully been applied; deviant behavior is behavior that people so label (1,p.9).

Becker has further noted that although a particular social group, or organization or agency of social control, may designate and label a person a deviant, and, consequently, an "outsider", the person so labeled may believe that it is really the labeling group itself that constitutes the "outsiders". Here the labeled person or group may not accept the authority, or the competence of those who seek to judge, and, as a corollary, may attempt to dispel or refute that label that has been so applied (1). Whatever the situation may be, it is a tenet of labeling theory that the "deviant" person, or the one who has been labeled deviant, is ultimately affected by the label with regards to his place in society and his relationships to those around him, and that the extent of this influence, which determines his role, status, function, and self-definition, is "importantly shaped by how much deviation he engages in, by the degree of its social visibility, by the particular exposure he has to the societal reaction, and by the nature and strength of

the societal reaction" (27,p.62).

Edwin Schur, who views deviance as an outcome reflecting what both the deviating actor and others do, claims that deviant acts alone do not make a deviant, and that mechanisms of social labeling must come into play to do so (26,p.38). When an individual commits an act, that act must come to the notice of the public who should desire to apply formal sanctions, and though it may be the reaction of the individual to the public reaction that conditions the deviancy, it is not the individual who must be seen as the only, or even the most important, contributing factor to deviance. In order for any behavior to be labeled as "deviant", the behavior must be both seen and discovered as being harmful to the group, and, as Becker pointed out; "people must be made to feel that something ought to be done about it" (1,p.162). Kai T. Erikson describes the importance of the role of the social audience when he states:

the critical variable in the study of deviance . . . is the social audience rather than the individual actor, since it is the audience which eventually determines whether or not any episode of behavior or any class of episodes is labeled deviant (8,p.11).

Inherent in the societal reaction perspective is

the belief that the individual's commitment to the "label" is not in terms of total acceptance or total rejection. None the less, the societal reaction could be in terms of total acceptance or total rejection as much as it could be in segmental terms. As Schur points out, "there is a very broad continuum of degrees of commitments to (and resistance to) 'deviant' roles, and such commitments are constantly changing. Hence, our characterizations of deviating individuals must always be in terms of degree, variation, circumstance, rather than through simplistic 'either/or' statements" (27,p.66). Pertinent here, then, is, first, the answer to the question: does the "audience knowledge" of an individual's single deviant trait have any bearing on how they view his total being, and, then, the answer to the question: does the individual continue on in his normal pattern or normal manner?

Everett C. Hughes suggests: "possession of one deviant trait may have a generalized symbolic value, so that people automatically assume that its bearer possesses other undesirable traits allegedly associated with it" (1,p.33). With regards to the homosexual, for example, knowledge that one of his characteristics is that of "homosexual behavior" may convince the social audience that this individual has other unacceptable

characteristics as well. The "homosexual label" may involve other stereotypical, or postulated stereotypical behaviors, or qualities that people expect to find in such an individual. Walter Lippmann has explained how this could happen when he asserted:

we do not first see, then define, we define first and then see . . . We are told about the world before we see it. We imagine most things before we experience them. And those preconceptions, unless education has made us acutely aware, govern deeply the whole process of perception. They mark out certain objects as familiar or strange, emphasizing the difference, so that the slightly familiar is seen as very familiar, and the somewhat strange as sharply alien (26,p.40).

The labeling process makes the labeled individual a new person in the eyes of those who have labeled him. Harold Garfinkel successfully demonstrated this particular aspect of the total process of deviance by suggesting that "the former identity (of the "deviant"), at best, receives the accent of mere appearance (in which) . . . his former identity stands as accidental; the new identity is the 'basic reality'. What he is now is what, 'after all', he was all along" (11,p.420-424). The process, described by Garfinkel, is what Schur refers to as "retrospective interpretation" in which one reassesses those past behaviors of the "deviant" as reflective of

what that person was really like in the beginning (26). Kitsuse also refers to the process of "retrospective interpretation" in his examination of students' attitudes towards homosexuals. He found that, generally, it did not matter in which form a person found evidence imputing homosexual behavior to another, and how strong that evidence was, the "fact" of homosexuality was always supported through retrospective interpretation (16).

Lemert developed the concept of "primary" and "secondary" deviation to stress that in order for a person to become "engulfed" in his deviant status, he must engage in a series of primary deviations, and must be socially required to react against "the problems created by the societal reaction" to his initial deviant act(s) (17). If the social audience makes it blatant to him that they know that his true nature is "bad", and that any display of normalcy can only be an artifice, he cannot escape from the role he is coerced into; he may be able to survive only by associating and identifying with those having similar problems. When people with an abnormal or deviant trait are joined together in order to protect themselves, or to soften, somewhat, the pressures exerted by the social audience, they are considered to form what is known as a "deviant subculture" (26). This

union, with like-others, offers the "outsider", or "pariah", an opportunity to be himself, to let down his guard, and to acquire social and psychological support to maintain his perception of himself as a human being. Albeit, he is considered in terms of "role engulfment", "secondary deviation", "master status", or membership in a "deviant subculture", the individual need not have developed a salient deviant concept of himself (2,26).

The deviant status that has been forced upon the individual, or group of individuals, can also be viewed as a "stigma". Originally, the Greeks utilized this term "to refer to bodily signs designed to expose something unusual and bad about the moral status of the signifier" (13,p.1). The "deviant" could then be thought of as one who possesses undesirable features; a person that should be avoided. "He is thus reduced in our minds from a whole and usual person to a tainted, discounted one . . .; he is a person who is not quite human" (13,p.2-10).

According to the labeling perspective, the deviance must be envisaged as a consequence not of particular acts being mala in se, but of the reaction of a social audience to those acts. Deviant status, then, is not an either-or classification. It must, instead, be thought of in terms of degrees contingent upon the deviant behavior

being discovered by the group, and the demarcation, by the group, of its degree of harmfulness to the integrity of the group. The extent of the perceived threat will determine the reaction of the group, and the perception of threat will depend on the normality, both in moral and statistical terms, of the behavior. The group reaction may be formal or informal, strong or weak. The deviating individual, must also react to what he perceives is the group reaction. He may perceive the reactors to be unjustified. Yet, he may seek to adopt a new social identity in order to remain in the group. He may be forced to perceive himself as a different type of person than before, and be inclined to seek out a new primary group. Whatever the situation may be, labeling theory sees deviance as a "process" in which the societal reaction plays the dominant role.

Thus, according to labeling theory, when an individual indulges in any behavior considered outside the radius of the acceptable, there is a reaction by the social audience, which tends to transcend that behavior and involve the individual as a whole. It is the individual's reaction to this societal reaction that generates the process which terminates in the individual becoming a delinquent or deviant. Manifestly, the reaction of the

individual is contingent upon his perception of the nature of the reaction of the social audience, and this reaction itself is dependent on the perception of the members of the social audience of the gravity of the transgression. This perception, held by the member of the social audience, is, of course, contingent upon the commitment of the individual to the values that govern behavior to which the transgression relates. Thus, it would be expected that if a form of behavior was culturally dictated, was considered by society as desirable for cultural integrity, and indulged by the majority of people, the reaction of the social audience to the deviance would be stronger than if that form of behavior was only culturally acceptable. The reaction of the social audience could be envisaged, according to labeling theory, as a form of defense reaction to ensure cultural integrity, and to prevent the disintegration of society by societal response to some variant of the primitive reaction of annihilation. This study seeks to test this hypothesis with relation to the consumption of alcohol.

Speaking of alcohol's pervasiveness in Canadian society, The Final Report of The Commission of Inquiry Into The Non-Medical Use of Drugs (LeDain Report) (7)

stated that "its use is so ingrained at all levels of society (that) many Canadians do not consider alcohol a drug" (7,p.389) - something abnormal. The consumption of alcohol was normal behavior. If LeDain's perception is indeed reflective of Canadian attitude, then, a logical question, in terms of labeling theory, would be what happens to those individuals that do not accept consumption of alcohol as normal? But then, was the LeDain perception correct? "Since the dawn of recorded history", we are told, "billions of persons have consumed alcohol for a wide variety of purposes and in many different forms. Alcohol has been used as a thirst quencher; as an integral part of religious, familial, or ceremonial rituals; as a stimulant; as a depressant; as an aphrodisiac; as a producer of stupor; as a medicine; and as a means to ward off withdrawal symptoms related to prior heavy consumption of this substance" (5,p.263). But, whatever billions may have done, and whatever the reason may be for which they did it, the behavior becomes normal only if it is morally encouraged - normal in the normative sense of the word - or if it is indulged in by an inordinately large segment of the population - normal in a statistical sense.

A study conducted by Mulford and Miller in 1961

using a sample of 1,213, showed 67% of the males, and 52% of the females in the adult population of Iowa, aged twenty-one and over, to be drinkers (18). In 1963, Mulford used a sample of 1,515 to represent the total non-institutional American population, aged twenty-one and over, in which 71% drank, and concluded that an estimated 80 million American adults drank. Had Mulford not limited his sample to those twenty-one years of age or older, and had included those 18-20 years old, his estimate of American drinkers would have been greater. Mulford compared his study findings with a study conducted by Riley and Marden in 1946, and found that in 1946 the drinking population constituted sixty-five percent of the total, while in 1963 it constituted seventy-one percent. In 1946, seventy-five percent of males and fifty-six percent of the females were drinkers. In 1963, the comparative figures were seventy-nine percent and sixty-three percent, respectively. The comparison compelled Mulford to suggest that there was a trend toward an increase in the prevalence of drinkers (19).

Cahalan and Cisin, in late 1964 and early 1965, conducted a national survey throughout the continental United States, (excluding Alaska and Hawaii), using a random sample of 2,746 persons representative of the

adult household population. In this sample, they found that 32.8% were abstainers. Seventy-seven percent of the males, and 60.0% of the females were drinkers. From their findings, Cahalan and Cisin contend that in the United States drinking was typical behavior while both abstention and heavy drinking were atypical (6).

In Canada, deLint and Schmidt reported that in 1966 there were 3,394,300 drinkers in Ontario alone consuming 43,257,000 liters of absolute alcohol (25). A survey conducted by Addiction Research Foundation in Ontario in 1969, using a sample of 1,891 respondents, estimated the proportion of users of alcoholic beverages and of abstainers in various segments of the Ontario population. In this sample, they found 20.0% to be abstainers. Eighty-five percent of the males and 75.2% of the females used alcoholic beverages (20,21). According to an Addiction Research Foundation substudy in 1973, 78.0% of the Ontario population, aged fifteen years of age and over, and approximately 80.0% of the total Canadian population, aged fifteen and over, consumed alcohol (22).

These studies indicate that the LeDain report was substantially correct. The consumption of alcohol was not only widespread on the North American continent, but

its use was also increasing. Men appear to be more frequently drinkers than females, but the proportion of females does not permit their characterization as non-drinkers. In general terms, it would be justifiable to suggest that drinking behavior plays a dominant role in our cultural milieu. Edward Blacker has claimed, in this regard, that the "drinking of alcoholic beverages in (North America) is talked about, thought about, and acted upon as a common occurrence deeply bound up in our culture" (4,p.132).

THE NON-DRINKER AS A SOCIAL DEVIANT

If drinking behavior is normal, in a statistical sense, does it mean that non-drinking is deviant in a social sense?

Gibbons and Jones have differentiated between two forms of deviance, which could be designated as "major deviance", and "minor deviance". The former "restricts attention to behavioral transgressions against major 'societal' norms, so that in this conception, deviance is synonymous with those social problems which involve violations of culturally wide spread conduct standards" (12, p.22). This particular definition is applied to such

deviants as "criminals, delinquents, mentally disordered persons, homosexuals, and prostitutes" (12,p.23). The second type of deviance, what we have called "minor deviance", and what Gibbons and Jones labeled as an "omnibus definition", comprises violations of the less serious forms. Efforts made to control this type of deviance are usually "informal (controls) undertaken by those few persons who directly observe the behavior, and are not carried on in the name of society" (12,p.24).

At the present moment, there is no evidence to suggest that the non-drinker can be conceived of as falling into the category of the criminal, delinquent, homosexual, or prostitute. It appears that the non-drinker is a minor deviant. He may fail to meet the total exigencies that Lemert specifies as necessary for a person to become engaged or "engulfed" in secondary deviance. He may fail to perceive societal reaction completely, or he may perceive that the reaction does not occur as a collective, and that societal reaction is not salient enough or strong enough to merit any appreciation from him. As there are presently no formal, punitive sanctions brought to bear on the non-drinker, and as there is no evidence to support the assertion that drinking is culturally sacrosanct and, therefore, held by most close to their

cultural bosom, non-drinking behavior cannot be considered abnormal. As abstention is not a transgression against a major societal norm, it cannot be thought of in the same way as could the behavior of the criminal, delinquent, or prostitute. But, yet as drinking behavior is statistically normal, there is a possibility that the non-drinker, the member of a statistical minority, could be recognized as a deviant.

In order for non-drinking to be recognized as being socially deviant, that behavior must be viewed as being different from the usual behavior, displayed by people who are different, to whom negative feelings must be displayed to either force them from the status of an "accepted-in-group member" to that of an "unaccepted-out-group member", or, to permit them to remain within the group only as a marginal member. The non-drinker's rejection from the group, or, his marginal acceptance into it, is contingent upon a number of forces. Among these are, 1) the amount of deviation vis a vis the group drinking norms, 2) the degree of its social visibility in the group, 3) the deviants exposure to the group reaction, 4) the type of reaction from the group, and 5) the strength of the group reaction (17).

The drinker can view the non-drinker in two ways.

He may be perceived as a "deviant", or he may be perceived as a "non-deviant". If the drinker perceives the non-drinker as a non-deviant then the non-drinker will remain acceptable, and, therefore, an ingroup member. If the non-drinker is perceived as a deviant, there may be a reaction or a non-reaction to his deviance. A "reaction" may take several forms. A strong reaction involves "total rejection", and this rejection could be in a wholistic sense when he is thought to have no redeeming features at all, possessing other undesirable characteristics as well, or it may be in a segmental sense when he may be perceived as having some redeeming features. On the other hand, the reaction may be a "partial rejection" when he may be accepted or rejected under certain conditions and circumstances. The determination of the factors that influence the reaction is an aim of this study.

The application of labeling theory to drinking behavior lead us to postulate that when the drinking of alcoholic beverages becomes an integral part of the individual's socio-psychological make-up, and part of his attitudinal perspectives, he may feel that a non-drinker is non-conforming. When the individual's commitment to this form of behavior is great influencing his drinking pattern, which becomes intense and frequent, drinking

may be considered not just an acceptable form of behavior, it may be considered an expected one as well. The idea of drinking may be so strongly rooted in the individual that he will simply expect others to naturally be of similar disposition. This postulate generates a hypothesis that could be tested: the heavier the drinking of the person the more likely is he to perceive the non-drinker as a deviant.

Heavy drinking has, in the past, been associated with masculinity, an association which promotes, even today, the belief that drinking is a necessary ingredient of the masculine personality. This association leads us to hypothesize that male drinkers rather than females are likely to perceive the non-drinker as a deviant.

A third hypothesis relates to age: the older the drinker is the more likely he is to perceive the non-drinker as a deviant. This hypothesis has its roots in the observation that as an individual grows and matures, his belief system, opinions, and attitudes gradually consolidate to form a more or less rigid base from which he perceives others and the world around him (23). As Franklin Henry stated: "as a sociological variable, age would seem to have two main meanings; a set of expectations that define an age role and an index of the influence of

time related experience" (15,p.22). Empirical support was given by Simmons who found that respondents over forty years of age were significantly more conservative in their attitudes than the younger respondents (28).

Conservatism has also been linked with education. Ostensibly, one positive aspect to education is that it makes the individual more open-minded, more liberal in attitude, and more likely to be tolerant to more different situations or types of people. Hagstrom and Selvin, in 1960, examined the attitudes of students, at the Berkeley campus of The University of California, regarding their support for a Bill of Rights. They reported that libertarianism was directly related to the number of years of university education (14). A study of attitudes of first and third year students at McMaster University showed that when background factors of students were held constant, third year students were more liberal than first year (15). On the basis of these findings we should find that, vis a vis drinking, the more educated the drinker is the less likely he will perceive the non-drinker as a deviant.

Another variable sufficiently important to be considered is marital status. In this connection, it is hypothesized that the "married" drinker is more likely

to perceive the non-drinker as a deviant than is the "single" person. Theoretical justification for this hypothesis comes from the conservative connotation of marriage and the influence that the one spouse has on the views of social reality of the other. In this connection, Veever's found evidence to assert; "in the absence of a peer group, childless wives may still have minimal requirements for the maintenance of a comfortable world view, namely a reference-group-of-one (sic) (the husband) which, under intimate conditions, may serve the function as well as a larger unit" (30,p.26), and, Berger and Kellner also point out that the spouse serves to function as the main "significant other", and, thus, strongly influences how the other views social reality (3).

Finally, it has been noted (25) that the alcoholic chooses to drink the beverage most common to the drinking population at large. If there is a type of alcoholic beverage most prevalent to the heavy drinker, assuming that the alcoholic is a certain type of person, there may also be a specific alcoholic beverage most prevalent to the one who labels others. It is consequently possible for us to hypothesize that the propensity to view the non-drinker as a deviant is related to the type of alcohol the individual imbibes.

All these hypotheses stem from the assumption that drinking is normal behavior. There is ample evidence to indicate that, statistically, drinking is normal behavior. As has been pointed out earlier, it has been suggested that normatively too the consumption of alcohol is normal behavior, but, as yet, this has not been empirically demonstrated. There is, of course, a possibility that drinking is not normal behavior in the normative sense. Were this to be the case, the hypotheses would still be valid because, first of all, drinking behavior is factually statistically normal, and, therefore, reflects the dialectic of drinking as normatively not normal. Statistically normal drinking behavior further elucidates the process of social, cultural change if drinking is normatively abnormal in that drinkers represent a major body of people confronting and seeking to influence and alter the cultural boundary of drinking as abnormal behavior evidenced by their commitment against the cultural situation. Secondly, drinkers may epitomize an epoch of a growing unit of people characterized by a more tolerant attitude vis a vis the cultural norm, but, the large representation may generate a new cultural norm contrariwise to the extent of dissolution of the previously dominant non-drinking norm. Therefore, deviation from

the drinking norm, as the new normative expectation, statistically and moral, could be seen as a threat to group integrity.

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CHAPTER TWOMETHODOLOGY

According to labeling theory, a person becomes a deviant when a particular act he performs is viewed and perceived by the societal audience as being outside the boundary of acceptable behavior. Deviant behavior is defined as such through a process involving the social visibility of the behavior, the nature and strength of the societal reaction to the behavior, and the exposure of the doer to this societal reaction. As the drinking of alcohol is so prevalent in Canada, the non-drinker may come to be perceived by the social audience as a deviant, and, consequently, as one who possesses other socially undesirable traits as well, leading to group rejection, and, finally, to the non-drinker's conception of himself as a deviant.

Pertinent to this point of view are the following hypotheses:

- 1) the heavier the drinking behavior of a person, the more likely is he to perceive the non-drinker as a deviant;
- 2) male drinkers rather than females are likely to perceive the non-drinker as a deviant;

- 3) the older the drinker is the more likely he is to perceive the non-drinker as a deviant;
- 4) the more educated the drinker is the less likely he will perceive the non-drinker as a deviant;
- 5) the married drinker is more likely to perceive the non-drinker as a deviant; and,
- 6) the propensity to view the non-drinker as a deviant is related to the type of alcohol the individual imbibes.

As has been pointed out in the previous chapter, these hypotheses rest on the assumption that the consumption of alcohol is normal behavior both from the statistical and normative points of view, though, of course, as we have anon pointed out, the assumption is not essential for the hypotheses. The hypotheses relate to the postulated characteristics of the people who are most likely to be involved in the deviant producing labeling process. Very relevant to the process is the individual's perception of himself. In consequence, we find that there are three areas that have to be investigated prior to the testing of the hypotheses. It is essential that we know how the individual perceives himself. It has been postulated that the individual's conception of himself as a drinker or as a non-drinker is not dependent on his actual consumption, and in this

connection, it is relevant to determine what relationship exists between this perception to the reality of alcohol consumption. Secondly, it is important to learn whether the drinker differs from the non-drinker. Here, there are two areas from which the drinker and the non-drinker can be compared: demographic characteristics and attitudinal characteristics. A demographic comparison is necessary in order to reveal any pattern(s), or specific type of individual who drinks or abstains, or a chance assignment to drinker or non-drinker status. An attitudinal comparison will show whether attitudes of drinkers differ from attitudes of non-drinkers vis a vis their attitudes toward alcohol, and, that, subsequently, may show whether these attitudinal differences towards alcohol in general shape further interaction for either group relative to reformulation of an attitude toward a referent - alcohol - to an attitude to those holding the differing opinion and behavior in response to that attitude. The possibility of general attitudes influencing specific attitudes to those people maintaining a differing attitude, leads us to a third area of investigation in which we seek to determine how the drinker perceives the non-drinker and the non-drinker the drinker.

This research is essentially an "ex post facto"

research, - a "systematic empirical inquiry in which the scientist does not have direct control of independent variables because their manifestations have already occurred or because they are inherently not manipulable" (6,p.379). In such research, "inferences about relations among variables are made without direct intervention from concomitant variation of independent and dependent variables" (6,p.379).

A research where no control over independent variables is possible can lead to erroneous conclusions unless careful consideration is given to the design. The basics of research design could perhaps be met by adherence to the "maxmincon" principle. According to this principle, systematic variance, which is the variation in measures due to some known or unknown influences that cause the score to lean in one direction more than another, must be maximized, extraneous systematic variance must be controlled, and error variance, which is the fluctuation or varying of measures due to chance, must be minimized (6). There are, apparently, numerous ways of accomplishing this, but, probably, the most acceptable and most salutary means is randomization. Kerlinger contends that "theoretically, randomization is the only method of controlling all (sic) possible extraneous

variables" (6,p.310). This research design relies on this method.

Having as its central focus the attitude of drinkers toward non-drinking, this study is essentially a survey of attitudes. An attitude is frequently looked upon as a predisposition or state of readiness to react in a particular or characteristic manner toward certain defined stimuli (15, p.19, 11, 6). Attitudes may lie dormant insofar as expression of an attitude is realized only when a suitable stimuli is perceived by the individual. Attitudes may surface in just an utterance or in any other overt physical action or reaction.

An individual acquires attitudes, which may be thought of as an organized set of beliefs (13,p.112), via the process of socialization (1). As an individual grows and matures, environmental inputs are consolidated to form a base to which future socio-environmental inputs may be later attached (4, 9). This consolidation is composed of what we commonly term a "belief system", which, in turn, may be conjectured as comprised of the internal functioning forms of beliefs, attitudes, and opinions (2, 11). Because of the diversity of the stimuli received by the individual, because of the interdependence of the different levels of cognition, because of differential

psychological and sociological growth levels, and because of variation in the perception of environmental factors caused by an already acquired belief system, the tenacity of attitudes vary not only from individual to individual but also for the same individual. Some attitudes may be tenuous while others are deeply embedded within the psychological integrity of the individual. Again, some attitudes may be intertwined with others, while others may overlap to such an extent that it is difficult to empirically determine their genesis or differentiation. With increasing worldwide migration, one can also envisage combinations and permutations encumbering lucid demarcation of boundary points where one attitude ends and another begins. As such, difficulties would be encountered in determining manifest or latent content in response, as well as obfuscation in deciphering various psychological levels of response. Thus, one is confronted by various measurement problems when trying to quantify attitudinal responses.

Were these the only problems, the task of ascertaining attitudes would be sufficiently phenomenal. In addition to these, however, is the effect of the attitude of the individual to the stimulus provided by the researcher. An attitude is essentially an inferential

construct implied from actual behavior. In attitude surveys, the attitude is abstracted from a verbal response to a hypothetical question implying the ability of an individual to abstract from actual life situations and mentally transfer to hypothetical ones. Some respondents may be capable of making inferences regarding their behavior so that they would be able to mold these into verbal communications permitting some form of systematic thought transferral. Yet, they may not be willing to openly divulge their genuine feelings toward the projected referent object. Again, the respondent's elicited attitude toward a hypothetical referent may be entirely different from the attitude one could infer from the behavior the individual would veritably display. Thus, there may be a vast difference between those attitudes elicited in an experimental situation, and those attitudes that fashion behavior in real life situations. In this connection, Bert F. Green distinguishes among "elicited verbal attitudes (responses to attitude questionnaires), spontaneous verbal attitudes (opinions expressed by individuals in normal conversation with friends), and action attitudes (verbal or nonverbal behavior directed toward an object in the referent class)" (15,p.19). He concludes that the question of validity becomes paramount

only at such time as elicited attitudes are used as indicants of action attitudes (15). Some behaviorists look upon verbal responses as a type of behavior (15), and, therefore, one could hypothesize that verbal responses may be thought of in terms of "action attitudes". James Frideres, for example, has found that "knowledge of a subject's attitude will allow high prediction of a highly similar form of overt behavior toward the same object" (3,p.102).

A third problem that researchers may encounter stems from respondents able to verbalize their genuine attitudes, being reluctant to do so because of the social undesirability of the question. They may believe, with their belief predicated on fact, that the verbalization of their sincere feelings may not be socially or culturally approved. There is also the probability that some people, who wish to participate, do not really possess the necessary information, or that the putative attitude is not part of a person's total belief system. In these cases, in response to their inner desire to be obliging, they foist a synthesized opinion.

Participatory observation represents a viable research mechanism from which information regarding individual's attitudes may be inferred, but, this means

of data collection inherently possesses certain drawbacks. First, participation drastically limits the sample size in that systematic observation of a satisfactory large number of people is negated; secondly, the sample would not be random, and, as such, would be susceptible to the usual captious comments that it deserves; and, thirdly, participatory observation would be an untenable research method in terms of both time and cost factors. The most widely utilized technique involves the individual's verbalized responses to specific questions. This method, of course, is subject to a multitude of criticisms stemming from the difficulties in abstracting attitudes from verbalizations, but ensuing interpretational errors could be avoided with proper precautions in the analysis of the data.

Two recognized methods of asking exist: the interview and the mailed questionnaire. Both methods have been subjected to cogent arguments as to their respective advantages and disadvantages. These captious comments are well known and well documented in books on research methods so that a long explication in this paper is not necessary. However, a sententious statement of the reasoning behind the final choice made in this study appears necessary.

The interview was chosen as the data collection technique because of, first, the possibility of including in the sample people unable to comprehend the questions and their instructions; second, the probability that people may be unwilling to fill out and return the questionnaires; and, third, the ability of repeating, for clarification, the question to the interviewee, all of which tended to lower the non-response rate. The response rate from mailed questionnaires have ranged from 10% to 50% depending on who was sponsoring it, the style and format, the ease with which one can complete it, and the time taken to complete it (14).

The basic interview format was modified for use in this study by designing it on a scheduled interview format. This was done to reduce the interviewer skill required. The schedule was so constructed that it had a standardized sequence of questions, standardized wording, standardized instructions, thereby ensuring an uniform measurement situation. The modified design ensured that the answers followed a frame of reference that was consistent with the purpose of the study, and, it assured that the answers came in a form that provided easier coding, and analysis. Most of the questions followed the fixed-alternative format with inclusion of suitable choice, but some of them were

open-ended designed to allow for elaboration or inclusion of an unanticipated or unfamiliar response.

As the study dealt with alcohol, determination of whether one was a drinker or a non-drinker, frequency of alcohol consumed, and personal classification vis a vis amount of alcohol consumed, constituted one broad area of questioning. Another area involved a breakdown between questions deemed pertinent to the drinker and questions pertinent to the non-drinker. In the former, personal perception of drinkers' and non-drinkers' characteristics, reasons for personal consumption of alcohol, and social acceptability of the non-drinker, represented some main areas of questioning. Questions asked of the non-drinker centered around their perceived social pressure to drink, perception of characteristics of the drinker and the non-drinker, and their perception of social acceptance of their non-drinking behavior, and their actions and reactions to their perceptions. A third area of questioning determined the socio-demographic variables which sought to establish attribute variables necessary to test the hypotheses, and suitable for comparison with Canadian census data. The final area of questioning was directed toward ascertaining drinkers' and non-drinkers' general attitudes toward alcohol, and as an aid by which interviewers could begin

to establish a comfortable, informal relationship with the respondent.

Once the interview schedule was completed, it was pretested by administering it, as a questionnaire, to 39 first year graduate criminology students from The University of Ottawa. Their participation as indirect judges of validity, and as indicants of deficiencies, resulted in reformulation of some questions, construction of new questions, revised question sequence, and clarification of question ambiguities.

It was decided to conduct this study in the small northern community of Huntsville, Ontario. This community was chosen for two reasons. First, most research studies like the present have been conducted in cities thus systematically neglecting the viable smaller communities. Second, a small community was thought more suitable for a study such as this because of their tendency to display more physical propinquity of friends, or friendship groups, as opposed to a larger city where people appear to have more diversified primary groups because of the greater physical space, the larger population, and access to city transit systems. In a city setting, the drinkers and the non-drinkers in the sample may not have any relation to each other.

The "frame", or list from which the random sample was drawn, was the 1972 Preliminary Voter's List (12) composed as required by the Municipal Elections Act, 1972, for the Area Municipality of The Town of Huntsville. This area consisted of six wards of which Huntsville ward was the one chosen for the frame. The local telephone directory was originally considered, but was rejected as being unsuitable for two reasons; 1) the directory did not break down the total area of phone coverage into sections, but, instead, alphabetically listed names for Muskoka, Parry Sound, Bracebridge, Gravenhurst, and Huntsville and vicinity, which made the mechanics of generating a random sample confusing, and 2) those names and numbers designated as "Huntsville" included surrounding countryside, and could, therefore, not be separated from the actual Town of Huntsville in which the researcher was interested.

Huntsville Ward was found to be equivalent to the actual Town of Huntsville, and, therefore, provided the sample frame. The voter's list tabulated both the name of the voter and respective addresses. Addresses were used as the sampling unit because if voters were used the interviewers would have encountered numerous problems trying to locate the specific person. The end result would have been possibly an exaggerated increase in non-response rate (if

people couldn't be found), and that coupled with an increase in the length of time devoted to the task.

All addresses were numbered 1 to 2567 with the numeral "1" assigned to the first address appearing in the list, and the numeral "2567" assigned to the last address appearing in the list. A table of random numbers was consulted (16,p.631-635), and the last four digits of each set of digits were used to generate a sample, N=200. If the same household address happened to be drawn twice, because of the listing of man and wife, the second was ignored and another number used until there were 200 separate and distinct household units in the sample. The interviewees consisted of any male or female eighteen years of age or older in the household who agreed to be interviewed.

The data collection was conducted by two males and five females, all local residents. If the interviewer's household appeared in the sample, it was deleted and substituted by another household generated in its place. This eliminated any possibility of bias from knowledge of the research study. For similar reasons, the researcher excluded himself from interviewing. Of the male interviewers, one was a second year university student, the other a high school teacher. Of the female interviewers, four were

housewives, and one was a second year university student. None of the interviewers had previous experience conducting personal interviews. Therefore, interviewers received some general instructions (5) before they commenced interviewing. All interviewers were informed of the general nature of the study, the rationale for each question, what was an acceptable response, and the standard procedure of repeating the question if the respondent did not comprehend the explicit meaning of the question.

The importance of the interviewer's introduction of himself to the respondent was stressed as it was the factor on which the decision to grant the interview or not was made. Each interviewer was instructed to include the following in their opening address to perspective respondents: their name, whom they are representing, a short prearranged introduction concerning the nature of the study, the fact that their responses would be treated in the strictest confidence, and the fact that no reference whatsoever would be made to whom they were in any published or written study. Each interviewer was required to make at least three recall visits, taking place on different days and at different times of the day before a household in the sample was written off as a non-response. Each interviewer was further required to note the time, date,

and place of each interview so as to keep track of those who had been revisited, those who had refused to be interviewed, and those who had to be revisited to establish contact.

All interviewers followed the exact sequence of questions, and presented each question exactly as worded in the interview schedule. Interviewers were instructed to conduct each interview in strict privacy, without any other people around. The interview took between 20 and 45 minutes to complete depending on the type of respondent and the type of interviewer. The interviewers were given a four week deadline to complete all interviews and all recall visits.

The sample comprised 200 households in Huntsville. Of this original number, 35 had to be excluded for the following reasons: 1) six potential respondents refused to be interviewed, 2) 18 potential respondents could not be located notwithstanding being revisited three times, 3) 10 addresses were found to be either no longer in existence, or did not represent a separate household as originally perceived, and 4) one interview was improperly completed by an interviewer. In total, therefore, there were 165 completed interviews corresponding to a 82.5% completion rate.

In accordance with the constraints and confines of nominal scale measurement, statistical techniques utilized for analysis consisted of chi square, frequency, and mode (6, 7, 8, 10, 14, 16). Also utilized were statistical techniques for ordinal data which included medians, and rank order correlation coefficient (6, 7, 8, 10, 14, 16).

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CHAPTER THREE

DRINKERS AND NON-DRINKERS: THEIR CHARACTERISTICS AND ATTITUDES

Table 1 depicts the main demographic variables of the respondents from the 165 completed interviews. Females (N=108) comprised 65.5% of the population sample, whereas males (N=57) comprised 34.5% of the sample. With regards to marital status, the sample contained 114 married, 4 separated, 21 widowed, 3 divorced, and 3 persons living in common law marriage. The combination of these categories produce an overall category of "married" into which fell 145 respondents. As far as the education variable was concerned, the largest group comprised those possessing some high school education (35.1%). High school graduates formed the second largest group with 31.8%, grade school or less comprised the third largest group with 18.5%, and those with post-secondary training, 14.6%, ranked last (see Table 1). Fourteen respondents did not give their educational status. Age-wise, respondents were divided into four categories; 18-35, 36-53, 54-71, and 72-89 (Table 1). The 54-71 category represented the largest age group with 34.8% of the sample, followed by the 36-53 age group with 32.9%, with the 18-35 age group ranked third

TABLE 1
ALCOHOL RELATED VARIABLES FOR HUNTSVILLE

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Total Sample</u>		<u>Drinkers</u>			<u>Non-Drinker</u>		
	f	%	f	%	%of N	f	%	%of N
<u>Sex</u>								
Male	57	34.5	51	89.5	30.9	6	10.5	3.6
Female	108	65.5	71	65.7	43.0	37	34.3	22.4
N=	165	100.0	122			43		
			(73.9)			(26.1)		
<u>Marital Status</u>								
Married	145	88.4	105	72.4	64.0	40	27.6	24.4
Single	19	11.6	17	89.5	10.4	2	10.5	1.2
N=	164	100.0	122			42		
<u>Education</u>								
Grade School	28	18.5	18	64.3	11.9	10	35.7	6.6
Some High S.	53	35.1	36	67.9	23.8	17	32.1	11.3
High School	48	31.8	39	81.3	25.8	9	18.8	6.0
Post-Secondary	22	14.6	20	90.9	13.2	2	9.1	1.3
N=	151	100.0	113			38		
<u>Age</u>								
18-35	42	25.6	37	88.1	22.6	5	11.9	3.0
36-53	54	32.9	40	74.1	24.4	14	25.9	8.5
54-71	57	34.8	39	68.4	23.8	18	31.6	11.0
72-89	11	6.7	5	45.5	3.0	6	54.5	3.7
N=	164	100.0	121			43		

Note: a) percentages are calculated as column percentages for each category of the variable.

b) figures shown in parentheses are the percentages for drinkers and non-drinkers in the Huntsville sample.

(25.6%), and the 72-89 age group ranked last.

The male female ratio in the sample was nearly 1:2. The male female ratio for Canada, as a whole, was 1:1 in 1971, for Ontario, it was 99:100, and, in the district of Muskoka, where Huntsville is situated, the ratio was found to be 98:100 (2). What the ratio is for Huntsville is unknown. The male female ratio, as is seen in the sample, differs from the ratio for the whole country, the provinces, and even the district.

As far as the age distribution is concerned, the 1971 Canadian Population Census (3) utilized a class interval of four to describe age group differences throughout Canada. When the age distribution of those in the sample is compared with that of Canada, Ontario, and Muskoka (Table 2), the sample does not appear to be representative. There was a noticeable discrepancy in the Huntsville population sample especially for the age groups 20-24, 25-29, 30-34, and 35-39. The Huntsville sample appeared to be over represented in the older age groups and underrepresented in the younger age groups. It also peaked in three age groups; 40-44, 50-54, and 65-69.

With the aforementioned discrepancies in age, and sex, vis a vis census data compiled for Canada, Ontario, and Muskoka, it is not appropriate to treat this sample

as a representative sample of the population of Canada, Ontario, or Muskoka. The sample could, however, be representative of Huntsville. The differences in age and sex distribution between Huntsville and the rest of Canada, which the assumption of representativeness indicates, may be explained, first, by the postulate that Huntsville proper did not offer enough employment for the younger people, and subsequently, they moved to those areas offering better employment prospects, and, secondly, with the fact that Huntsville can be viewed as a retirement centre for not only the surrounding countryside but for former city dwellers who sought a scenic retirement town.

On the basis of the data, the sample could be divided into three categories: a) those who did not drink and perceived themselves as non-drinkers, b) those who drank and perceived themselves as drinkers, and c) those who drank, infrequently, and perceived themselves as non-drinkers. As this study deals with the dichotomy drinker-non-drinker, the first and third categories were grouped together to constitute the non-drinker. This was done because, as far as attitudes are concerned, it was felt that the individual's perception of himself was more important than what actually occurred. As W.I. Thomas explains, what one believes to be is more important than

TABLE 2
 PERCENTAGE BREAKDOWN FOR AGE GROUPS IN CANADA,
MUSKOKA, AND THE HUNTSVILLE SAMPLE

<u>Age Groups</u>	<u>Percentage of Population</u>			
	<u>Canada</u>	<u>Ontario</u>	<u>Muskoka</u>	<u>Huntsville(sample)</u>
20-24	22.14	22.96	18.90	7.09
25-29	18.56	19.32	15.64	8.38
30-34	15.29	16.28	13.62	2.58
35-39	14.81	15.95	14.43	7.09
40-44	14.79	16.15	15.42	12.90
45-49	14.52	16.00	15.90	7.74
50-54	12.33	12.98	14.48	13.54
55-59	11.18	11.70	15.55	7.09
60-64	9.10	9.53	14.43	10.32
65-69	7.26	7.75	13.32	12.25
70-74	5.36	5.84	9.49	6.45
75-79	3.81	4.12	6.61	3.22
80-84	2.39	2.53	3.95	0.64
85-89	1.17	1.22	1.97	0.64

Note: Figures are percentages of population per age group for total population for age groups 20-24 to 85-89, calculated separately for Canada, Ontario, Muskoka, and the Huntsville sample.

Source: Figures for Canada, Ontario, and Muskoka were calculated from the 1971 Census of Canada (Ottawa: Queen's Printer). Figures for Huntsville were calculated from the population sample obtained in this study.

what is because it is what one believes to be that is real in the consequence (6). In this sense, one's perception of oneself as a drinker or an abstainer provides the basis for the belief system which influences the way he reacts to those who drink alcoholic beverages, or to those who abstain.

Analysis of the demographic characteristics permits us to obtain what could perhaps be called the demographic profile of the consumer of alcohol. Table 3 depicts the relationship between sex and the consumption of alcohol. The data reveal that the males were more frequently drinkers than non-drinkers; while females tended to be non-drinkers rather than drinkers. This difference was statistically significant at the .05 level.

Table 4 shows the relationship between age and the consumption of alcoholic beverages. The data reveal an inverse relationship; the older the individual is the more likely he is to be an abstainer. This relationship was statistically significant at the .05 level. The greatest number of drinkers were observed in the 18-35 age group (88.1%), followed by the 36-53 age group (74.1%), the 54-71 age group (68.4%), and the 72-89 age group (45.5%) ranked last with the least number of drinkers.

A slight relationship appeared to exist between

TABLE 3
THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SEX AND DRINKING

<u>DO YOU DRINK</u>	<u>SEX</u>		
	Male	Female	
Yes	51 (89.5)	71 (65.7)	122
No	6 (10.5)	37 (34.3)	43
	N= 57 100%	108 100%	165 100%

chi square = 9.7089

d.f = 1

significance = 0.05

Note: figures in parentheses represent the percentage of those who drink or don't drink according to sex.

TABLE 4
THE RELATION BETWEEN AGE (GROUPED) AND ALCOHOL

<u>Do You Drink</u>	<u>Age (Grouped)</u>				
	<u>18-35</u>	<u>36-53</u>	<u>54-71</u>	<u>72-89</u>	
Yes	37 (88.1)	40 (74.1)	39 (68.4)	5 (45.5)	121
No	5 (11.9)	14 (25.9)	18 (31.6)	6 (54.5)	43
N=	42	54	57	11	164
Column percent	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

chi square = 9.860

d.f = 3

significance = 0.05

Note: figures in parentheses represent percentages for that age group.

marital status and alcohol consumption. This relationship, though, was not statistically significant at the .05 level (Table 5). Of the 145 people who fell into the category "married", 72.4% drank, and of the 19 who fell into the "single" category, 89.5% drank.

There was a strong association between educational level and drinking status, albeit the relationship was not statistically significant at the .05 level, it was at the .07 level. Table 6 shows that the more educated the individual was, the more likely he was to consume alcoholic beverages. Of those who possessed some post-secondary training, 90.9% (N=20) drank, whereas, only 64.3% (N=18) of those with grade school education drank alcohol.

Information was collected from consumers of alcohol as to their preference of alcoholic beverage because it was hypothesized that the propensity to view the non-drinker as a deviant was related to the type of alcohol the individual imbibes. The data collected show that the drinkers in the Huntsville sample preferred spirits most often (32.8%), followed by beer (27.0%), followed by combinations of beer, spirits, and wine (21.3%), with wine alone being the least preferred (18.9%). Males chose to drink beer most often (Table 7), spirits second,

TABLE 5THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MARITAL STATUS AND ALCOHOL

<u>Do You Drink</u>	<u>Marital Status</u>		
	Married	Single	
Yes	105 (72.4)	17 (89.5)	122
No	40 (27.6)	2 (10.5)	42
	N =	145	19 164
Column percent	100%	100%	100%

chi square = 1.7489

d.f = 1

significance = 0.18

Note: figures in parentheses represent percentages
for that marital group.

TABLE 6THE RELATION BETWEEN EDUCATIONAL LEVEL AND ALCOHOL

<u>Do You Drink</u>	<u>Educational Level</u>			
	Grade 8 or less	Some high school	High school graduates	Some college or university
Yes	18 (64.3)	36 (67.9)	39 (81.3)	20 (90.9)
No	10 (35.7)	17 (32.1)	9 (18.8)	2 (9.1)
N=	28	53	48	22
Column percent	100%	100%	100%	100%

chi square = 7.0657 d.f = 3

significance = 0.07

Note: figures in parentheses represent the percentage for that educational level.

TABLE 7THE RELATION BETWEEN SEX AND ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGE PREFERENCE

<u>Beverage Preference</u>	<u>Sex</u>			
	Male	Female		
Beer	19 (37.3)	14 (19.7)	33	
Spirits	15 (29.4)	25 (35.2)	40	
Wine	9 (17.6)	14 (19.7)	23	
Combination of Beer, Spirits & Wine	8 (15.7)	18 (25.4)	26	
	N =	51	71	122
Column percent		100%	100%	100%

chi square = 5.04764 d.f = 3

significance = 0.168

Note: figures in parentheses represent the percentages
for male and female

whereas, females chose to drink spirits most frequently (35.2%), with a combination of beer, spirits, and wine preferred in 25.4% of the cases.

Crosstabulation of age with alcohol beverage preference (Table 8) shows that as age increased, the preference for beer decreased, as did the preference for hard liquor or spirits; the preference for wine also was highest with the 72-89 age group. Interesting, also, is the finding that infrequent drinkers, according to the frequency of alcohol consumption, were found to have a preference for wine, while light drinkers preferred spirits; both moderate and moderate-heavy to heavy drinkers preferred to drink beer.

Marital status did not display any association with alcoholic beverage preference, neither did educational status.

According to the Huntsville sample, then, a demographic picture, proportionately speaking, would show that more males were drinkers than females, more single people drank than married, more people with some college or university drank than any other category, that those between 18 and 35 years of age were drinkers more than any other category, that spirits were consumed most often, and that more classified themselves as light or

TABLE 8

THE RELATION BETWEEN AGE (GROUPED) AND ALCOHOLIC
BEVERAGE PREFERENCE

<u>Beverage Preference</u>	<u>Age (Grouped)</u>				
	<u>18-35</u>	<u>36-53</u>	<u>54-71</u>	<u>72-89</u>	
Beer	13 (35.2)	13 (32.5)	6 (15.4)	0	32
Spirits	8 (21.6)	13 (32.5)	19 (48.7)	0	40
Wine	5 (13.5)	6 (15.0)	8 (20.5)	4 (80.0)	23
Combination of Beer, Spirits & Wine	11 (29.7)	8 (20.0)	6 (15.4)	1 (20.0)	26
N =	37	40	39	5	121
Column percent	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Note: a) figures in parentheses represent percentages for that age group

b) chi square was not computed because expected cell frequencies was below five in some cells.

infrequent drinkers. Comparatively, more non-drinkers were female, married, with grade school education, between the ages of 54 and 89, and classified themselves as abstainers.

This study seeks to compare the attitudes of drinkers vis a vis non-drinkers to determine how the two perceive each other. In this connection, and as we previously mentioned, there are three basic areas of investigation, viz.; 1) how does the individual perceive himself, 2) does the drinker differ from the non-drinker, and 3) how does the drinker perceive the non-drinker, and the non-drinker the drinker?

With regards to the first area of investigation, out of 165 respondents, 43 (26.1%) claimed they did not consume alcoholic beverages (Table 1), while 122 (73.9%) claimed that they did. These proportions do not differ appreciably from those obtained from studies of Addiction Research Foundation (7), and those quoted in the LeDain Report (4). This breakdown for drinkers and non-drinkers was in response to Question 7 which simply asked, "Do you drink alcoholic beverages?". In this connection, there were two other questions asked. Question 15 sought factual information on the actual frequency of alcohol consumption, and Question 16 requested the individual to classify

himself in terms of his consumption of alcohol. The comparison of the responses to these questions revealed interesting findings. Although, 43 people said that they did not drink alcoholic beverages, only 32 actually fell into this category in terms of factual consumption. Eleven of those, who claimed they did not drink in response to Question 7, confessed that they drank occasionally. Some of them drank less than once a year while others a little more often - less than once a month but at least once a year. Perhaps these persons were really abstainers who broke with total allegiance to abstention to accommodate certain circumstances or social situations, and did not feel that the break made them anything other than an abstainer. However, it was interesting to note that of the 43 respondents who said they did not drink alcoholic beverages, 8 classified themselves as light or infrequent drinkers in response to Question 16. With these exceptions, the data revealed that the actual consumption of alcoholic beverages approximated how the individual self-classified himself: the more one actually drank, in terms of frequency, the higher was the drinking classification chosen by him to describe himself. For example, those who drank 3-4 times a week were likely to classify themselves as moderate to heavy drinkers. According to the results

of Question 16, then, it appeared that the original decision, predicated on the respondent's reply to the question, "Do you drink alcoholic beverages?", as to whether the respondent would answer the questions constructed specifically for drinkers, or the set of questions constructed specifically for the non-drinkers, was an appropriate decision: 26.1% said that they did not drink, 21.8% said they were abstainers.

The differences between the drinker and the non-drinker could be in terms of demographic variables. These differences have already been alluded to. In addition to questions designed to ascertain demographic variables, there were several questions that were asked, some designed to help the interviewer establish rapport with the respondent, and others, to ascertain attitudes of drinkers and non-drinkers to general questions related to alcohol. The analysis of the responses to these questions give the differences in terms of attitudes.

The majority of the sample population (69.6%) agreed that the consumption of alcohol was dangerous to health. Of the non-drinking population, 93.0% believed alcohol consumption was dangerous, whereas only 61.0% of the drinkers thought this to be the case ($X^2 = 15.82295$, sig. = 0.01). Both drinkers and non-drinkers were nearly

unanimous (95.2%) in declaring that heavy drinking was dangerous to one's health. But, opinions differed significantly concerning moderate drinking and its danger to health. The population sample, as a whole, generally said that moderate drinking was not dangerous to health (64.0%). Of the non-drinkers, 69.8% suggested it was dangerous, whereas only 11.6% of the drinkers agreed with them ($\chi^2 = 55.47992$, sig. = 0.01). At the same time, however, (Q2) only 26.2% of the drinkers believed moderate drinking could be beneficial to health, while 69.8% of the non-drinkers, and 10.0% more than the drinkers, asserted that moderate drinking was not beneficial to health.

There appeared to exist a general consensus that drinking was one of the prominent characteristics of Canadian culture (67.1%). Both drinkers and non-drinkers were evenly proportioned in agreeing drinking was culturally characteristic. However, 14.1% of the non-drinkers gave an "undecided" response (Q3).

Collectively, the sample did not believe alcohol was a necessary ingredient in order for people to have a good time (Q6). The few who did were predominantly drinkers. Albeit, it may not be necessary for a good time, 71.3% of the drinkers usually kept a supply of alcohol on hand (Q4), and 71.1% of them usually served alcoholic

beverages when they entertained (Q5), while 86.0% of the non-drinkers did not serve alcoholic beverages when they entertained (Q40). Of the non-drinkers, only 18.6% kept alcohol on hand (Q4), and only 14.3% served alcoholic beverages when they entertained. It would appear, then, that though alcohol may not be necessary for people to have a good time, it did play a part in the social activity of the majority of drinkers, and a small proportion of non-drinkers as well.

In over 60.0% of the cases, non-drinkers objected to people drinking in their homes (Q8, Q39), whereas drinkers (94.2%) appeared to show little concern (Q8). Of the 14.8% who wanted legislation passed to ban the selling of alcohol, 79.2% were non-drinkers (Q9). The 19 people who actually wanted the selling of alcohol banned represented less than half of the non-drinking population of Huntsville. Drinkers (91.8%), on the other hand, had no such desire ($X^2 = 51.97774$, sig. = 0.01).

These findings demonstrated that drinkers did not maintain reciprocal attitudes, nor similar behavioral responses towards alcohol and its place in their lives. Therefore, we could expect to observe drinkers and non-drinkers to display differing attitudes towards each other when they display disagreement in general attitudes

toward alcohol to the extent that general attitudes are operationalized to apply to those who hold contrary beliefs in response to the attitude referent.

With regards to the third area of investigation, a series of 21 adjectives were presented to respondents for them to indicate agreement or disagreement regarding the potential of these for describing drinkers and non-drinkers. Each respondent was requested to state whether he disagreed, was neutral, or agreed that each adjective suitably described drinkers as a group, if he was a non-drinker, and non-drinkers as a group, if he was a drinker. Furthermore, for comparative purposes, each respondent was asked whether he thought each adjective adequately described the drinker group, if he belonged to it, or the non-drinker group, if he belonged to it. The adjectives were divided into what was considered favorable and unfavorable adjectives or characteristics. The favorable adjectives were assigned a value of plus one, and unfavorable adjectives were assigned a value of minus one, and those adjectives to which the respondent held a neutral opinion were assigned a value of zero. The scores were summed algebraically to arrive at a final score which could range from minus 21 to plus 21 for each individual. Positive scores indicated a favorable attitude, and

negative scores an unfavorable attitude. The scores were then collapsed into three categories: minus 8 to minus 21, indicating the unfavorable end of the scale; minus 7 to plus 7, indicating scores that ranged from slightly unfavorable to slightly favorable attitudes; and, plus 8 to plus 21, indicating a favorable attitude.

The scores were collapsed into the three categories because, 1) unlike a Guttman or cumulative scale, scores on summated rating scales can be arrived at through many combinations of responses, rather than through just one possibility, and, therefore, the category minus 7 to plus 7 takes this varied combination into consideration; the other two categories, plus 8 to plus 21, and, minus 8 to minus 21, are intended only to provide a rough indication of a group position, and require less combinations of responses to influence scores than the minus 7 to plus 7 category, and 2) summated rating scales correspond to the ordinal level of measurement, and cannot, therefore, be summed and meaned because the intervals between scores are not equal, which, in turn, indicates that a comparison of means would be inappropriate to the data (5, 8). Comparison was made, therefore, by way of comparing percentages which fell within each category.

Table 9 shows the comparison of attitudes held by

TABLE 9

COMPARISON OF FAVORABLE AND UNFAVORABLE ATTITUDES HELD BY THE DRINKER TOWARD THE DRINKER AND THE NON-DRINKER, AND ATTITUDES HELD BY THE NON-DRINKER TOWARD THE NON-DRINKER AND THE DRINKER.

<u>Score values</u>	<u>Drinkers</u>		<u>Percentage</u>	
	Non-drinkers	Drinkers	Non-drinkers	Drinkers
Neg. 8- Neg. 21	0.8	5.8	2.4	26.2
Neg. 7- Pos. 7	52.1	63.9	38.1	59.5
Pos. 8- Pos. 21	47.1	30.3	59.5	14.3
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

each group for themselves, and for those of the opposite drinking behavior. The data reveal that only 0.8% of the drinkers, as a group, scored the non-drinker between minus 8 and minus 21, the unfavorable end of the continuum, whereas 5.7% of the drinkers scored themselves in the same unfavorable end of the scale. Drinkers (47.1%) also scored the non-drinkers in the plus 8 to plus 21 category, the favorable end of the continuum, more often than they scored themselves (30.3%). Non-drinkers, on the other hand, scored the drinker in a much more unfavorable light than the drinkers scored them, with 26.2% of the non-drinkers scoring the drinker in the minus 8 to minus 21 category, and only 2.4% of the non-drinkers placing themselves similarly. Only 14.3% of the non-drinkers, unlike the drinkers, thought of the drinker in a favorable light by placing him in the plus 8 to plus 21 category, whereas 59.5% of the non-drinkers scored themselves in the plus 8 to plus 21 category, the favorable end of the continuum.

Collectively, then, drinkers did not appear to characterize the non-drinker as unfavorably as they characterized themselves, or, in other words, that drinkers perceived non-drinkers, as a group, in a more favorable light than they viewed themselves.

To further clarify the position of the non-drinkers and drinkers vis a vis their attitudes towards each other, another tabulation was made of the same adjective list comparing the percentage of choice of adjectives by both the drinker and the non-drinker. Examination revealed that non-drinkers, with the exception of two cases, were consistently more negative than the drinker in that non-drinkers were more likely to disagree that the adjectives honest, intelligent, ambitious, individualistic, and superior, suitably described the drinker. Upon examining the affinity of each group to chose favorable adjectives to describe the other, drinkers were found to be more likely to chose favorable adjectives as characteristic of non-drinkers than non-drinkers chose to credit drinkers with favorable characteristics. (Table 10).

Table 11 shows that the choice of unfavorable adjectives as chosen by either group to describe each other. In all but the choice of one adjective, non-drinkers overwhelmingly chose to represent the drinker in an unfavorable way. Again, drinkers demonstrated that they did not think of the non-drinker unfavorably in that drinkers chose, in all but one case, to proportionately disagree that each adjective described the non-drinker.

There was no question, therefore, that contrary to

TABLE 10

PERCENTAGE COMPARISON OF CHOICE OF FAVORABLE ADJECTIVES
 CHOSEN BY DRINKERS AS CHARACTERISTIC OF NON-DRINKERS,
 AND CHOSEN BY NON-DRINKERS AS CHARACTERISTIC OF
DRINKERS.

<u>Adjectives</u>	<u>Adjectives chosen by drinker</u>			<u>Adjectives chosen by non-drinker</u>		
	Agree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Disagree	Neutral
Honest	33.3	10.0	56.7	26.2	19.0	54.8
Happy go lucky	14.2	29.2	56.7	19.0	26.2	54.8
Intelligent	31.1	13.4	55.5	21.4	28.6	50.0
Ambitious	34.5	14.3	51.3	23.8	23.8	52.4
Individual- istic	21.8	30.3	47.9	7.1	40.5	52.4
Superior	6.7	42.0	51.3	7.1	54.8	28.1
Same as others	57.0	24.0	19.0	57.1	16.7	26.2

TABLE 11

PERCENTAGE COMPARISON OF CHOICE OF UNFAVORABLE ADJECTIVES
 CHOSEN BY DRINKERS AS CHARACTERISTIC OF NON-DRINKERS, AND
CHOSEN BY NON-DRINKERS AS CHARACTERISTIC OF DRINKERS.

<u>Adjectives</u>	<u>-Adjectives chosen by drinkers to describe non- drinkers</u>			<u>Adjectives chosen by non-drinkers to describe drinkers</u>		
	Agree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Disagree	Neu- tral
Insecure	3.4	63.9	32.8	54.8	23.8	21.4
Stubborn	18.5	34.5	47.1	34.1	24.4	41.5
Impulsive	8.3	41.7	50.0	28.6	16.7	54.8
Non-conformist	22.7	39.5	37.8	16.7	47.6	35.7
Poor work habits	1.7	62.5	35.8	45.2	28.6	26.2
Immature	4.2	59.2	36.7	26.2	26.2	47.6
Weak-minded	2.5	55.5	42.0	35.7	31.0	33.3
Self-interested	7.6	37.8	44.5	40.5	23.8	35.7
Nervous	6.7	46.2	47.1	42.9	14.3	42.9
Frustrated	5.9	48.7	45.4	45.2	14.3	40.5
Lacking self- control	1.7	68.1	30.3	52.4	14.3	33.3
Inferior	2.5	49.6	47.9	21.4	28.6	50.0
Maladjusted	2.5	60.5	37.0	28.6	31.0	40.5
Irresponsible	3.4	61.3	35.3	31.0	26.2	42.9

drinkers' attitudes, the non-drinkers perceived the drinker as less desirable compared to the qualities chosen by the non-drinker to describe himself.

In addition to the adjective list, both drinkers and non-drinkers were asked three similar questions which sought to further explore how the drinker perceived the non-drinker and the non-drinker the drinker. Of the drinkers, 86.8% stated that they would invite non-drinkers to their home (Q31), and, similarly, 83.7% of the non-drinkers stated that they would invite drinkers to their home (Q41). Albeit, 19.7% of the drinkers admitted that they did attempt to persuade people not having similar drinking behavior to change their behavior, none of this group attempted to get the non-drinker to change his behavior, or, that is, to drink. But, of the 46.5% of the non-drinkers who attempted to persuade other people with dissimilar drinking behavior to change (Q54), 65.0% of these did so by trying to persuade the drinker to quit drinking (Q55). The remaining 35.0% of the non-drinkers tried to encourage the drinker to at least drink less than he presently did. As a group, then, almost half of the non-drinkers attempted to persuade drinkers to change some aspect of their drinking behavior. Furthermore, 33.6% of the drinkers remembered someone trying to persuade them

to change their drinking behavior; of these, 29.3% said the attempt to persuade them to increase drinking, 22.0% to decrease drinking, and 22.0% to get them to quit drinking. Of the non-drinkers, 27.9% remembered people trying to persuade them to alter their drinking behavior (Q56), in the majority of cases, from abstention to accepting a drink (Q57).

So, in conclusion, we can see that not only do general attitudes differ between drinkers and non-drinkers, but that drinkers do not perceive non-drinkers, nor non-drinkers the drinkers, in a like manner. The implications of their perceptions will be discussed in the conclusion of this paper.

One of the main concerns of this study was to determine the characteristics of drinkers who were most likely to get involved in the deviant producing labeling process. In relation to this concern, certain hypotheses were developed. Each hypothesis was evaluated by utilizing several questions deemed to be directly related to testing the drinkers' attitudes toward and disposition to label the non-drinker as a deviant.

The first hypothesis stated: the heavier the drinking behavior of a person, the more likely he is to perceive the non-drinker as a deviant.

Of the 122 drinkers, 11.5% were infrequent drinkers, 35.2% were light drinkers, 34.4% were moderate drinkers, and 18.9% were moderate-heavy to heavy drinkers. Of the drinkers, 91.7% stated that they did not generally dislike people who did not wish to drink with them when a drink was offered (Q30). Only 5 drinkers felt they disliked those who refused to drink with them. Of the 5, 2 were moderate drinkers, representing 4.8% of the moderate drinkers, and, 3 were moderate-heavy to heavy drinkers.

The majority of drinkers (86.8%) also stated that they invited non-drinkers to their home, as we previously mentioned (Q31). The 5.8% who did not do so, was comprised of 4.8% of the light drinkers, 4.8% of the moderate drinkers, and 13.0% of the moderate-heavy to heavy drinkers.

As we saw earlier, contrary to expectation, drinkers on the whole (77.9%) did not attempt to try and persuade non-drinkers to change (Q32). Of the 19.7% who attempted to change peoples' drinking behavior, 7.1% of the infrequent drinkers, 16.3% of the light drinkers, 23.8% of the moderate drinkers, and 26.1% of the moderate-heavy to heavy drinkers engaged in such activity. But, strangely enough, none of the 19.7% directed their attention to persuade any non-drinkers to begin drinking; they, instead, devoted their efforts to fellow drinkers and their behavior.

Only 18.0% of the drinkers admitted that they offered a drink to a person they knew was an abstainer (Q27). This suggested that there were few drinkers who did not accept the non-drinker's status, and attempted to alter his behavior to conform to their own. Of these, 22.7% were light drinkers, 50.0% moderate drinkers, and only 27.3% moderate-heavy to heavy drinkers. The majority of drinkers (82.0%), did not appear to view the non-drinker threatening enough to try and persuade him to conform to their drinking behavior.

Drinkers were consistent with their previously elicited attitudes in that 71.3% specified that it really didn't matter to them, when going out socially to have fun, whether they were with fellow drinkers or not (Q18). However, 27.0% did specify that fellow drinkers were socially more desirable as companions. Of those who desired to go out socially and have fun with fellow drinkers, 50.0% were infrequent drinkers, 32.6% light drinkers, 16.7% moderate drinkers, and 21.7% were moderate-heavy to heavy drinkers.

Analysis of close friends preferred by drinkers (Q17) further revealed that 80.3% of the drinkers did not require, as part of their criteria of friendship, that one be a drinker; to these drinkers, it didn't appear to

matter. To 15.6% of the drinkers, though, it did matter in that they preferred their close companions to be drinkers. Of the 15.6%, 16.3% came from the light drinkers, 21.4% from the moderate drinkers, and only 13.0% from the moderate-heavy to heavy group. In relation to choice of close friends, drinkers were asked to classify the drinking behavior of their friends. Infrequent drinkers, on the whole, classified most of their friends as light drinkers (57.1%), light drinkers classified most friends as light drinkers (51.2%), moderate drinkers classified most friends as moderate drinkers in 64.3% of the cases, and, moderate-heavy to heavy drinkers classified most friends, in 56.5% of the cases, as moderate drinkers (Q38). Only 2 drinkers classified their friends as abstainers.

Drinkers were also asked to express agreement or disagreement to a series of eight questions originally intended to form a Guttman or cumulative scale (Q37). Scalogram analysis revealed, however, that the statements did not form a cumulative scale, and, therefore, each individual statement was analyzed separately. Drinkers were unanimous in stating that they did not generally perceive the non-drinker as possessing any serious personal faults, albeit, this unanimity was not continued throughout the remaining responses. Over 99.0% of the

drinkers also felt that they were quite prepared to invite a non-drinker or abstaining couple to their home for an evening. Generally, this accepting attitude was consistent with drinkers' responses to an earlier similar question to determine whether drinkers invited non-drinkers to their homes. The only person who agreed that he objected to inviting a non-drinker to his home for an evening came from the moderate-heavy to heavy category of drinking.

The choice of a personal companion or chum also reflected an accepting drinker attitude of the non-drinker (98.3%). Only two drinkers did not want a chum or companion to be a non-drinker; one was a moderate drinker, the other a moderate-heavy to heavy drinker.

Collectively, 98.3% of the drinkers showed no hesitation in sharing working duties with a non-drinker. Of the two who did not wish to work with a non-drinker, one was a light drinker, and one was a moderate-heavy to heavy drinker.

As one of the criteria for a marriage partner, drinking found support from only 3.4% of the drinkers with 96.6% declaring that drinking did not influence their choice of marriage partner. For those four for whom drinking was an important criteria, one was a moderate drinker (2.4%), and three were moderate-heavy to heavy drinkers

representing 13.0% of this category.

Non-drinkers also found social acceptance from 95.8% of the drinkers when drinkers were making out a guest list for a good or "fun" party. Of the 4.2% who rejected non-drinkers as suitable for such a party, 2.4% were light drinkers, 7.3% moderate drinkers, and 4.3% moderate-heavy to heavy drinkers.

For some inscrutable reason, non-drinkers became somewhat less socially desirable companions in that only 90.7% of the drinkers agreed they would include non-drinkers in any social evenings. Speculation tenders one possible reason for this insofar as some evenings may be thought of as very special and must include companions willing to share alcoholic beverages. There were 7.1% of the light drinkers, 7.5% of the moderate drinkers, and 21.7% of the moderate-heavy to heavy drinkers in the group that felt non-drinkers were to be socially barred from select social evenings.

Social acceptance of non-drinkers further appeared to diminish in that only 84.9% of the drinkers stated they would go out of their way to get to know people they knew were abstainers. It would appear, then, that 15.1% of the drinkers did not object to socializing with non-drinkers once they got to know them, but that in order to do so,

they had no intentions of making the first social move. Of these, 11.9% were light drinkers, 12.2% moderate drinkers, and 34.8% moderate-heavy to heavy drinkers.

From the foregoing analysis of drinkers' attitudes towards non-drinkers, it was manifest that the majority of drinkers did not find the abstainer objectionable as a personal companion or as a social comrade. There was only fragmentary evidence to suggest that the heavier the consumption of alcohol in any way influenced attitudes toward non-drinkers. In some cases, the heaviest drinker displayed an unaccepting attitude towards the non-drinker; in other cases, moderate drinkers did so. Therefore, it cannot be concluded that the heavier the drinking frequency the more likely it is that the non-drinker will be seen as a deviant.

From the previous analysis of questions, we know that the majority of drinkers do not envisage the non-drinker as a social deviant. We can only say that there are a few individuals who do perceive the non-drinker in an unfavorable light. But, even this group does not remain constant in numbers, or characteristics, and that variation in degree of social deviancy does occur. The remaining examination of the hypotheses will, therefore, be directed at the few individuals to whom the non-drinker

is, to varying degrees, socially unacceptable.

The second hypothesis stated: male drinkers rather than females are likely to perceive the non-drinker as a deviant.

Of the five people who generally disliked non-drinkers because they didn't accept a drink, 3 were male, representing 6.0% of the males, and 2 were females, representing 2.8% of the females.

Of the 5.8% who did not invite non-drinkers to their home, 4.0% proportionately represented the males, and 7.0% represented the females. Fifteen percent of the males, and 22.5% of the females attempted to persuade those individuals not possessing similar drinking practices to alter their behavior. Again, though, no one attempted to persuade the non-drinker to begin drinking.

Males proportionately outnumbered (23.5%) females (14.1%) who offered a drink to a person they knew was an abstainer. Interestingly enough, females had a better chance of getting the non-drinker to accept a drink than did the males.

When going out to have fun, a greater proportion of females (32.4%) than males (19.6%) preferred to go out with drinkers. Females further wanted friends who were drinkers more so than males (16.9% : 13.7% respectively).

So, it appeared, then, that males were somewhat more tolerable or malleable vis a vis drinking as one of the necessary criteria for friendship.

Of the female drinkers, 2.8% classified their friends as abstainers, 39.4% as light drinkers, 50.7% as moderate drinkers, and 7.0% as moderate-heavy to heavy drinkers. Males classified their friends in slightly different proportions with 31.4% classifying their friends as light drinkers, 52.9% as moderate drinkers, and 15.7% as moderate-heavy to heavy drinkers. No males classified most of their friends as abstainers, and also had more moderate-heavy to heavy drinkers as friends than females.

The only drinker who disliked people who did not accept a drink was a female. Male and female were split in not wanting a non-drinker as a chum or companion. But, 2 females (2.9%) did not feel compelled to work with a non-drinker at work. In the choice of a marriage partner, 4.1% of the males, as opposed to 2.9% of the females, hesitated in rejecting drinking as one criteria on which to base selection of a marriage partner.

Males (6.0%), and 2.9% of the females, were not accepting of the non-drinker when it came to making out a guest list for a "fun" party. Males (10.2%) also displayed a slightly higher proportion than females (8.7%)

in rejecting non-drinkers from every social evening they planned to have. Twenty-four percent of the males also did not feel compelled or motivated to associate with non-drinkers; only 8.7% of the females agreed with them.

Sex vis a vis differential attitudes toward the non-drinker did not reveal any consistent pattern for either male or female. In some situations, males dominated in rejecting the non-drinker, but, in others, females were prominent in rejecting the non-drinker.

The third hypothesis stated: the older the drinker is the more likely he is to perceive the non-drinker as a deviant.

The age variable was formed by collapsing the data into four age-groups: 18-35, 36-53, 54-71, and 72-89 (Table 1).

Analysis of the attitude questions again did not reveal any linear relationship that allow discrimination among age groups vis a vis attitudes toward the non-drinker. For the Huntsville sample, however, certain age-groups became dominant in their rejection of the non-drinker contingent on the specific question asked. For example, 27.0% of the 18-35 year olds attempted to persuade other drinkers to alter their drinking behavior; those between the ages of 18 and 53 were proportionately represented and

dominant over other age groups in offering abstainers alcohol; the 36-53 age group dominated all other groups in their desire to be with drinkers when wanting to go out socially and have fun; 8.1% of the 54-71 age group did not want to include abstainers in any party where they desired to have a great time; and, the 36-53 age group (20.0%) did not want to bother to make an effort to socialize with non-drinkers.

Therefore, vis a vis the small group of drinkers who perceived the non-drinker in various degrees of rejection, it was not possible to accept the hypothesis that the older the drinker the more likely he is to perceive the non-drinker as a deviant.

The fourth hypothesis stated: the more educated the drinker is the less likely he will perceive the non-drinker as a deviant.

The education variable was formed by grouping respondents' last grade completed in school into four categories (Table 1).

Analysis of education vis a vis drinkers' attitudes toward the non-drinker also revealed an inconsistent pattern with most cases conforming to the null hypothesis that education does not affect the perception that the non-drinker is a deviant, and some conforming to the hypothesis.

For example, those with grade 8 or less were the dominant group in not inviting non-drinkers to their home (11.1%); 35.0% of the college educated offered drinks to known abstainers with 17.9% of the high school graduates, 8.3% of those with some high school, and 11.1% of those with grade 8 or less engaging in similar behavior; 33.3% of those with some high school, 28.2% of those with high school diplomas, and only 22.2% of those with grade school or less preferred to associate with fellow drinkers when going out to have fun.

The fifth hypothesis stated: the married drinker is more likely to perceive the non-drinker as a deviant. The attribute variable "married" included those who were separated, widowed, divorced, and common law (Table 1).

Those who generally disliked people who did not accept a drink were all within the married category ($\chi^2 = 0.970$). Those within the married group also represented all of those who didn't invite non-drinkers to their home, representing 6.7% of the married group. Those who were single were dominant (41.2%) over the married (16.2%) in their attempts to persuade people to alter their drinking behavior. Also, the single group in 41.2% of the cases were much more active in offering drinks to known abstainers than were those from the married group (14.3%) ($\chi^2 = 5.454$,

sig.= 0.05). Those in the married category also preferred to go out and have fun with fellow drinkers in 29.5% of the cases, whereas, only 11.8% of the single people followed suit. The selection of drinkers as close friends was proportionately larger for single people (5.9%) than for the married group (3.8%). Only 1 married person would not invite a non-drinker to her home; and 6.3% of the single group, compared to 1.1% of the married group, were not accepting of a non-drinker as a personal chum or companion.

Both individuals who did not want to work with abstainers were married, and 4 married individuals were unaccepting of non-drinkers as marriage partners. Also, tabulation showed that the married group totally represented those who, 1) did not wish to include non-drinkers on a guest list for a "fun" party (4.9%), and 2) did not want to have abstainers present at any social evening they planned. The married and single group proportionately shared the position of not being inclined to go out of their way to socialize with abstainers.

Although, there appears to be evidence to support the hypothesis that married people find the non-drinker deviant more so than the single drinker, the chi square test of significance could only be computed in one case,

thus giving very little statistical support to draw such a conclusion.

There was no evidence to suggest that any type of alcoholic beverage was discernible to those with a propensity to view the non-drinker as a deviant.

Furthermore, when the adjective list was treated as a summated rating scale, and Spearman's rank order correlation coefficient computed with age (ungrouped), education, and frequency of alcohol consumption, these coefficients were found to be insignificant. In addition, Questions 14, 20, 21, 23, 25, and 52 were deleted from this report for lack of significant findings bearing on the research.

Inherent within the central tenets of labeling theory is the notion that action and reaction is predicated upon the social audience's perception, true or false, of the nature of an act; whether the act is acceptable or unacceptable to the norms of the group is contingent on a social definition, not on the actual act per se. Earlier, we postulated that drinkers may be engaged in a process of social change by adopting a drinking rather than a non-drinking posture. If drinkers are veritably persuing a non-normative behavior - drinking -, and, given, as we previously demonstrated, that they do

not appear to either eschew or attempt to persuade non-drinkers to be drinkers, but, instead, do attempt to alter the drinking behavior of their group members, i.e., fellow drinkers, it would be interesting and relevant to ascertain what social pressure, if any, drinkers perceive to encourage them to drink.

Analysis demonstrated that within the drinking population itself, there was a group of drinkers who attempted to alter the drinking behavior of fellow drinkers. These attempts took one of five modes, viz., 1) to increase drinking, 2) to begin drinking, 3) to adopt drinking practices similar to the defining agent, 4) to decrease the amount drunk, and 5) to quit drinking. Therefore, within the drinking population, there was a continuum from total acceptance to partial rejection, contingent upon the group's normative drinking behavior.

We may also conclude that some drinkers may have adopted the normal statistical mode - to drink - in order to escape what they perceived to be various forms of social pressure to drink. Given that there is a group of drinkers who have adopted the status of a drinker in order to avoid a deviant status - that of a non-drinker - it can be postulated that this group may only be marginally involved directly proportionate to the extent to which

they perceive social pressure to drink. Secondly, this group may also be willing to cease drinking if they believed that they would not be subjected to any social pressure, real or perceived.

Social pressure, real or unreal, can take many forms contingent upon the individual's psycho-social structure. Of the drinking population sample, 22.5% responded to what may be perceived as a form of social pressure in that they accepted drinks at a party so they would not offend the host. The most noticeable characteristics of this group were that they were more likely female ($X^2 = 4.13871$) with college education, moderate to heavy drinkers ($X^2 = 12.62733$, sig. = 0.05), and classified themselves as moderate to heavy drinkers ($X^2 = 9.19456$, sig. = 0.05). Some other drinkers (14.8%) also appeared to succumb to group drinking pressure in that they drank only when they went out socially. Most characteristic of this group were that they were proportionately female ($X^2 = 4.47$, sig. = 0.10), between 18 and 35 years old, single ($X^2 = 6.681$, sig. = 0.05), with high school education or better, and were light or infrequent drinkers.

Drinkers were also asked to respond to a series of statements concerning reasons for personal drinking of alcoholic beverages. Eight questions from this series

were designed to provide a rough indication of the importance of social pressure as reasons for drinking. Analysis showed that 45.0% of the drinkers felt that an important reason for drinking was based on their perception that it was socially required behavior. Another segment of drinkers (29.2%) thought that an important reason for their drinking was that it was the polite and, therefore, socially necessary behavior in certain situations. Another 24.2% believed that their drinking was partly dependent on the fact that drinking was an accepted part of society. It would be logical to assume, then, that this group of drinkers appeared to base their behavior on the behavior of others, and, in doing so, would be socially accepted by this group.

In order to be more compatible with the normative behavior of one's friendship group, 21.5% of the drinkers an important reason for using alcohol. What was even a more important reason for using alcohol, in the case of 23.3% of the drinkers, was the fact that people they were acquainted with drank. To drink because one's spouse drank was important to only 13.4% of the drinkers. Ostensibly, then, one's spouse was more accepting of deviant behavior associated with abstention than was the larger social audience. In only 9.9% of the drinkers, did love

of people one knew present an important factor for encouraging drinking. And, only 1.7% of the drinkers used alcohol because they thought it was important to their business success.

Given that there was no social pressure whatsoever to drink alcohol, 14.2% of the drinkers averred that they would not continue to drink. Predominant in this group were 17.1% of the females ($X^2 = 2.779$), 18.4% of those between the ages of 54 and 71, 15.4% of the married category, 34.4% of those with some high school or less, and 50.0% of all light and infrequent drinkers.

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CHAPTER FOURCONCLUSIONS

The data obtained in this study indicate that drinkers, on the whole, do not perceive the non-drinker as a deviant, and, that they do not exert any social pressure to get them to drink. The data, however, provide evidence suggesting that drinkers perceive various degrees of social pressure to drink, and that some drinkers would quit drinking if these social pressures were to disappear. Here, we have an ostensible paradoxical finding. While the drinker himself does not apply social pressure on the non-drinker to drink, the drinkers' drinking behavior is the result of a perceived social pressure to drink. It would be logical to presume that if drinkers are pressured to drink, so would non-drinkers.

The paradox could be explained in three ways. First, drinkers may in fact be exerting social pressure on non-drinkers to drink, although they do not admit it. The non-drinkers would be those who could withstand the pressure while the drinkers who felt pressured to drink would, in reality, be non-drinkers who succumbed to the

pressure. Second, there may be absolutely no pressure to drink, and drinkers who perceived social pressure may have done so in a chimerical sense - the social pressure was applied by themselves to themselves. They may have perceived what they believed to be forms of social pressure. Third, it may be that drinkers do attempt to influence the drinking pattern of other drinkers. Involved in the process of changing or dissolving a previously accepted norm, they may attempt to influence fellow drinkers' drinking behavior in an effort to solidify their position, or to demark their normative boundaries. As such, the captious stance drinkers take of non-conforming drinkers, rather than a critical posture towards non-drinkers, can be seen as a function of liberal norm breakers being more critical of themselves in their attempt to establish a new, pristine drinking norm, than of those who adhere to the antiquated norm of abstention.

Before we could reach any conclusion as to what the actual position may be, it may be pertinent to consider the attitude of the non-drinker. The data indicate that the non-drinker does not consider himself a deviant. In fact, it is the drinker he considers as the deviant, and, with a relatively poor conception of him, to which, oddly enough, the drinker appears to contribute. Moreover,

the non-drinker appears to exert some social pressure on the drinker to conform to a social norm of non-drinking. In the majority of cases, even if a drinker was invited to a non-drinker's home, he would not only be denied a drink, but he would not be allowed to drink even if he brought his own alcoholic beverage. In addition, it would appear that, in the majority of cases, the drinker is allowed to join in as a group member only if he agrees to abide by the norms as defined by the non-drinkers - viz., don't drink, don't bring your own alcoholic beverage.

Of the 43 people who said that they did not drink alcohol, it will be recalled, 11 admitted that they drank alcohol infrequently. These eleven, it could be hypothesized, drank alcohol only when subjected to such circumstances in which they felt drinking was socially expected. They did so, perhaps, when they believed that they would be perceived by the particular social audience as engaging in behavior that was not approved of by the group - abstention. Lending further support to this position is the fact that 25.6% of the non-drinkers admitted that there were certain circumstances of sufficient importance that would influence them in such a way as to accept a drink. To still further support the position, is the finding that in 48.8% of the cases, non-drinkers

generally did not make it known to their social audience that they were abstainers. Manifestly, then, they appeared to prefer to hide behind the cloak of conformity rather than be subjected to possible rejection, or social ostracization, real or perceived. They did, nevertheless, perceive some social pressure to drink.

Over half of the non-drinkers stated that they were not invited to parties where drinking was a dominant behavior, suggesting that they were seen as less than desirable social companions by the drinker. However, only 27.9% stated that they were invited less often to social gatherings because they were abstainers. Only 16.3% of the abstainers believed they would be invited to parties more often if they drank. Given that the majority of non-drinkers in this sample were older women, it is possible that they were invited less often for other reasons besides abstention. However, notwithstanding age and sex, the important point was that the non-drinkers did perceive themselves as deviant vis a vis drinkers' normative behavior.

The low percentage of non-drinkers, who believed they would be socially accepted more often if they drank, may be partially a corollary of non-drinkers' refusal to admit to themselves that alcohol related behavior could

damage their social identity. The interphase of alcohol and a deviant perception of one's social identity is part and parcel of accepting or rejecting the label. The label, non-drinker, and all the perceptions, real or unreal, that lay claim to the social ramifications of that label, are contingent upon the strength of social rejection and the strength of the individual's psycho-social system to deny such rejection.

Pertinent, here, is the question of the result of such denial. If the non-drinker denies he is deviant, what are his reactions and adaptations in response to the denial of deviancy? First of all, we have already observed that non-drinkers maintain a good self-image. They have represented themselves in a very favorable way in their choice of favorable adjectives to describe themselves. Moreover, they also rejected adjectives that would vitiate this satisfactory self-image. Second, the majority of non-drinkers (86.0%), maintained that abstention has not interfered with any aspect of their lives, social or otherwise. Only 3 of the non-drinkers felt they had been rejected because they didn't drink, and 95.3% of the non-drinkers refused to accept a drink to avoid being rejected by acquaintances who drank. Here, there may be a denial of the pressure of possible rejection, and, in considering

this possibility, it is pertinent to remember that 58.1% of the non-drinkers stated they were accepted as group members even though they didn't drink. One method of adaptation to counteract positioning oneself into a situation that is threatening to one's self-definition, is to remain detached from those situations. This method was adopted by 51.2% of the non-drinkers who stated that they did not want to go to parties where drinkers were present. Support for one's denial of deviancy, or one's life style, is often found in what has been termed a "subculture". Albeit, there was no evidence suggesting a definite subculture of non-drinkers, there was evidence to suggest that non-drinkers sought friendship from within their own ranks. In 81.0% of the cases, abstainers' friends either drank approximately once a year, or didn't drink at all. If we accept the postulate that 11 of the 43 non-drinkers drank only to escape social pressure, or to conform to social exigencies, it would not be untenable to assume that light drinkers would offer non-drinkers psychological support for maintaining a non-deviant self perception. As non-drinkers are in a numerical minority, and, therefore, it would be more difficult to find a fellow non-drinker than it would be to find a drinker, the abstainers' friendship patterns would suggest that

abstainers almost overtly sought non-drinking friends. Non-drinkers have indicated a feeling that drinkers' characteristics were less than desirable. Compared to the characteristics attributed to the non-drinker by the non-drinker himself, the drinker has been characterized as deviant in more than one sense. The non-drinkers' perception of the drinkers' characteristics can be interpreted in terms of engagement in what has been termed "retrospective interpretation" (3). The knowledge that the person possessed one undesirable characteristic - drinking - made the individual undesirable in other ways as well. In terms of labeling theory, the fact that a person drank alcohol, represented a master status (1) in the eyes of the non-drinker. Once the non-drinker knew of this characteristic, all other characteristics were relegated to a position of secondary importance. Pertinent here, however, is the fact that non-drinkers allowed drinkers to join their group even though it were only if non-drinkers' norms were followed. Attempts by non-drinkers to influence the drinking behavior of drinkers is also related to rejection. It suggests a partial rejection, and an acknowledgement of the existence of some desirable characteristics in the drinker.

The data leave us with the conclusion that it is

not the non-drinker who is the deviant, but, instead, it is the drinker who is labeled as a deviant and subjected to social pressure to change or conform. Coupled with this finding, is the fact that the drinker has a poor self concept of himself which appears to contribute to his deviant status. In this study, we proceeded from the assumption that the fellow who was deviant was the one who indulged in uncommon behavior, and argued that if an individual was deviant, statistically speaking, he would also be considered deviant, normatively speaking, and pressure would be exerted on him to change resulting in his adoption of a total deviant stance. Our study, however, revealed that contrary to our assumption, it was the drinker, the individual who indulged in common behavior, who was considered the deviant. Not only the non-drinker considered him so, the drinker too tended to view himself in that light. Manifestly, a logical reason for such a position rests in the assumption that the cultural norm is actually non-drinking and not drinking. It would appear that moral normality is stronger than statistical normality. In such a situation, we would expect drinkers to form their own subculture, and, actually exert pressure on marginal members to form a central movement while refraining from exerting pressure on non-

members to become members. This non-exertion of pressure could be interpreted in terms of a group security in numbers strongly influencing drinkers not to perceive non-drinkers as a threat to their group integrity. It could also be interpreted in terms of social cultural and normative change with the position of the drinkers being one at which they are statistically normal, but, nevertheless, normatively abnormal. With this interpretation, we must ask a question not considered by labeling theory - does abnormal behavior ever become normal, and, if so, what is the mechanism involved?

LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

As pointed out in Chapter Two, the research design was basically an ex post facto one, and, therefore, has three major weaknesses; 1) independent variables cannot be manipulated, 2) the lack of power to randomly assign people to groups, and 3) the possibility of improper interpretation of the findings (2,p.390). Given the difficulties associated with eliciting genuine attitudes, and the probability that verbal attitudes differ significantly from action attitudes, the study is subject to all the errors and mistakes inherent in one adopting

an attitudinal research model. These errors are predicated on degree, separation, and veraciousness of attitude responses.

In addition to this general limitation, there are limitations specific to this study. The interview situation was also subject to its own endemic limitations: interviewers were inexperienced, and interviewees may have been influenced by interviewers as well as others, who might have been present while the interviewing took place. Albeit, efforts were made to conduct interviews in private, this did not always occur.

The interview schedule itself was far from ideal. Notwithstanding pretesting, it became obvious during the interviews that, 1) respondents sometimes had difficulty in understanding some questions; 2) in some cases, there was a lack of a sharp and constant focus on the hypotheses under consideration; 3) some questions asked for opinions and attitudes the respondent did not possess; 4) some questions would have produced more meaningful response if they were open-ended; and, 5) some questions were loaded with social desirability influencing people to give responses they thought were socially expected rather than their ingenuous thoughts. Furthermore, it is difficult to know what part, if any, the halo effect

played in influencing answers.

On a statistical note, the type of questions, and the research paradigm itself limited statistical tests to nominal and ordinal data. Moreover, in far too many cases, chi square could not be calculated in that the expected frequencies fell well below five. This continued to occur even when several categories of different variables were collapsed.

Of concern in any research is the question of validity and reliability. There is no way that we can validate our questions, but, our data suggest that they are valid.

On a very general note, the research study was limited in its effectiveness to test its main contentions to the extent that researcher bias influenced question formation, and subsequent analysis. One cannot deny that no matter how objective one attempts to be, each person is subject to his own value judgements that ultimately affect the choice of study matter, its design, its method of data collection, and its conclusions.

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APPENDIX

1. Do you think consumption of alcohol is dangerous to health? Yes () No () Undecided ()
 (a) heavy drinking Yes () No () Undecided ()
 (b) moderate drinking Yes () No () Undecided ()
2. Can moderate drinking be beneficial to health? Yes () No () Undecided ()
3. Do you consider drinking to be one of the prominent characteristics of Canadian culture? Yes () No () Undecided ()
4. Do you keep a supply of alcoholic beverages on hand? Yes () No () Most of the time ()
5. Do you usually serve alcoholic beverages when you entertain? Yes () No () Most of the time ()
6. In your opinion, do you think it is necessary for people to drink in order to have a good time? Yes () No () Undecided ()
7. Do you drink alcoholic beverages? Yes () No ()
8. Do you object to people drinking in your residence? Yes () No () Undecided ()
9. Would you like to see Canadian parliament pass legislation to ban all selling of alcoholic beverages? Yes () No () Undecided ()
10. Sex: Male () Female ()
11. Age: (in years, on day of interview) _____
12. Marital status: (on day of interview)
 () Married () Single
 () Separated () Divorced
 () Widowed () Common law

13. What was the last grade that you completed in school?

14. How many years have you lived in Canada?_____
15. How often do you drink alcoholic beverages? (Check one only)
- Never
 - Less than once a year
 - Less than once a month, but at least once a year
 - About once a month
 - 2-3 times a month
 - 1-2 times a week
 - 3-4 times a week
 - Nearly every day
 - Two times a day
 - More than three times a day
16. How would you classify yourself in relation to the drinking of alcoholic beverages? Would you say that you were . . .
- a heavy drinker
 - a moderate-heavy drinker
 - a moderate drinker
 - a light or infrequent drinker
 - an abstainer
17. What type of very close friends do you prefer to have? (Check one only)
- (a) persons that drink alcoholic beverages
 - (i) more than you ()
 - (ii) as much as you ()
 - (iii) less than you ()
 - (b) people who don't drink at all ()
 - (c) it doesn't matter whether they drink or not ()
18. When you want to go out and have fun, do you prefer to go out with: (Check one only)
- people who are abstainers
 - people who are light drinkers
 - people who are willing to have a few stiff drinks
 - people who drink about the same as you
 - doesn't matter whether they drink or not

THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS ARE FOR DRINKERS ONLY.

19. Could you tell me which alcoholic beverages you drink most often: (Check one only)
- | | |
|----------------------------------|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> beer | <input type="checkbox"/> beer and spirits equally as often |
| <input type="checkbox"/> spirits | <input type="checkbox"/> wine and beer equally as often |
| <input type="checkbox"/> wine | <input type="checkbox"/> wine and spirits equally as often |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> wine, beer, and spirits equally as often |
20. Would you say that your personal consumption of alcoholic beverages has in any way interfered with:
- your ability to get along with people
- the number of friends you have
- how you get along with your family
- none of the above
21. Do you normally drink at home but not when you go out?
- Yes No Sometimes
22. Do you normally drink only when you go out?
- Yes No Sometimes
23. Do you normally drink both at home and when you go out?
- Yes No Sometimes
24. Often certain adjectives are used to describe the person who drinks alcoholic beverages, and certain adjectives used to describe the person who does not drink alcoholic beverages. I will read a list of adjectives to you, and for each adjective in the list, state whether you disagree, are neutral, or agree that the adjective describes the person who drinks alcoholic beverages. (Interviewer: numerals "1,2,3" correspond to "agree, neutral, and disagree" respectively)
- insecure honest stubborn impulsive
- non-conformist the same as other people
- poor work habits happy go lucky immature
- weak minded intelligent self-interested
- irresponsible nervous frustrated
- lacking self-control ambitious inferior
- maladjusted superior individualistic

24. (cont'd)

Again, I will read the list of adjectives to you, and for each adjective in the list please state whether you disagree, are neutral, or agree that the adjective describes the person who does not drink alcoholic beverages.

- ()insecure ()honest ()stubborn () impulsive
 ()non-conformist () the same as other people
 ()poor work habits ()happy go lucky ()immature
 ()waek minded ()intelligent ()self-interested
 ()irresponsible ()nervous ()frustrated
 ()lacking self-control ()ambitious ()inferior
 ()maladjusted ()superior ()individualistic

25. When you drink alcoholic beverages, do you do so usually or most often: (Check one only)

- ()at home alone
 ()at home with immediate family
 ()at home when friends drop in
 ()on festive occasions
 ()at a hotel, pub, bar, or lounge
 ()at other people's house parties
 ()all about the same with the exception of festive occasions

26. How important do you think each of the following reasons are for your personal drinking of alcoholic beverages?(Interviewer: numerals "1,2,3,4,5" correspond to "very important, important, neutral, unimportant, and very unimportant" respectively).

- because alcohol helps me relax 1 2 3 4 5
 beause alcohol helps me forget my worries 1 2 3 4 5
 because alcohol cheers me up when I'm in a bad mood 1 2 3 4 5
 because it relieves my tension and nervousness 1 2 3 4 5
 because I like the taste 1 2 3 4 5
 because it improves my appetite 1 2 3 4 5
 because it is sociable to do so 1 2 3 4 5
 because the people I know drink 1 2 3 4 5
 because it is the polite thing to do in certain situations 1 2 3 4 5
 because those people I love drink 1 2 3 4 5

32. Have you ever attempted to persuade those people who do not have similar drinking behavior as you do to change their drinking behavior?
Yes () No () Sometimes ()

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED "YES" OR "SOMETIMES" TO QUESTION 32, PROCEED TO QUESTION 33. IF HE DID NOT, PROCEED TO QUESTION 34.

33. In you attempt to persuade other people to alter or change their drinking behavior, did you, or have you, tried to get them: (may check more than one)
() to drink less than you
() to adopt similar drinking practices as you have
() to quit drinking
() to begin drinking by encouraging them to accept a drink
() to drink less than they do at present
() none of the above

34. Do you remember any one ever trying to persuade you to change your drinking behavior?
Yes () No ()

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED "YES" TO QUESTION 34, PROCEED TO QUESTION 35. IF RESPONDENT DID NOT ANSWER "YES", PROCEED TO QUESTION 36.

35. In their attempt to persuade you to change your drinking behavior, did they try. . . (Check one only)
() to get you to increase your drinking
() to decrease the amount you drank
() to adopt similar drinking practices as they had
() to quit drinking altogether
() to begin drinking
() none of the above

36. Sometimes there are situations where we feel that we should do something because most other people do it. Drinking can fall under this general description in that some people may believe that they should drink because others do, or others ask them to, and, on the other hand, there are people who do not drink even if someone asks them to accept a drink. If no one coaxed you, or no one bothered you in any way about not drinking alcohol, do you think you would continue to drink alcoholic beverages?
Yes () No () Possibly () Undecided ()

37. The following statements require you to express either agreement or disagreement with the statement.

I would not hesitate in accepting a non-drinker as a marriage partner.

Agree () Disagree ()

I would not hesitate in working with some one at my place of work who does not drink alcoholic beverages.

Agree () Disagree ()

I would not object in any way to inviting a non-drinker, or a couple who did not drink, to my home for an evening.

Agree () Disagree ()

I would not hesitate, when making out a guest list for a "fun" party, to include people or couples that did not drink alcoholic beverages.

Agree () Disagree ()

There is nothing wrong with a person, or couple, who does not drink alcoholic beverages.

Agree () Disagree ()

I would not hesitate in accepting a person who does not drink as my personal companion or chum.

Agree () Disagree ()

I would go out of my way to socialize with a person or couple who do not drink alcohol.

Agree () Disagree ()

I would include abstainers in any social evening that I plan to have.

Agree () Disagree ()

38. How would you classify most of your friends drinking behavior? (Check one only)

() abstainers

() light or infrequent drinkers

() moderate drinkers

() moderate-heavy drinkers

() heavy drinkers

THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS ARE FOR NON-DRINKERS ONLY

39. Do you object to people drinking in your residence?
Yes () No () Undecided ()

40. Do you serve alcoholic beverages when you entertain, providing of course, that the people drink?
Yes () No () Most of the time ()
41. Do you invite people who consume alcoholic beverages to your home for an evening?
Yes () No () Sometimes ()
42. Would you say that your decision not to drink alcoholic beverages has in any way interfered with (May check more than one)
() your ability to get along with people
() the number of friends you have
() your position in the community
() how you get along with your family
() none of the above
43. Are you usually invited to parties where drinking is prominent?
Yes () No () Sometimes ()
44. Do you feel that you are invited less often to social gatherings because you do not consume alcoholic beverages?
Yes () No () Undecided ()
45. Do you feel that you would be invited to parties more often if you drank alcoholic beverages?
Yes () No () Possibly () Undecided ()
46. Have you ever found yourself not wanting to go to a home, or a party where you knew there were drinkers present?
Yes () No () Sometimes ()
47. Do you usually make it plain when you go to a party, where people do not know that you don't drink, that you do not drink alcoholic beverages?
Always () Not as a rule () Sometimes () Never ()
48. Would you say that you have been shunned or rejected by people because you do not drink?
Yes () No () Undecided ()

49. To avoid being rejected by your acquaintances that drink, do you drink alcoholic beverages when you really don't want to?
Yes () No () Sometimes ()
50. If you are invited to a party, do you feel that you are accepted as part of the group even though you do not drink?
Yes () No () Sometimes () Undecided ()
51. Would any of the following circumstances be sufficiently important to you to entice you to accept a drink? (May check more than one)
() to be sociable at a party when you meet new friends
() to please the host/hostess
() at a festive occasion, e.g., Christmas, New Years
() at a family gathering
() at a wedding
() under no circumstances
() other (please specify) _____
52. There are many and numerous reasons why people do not drink alcoholic beverages. I wonder if you could tell me which of the following, if any, is the most important to you: (Check one only)
() religious reasons
() do not like the taste of alcohol
() dislike what alcohol can do to people
() believe it is dangerous to you health
() generally have no use for it
() allergic to alcohol
() none of the above
53. How would you classify most of your friends drinking behavior: (Check one only)
() abstainers
() light, or infrequent drinkers
() moderate drinkers
() moderate-heavy drinkers
() heavy drinkers
54. Have you ever attempted to persuade those people who do not have similar drinking behavior as you do to change their drinking behavior?
Yes () No () Sometimes ()

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED "YES" OR "SOMETIMES" TO QUESTION 54, PROCEED TO QUESTION 55. IF HE DID NOT, PROCEED TO QUESTION 56.

55. In your attempt to persuade other people to alter or change their drinking behavior, have you tried to get them . . . (may check more than one)
- to quit drinking
 - to begin drinking
 - to drink less than they do at present
 - none of the above
56. Do you remember any one ever trying to persuade you to change your drinking behavior?
- Yes No

IF THE RESPONDENT ANSWERED "YES" TO QUESTION 56, PROCEED TO QUESTION 57. IF HE DID NOT, PROCEED TO QUESTION 58.

57. In their attempt to persuade you to change your drinking behavior, did they try . . . (Check one only)
- to get you to accept a drink
 - to get you to drink all the time
 - to get you to adopt similar drinking practices as they had
 - none of the above
58. Often certain adjectives are used to describe the person who drinks alcoholic beverages, and certain adjectives used to describe the person who does not drink alcoholic beverages. I will read a list of adjectives to you, and for each adjective in the list, state whether you disagree, are neutral, or agree that the adjective describes the person who does not drink alcoholic beverages. (Interviewer: numerals "1,2,3" correspond to "agree, neutral, and disagree" respectively)
- insecure honest stubborn impulsive
 - non-conformist the same as other people
 - poor work habits happy go lucky immature
 - weak minded intelligent self-interested
 - irresponsible nervous frustrated
 - lacking self-control ambitious inferior
 - maladjusted superior individualistic

58. (cont'd)

Again, I will read the list of adjectives to you, and for each adjective in the list, please state whether you disagree, are neutral, or agree that the adjective describes the person who drinks alcoholic beverages.

- insecure honest stubborn impulsive
- non-conformist the same as other people
- poor work habits happy go lucky immature
- weak minded intelligent self-interested
- irresponsible nervous frustrated
- lacking self-control ambitious inferior
- maladjusted superior individualistic

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THESIS SUMMARY

The study, which was basically an attitude survey, sought to test the hypothesis that drinkers would perceive non-drinking as a form of deviancy because, statistically, drinking is the normative behavior, and indulged in by the majority of people. The concept of deviancy was predicated on labeling theory which postulates that societal reaction is the key to the whole concept of deviancy, and is related to whether or not a person because of a particular form of behavior is judged as acceptable or unacceptable by the social audience viewing the behavior. The social audience's perception of deviancy is contingent upon the deviant behavior being discovered by the group, and specification by the group of its degree of harmfulness to the integrity of the group. Depending on the perception and the degree of deviancy is the type of action and reaction taken by the group to protect its integrity, and, the action and reaction taken by the deviant vis a vis this action and reaction.

The study utilized a random sample of 200 households from The Town of Huntsville, Ontario. An interview schedule, administered by seven local residents, was used to determine the demographic variables needed

to test the hypotheses, which sought to determine the characteristics of drinkers who were likely to engage in the deviant producing labeling process, and to ascertain attitudes held by the drinker and the non-drinker towards the consumption of alcohol.

In speaking to the main postulate that drinkers would perceive non-drinkers as deviant, the data revealed that the contrary was true. Drinkers did not maintain that non-drinkers were deviant, and, in fact, held the opinion that demonstrated that drinkers had a better image of the non-drinker than they had of themselves. Furthermore, not only did the non-drinker perceive the drinker as a deviant, and held a good self-image of himself, but, in addition, the non-drinker attempted to change the drinker to conform to a non-drinking status. In addition, it was revealed that some drinkers perceived social pressure to drink, and that within the drinking population itself, there was a continuum of total acceptance to partial rejection.

In conclusion, the data suggested that, 1) drinkers do not perceive the non-drinker as a deviant, 2) that drinkers may form a subculture, and social pressure applied to fellow drinkers is done in order to consolidate

their normative boundaries, 4) that drinking is only culturally accepted and not culturally dictated, and 5) that the norm, normatively speaking, is non-drinking rather than drinking.