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Early Drinking Behavior and Social Background
Of College Men

by

Walter Custer

University of Montana

B. A., 1935

Presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

Master of Arts

University of Montana

1966

Approved by:

Chairman, Board of Examiners

Dean, Graduate School

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Chapter I

Introduction

In American society young people often prefer to carry out their first experiments with alcohol in groups by themselves. No established and widely accepted drinking norm exists. As the case may be, many adults drink in moderation; others advocate and practice abstinence; and others drink immoderately. On occasion, the parental example of drinking falls short of the behavior expected from the children. These different and sometimes mixed attitudes about alcohol tend to weaken social control over drinking.

Before the first drinking experience, the individual must have some impression of what drinking ought to be like. At the start, the meaning he attaches to drinking is necessarily a product of past experience, and the object alcohol has already been defined for him by significant others.

Hypothesis

The proposition is advanced that one has conceived a role with respect to alcohol which he acts out at the time of the first drinking experience, and that his later drinking tends to follow the same conceptual role.

Although the foregoing formulation says nothing about alcoholism, this work is a search for differences in susceptibility to alcoholism that may be suggested by early drinking experience. The drinking behavior of a sample of college men is described, and some correlations between this behavior and social background are explored.

Ullman's Theory of Alcohol Addiction

Ullman (1) drew an analogy between compulsive eating induced experimentally in animals by repetitions of a hunger drive-shock-gratification sequence and alcohol addiction in man, and he suggested that addiction in man resembled a symptom but not necessarily a symptom of personality disorder. He theorized that the following had to occur repeatedly if alcohol addiction was to become established: (a) high motivation to drink or "emotional arousal" with respect to drinking, (b) the occurrence of stress situations associated with drinking, and (c) some relief from tension while drinking.

Ullman called attention to the self-evident fact that without motivation to drink there could be no addiction. By "emotional arousal" he had in mind especially negative feelings about drinking. Thus, by inference from the experimental animal addiction to food, Ullman suggested that ambivalence about drinking in man might, in effect, intensify the motivation to drink. Of course, more drinking might then become a means for quick relief from stress brought on by drinking.

Ullman (2) tested his theory by comparing the first drinking experience of a sample of alcoholic jail inmates with a sample of college men.

First Drinking Experience of Alcoholic Jail Inmates and College Men

Ullman (2) found statistically significant differences in the first drinking experience between the alcoholic jail inmates and college men with respect to the following factors: recall of the first experience, companions, place, effect, age and time until the

second experience. In contrast to the college men, the inmates were more likely to remember the first experience, have it with friends rather than with the family, select some unusual place, feel some effect or get drunk, have this experience at an older age, and do it again after a longer lapse of time.

Ullman reasoned that recall of the first experience tended to signify more than casual ego involvement at the time. Drinking with family members likely meant a more casual experience in accordance with the normally expected routine than would be the case when drinking with friends. The selection of some unusual place suggested strong motivation, a desire for secrecy, and reasons for ambivalence. Drinking enough to experience some effect or get drunk reflected motivation, and this also meant that enough alcohol was consumed to produce a sedative or tension-reducing effect. Having the first drink at younger ages tended to correlate with drinking with the family, whereas beginning at older ages was more likely to take place away from the family and perhaps after the accumulation of some negative attitudes about alcohol. In his college population, Ullman (2, 3) found that well over 90 per cent of the men were drinkers and that they had their first drink either during adolescence or in childhood.

Among the alcoholic inmates, Ullman (2) found that they tended to start drinking at older ages than was the case with students, and a considerable number waited a prolonged time (one year or much longer) before having the second experience. Ullman thought that this long delay might signify great stress over the first experience. These results suggest that there may be a sizable fraction among addictive

drinkers who are slow to begin drinking and who, at first, are reluctant to repeat the experience.

In this search for contrasts with the alcoholic and subsequent studies, Ullman (2, 3, 4) did not identify any appreciable fraction of students who became intoxicated the first time and who then waited for an extended interval. Instead, he found a different correlation. Among his few college men who drank to "excess" the first time, several returned for more at an early date, that is, within one week.

Ullman (2) viewed these findings as guides for further research rather than useful instruments to test for susceptibility to alcoholism. He felt certain that more needs to be known about the psychological factors reflected by the nature of the first drinking experience, and he stressed that his results about addictive and non-addictive drinking could not be separated from effects due to cultural and socio-economic factors.

First Drinking Experience and Sex Differences

Ullman (3) reported that college women were more likely to remember the first drinking experience than college men, and this result was contrary to his expectation that recall of the first experience correlated with emotional arousal and therefore with greater susceptibility to alcoholism. Information about the sex ratio of alcoholism in the United States points to a lower incidence among women. Keller and Efron in 1955 (5) estimated this ratio as eleven men to two women. Even though Ullman found that sex differences in recall did not conform to his theoretical expectation, he still felt that recall was an important sign that emotional arousal had attended the first drinking experience although, of course, the factors that prompt remembrance he

realized, were complex. He suggested that greater parental concern over the start of drinking by the daughter and her tendency to follow parental wishes could account for the greater incidence of recall among college women.

Ullman found that more college women than men had the first drinking experience with family members, that only a few women, compared to the men, had this drink in some unusual place, and that the number of women who got drunk the first time was minute. These results agreed with his theoretical expectations which assumed that the rate of alcoholism among women would be lower. Age at the time of the first drink and the time until the second experience did not differ significantly from his data about college men.

Ullman suggested that the capacity to "hold one's liquor" or "drink like a man" had an effect on the self concept. Straus and Bacon (6) had this to say about the first drinking experience: "Even with the first drink we see the suggestion of an all-male drinking fellowship and a pattern of girls drinking in mixed company."

Ullman (3) stated that without emotional arousal with regard to drinking, addiction would be unlikely even if stress resulted from the drinking and enough alcohol was consumed each time to bring about a reduction of tension. He called attention to the importance of cultural influences and individually conceived drinking roles: "The essential characteristic of this point of view is the supposition that certain of the individual's attitudes toward the use of alcoholic beverage are factors that may predispose to the development of alcohol addiction,.....(and these attitudes belong) in the general setting of the study of culture and personality....."

First Drinking Experience and Ethnic Groups Having Different Rates of Alcoholism

If culture is important in the etiology of alcoholism, Ullman (4) reasoned, then differences between ethnic groups should yield interesting information. To find out, he compared the first drinking experience of college men and women according to ethnic groups known to have different rates of alcoholism. He selected the following groups for study, and these are listed here in their descending order of rates of alcoholism, thus: Irish-American, English-American (ancestors came from Great Britain, includes many sometimes called Old American), Scandinavian-American, Franco-American, German-American, Jewish and Italian-American.

Ullman found that the rates of recall of the first experience correlated with the rates of alcoholism by ethnic groups. The Irish-Americans reported the highest rate of recall, and the Jewish and Italian-Americans reported the lowest rates of recall; and he considered this outcome as additional evidence that emotional arousal at the time of the first drinking experience was associated with alcoholism. However, he felt that the factors underlying recall were too mixed and varied to permit use of recall as a single item test of susceptibility.

As was the case with the alcoholic inmates, Ullman found that members of ethnic groups having higher rates of alcoholism were more likely to have the first drink away from the family, become intoxicated to some degree, and have this experience at an older age. Again he found that some of the students who got drunk the first time were likely to repeat the drinking after a brief interval. His high

alcoholism ethnic groups reported a preference for beer, and the low alcoholism groups reported a preference for wine.

The foregoing review of Ullman's work (1, 2, 3, 4) suggests that the first drinking experience is not likely an isolated occurrence unrelated to the drinker's background or later drinking behavior. His results point to ambivalence and culture conflict over drinking as factors that predispose to alcohol addiction.

Later Drinking Behavior

Later drinking in this study refers to that drinking which followed the first experience. Since four-fifths of the respondents were under age 21 at the time information was gathered, the term - later drinking - refers to young people and means the early years of drinking experience.

The behavior reported by a few of the students described in subsequent chapters suggests that they had rather serious problems with their drinking. However, limitations of technique, together with the vagaries of alcoholism itself, do not permit any positive identification of addiction. Such verification ordinarily depends on evidence of loss of control to the extent that, in some way, there has been serious social and personal harm due to the drinking. Clear evidence of such injury was not forthcoming.

To study later drinking behavior, subjects were interviewed about the quantity and frequency of alcohol consumption plus the occurrence of "warning signs." This part of the work followed methods employed by Straus and Bacon (6). They used the term warning signs to describe a variety of complicating occurrences such as blackouts, fighting when

drinking, the morning drink, etc., which the alcoholic commonly recalls that he experienced early in his drinking career. Even the frequent repetition of these signs, however, is not considered sufficient, by itself, to verify loss of control over drinking.

Cultural Functions of Alcohol

As is commonly known, only a minor fraction of drinkers in any segment of society ever become alcoholic. Instead, most drinkers find drinking enjoyable, and they do not get into serious and repetitive problems. Jellinek (7) summarized the cultural functions of drinking, thus: a means to achieve anxiety reduction, or promote identification, or bring about the controlled release of aggression. He said that individual reasons for drinking may superimpose on the cultural reasons, but as long as these personal reasons remain unimportant and the drinking stays within the limits of culture norms, then this drinking is not looked upon as abnormal.

Social and Cultural Influences and Susceptibility

Jellinek (7, 8), Jackson (9, 10, 11), Trice and Wahl (12), to name a few, have made notable contributions toward clarifying the course of drinking behavior that leads to alcohol addiction. Generally these studies have originated with the fact of alcoholism, and the search has been directed toward earlier and earlier phases of the drinking history.

A considerable amount of other research has examined drinking customs. For example, Lolli, et. al. (13) described the drinking customs of Italians and Americans of Italian extraction, and Snyder (14) reported on the custom of drinking in the Jewish culture. Straus and Bacon (6) studied drinking practices among American college students.

These works and many others describe customary attitudes and drinking behavior within particular cultural settings.

Both the study of cases and of customs have contributed to the understanding of alcoholism. Ullman's investigations (1, 2, 3, 4) strongly suggest that, even before the advent of drinking, the individual already has a viewpoint about alcohol and self which either contributes to, or protects against, having an alcohol problem.

Alcohol and the Symbolic Environment

Mulford and Miller (15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20) carried out an interesting investigation based on the proposition that people behave toward alcohol according to the way they define it. Their sample represented the adult population of Iowa. Starting with definitions that sample members applied to alcohol, they found that higher rates of drinking for personal effects (in contrast to social reasons for drinking or reasons for not drinking) tended to be accompanied by higher rates of heavy drinking, and heavy drinking for extreme personal effects was accompanied by a higher rate of alcoholic drinking. Their findings, they suggested, support the assumption that "drinking behavior, including alcoholism, is a function of cultural norms, of individual definitions of the object alcohol, and of the reactions of others to the individual's drinking behavior."

The following statistical information is quoted from the Iowa study by Mulford and Miller: Three per cent of all sample members were alcoholic; 5.1 per cent of those who drank were alcoholic; and the ratio of alcoholic men to alcoholic women was 5.5 to 1.

Eleven per cent of drinkers of both sexes who had attended grade school only were alcoholic; 4 per cent of drinkers of both sexes who had attended high school were alcoholic; and 1.9 per cent of drinkers of both sexes who had gone to college were alcoholic.

Two and two-tenths per cent of all drinkers age 21-35 were alcoholic; 7.4 per cent of all drinkers age 36-60 were alcoholic; and 5.2 per cent of those over age 60 were alcoholic.

The incidence of alcoholism among drinkers of both sexes by religious denomination was variable, but, for all denominations, this was markedly below the 23.3 per cent alcoholism that Mulford and Miller found among those drinkers who reported no church preference.

Methods

Ullman's questionnaire (2) about the first drinking experience was used in this work to locate college men who drink and to gather information about this first experience. The later drinking behavior and social background of selected students were subsequently examined by interview. The study of later drinking included the quantity and frequency of drinking (Q-F Index) and the occurrence of warning signs. This investigation of later drinking followed procedures described by Straus and Bacon (6). The exploration of social background yielded useful information about the following factors: family disruption, occupation of the head of the family, drinking practices of parents, and attitude of the subject toward religion.

Appendix I explains methods.

Subjects

Two hundred and four freshman and sophomore men enrolled at Montana State University were used for the study of contrasts in the first drinking experience. This sample constituted all respondents who remembered the first experience, who submitted answers in sufficient detail, and who were over age ten at the time of this event.

The following information further locates this sample of 204 subjects within the male student population. Eighty-four per cent of the college men who answered the questionnaire reported they were drinkers, and the other 16 per cent reported they were abstainers. This was a 94 per cent response from 435 students approached. The other 6 per cent represented refusals and a few who turned in jesting answers.

Of 342 subjects who reported they were drinkers, 73.4 per cent recalled the first experience, and the other 26.6 per cent reported they did not recall. Eight and five-tenths per cent of drinkers reported they had this experience before age ten, and these were by-passed in the study of contrasts on the assumption that some likely reported isolated occurrences quite unrelated to the more usual onset of drinking in adolescence. Two and seven-tenths per cent of drinkers had the first experience alone, and another 2.7 per cent did not answer the questionnaire in sufficient detail. Both these small fractions were by-passed also.

Chapter II describes differences in the first drinking experience reported by the 204 Montana men and then uses this material and other incomplete data to construct a male population cross-section. Chapter III deals with the later drinking of selected subjects, and Chapter IV explores social background.

Appendix II examines the sample, and includes comparisons between the first drinking experience of the lower division Montana college men, Ullman's college men and his alcoholic House of Correction inmates.

Chapter II

First Drinking Experience

Contrasts in the first drinking experience of 204 lower division Montana men are described in this section. In addition, results from the examination of this sample plus more or less incomplete data submitted by other respondents are combined to construct a male student body cross-section estimate of varieties of the first experience. The 204 men in the study sample made up 59.6 per cent of all drinkers --- 94.6 per cent of those drinkers over age ten at the time of the first experience who submitted details.

The following factors were investigated: companions, place (corollary of secrecy), effect, age, and time until the second experience. Answers to the questionnaire about the first experience depended upon the memory and judgment of each respondent. The factor of effect, especially, involved personal judgment.

Responses about the effects of the drinking were evaluated by comparing effects with amounts of alcohol consumed. The terms -- small, medium and large amounts used below -- conform to definitions employed by Straus and Bacon (6) in their description of the quantity-frequency index. These measurements of alcohol consumption are described in Appendix I. The following schedule compares the effects and amounts that were reported by 181 subjects:

No Effect	N=86 - 88%	Small Amt.	12%	Medium Amt.		
Some Effect	N=58 - 28%	"	"	50%	"	22% Large Amt.
Drunk	N=37 -			24%	"	76% " "

These results indicate noteworthy variations among subjects regarding the concept of effects.

The selection of the study sample involved an effort to cover the usual range of adolescent first experiences. However, statistical accuracy was complicated by 26.6 per cent of all drinkers who reported they did not recall. Another eight and five-tenths per cent of all drinkers had this first drink before age ten. Neither of these groups was included: the one because no details were reported, and the other because it seemed that the experiences were not likely to signify the real beginning of drinking. No recall nevertheless, suggests a casual and moderate event that took place within the framework of ordinary expectations. Childhood experiences, it was found, usually meant very moderate drinking with the family.

Others omitted from this study sample came to 5.4 per cent of all drinkers: one-half of these had the first drink alone, and the other half failed to supply enough information. Thus in all, 40.5 per cent of drinkers were omitted from the study sample.

Since recall of the first drink applied to all 204 subjects, memory of this event had no value as a differentiating item. Curiously, and doubtless related to recall, sharp differences in alertness and interest in the subject of drinking were apparent during interviews of selected subjects later. Those men who reported heavy drinking and warning signs responded with the keenest attention.

At the outset, the questionnaire was applied to a small number of male alcoholic cases at Montana State Hospital. Fifteen patients,

average age 49 years, submitted answers. The results of this exploration compared favorably with the data that Ullman (2) reported about alcohol-addicted House of Correction inmates. This test of the questionnaire is summarised in the footnote (*).

Companions and Places: Factor of Secrecy

The companions with whom the 204 Montana college men had the first drink readily divided into two contrasting categories: those who drank with family members and others who drank with friends. The places where drinking occurred away from the family took in a variety of situations, and many of these call to mind such attributes as exclusiveness, risk taking, and the desire to be secret. The nature of these locations suggested that they could be separated into more or less open situations and secret situations. Accordingly the sample was divided into three groups which corresponded to the following descriptions:

With the Family

Those experiences anywhere with the family were viewed as the most open, and thus, furthest removed from any urge to be secret.

*First drinking experience of 15 male alcoholic cases at Montana State Hospital, average age 49 years (Ullman's results (2) are included below only in those instances where significant contrasts appeared.): One hundred per cent of the Montana patients recalled; 93 per cent drank with friends and not with family members; 20 per cent drank in public places, and 53 per cent drank in unusual places; 33 per cent felt some effect, and 66 per cent got drunk. (Forty-one per cent in Ullman's alcoholic sample got drunk.) Only seven per cent of the Montana patients started to drink after age 20. (Ullman reported that 37 per cent of his inmates had the first drink after age 20; this difference was the only finding that this writer regards as being in sharp contrast to Ullman's data.) Fifty-three per cent of the Montana State Hospital patients waited more than one year before having second experiences.

Open

Open meant drinking with friends and not with the family, but under circumstances that suggested either the existence of some kind of restraining influence, or that the main interest was in something besides drinking, or both. The word, open, as used here, nevertheless suggests a tendency to secretness with respect to other family members.

Secret

Secret experiences were defined as secluded and unsupervised events with friends where drinking itself appeared to be the main attraction.

Table 1 summarizes data about companions and places at the time of the first drinking experience. The three segregations are indicated, thus: with the family, open, and secret. The word secrecy, a noun, is used below to refer to the open-secret variable, whereas the word secret defines the nature of a situation.

Table 1. First Drinking Experience of 204 Montana College Men:
Secrecy, Companions, and Places

<u>Secrecy</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
With the family	At Home	56	27.4
	Away from Home	4	2.0
		<u>60</u>	<u>29.4</u>
Open	Friend's Home	16	7.8
	Party or Dance	13	6.4
	Sports Event	2	1.0
	Summer Work Situation	5	2.4
	Tavern	2	1.0
	Hunting or Fishing	5	2.4
	"On a Party"	5	2.4
	<u>48</u>	<u>23.4</u>	
Secret	At Home, Parents Absent	12	5.9
	Town Away from Home	18	8.8
	In a Car	33	16.2
	Isolated Location	33	16.2
	<u>96</u>	<u>47.1</u>	
Totals		204	99.9

The 29.4 per cent of college men in Table I who had the first drink with the family and the 47.1 per cent who drank in secret were

readily classified thus from responses about companions and places. On the other hand, it was not possible to evaluate the remaining 23.4 per cent listed under open with similar definiteness. A number of subjects in the latter group probably drank, not only with friends, but also with family members of friends; others reported places that made the question of secrecy a matter of conjecture. The limitations notwithstanding, separations in Table 1 begin the examination of contrasts in the first drinking experience.

Secrecy and Effects

The estimation of the effects of drinking employs the three terms: no effect, some effect, and drunk. Table 2 compares secrecy and effects among the 204 Montana college men.

Table 2 First Drinking Experience of 204 Montana College Men: Secrecy, by Effects (in per cent)

<u>Secrecy</u>	<u>No Effect</u>	<u>Some Effect</u>	<u>Drunk</u>	<u>Totals</u>
	N = 92	N = 73	N = 39	N = 204
With the Family N=60	78	15	7	100
Open N=48	46	46	8	100
Secret N=96	24	44	32	100

Table 2 shows that 78 per cent of those who had the first experience with the family reported no effect, 15 per cent reported some effect, and seven per cent got drunk. Among the small numbers who drank with the family and who reported they felt some effect or became drunk, several described special events such as family reunions or marriages.

Forty-six percent of those who described open experiences reported no effect, another 46 per cent reported some effect, and eight per cent got drunk. This open group constituted one-third of the experiences with friends, and the table data makes it clear that this fraction was in a mid-position between moderate effects with the family and more extreme effects in secret.

The open group was also the uncertain category regarding the factor of secrecy. Table 1 shows that 14.2 per cent of the study sample total had the first drink at a friend's home, or party, or dance, and likely most of these experiences took place with supervision by somebody's family members. Regarding others listed under open in Table 1, that is, the balance of 9.2 per cent, it is likely that a number of these experiences were more or less secret events, but the questionnaire answers did not clarify this point. Since only one per cent of the sample had the first drink in taverns, this implies that the law and public opinion were quite effective at the start of drinking to keep adolescents out of these places.

Among those who had the first experience in secret, 24 per cent reported no effect, 44 per cent reported some effect, and 32 per cent got drunk. The 32 per cent who got drunk calls to mind high motivation, and the secret circumstances suggest experimentation, risk taking, ambivalence, and overriding adolescent determination to find out about alcohol. In Table 1, under secret, the first three kinds of places listed need no explanation. The fourth, isolated locations, included such odd surroundings as "on a mountain top," "in a field," "in the garage," and "behind the Field House."

By computing percentages in Table 2 for each classification of effect, instead of for the divisions of secrecy as given in the table, the following results obtain: Fifty-one percent of those who reported no effect drank with the family. Fifty-eight percent of those who reported some effect, and 80 per cent of those who became drunk, reported secret experiences.

Sharp chi square differences about effects were found between these groups in Table 2. Between the family and open, P was less than .001. Between with the family and secret, P was much less than .001, and open differed from secret at less than the .01 level.

Secrecy and Ages

Ages when subjects had the first experience revealed other interesting correlations, and this data is set forth below schematically. Figure 1 gives ages in percentages for each of the three classifications of secrecy. The drop in sample size from 204 to 199 came about through five subjects who omitted their ages.

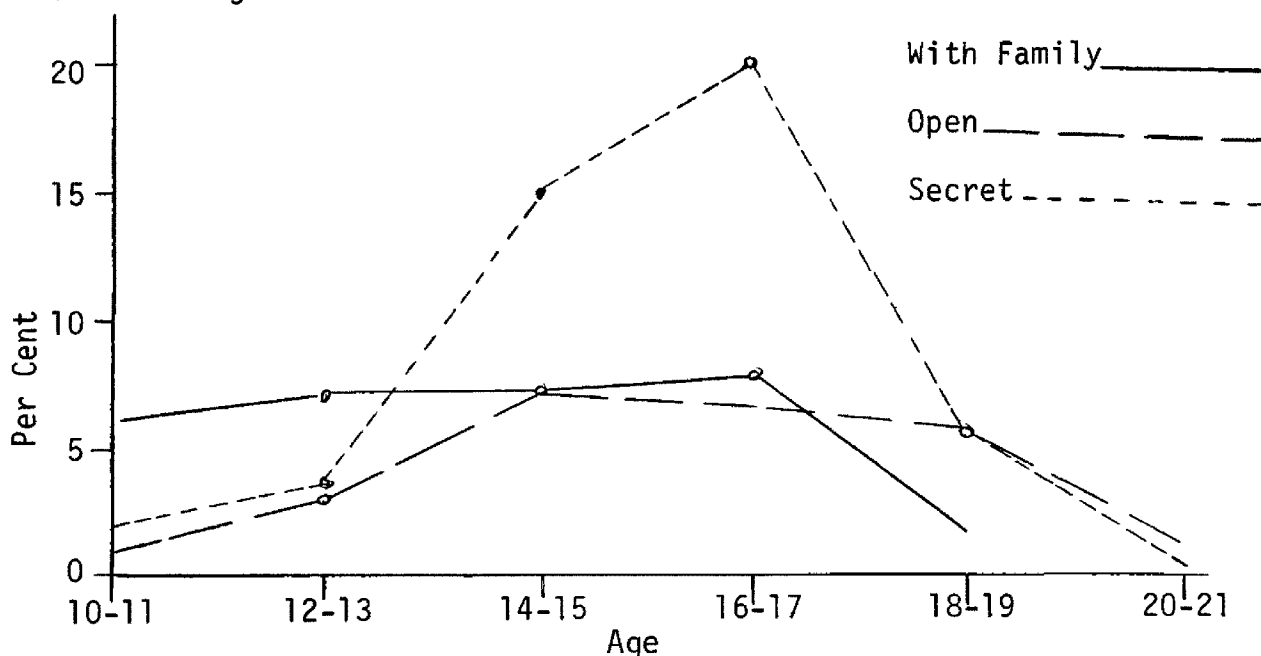


Figure 1. First Drinking Experience of 199 Montana College Men: Three Divisions of Secrecy - Ages in Per Cent

Those college men in Figure 1 who reported first experiences with the family reveal a random and quite uniform distribution by age at the time of the first drink from age ten through age 16-17. By age 18-19 all subjects in this group had taken the first drink. The randomness of these ages supports the conclusion that such experiences tended to be initiated and controlled by other family members.

Others who recalled having the first drink before age ten came to 8.5 per cent of the total of 342 respondents who were drinkers, and 86 percent of these students had the first drink with the family. More information about the childhood groups is summarized below (*).

The subjects in Figure 1 who reported open experiences describe a rather flat curve that has the greatest elevation at age 14-15, and this tracing comes to an end at age 20-21. The precise age distribution is likely less significant than the general shape of the curve which indicates that an accumulation of these events came during the mid-teenage years.

Those men who had the first experience in secret show a definite peak incidence in Figure 1 of 20 per cent which is located at age 16-17. This finding stands out in sharp contrast to the group that drank with the family. The ages and the effects reported by these secret drinkers

*Twenty-nine students reported first experiences before age ten, and these distributed randomly back to age three. Twenty-five of these students drank with family members, about two-thirds reporting one conventional sized drink such as a can of beer or a glass of wine, and the other one-third reporting only sips. Two other subjects drank with pals, and two more tried it alone. For example, one student age four at the time said, "I had one-fourth of a bottle of 'Old Grandad' in the bedroom and got high." Another reported, "A glass of wine at age eight with the baby sitter."

will be scrutinized in more detail below.

Computations of mean ages of those over age ten at the time of the first experience were as follows:

With the family	N = 58	mean age 13.8 yr.
Open	N = 48	mean age 15.7 yr.
Secret	N = 93	mean age 15.6 yr.

These mean ages help to make explicit the results shown in Figure 1. Previously in Table 2 it was noted that 78 per cent of those who drank with the family had no effect experiences. The mean age of the first drink for this large fraction of the family group was 13.3 years instead of the 13.8 years shown above for all its members.

The mean ages of the first drink for the open and secret groups, together with the tracings in Figure 1, show clearly that experiences away from the family reached their peak occurrence at about age 16.

Chi square tests of these age differences at the time of the first drink, with the three classifications of secrecy separated at age 16, were as follows: Those who drank with the family differed from open and secret combined, with P less than .01. No effect experiences with the family differed from open and secret combined, with P less than .001. Between open and secret, P was greater than .7.

Secret First Experiences: Ages and Effects

Figure 2 shows separate tracings for the three effects reported by 93 subjects who had secret first experiences, and the lines indicate ages in per cent again.

Figure 2 reveals that those subjects who got drunk in secret tended to have this first experience at age 14-15, whereas the no

effect and some effect drinkers were more likely to take the first drink a little later. The early start and the heavy drinking suggest greater motivation and the likelihood that this secret and drunk group was different in other respects not already described.

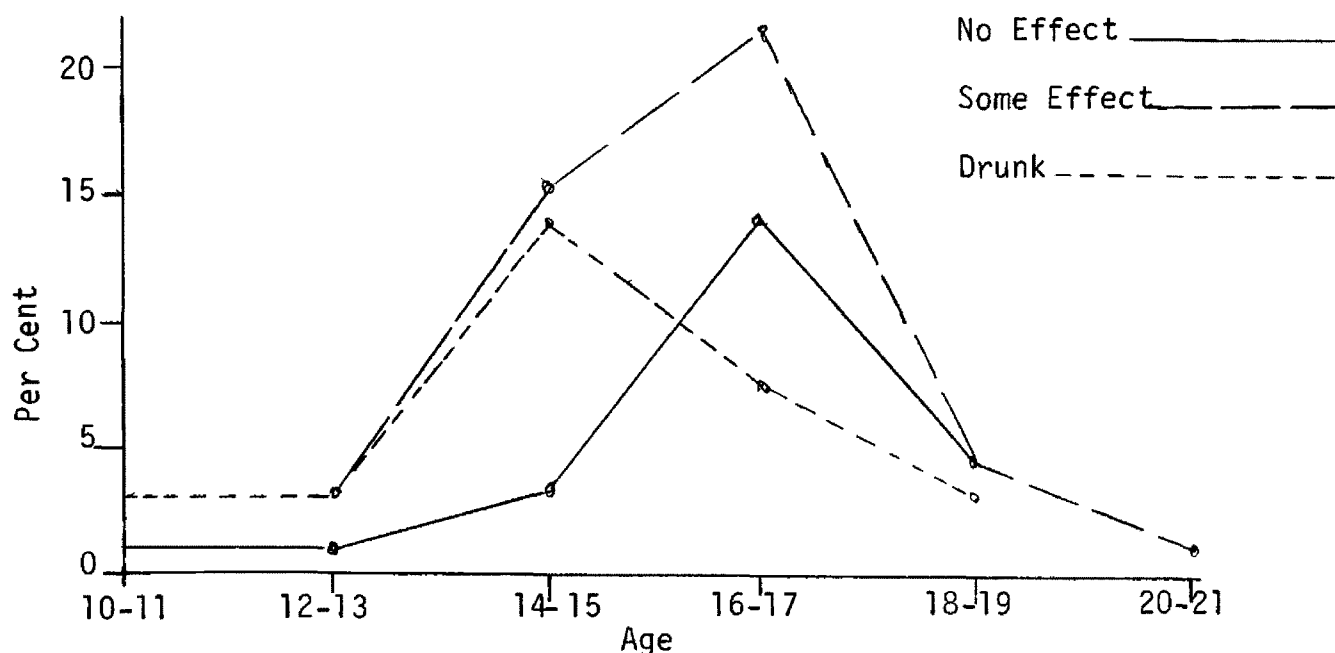


Figure 2. First Drinking Experience of 93 Montana College Men Who Drank in Secret: Three Effects - Ages in Per Cent

The peak incidence of the first drink by age and the mean age of these secret drinkers follows:

Secret no effect	N=22	mean age 16.1 yr.
Peak incidence at age 16-17 yr.		59%
Secret some effect	N=42	mean age 15.7 yr.
Peak incidence at age 15-16 yr.		50%
Secret drunk	N=29	mean age 14.7 yr.
Peak incidence at age 14-15 yr.		45%

Ages at the time these secret experiences took place stress the significance of age 16. The above results show again that the secret and drunk fraction tended to be in the vanguard with about a one-year lead over the others. On the other hand, the secret and no effect group tended to trail behind. Secret and drunk suggests great desire, and

secret no effect calls to mind casual interest generated by the peer group.

Sixty-six per cent of the secret and drunk category had the first experience before age 16, whereas 66 per cent of the secret no effect and some effect groups combined had this drink after age 16, and this contrast was significant at less than the .01 level.

Secrecy, Effects and Time Until the Second Experience

Table 3 compares secrecy and effects with the time interval until the second experience. The numbers of college men reporting this interval dropped sharply from the original 204. As it turned out, four-fifths of those who had no effect and some effect experiences with the family reported the interval, and likewise four-fifths of all who reported open and secret experiences with no effect and some effect reported it. But 97 per cent (30 of 31) in the secret and drunk group recalled this interval. Thus, the difference in recall of the second experience became another point that tends to set apart the secret and drunk subjects from all the others.

Table 3 includes the relatively large number who got drunk in secret, but it omits with the family and drunk, and open and drunk. These fragments of "non-conformists" were too small for statistical use. Preliminary examination revealed that the data submitted by no effect and some effect subjects about second experiences was quite similar, and therefore these two lesser effects categories have been combined in Table 3. The column headed days in the table includes all second experiences reported as having taken place within one week.

Table 3. First Drinking Experience of 162 Montana College Men: Secrecy and Effects, by Time Until the Second Experience (in per cent)

<u>Secrecy and Effects</u>		Days N = 43	Weeks N = 16	Months N = 61	Years N = 42	Totals N = 162
With the Family and No Effect, Some Effect	N = 44	11	7	43	39	100
Open and No Effect, Some Effect	N = 40	27	5	35	33	100
Secret and No Effect, Some Effect	N = 48	21	23	44	12	100
Secret and Drunk	N = 30	57		23	20	100

Table 3 describes a shift to shorter intervals between first and second experiences that correlates with secret and heavier drinking. Among the no effect and some effect drinkers, 82 per cent of those who had the first drink with the family, 68 per cent of those who reported open experiences, and 56 per cent of those who had secret experiences waited months or longer before having the second experience. In the secret and drunk group, 57 per cent drank again within one week, and the other 43 per cent delayed the second experience for months or years. Although each division in the table shows that some members drank again within one week, the sharp difference between all the other groups and the secret and drunk group is inescapable. The 43 per cent of the secret and drunk group who waited calls to mind Ullman's observation (2) that many in his alcoholic sample did not have the second experience until after a long lapse of time.

When those who had the first drink with the family, Table 3, were compared by chi square with the open and secret no effect and some effect

combined, with a division set between weeks and months, then P was significant at less than the .02 level. When the same open and secret groups counted together again were compared with secret and drunk, with the dividing line, this time, between days and weeks, then P was significant at less than the .001 level.

The foregoing examination of the first drinking experience of 204 college men over age ten when they had the first drink completes the search for contrasts.

All Who Drink as Cross-Section of the First Experience

Table 4 treats the original 342 college men who reported they were drinkers as a population cross-section of the first experience, and the table compares different categories of drinkers with the effects reported. The first three classifications in Table 4 are the 204 college men already examined in detail, and this fraction was 59.6 per cent of the total. The remaining four categories made up the other 40.5 per cent of drinkers.

The composition of this 40.5 per cent was as follows: Eight and five-tenths per cent had the first drink before age ten, and 2.7 per cent had the first drink alone. These two categories were withheld from the previous study sample because they seemed to represent unique rather than usual varieties of the start of drinking. Another 2.7 per cent did not respond with sufficient information, and 26.6 per cent reported that they did not recall.

In the case of the 26.6 per cent no recall subjects, it was supposed that all of these men had no effect experiences. This assumption

is supported only by the assumption that, with the passage of time, memory of the first experience would be more likely to fade if it were casual and of minimal effect. This way of handling the no recall category also establishes the upper limit to which this group could contribute to the no effect total. Thus, the no effect and some effect totals in Table 4 must be viewed as approximations; but the actual total of no effect experiences cannot exceed 62.8 per cent, and the total of some effect experiences can be no less than 24.3 per cent.

On the other hand, it is unlikely that any who got drunk among the original 342 college men failed to recall this event. This conclusion is supported by the nature of becoming drunk, itself, and by the unusual alertness and interest in the subject of drinking shown during interviews later by all who reported they did get drunk.

Table 4. First Drinking Experience of 342 Montana College Men:
All Drinkers, by Effects (342 = 100 per cent)

Categories of Drinkers		No Effect N = 215	Some Effect N = 83	Drunk N = 44	Totals N = 342
With the Family	N = 60	13.7	2.6	1.2	17.5
Open	N = 48	6.4	6.4	1.2	14.0
Secret	N = 96	6.7	12.3	9.1	28.1
Before Age Ten					
With the Family	N = 25	6.1	1.2		7.3
Not with the Family	N = 4	.6	.3	.3	1.2
Alone	N = 9	1.5	.9	.3	2.7
With Friends, but Insufficient Data	N = 9	1.2	.6	.9	2.7
No Recall	N = 91	26.6*			26.6
Totals		62.8	24.3	13.0	100.1

*Presumed no effect

Table 4 summarizes information reported about companions, places and effects, and treats the data, this time, as a population cross-section of drinkers. The 26.6 per cent no recall fraction requires that certain figures below be regarded as rough approximations only.

All No Effect

The 62.8 per cent total under no effect in Table 4 marks the upper limit possible for the occurrence of such experiences in the cross-section. This figure assumes that no recall means no effect. It is not possible to know from the data if the actual incidence could have been somewhat less.

An estimated one-third or more of all the drinkers had no effect experiences with the family. This statement is supported by the distribution of no effect in Table 4 which shows that a total of 19.8 per cent had the first drink with the family, and that a total of 16.4 per cent had this drink away from the family. This outcome suggests that more of the 26.6 per cent no recall subjects drank with the family than in other situations.

The table figures about open and secret no effect experiences (with friends) suggest that these were distributed in the cross-section in a ratio of about one to one.

All Some Effect

No less than 24.3 per cent of the cross-section had some effect experiences. Sixteen per cent of these took place with the family, and 84 per cent occurred elsewhere. Secret and some effect was about twice as prevalent as open and some effect.

All Drunk

Thirteen per cent of the cross section got drunk at the time of the first experience. Nine out of ten had this experience away from the family, and, among all those who drank with friends, nine of ten got drunk in secret.

The foregoing reviews data on effects and the factor of secrecy. The results about age at the time of the first experience and the interval between the first and second experience are summarized below.

Age at the time of the first drink revealed additional striking differences. On the one hand, those men who had the first experience with the family had this drink at quite random ages from early childhood to late adolescence. On the other hand, 99 per cent of all who reported the first drink away from the family made this start after age ten, and the large no-effect and some-effect segments showed a marked preference for age 16. In sharp contrast to these the ten per cent of men who got drunk with friends in secret tended to have the first experience about one year sooner.

The time until the second experience turned up more interesting information. These intervals showed a wide range of difference within all divisions of the sample, but there was a clearly defined trend to shorter intervals as the drinking shifted from the family to secret and heavy consumption. Those who reported first experiences with the family, as a group, tended to wait longer than any others. Thus, many of these subjects did not drink again until after months or years. At the other end, the ten per cent who got drunk in secret the first time revealed a highly significant tendency to repeat at an early date.

Further examination of this secret and drunk fraction brought out the following curious separation: 57 per cent drank again within one week, and the other 43 per cent waited months and sometimes years.

Summary

Since 84 per cent of the college men reported they were drinkers, the start of drinking in adolescence must be viewed as a prevailing expectation. The high incidence of first experiences found among peer groups at about age 16 clearly marks the event as largely an inevitable feature of adolescence. Roughly three-fourths of all first experiences took place in one or the other of two sharply contrasting situations, that is, either with the family or in secret.

Regarding the estimated one-third of subjects who had the first drink with other family members, this event suggests the beginning of an expected family practice. For most of those subjects who recalled this experience with the family, the drinking was repeated as an occasional activity which certainly did not follow any "Old Country" pattern of daily drinking. Nevertheless, it is quite possible that, among those who did recall, there were others who grew up in families where the drinking was a regular practice.

The combined numbers who reported no effect experiences approached two-thirds of the total of drinkers, and these had the first drink under all kinds of circumstances, including not only with the family but also in secret. This much information, alone, suggests that the attitude of the individual, on the whole, was more likely to determine the result at the outset than the particular situation. It seems that

this large number of no effect drinkers were not preoccupied with the idea of drinking, and this kind of beginning suggests the casual assumption of an adult role.

The approximate one-fourth who reported some effect suggests more personal involvement. Nevertheless, it seems unlikely, for many of these, that the drinking signified anything more than quite usual adolescent interest and curiosity.

The ten per cent who got drunk in secret, however, call to mind deliberate intentions in advance. Without meaning to imply that heavy drinking is any adequate explanation of alcoholism, these subjects remind one of the frequently heard comment from the recovered alcoholic: "I had a problem from the start."

This examination of the first drinking experience becomes the foundation to test if later drinking tends to reflect this first experience.

Chapter III

First Experience and Later Drinking

Contrasts in the first drinking experience leave no doubt that its outcome depends upon more than chance and momentary impulse. In this section, the first experience is compared with subsequent drinking to see if later behavior actually tends to be foreshadowed at the outset.

Conspicuous differences in the first experience have been identified. Nearly two-thirds of the Montana college men had no-effect experiences under many different circumstances, and over one-half of the men in this portion of the cross-section had the first drink with family members. The other one-third of the sample, roughly, experienced different degrees of effect, and these men tended to have the first drink in secret with peers. The sixteenth year was identified as the critical age when the friendship group was most likely to carry out the first experiment with alcohol. Ten per cent of all subjects got drunk in secret, and this segment stood out in sharp contrast even to those who reported some-effect experiences in secret. The men who got drunk tended to have the first experience one year earlier than others who drank with friends, and one-half of them drank again within a few days.

Information about later drinking behavior and social background was gathered from 49 selected college men in separate interview sessions which required about one hour each.

The Interview Sample

The 49 interview subjects came from the 59.6 per cent of the cross-section of 342 drinkers shown in Table 4 in Chapter II whose first ex-

perience was described in detail there. That is, these 49 selections were from the sample of 204 men who recalled and who were over age ten at the time of this experience. Table 4 gave a cross-section construct of this event based on complete information from the above-mentioned 59.6 per cent and incomplete information from the other 40.4 per cent in the cross section. The rational basis for handling the unreported data that would have come from the 40.4 per cent fraction has been discussed, and it was concluded that the cross-section totals of no-effect and some-effect first experiences had to be viewed as rough approximations, but that the reported incidence of becoming drunk was likely a reliable cross-section estimate. It seems, by college time, that only those first experiences which involved some degree of intoxication were quite uniformly remembered. The following three selections identify the 49 interview subjects:

With family - No Effect (N=11)

With Family - No Effect, identifies the first experience of an estimated one-third of the cross-section. Nearly as many had no-effect experiences with friends, and these latter men were bypassed. This group of eleven interview subjects reported age and second experience date which was not significantly different from its larger counterpart described in Chapter II. Thus, these subjects tended to have the first drink at younger ages than any others, and they had the second experience after the longest intervals. These men were chosen to bring out contrasts with the other two groups described below. However, the eleven subjects constituted

an exceedingly small number of all the no-effect experiences, and therefore their value is limited as an indicator of later drinking behavior within the large no-effect segment of the cross-section.

With Friends - Some Effect (N=18)

With Friends - Some Effect, applies to 84 per cent of all the some-effect first experiences reported. The total of some-effect experiences approximated one-fourth of the original cross-section of college men. Fourteen of the 18 interview subjects reported secret experiences, and the 18 described age data and second-experience data in good agreement with the larger numbers of some-effect men examined in Chapter II who had the first drink with friends. These 18 subjects came to 26 per cent of those who reported some-effect experiences with friends.

With Friends - Drunk (N=20)

With Friends - Drunk, identifies 11.8 per cent of the cross-section of the first experience. Within the 11.8 per cent, 9.7 percent reported that they got drunk in secret, and another 0.9 per cent probably got drunk in secret. In addition to the 11.8 per cent, 1.2 per cent got drunk with the family, thus giving a total of 13.0 per cent of the cross-section who reported they got drunk. Eighteen of the sample of 20 men got drunk in secret. This group tended to start drinking one year sooner than others who drank with friends, and one-half of these men drank again within one week. Thus, the 20 also conformed to their counterpart in the

larger sample described in Chapter II. These subjects constituted 50 per cent of all those in the cross-section who got drunk with friends. This cross-section incidence of becoming drunk at the time of the first experience will be rounded to a conservative 10 per cent for use in some cross-section estimates that will be shown later.

During interviews, most subjects were interested and readily talked about themselves and their drinking. Only two refusals were encountered. While working on the interviews, it was discovered that certain individuals were no longer enrolled.

Dropout

The dropouts had occurred at the end of the preceding quarter after answers to the questionnaire about the first experience had been submitted, or during the succeeding quarter and before attempts had been made to set dates for interviews. This curious observation propted a brief exploration. A number of men who had answered the questionnaire were checked for dropout and added to the 49 subjects in the interview sample. This special sample totaled 168 subjects, and the following schedule gives the results:

<u>First Drinking Experience</u>		<u>Per Cent Enrolled</u>	<u>Per Cent Dropout</u>
With Family - No Effect	N = 47	96	4
With Friends - No Effect	N = 45	96	4
With Friends - Some Effect	N = 41	90	10
With Friends - Drunk	N = 35	83	17

Tests of probability by chi square:

Both no-effect samples, by some effect: P greater than .2

Both no-effect samples, by drunk: P less than .02

No clues were uncovered at the university which might explain the four-fold difference in dropout between no effect and drunk. Recent preoccupation with drinking was not implicated, although, if this were the case, it would tend to be covered up anyway. Other information, including I. Q. and grade point standing, revealed nothing unusual.

Although larger numbers would have improved confidence, these results about dropout are inescapably suggestive. In addition to the above observations, examination of the first experience has indicated that those who got drunk at that time also tended to repeat the drinking again sooner than any others. Later drinking behavior, described below, will reveal that the same kind of users were the most likely to continue with heavy drinking. These results suggest that heavy drinking in adolescence tends to interfere with the development of mature goals, in this instance - getting a college education. Or perhaps, in the face of poor motivation, alcohol sometimes fills the void. This exploration was not continued because it was evident that dropout was a complex matter in which drinking behavior was only one of many factors in need of investigation.

Later drinking behavior was investigated by direct questioning during interviews, and the work followed the methods of Straus and Bacon (6) described in more detail in Appendix I. This part of the study evaluated the quantity and frequency of drinking (Q-F index) and the occurrence of warning signs.

Quantity-Frequency Index

The quantity-frequency index is expressed as a number from 1 to 5, and it is a way to estimate average individual consumption of absolute alcohol over a period of time. The usual amount of beverage likely to be consumed on any one occasion and its alcohol content must be known. Definitions of these quantities and frequencies are show below (*).

*Quantity-Frequency Index Definitions

Small Amount - less than 1.4 oz. absolute alcohol.

Medium Amount - 1.4 oz. to 3.0 oz. absolute.

Large Amount - 3.0 oz. or more absolute alcohol.

Q-F Index

- 1 Small amount less than once a month.
- 2 Medium or large amount less than once a month.
- 3 Small amount more than once a month.
- 4 Medium or large amount two to four times a month.
- 5 Medium or large amount more than once a week.

Warning Signs

Straus and Bacon (6) applied the term, warning signs, to a number of occurrences such as being short of money due to drinking, the black-out, fighting when drinking, etc. The alcoholic often recalls he experienced an assortment of these signs in his early years of drinking. Outwardly they are not distinguishable from alcoholic behavior, although by themselves, they are not sufficient to indicate loss of control has taken place. The occurrence of one or two isolated warning signs is likely to have little significance, but the more they are repeated and the more patterned they become, then the more they become suggestive of a serious drinking problem. The list of warning signs used in this study, a slight simplification of the Straus and Bacon list, is given below (*).

*List of Warning Signs

Failure to meet obligations.

Damage to friendships.

Accident or injury.

Formal discipline or arrest.

Anticipatory drinking.

Surreptitious drinking.

Feels drinking is necessary at a party.

Has foregone needs to buy liquor.

Has been short of money due to drinking.

Blackout.

Becoming drunk alone.

The morning drink.

Aggressive behavior while drinking.

Definitions of Moderate Drinker and Heavy Drinker

The term, moderate, as used below refers to the 1-3 Q-F index range of alcohol consumption, and this definition was selected arbitrarily. It is desirable as a means of simplifying the language. Nevertheless, it covers a broad range of consumption, and the word, moderate, may be confusing unless definitions of the Q-F indices are kept in mind. For example, Q-F index 2 can mean that an individual might consume a large amount of alcohol and even get drunk, and that this way of drinking conforms to the definition of Q-F index 2 if it happens less frequently than once a month.

The word, heavy, was selected to signify the 4-5 Q-F index range. Again, it is helpful to keep in mind the Q-F index definitions. The

lower limit of Q-F index 4, for example, is satisfied by the consumption of three ounces of 90-proof whiskey on two occasions per month. This amount would produce no more than a slight intoxicating or sedative effect. However, those interview subjects who came within the 4-5 Q-F index range invariably described consumption that exceeded this lower limit of the meaning of heavy.

Definition of Problem Drinker or Incipient Alcoholic

Problem drinker and incipient alcoholic are employed as synonymous expressions below, and they signify that problems over drinking are beginning to show. In each case, however, it is likely that the process was as yet in an early and reversible stage.

A brief look at alcoholism itself should bring the meaning applied to incipience into better focus. Jellinek (21) described the predominant variety of alcoholism seen in America as a process marked by high psychological vulnerability in the prealcoholic. In this country and other Anglo-Saxon countries frequent heavy drinking is not acceptable to most people, and about one-third of the adult population abstain. Thus, heavy drinking tends to be a violation of acceptable practices; and, regardless of any other factors which may complicate drinking, such users risk adverse criticism from other people. Jellinek also wrote about a minority of the alcoholics in the United States who are sometimes confused with those showing antecedent vulnerability, but who do not manifest signs of this until much later or until the onset of physical addiction. In both varieties of alcoholism, physical addiction does not come about, as a rule, until a few too many years of

heavy consumption have gone by. With physical addiction, loss of control over drinking becomes an irreversible condition. Nevertheless, not all heavy drinkers become addicted.

Ullman (1-4) viewed the incipient stage, especially, as a learning process, and he called attention to the importance of an individually conceived role and the cultural setting. He advanced the proposition that ambivalence about alcohol in the face of persistent heavy drinking tends to reinforce the motivation to drink, and he suggested that culture conflict over drinking can be a significant factor in the development of alcoholism.

Examination of the data below endeavors to identify incipience, that is, the antecedent psychological vulnerability that Jellinek describes and which is expected in a large majority of those in America who become addicted to alcohol. The warning signs reported were the chief evidence of incipience. It should be remembered, nevertheless, that the results do not reveal any definite clues about the susceptibility of heavy drinkers who did not report problem drinking, nor of any moderate drinkers who might some day change their drinking behavior, nor of the abstainer who might begin to drink at some later date. This large and varied segment of the college men likely contributes a minority of cases to the total who develop serious drinking problems. Thus, the results below apply to incipience at an early age, and it is doubtful if any subject was already physically addicted. Ninety-four per cent of the men in the interview sample were under age 21 at the time information was gathered.

Several interview summaries are included in this section and in Chapter IV. The subject's number also appears in appropriate locations with the results shown in different tables and is set apart in parentheses. The schedules below explain how the subjects were numbered.

Quantity-Frequency Index and Warning Signs

Table 5 compares quantity and frequency of later drinking with warning signs and treats the 49 selected college men as a single sample. This arrangement permits a preliminary look at methods and sample before examining correlations between the first experience and later drinking. During interviews it was not difficult to arrive at estimates of average alcohol consumption and frequency in order to compute the quantity-frequency index.

*Serial Numbering of Interview Subjects

Numbers 1 to 19 and Number 22 - Q-F indices 1 to 3 and no warning signs.

Numbers 20 and 21 - Q-F index 4 and no warning signs.

Numbers 23 to 35 - Q-F indices 1 to 5 and one to three warning signs.

Number 45 - Q-F index 3 and more than six warning signs.

Numbers 36 to 44 and 46 to 49 - Q-F indices 4 or 5 and more than six warning signs.

The Numbers of Those Who Reported No-Effect First Experiences with the Family

1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 11, 17, 22, 26 and 40.

Advance study of the warning sign data revealed a remarkable proliferation of these signs in some instances. Whereas, 35 men described either no such occurrences or not more than three, the remaining 14 men reported more than six each. This marked a natural break in which no subject happened to report either four or five warning sign occurrences. Those who described few signs remembered these events clearly, while others who reported several signs were often indefinite about the number. For example, two men had lost count of blackouts although both were sure the number exceeded 12. Actually, the warning sign occurrences reported by the 14 subjects in this repetitious group averaged, not six, but ten. The vagueness and differences in the number of signs each reported explains why these men are listed under the heading "More than 6." The same 14 men are regarded here as early problem drinkers.

The 13 men in the 1-3 warning signs group in Table 5 reported the blackout more frequently than any other sign. The 14 members of the repetitious groups tended to include the blackout and one or more other signs suggestive of problem drinking such as aggressive behavior when drinking, the morning drink, getting drunk alone and formal punishment of some kind. Table 5 compares quantity-frequency indices with warning signs

Table 5. Forty-nine Selected College Men: Quantity and Frequency of Drinking, by Warning Signs (in per cent)

<u>Quantity-Frequency Index</u>		<u>Warning Signs</u>			<u>Totals</u> N=49
		<u>0</u> N=22	<u>1-3</u> N=13	<u>More Than 6</u> N=14	
1	N=11	38	4		
2	N=9	23	12		
3	N=6	<u>15</u>	<u>4</u>	4 (45)	
	N=26	76	20	4	100
4	N=19	9	26 (34)	48 (36,37)	
5	N=4	—	<u>9</u> (35)	<u>9</u>	
	N=23	9	35	57	101

Moderate Drinking and Warning Signs

Among the moderate drinkers in Table 5 (Q-F indices 1-3), 76 per cent, 20 subjects, reported no warning signs; 20 per cent, five subjects, reported warning signs in the 1-3 range; and four per cent, one subject, reported more than six signs. Four of the five subjects in this low warning sign range described only blackouts and the fifth reported a single instance of becoming drunk alone. Thus, most of the moderate consumers experienced no warning signs, and the few who did, it seems, took measures to avoid their reoccurrence. The one exception to this was subject number 45, who reported that he had the first experience with friends in secret at age 16. He drank one-half of a fifth of Vodka and some beer and got high. His second experience took place within one week. This subject reported a Q-F index of 3, but more than six warning signs.

Number 45 described the following warning signs: missed classes twice due to drinking, has drunk sometimes in anticipation of not getting enough, has felt that a party will not be a success without liquor, one blackout, and has indulged in destructive behavior while drinking a few times. He defined drinking thus: "A means of relaxation, a way to let your pent-up emotions loose and overcome tension." This kind of personal reason for drinking also suggests that alcohol could become a serious problem. Nevertheless, the moderate drinking he reported at interview time suggests insight and an effort to exercise control.

Heavy Drinking and Warning Signs

Only nine per cent of the heavy drinkers in Table 5 (two subjects) reported no warning signs. Thirty-five per cent (eight subjects) reported warning signs in the 1-3 range. Fifty-seven per cent (13 subjects) reported more than six signs each. This outcome indicates that only a small number of heavy drinkers are likely to escape warning sign occurrences completely.

A closer look where the 1-3 signs group is separated from the more than six signs group should help to make explicit the meaning of this separation. For example, Number 35 in the 1-3 signs group reported a Q-F index of 5 and the following warning signs: arrested once for under-age possession of liquor and reprimanded once by the dean about drinking. This subject, age 18, had the first experience with a friend "at home, baby sitting supposedly" and got drunk when he was age 13. He drank again two months later. He was critical of the existing law about drinking and favored lowering the legal age limit to 18 years.

He said, "I enjoy social drinking very much." Obviously he was quite capable of risking the displeasure of others in order to drink. This does not mean, however, that his attitude was unique. It only means that he was outspoken. Certainly his heavy drinking and his seeming display of self-righteousness suggest that he cannot continue in this manner without exposing himself to some risk of adverse social consequences. Thus, his separation from the problem drinker involved an arbitrary decision.

Number 34, age 18 and also a member of the 1-3 warning signs group, reported that he got drunk with friends in secret at the time of his first experience at age 15. He described a Q-F index of 4 and stated that he had incurred minor property damage on two occasions. He said that liquor gave him a sense of enjoyment in the company of other people. This young man, likewise, did not seem to fit the incipient category.

Number 36, age 20, was placed in the more than six signs group and thus was counted as one of the problem drinkers. He had his first drinking experience at age 15 with friends in secret and got drunk. He had the second experience three months later. He reported a Q-F index of 4 and the following warning signs: in the last year he has been short of money due to drinking on about six occasions, and he has had vague fear of the long-range consequences of drinking and fear of the possibility of dependence on or addiction to alcohol. If his depletions of money due to drinking resulted in keenly felt deprivations, then these occurrences would justify his inclusion in the more than six signs

group. If these deprivations were trivial, and this point was difficult to judge during the interview, then this subject hardly fits with the incipient group. The full meaning of his vague fear of consequences is obscure, although certainly this indicates that he had become concerned about his own drinking behavior.

Number 37, age 19, had the first experience with friends in secret at age 13 and got drunk. He had the second experience one year later. He reported a Q-F index of 4 and warning signs as follows: one blackout and maybe others, arrested once for under-age drinking, the morning drink on three or four occasions, and destructive once. The drinking behavior reported in most other cases above Number 37 gets more involved.

First Experience and the Quantity and Frequency of Later Drinking

Table 6 compares the three selections of the first experience with the quantity and frequency of later drinking. Results in the 1-3 Q-F index range have been combined here, and likewise results in the 4-5 range have been combined. Thus, these two broad categories of alcohol consumption correspond to the notions of moderate and heavy drinking previously defined.

Table 6. Forty-nine Selected College Men: Companions and Effects - First Drinking Experience, by Quantity and Frequency of Drinking (in per cent)

<u>First Drinking Experience Companions and Effects</u>		Q-F Index		Totals N=49
		1-3 N=26	4-5 N=23	
With Family - No Effect	N=11	82	18 (26, 40)	100
With Friends - Some Effect	N=18	66	33	99
With Friends - Drunk	N=20	25	75	100

Table 6 shows that four-fifths (82 per cent) of those college men who reported no effect first experiences with the family continued to drink in moderation, that two-thirds of those who reported some effect experiences with friends also became moderate drinkers, and that only one-fourth of those who got drunk with friends reported they were moderate drinkers later. Thus, these findings show that the first experience tends to predict later alcohol consumption, and this outcome implies the prior existence of a role concept.

With Family - No-Effect First Experience and Later Alcohol Consumption

The result that one-fifth of those who reported no-effect first experiences with the family became heavy drinkers is hardly a surprise. The eleven subjects in the no-effect portion of the interview sample, nevertheless, yielded data that was in sharp contrast to the other two groups and in agreement with the hypothesis. Numbers 26 and 40 make up the one-fifth of this group who became heavy drinkers.

About two-thirds of those in the much larger cross-section sample examined in Chapter II had no-effect first experiences which took place not only with family members but also in secret and under other circumstances. The interview sample omitted the no-effect experiences that

took place away from the family. However, it is interesting to note that subjects who had no-effect experiences with friends had the same low rate of dropout, noted earlier in this section, as did those who reported no-effect experiences with the family.

Number 26, age 20, had the first experience at age 13 with the family, drank one can of beer and felt no effect. He had the second experience about one or two months later. His Q-F index was 4 and he reported one blackout. He said that liquor is to be enjoyed occasionally and for social reasons. This and other information about the student indicated nothing unusual, certainly no problem drinking.

Number 40, age 19, described a very different situation. This young man had his first experience with the family at age ten or eleven. He drank three or four ounces of rum and stated that he felt no effect. This was a medium amount and more than others usually drank who reported no effect. His second experience took place one week later. He reported a Q-F index of 4 and the following warning signs: becoming drunk alone six times and having the morning drink on three occasions. He said that liquor stimulates one, but that overindulgence can lead to serious consequences.

This subject, Number 40, reported that his mother divorced his father about one year after the first drinking experience when he was age eleven or twelve. He avoided giving any further information about his father. Mother married again about one year after the divorce. This interviewer got the impression that the subject was quite unhappy, tense and lonely. He remarked, "I like to drink; I used to drink quite

a bit but not any more." This statement sounded like a hope rather than an accomplishment. He was the only man out of the 49 who conceived of his own drinking, Q-F index 4, as different from that of his friends for he said that all his friends were moderate, occasional drinkers. This difference in alcohol consumption looks like another sign of his isolation.

The remaining nine with family no-effect subjects reported moderation and no warning signs. During interviews these men tended to be indifferent about the subject of drinking, and some of them were a little impatient to get finished. By contrast, all other men - those of the 49 subjects who reported some degree of intoxication at the time of the first experience - were keenly alert, inquisitive and cooperative during interviews.

With Friends - Some-Effect First Experience and Later Alcohol Consumption

The results shown by all three fractions of the sample in Table 6 suggest that early drinking experience is also to some extent experimental and tentative. The 66 per cent in the with friends-some effect group who became moderate drinkers illustrates this point. These men call to mind a little temporary exploration of the intoxicating effects of alcohol. A few of the men in this 66 per cent of the some-effect experiences reported isolated warning signs, and such events may have influenced their early moderation importantly. The other 33 per cent, who became heavy drinkers, reported amounts of alcohol consumed at the time of the first experience which were not significantly different

from amounts consumed by others at that time who reported they got drunk. These differences in effect from similar amounts of alcohol were probably more conceptual than real.

With Friends - Drunk First Experience and Later Alcohol Consumption

Table 6 shows that three-fourths of those who got drunk at the time of the first experience became heavy drinkers. This outcome clearly supports the proposition that the drinker tends to have a concept about alcohol which is relevant to subsequent drinking behavior in advance of the first drink. Other results support the same conclusion. It was shown in Chapter II that the subjects who got drunk in secret with friends the first time were the men most likely to make an early start and drink again the soonest. Thus, these results indicate that a small segment of this adolescent population became quite determined to try drinking with friends in advance of the more pervasive start of drinking at age 16, and proportionately many more of these men became heavy drinkers than was the case among all others.

The heavy drinkers, no doubt, affected the drinking behavior of each other. However, it seems unlikely that they had much effect on the large majority of moderate users. If the way one drinks tends to follow a concept which has been shaped importantly by significant others in advance of the first drink, then such an outcome would be expected.

Estimate of Men in Cross-Section of First Experience Who Became Heavy Drinkers

A rough cross-section estimate of the number who became heavy drinkers is computed below from information about the first experience

and the percentages of heavy drinkers shown in Table 6:

<u>Effects</u>	<u>Approximate Cross-Section Incidence (in per cent)</u>	<u>Incidence of Heavy Drinkers from Table 6 (in per cent)</u>	<u>Cross-section Estimate of the Number Who Became Heavy Drinkers (in per cent)</u>
No Effect	65	18*	12
Some Effect	25	33	8
Drunk	10	75	8
Totals	100		28

*Attention is called again to the skimpy sampling of the large no-effect portion of the cross section.

An estimated 28 per cent of men in the original cross-section of first experiences became heavy drinkers according to the definition of heavy given earlier in this section. This definition covers broad differences of quantity and frequency. Its lower limit conforms to slight intoxication or sedation from alcohol twice a month, and there is no upper limit except one's individual capacity to drink. The definition, nevertheless, calls to mind one of the requirements for eventual alcohol addiction set forth by Ullman (1) which is the consumption of enough alcohol each time to bring about a tension-reducing effect. The 28 per cent heavy drinkers computed above means the approximate order of size of this part of the cross-section of college men who drink.

First Experience and Warning Signs

It was shown in Table 5 that the repetition of warning signs occurred almost exclusively among the heavy drinkers, although not all

heavy drinkers were so affected. Table 6 demonstrated that the amount of alcohol consumed the first time tended to predict later consumption. Table 7 correlates the first experience with the later occurrence of warning signs.

Table 7 Forty-nine Selected College Men: Companions and Effects - First Drinking Experience, by Warning Signs (in per cent)

<u>First Drinking Experience Companions and Effects</u>		<u>Warning Signs</u>			Totals N=49
		0 N=22	1-3 N=13	More than 6 N=14	
With Family - No Effect	N=11	82	9	9(40)	100
With Friends - Some Effect	N=18	44	28	28(43)	100
With Friends - Drunk	N=20	25	35	40(41, 48)	100

Table 7 shows that nine per cent (one subject) who had a no-effect first experience with the family also reported more than six warning signs. This was subject Number 40 discussed under Table 6. Twenty-eight per cent of those who described some-effect first experiences with friends (5 subjects) reported more than six warning signs, and 40 per cent of those who got drunk at the time of the first experience (8 subjects) reported more than six signs. Regardless of any other significance, the repetition of warning signs indicates persistent motivation for heavy drinking, and thus further supports the proposition that the way one drinks is likely to follow a concept that existed even before the first drink.

Examples of Repititious Warning Signs

Numbers 36, 37, 40 and 45 in the more-than-six-warning-signs group have been described. Summaries of Numbers 41, 43 and 48 follow as additional examples of this group.

Number 41, age 19, had the first experience with friends in secret at age 16, drank eight cans of beer and got drunk. His second experience took place about three months later. He reported a Q-F index of 5 and described the following warning signs: missed classes due to drinking once, lost a job due to drinking once, has drunk in anticipation of not getting enough a few times, has had several blackouts, got drunk alone once, and has had the morning drink twice. He has wondered if he might become dependent on or addicted to alcohol. He said that he had had a little better control over his drinking in the last year. He stated that liquor can promote friendship and happiness if used in moderation, but that when used in excess it ruins the individual's usefulness to himself and society.

Number 43, age 19, had the first experience with friends in secret at age 15, drank one pint of whiskey and stated that he got high. He drank again about one month later. He reported a Q-F index of 4 and the following warning signs: arrested once for disturbing the peace, arrested once for stealing beer, reprimanded by the dean once, has foregone other needs to buy liquor about six times in the last year, has been short of money due to drinking about six times in the last year, blackout once, drunk alone twice, the morning drink about seven times in the last year, fighting when drinking twice, and destruction of property twice.

Number 43 stated that his father, a medical doctor, was an excessive drinker, and on several occasions he has disappeared from home for weeks at a time. This and other information, such as ongoing discord between parents and the relocation of the family and medical

practice in seven different communities, indicates serious family problems.

This subject (Number 43) said, "I want to know how to handle alcoholic beverages. I enjoy drinking beer very much. I want to make my family proud of me, and I want to help them as much as they have helped me when it comes time for them to retire." He stated, "College authority doesn't interfere with me because I haven't gotten into any trouble except once. There has to be authority, and I believe the college authorities are fair. If the regulations weren't enforced, the college would be a mess."

Number 48, age 22, had the first experience with friends in secret at age 16. He reported that he drank three bottles of beer, one pint of wine, one-half a pint of whiskey and got drunk. He drank again the following day. His Q-F index was 4, and he described these warning signs: automobile accident while drinking once, believes that a party will not be a success without liquor, and reports more than 12 black-outs. He said that liquor was only a means for spending a sociable evening.

Age - First Drink, Time Until Second Experience, and Warning Signs

Table 8 compares age at the time of the first experience and warning signs with the interval until the second experience. The warning sign data serves as the tie with later drinking behavior. This table examines heavy drinking at the time of the first experience, and the sample is limited to those 38 men who reported some effect or becoming drunk with friends, usually in secret at that time. The following

information helps to identify this sample: Eighteen men who reported some-effect first experiences - eight subjects described no warning signs, five described one to three signs and five reported more than six signs. Twenty men who got drunk at the time of the first experience - five reported no signs, seven reported one to three signs and eight reported more than six signs.

Table 8. Thirty-eight Men Who Became Intoxicated With Friends at the time of the First Experience: Age - First Experience and Warning Signs, by Time Until the Second Experience (Numbers and per cent)

<u>Age - First Experience and Warning Signs</u>	<u>Within One Week</u>		<u>After One Week</u>		<u>Totals</u>	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Before Age 16 N=21						
No Signs	2	15	4	31		
1-3 Signs	<u>3</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>31</u>		
Totals	5	38	8	62	13	100
More Than 6 Signs	1	12	7	88	8	100
After Age 16 N=17						
No Signs	3	25	4	33		
1-3 Signs	<u>3</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>17</u>		
Totals	6	50	6	50	12	100
More Than 6 Signs	3	60	2	40	5	100

Table 8 now constitutes a search for differences in later drinking behavior among these 38 men based on the age and second experience data.

The no-warning signs men and the one-three signs men are totaled together in the table, as no striking differences in age or second experience data were apparent between these two categories. Thirty-

eight per cent of those in the no-signs group and the one-three signs group who had the first experience before age 16 drank again within one week, and 50 per cent of those who began after age 16 drank again within one week. Thirteen of these men had the first drink before age 16, and the other 12 had this drink after age 16.

In this total of 25 men who reported no signs or one to three signs, eleven had the second experience within one week, eleven more drank again within a few months, and the remaining three waited longer than one year. Two of the last three reported no warning signs and became moderate drinkers. The other man, Number 21, had the first experience in secret at age ten with friends when he drank a pint of whiskey and got drunk. He did not drink again until age 14. At college time, he reported a Q-F index of 4 and no warning signs. Among 22 men in the sample who were heavy drinkers or problem drinkers, only Number 21 and one other subject reported heavy drinking and no warning signs.

The problem drinkers presented curiously different results. Only 12 per cent of those who had the first experience before age 16, one subject, drank again within one week. After age 16, 60 per cent reported the second experience within one week. This latter figure probably has about the same meaning as the 50 per cent figure which applied to the other drinkers after age 16, who reported no signs or only one to three signs.

Eight of the 13 problem drinkers had the first experience before age 16, and all of the other five problem drinkers began to drink during the sixteenth year. In contrast to this, six of the 25 men who

reported no warning signs or one to three signs had the first experience in the seventeenth or eighteenth years. These results indicate that many who become problem drinkers had the first experience with friends in secret and in advance of the general onset of adolescent drinking which comes at about age 16.

Among the problem drinkers who had the first experience before age 16, 88 per cent, seven subjects, waited longer than one week before drinking again. Four of these men drank again within a few months, and the other three waited one year or longer. One of the latter three had the first experience at age 12, and the other two were age 13 at that time. This outcome calls to mind Ullman's observation (2) that many subjects in his sample of alcoholic inmates waited more than one year before having the second experience.

This sample of 38 college men who became intoxicated with friends in secret at the time of the first experience was singled out for interview originally with the expectation that problem drinkers would tend to be more numerous among those who had such first experiences. It was found that one-third of these men were manifesting signs of problem drinking. The foregoing analysis of the age data and second experience data supports the following conclusions about these men.

These problem drinkers tended to have the first experience away from the family in early adolescence and before the more pervasive onset of drinking at about age 16. A minor number of others also made an early start with peers and with intoxication the first time. Some of the latter men became heavy drinkers but not problem drinkers by

college time, while a few others among these early beginners became moderate drinkers.

The problem drinkers, compared to the others who also became intoxicated the first time, tended to repeat the experience only after a considerably longer lapse of time. This outcome was similar to Ullman's finding (2) that many alcoholics wait for a prolonged time interval before having the second experience. Apparently it takes time to recover from the stress and shock incurred by the first experience.

These results suggest that many problem drinkers have a different experience with alcohol than others, from the beginning. The strong tendency to become intoxicated at the time of the first experience points to extreme motivation. To drink in secret with friends means no supervision and implies risk-taking, stressful situations and ambivalence. Since some others also make a start with heavy drinking under similar circumstances, this suggests that many who become problem drinkers conceived of drinking and reacted differently to alcohol at the outset.

Estimate of Men in Cross-section of First Experience Who Had More Than Six Warning Signs

<u>First Drinking Experience</u>		<u>Problem Drinkers Later</u>	
	<u>Approximate Cross-Section Incidence (in per cent)</u>	<u>Incidence of More Than Six Warning Signs from Table 7 (in per cent)</u>	<u>Cross-Section Estimate of the Incidence of More Than Six Warning Signs (in per cent)</u>
Effects			
No Effect	65	9	6
Some Effect	25	28	7
Drunk	10	40	4
Totals	100		17

The above estimates of six per cent problem drinkers from the large number of no-effect first experiences in the cross-section of users is derived from the single case of repetitious warning signs - Number 40 - found among the eleven no-effect interview subjects. The inclusion of this six per cent figure as part of the 17 per cent total of problem drinkers in the cross-section affects the statistical reliability of this total. Nevertheless, the six per cent is at least a reminder that not all problem drinkers became intoxicated in secret the first time they drank, and it seems more realistic to keep track of this result than to discard it.

An estimated seven per cent of the cross-section of users who became problem drinkers was found among those who had some-effect first experiences, and another four per cent came from those who got drunk at the time of the first experience. These two estimates are supported by adequate sampling. Computations using the above figures show that problem drinkers were three and one-half times more prevalent in the estimated 35 per cent who reported some degree of intoxication at the time of the first experience as compared to the 65 per cent who had no-effect first experiences. The same 35 per cent of the cross-section of users contributed eleven per cent of those in the total of drinkers who became problem drinkers. Thus, it is estimated that over eleven per cent of the 342 users who originally reported were manifesting signs of incipient alcoholism.

Discussion of Incipience

The implications of incipience can be clarified somewhat by taking

another look at alcoholism. Keller (22), in a discourse on the definition of alcoholism and the estimation of its prevalence, stressed, for instance, the difficulty involved in knowing if loss of control over drinking had taken place, the shortage of reliable estimates of rates within different sub-culture populations, and variations in rates that arise from the use of modifications in estimating techniques. Keller stated that if there are 5,000,000 alcoholics in the United States (a commonly quoted figure), then the total adult rate approaches five per cent and the male adult rate is above eight per cent. He recognized that actual rates might be a little above or below these figures, but he emphasized that even conservative estimates do not diminish the seriousness of the problem.

It will be shown below that the rate of incipience among the college men exceeded any probable rate of alcoholism to come. This exercise will serve its purpose if it is accurate enough to indicate that the rate of problem drinking is greater than the probability of alcoholism.

If the population of Montana college men (drinkers and non-drinkers) conformed to the national average regarding the expectancy of alcoholism, the incidence would be about eight per cent eventually. It was found that at least eleven per cent of the drinkers in the cross-section of college men were manifesting signs of incipient alcoholism. When this percentage is adjusted to apply to the total of 407 drinkers and abstainers who originally responded to the questionnaire about the first experience, this estimate of incipience becomes roughly nine per

cent - a deceptively close check with the national estimate of alcoholism for men. This minimal rate of nine per cent incipience (eleven per cent of drinkers), however, ties to only those 35 per cent of all drinkers who felt some degree of intoxication at the time of the first experience. Results about the other 65 per cent who had no-effect first experiences indicate that an occasional problem drinker is to be found among these subjects. In addition, it is likely that an occasional person who was either a heavy drinker without problems, or a moderate drinker, or an abstainer at interview time would eventually develop an alcohol problem. This much should be sufficient to indicate that not all cases of alcoholism will come from that 35 per cent of men who became more or less intoxicated at the time of the first experience.

Socio-economic factors are known to affect the rate of alcoholism significantly. For example, Robins, et al (23) found that fewer heavy drinkers from white-collar families became alcoholic compared to heavy drinkers with lower-class backgrounds. Mulford and Miller (17) reported a lower rate of alcoholism among people who had gone to college than among others with less education, and they found that the rate was lower in rural than in urban areas. These reports, and others, imply that the eventual incidence of addiction among college men will fall below the national average. Thus, the rate of incipience in the cross-section of drinkers and abstainers exceeded nine per cent, and the indications from other research are that the eventual incidence of alcoholism in this population of Montana college men will fall significantly below eight per cent.

Jellinek (21) has described the predominating species of alcoholism in the United States as a condition preceded by high psychological vulnerability. This antecedent dependence on alcohol was manifested by the problem drinkers identified in this study. It is most probable that, among these early problem drinkers, there was a majority of all those in the population who ever will become addicted. Nevertheless, since the incipient stage is reversible, an undeterminable number of men can be expected to react to the consequences of their drinking and moderate or quit in advance of serious addiction.

Summary

This review of the first experience and later drinking employs those estimates which have been adjusted to apply to the original cross-section of 342 Montana college men who reported they were drinkers. This procedure, we remember, has required extrapolation, for only 73.4 per cent of the drinkers recalled the first experience, and the estimate of later drinking behavior ties to 49 selected interview subjects. The cross-section figures, therefore, are approximations. Precautions were taken to avoid overstatements of heavy consumption and problem drinking.

It was found that the first drinking experience tended to be a forecast of later drinking behavior. Approximately two-thirds of the users reported no-effect first experiences in a great variety of situations, and four-fifths of these men became moderate drinkers. In sharp contrast to this, ten per cent in the cross-section got drunk with friends at the time of the first experience, usually in secret, and

three-fourths of these men became heavy drinkers. Among the remaining one-fourth of men in the cross-section who reported some-effect first experiences, two-thirds became moderate drinkers and the other one-third became heavy drinkers. (Moderate drinking has been defined in this work as the 1-3 quantity-frequency index range of alcohol consumption, and heavy drinking as the 4-5 range.) These contrasts support the conclusion that different conceptions about drinking had taken shape before the onset of drinking, and that these concepts affected the nature of later drinking behavior importantly.

Twenty-eight per cent of the users, roughly, became heavy drinkers, and nine of ten heavy drinkers experienced one or more warning signs. (Only one moderate drinker in the interview sample turned up who also reported problem drinking. All of the other 13 problem drinkers were heavy drinkers.) The heavy drinkers separated into two quite distinctly different groups: those who had experienced no more than three warning sign occurrences and others who reported more than six. Actually the latter group averaged ten occurrences per subject, and no heavy drinker happened to report either four or five warning signs. The repetitious group was regarded as manifesting early signs of problem drinking, that is, incipient alcoholism. Over eleven per cent of the drinkers in the cross-section were experiencing these signs of incipience. Compared to other heavy drinkers, the problem drinkers tended to delay having second experiences as if reacting to stress.

Within that group of subjects manifesting early signs of problem drinking, it is likely that there was a large majority of all those who

will become addicted to alcohol some day. Since incipience can be reversible, this fact alone makes it impossible to estimate any eventual rate of alcoholism from the information at hand.

The drinking behavior of the incipient alcoholics brings to mind Ullman's investigations. He called attention to the likelihood of an individually conceived role and the effect of socio-cultural influences. He theorized that alcohol addiction could not occur unless enough alcohol were consumed habitually to bring about a tension-reducing effect and that stress over drinking would tend to reinforce the "need" to drink again. The early problem drinkers in this study were satisfying Ullman's theory to a marked degree. Certainly they drank enough to experience tension-reduction, and all must have been familiar with ambivalent feelings and stressful consequences.

Chapter IV

Early Drinking Experience And Social Background

The drinking behavior of the college men examined in Chapters II and III supports the proposition that there was a concept about alcohol by the time of the first experience and that later drinking behavior tended to follow this conception. The social background of the 49 interview subjects is explored now, and this part of the study constitutes a limited selection and examination of background factors. In this, the findings are correlated with the other material already reported in the previous sections about the first experience and later drinking. The results permit rough estimations applicable to the original cross-section of college men and some clarification of sequences between social background and drinking experience.

A social history outline - shown in Appendix I - describes the background material examined, and this form was used to record results in separate interview sessions lasting about one hour each. This material readily classified under the following four headings: Occupation of the Head of the Family, Drinking Practices of Parents and Friends, Family Disruption and Attitude on the Subject on Religion. In addition, some of the men responded with interesting definitions of alcohol and college authority.

Chapter III identified different patterns of drinking behavior based on the examination of only two variables: alcohol consumption and warning signs. Chapter IV takes a look at the 49 selected individuals and seeks to identify correlations between childhood background

and drinking behavior. Thus, it becomes necessary to deal more with individuals and very small numbers. Summaries about particular men are handled as was done in Chapter III. The subject is identified by a serial number, and the number appears in parentheses appropriately located in one or more of the tables.

The eleven interview subjects who reported no-effect first experiences with family members are examined first. These subjects were assigned the following numbers: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 11, 17, 22, 26 and 40. All other individual case numbers identify the 38 men who reported some effect or becoming drunk with friends, usually in secret, at the time of the first experience. Many of the subjects will be individually summarized, and several of these already have been included in Chapter III.

Description of the drinking behavior and social background of the eleven no-effect subjects follows, and tables will not be constructed to examine this portion of the sample.

Social Background of Eleven Men Who Reported No-Effect First Experiences With Family Members

Occupation of the Head of the Family

Three men came from farms, two from working class families, three from business and three from professional families. These four divisions signify broad classifications by occupation, and the meaning is defined more exactly in the footnote (*)

*The four divisions by occupation of the head of the family are further defined as follows: Farming means any kind of agriculture. Working Class means trades and labor- "blue collar." Business means small business owner, large business management, salesman, "white collar." Professional means educator, pharmacist, physician, architect, civil engineer, etc.

Number 26 - age 20, from business - became a heavy drinker and Number 40 - age 19, also from business - became a problem drinker. The other nine subjects became moderate drinkers. This outcome conforms to the greater incidence of alcohol problems known to occur with urban compared to rural populations. In addition, the results suggest that learning to drink with the family is associated with a lower incidence of problem drinking.

Drinking Practices of Parents and Friends

Eleven fathers and seven mothers were reported as moderate, occasional drinkers. Three mothers were non-drinkers but not disapproving, and one mother disapproved of drinking. Thus, it appears that examples of moderate drinking by the parents, and attitude of permissiveness with supervision were prevalent in the families of these eleven subjects.

The nine students who were moderate drinkers all reported that "my friends drink like I do." Number 26, a heavy drinker, who has been summarized in Chapter III, also reported that his friends drank like he did. Number 40 - age 19, the only exception to this attitude and the only problem drinker among the eleven - stated that his parents and friends were all moderate, occasional drinkers. Number 40 was the man described in Chapter III who reported becoming drunk alone six times and having the morning drink on three occasions. These responses about the drinking behavior

of friends suggest that the way one wants to drink is likely to become a significant factor in the formation of friendship cliques.

Family Disruption

Number 2 - age 18 - reported that his mother died when he was age 12. Number 11 - age 20 - stated that mother divorced father, an alcoholic, when the subject was age six, and following the divorce he lived with mother for several years. At age 13 he was adopted by foster parents. Both Numbers 2 and 11 became moderate drinkers. Number 40 reported that mother divorced father when this student was age 12 and that mother married again about one year later. The other eight men reported on-going established homes in childhood with both parents. Number 40 was the only subject identified in this group of eleven who seems to have suffered severe adverse effects in childhood.

Attitude of Subject on Religion

Seven of these men reported that they were active church members at interview time. Number 26, the heavy drinker and not a problem drinker, was one of those who reported active membership. Number 40 and three others reported either inactive membership or non-membership. Thus, roughly two-thirds of these men were active church members at college time.

Definition of Liquor

Most of the eleven men defined alcoholic beverage in terms of

moderate drinking for social purposes. Number 40 was the only subject with a distinctly different view. This is the man who said, "I like to drink. I used to drink quite a bit, but I don't any more." This remark calls to mind extreme motivation and a struggle to control the drinking.

Attitude about Authority

The eleven men - Number 40 included - expressed acceptance of college authority, although some did a little qualifying of this. All respected college regulations.

Summary of College Men Who Reported No-Effect First Experiences

Although the eleven no-effect interview subjects represent a selected microcosm of the original cross-section of college men who drink, the results permit a limited analysis of all those who reported no-effect first experiences.

The eleven men, we recall, were selected for interview with the expectation that an introduction to alcohol by other family members would tend to pick up those who would conceive of drinking as a customary and minor social amenity, that such men would be less likely to have high motivation to drink. Even though one heavy drinker and one problem drinker turned up, it has been shown that this group stood out in sharp contrast to the other 38 interview subjects who had the first drinking experience with friends, usually in secret and with some degree of intoxication. Most members of this group of eleven men reported later drinking behavior which was moderate and without problems.

Circumstances at the time of the first experience are likely significant only as they tend to reflect attitudes and feelings. Having the first drink with family members suggests acceptance of family standards, the existence of parental attitudes which endorse learning how to drink under family supervision, and the willingness on the part of the subject to let others take the initiative with respect to drinking. Other students who learned to drink with the family in childhood would hardly conceive of drinking as sinful, or somehow confuse drinking with manhood. And, in general, the examples of drinking behavior set by other family members would have significant effects whether one started to drink with the family or not.

In the original cross-section sample of first experiences almost as many college men reported no-effect experiences with friends as with family members, and it has been estimated that these various no-effect experiences totaled roughly 65 per cent of all the drinkers.

Certain similarities were found among all categories of no-effect first experiences which hint that most of those who had these experiences had only casual interest in drinking at the start and later. These men tended not to have the first drink with friends before age 16. They tended to drink again after longer intervals than others, and they had similar low rates of dropout from school.

The social background of these eleven men is summarized as follows: Occupation of the head of the family suggested only randomness. Among the parents, moderate drinkers and permissive non-drinkers prevailed. Family disruption did not necessarily result in problem drinking, but

the one problem drinker in this group came from a family disrupted by divorce. Two-thirds of these men reported active church membership. (It will be shown later that church membership was highly significant.) Their definitions of liquor usually suggested drinking for social reasons. All eleven expressed acceptance of college authority. This look at social background differs in a number of respects from that reported by the other 38 men to be examined now. Mostly, this group of eleven men was notable for its lack of interest in the subject of drinking.

Social Background of the 38 Men Who Reported Intoxication with Friends At the Time of the First Experience

The 38 men who made up this part of the interview sample constituted one-third of the conservatively estimated 35 per cent of the original cross-section of college men who felt some degree of intoxication at the time of the first experience. These men had the first drinking experience with friends - usually in secret.

At interview time 42 per cent of the men in this larger portion of the sample were rated as moderate drinkers. (Number 45 - the only man who reported moderate drinking and problem drinking - was not made part of this 42 per cent. This subject was summarized in Chapter III, and he is counted with the problem drinkers here.) Another 24 per cent classified as heavy drinkers, and the remaining 34 per cent were rated as problem drinkers.

One-third of the 38 men reported no warning signs, one-third reported one to three signs; and one-third reported more than six signs. The shakeup in these percentages about consumption and warning signs suggests that an early cleavage in drinking behavior took place. Thus, about four-tenths of this group chose moderate drinking, and about six-tenths chose heavy drinking. High vulnerability to alcoholism was manifest almost exclusively in the heavy drinking segment.

In the tables below, the warning sign data is used to signify drinking behavior.

Occupation of the Head of the Family

Table 9. Thirty-eight College Men Who Reported Intoxication with Friends at the Time of the First Experience: Warning Signs, by Occupation of the Head of the Family (in per cent)

<u>Warning Signs of Subjects</u>		<u>Farming</u> N=5	<u>Working Class</u> N=11	<u>Business</u> N=12	<u>Professional</u> N=10
No Signs	N=13	80(21)	36	17	30
1-3 Signs	N=12	20(29)	36	42	20
More than 6 Signs	N=13		27	42	50
Totals	N=38	100	99	101	100

In Table 9, none of the five men from farming families were classified as problem drinkers. Nevertheless, Numbers 21 and 29 illustrate the difficulties involved in making such judgments.

Number 21 - age 18 - reported that he had his first experience at age 10 with friends in secret and got drunk. He had his second experience years later at age 14. His parents deserted him when he was an

infant, and he was raised by grandmother. Grandfather was reported as an excessive drinker, and grandmother divorced grandfather when the subject was age 14. A year later grandfather died. Grandmother was described as a moderate occasional drinker. The subject was an active Catholic. "College authority," he said, must be put up with. It does not have too much power over me."

Number 29 - age 19 - had the first experience at age 15 with friends, got high and drank again two months later. He reported a Q-F index of 4 and warning signs as follows: short of board money due to drinking once and one blackout. He thought that a party would not be a success without liquor. Both parents were moderate occasional drinkers. This student was an active Catholic. Other information suggested a secure and uneventful childhood in an established home with both parents. His definition of college authority indicated acceptance.

Table 9 shows that all of the problem drinkers came from working class, business and professional families with a rising incidence from the working class to the professional. There will be more to say about this curious phenomenon later. The results confirm again that the rate of problem drinking tends to be greater in urban than in rural populations. The thirteen problem drinkers specified the following occupations of their fathers: Working class - two electricians and one railroad conductor. Business - manager of an industry's branch office, clothing merchant, truck line owner, Air Force officer and train dispatcher. Professional - surveyor, editor of a newspaper, physical education teacher, college professor and physician.

Drinking Practices of Parents

The drinking behavior of the mothers and fathers of the 38 college men who became intoxicated with friends at the time of the first experience distributed thus:

Mothers

Disapproving non-drinkers	N=5	13 per cent
Non-disapproving non-drinkers	N=5	13 per cent
Moderate occasional drinkers	N=20	53 per cent
Moderate regular drinkers	N=6	16 per cent
Regular with occasional intoxication	N=2	5 per cent

Fathers

Disapproving non-drinkers	N=3	8 per cent
Non-disapproving non-drinkers	N=2	5 per cent
Moderate occasional drinkers	N=15	39 per cent
Moderate regular drinkers	N=9	24 per cent
Regular with occasional intoxication	N=6	16 per cent
Excessive drinkers	N=3	8 per cent

The drinking practices of parents were reported by the sons during the interview sessions. In a few instances it was felt that the subject minimized the alcohol consumption of the parent, especially if the drinking tended to exceed "socially acceptable" amounts. The information above, however, conforms to the answers submitted.

As a group, these 76 parents differed greatly from the other 22 parents whose sons had no-effect first experiences with the family. Among the parents of the eleven reported earlier, most of the fathers and mothers were moderate occasional drinkers; no parent exceeded this moderate consumption; and only one - a mother - disapproved of drinking.

Among the parents of the other 38 college men who became intoxicated with friends, mothers and fathers who disapproved of drinking were a

little more in evidence. On the other hand, considerably greater numbers of these parents were heavier consumers. To summarize about the parents of these 38 men: Thirteen per cent of the mothers and eight per cent of the fathers disapproved. Twenty-one per cent of the mothers and 48 per cent of the fathers drank more than moderately and occasionally.

Table 10 below compares the warning signs of subjects with the drinking practices of families, and the complex material about parental drinking has been separated here into four categories by families in accordance with the following definitions.

Disapprove

One or both parents disapproved of drinking, and it so happened that none of these parents exceeded moderate occasional drinking.

Moderate Occasional

All but three of these parents were moderate occasional drinkers. The three exceptions were reported as non-disapproving non-drinkers.

Moderate Regular

Mothers varied from non-disapproving non drinker (only one) to regular with occasional intoxication. Fathers were either moderate regular drinkers or regular with occasional intoxication. It was felt that members of this group tended to keep within limits of "socially approved" drinking behavior.

Moderate Mothers - Excessive Fathers

Mothers were either non-disapproving non-drinkers or moderate occasional drinkers. Fathers were reported as regular drinkers with

occasional intoxication or excessive drinkers. (This interviewer believes that all six fathers in this category drank excessively even though not all were described thus.)

The above definitions serve to summarize the drinking practices of the parents, but these descriptions do not cover all possible family combinations. For example, no student reported that his mother was an excessive drinker.

Table 10. Thirty-eight College Men Who Reported Intoxication with Friends at the Time of the First Experience: Warning Signs, by Apparent Family Situation in Regard to Drinking (in per cent)

<u>Warning Signs of Subjects</u>		<u>Disapprove</u> N=6	<u>Moderate Occ.</u> N=14	<u>Moderate Regular</u> N=12	<u>Moderate Mother Excessive Father</u> N=6
No Signs	N=13	33	36	42 (18)(19)	17 (21)
1-3 Signs	N=12	33	29	42 (25)(32)	17 (30)
More than 6 Signs	N=13	33 (38)(44)	36	17 (36)(39)	66 (42)(43)(46)(49)
Totals	N=38	99	101	101	100

One or Both Parents Disapprove of Drinking

Table 10 shows that two of six men were problem drinkers who came from families where one or both parents disapproved of drinking. The subjects were Numbers 38 and 44.

Number 38 - age 18 - had the first experience with friends in secret at age 15, got high on nine cans of beer and had the second experience about one month later. He reported a Q-F index of 4 and the

following warning signs: He has occasionally foregone some need in order to buy liquor and at times has been short of money due to drinking. He reported two blackouts that he knew about, drinking before breakfast once and having two fights while drinking.

Number 38 described his father, a coach and physical education teacher, as a moderate occasional drinker and his mother as a disapproving non-drinker. He stated that his college friends were moderate to heavy drinkers. He said, "When we were seniors in high school, we would get high two or three times a week." He was an inactive church member at interview time, and he reported that he had attended Sunday School for about six years in childhood. "Mother," he said, "is very religious, but father is not." He commented, "I like to feel that when I am in athletic competition, I am getting divine assistance." About college authority he said, "I think the student should have a lot more to say about the things that go on."

Number 44 - age 18 - reported that he had the first experience at age 16 with friends in secret. He drank eight cans of beer, got drunk and drank again within one week. He described a Q-F index of 4 and the following warning signs: He has drunk surreptitiously sometimes, has had two blackouts and has been in six fights while drinking within the last year.

Forty-four said that his father, an electrician, does not drink and he disapproves. He said, "Mother does not drink but she does not disapprove. That is, she keeps silent." He said that his friends were regular drinkers and occasionally became intoxicated. He attended

Sunday School for six years and reported that he was an active church member. "College authority," he stated, "is a policy that tries to keep children in line."

The other four men from disapproving families, not problem drinkers, tended to view college authority as necessary, quite remote and unimportant to them. These men became moderate drinkers and in other ways indicated no great interest in drinking.

Parents Moderate Occasional Drinkers

Among the 14 college men whose parents are listed as moderate occasional drinkers in Table 10, 36 per cent reported problem drinking - a figure which is not significantly different from the 33 per cent under disapproving parents. The five problem drinkers who constituted the 36 per cent were Numbers 37, 41, 45, 47 and 48. Number 47 is summarized below under family disruption, and the other four men have been described in Chapter III.

Parents Moderate Regular Drinkers

Twelve of the 38 college men who became intoxicated with friends at the time of the first experience came from families rated in Table 10 as moderate regular drinkers. Only two of these men - 17 per cent of the 12 - classified as problem drinkers, and this figure was just one-half as large as was the case among subjects from disapproving and moderate occasional families. Summaries about several men from this group follow. Numbers 18, 19, 25, 32, 36 and 39 from moderate regular drinking families are used now as examples of this group.

Number 18 - age 20 - had the first experience at age 18 in a friend's apartment, drank six cans of beer and got high. He had the second experience within one week. His Q-F index was 3 and he reported no warning signs. He reported that his father - a banker - was a moderate regular drinker and occasionally became intoxicated, and his mother was a moderate regular drinker. He described his friends as moderate regular drinkers who became intoxicated occasionally. This student was a "semi-active" church member. "College authority," he thought, "was necessary and helpful.

Number 19 - age 19 - had the first experience when he was 15 with friends in secret. He had a gallon of beer and "got drunker than hell." The second experience came about one month later. His Q-F index was 3, and he described no warning signs. His father - a mining engineer - died when he was five, and his mother died a year later. He grew up under a succession of guardians. This man explained that he was wealthy, and that moderate regular drinking was customary among the adults he was with as a child. He said that his friends were moderate regular drinkers and occasionally became intoxicated. During childhood he attended Sunday School for about nine years. At interview time, he reported that he was not a member of any church. He said, "Drinking is unimportant to me. It has some social value when among friends who are drinking." "College authority," he said, "is very remote to me. I am seldom concerned with it or imposed on by it."

Number 25 - age 19 - had the first experience with friends in secret at age 16 when he drank five or six cans of beer and got high. He had the second experience within one week. His Q-F index was 4, and

he reported warning signs as follows: has taken a drink surreptitiously sometimes, has felt that a party would not be a success without liquor, and has been short of money at times because of drinking. He reported that his father was an assistant mine foreman. Mother, father and his friends were all moderate regular drinkers who occasionally became intoxicated. He said, "I attended Sunday School for six years, that is, until I had the fight with the pastor." At interview time he was not a member of any church. Regarding college authority, his remarks indicated acceptance and a cooperative attitude.

Number 25 was not rated as a problem drinker even though it was evident that he had accepted drinking as important to his way of life. This decision was influenced by the knowledge that both his mother and father set an example of occasional intoxication, and that this student came from a mining community where intoxication was less likely to be viewed as unacceptable behavior. However, it cannot be denied that this subject risks a problem more than some others.

Number 32 - age 19 - had the first experience at age 14 with friends in secret, got drunk and drank again about one month later. His Q-F index was 4 and he reported the following warning signs: one minor car accident while drinking and one blackout. His father - local sales manager of a major public utility - was a moderate regular drinker and occasionally became intoxicated. This was the case until nine months ago. At that time, father and mother (who drank about the same as father) switched to moderate occasional drinking. Both have held to this since that time. He described his friends as moderate occasional drinkers who occasionally became intoxicated. This young man reported active church

membership. He said, "Liquor is to be enjoyed, but when it is used in excess it becomes repulsive and sickening to me " He remarked, "I respect college authority very much."

Numbers 36 and 39 were the only two subjects in this group of 12 moderate regular drinking families who were counted as problem drinkers. Number 36 was summarized in Chapter III, and a description of Number 39 follows.

Number 39 - age 18 - had the first experience with friends in secret when he was 16, drank four cans of beer and got high. His second experience came two months later. He reported a Q-F index of 4 and warning signs as follows: drinking has interfered with preparation for classes twice, reprimanded about drinking by the dean once, occasionally has drunk in anticipation of not getting enough, has drunk surreptitiously at times, reported being short of money due to drinking twice, and has destroyed property while drinking three times. His father was manager of the local branch office of a large industry. His mother and his father were moderate regular drinkers, and he described his friends as moderate occasional drinkers. He reported inactive church membership. He said, "I am going through a period of trying out drinking, and I do enjoy it now and then. I realize it is not good for a person all the time." He remarked, "College authority here is quite fair."

Nine of the moderate regular drinking families were business and professional, and the other three were working class. The lower incidence of problem drinkers - 17 per cent - from these moderate regular families suggests that somehow these parents were more successful as families than the disapprovers, the moderate occasional drinkers, and of course, the excessive drinkers.

Tensions and anxieties over upper middle class standards come to mind as important factors which may affect families that send their sons to college. Kahl (24) regards a successful long-term career in business or a profession as the central distinguishing feature of the upper middle class. The occupations that go with this group of nine moderate regular drinking business and professional families suggest the possibility of established upper middle class status.

Moderate Mothers - Excessive Fathers

Three of the six fathers in the group headed moderate mothers - excessive fathers in Table 10 were described by their sons as excessive drinkers, and the material reported in these three cases strongly suggests alcoholism. Regarding the other three fathers who were described by sons as becoming intoxicated occasionally, it was felt during interviews that the extent of the drinking had been understated in each instance. Whether the latter three fathers were alcoholic is not clear, but it is reasonably certain that their consumption went beyond usual social limits. Table 10 shows that four of these six college men became problem drinkers.

Numbers 21 (grandfather in this case), 43 and 49 were the men who stated that their fathers were excessive drinkers. Number 21 from a farming family was summarized under occupation of the head of the family in this section, and Number 43 was described in Chapter III. Number 49 is summarized below under family disruption. The latter subject remarked of his father - a railroad conductor, "Never missed a day of work!" This pronouncement came out as if calling attention to an amazing accomplishment against impossible odds. Numbers 30, 42 and 46

were the other three subjects in this group labeled moderate mothers - excessive fathers.

Number 30 - age 23 - had the first experience while at an army camp at age 18. He drank more than six bottles of beer, got drunk and drank again within one week. He described a Q-F index of 5 and reported two blackouts. His father - a salesman - was described as a moderate regular drinker who occasionally became intoxicated, and his mother was a moderate occasional drinker. His friends were moderate regular drinkers, and occasionally they became intoxicated. He had attended Sunday School for only about three years and identified himself as an inactive church member. He said, "Liquor should be used in moderation. When it becomes a necessity, I no longer want any part of it." "College authority," he said, "is necessary to make the institution function effectively."

Number 42 - age 18 - had his first experience with friends in secret at age 15, drank six cans of beer, got drunk and had the second experience about three months later. He reported a Q-F index of 4 and warning signs as follows: car accident once, arrested once for disturbing the peace, reprimanded by the dean once, drank before breakfast twice, has been involved in a few fights while drinking, and has destroyed property twice while drinking. His father - a college professor - he described as a moderate regular drinker who became intoxicated occasionally. He went on to say that father has not had a drink now for one year. This statement suggests that the father had a more serious drinking problem than the son was willing to admit. His mother was a moderate occasional drinker, and his friends he described as

moderate regular drinkers who occasionally became intoxicated. This man attended Sunday School for only three years and reported that he was not a member of any church. "College authority," he said, "seems to have no set of rules on this campus, no judgment standards, nothing. I respect only my teachers who I feel are now holding this university together.

Number 46 - age 20 - had the first experience in secret at age 13, drank one pint of whiskey, got drunk and drank again about one year later. His Q-F index was 5 and he reported warning signs as follows: has missed classes about six times in the last year due to drinking, reprimanded by the dean once and recalls one blackout. His father - a clothing merchant - was described as a moderate regular drinker who occasionally became intoxicated, and his mother was a moderate occasional drinker. His friends were moderate regular drinkers who became intoxicated occasionally. This man attended Sunday School for eight years and reported inactive church membership at college time. "Drinking," he said, "is a relaxing pleasure which must be watched for excessiveness." He remarked, "College authority is a necessity, but it tends to treat students on a level beneath their status."

Occupational Status of the Family and the Problem Drinker

Table 11 presents a simplification of the data about occupation of the head of the family, family situation in regard to drinking, and the drinking behavior of the subject. Family occupational status is shown under four headings as follows: Farming, Working Class, Business and Professional. Supposedly, the farming and working class

families tended to ascribe to lower middle class standards, while the business and professional families were more likely to aspire to upper middle class standards. As to family drinking practices, the difference between moderate occasional families and moderate regular families probably signified differences related to occupational status rather than any important contrasts in drinking behavior.

Table 11. Thirty-eight College Men Who Reported Intoxication with Friends at the Time of the First Experience: Family Drinking Situation and Occupational Status, by Drinking Behavior of Subject (in per cent)

<u>Family Drinking Situation and Occupational Status</u>	<u>Not Problem Drinker</u> N=25	<u>Problem Drinker</u> N=13	<u>Totals</u> N=38
Disapprove and Moderate Occasional			
Farming and Working Class N=11	82	18	100
Business and Professional N=9	44	56	100
		(37)(38)(41)	
		(47)(48)	
Moderate Regular			
Working Class (No Farming) N=3	100		100
Business and Professional N=9	78	22	100
Moderate Mothers - Excessive Fathers			
Farming and Working Class N=2	50	50	100
Business and Professional N=4	25	75	100
		(42)(43)(46)	

Table 11 shows that the rate of problem drinkers among the subjects from farming and working class families was relatively low, and a similar low incidence applied to college men from those business and professional families that were classified as moderate regular consumers. Other subjects from two more groups of business and professional families reported exceedingly high rates of problem drinkers. One of these two groups of business and professional families was made up of the

disapprovers and the moderate occasional consumers, and 56 per cent of the subjects from this group of families became problem drinkers. In the other group of business and professional families identified in Table 11 as moderate mothers - excessive fathers, 75 per cent of the subjects became problem drinkers.

This incredibly high incidence of problem drinking among the college men from certain business and professional families points to over-competitiveness in American society as one of the major reasons for its high rate of alcoholism.

Family Disruption

Table 12 compares the warning sign data about the 38 men with the occurrence of family disruption.

Family disruptions in Table 12 mean major and obvious breaks in the continuity of the parental family. The table identifies these disruptions under the following headings: death, divorce and discord. This was sufficient to cover the situations reported. Two subjects reported extreme on-going discord between parents, and in both these cases, family continuity within any usual definition of the term was presumed non - existent.

Table 12. Thirty-eight College Men Who Reported Intoxication with Friends at the Time of the First Experience: Warning Signs of Subject, by Family Disruption (in per cent)

<u>Warning Signs</u>		<u>No Disruption</u> N=30	Death N=3	Divorce N=3	Discord N=2	Totals N=38
No Signs	N=13	77	15 (15)	8 (19)		100
1-3 Signs	N=12	83	8 (23)	8 (33)		99
More than 6 Signs	N=13	77		8 (49)	15 (43)	100

Regarding death in the family, Numbers 15, 19 and 23 had been confronted with this turn of events. The father of Number 15 died when this student was age six, and his mother married again about two years later. Information about Number 19 - both parents died - has been summarized above under those families that were rated moderate regular drinkers. Number 23 is described below. None of these cases of disruption by death show any correlation with problem drinking.

Numbers 21, 33 and 49 reported divorce. Twenty-one has been summarized in this section under occupation of the head of the family. The childhood background of 21 included desertion by both parents when he was an infant, and living through his boyhood until age 14 with grandfather around whom he described as an excessive drinker (presumed alcoholic). The mother of Number 33 divorced the father when this student was age 4, and she married again two years later. Neither 21 nor 33 were considered problem drinkers. However, Number 49 - summarized below - presented a different story.

Numbers 43 and 47 reported on-going unresolved discord between parents. Both subjects were outspoken about the unhappy family situation. The material reported by Number 43 has been outlined in Chapter III, and this information strongly implies that his father was an alcoholic. A summary about Number 47, whose father did not appear to have a drinking problem, is included below.

Number 23 - age 20 - , from a mining community, had the first experience with friends in secret at age 14, drank a large amount of beer, got drunk and drank again within one week. He reported a Q-F index of 2 and one warning sign - a blackout. At interview time, his mother

was married to her third miner. His father was the first miner, and numbers one and two were deceased. The subject gave no indication that drinking might have been a factor in either of these deaths. He reported that his mother, his second step-father and his friends were all moderate occasional drinkers. He attended Sunday School for four years and stated that he was an inactive church member. He expressed approval and acceptance of college authority.

Number 47 - age 19 - had the first experience in secret with friends at age 13, drank four cans of beer, got drunk and drank again within one week. He described a Q-F index of 4 and the following warning signs: has missed classes twice, has been arrested for under-age drinking once, has been on two-day drinking bouts about 12 times, and has been in fights while drinking three times. His father was born in Germany and is a U. S. Air Force officer, retired. During this subject's childhood, the family moved at least 13 times, and on several occasions his father was gone on extended overseas duty. His mother, a native of New Jersey, was continuously unhappy about the military service and the moving. Whenever his parents were together, there was discord and argument. "On top of this," he said, "father tried to apply Air Force discipline at home." His father and mother were moderate occasional drinkers, and his friends were moderate regular drinkers who occasionally became intoxicated. He stated that he had never attended any church.

Forty-seven described his childhood home situation as unhappy. He was the only subject who actually said his childhood was an unhappy time. At age 14 he left home and has stayed away most of the time since. During

the interview, his intense resentment of father frequently came out. He said, "I drink when there is nothing else to do or sometimes just for relaxation." He remarked, "College authority tries to control my actions. It means well but it is not too successful." This man was intelligent, resourceful, anxious, egotistical and rebellious.

Number 49 - age 20 - had his first experience at a friend's house at age 12, drank five shots of whiskey, got high, and did not drink again for about four years. He described a Q-F index of 4 and warning signs as follows: believes a party will not succeed without liquor, has foregone something in order to buy liquor occasionally, has been short of money due to drinking frequently, has experienced more than 12 blackouts, has had the morning drink about three times in the last year, has engaged in fights while drinking twice, and feels that he might become dependent on or addicted to alcohol. His father - a railroad conductor - divorced his mother when he was age three. Following this, he lived in a boarding home for the next five years. Father married again and re-established a home when he was age eight. This was the subject who reported that his father was an excessive drinker and "never missed a day of work." His step-mother was a moderate occasional drinker, and he reported that his friends were moderate regular drinkers who became intoxicated occasionally. This man attended Sunday School for seven years and at college time was not a member of any church.

Number 49 was living in a small off-campus apartment. He stated that he was married and that his wife had obtained a legal separation two months ago. Six empty quart-sized beer bottles were in sight. He

said, "Drinking relieves the tensions and problems that seem to be on my mind." He thought college authority was necessary and justified. However, the impression was gained that this man's chief preoccupation was survival itself, and that he was unable to meet this basic issue realistically.

A family disruption - supposedly - becomes relevant to problem drinking if it brings about some lasting effect on the self which predisposes to an alcohol problem. Three students in this group of 38 men and one in the previous group of eleven men reported the death of a parent (both parents in one case) during childhood. None of the deaths correlated with problem drinking. Neither was divorce invariably implicated. Among all 49 interview subjects, five reported divorce, and two became problem drinkers. The problem drinkers who reported divorce were Numbers 40 and 49; both men responded with enough social background information to indicate considerable childhood insecurity. Finally, Number 43 and 47 who reported extreme discord at home supplied the most definite evidence of having experienced unremitting abnormal conditions in childhood. Perhaps there were others who were more inhibited and still others who were not aware of any unusual family situation during childhood.

Attitude of Subject on Religion

The same 38 college men who became intoxicated with friends at the time of the first experience make up the sample in Table 13, and the table compares those who were not problem drinkers and others who were problem drinkers with the reporting of active or not active church

membership. Those men who did not report active membership identified themselves either as inactive members or non-members. A few in this "not active" group had attended Sunday School for eight years or more during childhood, but a good majority of these men reported only three to five years of Sunday School experience. Then there were a few who had never attended any church. The results in Table 13 are supposed to reflect acceptance of religion, on the one hand, and indifference, rejection or confusion about religion on the other.

Table 13. Thirty-eight College Men Who Reported Intoxication with Friends at the Time of the First Experience: Drinking Behavior, by Church Membership (in per cent)

<u>Drinking Behavior</u>		<u>Active Member</u> N=12	<u>Not Active Member</u> N=26	<u>Totals</u> N=38
Not Problem Drinker	N=25	40	60	100
Problem Drinker	N=13	15	85	100

Among the problem drinkers in Table 13, only 15 per cent reported active church membership, whereas 40 per cent of those who were not problem drinkers reported active church membership. (Two-thirds of the men described earlier in this section who had no-effect first experiences with family members reported active church membership.) These great contrasts support the conclusion that a drinking problem and "solid" acceptance of religion are polar to each other and therefore most unlikely companions. The problem drinkers - all except one were between ages 18 and 20 - call to mind the advanced alcoholic at, say, age 40 who so often rejects, fears or acts belligerent about religion and at the same time is preoccupied with sick feelings of remorse and guilt.

Some other men shown in Table 13 were not problem drinkers nor active church members. This finding would be expected and is about as much as to say that the factors affecting susceptibility were more complex than belief or non-belief in a denominational religion. The childhood home environment doubtless remained highly significant to the development of the self, including the matter of resistance-vulnerability to problem drinking.

Definitions of Liquor

As indicated earlier, the definitions of liquor submitted by these 38 college men left something to be desired. This was an effort to separate the social drinkers from the personal-effects drinkers by their own conceptions of alcohol, the supposition being that the problem drinker would tend to give a personal-effects definition of liquor instead of a social-use definition. Examples of the answers to this question have been included in a few of the previously reported summaries. However, it required considerable intuition to divine the meaning of some of the responses. With this qualification in mind, the results can be summarized thus: More than 90 per cent of those who were not problem drinkers gave social-purpose definitions of liquor, whereas 66 per cent of the problem drinkers defined liquor for its personal effects. This outcome supplies a little more evidence that alcohol tended to mean something different to the problem drinker than to the social drinker.

Attitudes about Authority

Several answers to the question about college authority have been quoted in various individual descriptions of subjects. Here the 38 answers have been evaluated either as accepting of college authority or as critical of this authority, and these results are correlated below with the drinking behavior of the subjects. Those who were indifferent about college authority were counted with the more enthusiastic approvers. Although the method was crude, these results were much easier to handle than the definitions of liquor above. This data is summarized as follows: Roughly 80 per cent of those who were not problem drinkers reported acceptance of college authority, and the remaining 20 per cent were critical. Approximately 40 per cent of the problem drinkers expressed acceptance of college authority, and the other 60 per cent were critical.

A total of twelve men in this group of 38 were critical, and eleven of the twelve were either heavy drinkers or problem drinkers. Yet, curiously, the question about college authority did not relate to the subject of drinking.

Summary of 38 Men Who Reported Intoxication with Friends at the Time of the First Drinking Experience

As has been stated several times, the 38 subjects examined above represent an estimated 35 per cent of the original cross-section of 342 college men who were drinkers. These 38 men became more or less intoxicated with friends - usually in secret - at the time of the first drinking experience. They tended to start drinking at slightly younger ages than others who had the first drink with friends - the peak occurrence

of their first experience came at age 15, and they tended to drink again sooner than others. However, those men in this group who had the first experience before age 16 and who became problem drinkers - eight subjects - revealed a marked tendency to wait for a long interval before drinking again; but at age 16, this tendency to delay the second experience largely disappeared.

Among these 38 men, 42 per cent became moderate consumers and 58 per cent became heavy consumers. Two-thirds of these men did not become problem drinkers, and the other one-third (13 subjects) did become problem drinkers.

The social background material yielded more interesting results. Five of the 38 college men were from farming families; eleven were from working class families; twelve were from business families; and ten were from professional families. None of the men from farms were problem drinkers. The incidence of problem drinkers in the other three family categories were as follows: working class - 27 per cent, business - 42 per cent and professional - 50 per cent.

The complicated data about the drinking practices of parents was gathered into four different types of family environments with respect to drinking. Thus, six families were labeled as disapproving; fourteen were called moderate occasional; twelve were rated as moderate regular; and six families were identified as moderate mothers-excessive fathers. (This grouping of families by their drinking practices was defined more explicitly earlier in this section.) The percentage of problem drinkers within these four different family groups went as follows: disapproving - 33 per cent, moderate occasional - 36 per cent, moderate regular

- 17 per cent and moderate mothers-excessive fathers - 66 per cent.

The foregoing results about family occupations, drinking practices of families and problem drinking sons were gathered so as to reveal a heterogeneous group of college men having a relatively low incidence of problem drinking and another group with a high incidence. Among 25 subjects - this included all of those from farming and working class families and those from business and professional families which were rated as moderate regular drinkers - 20 per cent of such students became problem drinkers. Of the remaining 13 men - all from business and professional families classified either as disapproving of drinking, or as moderate occasional drinkers, or as moderate mothers-excessive fathers - 65 per cent of the 13 became problem drinkers. (Note again that the high incidence group omits those from families that were rated moderate regular drinkers.)

The 20 per cent of problem drinkers in this larger mixed group of 25 men accounts for an estimated 4.6 per cent of the original cross-section of college men who drink. The 65 per cent of problem drinkers in the smaller group of 13 men accounts for an estimated 7.4 per cent of the cross-section.

This separation of the 38 college men into groups manifesting more than a three-fold difference in the rate of problem drinking was largely fortuitous. The exceedingly high rate of problem drinking in the one group from 13 business and professional families calls to mind casualties in a competitive society located where the aspirations and the competition would tend to be the keenest. The business and pro-

fessional status of these families strongly suggests upper middle class strivings.

Eight of the 38 men reported some type of family disruption. In addition to the disruptions, six fathers were rated as excessive drinkers. These various adverse family situations are summarized together now. At most, the results are exploratory, although there is a strong implication that certain of the family backgrounds did predispose to problem drinking.

Six subjects reported adverse family situations as follows, and none of these six men were problem drinkers: three men had experienced the death of one or both parents in childhood. One man was deserted by his parents in infancy and was raised by grandmother; grandfather was an excessive drinker and presumed an alcoholic. The mother of another subject divorced father in early childhood and married again two years later. The sixth man in this list of those who were not problem drinkers had a father who was an excessive drinker.

Five other men reported they were problem drinkers and described family disruptions and/or excessive drinking by a parent as follows: In one case the father divorced the mother when the subject was a small child, and then this student spent the next five years in an orphanage; then father married again and re-established a home, but the father was himself an excessive drinker and presumed an alcoholic. Another subject reported extreme discord between parents and excessive drinking by his father, who was presumed an alcoholic. A third man in this list of problem drinkers also reported extreme discord between his

parents but neither parent had a problem with alcohol. The last two men on this list described their fathers as excessive drinkers.

These results on family disruptions and parental drinking behavior suggest that the death of a parent and even divorce need not necessarily predispose the child to problem drinking. On the other hand, unresolved discord between parents during childhood appeared to increase the vulnerability, and an excessive drinking parent likewise tended to increase this vulnerability.

Active church membership as a sign of acceptance of an organized religion varied greatly. In this group of 38 college men, 40 per cent of those who were not problem drinkers reported active church membership, whereas only 15 per cent of the problem drinkers reported active membership. (Among those described earlier who had the first drink with family members, approximately two-thirds reported active church membership.) This marked tendency of the problem drinker to abandon denominational religion - if he ever had any religion in the first place - appears to involve more than the usual questionings and re-evaluations of beliefs that are likely to occur during the college years. It suggests that a painful clash between the self and the expectations of religion already exists.

The problem drinkers were much more likely than others to give a personal effects definition of liquor such as drinking to counteract boredom, or to relax, or to overcome tension, and - perhaps with much irrelevance - a few men moralized about the evils and dangers of excess. As it were, the problem drinkers had been introduced already to a marvelous problem-solving device.

The critical attitudes of some problem drinkers (and some heavy drinkers) in regard to college authority can be explained only in part as the result of past disciplinary actions. Somewhat less than one-half of these sensitive individuals had seen the dean by request. This sensitivity to authority suggests that they had difficulties in accepting responsibility and overcoming adolescent immaturity.

Chapter V
Emergence of Problem Drinking
- review section -

Now and then a young man announces for all to hear: "I Like to drink. Everybody drinks. Liquor never caused me any problem." Others drink on occasion without feeling the need to make a stand, nor does it matter to them if drinks are not available. A heavy drinker remarked, "Liquor should be used in moderation. When it becomes a necessity, I no longer want any part of it." This man, a college student, drank more frequently than once a week and usually got "high." In addition, he recalled two blackouts, and doubtless he found alcohol attractive. Perhaps he will manage his drinking indefinitely - who knows?

This paper reviews a study of Montana college men - a search for early signs of problem drinking and some possible antecedents. With great regularity students reported, "My friends drink like I do." Such answers suggest an aversion to being looked upon as different. Yet they provoke other speculations. How importantly does the friendship clique affect individual drinking behavior? Or do those who already want to drink in a certain way search out each other? As might be expected, the findings do not exactly support this alleged similarity. The proposition is advanced that one has a concept about alcohol even before the first drink which tends to affect the trend of his subsequent drinking behavior.

Ullman (2) uncovered highly significant differences in the first experience between a sample of alcoholic men and a sample of college men with respect to the following variables: recall of the first drink, companions, place, effect, age and time until the second experience. He

found that the alcoholic usually remembered this event, usually drank with friends and not with family members - frequently in an odd place, often became intoxicated and was likely to begin in adolescence although sometimes later. On the other hand, the college man was less inclined to remember this drink, was more likely to have it with family members or in some other social setting, was not very apt to become intoxicated and tended to have this first drink in adolescence or, in some instances, with the family in childhood. The time until the second experience varied greatly in both of Ullman's samples although the college men tended to somewhat shorter intervals than the alcoholics.

The present investigation was initiated with a survey of the first drinking experience of a random sample of 342 drinkers using Ullman's questionnaire. The 342 users constituted 84 per cent of the students approached - not an exceptional figure on the prevalence of drinking as such estimates for college men go. Then the later drinking and social background of 49 selected students was investigated. In addition, the first experience of 167 older men and women who began to drink years ago was examined. The latter work has been fully presented in Appendix III, and this report compares moderate drinkers with "confirmed" alcoholics.

Enrolled college women were not sampled. Straus and Bacon (6) - and others - have shown that drinking in adolescence tends to be an activity of males rather than of females. This calls to mind an estimate by Keller and Efron (5) published in 1955, which states that for every 5.5 alcoholic men in America, one woman is an alcoholic. Some of the more recent estimates of alcoholism suggest that the sex difference may not be as sharp as this ratio indicates.

First Drinking Experience of the College Men

Recall

Seventy-three per cent of the Montana men remembered the first drink. This rate of recall was eight per cent higher than Ullman (2) found with his sample of college men. In another investigation of students, Ullman (4) reported that memory of the first experience tends to correlate with ethnic groups having higher rates of alcoholism, and that no memory of this event tends to correlate with other ethnic groups having lower rates of alcoholism. This unimpressive eight per cent difference suggests, nevertheless, that the Montana sample had a somewhat greater representation from ethnic groups with the higher rates such as Irish, second generation or more American, English and Scandinavian.

During interviews, those who reported intoxication at the time of the first experience remembered the occasion vividly and were keenly responsive about their subsequent drinking as if this topic were an important personal matter. Such alertness applied especially to those who were already having certain peculiar results that will be described. As to others who reported no intoxication, these men usually had little to say about their drinking, and some of them displayed more interest in finishing the interview. The other five items in the questionnaire about the first experience are examined now.

The many combinations of companions and places that students described were sorted and gathered into three classifications, thus: With the Family, Open with Friends and Secret with Friends. Open with Friends means away from the family with a friend and his family or at

some other type of social gathering. Less than one per cent of users reported that they had the first drink in a public bar, and such events were also rated as Open.

Secret with Friends - as employed here - signifies with peers and separated from parents and other supervision. Those situations that were classified as Secret were restricted to the following: at home when other family members were absent, in a car, in a town away from home, in an isolated place and alone. Only two and six-tenths per cent of all those reporting had the first experience alone.

The random sample is handled below as two separate groups: one headed No Intoxication and the other headed Intoxication. The various percentage figures shown in connection with the first experience mean incidence with respect to the cross-section of 342 drinkers. The information about this event, however, comes from the 73 per cent who recalled. Students who did not recall the first drink are distributed in proportionate numbers among the three divisions of No Intoxication. The tendency to forget this event suggests casualness and a lack of emotional involvement at the time. Under Intoxication, the results are fully supported by questionnaire data.

No Intoxication - First Experience

As nearly as could be estimated, 63 per cent of the random sample felt no intoxicating effect the first time they drank. This figure takes into account all who reported no intoxication (N=124) and all who reported no recall (N=91). The distribution of this 63 per cent by the three classifications of companions and circumstances is constructed as follows from the incomplete data:

Sixty-three Per Cent of Drinkers
Who Felt No Intoxication - First Experience
N=215

With the Family	35% approx.
Open with Friends	12% approx.
Secret with Friends	16% approx.

In the family group above, age at the time of the first experience ranged from early childhood through adolescence with a somewhat greater frequency during the teenages. Certainly no particular age stood out as the favored time for the first drink. The open experiences took place chiefly between ages 14 and 19 - none in childhood, and they distributed more or less evenly over this period. These latitudes as to age agree with the matter of adult supervision which was generally the case among the family and open experiences. The importance of this connection between ages at random and supervision becomes more understandable after the secret drinkers are considered below. Although the company of older people might tend to obscure the actual inclinations of subjects, these first experiences with no intoxication suggest tendencies to accept supervision and low levels of interest in drinking.

No intoxication with peers in secret had a different appearance with a sharp peak incidence of 59 per cent of these events coming at age 16 - 17. These men tended to have the first drink later than others who became intoxicated in secret as if responding to external pressures rather than their own motivation. And it is evident that these students did not take advantage of such opportunities to test intoxication.

The time until the second experience varied greatly within each of the three no intoxication categories. Compared to the others who reported intoxication, these men were inclined toward long intervals,

which suggest that drinking, for them, was not especially appealing. At one extreme, over 80 per cent of those in the family group who reported no intoxication the first time waited months or years before drinking again. At the opposite extreme, 43 per cent of those who got drunk in secret also waited for such long periods, but the other 57 per cent of the latter group drank again within one week.

Intoxication - First Experience

The other 37 per cent of users in the random sample reported that they became more or less intoxicated at the time of the first experience. Most of these men described this condition as becoming high or drunk, but a few answered only that they felt good or became dizzy. Hence, the word intoxication is used loosely in this paper to cover a wide range of effect. Becoming drunk is shown below as reported, and lesser effects are gathered under the caption, Some Intoxication. The distribution of this 37 per cent of the cross-section by companions and circumstances follows:

Thirty-seven Per Cent of Drinkers
Who Reported Intoxication - First Experience

		<u>Some Intoxication</u>	<u>Drunk</u>
With the Family	N=17	4%	1%
Open with Friends	N=27	6%	1%
Secret with Friends	N=83	14%	11%

Several students in the five per cent above who became intoxicated with the family called attention to special occasions such as weddings and family reunions. Perhaps this little group was affected more than others by exceptional circumstances.

The remaining 32 per cent above reported open and secret first experiences that resembled the prevailing type of event described by Ullman's alcoholics - intoxication with friends, separated from the family, often in an unusual place. More than three-fourths of this 32 per cent had the first experience in secret. Such circumstances suggest high motivation, peer group escapades, tensions and stressful consequences. This calls to mind the opinion sometimes expressed by the alcoholic that signs of the problem began to appear at the outset.

The age data reported by the 25 per cent above who became intoxicated in secret is examined separately now with similar age data from the other no intoxication subjects who also had the first drink with peers in secret.

First Experience with Friends in Secret - Age and Intoxicating Effect

Approximately 41 per cent of the random sample had the first experience with peers in secret. This figure is based on the 25 per cent above who reported intoxication in secret, another nine per cent who reported no intoxication in secret, and an uncertain seven per cent from the no recall category:

First Experience with Friends in Secret			
Intoxicating Effect and Age at the Time of the Peak Incidence			
		Age	<u>Peak Incidence</u>
No Intoxication	N=22	16-17	59%
Some Intoxication	N=42	15-16	50%
Drunk	N=29	14-15	45% *

*In Chapter II, these 93 who reported secret experiences were separated at age 16, and a test of probability was computed in which the fraction that got drunk was compared with the remainder. Chi square came out 7.80, and P was less than .01. (This and other probability tests in this paper have been set up with one degree of freedom and figured from the actual numbers.)

Those who had the first experience in secret early in the teenages tended to become intoxicated, while others who had this drink in such situations and somewhat later tended to avoid intoxication. Straus and Bacon (6) observed that the heavy consumers in college were likely to begin sooner than others. Before age 16, relatively small numbers took part in these peer group adventures, while - for many others - it seems probable that such early experiments did not come to mind or were regarded as inappropriate. At about age 16 these exclusive occasions with friends became much more commonplace.

This completes the survey of the first drinking experience. The results suggest that impressions about alcohol at that time may have considerable effect on the nature of the event - that in some cases the intentions actually determine the circumstances.

First Drinking Experience and Dropout

It was found that certain men were no longer enrolled when interviews of selected students were conducted during the school term that immediately followed the quarter when information about the first experience was collected. Dropout was explored by comparing this factor with the degree of intoxication reported on the questionnaire in regard to the first experience:

No Intoxication	With the Family	N=47	4%	Dropout
No Intoxication	With Friends	N=45	4%	"
Some Intoxication	With Friends	N=41	10%	
Drunk	With Friends	N=35	17% *	

* P less than .02

The dropouts could not be attributed to grade point deficiencies although some of these men were short. Graduation was not an answer in

any instance, and neither did low I.Q. nor dismissal apply. The rate of dropout among those who got drunk reached sharp statistical significance. This complex matter needs considerably more investigation.

First Experience and Later Drinking of Selected College Men

Eleven students who reported no intoxication with family members and 38 others who became intoxicated with friends at the time of the first experience were interviewed about subsequent drinking and social background.

The methods of Straus and Bacon (6) were employed to examine the later drinking behavior, and the procedures deal with alcohol consumption and warning signs. Working definitions of Moderate, Heavy and Problem drinkers are given below. As the meaning conveyed by these words may vary considerably, it is essential to specify their discretionary usage in this paper.

Moderate Drinker

The following ways of drinking were labeled moderate: drinks less frequently than once a month and at times gets high, drinks more often than once a month and consumes only one or two average-sized drinks each time, or drinks such small amounts infrequently.

Heavy Drinker

The minimum chosen to classify as a heavy drinker was enough alcohol to experience an intoxicating effect on two occasions - as a rule - each month. Actually, most of those identified as heavy drinkers regularly consumed enough to get "high" once a week, and a smaller number drank like this more frequently.

Problem Drinker

The working definition of the problem drinker was based on the repetition of warning signs. The Straus and Bacon list (6) of such signs was used, and most of the items on this list are specified in a few summary examples of individuals included later on. Evaluation of the warning sign data ties to the count of occurrences, whether as the same behavior repeated- or as an accumulation of different types of signs. To illustrate: one fight while drinking and one morning drink were arbitrarily regarded as having the same importance as, say, two blackouts.

A preliminary check of the warning sign data revealed that a number of men reported no such occurrences or not more than three. Others described in excess of six; and as it turned out, no student reported either four or five of these happenings. In the repetitious category, the group average was not six occurrences per man - but ten. More than six of these warning sign events, therefore, was taken as evidence that a process of unpleasant consequences due to drinking had begun, and subjects reporting such repetition were rated as problem drinkers.

The later drinking behavior of our two selections of the first drinking experience is outlined below:

<u>Later Drinking Behavior</u>		<u>First Drinking Experience</u>	
		<u>No Intoxication With the Family</u>	<u>Intoxication With Friends</u>
		N=11	N=38
Moderate	N=25	82%	42%
Heavy	N=10	9%	24%
Problem	N=14	<u>9%</u>	<u>34%</u>
		18%	58% *

* chi square = 5.392, P less than .05

No Intoxication with the Family - First Experience and Later Drinking

The family group above shows a low incidence of heavy drinking and problem drinking as compared to the friends group. As to age at the time of the first drink and the interval until the second experience, these men were similar to the larger numbers in the random sample who reported no intoxication with family members. Thus, ages distributed capriciously, and these men tended to have the first drink even earlier than was the case among those who got drunk with peers in secret. (All interview subjects were selected so as to be over age ten at the time of the first experience.) Most of the subjects in this family group waited months or years before drinking again, and apparently - family patterns of regular drinking were not common. These men were the same students who were inclined to treat the subject of drinking as an impersonal matter during interviews. They formed a small, selected fraction of the many who had no effect first experiences, and it has been shown that such drinkers tended to have a low rate of dropout.

Nevertheless, one of the eleven became a heavy drinker and another became a problem drinker. The heavy drinker reported uneventful drinking except for a single blackout. A summary about the problem drinker follows:

Number 40 - age 19 - had the first experience with the family at age 10, drank about three ounces of rum, reported no intoxication and had the second experience one week later. This man became a heavy drinker, and by the following warning signs he classified as a problem drinker: drunk alone six times and the morning drink on three occasions. - - - When he was 11, mother - a restaurant owner and operator - divorced father, and she married again one year later. The student declined to discuss his father. Mother and stepfather were moderate occasional drinkers. The subject attended Sunday school for about five years during childhood - was not an active church member at interview time. He said, "I like to drink. I used to drink quite a bit, but not any more." This remark sounded like a hope rather than a fact, and this young man seemed tense, unhappy and lonely.

Intoxication with Friends - First Experience and Later Drinking

The other group of 38 students - see above - who became intoxicated with friends the first time they drank revealed much higher rates of heavy drinking and problem drinking. With the help of the results on later drinking, the particular type of first experience most implicated with these higher rates can be identified further. This takes into account the open - secret variable and age at the time of the first experience. These two items were not used as criteria in the initial selection of subjects. In addition, curious results about the interval until the second experience turned up.

Thirty-two of the 38 men became intoxicated in secret, and the other six reported open first experiences. Among the six, four became moderate drinkers; one became a heavy drinker; and one other became a problem drinker. As to the reconstituted groups to be shown later on, these six students who reported intoxication away from the family in social situations are to be shifted to the family group.

Interesting refinements involving age, the time until the second experience and later drinking behavior are worked out below. In our group of 38 men, no sharp differences in the first experience were apparent between the heavy drinkers and the problem drinkers. Hence, these men are handled as a single category now. The age data is examined separately first:

<u>Later Drinking Behavior</u>		<u>Age at the Time of the First Experience</u>		
		10-14	15-16	17-18
Moderate	N=16	19%	50%	31%
Heavy and Problem	N=22	36%	59%	5% *

* Before and after age 17: P less than .05

In this selection of 38 men who reported intoxication with friends, those who became heavy drinkers or problem drinkers tended to have the first experience earlier in adolescence than the others who became moderate drinkers. One-third of the heavy and problem category had the first drink before age 15, and almost the total of the remaining two-thirds of such drinkers had the first experience before the end of the sixteenth year. Age 17, therefore, was chosen as another demarcation for the reconstituted sample shown below.

As to the time until the second experience, the results are presented here with the two divisions of drinking behavior separated at age 16:

<u>Later Drinking Behavior</u>	<u>Time Until the Second Experience</u>					
		<u>First Exp. before Age 16</u>		<u>First Exp. after Age 16</u>		
		<u>Within One Week</u>	<u>After One Week</u>	<u>Within One Week</u>	<u>After One Week</u>	
Moderate	N=7	43%	57%	N=9	33%	66%
Heavy and Problem	N=14	21%	79%	N=8	75%	25% *

* Heavy and Problem only: P less than .02

The moderate drinkers above reported intervals until the second experience that varied from a few days to more than a year with no apparent relationship to age. The erratic nature of these time periods tends to agree with casualness about the drinking and arrangements in the hands of others. As shown previously, the moderate drinkers tended to have the first drink later than the heavy drinkers and problem drinkers.

On the other hand, a prolonged interval until the second experience was not unusual for those heavy and problem drinkers who had the first experience around the beginning of adolescence. For example, one problem drinker got "high" at age 12 and did not drink again until age 16. A heavy

drinker consumed a pint of whiskey at age ten - then had the next drink at age 14. As age advanced, the second experiences of these heavy drinkers and problem drinkers came at much shorter intervals. By the sixteenth year, the second occasion was more likely to take place within a few days, and none of these men waited longer than three months.

First Experiences Regrouped and Later Drinking

The clandestine first experiences in early adolescence hardly would be possible if there were not also a momentum toward these in advance. The desire for seclusion, no doubt, was a matter of convenience. One gets the impression that increased effort to "stamp out" such behavior is likely to induce greater secrecy rather than change the behavior. In secret, we recall, was limited to the following situations: at home when other family members were absent, in a car, in a town away from home, in an isolated place and alone. The results below obtain with the first experiences regrouped as indicated.

<u>Later Drinking Behavior</u>	<u>First Drinking Experience</u>	
	<u>No Intox. with Family Members Intox. at Other Social Gatherings Intox. with Peers in Secret after Age 17.</u>	<u>Intoxication with Peers in Secret Previous to Age 17</u>
	N=21	N=28
Moderate N=25	<u>81%</u>	<u>29%</u>
Heavy N=10	10%	29%
Problem N=14	<u>10%</u>	<u>43%</u>
	20%	72% *

*chi square - 13.193, P less than .001

These remarkable results are transformed now into cross-section estimates. The mixed group of 21 first experiences represents 78 per cent of all drinkers, and the count of 21 makes up eight per cent of this large fraction. The other 28 comes from the remaining 22 per cent of the random sample, and these men constitute 38 per cent of this latter portion:

First Drinking Experience - 342 College Men

<u>Estimated Cross-section Incidence of Subsequent Drinking Behavior</u>	<u>All Experiences That Do Not Conform to the Definition Which Heads the Other Column</u>	<u>Intoxication with Peers in Secret Previous to Age 17</u>	<u>Totals</u>
Moderate	63.2%	6.3%	69.5%
Heavy	7.4%	6.3%	13.7%
Problem	7.4%	9.4%	16.8%
Totals	78.0%	22.0%	100.0%

The sample - regrouped, achieves more complete separation into one fraction as recipients of the first drink and the other as the planners. The 78 per cent of the cross-section with the high incidence of moderate drinkers accepted the first drink - as a rule - and in widely varied circumstances either from parents or other adults or peers. Those individuals who became heavy drinkers or problem drinkers were definitely exceptions to the prevailing trend in this division of the sample.

The other 22 per cent who became intoxicated with friends on secret escapades previous to age 17 looks like a separate species. Seventy-two per cent of these men were either heavy drinkers or problem drinkers at college time, and this minor segment of the random sample accounts for an estimated 56 per cent of all the problem drinkers.

Examples of Problem Drinkers

Number 41 - age 19. This man had the first experience with friends in secret at age 16, consumed eight cans of beer, got drunk and had the second experience three months later. He became a heavy drinker and was classified a problem drinker from the following warning signs: missed classes once due to drinking, lost a job once for the same reason, drinks sometimes in anticipation of not getting enough, blackouts on several occasions, drunk alone once and the morning drink twice. He has wondered if he might become addicted to alcohol.

The father of Number 41 was a railroad dispatcher. Father and mother maintained an established home, and the student reported a happy childhood. Both parents were moderate occasional drinkers. The subject attended Sunday school for ten years - was an inactive church member at the time of the interview. He said, "Liquor in moderation promotes friendship, but is ruinous in excess." He stated that he has rejected his childhood religion, but expects to join his future wife's church for the benefit of the children. He felt that college authority was necessary for the smooth operation of the university.

Number 43 - age 19. This subject had the first experience at age 15 with friends in secret, drank one pint of whiskey and said that he got high. He had the second experience about one month later. This man became a heavy drinker and reported more warning sign material than any other subject interviewed: arrested once for disturbing the peace, arrested once for stealing beer, reprimanded by the dean about drinking once, has foregone other needs to buy liquor about six times in the last year, has been short of money due to drinking about six times in the last year, blackout once, drunk alone twice, the morning drink about seven times in the last year, fighting when drinking twice and property destruction twice.

The father of Number 43 was a medical doctor, an excessive drinker; and on several occasions father disappeared from home for weeks at a time. The subject reported that there was on-going discord between his parents, and that the family and the medical practice had been relocated in seven different communities. The subject had this to say: "I want to know how to handle alcoholic beverages. I enjoy drinking beer very much. I want to make my family proud of me, and I want to help them as much as they have helped me." On college authority he said, "It doesn't interfere with me because I haven't gotten into any trouble except once. If the regulations weren't enforced, the college would be a mess."

Number 47 - age 19. This man had the first experience with friends in secret at age 13, drank four cans of beer and got drunk, then drank again within one week. He became a heavy drinker and was

rated as a problem drinker with warning signs as follows: missed classes twice due to drinking, arrested once for under-age drinking, two-day drinking bouts about twelve times and fighting when drinking three times.

The father of Number 47 was foreign-born and a U.S. Air Force officer. During childhood the family moved frequently, and father was away at times on extended overseas duty. Mother was unhappy about the military service and the constant moving. Extreme discord was on-going between mother and father. "On top of this," he said, "father tried to apply Air Force discipline at home." In other ways also, this student expressed intense resentment of his father. Both parents were moderate occasional drinkers. The subject never had any church connection. At age 14 he left home and has stayed away most of the time since. He said, "I drink when there is nothing else to do or sometimes just for relaxation." And, "College authority tries to control my actions; it means well but is not too successful."

Opinions About Drinking

Views such as the following were common among the moderate drinkers: "Liquor is unimportant to me." "I like an occasional social drink." "I have no great need for alcohol; it just seems to add something to life." Only these users thought of alcohol in terms of one drink sometimes.

The heavy drinkers tended to have different notions: "I drink to get high and have fun." "Excessive drinking can ruin a person, but I believe alcohol in moderation causes no harm." Another heavy drinker had this to say: "I enjoy social drinking, but when it gets beyond this stage I usually leave. When I reach the nondriving stage, I quit. I see nothing wrong with moderate drinking, and it should be taught at home."

The problem drinkers resembled the heavy drinkers except that a few of these men also identified alcohol clearly as a remedy for tension: "Liquor can be used for relaxation or as a means to release pent-up emotions and overcome tension." "Drinking is a way for me to relieve

the tensions and problems that seem to be on my mind." Another problem drinker who reported more than 12 blackouts stated, "Liquor provides a means to spend a sociable evening with my friends." One other problem drinker remarked, "I drink every once in a while; liquor should be used in moderation."

The opinions of the heavy drinkers and problem drinkers often sounded like efforts to justify or explain the drinking, and several of these men advised against drinking too much. At the same time, most of them were self-styled "moderate drinkers" or, anyway, "average social drinkers." Rarely did any of these men wonder if there might be a connection between the current behavior and their eventual drinking.

Attitude About College Authority

The moderate drinkers tended to approve of college authority, and some were hardly aware that any existed. The heavy drinkers, in more cases than not, held similar views. In sharp contrast to this, several problem drinkers and a few heavy drinkers had other sentiments. For example: "To be put up with." "Students don't need to be watched all the time." "Rules are for those who haven't grown up." Yet only one-half of these critical students ever had been called to the dean's office. Such sensitivity to authority calls to mind emotional immaturity.

Drinking Behavior and Social Background of the Selected College Men

The social background material from the 49 subjects explores the following items: family disruption, family example in regard to drinking, attitude of the subject on religion, and occupational status of the family.

Family Disruption

Fourteen students in all reported one or more of the following childhood family situations: death of a parent, divorce, on-going discord between parents, and excessive drinking - with signs of alcoholism reported in some cases.

As to six of the 25 moderate drinkers, four reported deaths, and the other two reported divorces that took place in early childhood. From superficial observation, none of these men appeared to suffer lasting ill effects.

Among the ten heavy drinkers, one described his father as an excessive drinker, and one other reported a divorce when he was age 14 and an "alcoholic" father.

With six of the 14 problem drinkers, there had been disruptive family situations as follows: one - divorce when the subject was age 11; two - divorce in early childhood, father had custody, children's home for five years, and father was presumed an alcoholic; three - and four - fathers were excessive drinkers; five - unremitting discord only; and six - unremitting discord and a presumed alcoholic father. Surely these situations point up the destructiveness of excessive drinking and of feuds between parents.

Family Example in Regard to Drinking

Families were rated thus: disapprove, moderate, or excessive. This rating was based on the attitude or behavior of that parent who was judged to manifest the most prominent family feature about drinking. The basis for disapproval in the few families so rated was either reaction to the behavior, sometimes with religious overtones, or just

casual advice, and its intensity seemed to vary greatly according to the drinking behavior of the subjects. With families classified as moderate below, this signifies "within social limits", and this includes a few parents who were described as moderate drinkers who get high infrequently. Certain noteworthy implications turned up in spite of the foregoing qualifications.

Under disapprove, it was the mother and sometimes both parents who held this view. As to moderate and excessive, these captions in all cases identify the drinking behavior of the father. No mother was described as an excessive drinker. Under moderate, the mother sometimes drank like the father, but more often she drank less, and in a few instances the mother was a nondrinker. Hence, mothers tended to show less interest in drinking than fathers.

<u>Drinking Behavior of Subject at College Time</u>		<u>Family Example in Regard to Drinking</u>			
		Disapprove	Moderate	Excessive	Totals
Moderate	N=25	20%	80%		100%
Heavy	N=10		80%	20%	100%
Problem	N=14	14%	57%	29%	100%

The corollary above - moderate subjects from moderate families - suggests tendencies to follow family concepts of drinking. Several such users reported that their parents and themselves regularly avoided signs of intoxication. This calls to mind emotional stability - at least insofar as the sedative drug effect of alcohol was not attractive either to the parents or the students. This relationship further suggests that the conception of drinking and the basic personality of the moderate user tended to be of one piece and largely a product of the childhood home

environment. These moderate drinkers were the same students who had the first drink by chance with family members - or not with family members - when somebody else managed the arrangements.

The heavy drinkers and problem drinkers from the moderate and disapproving families surely had ideas about alcohol that did not originate at home. Even if the remaining subjects from excessive families tended to emulate the excessive parent, all of these men drank in ways that were hardly intended to meet with family approval. The problem drinkers call to mind considerable emotional tension, whereas signs of such tension were largely absent among the heavy drinkers. Whatever the social reasons at college time, all consumed alcohol for the effect, and they found occasions to drink quite regularly about once a week.

The heavy drinkers and problem drinkers formed an estimated 30 per cent of the random sample (page 112), and as noted above, they were disposed to turn from the example of moderation which was often the case at home. One-half of these men had been in a hurry to try intoxication at the outset with friends in secret. This special type of first experience attracted 46 per cent of the heavy drinkers and 56 per cent of the problem drinkers as estimated for the entire cross-section of users.

Undoubtedly the level of basic personality adjustment tended to affect notions about alcohol before the first drink. A good many of those in the 30 per cent of drinkers who derived magic effects - more or less - planned the first experience as if they already knew that intoxication, for them was the desired result. In advance of the first drink, these men call to mind adolescents afflicted with feelings of

boredom, unhappiness or inadequacy who were fascinated by the prevailing stories about drinking and the adventures of certain admired "elders." The latter were not likely family members - but young men sometimes no more than a few years older who "knew how to hold their liquor." In this the heavy drinkers and problem drinkers tended to ascribe to the going body of mythology about alcohol which seemed to have as its central purpose the justification of the drinking to themselves - perhaps to others.

The Attitude of the Subject on Religion

Drinking behavior is correlated below with "active" or "not active" church membership. Under "not active," many reported inactive membership, and small numbers in each category of drinker reported no past nor present connection with any religion.

<u>Drinking Behavior at College Time</u>		<u>Church Membership at College Time Active</u>	<u>Not Active</u>
Moderate	N=25	48%	52%
Heavy	N=10	50%	50%
Problem	N=14	14%	86% *

* P less than .05

The moderate drinkers, often as not, were active church members, and such was the case with the heavy drinkers also. Perhaps these men were inclined to accept family views on religion. Whatever else may have affected church membership, all subjects - including the problem drinkers - must have felt the impact of changing values associated with life at college.

The problem drinkers, however, shunned religion as though antipathy for the proponents of spiritual values were almost a regular mark of such drinkers. For some, this looked like a personal matter. With

others, it seemed to be a family trait. The tendency to avoid religion that was so common with the problem drinkers suggests, for instance, defensiveness - rebelliousness - feelings of guilt.

Occupational Status of the Family

Students were separated into one group from farming and working families, and a second group from business and professional families. This was in fact a random and unselected sampling with respect to family occupational status. This division by occupation of the head of the family is compared now with the drinking behavior of the students.

<u>Drinking Behavior at College Time</u>		<u>Occupational Status of the Family</u>	
		<u>Farming - Working</u> N=21	<u>Business-Professional</u> N=28
Moderate	N=25	56%	44%
Heavy	N=10	40%	60%
Problem	N=14	21%	79% *

*Between moderate and problem: P less than .05

The much larger contribution of problem drinkers from business and professional families calls attention to the likelihood of greater predisposition to anxiety among such families than would tend to be the case with farming or working parents whose sons go to college. The conclusion finds support in the tendency of business and professional families to aspire to the standards of the upper middle class where the competition is sharp and instability is considerable. Kahl (24) specifies the successful long term career as the central feature of upper middle class status. The results imply that a feeling of doubt or confusion over class identity was at least one of the sources of insecurity that tended to affect the problem drinkers more than others.

FIRST DRINKING EXPERIENCE
MIDDLE-AGED MEN AND WOMEN

The first drinking experience - many years ago - had striking similarity to this event as reported by the college men. Information was collected from older men and women with the help of various individuals, and many of the returns were received by mail. This time, the questionnaire provided for the self-evaluation of drinking behavior through the choice of one of the following statements: 1. I am a moderate drinker and seldom, if ever, get high. 2. I drink quite regularly and sometimes get high. 3. My drinking became a serious personal problem.

Only the "moderate drinkers" and the alcoholics were investigated. Others who selected - "I drink quite regularly and sometimes get high" were by-passed as unreliable.

Close to one-half of the 158 subjects examined below had the first drink when National Prohibition was still in effect - before 1934. With a total of 86 who were alcoholic, 62 were members of A.A., and 24 were under treatment for alcoholism at Montana State Hospital. In regard to other criteria, this sample was gathered quite at random. Appendix III covers the first experience of these middle-aged subjects in more detail.

<u>Middle-aged Men and Women</u>		<u>First Drinking Experience</u>	
		<u>All Occasions Except Intoxication With Peers in Secret</u>	<u>Intoxication With Peers in Secret</u>
Moderate Women	N=26	88%	12%
Moderate Men	N=46	74%	26%
Alcoholic Women	N=16	63%	37%
Alcoholic Men	N=70	37%	63% *

* 66 per cent during National Prohibition, and
57 per cent after Repeal.
Chi square = 27.41 - df = 3 - P less than .001

The middle-aged women who were moderate drinkers usually had the first drink at home or in another social setting. Almost without exception, they had been passive recipients of the first drink, and over one-half of them began to drink after age 21. The older men who were moderate drinkers resembled the moderate women, even though one-fourth of these men had the first experience with friends in secret with some degree of intoxication, and most of them - 83 per cent - had the first drink before age 21.

The alcoholic women were shifted, more than the foregoing subjects, to secret first experiences with intoxication, and all had taken the first drink before age 21. With the alcoholic men, 66 per cent of those who began to drink during Prohibition also became intoxicated in secret on the first occasion, and after Repeal - 57 per cent had such first experiences. (In the sample of college men, 56 per cent of the problem drinkers became intoxicated with peers in secret before age 17.) These middle-aged alcoholic men, with a single exception, were already drinking long before age 21.

Of those alcoholic men who became intoxicated with peers in secret, 84 per cent had this first experience before age 18, and the remaining

16 per cent began to drink between ages 18 and 20. Compared to the problem drinkers among the college men, it looks like the secret affairs with friends some 20 to 35 years ago tended to occur a little later in adolescence.

As was evidently the case with certain college men, much the same mechanism based on ignorance, myths and misleading examples was at work years ago providing impetus to the vulnerable even before the first drink. Surely the addicted were major contributors to alcoholism in two different ways. The home environment with alcoholism undoubtedly tends to predispose family members to a variety of emotional problems. Separate from this, the young man or woman who is heading towards alcoholism may set a deceptive example, for a time, of confidence and life fulfillment that derives from the magic effect.

SUMMARY

The first drinking experience of 342 college men and additional material from 49 selected students were examined.

First Experience of the Moderate Drinkers

Approximately 70 per cent of users were moderate drinkers, and a large majority of these men felt no intoxication at the time of the first experience. Many had this drink in adolescence with the family or with other adults - or less frequently - in childhood with the family. A lesser number of moderate drinkers experienced no intoxication with peers in secret, and these students tended to have this drink in late adolescence - an age period that contrasted significantly with the earlier

period of other students who became intoxicated with friends in secret. Such circumstances suggest that the moderate drinkers generally were passive recipients of the first drink. From the outset, these men tended to treat alcohol as an incidental item of little personal consequence.

First Experience of the Heavy Drinkers and Problem Drinkers

As to the remaining 30 per cent of users, nearly 14 per cent (of all users) were heavy drinkers, and almost 17 per cent were problem drinkers. Six per cent (of all users) as heavy drinkers and nine per cent as problem drinkers became intoxicated at the time of the first experience with peers in secret previous to age 17 (one-third of these men before age 15 and the other two-thirds at age 15-16). The following situations were rated as secret: at home when other family members were absent, in a car, in a town away from home and in an isolated place. The rest of the heavy drinkers and problem drinkers had the first experience by chance in various supervised social settings. At college time, this estimated 30 per cent of users quite regularly got high about once a week, and these men revealed keen personal interest in the topic of drinking.

First Experience and Dropout

No intoxication at the time of the first experience correlated with a low rate of dropout at college time. On the other hand, intoxication on the first occasion correlated with a significantly higher rate of dropout.

Attitudes and Social Background

The exploration of attitudes and social background considered just a few selected items.

Moderate drinkers and many of the heavy drinkers were inclined to approve of college authority, yet a few heavy drinkers and one-half of the problem drinkers were critical

Moderate users seldom felt any necessity to explain their drinking. Against this, a good many heavy drinkers and problem drinkers offered opinions which suggested the impulse to justify their drinking, and with remarkable uniformity these men viewed themselves as "average social drinkers." Also, a few of the problem drinkers clearly identified alcohol as a means to overcome tension.

Disruptive family situations in childhood - death, discord, divorce, or excessive drinking - were reported in each of the three categories. Close to one-fourth of the moderate users had experienced the death of a parent, or a divorce in early childhood, without apparent serious effects. As it happened, a similar sized fraction of heavy drinkers came from families where there was excessive drinking. With the problem drinkers, 44 per cent reported either on-going discord between parents, or divorce, or excessive drinking, or a combination of these. Nevertheless, only 20 per cent of the heavy drinkers and 29 per cent of the problem drinkers came from families with excessive drinking.

Moderate students were from families that practiced moderate drinking, and the only exceptions to this were certain parents who disapproved. The corollary - moderate subjects from moderate families - suggests emotional stability transmitted by families. As to the heavy drinkers and problem drinkers, the prevailing lack of resemblance between their drinking behavior and that of their families was conspicuous, and

these students call attention to an established way of drinking that was not generally advocated by parents.

One-half of the moderate drinkers and one-half of the heavy drinkers reported active church membership, whereas only 14 per cent of the problem drinkers reported active church membership.

Moderate users came from farming, working, business and professional families, and 44 per cent of the moderate drinkers were from the business and professional. Of the heavy drinkers, 60 per cent came from business and professional families. With the problem drinkers, 79 per cent were from business and professional families.

CONCLUSIONS

The college men who were moderate users - an estimated 70 per cent of the drinkers - generally had been passive recipients of the first drink, and this was served in a wide variety of circumstances - with the family, at other social gatherings and in secret with peers. Nevertheless, remarkably few of these men had the first drink with friends at the secret affairs of early adolescence. Many of them consistently avoided intoxication, and a small number - also rated as moderate - got high occasionally. The moderate drinkers were inclined to accept family standards, and they tended to have greater emotional stability than the others who became intoxicated frequently.

The parents of the moderate students drank in moderation or were non-drinkers as was sometimes the case. As it turned out, not one of these family members was an excessive drinker. Moderate use by families

suggests that the emotional health of the families was actually the primary factor that underlay this way of drinking. No doubt these moderate students tended to follow parental examples of drinking, but this emulation was not likely the fundamental reason for the moderate drinking.

Alcohol for the heavy drinkers and problem drinkers - the other 30 per cent of users - tended to have an uncanny attractiveness in advance of the first experience as if it were already known that intoxication, for them would achieve marvelous effects. Many of these men took matters into their own hands at the outset and became intoxicated with friends on secret escapades in early adolescence. At college time, they practiced frequent heavy drinking, and their behavior was quite unrelated to the prevailing attitudes and drinking practices of their families. Even with a parent who drank to excess, as was the case with only one-fourth of these men, such students recognized little connection between their own behavior and the parental example. Surely the excessive family member tended to create insecurity for other members which, conceivably, could show up as problem drinking or something else. Perhaps the heavy drinkers and certainly the problem drinkers harbored more than average vulnerability to emotional disorders, and all of them ascribed to a "cult" that was devoted to alcohol.

As to the first experience years ago, the situation was much the same. Middle-aged men and women who were moderate drinkers usually had been passive recipients of the first drink. Many of the moderate women did not begin to drink until after age 21, and signs of concern about

the liquor supply were lacking. Others of middle age - both men and women who became alcoholic - tended to be in a hurry to investigate intoxication for themselves in adolescence. And thus the addicted who began to drink a generation ago also joined this "cult" in adolescence.

The findings support the premise that a concept about alcohol in advance of the first experience tends to be relevant to subsequent drinking behavior. The concept, moreover, is likely to conform to basic personality wishes and tends to be the prejudgment about intoxication that is followed later. Hence, the underlying make-up from the childhood background is the decisive antecedent, and the conception before experience tends to be a logical consequence. Preoccupation with plans ahead of time calls to mind the selection of a particular mechanism in response to a felt need - not simply the influence of persuasive friends.

Before the first drink, the students who became heavy drinkers or problem drinkers suggest bored, unhappy or inadequate youths fascinated by tales about drinking and the interesting lives of admired elders sometimes not much older than themselves who had discovered the magic properties of alcohol already. Surely this early notion was inspired by the way of drinking observed in the acceptable environment. The problem drinkers, more than any others, turned from the family and followed the "cult." This mechanism with its impetus before experience is unquestionably a stabilized phenomenon in American society and highly selective for adolescent males who are already predisposed to problem drinking and presumably alcoholism.

The "cult" - as it were - tends to get the attention of those with undifferentiated vulnerability to emotional problems. The example that

is picked up does not appear to come from the family nor even the full-blown alcoholic at home - in case any are there. The relationships between personality and the concept before experience and the marked effects of these variables on drinking behavior need further investigation.

The 30 per cent of drinkers who found this keen satisfaction from alcohol also revealed a readiness to defend the practice, and the justification came out as plausible conjectures, such as: "I drink moderately and have no problem." And, "Excessive drinking can be ruinous, but I know where to draw the line." With the first drink while in high school - or at times when still in grade school - these self-evaluations of behavior tended to adapt so as not to interfere with the drinking, and personal experience - not facts - became the overriding guide.

Without extraordinary gratification, problem drinking would be unlikely. If the "cult" did not exist, then its erstwhile following would turn to other devices to allay their anxieties, and perhaps some would find no recourse except to grow up.

Appendix I

Methods

Questionnaire on the First Drinking Experience

Ullman's questionnaire (2) was used to locate drinkers and gather information about the first experience. The form employed in this Montana study called for the name and address of each respondent. Out of the 407 students who submitted answers, only four or five withheld their names. It was necessary to get names in order to make subsequent contact with those selected for interview.

All sample members were approached for the first time at physical education classes, and the following is a copy of the questionnaire used:

First Drinking Experience

Name _____ Age _____ Date _____

Missoula Address _____ Phone _____

Home Address _____

1. If you do not drink alcoholic beverages in any form, please check here _____ and proceed no further.
2. Do you remember the first drink of an alcoholic beverage you ever had? Yes _____ No _____. If the answer is yes, then proceed.
3. How old were you when you had that first drink? _____
4. What did you drink that first time? What beverage? _____
5. How much? _____
6. Who was with you? (Do not give proper names; but specify relationship to you - family members _____, friends _____, other _____.)
7. Where were you? _____
8. What effect did it have on you? No effect _____; made me feel good, dizzy, high _____; made me drunk _____.
9. Did you get sick? _____
10. How long was it before you had another drink? _____

The later drinking behavior and social background of 49 selected subjects were examined by interview in individual sessions that required approximately one hour each. The remainder of this section describes the areas covered during those interviews, and forms like those reproduced below were used to record data.

The study of later drinking behavior estimated (1) the quantity and frequency of drinking, and (2) the occurrence of warning signs. This part of the work followed methods described by Straus and Bacon (6).

Quantity and Frequency of Drinking

Q-F Index

1. Drinks once a month or less and consumes less than 1.4 oz. absolute alcohol.
2. Drinks once a month or less and consumes more than 1.3 oz. absolute alcohol.
3. Drinks more than once a month but consumes less than 1.4 oz. absolute alcohol.
4. Drinks 2 to 4 times a month and consumes more than 1.3 oz. absolute alcohol.
5. Drinks more than once a week and consumes more than 1.3 oz. absolute alcohol.

The Q-F Index is expressed as a number from 1 to 5 according to the quantity of absolute alcohol consumed and the frequency of consumption described above. It reflects what is average for the individual over a period of time.

To estimate the Q-F Index, the subject was questioned about the amount and kind of beverage he drank and how often. Needed was the best possible estimate of the average quantity each time and the usual

interval between drinking occasions. The amount of beverage was transposed into a quantity of absolute alcohol.

The following schedule gives the arbitrary identification of amounts employed by Straus and Bacon which was utilized also in this work: Less than 1.4 ounces of absolute alcohol is called a Small Amount; 1.4 to 3.0 ounces of absolute is called a Medium Amount; and over 3.0 ounces is a Large Amount. For example, two 12-ounce cans of four per cent beer is a Small Amount. Three cans of beer is a Medium Amount, and six cans of beer is still a Medium Amount, but seven cans makes a Large Amount. Three ounces of 90 proof whiskey is a Small Amount, and four through six ounces of whiskey is a Medium Amount. Seven to fifteen ounces of fortified wine is a Medium Amount.

Warning Signs

The following list of Warning Signs is a slight simplification of the Straus and Bacon list, and it enumerates several types of occurrences that the alcoholic is likely to recall he experienced early in his drinking. The number of times that the subject recalled he experienced each sign was noted.

1. Has drinking ever interfered with your preparation for classes or examinations, or made you miss appointments?
2. Has your drinking ever resulted in accident or injury?
3. Has your drinking ever resulted in loss of a job, arrest, or coming before college authorities?
4. Drinks sometimes in anticipation of not getting enough.
5. Drinks surreptitiously.

6. Feels that a party will not be a success unless alcoholic beverages will be served.
7. The cost of liquor causes him to forego other things.
8. Has been short of money because of drinking.
9. Blackouts
10. Becoming drunk alone.
11. Drinking before or instead of breakfast.
12. Participating, when drinking, in aggressive or wantonly destructive behavior.

Social Background

The outline below was used to record data about social background, and this information is treated in Chapter IV under the following main headings: (1) occupation of the head of the family, (2) drinking practices of parents and friends, (3) family disruption, and (4) attitude of subject on religion. The drinking practices of parents and friends were recorded according to the outline shown below without attempting to apply the Q-F index measurement of consumption in this part of the study. The outline used for this exploration of social background follows:

1. Present Age _____
2. Names of towns in which you were raised
Town _____ State _____
Town _____ State _____
Town _____ State _____
3. Father's occupation _____
4. Father's birth place _____
5. Mother's birth place _____
6. Parents' financial circumstances
 Wealthy Not poor but at most adequate
 Comfortably situated
7. Is your father alive now? yes no
If answer is no, how old were you when he died? _____
8. Is your mother alive now? yes no
If answer is no, how old were you when she died? _____
9. Were your parents living together during your childhood (up to age 16)?
 yes no
If your answer is no, (a) how old were you when they separated? _____
(b) Did the parent with whom you were living re-marry? _____
(c) How old were you when he (she) re-married? _____
10. Childhood home environment
 very happy not very happy
 fairly happy unhappy - many disagreements and quarrels between parents
11. What was the religion in which you were raised? _____
 now active church member now inactive church member
 not now a member of any church
12. Did you attend Sunday school regularly? yes no
If answer is yes, for how many years did you attend Sunday school _____

13. Did most of your friends attend church or Sunday school?
() more than I did () same as I did () less than I did () yes () no

14. Are you married? (), single (), other ().

15. Father's attitude toward drinking

- () non-drinker and disapproving
- () non-drinker but non-disapproving
- () moderate, occasional drinker
- () moderate, regular drinker
- () moderate, regular with occasional intoxication
- () heavy () excessive () alcoholic

16. Mother's attitude toward drinking

- () non-drinker and disapproving
- () non-drinker but not disapproving
- () moderate, occasional drinker
- () moderate, regular drinker
- () moderate, regular with occasional intoxication
- () heavy () excessive () alcoholic

17. Friends' attitude toward drinking (check the one that most nearly applies)

- () non-drinkers and disapproving
- () non-drinkers but not disapproving
- () moderate, occasional drinkers
- () moderate, regular drinkers
- () moderate, regular with occasional intoxication
- () heavy () excessive

In addition to the social background material outlined above, each interview subject was requested to complete in writing the two open-end questions which follow:

Alcohol

What do alcoholic beverages mean to you? How do you define liquor? In answer to the question, 'What is liquor?' make some statement to complete the sentence:

Liquor is -----

College authority

What does college authority mean to you? How would you describe college authority? In answer to the question, 'What does college authority mean to me?' make some statements to complete the sentence:

College authority is -----

Appendix II

The Sample

Lower division men - that is, freshman and sophomore men - in physical education classes at the University of Montana were approached during a winter quarter with Ullman's questionnaire about the first drinking experience. The questionnaire was explained briefly; their cooperation was sought; and they were assured that their answers would be kept confidential. During the spring quarter immediately following, selected respondents were interviewed about their later drinking and social background.

That winter quarter the total lower division male enrollment numbered 1179, and the men in physical education classes came to 719. Others not registered for P. E. included students over age 27, some varsity athletes and a few others. Four hundred thirty-two men - 60 per cent of the P. E. enrollment - were approached with the questionnaire. Four hundred and seven men submitted answers, and the other 25 men - six per cent - either declined to answer or joked about the questionnaire.

A few refusals were not surprising since the questionnaire called for the name and address of the respondent. Perhaps Montana law affected a few men, for the law states that possession of alcoholic beverage by a minor is punishable by fine, jail sentence, or both.

Abstainers and Drinkers

Sixteen per cent - 65 of the 407 respondents - reported they were abstainers, and the other 84 per cent - 342 men - reported they were drinkers.

Recall of the First Drinking Experience

Seventy-three per cent of the drinkers - 251 of the 342 - remembered the first experience, and 27 per cent reported that they did not remember.

Selection of the Sample for Examination of the First Experiences

The following were deleted from the total of 251 men who recalled: 29 students who had the first drink before age ten, nine others who did not answer the questionnaire in sufficient detail, and nine more who had the first drink alone. This left 204 respondents - 81 per cent of all those who remembered - and these men became the study sample used in Chapter II to examine the first drinking experience.

Also in Chapter II, a cross-section construct of the first experience of Montana college men follows the detailed examination of the 204 men identified above. This cross-section estimate ties to the total of 342 respondents who reported they were drinkers. It makes use of the data about the 204 men and other more or less incomplete data from other drinkers.

Additional information about the Montana sample follows. This includes a general description of the sample and comparisons of the first experiences of these men with Ullman's results about the first experience of college men and of alcoholic house of correction inmates. The balance

of Appendix II deals with the total of 251 subjects who recalled. By using this total, the Montana sample conforms to Ullman's sampling. The term used below - Ullman's college men - means two samples combined - references (2) and (3)

General Description of the 251 Subjects Who Recalled

Seventy-nine per cent of the 251 college men were under age 21. Seventy-five per cent were residents of Montana; 19 per cent came from other Western states, the Midwest, or western Canada; and six per cent came from the Northeast and the South. Sixty-eight per cent came from communities that ranged from 5,000 to 50,000 population; 22 per cent were from communities of less than 5,000; and ten per cent came from cities that exceeded 50,000.

The student body at the University of Montana tends to be made up of native-born white Americans of European ancestry. No foreign students - except Canadian - happened to be in this sample of 251 men, and the number that might have been of American Indian extraction was minute. The Jewish and Italian fractions that attend this institution are likely small compared to many other universities.

The remainder of this section compares the sample of Montana college men with Ullman's samples of college men and alcoholic inmates (2) and (3). All of the data below deals with the first drinking experience.

Ullman's Samples of College Men and Alcoholic Inmates

Differences in the first drinking experience that Ullman - (2) (3) - found between college men and alcoholic jail inmates are summarized as follows: Eighty nine per cent of the inmates remembered the first ex-

perience, whereas 68 per cent of his college men remembered. Ninety-one percent of the inmates had the first drink with friends, but only 60 per cent of the students had this experience with friends. Fifty per cent of the inmates drank in an unusual place, while only 19 per cent of the students selected an odd place. Forty-one per cent of the inmates got drunk, whereas only seven per cent of the students got drunk. Thirty-seven per cent of the inmates had the first drink after age 20, but only three per cent of the college men had this drink after age 20. Sixty per cent of the inmates waited one year or more before having the second experience, and only 31 per cent of the college men waited this long. Ullman reported that chi square tests of the above differences were all significant at less than the .01 level.

Ninety-seven per cent of Ullman's population of college men (2) were drinkers. Differences between his college men and his inmate sample over the preference for beer, wine or distilled spirits did not reach statistical significance

First Experience of the Montana Men and Ullman's College Men

Choice of Beverage

Sixty-four per cent of the 251 Montana men drank beer the first time, and 47 per cent of Ullman's college men drank beer the first time. This difference was significant by chi square at less than the .02 level. Differences between these samples in the choice of wine and of distilled spirits did not reach the .05 level of significance.

The greater incidence of beer drinking among the Montana men calls to mind Ullman's finding (4) that ethnic groups having higher rates of

alcoholism tend to prefer beer. In Ullman's study of differences in the first drinking experience between various ethnic groups, 30 per cent of his students were Jewish and Italian, thus members of groups that were likely to have a preference for wine, and in ethnic groups known to have lower rates of alcoholism. Although the ethnic composition of the Montana sample was not investigated, it is a common impression that students here tend to be of British, Irish and northern European ancestry, of second generation or more American-born.

Recall

Seventy-three per cent of the Montana men recalled the first experience, and 68 per cent of Ullman's college men recalled. This difference was not statistically significant. Ullman reported that the alcoholic was much more likely than the student to recall the first experience. Memory of the first experience was not a useful differentiating factor in this study since only those individuals who recalled the event were selected for study. Nevertheless, Ullman's analysis of recall has been helpful to evaluate some of the data in this work.

Companions

Thirty-four per cent of the Montana men who remembered the first experience drank with family members, and 40 per cent of Ullman's college men had the first drink with family members. This was not a significant difference. Ullman found that having the first drink with the family correlated with a lower rate of alcoholism.

Place

Forty per cent of the Montana men had the first drink at home, and 44 per cent of Ullman's college men had this first drink at home. When figures for at home, at a friend's home, or at a party were combined, 48 per cent of the Montana men drank in such places, and 61 per cent of Ullman's college men drank in such locations. This 13 per cent difference was not significant at the .05 level.

On the other hand, striking contrasts were evident regarding first experiences away from homes. Only one per cent of the Montana men had the first drink in a tavern, whereas 20 per cent of Ullman's college men had this drink in such public places. Fifty-one per cent of the Montana men selected some unusual place, and only 19 per cent of Ullman's college men had the first drink in an unusual place. (Fifty per cent of Ullman's alcoholic inmates had the first experience in an unusual location.) The contrasts between these student samples with respect to public places and unusual places were both significant beyond the .01 level.

The meaning of the similar high incidences of first experiences in unusual places reported by both the Montana sample and Ullman's alcoholic inmate sample is obscure. The sparse population of Montana, the easy availability of isolated places, and the popularity of outdoor recreation all suggest that drinking in such locations may be a more customary practice in Montana. The virtual absence of any first experiences in taverns among the Montana men suggests a sharp difference between the impact of Montana law and Massachusetts law with respect to adolescent drinking - Ullman was located at Tufts University, Massachusetts - and,

in turn, this suggests a more permissive social climate in regard to drinking in Massachusetts.

Effect

Eighteen per cent of the Montana men got drunk at the time of the first experience, whereas only seven per cent of Ullman's college men got drunk. This difference was significant at less than the .05 level. Thirty-four per cent of the Montana men reported some effect, and 21 per cent of Ullman's college men reported some effect. This latter contrast did not reach the .05 level of significance.

The greater numbers of Montana men - contrasted to Ullman's college men - who became more or less intoxicated at the time of the first experience appears to correlate with their greater tendency to have the first drink in an unusual place. The 51 per cent of Montana men who drank in some isolated place calls to mind such matters as lack of supervision, experimentation, risk taking and secret escapades. Becoming drunk suggests high motivation.

Age

Forty-six per cent of the Montana men had the first experience before age 15, and 36 per cent of Ullman's college men began to drink before age 15. This difference was not significant at the .05 level.

Twelve per cent of the Montana men had the first drink before age ten, and 16 per cent of Ullman's college men had this drink before age ten. Likewise this difference was not significant.

Thus, 34 per cent of the Montana men had the first experience between ages ten and 14, and 20 per cent of Ullman's college men had

the first drink between ages ten and 14. This latter 14 per cent difference, however, was significant at less than the .05 level. These statistics show that significantly larger numbers of Montana men had the first drink after age ten and in early adolescence.

Time Until the Second Experience

The intervals between the first and second experiences of the 251 Montana men distributed as follows: days - 14 per cent, weeks - 21 per cent, months - 35 per cent and years - 30 per cent. Ullman's college men reported a distribution of intervals that matched each of the above figures within one per cent.

Summary - The Montana Men and Ullman's College Men Compared

Some interesting differences in the first drinking experience between the Montana men and Ullman's college men have been described.

Members of the Montana sample reported a significantly greater preference for beer. This calls to mind Ullman's finding that ethnic groups having higher rates of alcoholism tend to prefer beer. Nevertheless, the meaning of this result is not clear. Possibly it does have something to do with ethnic origins, or perhaps it means only that beer was the most readily available in Montana.

About one-half of the Montana men had the first drink at home, at a friend's home or at a social affair. The other half turned to some isolated location, and virtually no subject had the first drink in a bar. This avoidance of taverns with secret drinking instead marked another sharp contrast with Ullman's college men. These startling re-

sults reflect not only the impact of Montana law but also the determination of the adolescents.

Eighteen per cent of the Montana men got drunk at the time of the first experience - a two and one-half times greater incidence than Ullman found among his college men. Other Montana men tended more to experience some degree of intoxication than was the case with Ullman's college men. These results indicate quite an obvious connection between drinking in an isolated place and getting drunk.

Curiously, a significantly greater number of Montana men - than Ullman's college men - had the first experience in early adolescence. Ullman's students were more likely to have the first drink either in childhood or later in the teenages.

Sharp differences between the Montana sample and Ullman's sample of college men from Massachusetts have been described. These comparisons form a part of the initial identification of the Montana men. Doubtless regional differences in drinking practices and attitudes about drinking help to account for the contrasts found.

Appendix III

FIRST DRINKING EXPERIENCE

Middle-Aged Men and Women

This report examines the first drinking experience recalled by adults. Most of the respondents had spent many intervening years using alcohol to some extent since they had the first drink. The work throws some light on the situation that existed among young people several years ago, and it is designed to reveal statistical contrasts between those who became alcoholic and others who did not. It asks the question: What effect does the climate of opinion about drinking that existed two or three decades ago have to do with drinking today?

At least two-thirds of the adult members of American society use alcohol more or less, and a big majority of these people do not encounter serious problems with their drinking. For a minority, the use of alcohol becomes an exceedingly destructive process. Keller (22) stated that the going estimate of eight per cent of all adult men in the United States who are regarded as alcoholic may be a realistic figure, and that even if the actual incidence were somewhat less, this knowledge would not diminish the far reaching consequences of the illness.

For every five or six men who have the problem, one woman is afflicted. Thus, in round numbers, about eight per cent of men and perhaps one to two per cent of women are affected. When we realize that alcoholism usually undermines seriously the social, economic and emotional well-being of immediate family members and sometimes others, figures about prevalence become more impressive.

Method

A modification of Ullman's questionnaire (2) about the first drinking experience was employed in this study which dealt with the following items: recall of the first drinking experience, age at that time, companions and circumstances, intent with respect to drinking, effect, and the interval until the second experience.

Ullman (2) found that the addictive drinker tended to recall the first experience, have it away from the family in an unusual place and feel some effect or get drunk. Members of his "normal" sample - college men - were less likely to recall, and many more had the first experience with the family with no effect. The alcoholics tended to have the first drink in adolescence or later, whereas his college men were likely to begin during the teenages or earlier. About one-half of those in his alcoholic sample waited for a prolonged interval before drinking again, as if the first experience had been a stressful event. A number of his students were also slow to drink again, but the chief reason seemed to be a basic lack of interest in drinking.

Information gathering was conducted mostly through the mail with the aid of an explanatory letter. Identification of each respondent called for sex, present age and his selection of one of the following definitions: (1) Am a moderate drinker and seldom if ever get high, (2) Drink quite regularly and sometimes get high, and (3) Drinking became a serious personal problem. The form used for the survey follows:

First Drinking Experience

<u>Identification</u>	Check one statement only:	<u>Check Column</u>
Sex _____	1. Am a moderate drinker and seldom (if ever) get high.	_____
Age _____	2. Drink quite regularly and sometimes get high.	_____
	3. Drinking became a serious personal problem.	_____

	<u>Check Column</u>		<u>Check Column</u>
<u>A. Recall of the First Experience (check one)</u>		<u>D. Intention - First Experience (check one)</u>	
1. Remember	_____	1. A drink was offered to me. I had given no special thought to this in advance	_____
2. Do not remember	_____	2. Expected beforehand that there would be something to drink.	_____
If you remember the first drinking experience, continue.		3. Helped to obtain the supply.	_____
<u>B. Age - First Experience</u>	_____		
<u>C. Companions and Circumstances - First Experience (check one)</u>		<u>E. Effect - First Experience (check one)</u>	
1. With the family	_____	1. No effect	_____
2. With a friend and his family	_____	2. Some effect - i.e. felt dizzy or high	_____
3. With friends (not with family) at a social event	_____	3. Drunk	_____
4. With friends in a public bar	_____	<u>F. Time Until Second Experience</u>	
5. With friends in an isolated place - i.e. at home when parents were absent, in a car, in a town away from home, etc.	_____	1. Within one week	_____
6. Alone	_____	2. Within one month	_____
		3. Within one year	_____
		4. After one year	_____

Subjects

Questionnaires were mailed to A.A. members and other people known to have an interest in alcoholism. The Alcoholism Service Center at Montana State Hospital contributed returns from a number of people having histories of alcoholism. In addition, more than 100 individuals - alcoholic and non-alcoholic - were contacted by sending the explanatory letter and three questionnaire forms to each. Approximately 450 forms were distributed, and 194 were answered and returned. No joking responses turned up, but nine forms were discarded due to insufficient identification. All subjects, except four from Canada, were living in Montana.

The distribution of subjects by sex and drinking practices was as follows: Men - 52 moderate drinkers, 16 heavy drinkers, and 70 alcoholics. Women - 28 moderate drinkers, two heavy drinkers, and 17 alcoholics.

Since only 18 subjects reported heavy drinking, this number was considered unreliable and therefore was deleted. Among the women, the count of moderate drinkers and alcoholics also looked skimpy, but these women were kept in the study along with the moderate-drinking men and alcoholic men. The total sample for study came to 167 men and women.

The following schedule summarizes the identification of the sample. Classification by sex and drinking behavior is correlated with age at the time the questionnaire was answered, and the age distributions are expressed in per cent:

<u>Drinking Behavior</u>	<u>Under Age 30</u>	<u>30-39</u>	<u>40-49</u>	<u>50-59</u>	<u>Over 60</u>	<u>Totals</u>
Men						
Moderate N=51	16	33	31	20		100
Alcoholic N=70	3	13	37	39	9	101
Women						
Moderate N=28	11	14	46	14	14	99
Alcoholic N=17	6	65	24			101

On the face of it, the above information suggests that most sample members had been drinking for many years, and it was found that only five per cent of the total sample began to drink after age 22. Thus, it is evident that most of the subjects had started to drink 10, 20, 30 or more years ago.

Figuring from the age reported at the time of the first experience and the stated age at the time the questionnaire was answered, the following - expressed in per cent - adds a little more to the identification:

<u>Drinking Behavior</u>	<u>First Drinking Experience</u>		<u>Totals</u>
	<u>During Prohibition</u>	<u>After Repeal</u>	
Men			
Moderate N=34	29	71	100
Alcoholic N=49	63	37	100
Women			
Moderate N=19	47	53	100
Alcoholic N=11	18	82	100

One-third of the sample did not report age at the time of the first experience, which accounts for the large drop in the counts shown above. Perhaps many found it difficult to remember this age. Omissions that may have been due to oversight, or course, are not known. Nevertheless, the two-thirds who did report age at the time of the first drink make it clear that the sample was composed of many who began to drink

during Prohibition and many others who began after Repeal.

A cursory search of the questionnaires did not reveal any distinct differences within the sample that might correlate with the Repeal of Prohibition. This is not intended, however, to suggest that no changes had taken place over the years in the way young people begin to drink. The sample itself was not considered large enough nor sufficiently identified to pursue such a study.

Nineteen of the 70 alcoholic men and five of the 17 alcoholic women were patients at the Alcoholism Service Center at Montana State Hospital. These minor fractions are not handled below as separate groups.

Thus, most of the subjects had begun to drink years ago, and many had the first experience before the repeal of Prohibition. Subjects were separated for study purposes into four groups by sex and the drinking behavior they reported.

Results

Recall of the First Drinking Experience

Table 1. Moderate Drinkers and Alcoholics, by Recall of the First Drinking Experience (in per cent)

<u>Drinking Behavior</u>		<u>Recall</u>	<u>No Recall</u>	<u>Totals</u>
Men				
Moderate	N=52	71	29	100
Alcoholic	N=70	86	14	100
Women				
Moderate	N=28	82	18	100
Alcoholic	N=17	71	29	100

Table 1 shows that the alcoholic men reported a higher rate of recall of the first experience than the moderate men, and that the moderate women reported a higher rate of recall than the moderate men. These results compare favorably with Ullman's findings (2,3) in regard to the alcoholic and "normal" drinker and also with respect to sex differences in the first drinking experience. The little group of alcoholic women in Table 1 is hardly sufficient to mean anything by itself. This writer does not know of other comparable data about alcoholic women.

Ullman (2, 3, 4) found evidence which supports the conclusion that recall of the first experience is a sign that this event did not take place casually within the limits of ordinary expectations. The higher rate of recall among women, he thought, was influenced by greater concern on the part of parents when the daughter began to drink. Ullman demonstrated that ethnic groups having higher rates of alcoholism also have higher rates of recall of the first experience, and ethnic groups having low rates of alcoholism also have low rates of recall. Native-born Americans - especially those of English, Irish and Scandinavian ancestry - have a high rate of alcoholism.

Fourteen per cent of those who completed the questionnaire about the first experience also reported that they did not recall, and these subjects were more or less randomly distributed in the sample. How does one report details about something he cannot remember? Ullman offered a clue when he observed that some individuals could not be definite about their first experience, but that they recalled an early

experience which seemed to mark the real beginning of their use of alcohol. Perhaps this explains these anomalous answers. In any case and since many years had gone by, it is not surprising that some answers were ambiguous.

Table 2. Moderate Drinkers and Alcoholics, by Age at the Time of the First Drinking Experience (in per cent)

Age	Moderate Drinkers		Alcoholics	
	Women N=18	Men N=35	Women N=11	Men N=47
Before age 12	11	15	9	11
12 - 13		11		6
14 - 15		9	9	21
16 - 17	22	26	55	41
18 - 19	6	17	18	17
20 - 21	44	11	9	2
After age 22	17	11		2
Totals	100	100	100	100

Table 2 reveals remarkable information about age at the time of the first drink. Among the moderate men 43 per cent began to drink between ages 16 and 20, and 11 per cent waited until after age 22. On the other hand, 62 per cent of the alcoholic men had the first experience between ages 14 and 18, and only two per cent began after age 22. This outcome supports the conclusion that drinking already had become especially attractive to many who became alcoholic even before they had the first drink. Thus it seems that the person who takes the initiative to start drinking tends to be more vulnerable to problems with alcohol.

Among the moderate women, six out of ten waited until about age 21 or longer before having the first drink. This suggests they really did not care much whether they drank or not. By contrast, even the little

group of alcoholic women looks significant with one-half of them beginning to drink at age 16-17, and they resemble the alcoholic men in regard to age at the time of the first drink.

Table 3. Moderate Drinkers and Alcoholics, by Companions and Circumstances at the Time of the First Drinking Experience (in per cent)

Companions and Circumstances	Moderate Drinkers		Alcoholics	
	Women N=27	Men N=44	Women N=16	Men N=66
With the Family	37	27	19	15
With Friends' Family	7	7		5
Social Event - Not with Family	33	20	38	12
With Friends in Isolation	11	32	38	61
With Friends in Bar	11	14	6	5
Alone				3
	99	100	101	101

Results on companions and circumstances in Table 3 reveal a wealth of information about these first experiences which took place years ago and serve as signs that reflect differences in attitude and feeling at that time.

Thirty-four per cent of the moderate men had the first experience with the family or with the family of a friend, 20 per cent had this drink at a social event, and 14 per cent drank in a bar. (Of the latter 14 per cent, one-half were under age 21). The locations of these experiences, nevertheless, suggest openness and casualness. This fraction of moderate men came to 68 per cent of their total. The other 32 per cent had the first drink with friends in isolated places, and in this respect they resembled the alcoholic men. However, a great statistical difference from the alcoholic men is evident.

Sixty-four per cent of the alcoholic men had the first experience in isolation. This includes drinking alone. The marked tendency to find

seclusion calls to mind high motivation, risk-taking, ambivalence and a measure of guilt. In Table 2 it was found that these men also tended to have the first experience a little earlier in adolescence.

The moderate women, on the other hand, revealed the greatest degree of conformity to approved social standards. Over three-fourths of these women had the first experience either with a family or at a social event.

The alcoholic women resembled the alcoholic men regarding companions and circumstances, although the percentage who drank in isolation was not as extreme.

Intention at the Time of the First Experience

Table 4 shows if the first drinking experience was planned, anticipated or deliberately arranged by the drinker

<u>Drinking Behavior</u>		<u>No Thought about Drinking in Advance</u>	<u>Expected to Drink</u>	<u>Obtained the Supply</u>	<u>Totals</u>
Men					
Moderate	N=45	49	29	22	100
Alcoholic	N=67	43	16	40	99
Women					
Moderate	N=27	66	30	4	100
Alcoholic	N=16	69	19	13	101

The 40 per cent of alcoholic men in Table 4 who took action to secure the supply also suggests high motivation. Since all but for per cent of these men began to drink before age 20 (Table 2), this means that most of them must have obtained the supply surreptitiously or illegally. Contrasted to these alcoholic men, the 22 per cent of moderate men who also obtained the supply tended to have the first drink later, and a

small number got this drink after age 21 by making a purchase in a bar. Thus, the difference between the moderate men and the alcoholic men, as the results reflect motivation, is likely underestimated.

The figure for women in Table 4 suggest that both the moderate drinkers and the alcoholics tended to follow rather than initiate plans for the first drink.

Effect at the Time of the First Experience

Table 5. Moderate Drinkers and Alcoholics, by Effect at the Time of the First Drinking Experience (in per cent)

<u>Drinking Behavior</u>		<u>No Effect</u>	<u>Some Effect</u>	<u>Drunk</u>	<u>Totals</u>
Men					
Moderate	N=45	20	67	13	100
Alcoholic	N=66	6	52	42	100
Women					
Moderate	N=27	41	52	7	100
Alcoholic	N=16	13	69	19	101

The 42 per cent of alcoholic men in Table 5 who reported they got drunk at the time of the first experience comes to more than three times the incidence of becoming drunk reported by the moderate men. Thus, even with the first drink the alcoholic is much more likely than the moderate drinker to be excessive

The effects reported by both groups of women show marked tendencies for moderate consumption compared to the men. Nevertheless, the alcoholic women were distinctly heavier consumers at the time of the first experience than the moderate women.

Time until the Second Experience

Table 6. Moderate Drinkers and Alcoholics, by Time until the Second Drinking Experience (in per cent)

Drinking Behavior		Within One Week	Within One Month	Within One Year	After One Year	Totals
Men						
Moderate	N=44	7	34	39	20	100
Alcoholic	N=65	15	37	29	18	100
Women						
Moderate	N=23	4	22	39	35	100
Alcoholic	N=17	6	41	29	24	100

Table 6 shows that there was great variation in the time interval between first and second experiences. The results do not bring out definite contrasts between groups except in regard to the moderate women. These women tended to wait longer than was the case in the other three groups, and this outcome suggests again that the moderate women were not particularly interested in drinking from the outset.

Summary of Results

The first drinking experience of 167 "middle-aged" men and women reveals interesting contrasts about this event 20, 30 or more years ago. This investigation compares those who became moderate drinkers with others who became alcoholics, and all but four of the respondents were living in Montana at the time they submitted information.

The study brings out a number of differences about the ways young people had the first drinking experience some time ago. It is a search for signs in evidence at the time of the first experience which tend to correlate with later drinking behavior, and it deals with prevailing trends rather than individual characteristics.

Fifty-two Men Who Became Moderate Drinkers

Compared to the alcoholic men, the moderate men were less likely to recall the first experience. Fewer moderate men - 35 per cent against 62 per cent of the alcoholic men - began to drink between ages 14 and 18. One-half of these men had the first drink with the family, or a friend's family, or at a social event, but one-third of them had this experience in an isolated place. One-fifth of these men helped in advance to obtain the supply. Only a small number - 13 per cent - got drunk, and these moderate men showed a slight and indefinite tendency to have the second experience after longer intervals than was the case among the alcoholic men.

Seventy Men Who Became Alcoholics

The alcoholic men reported higher rates of the following characteristics than was the case in any of the other groups: recalled the first experience - 86 per cent, had the first drink between ages 14 and 18 - 62 per cent, had this experience in isolation - 64 per cent, took action to obtain the supply - 40 per cent, and became drunk - 42 per cent.

Twenty-eight Women Who Became Moderate Drinkers

The moderate women were inclined to be social conformists and followers at the time of their first drinking experience. They tended to begin later than any others, and 59 per cent did not have the first drink until after age 21. More than three-fourths of them had this drink with the family, or the family of a friend, or at a social event. None of these women took steps in advance to obtain the supply. (One woman - age 25 at the time - appropriated her husband's liquor.) Only a few - seven per cent - became drunk, and three-fourths of these moderate women did not have the second experience until months and sometimes more than a year later.

Seventeen Women Who Became Alcoholics

The sample of alcoholic women lacked sufficient numbers to inspire much confidence. Nevertheless, some characteristics were found that appear significant. None-half of the alcoholic women had the first experience in the period from age 16 to 18, and by age 21 all had begun to drink. Almost 40 per cent had the first experience with friends in an isolated place. (Among the moderate women, only 10 per cent had the

first drink in an isolated place.) Approximately 20 per cent of the alcoholic women got drunk, and a small number - 13 per cent - obtained the supply.

Approximately two-thirds of those in each group reported age at the time of the first drink, and the incidence of first experiences before age 21 based on this reporting was as follows: moderate men - 81 per cent, alcoholic men - 98 per cent, moderate women - 41 per cent, and alcoholic women - 100 per cent. Five per cent of alcoholic men and six per cent of alcoholic women had the first drink in a bar. Somewhat larger numbers of moderate men and women had this drink in a bar, but in several instances the latter subjects were also over age 21 at the time.

Discussion

The early drinking experience of the Montana college men revealed a highly significant correlation between intoxication in secret at the time of the first drinking experience and later problem drinking. Neither secret drinking without intoxication, nor intoxication under more socially acceptable circumstances had this marked relationship to problem drinking. The fact that those who became problem drinkers tended to get drunk in secret the first time they drank is hardly surprising. More to the point, it seems, was the prevalence of this type of behavior.

In the student body cross-section of over 400 Montana college men, 84 per cent reported they were drinkers. Among the drinkers 22 per cent had the first experience in adolescence with friends in secret before age 17 and became intoxicated to some degree. By college time, 29 per

cent were heavy drinkers; and 43 per cent were problem drinkers.

In the other 78 per cent of college men, it was clear that the combination of secrecy, intoxication and early adolescence did not apply at the time of the first experience, and relatively few of these men became heavy drinkers or problem drinkers.

This early drinking behavior of college men who began to use alcohol recently prompted the question: How did older people begin to drink years ago? To answer this matter, the first drinking experience of 167 "middle-aged" people living in Montana were investigated. The results describe contrasts between those men and women who became moderate drinkers and others who became alcoholics.

Eight of the ten men who began to drink a long time ago and who became moderate drinkers had the first experience before age 21, and only four of ten women who became moderate users had this drink before age 21. The alcoholics - both men and women - with a single exception, had begun to drink before age 21.

The first experience of these older people generally took place in either of two strikingly different kinds of circumstances. On the one hand, it commonly took place with family members or at a social event without the family. On the other hand, many had this first experience in isolation - at least separate from parents and other authority - as a secret peer group escapade in adolescence.

In the case of this unsupervised drinking, the leaders and planners were almost invariably adolescent boys - not girls - and the peak occurrence of these secret experiences came at age 16 and 17. A small number

of girls took part in these secret events, especially those who later became alcoholics. To find many boys involved in secret drinking and only a few girls in this kind of behavior has curious sex implications. Keller and Efron (5) estimated that one woman is alcoholic for every five or six men afflicted.

More than three-fourths of the women who became moderate users had the first drink with the family and sometimes in childhood, or at a social event. As noted above, over one-half of these moderate women did not begin to drink until after age 21.

A disproportionately large number of men who began to drink years ago and who became alcoholics had the first experience a little earlier in adolescence than other men who became moderate users, and not infrequently before age 16. These men were much more likely to plan the affair, drink in secret and get drunk. The alcoholic women resembled the alcoholic men in regard to these same characteristics, except that smaller numbers took steps to obtain the supply.

Thus, those who had the first experience in secret during adolescence and became intoxicated also seemed to be attracted as if by some magnetic appeal. Heavy drinking at the outset calls to mind the discovery of a magic answer to all tensions and problems - and an answer which intervened in advance of maturity. The high motivation - in the face of family disapproval and the risk of unpleasant consequences, we suspect - suggests the existence of an alluring concept about drinking which had been taking shape for some time.

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