

A STUDY OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DOUBLE BIND  
SITUATIONS AND ALCOHOLISM: A CASE HISTORY APPROACH

by

Frank E. Zaske

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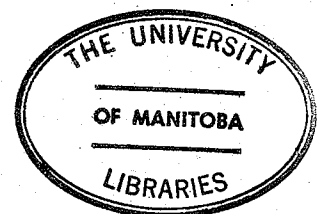
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## ABSTRACT

The purpose of this work is to demonstrate a relationship between double bind situations and problem drinking. In addition, it is hypothesized that problem drinking is a reaction to long term exposure to double bind situations.

The double bind situation generally occurs within intensive relationships of two or more persons with a high survival value for one or more participants. The double bind itself can be described as a person, through his social relations, entrapped in an impossible or can't win situation. Consequently, he is cognitively and emotionally torn apart.

It is postulated that alcohol allows the individual to deal with double bind situations. For example, drunkenness aids in the relief of tensions, emotional pain, allows the individual to shut off outside stimuli or permits him to comment on his situation without repercussions.

The method employed is basically a case history approach. The most complete case histories available in the literature have been re-analyzed and the double binds isolated. Information was abstracted from studies of drinking patterns among the Camba and Lunahuanenos of South America and from a study of alcoholism among the Agringados of Texas. Charts have been provided for quantification of supportive data from forty-five less complete case histories.

The individuals in each of the five case studies and the Agringados were subject to frequent exposure to double bind situations. Heavy drinking enabled them to cope with their predicaments. Such long term heavy drinking seems to have led to alcoholism. The Camba and Lunahuanenos

both drink to cope with the double binding elements of their social relations. However, their society has provided a means to prevent alcoholism. The charts, likewise, indicate a relationship between drinking and double bind situations.

The main hypotheses of this paper have been upheld by the data. There is a definite connection between double binds and drinking. Alcohol is an effective method for dealing with double bind situations. There also appears to be an indirect relationship between alcoholism and double binds.

This thesis is dedicated to Jacqueline Zaske the woman  
I am married to and the most important person in my life.

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"Your medicine is your poison is your medicine  
is your poison and there is no end but madness"

Lillian Roth

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## INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this work is to try to establish a relationship between double bind situations and alcoholism. The specific form of this relationship consists of an individual using alcohol to enable him to more easily cope with long term exposure to double bind situations. It is believed by the author that such a relationship exists. Furthermore, it is suggested that using alcohol to cope with double bind situations may lead to alcoholism. The ideas stated above will be elaborated further in Chapter One. However, before proceeding in this direction, a few remarks will be made.

To begin with, it is a generally accepted fact that alcoholism occurs only within certain societies of Western civilization. In short, alcoholism is Western specific (Mandelbaum 1965:282). Hence, unless otherwise specified and except for the double bind hypothesis, the bulk of the material in this work will be oriented toward Western civilization.

Finally, some alternative approaches to the study of alcoholism will be presented. Thousands of studies have been undertaken, each developing a theory explaining the cause of alcoholism. It is impossible to set forth all the various theories. Therefore, only a limited number is presented. It is hoped that these theories will provide the reader with a representative sample of the type of work that has already been done.

### THEORIES OF ALCOHOLISM

#### Physiological Theories

Roger Williams has ascribed a nutritional theory for the cause of alcoholism. He postulates that the alcoholic may possess an inherited

metabolic pattern, which leads to diminished production of specific enzymes, resulting in nutritional deficiencies. The nutritional deficiencies, consequently, cause a craving of alcohol to arise (McCord et al. 1959:730; Catanzaro 1967:35; Jellinek 1960:93).

Some researchers contend that alcoholism results from genetically transmitted defects of the adrenal glands (Chafetz & Demone 1962:60). An individual with such an endocrine imbalance becomes biologically predisposed to alcohol addiction. Other investigators contend that if the biological factor is not inherited, it may be acquired. Specifically, the biologic factor may develop through repeated bouts of heavy drinking. It is postulated that a person may develop an unusual sensitivity to alcohol or actually become allergic to it (Catanzaro 1967:36). Due to the individual's sensitivity, the person develops a craving for alcohol and upon imbibing, is temporarily relieved of feelings of discomfort (Chafetz & Demone 1962:60).

Harold Himwich asserts that alcoholism is the result of structural physiological error. Consequently, the cells of the body, particularly those of the brain, seem to function better in the presence than in the absence of alcohol (Himwich 1956:37; Chafetz & Demone 1962:60). Upon withdrawal of alcohol, the body develops severe disturbances (Jellinek 1960:115).

### Psychological Theories

There are various psychological theories of alcoholism. Freudians tend to attribute alcoholism as a result of one or a combination of three unconscious tendencies: self-destructive urges, oral fixation, and latent homosexuality.

In line with Freudian theories, Karl Menninger places prime importance upon self-destructive urges as a cause of alcoholism (McCord et al. 1959:734). Generally, alcoholics unconsciously have a powerful desire to destroy themselves which is the result of the child's feeling of being betrayed by his parents. Frustration from betrayal results in intense rage toward his parents which causes interpersonal conflict. He wishes to destroy his parents, but he fears losing them. Later in life, alcohol serves as a means to achieve both gratification and revenge against his parents. Hostile feelings toward the parents produces a desire for punishment. Thus, alcohol acts as a slow form of suicide to avoid greater self-destruction (Chafetz & Demone 1962:42).

Other researchers contend that oral fixation is the principal motive for alcoholism. Fixation results from traumas which had occurred during that stage of an individual's development when security and release from tension was achieved orally. Such traumas usually take the form of deprivation of a warm, giving and meaningful relationship with the mother during infancy. The alcoholic, like the infant, seeks gratification of his primary emotional hunger. Such gratification is achieved through the intoxicating effects produced by the intake of large quantities of alcohol. Thus, the alcoholic symbolically attempts to reach the blissful infantile state.

The third and final proposition of the Freudians associates alcoholism with latent homosexuality. Specifically, it is hypothesized that the alcoholic had suffered severe frustration during the oral stage of development. Consequently, he turned against the frustrating mother and

sought solace with the father. His overidentification with the father resulted in latent or overt homosexual tendencies. Substituting for overt homosexuality, alcoholics manifest their deviant urges through alcoholism (McCord et al. 1959:737). The intimate male companionship of the drinking situation, in conjunction with the disinhibiting effect of alcohol, permits alcoholics to satisfy their inhibited homosexual urges (McCord et al. 1959:737; Chafetz & Demone 1962:40).

Adlerians claim that alcoholism is an attempt to remove feelings of inferiority and to escape from the requirements of "social interest." Adler insisted that inferiority lies at the bottom of alcoholism. Inferiority feelings are often openly expressed when the incipient alcoholic is marked by shyness, impatience, irritability, sensitivity, leans toward isolation, and by neurotic symptoms such as anxiety, sexual insufficiency, and depression. On the other hand, the incipient alcoholic may exhibit a superiority complex through boastfulness, a longing for power, or a malicious criminal tendency. Consequently, Adlerians assert that both open and masked feelings of inferiority lead a person to overcome his anxieties through the use of alcohol (McCord et al. 1959:739).

#### Sociocultural Theories

There are various sociological theories on alcoholism. However, these usually deal with societal factors which either prevent alcoholism or allow it to occur. For instance, R. F. Bales suggests that sociocultural conditions affect rates of alcoholism in three ways. The first sociocultural condition is the degree to which society allows inner tensions to be successfully dealt with by its members. The second socio-

cultural condition consists of the type of attitudes that are allowed to exist in the members of the particular society regarding the use of alcohol. Particularly important are those attitudes concerned with relieving inner tensions and anxieties. The third condition involves the degree to which the society provides a suitable alternative for relieving anxieties and tensions (McCord et al. 1959:740). However, sociological theories often tend to rely on tension relief as the reason for heavy drinking.

#### Philosophical-Religious Theories

Howard Clinebell, Jr. has suggested a somewhat different theory for the cause of alcoholism. Specifically, he asserts that an individual resorts to alcohol in an attempt to satisfy a religious need by non-religious means (Clinebell 1963:476).

According to Clinebell, there are three aspects of an individual's religious need.

1. The need for an experience of the numinous and the transcendent.<sup>1</sup>
2. The need for a sense of meaning, purpose and value in one's existence.
3. The need for a feeling of deep trust and relatedness to life (Clinebell 1963:477).

The source of these three elements is existential anxiety. This anxiety is existential because it is inherent in a person's existence as a self-aware being. This type of anxiety's impact on the individual can be either constructive or destructive. It can be a stimulus to creativity or a paralyzing force. The impact of existential anxiety depends on the way it is handled by the individual.

There is a particular combination of factors that cause the present period in history to be an "age of anxiety" (Clinebell 1963:478). This

makes it more difficult to handle existential anxiety effectively. Alcoholics or incipient alcoholics have the added difficulty that his existential terror of nonbeing is complicated by a fear of death resulting from trauma during the oral stage of development. In addition, because of an exaggerated dependency-autonomy conflict, the individual is unable to free himself from adolescent experiences which would allow him to deal with his anxiety constructively (Clinebell 1963:481).

Clinebell asserts that there are only two ways to handle this anxiety. Specifically, existential anxiety must be dealt with by religious means or pseudo-religious ways such as alcohol (Clinebell 1963:478). Through experiences during certain stages of intoxication, the person's need for a sense of the numinous and the transcendent are satisfied. Drunkenness allows the individual to forget his emptiness and sense of meaninglessness (Clinebell 1963:478). Likewise, the individual's need for trust and relatedness to life is fulfilled. In the state of intoxication, the individual temporarily experiences feelings of unity. During the early stages of intoxication, the drinker feels a closeness to other people. However, such feelings are short-lived. Alcohol is the only means the particular person knows to regain the desired experiences. Eventually, the individual becomes addicted (Clinebell 1963:479).

## CHAPTER I

### THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

Robert E. L. Faris and H. Warren Dunham, in their 1939 study of schizophrenia in urban areas, stressed the importance of social context in the causation of so-called mental disorders. Several years later, in reference to their study on schizophrenia, R. D. Laing and Aaron Esterson stated:

We set out to illustrate by eleven examples that if we look at some experience and behavior without reference to family interaction they may appear comparatively socially senseless, but that if we look at the same experience and behavior in their original family context they are liable to make more sense (Laing & Esterson 1973:12).

Laing and Esterson did indeed find that schizophrenic behavior made a great deal of sense when seen in the person's social context, thus, confirming Faris and Dunham's original hypothesis.

In alcoholism, however, there has not been any work comparable to the above-mentioned studies on schizophrenia. As a matter of fact, even though hundreds of thousands of pages of material have been written and published on alcoholism, there are very few complete case studies.

Because of this situation or perhaps despite the situation, the present work is intended to examine the alcoholic in light of his social context (i.e. his social interaction with important others<sup>2</sup>). Unfortunately, because of the paucity of available complete case studies, and in light of the fact that Laing and Esterson did research for five years previous to their first publication on schizophrenia, the present work will not be able to present a picture as complete as was done for schizo-

phrenia. For this reason, I will concentrate on one specific aspect of social interaction of the alcoholic with significant others and try to connect this with the theory of "double bind" or "can't win" situations.

In brief, the double bind situation can be described in the following manner.

The child who becomes schizophrenic is habitually subjected to conflicting messages and demands that he cannot fulfill because they are mutually exclusive, and at the same time cannot escape from the impossible situation because of his dependency upon, and need for, the parent or parents imposing the demands. The double-bind concept has become somewhat obscured through becoming a catchword, but in brief, the child in seeking to gain approval or to avoid punishment is 'damned if he does and damned if he doesn't,' and is cognitively and emotionally torn apart by the conflicting messages. The bind may be set by one parent, at times through differences between what is said and what is conveyed nonverbally, but also by the parent's denial of the obvious if it threatens his or her self-image (Lidz 1973:66).

Double bind situations were found to be a significant part of the social interaction of diagnosed schizophrenics with important others (Bateson 1974:206). In like manner, A. J. Ferreira postulated that the "split double bind"<sup>3</sup> is the characteristic interactional pattern of the families of delinquents (Watzlawick 1963:146). D. Stymeist, T. Davis, C. Hammock and F. Zaske suggested that double bind situations may be significant in the causation of the "folk illnesses" Amok, Arctic Hysteria, and Susto (Stymeist et al. Personal Files of Authors). Carlos E. Sluzki and Eliseo Veron used double bind theory in proposing specific models for the genesis of three types of neuroses, that is, hysteria, phobic, and obsessive compulsive (Sluzki & Veron 1971:397). Furthermore, they hypothesized that the double bind situation "is not specific to the etiology of schizophrenia but, rather, defines a universal pathogenic situation"



(Sluzki & Veron 1971:408). In this work evidence is presented to indicate that double bind situations are also an important part of the social interaction of alcoholics with their important others, and may possibly be a causative factor leading to alcoholism.<sup>4</sup>

The basic structure of this work is to review and analyze case studies from literature and from the present research for the purpose of identifying and examining double bind situations involving alcoholics or incipient alcoholics.

### DEFINITIONS

In order to fully understand the purpose of this work, it will first be necessary to define the important ideas and concepts central to this study.

#### Alcoholism

For the purpose of this work, alcoholism is defined as the use of alcohol by a person in such a way as to be considered an alcoholic by those who have sufficient knowledge to recognize it as such, for instance, members of Alcoholics Anonymous and people involved with treatment programs.

This definition may seem somewhat vague, however, a short discussion of two other definitions may clarify what I mean.

1) E. M. Jellinek defines alcoholism as: "any use of alcoholic beverages that causes any damage<sup>5</sup> to the individual or society or both" (Jellinek 1960:35).

2) The Alcoholism Inter-Agency Training project's definition is "drinking which interferes with interpersonal relationships, economic

functioning, or physical or mental health" (Plunkert 1968:9).

The above two definitions would be much more appropriate for use in the present study if the following changes were made:

- 1) Any use of alcoholic beverages that seems or appears to cause any damage to the individual or society or both.
- 2) Drinking which seems or appears to interfere with interpersonal relationships, economic functioning or physical or mental health.

Emphasis should be placed upon the words seems or appears, because without them, the two definitions in question define alcoholism as a cause of the interference of interpersonal relations. However, since the double bind hypothesis, as used here, assumes that something is wrong before a person turns to alcohol, it would be better to say alcoholism aggravates the above-mentioned situations rather than causes them.

#### The Nuclear Family

The following discussion of the family in Western civilization describes an ideal type. To begin with, parents' personalities affect the family child rearing practices and the child's enculturation. In like manner, the parents' personalities were shaped according to the way they grew up and internalized the societal and cultural patterns. Different parental personalities and how they interrelate transcend ethnic, religious, and social class origins. Hence, two people reared by different sets of parents in an identical environment will, most likely, reflect the differences of their parents' personalities through their own behavior (Lidz 1968:54).

The familial influence on a child consists of more than the personalities of its members. The family forms an interacting unit which constitutes for the child a primary social group in which all subsequent group

and interpersonal relationships have their beginning. In other words, the child obtains the ability to interrelate socially in the outside world through interaction with the members of his family (Lidz 1968:55). The quality of such familial relationships exert profound effects on the emotional and social development of family members (Hawkes 1971:278).

One essential ingredient to obtain proper emotional and social development of the child is through parental nurturance. Nurturance includes not only fulfilling the child's physical needs, but also his emotional needs. The child needs love, affection, a sense of security, and the opportunity to mature in a different manner at each stage of his development. For example, the type of care and nurturance that a newborn infant requires varies from that of a one year old. Although the mother plays the primary role in the nurturance of the child and is usually most directly involved with rearing the child, the father's role is, likewise, important. His role becomes increasingly salient as the child grows older (Lidz 1968:56).

It is usually the mother who devotes the most time and energy to provide the necessary love and attention for her child. In order to continue to do this, she requires support and her own emotional needs replenished. In contemporary Western society, it is most often the husband who fulfills this role (Lidz 1968:56).

The child's attachment to his parents results from and accompanies their nurturant care. The attachment of the child furnishes the major guidelines and motivations for his development into a social being and provides the parents with the influence to direct their child's drives.

The child needs and wants to gain parental love and acceptance and to avoid rejection and punishment. In order to do this, the child attempts to conform to parental expectations (Lidz 1968:57; Elkin 1968:378).

The child's emotional development is immeasurably influenced by the quality and nature of the parental nurturance given him. For example, the parental nurturance affects how the child experiences frustration, anxiety, aggression, helplessness, despair, and anger under various circumstances. Furthermore, it affects the quality of the basic trust the child develops, that is, the trust he has in himself and others. It influences his sense of independence and the clarity of the boundaries that distinguishes him from his parents. Parental nurturance contributes to the self-esteem of the child as a member of his own sex. It, in addition, gives support for establishing trust in the reliability of collusion and the value of communication for problem solving (Lidz 1968:57).

The nuclear family is a true small unit containing distinctive features dictated by the lengthy and intense nature of the relationships and its specific functions. The family structure is also composed of two generations and two genders. The sex and generation structure of the family minimizes role conflict and provides conflict-free areas into which the child can mature and recognize his proper roles. Like any other group or unit, the family needs leadership. Since the family consists of two leaders, the mother and the father, unity of direction and organization is required if the child is to achieve an integrated development. Therefore, the parents must form a coalition in order to maintain the boundaries between generations and adhere to their respective sex-linked roles (Lidz 1968:58).

The coalition formed by the parents not only gives unity of direction, but also provides the parents the necessary emotional support needed to carry out their parental functions. It is important to prevent dyads which could create rivalries and jealousies. By forming a coalition for consistent interaction within the family, situations which could divide the family would be repressed. Ordinarily, a child needs two parents. He needs someone of the same sex with whom he can identify and who will provide an adult model. A child also needs someone of the opposite sex to love and to seek love and approval from by identifying with the parent of the same sex (Lidz 1968:58).

If one parent defames, despises or treats the other as an enemy, it will be impossible for the belittled parent to effectively fill the roles necessary for the child's well-being. Such a situation would be detrimental to the integration of the child's personality (Lidz 1968:58; Hawkes 1971:288).

The family is divided into parental and childhood generations with different priorities and responsibilities. The parents are an independent generation and marry into a permanent union. While the children are dependent upon their parents, they must be reared in such a way as to eventually become independent and form a family of their own (Lidz 1968:59).

An extremely important factor in determining personality characteristics is the attainment of a secure gender identity. In order for a child to obtain proper gender identity, it is necessary for the parent of the same sex to fill his or her sex-linked roles (Lidz 1968:59).

The family, which is a subsystem of society, is the first social system with which the child must deal. Within the family, the child

learns the roles that he must apply in the larger society. Roles become part of the personality. The person usually modifies his own behavior to fit the roles, but in many situations they are modified to meet specific individual needs. Within the family, the child learns about basic institutions and their values which are instilled in him by example, teaching and interaction. The family affects the child's personality by conveying what the acceptable and unacceptable values of society are and the means of achieving them. The patterns of interrelating family value systems and role definitions are incorporated into the person's personality far more through the family's behavior than through what he is taught, leaving a permanent imprint upon him (Lidz 1968:60). In line with this, most of the content of the child's socialization is picked up through his everyday experiences, through observation, imitation, participation, and emotional identification (Elkin 1968:379-381).

Finally, the family is responsible for teaching the child language in order for him to be able to internalize, categorize, and communicate his experiences. Correctly learning the language is essential for human adaptation. It rests primarily upon the family to assure the correctness, consistency, and stability of the child's learning (Lidz 1968:62).

The purpose of the description of the ideal family just given is threefold: first, to use as a comparison with the family situations in the case histories presented later in this work; second, to point out the dependence of the person on the family; third to demonstrate the importance of social interaction in a family.

Double bind situations are a type of social interaction which do not conform with the type of interaction described above. Constant double

binding messages sent within the family context would have profound effects for the person receiving such messages.

### Double Bind

The double bind hypothesis can be described in the following manner.

1) Two or more persons are involved in an intensive relationship with one another. This relationship possesses a high degree of survival value, both physical and/or psychological, for one, several, or all of the persons involved. Situations which involve such intense relationships include, although are not restricted to, the family, material dependence, friendship, captivity, love, loyalty to a creed, cause or ideology, context influenced by tradition or social norms and the psychotherapeutic situation (Watzlawick et al. 1967:212).

2) In the context of such an intense relationship a message is communicated which is structured in such a way that it (a) states something, often negatively; for example, "do not do so and so or I will punish you" (Bateson 1974:206) and (b) it also states something conflicting with itself, that is, the first statement, for example, if you do not do so and so, I will punish you. In other words, there are two assertions or injunctions, the second of which contradicts the first at a more abstract level and, like the first, is enforced by punishment or signals threatening to survival. The second assertion or injunction is more difficult to recognize and describe because it is often, but not always, sent nonverbally; for example, through posture, gesture, tone of voice, a meaningful action and the hidden implications in verbal comments. Also, the second assertion or injunction may contradict any part or element of the first. Therefore, if verbalized, the second assertion or injunction may consist

of a wide variety of forms. The following are examples: "Do not see this as punishment," "Do not see me as the punishing agent," "Do not think of what you must not do" (Bateson 1974:207).

Since the assertions are mutually exclusive, if the message is a command it must be disobeyed to be obeyed. In other words, do this but do not do this, or do this but do not listen to what I say. If the message is a definition of one's self or another person, the person who is defined is said to be a certain kind of person only if he is not this kind of person. The meaning of the message is, therefore, undecidable in the sense of disconfirmation (Watzlawick et al. 1967:212).

Disconfirmation, as used here, is a type of communication that is no longer concerned with the truth or falsity of a person's definition of himself, but rather negates the reality of the person's definition of himself. In other words, rejection would amount to saying "you are wrong," disconfirmation says "you do not exist." Such a situation would lead to "loss of self," that is, "alienation" (Watzlawick et al. 1967:86). The following is an example. A boy cleaned his father's garage. The father said, in the boy's presence, "No son of mine is lazy, but only a lazy person could have cleaned this garage." Not only did the father contradict himself about his son being lazy or not lazy, but this statement also implies that his son could not be his son. The statement also negates what the son thought that he was. In other words, the father's statement disconfirmed the son's conception of himself.

Watzlawick et al. quoted R. D. Laing on the matter of disconfirmation who said in relating the idea to schizophrenia:



The characteristic family pattern that has emerged from the study of families of schizophrenics does not so much involve a child who is subject to outright neglect or even to obvious trauma, but a child whose authenticity has been subjected to subtle, but persistent, mutilation, often quite unwittingly.

The ultimate of this is . . . when no matter how (a person) feels or how he acts, no matter what meaning he gives his situation, his feelings are denuded of validity, his acts are stripped of their motives, intentions and consequences, the situation is robbed of its meaning for him, so that he is totally mystified and alienated (Watzlawick et al. 1967:87).

3) Finally, the receiver of the message is prevented from stepping outside the situation sent by the message, either by commenting on the situation or withdrawing from it. Hence, even though the message by its contradictory nature is logically meaningless, the person is in such a position that he must react to the message even though it is impossible to do so. In other words, he cannot withdraw or comment on the absurdity of the situation, yet neither can he do or be what was communicated to him by the sender of the message because the message is paradoxical. The situation is very often compounded by more or less overtly forbidding the receiver of the message to show any awareness of the contradiction involved.

A person in a double bind situation is therefore likely to find himself punished (or at least made to feel guilty) for correct perceptions, and defined as 'bad' or 'mad' for even insinuating that there be a discrepancy between what he does see and what he 'should' see (Watzlawick et al. 1967:213).

Besides being overtly forbidden to correctly perceive the situation, a person could also be made to doubt his perceptions or made to feel bad or mad through mystification. According to R. D. Laing, mystification exists or occurs in both an active sense, that is, the act of mystifying and the passive sense, that is, the state of being mystified.

The instigator of a double bind situation induces confusion by befuddling, clouding, obscuring or masking the real issues concerned with his interaction with another person. In other words, a person will try to hide an issue of conflict by substituting a different issue for what is really going on.

The state of mystification may be so perfectly formed that the person in a double bind situation may or may not possess a feeling of being muddled or confused. However, in either case, he cannot see what the real issues are in his association with the double binder (Laing 1965:344).

John H. Weakland has mentioned concealment, denial and inhibition as some of the ways in which a person in a double bind situation can become muddled or confused. Concealment occurs within the structure of the contradictory message. Since the messages sent in double bind situations often contradict one another on different communicational levels, there is not a direct confrontation between them. In connection with this, the message is very often sent by one person, giving the appearance of sending one message or at least of consistent messages. If direct confrontation does occur between the sender and receiver of the contradictory message, the sender may use denial as a means to conceal the contradictory message. In doing so, the sender may claim that he was misunderstood by the receiver. Another way the sender may deal with an open confrontation with the receiver could be to simply ignore the receiver's comments (Weakland 1960:377).

4) Where one finds double bind situations occurring constantly over a long period of time, it tends to become considered the natural order of things when dealing with human relationships and the world at

large. The person becomes so enmeshed within this natural order of things that there ceases to be a need to prevent the person from withdrawing from the situation or commenting on it. "This, of course, applies especially in children, since all children are inclined to conclude that what happens to them, happens all over the world -- is the law of the universe, so to speak" (Watzlawick et al. 1967:213).

5) Double binding imposes paradoxical behavior which is in turn double binding and this leads to a self-perpetuating communicational pattern. In other words, a person's paradoxical behavior, resulting from being put in a double bind situation, in turn double binds the double binder (Watzlawick et al. 1967:212). As a matter of fact, John Weakland, in the following quote, pointed out that people who are perpetually put in double bind situations often become quite expert at putting others they come in contact with in double bind situations as well.

... the 'victim' soon learns similar or reciprocal patterns of communication -- such as giving incongruent messages of his own, or responding to any and all communications he receives as if they were incongruent and binding (Weakland 1960:375).<sup>6</sup>

The following example of a double bind situation will be quoted in length from Gregory Bateson's book, Steps to an Ecology of Mind.

An analysis of an incident occurring between a schizophrenic patient and his mother illustrates the double bind situation. A young man who had fairly well recovered from an acute schizophrenic episode was visited in the hospital by his mother. He was glad to see her and impulsively put his arm around her shoulders, whereupon she stiffened. He withdrew his arm and she asked, 'Don't you love me any more?' He then blushed, and she said, 'Dear, you must not be so easily embarrassed and afraid of your feelings.' The patient was able to stay with her only a few minutes more and following her departure he assaulted an aide and was put in the tubs.

Obviously, this result could have been avoided if the young man had been able to say, 'Mother, it is obvious that you become uncomfortable when I put my arm around you, and that you have difficulty accepting a gesture of affection from me.' However, the schizophrenic patient doesn't have this possibility open to him. His intense dependency and training prevents him from commenting upon his mother's communicative behavior, though she comments on his and forces him to accept and to attempt to deal with the complicated sequence. The complications for the patient include the following:

(1) The mother's reaction of not accepting her son's affectionate gesture is masterfully covered up by her condemnation of him for withdrawing, and the patient denies his perception of the situation by accepting her condemnation.

(2) The statement 'Don't you love me any more' in this context seems to imply:

(a) 'I am lovable.'

(b) 'You should love me and if you don't you are bad or at fault.'

(c) 'Whereas you did love me previously you don't any longer,' and thus focus is shifted from his expressing affection to his inability to be affectionate. Since the patient has also hated her, she is on good ground here, and he responds appropriately with guilt, which she then attacks.

(d) 'What you just expressed was not affection,' and in order to accept this statement, the patient must deny what she and the culture have taught him about how one expresses affection. He must also question the times with her, and with others, when he thought he was experiencing affection and when they seemed to treat the situation as if he had. He experiences here loss-of-support phenomena and is put in doubt about the reliability of past experience.

(3) The statement, 'You must not be so easily embarrassed and afraid of your feelings,' seems to imply:

(a) 'You are not like me and are different from other nice or normal people because we express our feelings.'

(b) 'The feelings you express are all right, it's only that you can't accept them.' However, if the stifening on her part had indicated 'these are unacceptable feelings,' then the boy is told that he should not be embarrassed by unacceptable feelings. Since he has had a long training in what is and is not acceptable to both her and society, he again comes into conflict with the past.

If he is unafraid of his own feelings (which mother implies is good), he should be unafraid of his affection and would then notice it was she who was afraid, but he must not notice that because her whole approach is aimed at covering up this shortcoming in herself.

The impossible dilemma thus becomes: 'If I am to keep my tie to mother, I must not show her that I love her, but if I do not show her that I love her, then I will lose her' (Bateson 1974:217-218).

It is necessary to comment on a few relevant points before completing the discussion on double bind situations. To begin with, as John Weakland has noted, it is important to look at double bind situations from the point of view of the receiver of the contradictory messages (Weakland 1960:375). It is vital to bear in mind that:

Persons do not simply respond to the immediate environment of physical objects. The external world of physical reality is always transformed by the person; he reacts not to the world but to his conceptions of it (Faris 1939:156).

Therefore, a person will react in a situation in accordance with what he believes to be the case (Bateson 1951:217). In conclusion, it is necessary, in order to understand the effects of double bind situations on a person, to understand what that person believes his situation consists of. In other words, it is necessary to grasp what the receiver of contradictory messages conceives his relationship to be with the sender.

A second point which requires mentioning is that double binding messages need not be sent by only one person. Two or more persons can create a double bind by communicating messages which contradict each other. For instance, one parent could contradict the verbal message of the other parent by facial expressions, remaining silent on an issue, or even verbally. Obscuration of the message is facilitated by the fact that two or

more people are involved in communicating the contradiction. In other words, "the messages are too much separated -- by person, by time, by different style of phrasing" (Weakland 1960:379).

Thirdly, and in connection with the above discussion on multiple persons producing double bind situations, John Weakland made reference to a type of double bind situation which Theodore Lidz calls "family skew." Specifically:

'family skew' involves situations of apparent parental agreement but covert disagreement, situations which, in terms of communication, must involve incongruent messages to the children, but with concealment, denial, and inhibition of comment operating in the ways we have outlined (Weakland 1960:381).

Finally, a discussion on role conflict and the double bind hypothesis will be briefly presented. In doing so, the meanings of status, roles, and role-set need clarification. Status is defined as the position of a person vis a vis other people (Goldschmidt 1959:81). A few examples are mother, sister, wife, attorney, teacher. The status itself, apart from the person, consists of a collection of rights and duties (Linton 1971:291).

When a person puts into effect the rights and duties that comprise a status, he is performing a role (Linton 1971:291). Hence, the titles mother, sister, wife, attorney, teacher can also be used to refer to roles. However, the rights and duties that constitute a particular status are a blueprint for behavior that a status holder should abide by. Such a blueprint is not the action itself; rather, it is the indicator of what action should be. Hence, roles are not merely matters of action, but a set of expectations for actions (Goldschmidt 1959:83).

It was pointed out by Robert Merton that a status often involves more than one role. In other words, a person qua a particular status frequently plays different roles when relating to different people. Merton calls this a role-set (Merton 1971:297).

When a person qua his particular status is confronted by the expectation to perform at least two incongruent roles a situation emerges called role-conflict. However, there are many other types of role conflict. Roger Brown mentions four.

1) Inter-role conflict occurs when there is conflict between two different roles. For example, conflict could occur if a person plays the roles of both son and college student. His parents expect him to visit them on weekends as part of his role as a son. At the same time, the college expects its students to work in the library on weekends (Brown 1965:156).

2) Intra-role conflict occurs when there is a disagreement on what is proper behavior for role occupants. What is expected of a role usually emanates from people in two or more complementary positions. There are two forms of intra-role conflict: a) Disagreement of what a proper role should be might occur within a complementary group. For example, a faculty of a college may not be able to reach a conclusion on what is to be expected from students. b) Conflict may exist between two complementary groups. For example, faculty and upper classmen may disagree on the role of students (Brown 1965:158).

3) Conflict is created from an incongruence between the role and the personality of the person assuming the role. A military officer who feels a need to be one of the boys among the enlisted men is an example

(Brown 1965:159).

Given the above discussion of role conflict and the definition of double binds, the similarities and differences between the two conflicts come to light. To begin with, it seems virtually impossible for role conflict to be caused by one person. Contradictory role expectations must come from two or more people. However, one person can create a double bind. Double binding messages do not have to define what a person's role is. A person in role conflict is not necessarily prevented from resolving the conflict. However, if the person is prevented from resolving the conflict then the role conflict could be double binding.

Long term exposure to double binds negates the necessity of preventing the person from resolving the contradiction. Since role conflict can be similar to double bind situations, a person regularly exposed to double binds may have a similar reaction to role conflict as he does to double binds.

#### Reactions to Double Bind

According to Watzlawick et al., there are a limited number of ways to react to double bind situations. However, by the very nature of the double bind situation, the person caught in it is incapable of choosing a reaction that would help him recognize his paradoxical situation and escape from it. The following reactions or behaviors are mentioned as occurring most frequently.

- 1) Because of the contradictory nature and the mystifying effect of double binds, a person, in seeking to find out what is really going on around him, might conclude that he is overlooking certain vital clues



already present in the situation or communicated to him by important others. He may feel that this overlooking of vital clues is due to his own misperceptions or perhaps because they are being withheld from him by others. Since, for all the other people involved, the situation in question appears to be logical and consistent, the person in the untenable situation would be reinforced in his belief that he is overlooking vital clues. Hence, the person in the double bind, in order to find the truth of what is happening to him, becomes obsessed with searching for these clues. Consequently, he will attempt to find the answers by looking at phenomena that has little to do with his situation (Watzlawick et al. 1967:217).

2) The person may decide that rather than searching for hidden meanings, he will literally comply with all injunctions and cease from engaging in any observable independent thinking. He will, furthermore, treat all human relationships as superficial and not give more or less meaning to different messages. Watzlawick et al. stated: "As can be imagined, such behavior would strike any observer as foolish, for the inability to distinguish between the trivial and the important, the plausible and the implausible, is in the essence of foolishness" (Watzlawick et al. 1967:218).

3) A person might withdraw from interacting with other people by physically isolating himself as much as possible and by closing himself off from all communicational input channels. A person carrying on in this way would overtly appear as withdrawn, unapproachable and autistic. A person can likewise achieve the same result "by hyperactive behavior that is so intense and sustained that most incoming messages are thereby drowned

out" (Watzlawick et al. 1967:218).

The three forms of behavior just described parallel the clinical pictures of schizophrenia in its paranoid, hebephrenic and catatonic forms respectively.

There are, however, other reactions to double bind situations then to become schizophrenic in any of its forms. Other researchers have postulated that delinquency (Watzlawick et al. 1963:146), various types of neuroses (Sluzki & Veron 1971:397-409), and "folk illnesses," (Stymiest et al. Personal Files of Authors) such as Amok, Susto and Arctic Hysteria, are also reactions to double bind situations.

It is not the purpose of this paper to investigate why a person may choose one reaction to double bind situations over another. Rather, part of the purpose of this study is to explore the possibility that alcoholism is a reaction to double bind situations. This idea becomes increasingly probable in light of a paper written by Ronald J. Catanzaro entitled, "Psychiatric Aspects of Alcoholism," in which he states:

It is a fairly sound truism to assume that human beings in general try to successfully adjust to their environment. People who ultimately become alcoholics discovered at some point in their life what an aid alcohol appeared to be in helping them to adjust successfully to their life. Alcohol is a drug with many appealing properties. It relieves anxiety and tension. It is an anesthetic which can relieve physical and emotional pain. It helps release inhibitions. It can be made into a tasty and readily available beverage.

It is no wonder then that people who find themselves in a chronically stressful situation which can be 'temporarily relieved' by drinking alcohol gradually begin depending on alcohol as a source of relief (Catanzaro 1967:41).

Despite the fact that there are only a limited number of reactions to double binds within the context of alcoholism, there are various ways

drinking can be used to deal with these untenable situations. Catanzaro, in the above-cited quote mentioned a few. Stephen L. Gorad, William F. McCourt and Jeremy C. Cobb, mention another in a paper entitled, "A Communications Approach to Alcoholism." In it the authors state that the drunken behavior of either the alcoholic or the non-alcoholic can be considered to be sending a particular kind of message; specifically, this message is one of responsibility avoidance. In other words, I cannot help what I am doing or saying because I am drunk (Gorad et al 1971:652).

When persons drink to drunkenness they broadcast the message that they are 'drunk' by providing cues (slurring of speech, unsteady gait, the smell of alcohol, a glass in hand). These cues are known publicly; they are readily acknowledged as evidence that one is drunk and thus out of control, 'not really oneself,' and free of the usual responsibilities (Gorad et al. 1971:653).

If we look at the above statements in light of the double bind hypothesis, a person in a double bind situation would be able to comment about his situation, although his perception of his dilemma may be incorrect. For instance, he might accuse his parents of ruining his life. Since he was drunk, he would not have to suffer the consequences of being accountable for his actions. If the person in question did correctly perceive the double bind, he could comment on his situation without threat to his survival, since it is considered to be the alcohol talking not the person.

John Hamer lends further support to this idea when writing of drinking among a Potawatomi Indian group.

It is clear that only within the confines of the drinking situation can one overtly manipulate others, express hostility, and seek emotional support. Thus . . . the individual is protected from mental breakdown in the sense

that most violations of the cultural norms . . . are excusable when associated with the imbibing of alcohol (Hamer 1969:238).

Unfortunately, the person's alcoholic communication is contradictory in itself, and in an intense relationship would be double binding which would perpetuate the vicious spiral of double bind situations.

Gorad et al. also wrote, in connection with the responsibility avoidance idea: "To be able to act and thus communicate one's definition of relationships and to have everyone know that one is not responsible for one's acts, puts one in a position of unusual control" (Gorad et al. 1971:653).

Alcohol can not only put one in control of one's social relations but also oneself by providing "individuals one of the few stable, predictable activities . . ." (Hamer 1965:296). In other words, how alcohol makes a person feel is predictable by that person. Such predictability may be vital to the person caught in the confusion of double bind situations.

There are, however, at least two drawbacks to drinking. One which has already been mentioned consists of perpetuating the double bind situation by the nature of the contradictory messages sent by the alcoholic. The second lies in the fact that "alcohol is an addicting drug and as its use is repeated over the months and years, the drinker gradually develops alcoholism" (Catanzaro 1967:41).

## CHAPTER II

### METHODOLOGY

This study entails applying a conception of social interaction, the double bind, to a problem, abusive drinking, using a case history approach and giving added support to the findings with cross-cultural data. Before proceeding in this manner, it was necessary to review the literature on double binds and alcoholism. The double bind hypothesis and definition of alcoholism have been sufficiently reviewed in Chapter One. Hence, a discussion on the case history aspect of this work and use of cross-cultural data will be presently examined.

The terms life history, case history and case studies will all be used synonymously. It is defined for the purpose of this study in L. L. Langness' terms as a: "record of a person's life as it is reported either by the person himself or by others or both, and whether it is written or in interviews or both" (Langness 1965:4). Langness considered extensiveness as a prerequisite of the case history definition (Langness 1965:4). This is indeed of primary importance. However, for present purposes, less extensive case histories command some utility.

The use of life histories is not new to anthropology. Paul Radin's Crashing Thunder, published in 1926, stimulated interest in biographies by professional anthropologists (Langness 1965:7). Considerable attention was given to life histories between the years 1925 and 1945. Since then interest seems to have diminished in favor of less time-consuming and less difficult methods of gathering data (Langness 1965:19). However, L. L. Langness asserts there are many areas of study in anthropology that neces-

sitate the use of life histories. Such areas of study include culture and idiosyncrasy, deviance, cultural structure, culture change, personality, role analyses, factors of chance and accident, values, and socialization studies (Langness 1965:20-29). Although the present work is tangential to some of these areas of study, for instance deviance, personality, role analyses and socialization studies, one significant difference exists. Namely, people are not examined as deviants or performing roles or in terms of their personality. Instead, people are examined in terms of what they do, what happens to them, and their feelings and perceptions. Emphasis is placed on social interaction in these terms. Angell and Freedman have asserted that the life history is well suited for such a task. "The peculiar value of expressive documents is that in them life is discussed in terms meaningful to those involved" (Angell & Freedman 1953:305)<sup>7</sup>.

About fifty percent of this study is composed of the most complete life histories of alcoholics that could be located in the alcoholism literature. Five were found. Subsequently, each life history was reanalyzed in light of the particular individual's social relationships with significant others. Particular emphasis is placed on isolating double-bind situations and linking them with the individual's drinking problem.

Certain limitations are posed by using case histories gathered by other researchers. First of all, the life data is often geared toward a particular research objective. Consequently, certain helpful information may have been omitted. Secondly, only the original researcher comes in contact with the individual in question. Therefore, much information that would have been obtained through subjective perceptions of, and inter-relating with, the individual is lost. This problem can be somewhat com-

compensated for if the researcher who acquired the case history added his perceptions. Both problems could be overcome by obtaining first hand case histories. However, for present purposes, this task was insurmountable.

There are a number of case studies available in the literature which are too inadequate for the type of analysis described above. However, these studies have some use. They have been presently utilized to lend some support to the hypothesis that there exists a relationship between double bind situations and problem drinking. These case studies, forty-five in all, have been analyzed and the results reported. Specifically, double bind situations and concomitant variables, which are indicators of double binds, have been isolated and set forth on a chart. The chart and a discussion accompanying it have been placed in an appendix.

Upon reading the chapter on extensive life histories, it will be obvious that the conclusions drawn are restricted to these five cases. The data drawn from the forty-five less complete case studies is of such a nature as to allow only limited support for extrapolation of the conclusions to the wider society. For such generalizations to be made, analysis of a large number of extensive case histories with consistent findings is necessary. Unfortunately, extensive case studies are few and far between. Consequently, anthropological studies of drinking patterns in other cultures have been utilized. In other words, certain regularities of behavior in reference to drinking, between the case studies and various groups have been sought. If such regularities can be found, then strong support can be presented for extrapolation into the larger society from

which the life histories were taken. Two studies on drinking patterns among South American Groups and one study on alcoholism among Mexican-Americans have been employed.

In sum, validity is sought for certain hypotheses through two major and one minor way. The major ways consist first of a life history approach using five extensive life histories. The second way employs anthropological studies on drinking in other societies. Finally, minor support is given by quantifying certain variables from less extensive case studies.



### CHAPTER III

#### CASE HISTORIES

##### Introduction

In this chapter, five case histories will be reviewed and the double bind situations isolated. However, before proceeding, a few remarks need mentioning.

As previously noted, indepth case studies are rare. The five case histories contained in this chapter are the most complete studies located in the literature. All the case histories are, for the most part, narratives of the particular alcoholic. Four of the histories were edited by people who had direct contact with the subjects. Sociologist, Robert Straus, edited the case of Frank Moore, and Psychiatrist, Benjamin Karpman, edited the cases of Elizabeth Chesser, Vera Banckek and Frances Elliott. Straus' and Karpman's comments on their perceptions and research increase greatly the validity of their respective case histories. The case of Frank Moore is given added validity through obtainment, by Dr. Straus, of statements from the alcoholic's mother. The case of Lillian Roth lacks the checks on validity that accompany the other histories. However, this fault is compensated for by the greater amount and depth of the information given.

It may be noted during reading of the three histories edited by Karpman that much emphasis is placed on sexual experiences. This is due to the theoretical orientation of the editor which affected the type of information published.

Finally, it is necessary to emphasize the importance of examining the case histories from the viewpoint of the subject. The important effects of a person's conceptions on his actions were noted earlier. For this reason and for the reason of emphasizing the feelings and perceptions of the individual, numerous passages have been cited.

### The Case of Frank Moore

The following is an account of the pre-alcoholic years of Frank Moore's life. Special emphasis is placed on the interaction of Frank with important others and between the important others excluding Frank. An attempt will be made to demonstrate how the contradictions and other aspects of this interaction led to a confusion, mystification, and degeneration of a feeling of self-worth within Frank Moore.

Frank Moore was born into an "atmosphere of extreme personal strife and tension," (Straus 1974:338) in the form of a feud between Frank's father and his maternal grandmother. The feud was further aggravated by the unsuccessful attempt of Frank's grandmother to pressure his mother into aborting the fetus. This situation was dominated, especially by the grandmother, by the hope that "perhaps it will die" (Straus 1974: 338). Shortly after Frank's birth, the feud between his father and grandmother was culminated by the suicide of his father, after which the father's family disassociated themselves from Frank's mother and family. After a short period following the suicide, Frank's mother left Frank in the care of his newly divorced maternal grandfather.

Up to age twelve, Frank lived with his grandfather, who was a reputable man in town. He was honest, hard working and clean spoken. He did not appear to have any close friends and did not identify with any religious group or lodges. Apparently, he had once been blackballed by a certain group. Frank's grandfather had been to sea as a young man and insisted on punctuality at supper and bed times. Frank had real affection for his grandfather and his grandfather had real affection toward Frank. Frank once stated, concerning his relationship with his grandfather, "He was very formal, always introduced me as his grandson. He acted proud of me generally and talked as if he expected good things of me." Despite this, however, Frank was told by his grandfather that if he "ever got licked, don't come crying to him about it" (Straus 1974:28). Frank was clearly on his own.

Frank attributed his upbringing to a series of housekeepers, most of whom only had an "artificial affection" for him.— They all felt he was just an obligation to them and no one treated him as if he was their own. Furthermore, his father's suicide had been hushed up and his parents were never spoken of in his grandfather's house. However, Frank always felt something was wrong as the following quote demonstrates.

It was one of those things that was hushed up and never talked about. I never understood the real story. I know there was some sort of disgrace connected with it and my father's family never had anything to do with my mother after that (Straus 1974:26).

and

As far back as I can remember I was aware that something was 'wrong,' something made me different from

the other kids. I thought about it because I guessed it was something they didn't want me to talk about (Straus 1974:27).

Frank's perception that something was wrong was enhanced by his classmates. Likewise, as previously mentioned, it seemed to have something to do with his parents.

The boys would run after me, yelling 'Moorey, Moorey, Moorey.' I didn't understand why, but I always felt that they meant something derogatory. I thought they were referring to my father and the fact that he committed suicide (Straus 1974:29).

and

I knew all the time that something was wrong, but I didn't understand it. I thought it had something to do with my not having a father and mother, and my playmates made fun of it in a way I didn't understand. All the other kids had mothers and fathers. When they called me by my last name, I resented it and I realized that that was their purpose (Straus 1974:28).

At about the age of twelve, Frank's mother returned with a new husband. However, the situation did not improve. Frank's awareness that something was wrong persisted. His relationship with his stepfather is expressed in the following quote: "My relationship with my stepfather was a sort of an armed truce. I was an unwanted obligation to him (Straus 1974:30).

Frank felt his mother left him because he was a burden to her. He resented this and attributed her return to community pressure rather than genuine concern for him.

This resentment is exemplified in Frank's view of his mother's philosophy:

My mother believed that you've got to have material things, she had no interest in honesty and fair play, just how much

money you could make and what plans you had for security. Women are twice as practical as men (Straus 1974:33).

We never understood each other, because she measures success in material things (Straus 1974:33).

The above statements should not be discounted because they are Frank's perception of his mother and subject to bias. His mother, in a letter to the author of Escape From Custody in speaking of Frank's alcoholic condition wrote, "I blame myself because tho [sic] I was just I haven't much love (as it is supposed to be) in my nature" (Straus 1974:93). However, Frank's mother once mentioned that Frank had everything he wanted materially.

When Frank entered high school, he was permitted to select his own courses. He chose college preparatory courses. Nevertheless, he nor anyone else expected him to attend college since plans were not made for him to do so.

About midway in his freshman year, he suffered from an attack of influenza and missed six weeks of school. A great deal of make-up work was necessary and both his mother and grandfather abandoned any hope of his passing his courses that year.

The following year, he recommenced his freshman year. He did well, however, his classmates said it was due to the fact that he had had it before. It was about this time that Frank decided to quit school.

I made high marks but I began to think that this was the end of school. I had no prospect of going to college and I wasn't mechanically inclined -- small industries didn't interest me (Straus 1974:31).

When Frank told his mother his plans to quit school, she showed little interest and told him he did not have to attend school if he did not want

to. However, his grandfather disapproved.

Frank then obtained a job that required little skill. He was compelled to pay rent to his stepfather who, likewise, disapproved of his spending habits.

At age sixteen, Frank enlisted in the navy. Although he was below the lawful age, he was advised by the recruiter to lie about his age and birth place. The following is Frank's account of his informing his parents of his enlistment.

I went home and told my mother that I'd joined the navy. She said she didn't know whether she'd let me. I gave her to understand that I was already in and nothing could be done about it. My grandfather thought it was a good thing; he approved of it. My stepfather probably thought that some barrier had been removed. Of course, I had the feeling too that some barrier had been removed. I never felt that my stepfather, mother and I were ever happy as the three of us: I felt that the problem could be me, but I doubted that she could be happy with him (Straus 1974:33).

In joining the navy, Frank entered into a system of discipline and restrictions. However, he felt that the restrictions associated with his mother and his home town, Calvinville, had been removed. Frank remarked that he joined the navy for his own selfish reasons, that is, to escape from an unpleasant situation.

After Frank entered the navy and later the army, he like his grandfather, became somewhat isolated from his peers. The major occupations of the other men were gambling, drinking, and sex. Frank had little interest in these activities, which conflicted somewhat with his own personal moral values. He became interested in literature and philosophy which further isolated him from the others.

While Frank was in the navy, he had been jailed once for a military code violation. This incident was treated as a joke by his peers. The jail was located near a store and his compeers kept him well stocked with everything he wanted.

After Frank's discharge from the navy, he enlisted in the army. Eventually however, Frank's military career came to an abrupt end when arrested for committing a felony. He was imprisoned at Alcatraz for five years. He stole a military officer's car and struck a civilian policeman upon apprehension.

As Frank grew older, his mother began suggesting to him that it was time to settle down and accomplish something.

Before proceeding further, a quick summary of Frank's philosophy will be presented, much of which was adopted from his grandfather. Following this, Frank's life will be reviewed, pointing out some of the contradictions prevalent throughout his life.

#### Frank Moore's philosophy:

When a man seeks happiness he doesn't need money, property, social standing, leadership in public affairs. He can find it through work, fair labor for pay, honesty, assuming one's obligations, not tying oneself to any particular group or ideas of a particular group, self-sufficiency in an economic sense, congenial occupation, good health. A man could be a good man without being a successful man (Straus 1974:33).

Frank Moore was reared with the community defined stigma of his father's suicide and his mother's desertion. Since this subject was forbidden conversation in his grandfather's house, Frank was unable to obtain any information about it. He was treated as different by his peers and made fun of by them. He was made to feel he was unwanted by

his mother's desertion and the type of dutiful but unloving care which he received from those who reared him. Even his grandfather, though he had affection for Frank, did not show it overtly. Frank's stepfather considered him an unwanted burden. All this contradicted the fact that he was well fed, clothed, and provided with all his material needs, which demonstrated that either he was wanted or that he should not pay attention to any indications of not being wanted. Frank was trapped and mystified. He could not escape from the situation because he was a child, nor could he comment on it since the matter concerning his situation was a taboo subject (i.e. his mother's desertion). In any case, there was no one who was concerned enough to listen to him. He came to the only conclusion possible, that is, there was something wrong with him personally. That is why his father committed suicide, his mother deserted him and nobody wanted him. It was also why he was made fun of and why no one would talk about the matter of his parents.

A second contradiction can be found in his relation to his grandfather, the only person for whom he really cared. Although his grandfather had genuine affection for Frank, he was not available in times of urgent need. For instance, if other children made fun of Frank, usually indicating Frank's parentless situation, he could not turn to his grandfather for comfort and understanding. Frank's grandfather told him when he was "licked" not to come running to him (i.e. his grandfather). This reflected the self-sufficiency part of the grandfather's philosophy, much of which Frank adopted. However, this contradicted that part of the grandfather's philosophy that obligations should be fulfilled. Certainly, if



one is to fulfill his obligation in rearing a child, one must be available in times of great need.

A third paradox lies in the fact that Frank's grandfather expected "good things" from Frank, that is, to be a success. Likewise, in his older years, Frank's mother told Frank he should make something of himself. Unfortunately, no one ever motivated him to do so. When Frank went to high school, he enrolled in a college curriculum. However, no one expected him to attend college. No plans were made for him to do so, and no one guided him to an alternative career route. When Frank suffered from influenza and missed six weeks of school, rather than encouraging him to catch up, his mother and grandfather gave up on the possibility of his passing that year. Also, when Frank decided to quit school, rather than encouraging him not to, his mother told him to do what he wished. Hence, while proclaiming high expectations for Frank, his mother and grandfather stifled his motivation.

Frank's grandfather was possibly the most important person in Frank's life. He was a reputable and good man. Frank admired him and adopted his philosophy. However, the grandfather's integration into society was seemingly minimal. He was relatively isolated from society, had few close friends, and apparently had been blackballed by a particular group. In short, the grandfather, a good and reputable person with a philosophy that would surely deserve the respect of society, was isolated from society. For Frank, conforming to his grandfather's philosophy, meant facing the negative consequences of isolation from society. Rejecting his grandfather's philosophy would have been very difficult,

especially since he served as the only model from which Frank could pattern himself. In addition, Frank's rejection of this philosophy would have meant losing the only person who ever really cared for him, no matter how remotely.

Frank's home life was full of contradictions, confusions, and mystifications, and when a way out presented itself, he took it. However, freeing himself from the life he had been living, necessitated contradicting his own philosophy. Frank had to lie about his age and birth place in order to join the navy. It was, likewise, necessary to lie to his mother that once enlisted there was no way out. When questioned at the military base as to why he joined, he replied to serve his country, even though he was really escaping from an untenable situation. Frank later called this selfish, which contradicted his ideology of straight and narrow. In short, to escape from one untenable situation, he had to place himself into another untenable situation.

Upon entering the military, Frank became somewhat isolated from his peers. After Frank put himself into an untenable situation, that is his dishonesty, to escape from the untenability of his family situation, he entered into a third untenable situation, the military.

During his enlistment in the navy, Frank was arrested for a military code violation. It was communicated to Frank that he broke the law by the very fact that he was jailed. However, it was also communicated to him by the attitudes of his peers that he should not take seriously his irresponsibilities.

Upon being discharged from the army, Frank encountered more paradoxical situations. There was little reason to go home. The only person he cared for, his grandfather, had died. There was no job available for him and he had lost contact with his schoolmates. Likewise, Frank was labeled with the additional stigma of his imprisonment.

In addition, Frank was well educated by his own doing. However, he had no certificate to verify this. He was highly skilled as a medical corpsman, but this was not transferable into civilian life and he had very little civilian work experience. In short, Frank was educated but not considered educated by society. Also, he was highly skilled, but there was little opportunity to make use of his training.

Another problem was that Frank Moore was always in a situation of partial dependency until his discharge from the army. Hence, he never had the opportunity to develop the skills necessary for coping with independent living in the larger society. Yet, after his discharge, he was expected to be able to adjust to civilian life and make something of himself (Straus 1974:334).

In sum, Frank Moore was reared in an environment of contradictions leading to confusion. When he tried to escape such a situation, he only entered more deeply into the spiraling dilemmas of double bind situations. Frank Moore once likened himself to a "mouse who gnaws a hole in the corner of a room trying to get to the other side without knowing what the hell is on the other side before he gets there" (Straus 1974:348). R. D. Laing once said that people put in such situations become so confused that they don't even know where they are. They feel they have no control

over themselves. Insanity is a last ditch effort to control one's life. Perhaps alcoholism also can be considered such a last ditch effort for control of oneself. The following statement made by Frank Moore demonstrates this idea.

With drink, I found deliverance: I could forget discomfort and fatigue, I could slip off the burden and see clearly again, I could be the master of my own brain, my thoughts and my will. My dead self would stir in me, and I could laugh with the crowd and joke with my companions. However low, socially, I could become a man again and master of my life (Straus 1974:357).

#### The Case of Elizabeth Chesser

Elizabeth Chesser was born in a small town located in a farming district. The last of six children, Elizabeth was a strong healthy tom-boy. Elizabeth's mother once indicated, although in an exaggerated way that, as a baby, she had an early development.

She raised her head off the pillow when she was three days old; that she bled from her vagina at birth; that she never crawled but just started to walk, that she talked early and never talked baby talk (Karpman 1948:6).

Elizabeth's mother was one of seven children and was reared much as a boy. She was the family disciplinarian and demanded strict obedience from her children under penalty of a severe beating. She was a highly efficient person. She did not care for cooking or housework, but did enjoy nature and animals. She considered women as "silly" or "senseless." She was not particularly religious or generally neighborly, however, she "did many things to help many people." Prior to Elizabeth's birth she was resentful, she felt she had had enough babies. The pregnancy apparently

caused a great deal of estrangement between herself and her husband.

Elizabeth's father, a man with a violent temper, was very religious, but intolerant of Catholics. He owned a general store. He did not drink, but apparently once admitted to an "alcoholic temptation" early in life. In the information available on this particular family, just what is meant by an alcoholic temptation is never elaborated.

The maternal grandfather, a hard, arrogant, and rather cruel man lived with Elizabeth's family. He had been a farmer, a cabinetmaker and was the first mayor of Elizabeth's home town.

The daily movements of the Chesser children were strictly supervised. The children went to bed about the same time every night. Deviations had to involve special circumstances which required special permission. The hours after school and before supper were designated as play times. The children were expected to play in their own yard, house or barn unless formally invited elsewhere in which case, special permission from their parents was needed. They were permitted to bring home their friends.

We were free to eat everything in sight or hidden (if we could find it) and we could feed as many of the kids as we could bring home with us, just so we came home and played at home or on our property (Karpman 1948:6).

It was around the age of four or five that Elizabeth first began feeling not loved and not wanted. At this time "her mother would tell her to run along and play and get out of her way, that she was too busy to bother with her" (Karpman 1948:7-8). Likewise, her father began refusing to allow her to sit on his lap. He said Elizabeth was too fat and too heavy to hold comfortably. Sitting on her father's lap meant a

great deal to Elizabeth. She had doubts as to the validity of his reasons.

However, she tried to find reasons to excuse him.

I arrived at the decision that I was unloved and not wanted because it seemed to me that I was always being told to go somewhere else than where I was. I seemed to be in everybody's way, required time and attention that no one had to give, and when it was given it was hastefully and resentfully done; and other children seemed better off than I was. I arrived at the decision that there was no reason why Papa should want to hold me; that I was unloved, unwanted, merely tolerated, never getting any attention, except when I did something to gain unfavorable attention, but unfavorable attention was better than none . . . (Karpman 1948:8).

Elizabeth also remembers when she was "sent up town barefoot and in soiled dress, so people seeing me that way could not respect me or admire me as they did Dora, Agnes and Frances" (Karpman 1948:8).

Between the ages six and nine her sister, Dora, would tell Elizabeth she smelled badly. Elizabeth would then repeatedly wash or take a bath and return to her sister for inspection. When Dora tired of Elizabeth's pestering, she would evasively say that "she guessed it was all right" (Karpman 1948:7). Elizabeth began to feel there was something terribly wrong with her since Dora did not complain about anyone else. All her efforts to rid herself of the smell were of no avail. Consequently, she tried to keep herself "out of smelling distance," keeping more to herself. Elizabeth felt that if she was so repulsive Dora or her mother should remedy the problem.

When Elizabeth came home after examining a boy's penis for the first time, she was whipped without explanation. She thought that someone must have seen her but was not positive. This was not a too farfetched assumption since "it was consistent with Mamma's teaching that sex was taboo,

and anyone disobeying the law would be punished" (Karpman 1948:9). When the second eldest daughter once demanded a reason for an unexplained whipping her mother replied that "she and Papa did not know how to tell their children about the dangers of sexual relations with boys, and that they had to whip them to impress their minds, so that the children would not disgrace their name" (Karpman 1948:14).

On another occasion around the age of six, Elizabeth was severely whipped for disobeying her mother. Elizabeth's father attended choir practice every Wednesday night and liked to have Elizabeth present. She wanted to be with her father enough to disobey her mother's orders. On the way home from choir practice her father was very affectionate toward her. He held her hand and told her the story of the Big and Little Dipper. Elizabeth's joy was overwhelming. She never before felt so close to her father. Following her return home, Elizabeth was harshly whipped by her mother. Elizabeth had disobeyed her mother and expected the consequences. Her father questioned the reason for the whipping. Her mother simply explained "She disobeyed me" (Karpman 1948:11) giving no explanations as to how or why.

Papa jumped up, grabbed the black belt in one hand, and me in the other, took me again into the back bedroom and whipped me, harder and stronger than Mamma had. All of the beginning of closeness between my father and me was smashed. My heart was crushed. I cried bitterly, until I was made to stop crying unless I wanted another whipping (Karpman 1948:11).

The night Papa and I walked home from choir practice is my most vivid memory of being happy with Papa. I don't remember distinctly being alone with him at any other time. I was so happy during the few minutes of that walk that I could hardly bear it. I felt that Papa was interested in me, that he loved me, and he held my hand so warmly, and my hand was so at peace in his, entirely swallowed up in his big hand, yet

protected and companionable, and I felt it was what I had always wanted, and here it was and it was going to be like that always hereafter. I forgot entirely about disobeying Mamma. Of course, I loved him, but I didn't think he wanted my love, or loved me until that night.

When we got home that night and they both punished me, my feeling for them changed. I felt they were unfair and unjust and that they didn't love me and were punishing me for being alive even (Karpman 1948:11-12).

Elizabeth completed grade school, high school, and then took some summer courses at State University and Normal School. She wanted to attend college but could not afford it since her parents would not assist her financially. She felt she did not have the drive to work her way through. In any case, her sister Dora had already successfully accomplished this and Elizabeth felt that anything she might do in the same line would gain no recognition for herself. She had no main goal in life and wanted to do so many things without knowing which one she wanted first. Elizabeth's parents seemed more or less indifferent. Although they wanted all their children to have a college education, they offered no financial aid or guidance, at least in Elizabeth's case.

Soon, however, she was able to get a job as teacher in a small town. It was here at age twenty that Elizabeth engaged in her first act of sexual intercourse, after a somewhat lengthy and forceful urging by the particular male she was with. However, after consenting to his wishes, she sensed a great feeling of disappointment. She felt the mystery did not deserve all the secrecy that it had been given ever since she could remember. Much of her disappointment was due to the fact that she expected that some great change would come over her as a result of intercourse. When nothing did change, she felt cheated. Part of the reason for her



attitudes toward sex resulted from the fact that no one ever explained anything to her concerning such matters.

After Elizabeth's teaching job had finished, she gained employment with the government Civil Service in Washington. It was here she met a retired military officer, named Clive. She had an affair with him for quite some time. They wanted to be married, however, Clive's wife refused to give him a divorce. It was during this time that Elizabeth was brutally raped. Elizabeth herself describes how she felt and the situation between her and Clive in the following quotes.

At first I felt Clive would never want to touch me again. I felt so besmirched and low from having been used by a brute, but as soon as possible that afternoon Clive insisted on having intercourse with me to prove he still loved me, and he said it would help to reassure me and calm me, and it did help. He would insist that I tell him in details of positions the man used, and things he said, and Clive then insisted upon trying them with me, saying, 'You see, it isn't so bad, Sweetheart, with someone you love,' and he kept me talking about it until I was worn out and felt like sleeping.

and

Finally Clive got to the place where he wanted me to recite over and over the details of what the man had done to me. It was agony and torture to me, to think he would turn so horrible a thing into a means of arousing his passion at the expense of my feelings. So I gradually drank more and more and at certain stages I could tell him what I thought of him, and how I hated him; and sometimes he would leave me, and then I would be sorry, and he would come back and we would make up and swear not to drink any more and would have a fine time for a few days. Then it happened all over again; and again and again (Karpman 1948:37-38).

At this time, the data presented on Elizabeth Chessser will be re-analyzed in light of the double bind hypothesis.

Elizabeth Chesser's birth in itself was a contradiction. Her mother did not want the child and had felt she had enough babies. Yet, she conceived this child. Likewise, the pregnancy apparently caused considerable estrangement between Elizabeth's parents. This might explain why Elizabeth was so often treated as unwanted and a bother. To Elizabeth, it might seem quite unreasonable that her parents conceived her and then treated her as unwanted and gave her little love. However, there is little doubt that all of Elizabeth's material needs were met. This is also contradictory to the fact that she was unwanted, which was quite obvious to Elizabeth.

As Elizabeth progressed through her childhood years, she began to feel that there was something wrong with her. She was given very little attention and what little she received was given resentfully. Her father began refusing to allow her to sit on his lap around the time Elizabeth reached the age of four or five. His excuse was that she was getting too fat, a derogatory remark in itself. Elizabeth was certain that his actions were due to his lack of love for her. When Elizabeth reached the age of six, her sister, Dora, began telling her she smelled and Elizabeth was the only person who was told this. This could explain to Elizabeth why she was unloved. Elizabeth thought there was something terribly wrong with her, despite the fact that she felt strong and healthy. Likewise, her mother had expressed the fact that Elizabeth was an extraordinary baby. Dora had indicated that something was wrong with Elizabeth. However, she made no attempt to help Elizabeth remedy the problem. Dora's lack of help in remedying this situation indicated to Elizabeth that she was not as repulsive as Dora had said.

In the Chesser family, sex was a taboo subject. Due to their own inhibitions, Elizabeth's parents found that they were unable to give even basic information concerning the facts of life. However, attempts by Elizabeth and her brothers and sisters to secure this information themselves always posed the danger that they would be whipped if either Mr. or Mrs. Chesser found out. Such was the case when Elizabeth's cousin had showed her his penis; an incident which was a result of a natural curiosity in Elizabeth and her cousin. It seems quite contradictory that Elizabeth's parents refused to give their children information that constitutes a necessary aspect of their preparation for dealing with life. Yet, they refused to allow the children to acquire this information themselves. Through experimentation the children would learn what, by their parents' standards, would be considered both good and bad information. However, by punishing the children for all experimentation, they would be punishing the children for what they considered good to know. In addition, the parents communicated the message, granted you have natural drives, but do not pay attention to them.

The Chesser's paradoxical attitude toward the whole matter of sex caused a shroud of mystery to encompass this subject which later on in life caused certain problems for Elizabeth. For instance, when Elizabeth was twenty, she was involved in her first premarital sexual relationship after which she was greatly disappointed and felt cheated. She felt there must be more to the whole matter than what she experienced. Certainly, she could not have been beaten as a child for something which seemed as relatively insignificant as what she had experienced in this particular sexual relationship. The mystification which resulted from her lack of knowledge

of the subject lead her to believe that some great change would occur after intercourse. She expected to be a new woman. However, nothing changed for her, which caused her a great deal of anxiety and frustration.

As was mentioned earlier in relating Elizabeth's life history, all the children in her home were restricted in their movements. Likewise, Elizabeth, for the most part, was required to stay at home at play times. However, she could bring as many friends home as she liked. If she was going to a friend's house, it had to be quite clear that she was formally invited. The contradiction lies in the fact that what her parents thought was right for other children, they thought was wrong for their own children. In other words, I will permit those children to do what I will not permit you to do.

When other children did come over to Elizabeth's house, they were free to eat anything the Chesser children had. Elizabeth explains this quite clearly in the following quote: "We were free to eat everything in sight or hidden (if we could find it) and we could feed as many of the kids as we could bring home with us" (Karpman 1948:6). Implicit in Elizabeth's statement is another of many contradictions which characterize the Chesser's family situation. Specifically, the Chesser children were told by their parents that they were free to eat anything in the house, but at the same time, were prevented, at least on some occasions, from doing so because the food was hidden.

As earlier mentioned, Elizabeth was severely beaten for disobeying her mother. The reason she disobeyed her mother was so she could be with her father. In so doing, she received love and attention from her father,

which was more than enough to compensate for the beating she later received from her mother. This love and affection allowed her to escape from an untenable situation. However, when Elizabeth's father beat her without inquiring into all the facts of the situation, he contradicted all the love and affection he communicated to Elizabeth earlier. Hence, Elizabeth was thrown into an even more untenable situation.

After Elizabeth completed high school, she wanted to attend college. However, she did not have the funds to realize this desire. Likewise, her parents wanted her to continue school but neither offered any financial support nor any guidance to help Elizabeth achieve her goal. Since her sister had already succeeded in working her way through college without parental assistance, a like success would gain no recognition for Elizabeth: failure could only result in belittlement.

The final contradiction I would like to talk about involves the events which occurred after Elizabeth was raped. Her boyfriend, Clive, pretended to be concerned with Elizabeth's plight by having her recount the details of the rape. In reality, however, Clive was only thinking of himself. He became sexually aroused whenever someone described for him all the details involved in the act of intercourse and/or rape. In short, by professing a concern for Elizabeth, he was really expressing a concern for himself at her expense.

In sum, I have tried to point out all the contradictions which Elizabeth Chessser had to face throughout her pre-alcoholic life. Some of the contradictions may not seem overly important. However, they reflect the type of life style which the Chessser family provided for their children

and in this particular case, Elizabeth. It would be a fair assumption to say that if the data on Elizabeth's background was more adequate, better and more profound contradictions would reveal themselves.

The case of Elizabeth Chesser also gives some evidence that alcohol helped her regain some control over her own life. It was only when drunk that Elizabeth found that she could resist the advances of many men and express to Clive what her true opinions of him were.

#### The Case of Vera Banchek

Vera Banchek was the youngest of five children -- three boys and two girls. Vera had a normal birth and was apparently a healthy child. However, two of her brothers and her sister had died around the ages of twelve and thirteen.

At age two, Vera's father, a Russian immigrant and supposed alcoholic, died. Consequently, all the children were placed in orphanages. It was from here that one of her brothers ran away and was never heard of again.

Vera began growing up unaware that she had a mother, three brothers, and a sister. Eventually, she did meet her religiously obsessed sister at the orphanage. However, Vera was scorned as a sinner by her. Some time later, while still at the orphanage, her sister died.

Vera was said to have made a good adjustment to the orphanage. However, the events that occurred while she was in this institution make this possibility somewhat dubious. The incident with her sister is just one example. Furthermore, mothers frequently visited and brought gifts

to their children at the orphanage. Vera felt ashamed that she had no visitors and no one to bring her gifts.

On another occasion a mother threatened her child with giving me a banana if the child didn't eat it. When she handed me the fruit on pretense, I bit of it and she gave me a stinging blow across the face for doing so. I felt beneath this too because of the fact I had no one to bring me fruit and candy (Karpman 1948:78).

In addition, a number of girls at the orphanage beat Vera for informing on their misdoings.

The institution that Vera was placed in was a church orphanage. Consequently, she was exposed to much religious dogma. As a result of this, Vera became somewhat religious. This caused her considerable conflict later on in life.

When Vera reached about the age of eleven or twelve, her mother, a fanatically religious person with a violent temper, remarried and brought the remainder of her children home from the orphanages. It was here that the two remaining boys died leaving Vera as an only child, a situation that Vera found to be a disadvantage. Vera felt bitter toward her mother because she was an only child. She felt like an outcast. She had no older brother or sister to stand up for her and no one to play with on a rainy day.

Vera felt money compensated for being an only child. It was the means by which she felt she could gain the friendship and confidence of other children. However, her mother did not approve of giving her money, even in the smallest amounts. On the other hand, her stepfather frequently slipped her some change.

Vera's mother, as already mentioned, had a violent temper. She often ferociously beat Vera and at the same time forbade her to resent the beatings. For example:

One Sunday afternoon I had been pestering her about visiting a girl friend's house across the street. A friend of this girl's brother was there and he was a talented musician -- naturally I was quite anxious to see and hear this boy perform. In the meantime, Dorothy was calling for me to come over. Just about this time my mother was so incensed with rage, she ran toward me where I was seated on the davenport and started pounding on me ferociously with her fists when she wasn't pulling my hair and banging my head on the arm of the wooden davenport. This assault ceased only when she was out of breath. Shortly after this incident she called to me to prepare supper. In a sudden outburst, I told her I hated her. As a result of my impudence she came in with clenched fists, and was actually snarling like some sort of animal. Again, she attacked me until one of the neighbors told her she would notify the police if she continued. She did stop after telling the neighbor to tend her own household. Her anger was so aroused however, she would come in the room and shake her fists and make horrible faces at me. The house always seemed so weird at these certain times (Karpman 1948:80).

Of her mother's verbal attacks, Vera said: "I couldn't understand how a person could be so deeply religious and on the slightest provocation display a maniacal temper when she would say very irreverent things" (Karpman 1948:80).

There is little mention in the data of Vera's brothers before they died. However, Vera did say that her mother had been much more tolerant with the boys' misdoings than with her own.

At age fourteen, Vera first engaged in sexual intercourse. Her loss of virginity caused her trouble when later she was arrested for stealing ten dollars. A physical examination ordered by the court revealed that she was not a virgin. This gave sustenance to the indignation of a "puritanical woman judge." Vera, consequently, was committed for two



years to the City Training School for Girls.

While still living at her mother's house, Vera became impregnated twice. She aborted both fetuses -- one after six months, and the other after seven months. After the abortions, she felt she was a murderess and would never enter into the "Kingdom of Heaven" (Karpman 1948:76).

While still very young, Vera began drinking. She describes her feelings on the matter.

I began to turn to alcohol for consolation and the courage to live on. Whiskey was a brand-new fascination for me. While at home during the day the desire for alcohol was the least of my thoughts, but in the evening, just as dusk began to fall, I would become so melancholy and lonesome, without fail, at the thought of having to stay at home without so much as a drink to help me endure my nights 'in' (Karpman 1948:82).

Eventually, Vera married a roomer from her mother's boarding house. The reason the two married was due to the fact that they had gone on a three day party and were afraid Vera's mother would not accept them back into her household. However, upon informing Vera's mother of their marriage, she surprisingly refused to allow them back in her house. Consequently, they went to live with Vera's brother-in-law, a bootlegger. While living with her brother-in-law, Vera served a thirty-day sentence for drunkenness and contempt of court. Almost immediately following, she served an additional ninety-day sentence for drunkenness. During this period, Vera heard only once from her husband. He wrote to say he was leaving her. Following her ninety-day sentence, Vera was arrested fourteen more times, during which she served a one-year term, a six-month term and was hospitalized twice for suicidal attempts. Upon com-

pleting her last sentence, Vera and her husband attempted to restore their marriage. After one year, Vera gave birth to a son.

Eventually, Vera's marriage became a disappointment to her. The following quote gives some idea of how Vera experienced the situation.

In 1937 it was just beginning to dawn on me what a tragic mistake I made in choosing my husband as a life time mate. He was a notorious liar, gambler and in general an unreliable person. He lacked sincerity in thought, word and deed. He was sadly devoid of a genuine feeling of love, hatred or parental affection. Oblivion, an escape from myself and my responsibilities and environment was attained through alcohol which only helped to sadden my plight (Karpman 1948:83).

Vera's marriage situation, combined with her alcoholism, created a situation in which she was incapable of caring for her own child. Vera sought some form of escape which alcohol failed to give her. Through a friend, Vera obtained sedatives which provided the blissful peace she desired. Eventually, however, life became so unbearable that Vera took an overdose. It caused her to sleep for three days followed by hospitalization for two weeks.

Later, while serving a sixty-day sentence in jail, Vera swallowed three open safety pins. Shortly thereafter, she informed the matron and received medical attention. Upon recovering from this incident, Vera was notified that her husband was suing her for divorce on the grounds of incompatibility and "non compos mentis."

Again in 1938, Vera was admitted to the hospital for depression, resulting from a lengthy separation from her husband and baby. During the course of her hospitalization, she attempted suicide by cutting her wrists with broken glass. However, a patient noticed blood on the floor and a doctor was called in.

Since Vera found that the hospital staff would not allow her to commit suicide, she imaginatively committed suicide each morning by passing a comb across her throat. This temporarily provided her with the feeling of being in a dying condition. For those few moments she could forget her past grievances. Her psychiatrist, Benjamin Karpman said, in connection with her mock suicides:

The motive behind her suicidal attempts is the same as that underlying her alcoholic indulgence -- escape from an intolerable situation and a seemingly hopeless emotional conflict (Karpman 1948:85).

As has been the situation with the previous case studies, the data will be reviewed, pulling out the contradictions that are found throughout Vera Banchek's life.

The first contradiction, although Vera did not have to come to terms with it until she found out she had a mother, lies in the fact that Vera was born to her mother, implying that she was wanted by her mother. At the same time, she was sent away by her mother, which indicated she was not wanted. Thereafter, Vera's mother did not visit her and acknowledge her existence as was the case with many other children at the orphanage. Finally, Vera discovered she had a mother. However, her mother did not come to see her, rather she came to claim the body of Vera's dead sister.

The second contradiction occurred when, to her great joy, Vera discovered she had a sister -- someone of the same family with whom she could identify and have the feeling of belonging. However, any happiness on this account was short lived when Vera was spurned as a sinner by her own flesh and blood and her only known connection to her beginning. It seems somewhat contradictory that Vera was rejected by her sister, even

though her sister was, likewise, in a similar situation, that is, being an orphan and without any known family.

Another paradoxical incident occurred when Vera apparently saw some of the girls at the orphanage doing something wrong. She informed the appropriate authority and the girls were punished. Later, however, these same girls beat Vera for telling on them. To her this probably seemed unreasonable. In any case, Vera had responded to what she had been taught was right and wrong and yet she suffered severe consequences as a result of her actions.

On another occasion, when the mothers of the children at the orphanage visited them, a mother threatened her own child with giving Vera a banana if the child did not eat it. When the mother handed Vera the banana, Vera bit it and the mother gave her a "stinging blow across the face for doing so" (Karpman 1948:78). To Vera, the blow across the face seemed to be a senseless action in light of the fact that the banana was given to her.

After Vera was taken from the orphanage, she continued to encounter constant contradictions. For instance, Vera's mother was much more tolerant of Vera's brothers' misbehavior than Vera's. Vera pondered over the difference between her brothers and herself that caused such a double standard. The contradictory meting out of punishment for her brothers and her own wrong doings seemed irrational.

Vera discovered that money was very important, especially after her brothers had died. Vera felt that money would help her compensate for the disadvantage of not having brothers or sisters. She felt money would help her gain the friendship and confidence of other children. However,

her mother disapproved of Vera having money. Her mother's attitude was frequently contradicted by Vera's stepfather, who often slipped some money to her. In sum, her mother believed she did not need money, however, Vera's experiences contradicted this. Likewise, her mother said she could not have any money, but her stepfather contradicted this by giving it to her.

As has been previously mentioned, Vera was often beaten by her mother for trivial things. In addition, any resentment that might be a natural outcome of such a beating was subject to another thrashing. In short, any complaint of an unwarranted beating was met with another. Following these beatings, Vera's mother would try to make up to Vera by taking her shopping or something of a similar nature. However, eventually other beatings would occur thrusting Vera back into the same predicament.

Another paradox is seen in the mother's proclaimed religiousness. There was little evidence of her religiousness during her temper fits when she would make many irreverent statements and violently attack Vera.

After Vera's first abortion, she became further enmeshed in a system of can't win situations. She felt she had murdered her baby. This damned her to hell. Yet, life on earth was untenable to the extreme. Life and death both presented hellish situations.

When Vera was arrested for stealing ten dollars, the court ordered a physical examination, which revealed that Vera was not a virgin. As a result, the judge sent her to the City Training School for Girls where she stayed for two years. Paradoxically, she was not sent for her stealing, but for her loss of virginity which is not even a crime. The judge who is supposed to act within the law, acted outside, abusing her position in

power. The judge contradicted herself by judging Vera's loss of virginity as a crime, while she herself committed a crime against Vera.

Eventually, Vera married, but life improved little. Already she was enmeshed into a life system of double binds in which she kept falling in deeper and deeper. She and her husband were spurned by her mother. However, her marriage provided an escape from the untenable atmosphere of living with her mother. Unfortunately, she became disillusioned with her marriage and felt she had made a mistake. Hence, her escape from her previous untenable situation with her mother became an untenable situation in itself. Her drinking increased, resulting in several arrests and she was unable to care for her child. Finally, she was again jailed where she attempted suicide and was committed to a hospital. Upon recovering from her suicidal attempt, she was informed of divorce procedures against her on grounds that she was mentally incapable of handling her own affairs. She again attempted suicide but was again prevented. She wanted to die, but could not or would not be allowed. However, even death would not be an escape from her situation since hell awaited her. Vera had apparently lost all control over her life and alcohol helped her regain some control.

#### The Case of Frances Elliott

Frances and her twin sister had a trouble-free birth in their own home. However, Frances was a frail sickly child, while her sister was healthy. Frances was apparently religious as a child, but her religious fervor lessened as she grew older.

The two girls lived with their parents. The father, a government attorney, had a violent temper and did not like children. Frances described him as "tempermental, intolerant and very demanding" (Karpman 1948:119). He frequently beat his children and violently fought with his wife. The intensity of the quarrels was so severe that Frances often asked her mother the reasons for not leaving him. However, the mother would only reply by calling Frances a "thankless child."

Frances' mother was described as a devoted mother generally. She worked in a government office to bring in added income for the family.

Sometime between the ages of six and eight, a man tried to rape Frances. The incident occurred when Frances and her sister went to a park, accompanied by their maid. While in a pavilion by herself, Frances was approached by a young man. He was very friendly and offered to buy her candy. He took her by the hand and they walked a great distance. He tried to fondle her genitals. Eventually, he left to get his car, ordering Frances to stay where she was. Two children saw her lying on the ground, called their mother, and Frances was taken to their home. The woman was very kind to Frances and she called Frances' mother. Upon arriving home:

My mother asked me if that man had done anything to me. I would not talk about the experience. She took me to a doctor. He examined me. This was a vaginal examination. I was ashamed. I was angry with my mother for permitting such a shameful thing. After this experience I did not feel at ease with children. I felt that in some way I was different. I think the young man who in actual life attempted rape is the man who chased me in my childhood dreams or nightmares. This experience has not until recently assumed significance. Several years later my mother told me that the man was serving a jail sentence for molesting children (Karpman 1948:141).

At age nine, Frances' family moved to a less well-to-do section of town. Frances hated this area and was appalled at the sordid environment. They lived in a small, shabby, one-bedroom apartment. Frances pleaded with her father for years to move to a better place. However, he refused because he liked the place and thought his family should not complain. Frances found the situation intolerable and stated: "The compelling ambition of my life was to get away from that place and all connection with it" (Karpman 1948:121).

When Frances was eleven, her sister was hit by a car, and fractured her skull. Frances blamed herself for the accident. The two children were roller skating in a park and Frances decided she wanted to skate alone. She, therefore, skated very quickly to get away. Her sister followed and was hit by a car as she pursued Frances across the street. Frances, consequently, felt that "Had it not been for my selfish desire for solitude this nearly tragic accident would not have happened" (Karpman 1948:122).

In school, right from kindergarten, Frances was considered a problem student. She would not cooperate with her teachers. She was afraid of the other children and afraid of ridicule, which made school unbearable. She was inattentive and kept to herself. She often played hookey, which resulted in a beating by her father when he found out. Her parents often threatened her with reform school.

When she was a little girl, Frances was curious about her own body. Her mother failed to provide any information on such matters. Likewise, her mother took pains to conceal her own body from Frances and her sister. Because of this, Frances began to feel that "there must be something



mysterious and wonderful about a grown woman's body" (Karpman 1948:129). In contrast to her mother, Frances' father made it common practice to walk around the apartment nude.

To give some example of the beliefs that Frances acquired about sex as a child, Benjamin Karpman states Frances "was frightened by what she read about masturbation and what she heard about it from others. She thought that masturbation was responsible for her defective vision; she feared insanity" (Karpman 1948:131).

Often in her childhood years Frances and her sister would visit an orphanage and bring the children gifts. Frances became very attached to one particular little girl. This plain and unattractive little girl was unpopular and lonely. She looked forward to Frances' visits and Frances was her closest friend. Although Frances loved this little girl, she sometimes teased her until she cried. Then Frances would hold out her arms to the child and they would hug and kiss each other. "I loved her but I delighted in teasing and torturing her by snubbing her. I would make her jealous by petting the other children" (Karpman 1948:137).

Age fifteen, and shortly before, seemed to have been a time of many significant occurrences for Frances. It was at this time that she experienced what psychiatrists and psychologists would probably call a homosexual attraction.

I was fourteen, I had a crush on Martha . . . I admired her. I thought she was the perfect woman (at that time). She was about seventeen . . . I loved this girl with a fierce intensity, but dared not, either by word or action, express my love . . . Then Martha fell in love with a young man . . . How I hated this man who had taken Martha from me. I was heart-broken; I was jealous. I suffered all the pangs of unrequited love. Martha was not aware of my love for her.

Of course I realized my infatuation was not right. I knew what it was. Martha described in gory details her first sexual intercourse with that man she loved. I could not endure being with her after that. I terminated our friendship (Karpman 1948:35).

After this incident, Frances felt frustrated and heartbroken. She worried about her sexual drives for women and was afraid someone would find out. She felt that she was worthless and a failure.

I thought of my future with much fear. What could I do? The answer was nothing. I was uneducated and not fitted for any kind of a job. I had to have security and so I thought of marriage. The knowledge that I was totally unfit for marriage I put into the back of my mind. I did not want to think of it. I did not want to marry. I knew that eventually I must. I was cowardly, I could not face life alone, without my mother's love, her sympathy and sweet tenderness. The home environment was intolerable. The antagonism between my father and me, the violent quarrels, the complete lack of harmony of my parents in the place (I cannot call it home) made me long for an escape. I thought of marriage as the only solution and also the easiest way to solve the sex problem. I thought it would straighten my emotions. The thought of being intimate with a man was distasteful. It was shameful. I did not think I could ever do it until I met Frank (Karpman 1948:143).

Frank was lacking in social graces without even a veneer of culture. He was uncouth, he was profane, obscene and often vulgar to an extreme. He was a tough character, vicious and cruel as stupid men are. He was a liar, a cheat, a drunkard, a gambler, a low despicable creature. He had not one redeeming feature. He dressed like a tough guy or a gangster. He wore white silk shirts sometimes. I thought he was handsome. He was unworthy of the love of any woman. But I loved him. I would like to think now that I did not, that it was infatuation, but I must confess I loved him. I felt for that man unbounded love and sacrifice (Karpman 1948:145).

Frank was often cruel to Frances. He called her names, made fun of her virginity, and even struck her. However, he told her that he loved her.

He was a louse, but he fascinated me and he was too insistent that we have sexual intercourse and was becoming too impatient and I feared that he might give up hope of my eventual surrender. I decided to try it (Karpman 1948:145).

Still, however, Frances did not give in immediately. Then Frank tried to rape her for which he later apologized. Eventually, Frances did consent and had sexual intercourse with Frank. Shortly after, the affair ended.

During the time of her affair, Frances started drinking to please Frank and continued to do so after the affair ended. Frances liked the effect of alcohol and lost her shy, reserve manner. She felt carefree and was free of the burden of shame, guilt and fear. Likewise, she found she could be intimate with men. She felt alcohol gave her courage, she was less afraid of people, and it bolstered her ego.

Eventually, Frances' parents forced her to attend vocational school. She did poorly because she never studied. She had a strong feeling of inferiority and could not adjust to public schools. She was lonely and unhappy, which made school intolerable. She felt a need to escape which she did through daydreams, phantasies and books. Likewise, affairs with men everyday after school facilitated escape and helped compensate for her misery. In addition, Frances was often out all night drinking and dancing which negatively effected her performance in school.

Finally, while still age fifteen, Frances met the man she would marry three years later. It was during her five years of marriage that she became infatuated with a particular woman. She never had any sexual relations with this woman who was not a homosexual. However, this woman's frequent appearance at Frances' home was resented by Frances' husband.

I wanted to make passionate love to her, to caress her as a man caresses the woman he adores. My sense of frustration was keen. It was almost like a pain. There was a barrier between us. How I hated her husband. She had fallen madly in love with that man . . . I could not discuss sex with her. I feared lest she discover my love to be an unholy, a perverted one (Karpman 1948:134).

During Frances' marriage, her drinking increased to such a degree that she had to be hospitalized. She was blind, crippled, and suffered from delirium tremens.

After her hospitalization, Frances resorted to drugs. Eventually, her husband took her to her mother's and left her. At the time of Dr. Karpman's recording of her life, Frances' husband had filed for divorce.

As a result of her alcoholism, Frances was admitted to the hospital several times. Eventually she met Dr. Karpman and, hence, while under his care, she spoke of her alcoholism and her life.

Fear is a very human trait though probably no one wants it in his life. But how to get rid of it? My antidote was alcohol. While under the influence of alcohol, I was almost without fear. Alcohol gave me courage to live fearlessly. However, I was not absolutely without fear. The knowledge that I was enslaved by something stronger than myself (alcohol) caused anxiety (Karpman 1948:126).

Frances engaged in sexual intercourse with hundreds of men. Yet, she confessed that she feared men, pregnancy and disease. She felt she was a fool without morals. She felt confused, angry and ashamed concerning her life experiences (Karpman 1948:126). It was during times of heavy drinking that Frances most often engaged in sexual intercourse. It made sexual relations with men less revolting. At the same time, however, alcohol gave her the control to "fight off any man's attempt to force her to have intercourse when she was drunk" (Karpman 1948:139). In doing so,

she occasionally sustained considerable injuries from infuriated suitors.

In the next section, Frances Elliott's life will be reanalyzed, isolating the contradictions which led to such confusion that Dr. Karpman wrote of Frances: "She resembled a person lost in a storm" (Karpman 1948: 215). In Frances' case there are examples not only of her being in contradictory situations, but also her putting herself and others in confusing dilemmas. This often happens when people are constantly put in these types of predicaments.

The first contradiction of Frances' life and that of her sister consisted of the fact that they were born to a father who did not like children. From a child's point of view, it may seem unreasonable to bear children and then hate them.

A second contradiction occurred when sometime during the age of six and eight, a man tried to rape Frances. The whole incident was a horrible experience for Frances and treated quite seriously by everyone. However, ironically her mother, as a result of this incident, took Frances to a doctor who examined her genitals. From Frances' point of view, what had been earlier considered a horrible crime was being carried out on her by the instigation and in the presence of her mother.

Another incident that seemed to make little sense to Frances occurred when she was nine. Her family moved to what she considered a bad side of town and into a small run-down apartment. Her father liked the place and thought everyone should also. Frances hated it and vainly tried to get her father to move. The move to this part of town and to this small apartment seemed unreasonable considering the father was an attorney. Surely

on an attorney's salary, the family could have afforded better lodgings in a different part of town. This seemed all the more probable since there was reference to a maid during the earlier mentioned attempted rape. Perhaps the family had financial problems, if so, Frances was not informed or aware of it. At least for Frances, there seemed no logical reason for living in that place. Also, it seemed quite contradictory in fulfilling a father's obligation that Frances' father could ignore the fact that his daughter vehemently detested and was unhappy at this apartment.

A fourth contradiction emerged when, after the violent arguments between Frances' parents, Frances would ask her mother why she would not separate from her father. The mother would reply by calling Frances a "thankless child." The mother might vehemently attack the father during the argument, but if Frances had anything derogatory to say toward her father, her mother would contradict her own actions and reprimand Frances. In short, Frances was reprimanded by her mother for doing what her mother had done.

When Frances started going to school, she found school extremely intolerable. It was so bad that she could not bear it. The only alternative, however, was to play hookey. If her father found out as often happened, she would receive a beating. Hence, to go to school meant to face an untenable situation, not to go to school meant facing another untenable situation.

As a little girl, Frances was curious of her own body. Her mother was very secretive on the matter and never told Frances anything about sex. Frances became quite mystified about the matter, but realized that one should be modest. However, this was a somewhat confusing idea since her

father had the habit of spending much of his time in the apartment nude. Frances thought perhaps this contradiction had something to do with being a woman. Yet, this in itself is a contradiction. What was treated as wrong for her mother, was treated as right for her father.

In the next case, Frances shifts from receiving contradictory messages to giving contradictory messages. She and her sister would visit an orphanage to bring the children various gifts. They "enjoyed visiting these poor children and wanted to make them happy" (Karpman 1948:137). Frances took an interest in one particular girl about six years old, who was isolated from most of the other children. Frances became like a mother to her and the little girl loved her. At this point Frances began teasing her and pretending to be angry at her for no reason until the little girl would cry. Even though she loved the child and expressed great affection for her, Frances, nonetheless, often treated this child cruelly.

As was mentioned earlier, Frances came to believe that masturbation was the wrong way to achieve sexual satisfaction and sexual intercourse with a man was the right way. For Frances, this situation created two contradictions. First, masturbation is not the way to become sexually satisfied, sexual intercourse is. However, sexual intercourse almost never satisfied and masturbation always satisfied her. A second contradiction is seen in her attraction for other women and her desire to have sexual relations with them. She considered sexual intercourse with men as the right and natural way to do things, yet her desires related to women.

In connection with her feelings toward women, she found herself in another untenable situation. At age fifteen, her home life was unbearable. She needed to escape, but how? She was not educated nor trained for any

job. She could not support herself. She saw marriage as the only escape, but to her sexual relations with men were revolting. Life was unbearable, but escape was also unbearable.

Eventually she met Frank, a man with whom she enjoyed being with and who might present an escape. However, even with this man, there was no escape from the contradictions that seemed to dominate her life. In describing Frank, there was little she seemed to think that was good about him. Frances even considered him "unworthy of the love of any woman" (Karpman 1948:144). However, in her own words, she stated "But I love him" (Karpman 1948:144). Paradoxically, she loved a man that was everything she considered bad.

Likewise, Frank was often cruel to Frances. He called her names, made fun of her virginity, and even struck her. He treated Frances as if he hated her, nonetheless, he told her he loved her.

In connection with this man, there was another contradiction. Frances said he perpetually attempted to have sexual intercourse with her. She considered him a louse, but was afraid she would lose him so she gave in. Hence, if Frances consented to intercourse, she believed her loss of virginity would be a disgrace. However, she assumed by not having intercourse, she would lose Frank, the only man she loved.

While still age fifteen, Frances met the man she would marry. During her marriage, she met a woman with whom she became infatuated. This woman was married but spent a great deal of time with Frances. Frances loved her and wanted to make love to her. She could not have this woman the way she wanted her, and to tell her of her feeling would mean that



Frances would lose her friendship. The dilemma: she was in love with a woman she could not have, but to tell her meant to lose her friendship.

Frances feared pregnancy, disease and men. Nevertheless, she engaged in sexual intercourse hundreds of times. However, Frances felt that not having intercourse posed the threat that her homosexuality would be discovered.

As time went on, the contradictions multiplied, her confusion increased, and Benjamin Karpman observed "She resembled a person lost in a storm" (Karpman 1948:215). Her alcoholism increased. Alcoholism seemed the only answer because it temporarily allowed Frances to escape from the storm of anxiety and confusion that she was immersed. Unfortunately, her drinking was not really the means of escaping from her untenable situation because it only thrust her into the untenable predicament of alcoholism.

#### The Case of Lillian Roth

Lillian Roth was born on December 13, 1910 to her stagestruck parents, Arthur and Katie Roth. Arthur had great hopes for Lillian as a dramatic actress and Katie saw Lillian as a renowned singer. Arthur would always insist that Lillian perform recitations for Sunday guests. Unlike her younger sister, Ann, Lillian never refused, despite her shyness and displeasure. Referring to Lillian's performing, Arthur would say, "Lillian is good. She always minds me" (Roth 1954:15). Lillian has stated "Whatever the case, the stage was my life and that of my sister Ann as far back as I can remember" (Roth 1954:15). As a matter of fact, she was named Lillian after her mother's greatest idol -- Lillian Russell.

Lillian said her mother believed "the theatre was the magic door to everything" (Roth 1954:16) and was determined to make her a show business success. Therefore, every morning Lillian and her sister were dressed and delivered to producers and theatrical agents. At age five, Lillian received her first assignment in show business. She was to pose as Educational Pictures' screen trademark, a living statue holding a lamp of knowledge. For her part, Lillian had to be painted with white body make-up. Her mother undressed her and an older fatherly-looking man began coating her with the make-up. Lunch time came and Lillian was left with this gentleman while her mother and sister went to buy sandwiches. It was during this time that an incident occurred which was to haunt Lillian for many years to come. Lillian described the incident:

Left alone with me, he went to the door, looked outside, and locked it. 'Cold in here,' he said. I had been standing on a box. 'Better lie down, where it's warm,' he said, taking me in his arms and carrying me to a couch near the stove. He painted my thighs, then worked his brush upwards and began painting me where it made me uneasy (Roth 1954:17).

I covered my eyes with my hands. I knew there was something wrong in what he was doing, but I couldn't stop him or cry for help. If Katie found out, something terrible would happen. She would scream, her face would contort, and I could not bear to hear her scream or to see her face like that (Roth 1954:18).

Lillian Roth was a quiet child, she kept much to herself. Her father sometimes worried about this tendency and to Katie, said "You ought to find out what she thinks about, what goes on in that little head of hers." Katie would hug Lillian and say: "Oh Arthur, what can she be thinking of? She's only a baby!" (Roth 1954:16).

As a child, Lillian also experienced loneliness, but did not know why. She felt inadequate and inferior to other children and said she never really liked the person she was. Likewise, she felt fear; she feared displeasing her mother. She once said "Katie's excitement . . . possessed me too. It was always to be like that. Her wish became mine" (Roth 1954:17).

While waiting with other children for an audition for a part in a film, the casting director appeared, looked over the applicants, pointed to a little girl who sat next to Lillian, and dismissed all the other candidates. On the way home Katie exploded with anger and asked Lillian why she did not stand up when the director pointed to her. Lillian replied that the director did not point to her. The next quote reports what followed.

My mother walked faster. I ran along in the snow, frightened, tripping, trying to keep up with her as she strode along. 'He pointed at you and you wouldn't stand up!' Turning suddenly, she slapped me. The blow struck me as I tripped forward toward her: I was knocked off balance into the snow.

She cried out with horror. 'Oh, my poor baby! What have I done!' She picked me up, and almost beside herself, began to cuddle and kiss me. My left eye was beginning to puff. 'Oh, God, look what I've done!' And then, 'Oh, my God, what will your father do when he finds out!' (Roth 1954:21).

On another occasion, at age six, Lillian was to audition for a minor part in a film. Before auditioning, however, she was instructed to watch a scene in which the child stars would kiss and then toboggan down a snowy slope. The leading lady, however, refused to kiss the male star. Before even thinking, Lillian yelled out "I'll do it" (Roth 1954:23). She was shocked at her sudden outburst and was frantic at the thought of kissing a boy. Nonetheless, her mother was beaming and Lillian thought that was the important thing.

Lillian Roth's home life contained much indecision and quarrels. The success of Lillian and Ann only stressed their insecurity. Most of their time was spent away on tour. However, when at home, they were caught in the endless bickering between their parents.

Lillian's father was a social drinker, however, he later became a problem drinker. Drinking made him irritable and suspicious. Katie always traveled with the girls, which usually meant being away from their home in New York for three to four months at a time. After returning to New York, Arthur would usually question the girls to find out if Katie had been with them at all times.

Following an incident that upset Arthur, a bitter argument ensued between himself and Katie. While in bed, Lillian heard piercing screams. She ran into the kitchen and found Katie lying on the floor bleeding, bruised and hysterical. Her father, with a large gash on his face, was slumped in a chair, with a bottle beside him. The arguments between her parents always produced considerable anxiety within Lillian. The violence of this particular incident was especially traumatic for her. "For years afterward, there were many nights that I could not fall asleep until daylight came through my bedroom window" (Roth 1954:36).

At age thirteen, Lillian was taken out of show business in order to attend Clark School of Concentration, "a fashionable cram school" (Roth 1954:38). Lillian wrote:

I entered Clark like the little lady Katie wanted me to be. She bought me a \$1,000 wardrobe. Overnight, my socks and oxfords were discarded along with my childhood. I had been skipped several grades at the Professional School, and was only thirteen when I received my diploma. Now, at Clark,

I found my classmates were three and four years older than I. On the threshold of fourteen, I was a grownup without ever having known what it was to be a child (Roth 1954:38-39).

At age fourteen, Lillian received a singing part in the play, "Artists and Models." She was informed that she was too young to sing or dance in New York. Nevertheless, the director said he would send Lillian to his Chicago company and change her age to eighteen. Despite the fact that the director changed her age, Lillian was still a child and was unable to cope with the nudity and the atmosphere she was exposed to. She began suffering from terrible headaches and eventually Katie took her out of the show, pleading illness.

A few years later, Lillian was in Hollywood and signed by Paramount for the "role of the year." Although only eighteen, she portrayed a woman of thirty-two.

While in Hollywood, Lillian was reacquainted and fell in love with David Lyons, a fellow she went to school with. She said:

Only with David, it seemed, could I be myself. He loved me as I was. I needed no pretense, felt no need to justify myself to him. He alone spoke about making me happy; everyone else spoke about making me famous.

We began to talk about marriage. I would leave the profession when I was twenty-one; I would work hard, meanwhile, and save my money, and he would work hard, and save his money, and then we would be married (Roth 1954:71).

Katie became very concerned with the idea of Lillian and David marrying. She thought David was not the right boy for Lillian. She said anyone who would allow Lillian to give up her career could not possibly have her best interests at heart. Katie often became hysterical and wept.

I was torn. Everything Katie had built up for me, all the dreams she had had for me even before I was born, were crashing before her eyes. And she was right: I was too

young to think of marriage. But to turn away from the one person who made me feel whole -- I didn't know what to do (Roth 1954:72).

Likewise, David's parents objected to this love affair. "They made clear, they would never permit their son to marry a girl in show business. This was unthinkable. If we dared marry, they would annul it" (Roth 1954:83). Needless to say, "The studio insisted that I was a star, and ought not be seen too often with David, for he was only an assistant director" (Roth 1954:70).

David believed in Lillian's potentialities and joined an agency in order to book her. Bids poured in and crowds poured out. "Even Katie had to admit that he really was interested in my welfare" (Roth 1954:87). Lillian was overjoyed and was earning thousands of dollars a month. However, all her happiness came to an abrupt end when David, who had been tubercular, died of a brain abscess.

Lillian would not let David die. She carried David's letters and photographs wherever she went. She could not sleep. She often became hysterical and went into fits of crying. If she did sleep, the same dream would haunt her over and over again. David would be lying in his hospital bed telling Lillian that the doctors and nurses were going to come in the room to tell her he was dead. However, she was not to believe them because she knew he was not dead and they could not prove that he was.

A psychiatric nurse, hired to stay with Lillian and who tried everything to help her sleep, finally decided to give her a drink. Lillian stated:

I took the drink she gave me. Then another. A third -- and I was off to sleep, my first dreamless night in many nights. And when I woke, rested, I thought: if this is all

I must do to get sleep, I'll do it. It's wonderful. I enjoyed the taste no more than when I drank on New Year's Eve with Leo. No matter. I could sleep, and that was a blessing (Roth 1954:95).

From that time on, Lillian had "nightcaps" to help her sleep. Likewise, she began drinking to escape. "For after a drink or two, liquor made me the kind of girl I wanted to be -- free of repressions, unfettered by conscience, able to take love and life in my stride" (Roth 1954:104).

While on tour in Atlanta, Lillian met an aviation cadet named Willie Richards who had "the same boyish quality" as David. Willie fell in love with Lillian and said he wanted to marry her. Although she liked, but not loved him, she thought she must break with the morbid past and begin a new life. She thought that Willie was not the kind of person who would interfere with her career. Willie loved her and, likewise, Lillian reasoned that Katie would find little fault with him.

When Katie found out about their plans to be married, she called Ted Reiner, a family friend who was "hoping against hope" that Lillian would marry him. Ted and Willie met and argued about Lillian's plans. Distraught and feeling like she was an inanimate object with no will of her own, Lillian left them to their arguing.

Lillian recalled that a friend from Hollywood was making a personal appearance in town and so she telephoned him. She told him that two men were in love with her, neither of whom she wanted to marry. She was disgusted with life and did not know where to turn. They met in a bar and Lillian, after several drinks, blacked out. The next thing she remembered, was awakening in her apartment. It was five o'clock in the morning, and Willie was knocking at her door begging her to marry him. She consented, but later

that evening after her wedding, she realized she had made a mistake. It would have been possible to have the marriage annulled since she lied about her age. However, she felt that since she had agreed to the marriage and since Willie quit the Air Force she felt she owed him that much.

About one year later, they were divorced. Previous to the divorce, Lillian met Judge Benjamin Shalleck who pursued the matter of the divorce. Lillian fell in love with the judge and daydreamed of being a judge's wife. She looked forward to having a home and children and felt her life would take on new meaning. They were married and Lillian willingly gave up her career. She settled down and was anxious to start a family. However, she was unable to have any children and her yearning became an obsession. With plenty of free time on her hands, she became nervous and began drinking. Arguments broke out over her drinking and as time went on she became more restless and drank more. Eventually, she and Ben decided she should go back to California and try her career again. However, she informed Ben she could not return to an empty, childless life.

Lillian and Mark Harris, a man she had casually met through her previous husband, began dating following her divorce. Their relationship was pleasant and he told her he loved her. He proposed to Lillian and promised her a happy life with him and his son, Sonny. Unaware of his criminal past, she eventually agreed. Right from the start, however, the marriage proved to be a mistake. Mark drank heavily exhibiting a violent temper which often led to his beating Lillian. He took advantage of Lillian's drinking to induce her into giving him money. The following four quotes exemplify a few of the many violent incidents that eventually led to total disintegration of their marriage and the jailing of Mark.



Example One

One night we had a ringside table with Lita Chaplin and her husband, Arthur Day, at Grace Hayes' Lodge. The floor show started just as the waiter was serving our dinner. The entertainers were Peter Lind Hayes and his wife, Mary Healy. In show business it's customary to refrain from eating while a fellow performer is on.

'Eat,' said Mark, when I made no move toward my food. He grabbed my wrist.

'Sh-sh-sh-- I want to hear them,' I said. 'Professional courtesy.' He'll be all right, I thought. He won't dare cause a scene, not with Lita and Arthur sitting there. 'I'll eat in a little while,' I said.

'Listen, Bum,' he shouted, 'if you don't have that plate empty by the time I count ten it's going into your face!'

I laughed nervously and took one bite, and turned my face to the stage again. Suddenly I felt the blow of the plate in my face -- food splattered over me and slid into my lap. The plate had hit me on the bridge of the nose. Blood gushed forth. Waiters came running and the table overturned as Lita's husband rose and grabbed Mark. I found myself running outside, and then I was in a cab, headed for home, the blood thudding at my temples (Roth 1954:167).

Example Two

The day came when he beat Sonny in my presence. What I could not do for myself, I found courage to do for Sonny. I packed a bag and took him with me to a neighboring hotel. 'Please,' I begged the night clerk, slipping a \$10 bill into his hand, 'don't let Mr. Harris know we are here. We must get some sleep. My little boy is a nervous wreck.'

During the night a bellboy rang. 'Your husband is coming up the service stairs.' Mark had found me by bribing the night clerk who had taken my money and, as I learned later, considered me a hopeless drunk.

I raced with Sonny down another flight of stairs and took a cab to a second hotel. There at eleven a.m. Mark's lawyer reached me. 'I'm afraid you'll have to bring the boy back. Otherwise, your husband will swear out a warrant for kidnapping' (Roth 1954:169).

Example Three

He asked for money. 'Mommy,' he would say, 'we need \$5,000 more.' 'But, Mark, I just cashed in a bond last week,' I would protest. 'I thought that was all you needed. I'm going into my life insurance now.'

'All right, baby, let's forget it,' he would say. 'How about a couple of drinks?' We began to drink -- drinks I didn't need. When I was all but passed out, he would say, 'Oh, Mommy, there's something I forgot. Here's some papers to sign.'

Even in my blurred state I knew what was happening. I thought, he's quiet now, and easy, but if I say no . . . You better sign it, I would tell myself, or you'll get what you got last time when he went into one of those maniacal rages and took Sonny from you (Roth 1954:167).

Example Four

After a brutal beating, in which the top of her head was split open, Lillian pressed charges against Mark, and the following incident occurred.

I signed a warrant for Mark's arrest, Dr. Thomas giving his testimony to the police. Amy Ford, a friend, rented a room for me in her hotel. For two days I was afraid to show myself on the streets. I hid behind drawn blinds, drinking, afraid to think, drinking to blot out what had happened to me. On the third morning there was the sound of a huge body hurled against the door, a thunderous crash as it broke down -- and Mark was in the same room with me.

He was cold fury. 'You're sitting down and writing the District Attorney that you were dead drunk when you signed that warrant. You want to withdraw the charges and tear up the warrant.'

I sat, transfixed with fear. Suddenly he grabbed my arm, and with all his 210 pounds bearing down on me, twisted me to my knees. I couldn't scream because his free hand was clasped over my mouth.

'I'll kill you,' he said between his teeth. He increased the pressure on my arm. 'Will you write the letter?'

In agony I tried to gasp 'yes.' I managed to nod, and slowly, he let me up (Roth 1954:170).

Lillian's submission to Mark's demands only set the stage for further beatings. However, finally, after hiring a bodyguard, Lillian successfully prosecuted Mark for his maltreatment of her. Likewise, their marriage was annulled on the grounds that Lillian had no cognizance of Mark's criminal activities.

At this time, Lillian was alone. Katie, who was living with Ann in Long Island wanted Lillian to move in with them. However, Lillian did not want her mother to see what was happening to her. Her father had remarried and was living in Boston. Lillian felt she would not fit in there. The "bottle" became her only friend.

Then, Lillian was introduced to Victor Engel, a man with a great personality who could make her laugh. Vic, in the beginning never reprimanded Lillian for her drinking. Soon after they were married, however, he realized that she was sick. The doctor informed Lillian she would die if she did not stop drinking. Despite this warning, she continued to drink and eventually Vic left her.

The lawyer Lillian had seen regarding her last divorce wrote to Katie saying that Victor had left her. Lillian was out of funds, practically living on the streets, and appeared to be a chronic alcoholic. Katie was able to send money to Lillian (thanks to a friend) for fare to New York so that she could take care of her. Lillian was again sent to the doctor. The diagnosis was impending blindness, an attack of cirrhosis of the liver, advanced colitis, and a form of alcoholic insanity. Consequently, she was admitted to the Westchester Division of New York Hospital -- a mental institution where she remained for six months.

After being dry for six months and upon being released from the hospital, Lillian indulged in drinking again after reading an article about herself in a Broadway column. It was entitled, "An ex-singing star, a drunk, is being backed by Milton Berle on the comeback trail" (Roth 1954: 249). Once again, her drinking was as bad as ever.

Lillian finally realized she had to stop drinking. Her very life depended on it.<sup>8</sup> She had once read about an alcoholic who had been cured through Alcoholics Anonymous and, consequently, went to them for help. Through the intensive care and patience of other alcoholics, Lillian was able to halt her drinking.

In line with the previous case studies, Lillian Roth's life will be reanalyzed in light of the double bind hypothesis.

Lillian Roth's parents had a passionate love for the theatre. Even before she was born, Mr. and Mrs. Roth had Lillian's future mapped out for her. Arthur saw her as becoming a great dramatic actress and Katie envisioned her as a famous singer. Neither really saw her as herself, that is, Lillian Roth, a child, an individual. Lillian was given only a limited number of choices as to what she could be, whether they were acceptable to her or not. Her whole childhood was directed toward being a success in show business. She was even named after her mother's greatest idol.

Lillian's parents' determination to make a success of her was so intense, that they often created untenable situations for Lillian. She was often expected to perform for her parents' guests, although she did not want to. Refusing to perform meant losing her parents' support and

affection. She was prevented from escaping the double bind situation by being defined as good if she performed and bad if she did not.

Regarding the incident with the make-up man -- as a child of five, Lillian was unsure of the intentions of the man involved. However, she felt upset and uncomfortable. She thought something was wrong but in any case, there was little she could do about it. She could not even discuss the matter with her mother because she knew it would upset her and this Lillian could not bear.

Another contradictory situation occurred after Lillian failed to acquire a particular acting part. Lillian was struck by her mother for correctly perceiving that she was not chosen by the casting director. Therefore, the message she received was do not pay attention to what you know to be the case, pay attention to what I tell you is the case.

When Lillian was six, she volunteered to do a part that the leading lady refused to do. She did something that was contrary to her nature in order to please her mother and thereby gain love and support. She also knew she had been slapped for "not being on her toes" and felt this threat still remained.

Some years later, Lillian received a part in a Broadway play. Lillian had been taught by her parents that in order for her to be a success, which she knew they wanted her to be, she would have to take advantage of every available opportunity. When a chance came up for her to acquire a singing part in a show, she jumped at the opportunity even though it meant lying about her age and breaking the law. She was caught in the dilemma of doing what her parents taught her or what society prescribed for her.

After a short period of performing in the play, "Artists and Models," Lillian found that she was unable to cope with the environment and nudity to which she was exposed. Hence, to stay in the play meant exposure to its stressful environment. To leave the play meant having to face the disappointment of her parents.

After Lillian went to Hollywood, she met David Lyons with whom she fell in love with. Lillian was caught between her own desires for the only person who ever cared about her for herself and who wanted to make her happy, and her mother who wanted to make her a success. In other words, to marry David meant willingly giving up show business, destroying all her mother's dreams, and facing the antagonisms of David's parents. Not to marry David meant continuing her career, pleasing her mother and father, but preventing any hopes for real happiness for herself. Likewise, she was discouraged from even being seen with David since the studio felt it was harmful to her career to be seen with a person of such low status.

Shortly after David's death, Lillian met Willie Richards who fell in love with and begged her to marry him. Lillian felt that he might help her forget David and make a new start, so she consented. On the night of their marriage, Lillian recognized the fact that she did not want to be married to Willie. Even though she had a chance to have the marriage annulled, Lillian felt she could not do so since Willie had given up his career in the military for her, and since he loved her so much. Lillian put herself in a double bind situation. If she stayed married to Willie, she would not be happy. If she had the marriage annulled, she would feel responsible for destroying his happiness and, therefore, she would not be

happy. Consequently, to stay married would mean unhappiness, to annul the marriage would mean unhappiness.

Lillian felt that show business was not a satisfactory enough life. When she met Judge Benjamin Shalleck and the opportunity arose for her to live a life that could fully satisfy her desires, that is, to settle down and have a family, she gladly elected to do so. Unfortunately, it turned out that she could not have children and an attempt to adopt fell through which put an end to her dreams of a family life. Hence, since the only occupation Lillian knew was acting, she felt there were only two alternative life styles open to her and both were incomplete and unsatisfactory.

After divorcing the judge, Lillian married Mark Harris and was constantly put into double bind situations. For example, while dining at a night club, Lillian did not want to eat during the floor show out of professional courtesy. However, upon threats of violence from Mark, she proceeded to eat as he ordered. Despite her complying to his wishes, Mark smashed her dinner plate in her face. In short, under threat of violence, Lillian went against professional courtesy in complying with Mark's wishes and was, nonetheless, struck by Mark.

During her marriage to Mark, another incident arose which put Lillian in an untenable situation. She felt the need to take Sonny away for his own safety. Upon doing so, she was threatened with arrest for kidnapping. In short, Lillian found she could not do what she believed was right and what was best for the boy due to prohibition of the law.

Mark was constantly after Lillian's money. However, her funds were diminished and only her life insurance was left, which Mark also

wanted. Lillian faced the following dilemma: to sign over her insurance policy meant to lose the last of her security; not to sign over the policy posed the threat of a severe beating to herself and possibly Sonny.

Finally, while still married to Mark, and following a brutal beating by him, Lillian decided to press charges. However, Mark threatened to kill her if she did. Since Mark made a habit of beating Lillian anyway, the dilemma arose which consisted of pressing charges and possibly being killed or dropping the charges, denying that she had been attacked, and putting herself back into a situation of probable maltreatment. In sum, there was a threat to her life if she pressed charges and a threat to her life if she dropped charges.

Hence, even though Lillian Roth was a theatrical success, her life was filled with double bind situations, which made life so untenable that she sought relief through alcohol. However, in the end, Lillian found, as did so many others, that alcohol only increased her dilemma.

### Conclusions

Upon reading these five case histories of diagnosed alcoholics, it becomes evident that double bind situations comprise a significant part of their social interaction. It is, likewise, evident that each of these individuals were placed in stress-producing situations that were not double binding. If this is so, then why place so much emphasis on the double bind? There are two reasons. To begin with, as was pointed out in the discussion of the family, it is vitally important to be consistent when rearing children. Inconsistencies which comprise double bind situations make proper familial functioning impossible. For instance, the family in



Western society forms the model for which the child learns to interrelate in the outside world. A child who was reared in an environment of frequent double binds would eventually deal with all social relationships in an inconsistent manner. Since social relationships in the outside world demand consistency, interrelationships with these others would be impaired.

The child needs love and affection and a sense of security. This is provided through parental nurturance. However, the disconfirming affect of double bind situations make fulfillment of these needs impossible. Likewise, parental nurturance affects a child's emotional experiences, the basic trust he has in himself and in others, and his self-esteem. It gives support for establishing trust in the reliability of collusion and communication for problem solving. The disconfirming and mystifying effect of double binds impairs all these functions which are necessary for a well-integrated development.

The family is responsible for teaching the child language in order to allow him to internalize, categorize and communicate his experiences. Again, consistent communication is necessary to achieve this goal. Needless to say, interference with these familial functions are stress-producing situations. The child becomes emotionally and cognitively torn apart. Hence, consistency within one's primary social relationships is of major importance. Since double bind situations permeated the lives of the individuals discussed, it is safe to conclude that these predicaments had special significance for them.

An important difference between non-double binding stress-producing situations and double bind situations lies in the fact that the later are

impossible situations. Such impossible predicaments make other stressful situations more difficult to handle.

The second reason for emphasizing double binds hinges on the indications in the case histories that drinking facilitated coping with these situations. In the case of Frank Moore, intoxication provided him with the means to deal with those pains that resemble closely the affects of mystification and disconfirmation.

With drink, I found deliverance; I could forget discomfort and fatigue, I could slip off the burden and see clearly again, I could be the master of my own brain, my thoughts and my will. My dead self would stir in me, and I could laugh with the crowd and joke with my companions. However low, socially, I could become a man again and master of my life (Straus 1974:357).

Elizabeth Chesser found that only when she was drunk could she confront her boyfriend Clive's contradictory messages of concern over her rape. In reference to Vera Banckek, Psychiatrist, Benjamin Karpman, considered her drinking an "escape from an intolerable situation and a seemingly hopeless emotional conflict" (Karpman 1948:85). Frances Elliott's home life was intolerable. She felt her only avenue of escape was through marriage. She likewise felt marriage would solve her "sex problem." On the other hand, the thought of being intimate with a man repulsed her. However, she found that she could engage in sexual relations with men when intoxicated. Following the death of her fiancé, David Lyons, Lillian Roth found herself ensnared within an impossible position. She had considerable difficulty falling asleep, often, remaining awake all night. On the other hand, if she did fall asleep, she suffered from nightmares about David. A psychiatric nurse employed every technique she knew to help Lillian

sleep peacefully. Finally, she gave Lillian alcohol. It worked. Subsequently Lillian found that alcohol was a useful mechanism for coping with this and similar problems.

Consequently, in each of the case histories alcohol prolifically aided the individual to successfully contend with double bind situations. When the intoxicating effect of alcohol disappears, the problem returns. Additional alcohol intake would be necessary to again cope with the above-mentioned and similar situations.<sup>9</sup>

## CHAPTER IV

### DRINKING, DOUBLE BIND SITUATIONS: AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

As noted earlier, alcoholism is Western specific (Mandelbaum 1965:282). However, considerable insight can be derived from cross-cultural studies of drinking. Contained in some of these studies is supportive data for the hypothesis that drinking and alcoholism is a reaction to double bind situations.

It seems possible that heavy drinking among two South American communities, the Lunahuanenos (Simmons 1959, 1962) and the Camba (Heath 1962) is directly related to double bind situations. The mestizo community of Lunahuana is located one hundred and twenty-five miles south of Lima. It lies in a narrow river canyon, thirty-five miles inland from the Peruvian coast. Lunahuana is comprised of a village and ten barrios forming a chain of agricultural settlements thirteen miles long. Population is estimated at ten thousand. The principal cash crops are grapes and cotton. However, many fruits and vegetables are grown in varying quantities (Simmons 1959:104; 1962:38).

Lunahuana society is characterized by considerable intragroup tension and hostility. Land disputes are accredited as a prime but not the only source. Simmons has reported high levels of strain, conflict, uneasiness, and fear within interpersonal networks in which the Lunahuaneno may expect to seek solidary relationships. Among the interpersonal networks mentioned are family, friendship, neighbor, ritual kin, recreational and occupational situations. However, direct expression of aggression is prohibited (Simmons 1959:104). Gossip, slander, and ridicule are employed as indirect means of expressing aggression.

In general then, the Lunahuanenos view people, even those they know well, with distrust and suspicion. Everyone is believed to be unscrupulously pursuing his own self-interests. There seems to be wide spread fear of theft and being cheated (Simmons 1959:105).

Simmons notes that despite the cultural ideal of machismo:

In part, the adult male Lunahuaneno may be characterized as timid, evasive, retiring, shy, indirect, and at a loss for words and for what to do with himself when in the company of others. There is an inordinate emphasis on being a 'correct' person. The Lunahuaneno is always preoccupied with what others may think of him and always timorous lest there be unfavorable criticism (Simmons 1959:107).

Adult men, likewise, have difficulty in securing their "superiority" in the face of women, who have independence through land ownership and an earning capacity that often exceeds the males' (Simmons 1959:107).

Drinking plays an important part in the Lunahuanenos' lives (Simmons 1959:109; 1962:37). Almost all adult males over the age of fifteen drink heavily. Women seldom drink.

Drinking always occurs in group situations, principally at religious and secular fiestas, rites of passages, weekends, formal and informal visiting and work activities. However, drinking may occur whenever two men come together. Access to alcohol does not appear to pose any economic problem. Some people distill their own liquor. Considerable amounts of alcohol are usually available from employers and at fiestas. In any case, it can be purchased for a nominal price from any of the various distillers in the area (Simmons 1959:105).

The Lunahuanenos do not have any guilt feelings in connection with drinking or drunkenness. However, shame is sometimes felt if "incorrect"

behavior occurs during a drunken episode (Simmons 1962:46). Such "incorrect" behavior as insulting others, fighting with friends, mistreating wives, children and relatives, or creating a "scandal" are less reprehensible when drunk than when sober (Simmons 1959:108).

Simmons asserts that for Lunahuaneno men drinking reduces tensions and anxieties during interpersonal relations. Alcohol helps the Lunahuaneno overcome and dissolve his initial expectations that his interaction with others will be somehow disadvantageous for him. Drinking facilitates identification with others and eases the difficulties in relating to them (Simmons 1959:103). In addition, drinking either allows the Lunahuaneno to release his aggressions with only minor consequences or to provide an adequate substitute through the cathartic experience that drinking furnishes (Simmons 1959:108).

Implicit throughout Simmons' work is the necessity for social interaction. David Mandelbaum suggested the need for positive affect<sup>10</sup>: "all people in the world value association with others" (Mandelbaum 1965:285). In any case, many of the Lunahuaneno group interactions seem unavoidable. In conclusion, the Lunahuaneno views interaction with others as dangerous. It could result from being taken advantage of or from loss of status by being prompted to behave incorrectly. On the other hand, interactions with others is necessary. The person is trapped in an untenable position. Alcohol provides an escape. It makes contact with others less fearful and allows incorrect behavior to occur with minimal repercussions.

The Camba are a mestizo people numbering about eighty thousand. They occupy a large area of alternating jungle and prairie stretching north

from the Bolivian city of Santa Cruz. The Camba remain isolated from the outside world due to natural barriers and enormous distances (Heath 1962:23).

The Camba are peasants. Most work as tenant farmers on haciendas (Heath 1962:24) employing slash and burn agriculture (Heath 1962:23). The principal crops grown include rice, corn and manioc. Enough food is produced to feed the hacienda owner, his family, and his workers, with a small surplus for trade in local villages. Most Camba are very mobile, moving from hacienda to hacienda. A few, however, own small tracks of land and live permanently on their isolated homesteads (Heath 1962:24).

Work patterns are such that even on haciendas tenants work alone. The high rate of geographic mobility precludes membership in neighboring groups and enduring friendships are rare. Work is considered an impersonal relationship and no loyalty is given to employers. Most Camba are Roman Catholics. However, few have much knowledge of religious doctrine nor observe religious rites (Heath 1962:24).

Social integration is minimal. Kinship ties are weak. Marriages often last only three or four years. Newlyweds live apart from their parents preventing extended family situations. Isolation restricts availability of playmates for children. Hence, children either play alone or with siblings (Heath 1962:25).

Despite the relative isolation of the Camba from one another, there are various occasions for group interaction. Such occasions include frequent fiestas, rites of passages such as christenings and weddings. It is only during these social contexts that drinking takes place (Heath 1962:28). Heath further states:

Fiestas provide occasions for intense interaction, and drinking groups constitute primary reference groups which are lacking in other phases of Camba life. If it be postulated, in keeping with a universal implicit assumption, that there is some element of value inherent in human association per se, this function of alcohol can be seen to have enormous potential importance for individual adjustment as well as for social cohesion (Heath 1962:32).

Most adults drink. This includes both sexes, but women only drink with men. Unmarried men and women usually drink only in the presence of married couples. Drinking groups range in sizes from three to sixteen. Formal invitations seldom occur. Drinking is highly ritualized (Heath 1962:25) and drunkenness actively sought (Heath 1962:30).

Drinking situations are usually accompanied by music, dancing, and singing. The fiesta is characterized by easy social intercourse (Heath 1962:30). The intoxicating effects of alcohol facilitate social interaction. The usually inhibited manner of the Camba becomes much more voluble and self-confident. After about three or four hours, people become "thicklipped" and some fall asleep or pass out. Around the sixth hour, people begin to awaken with renewed exhilaration.

Camba drinking seldom leads to aggressive behavior (Heath 1962:30). However, occasional "untoward" actions are excused because "sometimes when a man is drunk he doesn't always know what he's doing" (Heath 1962:31). The Camba have no guilt feelings in connection with drinking or drunkenness. Hallucinations and hangovers do not occur (Heath 1962:31).

David Mandelbaum, in comparing the Lunahuaneno and the Camba, postulated:

the Camba have similar fear and distrust of others, similar doubts about their own abilities to cope with social relations and hence a constant attitude of defensive self-isolation . . . (Mandelbaum 1965:286).



However, it might be that the emphasis on self-reliance and the frequent periods of isolation prohibit the Camba from learning skills needed for, and creates a fear of, social interaction. Whatever the case, Mandelbaum isolates a double bind which drinking enables the Camba to overcome.

It is that a Camba man wants to have two different kinds of relations with his fellows. He wants to insulate himself from them, and yet at the same time he wants some safe interaction with them (Mandelbaum 1965:286).

In other words, I need to interrelate with them but it is dangerous to do so. Drinking allows the Camba to overcome his fears and interrelate with others (Mandelbaum 1965:286). Heath gives support to this idea by further substantiating the Camba's fear of and desire to avoid social interaction (Heath 1965:289). While, in his article on the Camba, he has pointed out that the Camba need social interaction (Heath 1962:32).

The discussion on the Lunahuanenos and the Camba dealt only with heavy drinking. Willian Madsen, while doing research among a certain group of Mexican-Americans, produced significant evidence in respect to alcoholism and double bind situations.

The population of Hidalgo County in south Texas is comprised ethnically of over seventy percent Mexican-Americans. The remainder of the people consist mostly of Anglo-Americans of northern European descent. Before World War II, the Mexican-Americans were severely repressed and subjected to prejudice. In recent years, opportunities have increased for socioeconomic advancement among the Latin population. However, the typical relationship between Anglos and Mexican-Americans remains respectively one of employer and hired laborer. In general, the dominant middle-class Anglos still hold themselves aloof from the subordinate lower-

class Latins. The Anglos prescribe complete Anglicization of Mexican-Americans. At the same time, they fear the loss of cheap field labor (Madsen 1964:356).

Most Mexican-Americans wish to preserve their cultural identity. However, many Latins are rejecting their fatalistic attitude toward poverty and are actively seeking socioeconomic advancement. Some regard traditional Latin customs as handicaps to advancement. Consequently, a few individuals have overtly rejected the Mexican-American way of life and overtly sought to identify with Anglo culture (Madsen 1964:356). These individuals have been derogatorily referred to by traditional Latins as "Agringados" or "Inglesados" (Madsen 1964:355).

In an attempt at cultural transfer, the Agringados become entangled within several untenable, contradictory situations.

They are rejected and ridiculed by the more conservative Mexican-Americans and usually find a reluctance on the part of the English-speaking society to accept them as Anglos. They have lost community, become unsure of identity, and find decision making a painful and often impossible process (Madsen 1964:357).

Many Agringados seeking relief leave the area or retreat back into Mexican-American society. Some "attempt desperate measures to insure recognition through anti-social acts" (Madsen 1964:357). Other Agringados continue their endeavor to attain Anglo identity. It is among this group that the highest alcoholism rates exist (Madsen 1964:357).

The Agringado finds it impossible to detach himself completely from his Latin indoctrination. In addition, the conflicting Anglo value system is contradictory and inconsistent in itself. Hence, not only is the Agringado confronted by the conflicts between Anglo and Latin cultures but,

he must deal with the inner inconsistencies of each system (Madsen 1964:357).

To begin with, even before he attempts to Anglicize himself, he is constantly caught in the conflict between the "machismo" or manliness ideal and the ideal of the son's subservience to the father. A "true man" should be able to defend himself and maintain his dignity under any circumstances. He is, likewise, expected to stand on his own two feet. At the same time, the Mexican-American is expected to subordinate himself to his father. Secondly, the Anglo emphasis on self-advancement is the principal reason why the Agringado detaches himself from Latin tradition. He must reject what he has been taught all his life. Specifically, he must renounce the Latin devotion to the family above self and the subordination of the son to the father. Consequently, to reject Anglo values prohibits the individual's socioeconomic advancement and the continuation of the father-son machismo conflict. To reject Latin values means doing what he has been taught is wrong (Madsen 1964:357).

Beer and liquor play an important part in maintaining the Mexican-American males' self-image of a man. In fact, acceptable male interpersonal relations are nearly impossible to achieve for the non-drinking Mexican-American. The Agringado enters Anglo society with a strong association between drinking, manliness, and sociability (Madsen 1964:378). Upon entering Anglo society, the Agringado confronts contradictory attitudes toward drinking. Many Anglos drink and are drunk in public. However, several churches forbid drinking and public drunkenness is condemned by everyone (Madsen 1964:359). In addition, the Agringado often fails to gain acceptance in Anglo society. Likewise, he has been rejected by the more

conservative Mexican-Americans (Madsen 1964:357). He is like a man without a country. His very existence is disconfirmed.

By his exclusion from Mexican-American society, the Agringado is free of the many restraints posed on excessive drinking by Latin tradition. Alone, he frequently finds alcohol is the only relief from his anxiety. Consequently, "Accelerated drinking inevitably leads some Agringados into alcoholism" (Madsen 1964:359).

Once addicted to alcohol, the Agringado's position worsens. Mexican-Americans' opinion that he is worthless and a traitor to his people is confirmed. Likewise, Anglos feel their assertions that Latins are unreliable and morally weak is corroborated (Madsen 1964:359).

The Agringado is constantly placed in contradictory and untenable situations for which there is no escape. In reaction to the situation, he turns to alcohol. Such untenable predicaments resemble very closely the double bind situation. In a comprehensive work on alcoholism, William Madsen noted the existence of similar predicaments which he calls "anxiety arrows" (Madsen 1974:103). In brief, Madsen defines "anxiety arrows" as "The internalization of two conflicting values which cannot be resolved . . . ." (Madsen 1974:103). In addition, he states:

All of us, with the exception of some of our integrated folk communities and religious fundamentalists, live with a heavy collection of anxiety arrows manifesting themselves from time to time. If we cannot resolve the conflict, a high level of anxiety is built up with its biological correlates including elevated levels of epinephrine and lactate. If the conflicts cannot be submerged or replaced, the basis is laid for anxiety neurosis.

We have a number of acceptable techniques for the relief of anxiety but by far the most popular is the use of chemistry (Madsen 1974:103).

Thus, we rely on strong purges for blocked bowels, aspirin for headaches and massive amounts of antidepressants and tranquilizers for uncomfortable emotional states. However, the original soother of a suffering psyche is alcohol. Its use is an accepted self-administered method of psychotherapy. It works (Madsen 1974:103).

In sum, two conclusions can be drawn from the anthropological data presented above. First of all, there seems to be a connection between double bind situations and heavy drinking. The studies on the Lunahuanenos and the Camba support this idea. However, both these groups have provided controls for the prevention of alcoholism, such as confining drinking to social context. Secondly, where controls such as occurs among the Lunahuanenos and the Camba are lacking, alcoholism is liable to present itself. The Agringados of south Texas are an example of such a situation. Consequently, drinking to excess in all the examples cited appears to be a response to double bind situations.

## CHAPTER V

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In sum, this work has been an attempt to establish and investigate a relationship between double bind situations and heavy drinking. Specifically, it has been hypothesized that alcohol can serve as a method for dealing with double bind situations.

The double bind situation generally occurs in intensive relationships for one or more of the participants. The situation itself can be described as one or more persons sending a message to another person at one communicational level such as verbally. While at the same time, the sender denies or negates the message on another communicational level such as tone of voice or body movements. In addition, the receiver of the messages is in such a position that he cannot escape from this situation or comment on the contradiction. The receiver is expected to comply with both messages. He finds himself in an impossible position. In short, he is "damned if he does and damned if he doesn't" (Lidz 1973:66). Consequently, he is cognitively and emotionally torn apart.

It is postulated that alcohol allows the individual to deal with double bind situations. For example, drunkenness will aid in the relief of tensions, emotional pain, and allow the individual to shut off outside stimuli. In addition, drunken behavior itself transmits messages. Specifically, it communicates to others that I am drunk and therefore not responsible for my actions. Hence, the person caught in a double bind could comment on his situation without repercussions since it was the alcohol talking, not the person.

The method of investigation consisted of analyzing indepth case histories in light of the double bind hypothesis. The findings are supported with data from cross-cultural studies and less extensive case studies. Through investigating the individuals of each case and their interrelations with others, some interesting facts emerged. It was found that in each of the indepth case studies there was a high incidence of double bind situations. In addition, alcohol seems to have aided the various individuals to cope with double bind situations and the concomitant stresses. William Madsen has noted that alcohol "is an accepted self-administered method of psychotherapy" (Madsen 1974:103). It seems that upon imbibing alcohol to the point of intoxication, each individual found at least temporary solutions to their dilemmas. The repeated use of alcohol in such a manner appears to have eventually resulted in a drinking problem and a diagnosis of alcoholism.

Limited support is provided by less extensive case studies indicating that similar use of alcohol is employed by many more problem drinkers than just those discussed above. However, more substantial support for generalization of the hypotheses is established through the use of cross-cultural materials. Among two South American groups, the Camba and the Lunahuanenos, it was found that alcohol aided in overcoming the double binding elements of their social relations. In other words, both groups required social interaction. At the same time, social interaction was dangerous. In both cases, the intoxicating effect of alcohol facilitated social interaction. In addition, among the Lunahuanenos forbidden aggressive acts performed while intoxicated are permitted with only minor consequences. However, both groups have provided controls for the pre-

vention of alcoholism, such as confining drinking to social contexts.

Among the Agringados of Texas, excessive drinking appears to be a direct response to double bind situations which emerge during attempts to Anglicize themselves. Hence, as William Madsen has pointed out, "accelerated drinking inevitably leads some Agringados into alcoholism" (Madsen 1964:359). It is worth noting that in attempting to Anglicize themselves, the Agringados become detached from controls preventing the development of alcoholism which other Mexican-Americans are exposed.

In conclusion, given the data presented in this work, a definite relationship exists between double bind situations and heavy drinking. This relationship is one of resorting to alcohol in response to long term exposure to double bind situations. The repeated use of alcohol in such a manner over a substantial length of time seems to lead to alcoholism. Hence, alcoholism, at least indirectly, is the result of exposure to double binds.

However, there is one qualification regarding these conclusions that needs mentioning. Namely, due to the limitations of the data, it cannot be said that double binds are the sole cause of problem drinking. Instead, it is asserted that in light of the data presented, double binds appear to be a significant factor in the development of problem drinking.

Besides the explicit hypotheses dealt with in the present work, two implicit but important assumptions can be made. First of all, this work demonstrates that there are some different and fruitful alternatives to the types of alcoholism studies usually carried out. A study similar to this one using a large quantity of first-hand data would lead to many valuable insights into alcoholism. In addition, this work provides a



starting point and background data to carry on such a study.

Secondly, it is considered misleading to view alcoholism and abusive drinking as a problem in itself. Rather, a problem already exists for which drinking is a solution.

## APPENDIX

The five case studies which are central to this work are, as has already been mentioned, the most complete case studies available in the literature. Case histories that are less complete than these five would be inadequate for the type of analysis used in this study. However, these less-complete studies can be of some value provided they meet one or both of two qualifications. The first qualification demands that the case study provide some background material on the person's life. For example, some information on the person's childhood or growing up experiences would suffice. The second qualification requires some indication of the person's self-conception. In the available literature, forty-five cases were found to comply with one or both of the specified qualifications. Case studies range in length from two paragraphs to ten pages.<sup>11</sup> The length of the case definitely influences the degree to which required information is provided.

The purpose of the chart is to provide some support for the hypothesis that there is a relationship between double bind situations and problem drinking. The various degrees of incompleteness require that support be given indirectly. Hence, the chart is based on three assumptions. First, there are certain concomitant variables of double bind situations. Second, the presence of these variables are indicators that the person in question has been repeatedly exposed to double binds. Thirdly, indications of double binds found in case studies of such limited size increase the probability that if more complete information was available, more double binds and indicators of double binds would be found.

Given the information provided in Chapter One and Chapter Two, the indicators of double binds are: clear-cut double binds both received and initiated, contradictory messages both sent and received, feelings of being unwanted and unloved and feelings of insecurity. A code under which the indicators are categorized is provided on the bottom of each chart. However, a few comments on the codes and the chart need mentioning. To begin with, a category entitled comments is provided where clear-cut double binds and contradictory messages are written out. The primary purpose of this category is to let the reader see what the double bind or contradictory message entails and to indicate whether they are received or sent. In addition, within the comments category, double binds have been indicated by DB and contradictory messages by CM. An X has been used to indicate the presence of a variable. However, a blank space does not necessarily mean the variable does not exist for the particular case. Rather, given the limitations of the data, the variable was not mentioned.

Totals and percentages are given at the end of the last page of the chart. Note that under the column marked comments, totals and percentages are given for all double binds and contradictory messages mentioned. Finally, each case study is named in the far left column and referenced by a number in the appropriate space. Reference numbers are coded in Table One.

Upon examining the totals and percentages of each variable separately there seems to exist little support for the presence of double bind situations. However, it must be remembered that the case studies were very small. In addition, the amount of appropriate information the

case studies provided was generally minimal. In light of these facts, it is significant that any of the variables were located at all.

Nevertheless, the purpose of the chart is to reveal indicators of double binds. In doing so, 93% of the cases indicate the presence of double bind situations. In conclusion, given the limitations of the data, the chart supports the hypothesis that a relationship exists between double bind situations and problem drinking.

# CHART I

Case of	Ref.	A	B	C	D	E	F	Comments
Mr. Dilworth	1							
Mrs. Lawson	2			X		X	X	
Mr. Corbin	3				X	X		
Marty	4	X	X					DB: To stay in school meant never matching his father's achievements. To drop out of school proved his father was the better man. CM: Mother sends seductive messages which Marty cannot respond to.
Paul	5	X	X				X	DB: His wife is not interested in sex. She denies that this is the case & convinces him she is interested. CM: Paul denies hostility toward son, although speech is marked by hostility.
Barbara	6	X	X		X		X	DB: Mother abused her. She hated mother & wished her dead. Society says to be a good child, Barbara must love parents. DB: Barbara needs husband. Only places she knows to look, she is unlikely to find one. Not to look means not to find one. CM: Barbara's father constantly related to her in a seductive way, which contradicts father-daughter relationship. CM: Barbara would nonverbally indicate that intercourse was desired then verbally deny it.
Harry	7				X		X	
Will	8		X					CM: Angry at wife for sexual promiscuity while he likewise had affairs.

## CODES

A Double Bind  
B Contradictory Messages  
C Alienation  
D Guilt Feelings

E Feeling of Being Unloved & Unwanted  
F Feeling of Insecurity  
DB Double Bind - Comments  
CM Contradictory Message - Comments

Case of	Ref.	A	B	C	D	E	F	Comments
Jane	9	X	X		X	X		DB: Not to have intercourse meant frustration. To have intercourse meant cheating on her husband. CM: As a child she received all material needs but not love.
Jim	10							
Joe	11		X	X				CM: Drank for courage to inter- relate with women, but acted nasty which inhibited his rela- tions with women.
Charles	12		X	X		X		CM: Reared with overindulgence of material needs. Love, attention & understanding were lacking.
Mabel	13		X			X	X	CM: Her mother hated men but in- dulged in intercourse with them.
Alex	14			X		X	X	
J.'s father	15	X						Note: Alcoholic puts child in DB. DB: Parents fighting. Child can neither stop it nor ignore it, as he was told to do. DB: Child hates family situation. However, there is no escape. DB: Child needs & wants friends, but will not have any due to family situation. To be without friends means loneliness & isola- tion. To have friends would mean embarrassment & shame.
S.'s father	16	X						DB: Family situation unbearable. However, S. is unable to leave.
X	17						X	
C	18				X		X	
Q	19						X	
F	20	X		X		X		DB: Beat frequently at home & he ran away a number of times. How- ever he was always found, returned & beaten. It was impossible to stay & impossible to leave.
M	21		X		X			CM: His father criticized him for drinking, but he also drank.

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Case of	Ref.	A	B	C	D	E	F	Comments
N	22		X					CM: Father forbade family to go to plays. Mother would take N to see plays.
Y	23	X					X	DB: Y took on an associate at her store who was the wife of an executive in her husband's business. She could not get along with her, but could not get rid of her because of her husband.
S	24		X	X	X		X	CM: He claims he wants to advance his position, but makes no plans to do so. CM: To prove that he could stop drinking, he would drink.
B	25		X		X		X	CM: In order to contact A.A. he decided to go on a binge so he would end up in an alcoholic hospital where he could meet some A.A. people.
R	26						X	
K	27							
H	28			X			X	
J	29	X		X			X	DB: To have an abortion meant unbearable stress. To have child meant stress due to her husband's negative feeling toward children.
V	30						X	
U	31						X	
G	32				X		X	
P	33		X				X	CM: To prove he could stop drinking, he would drink.
E	34	X					X	DB: In order to defend his honor, he had to fight with other boys. Upon going home, he would be beaten for being in a fight.
Mary Smith	35	X						DB: If she took care of her father, she felt her life was being ruined. Not to take care of him meant being a bad daughter.

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Case of	Ref.	A	B	C	D	E	F	Comments
Jim	36					X	X	
Joe	37		X			X	X	CM: To prove that he could stop drinking, he would drink.
Mark	38						X	
John	39			X				
Alfred Pond	40	X				X		DB: Parents did not want him & sent him to live with grand-parents. Unhappy there, he ran away to live with aunt who bearly tolerated him. Unhappy if he stayed, unhappy if he left.
R. Bailey	41					X		
J. LaFever	42		X					CM: He refused to support his family. Consequently, family poverty-stricken. Yet, he blames it on his wife.
Fred Baker	43		X	X		X		CM: Objects to drunks, yet he is a drunk.
E. Francis	44	X						DB: He was caught in the dilemma of doing what he wanted to do & displeasing his wife or doing what he did not want to do & making his wife happy.
Anonymous	45			X				

	CASES	A	B	C	D	E	F	DB	CM
TOTALS	45	13	16	11	9	12	23	16	18
%		29%	36%	24%	20%	27%	51%	36%	40%

93% of the cases have at least one variable

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TABLE I

<u>Case No.</u>	<u>Reference</u>	<u>Length</u>
1	(Bailey 1968:137)	7 pages
2	(Bailey 1968:144)	5 pages
3	(Bailey 1968:149)	5 pages
4	(Chafetz & Demone 1962:237)	8 pages
5	(Chafetz & Demone 1962:245)	7 pages
6	(Chafetz & Demone 1962:251)	6 pages
7	(Chafetz & Demone 1962:257)	4 pages
8	(Chafetz & Demone 1962:260)	4 $\frac{1}{2}$ pages
9	(Chafetz & Demone 1962:265)	5 $\frac{1}{2}$ pages
10	(Chafetz & Demone 1962:270)	4 pages
11	(Chafetz & Demone 1962:273)	5 pages
12	(Chafetz & Demone 1962:279)	6 $\frac{1}{2}$ pages
13	(Chafetz & Demone 1962:285)	4 pages
14	(Chafetz & Demone 1962:288)	6 pages
15	(Cork 1969:1)	10 pages
16	(Cork 1969:12)	6 pages
17	(Cushman & Landis 1946:3)	4 $\frac{1}{2}$ pages
18	(Cushman & Landis 1946:7)	4 pages
19	(Cushman & Landis 1946:11)	4 pages
20	(Cushman & Landis 1946:15)	4 pages
21	(Cushman & Landis 1946:18)	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ pages
22	(Cushman & Landis 1946:22)	4 $\frac{1}{2}$ pages
23	(Cushman & Landis 1946:26)	4 pages
24	(Cushman & Landis 1946:30)	5 pages
25	(Cushman & Landis 1946:35)	5 pages
26	(Cushman & Landis 1946:40)	5 pages
27	(Cushman & Landis 1946:44)	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ pages
28	(Cushman & Landis 1946:48)	4 pages
29	(Cushman & Landis 1946:52)	4 pages
30	(Cushman & Landis 1946:55)	5 pages
31	(Cushman & Landis 1946:61)	4 pages
32	(Cushman & Landis 1946:64)	4 $\frac{1}{2}$ pages
33	(Cushman & Landis 1946:69)	4 pages
34	(Cushman & Landis 1946:73)	4 $\frac{1}{2}$ pages
35	(Gorad et al. 1971:663)	1 page
36	(McClelland et al. 1972:268)	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ pages
37	(McClelland et al. 1972:270)	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ pages
38	(McClelland et al. 1972:271)	2 pages
39	(McClelland et al. 1972:273)	3 pages
40	(Pittman & Gordon 1958:80)	2 paragraphs
41	(Pittman & Gordon 1958:92)	2 paragraphs
42	(Pittman & Gordon 1958:122)	1 page
43	(Pittman & Gordon 1958:123)	1 page
44	(Pittman & Gordon 1958:136)	3 paragraphs
45	(Scott 1970:9)	2 pages

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>The need to experience the numinous and transcendent in this context refers specifically to a need to believe in and experience the existence of something wonderful beyond the material universe.

<sup>2</sup>Important others, significant others or similar terminology will be used to refer to those people with whom a person is involved in a sufficiently intensive relationship to exert an influence over him. For instance, parents, siblings, spouse, relatives, neighbors, friends, and teachers are a few, but not all who may come under this category.

<sup>3</sup>The "split double bind" consists of one parent sending one message and the other parent contradicting it. Furthermore, there is no attempt to prevent the receiver of the messages from leaving the situation, but is often pushed out (Watzlawick 1963:146).

<sup>4</sup>Gregory Bateson mentioned double bind situations in relation to alcoholism. However, he used the double bind concept differently and in a much too limited extent to be useful in this study. Bateson asserts that various types of double binds occur when two people, one an alcoholic, perceive the premises of their relationship in different terms. However, Bateson places more importance on the idea of schizogenesis than on the double bind (Bateson 1974:324-325).

<sup>5</sup>Examples of damage would be interference with social relations, economic functions, physical health or mental health.

<sup>6</sup>In a paper entitled, "Alcoholism and the Family," Joan K. Jackson has stated:

"The wives of alcoholics find themselves disliking, punishing, or depriving the children preferred by the father and those who resemble him. Similarly, the child who is preferred by, or resembles, the mother is often hurt by the father. If the child tries to stay close to both parents he is caught in an impossible situation. Each parent resents the affection the other receives while demanding that the child show affection to both" (Jackson 1971:382).

<sup>7</sup>Expressive documents consist of personal letters, life histories and accounts of small group process (Angell & Freedman 1953:302).

<sup>8</sup>In realizing her dilemma, Lillian once said, "Your medicine is your poison is your medicine is your poison and there is no end but madness" (Roth 1954:209).

<sup>9</sup>For a discussion on less-complete case studies, see appendix.

<sup>10</sup>"Need for positive affect means that each person craves response from his human environment. It may be viewed as a hunger, not unlike that for food, but more generalized. Under varying conditions it may be expressed as a desire for contact, for recognition and acceptance, for approval, for esteem, or for mastery" (Goldschmidt 1959:26).

<sup>11</sup>The case studies taken from Margaret Cork's The Forgotten Children may seem somewhat long. However, the contrary is true. When compared with the other case studies used, the size of the pages and print are of a significantly different degree. The total length of Cork's case studies is equivalent to about half of what is numerically indicated.

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