

AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20523
BIBLIOGRAPHIC INPUT SHEET

FOR AID USE ONLY

Batch 67

1. SUBJECT
CLASSI-
FICATION

A. PRIMARY

TEMPORARY

B. SECONDARY

2. TITLE AND SUBTITLE

A comparison of drinking patterns in three Hispanic cities

3. AUTHOR(S)

Ezell, P.H.

4. DOCUMENT DATE

1965

5. NUMBER OF PAGES

22p.

6. ARC NUMBER

ARC

7. REFERENCE ORGANIZATION NAME AND ADDRESS

Cornell

8. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES (Sponsoring Organization, Publishers, Availability)

(In Comparative studies of cultural change. Publication)

9. ABSTRACT

(SOCIAL SCIENCES R&D)

10. CONTROL NUMBER

PN-AAE-233

11. PRICE OF DOCUMENT

12. DESCRIPTORS

Alcohol
Ciudad Juarez, Mexico?
La Paz, Bolivia?
Mexico City, Mexico?

13. PROJECT NUMBER

14. CONTRACT NUMBER

CSD-296 Res.

15. TYPE OF DOCUMENT

CSD-296 RFS
Cornell
PN-AAE-233
REVIEW COPY

A COMPARISON OF DRINKING PATTERNS
IN THREE HISPANIC CITIES

by

Paul H. Ezell
Department of Anthropology
San Diego State College

Comparative Studies of Cultural Change
Department of Anthropology
Cornell University
Ithaca, N. Y.

December 1965

A COMPARISON OF DRINKING PATTERNS IN
THREE HISPANIC CITIES

Whereas most of the literature on the use of alcohol deals with tribal or peasant societies as Heath has noted (1965:1), this paper deals with drinking patterns in urban contexts on the part of members of the dominant socio-economic portion of the population. In no case can the data presented in this paper be considered even representative of the spectrum, much less complete, owing to a variety of circumstances; my own status and role operated to select what I observed, as did the amount of time spent in each city as well as the extent of my socializing in each (i.e., the segments of the population with which I interacted). Nevertheless, one factor is common to all three localities of observation--in each case that portion of the populace with which I interacted and for whom I am reporting observed drinking practices were of the class which, for want of a better term, I would label criollo. By this I mean that they were business and/or professional people whose cultural tradition is European rather than American aborigine, regardless of their physical appearance. They represent the closest thing that I can think of to what we may identify as an "upper middle class", despite frequent assertions that no real middle class can be identified in at least one of the countries where the observations were made. Another factor the effect of which I cannot evaluate is the time differential; the observations in Juarez

were made in 1941-42, those in Mexico in 1942 and again in 1952, and those in La Paz in 1964-65. Practices in the former two cities may, of course, have changed over the intervening decades. In addition, Ciudad Juarez is in a class by itself, since it is a border city and much of the drinking observed was being done by Americans or by Mexicans as a consequence of their special interactions with Americans.

The latter observation makes it apt to consider first who is doing the drinking or, more appropriately, with whom does one drink? In Mexico City and La Paz one does not, apparently, drink with casual strangers; that is, one drinks with persons to whom one has at least been introduced by some means, if not with friends or acquaintances of some standing. Ciudad Juarez, owing to its nature as a border city situated opposite a large American city (El Paso, Texas) with the added factor of a large military establishment, was characterized by much more informality in the drinking. In this respect, the drinking practices bore most resemblance to observed American drinking practices of the three cities observed, not unpredictable consequence of the situation.

The Context

While it is not really possible to separate the occasion for drinking from the locale or the persons doing the drinking nevertheless, for descriptive purposes it is convenient to treat them separately for the moment. A rough division can be made between

drinking done in the home and drinking done outside of the home, since the occasion for the drinking, and often the beverages, differ between the two. Drinking in the home may occur as a function of hospitality alone, or may be in the nature of a family celebration, participated in by the family and a few invited guests. Drinking outside of the home may occur in the limited context of an association of persons brought together by some tie, however transitory in some place of assembly (thus somewhat of an extension of the last pattern of home drinking just listed), and/or in connection with public festivals. So far we have considered what may be classed as ceremonial drinking. In addition, drinking in public occurs as an accompaniment to meals in restaurants and finally, is engaged in for itself alone or as an accompaniment to some other activity such as political discussions and planning, business conferences, etc., in bars.

Hospitality drinking in the home. As the term implies, this refers to drinks offered a guest upon the occasion of a visit to a home. Although there was considerable variation observed in the matter of the beverages served, from local beers to imported liquors, here was where the greatest frequency of serving a national drink was observed--tequila in Mexico City and Ciudad Juarez, singani (a variety of pisco, or grape brandy) in La Paz--served according to the custom of the country. In the Mexican cities the ritual of salt and lime was observed; in La Paz the singani was most frequently mixed with orange juice or orange soda. In all cases the beverage

was served by bringing it out in a container on a tray together with glasses; the glasses were then filled from the container and offered to the guests by either the husband or wife, usually the former, never by younger members of the family. Whereas in the Mexican cities the original bottle was used as the container, in La Paz, since the drink was mixed beforehand, the container was a glass carafe. In such gatherings, although younger members of the family were present, they either did not partake (nor were they offered anything to drink) or, in the case of La Paz, they partook of non-alcoholic drinks. Most of the drinking was done by the mature men; the women partook to a much less extent. In one case reported to me, however, a young man of the age group which ordinarily would not have partaken of the alcoholic beverages in such a situation arrived a little late, already showing some effects of drinking; he was offered, and partook of, alcoholic drinks along with the mature adults and drank proportionately more than they and came most close to intoxication. In all three cities, the first drink was prefaced by the host raising his glass and offering the ritual toast of salud ("health"), analagous to "here's how", "skoal" and such expressions elsewhere. Thereafter the behavior differed between the three cities. In Ciudad Juarez this was rarely repeated with subsequent drinks; in Mexico City it might or might not be, depending apparently upon individual whim of the drinkers; in La Paz it was a customary prelude to every raising of the glass to the lips, and was uttered by whomever next felt the impulse to

drink, and was customarily replied to by all others present as they also raised their glasses to their mouths and (ostensibly, at least) drank. In this kind of drinking situation the state of intoxication was evidently to be avoided, a mild euphoria on the part of the men being all that was by custom permitted, although nothing was said about it--drinking was always terminated by the host or hostess on some such pretext as the introduction of food (moving to the table to eat, going out to a restaurant) or the necessity of going to some other (previously established) engagement such as the theater. In such cases the quantity of liquor consumed was not large; only in La Paz was the container emptied, and it might be suspected that the quantity prepared was calculated to that end, that the social requirements might be observed. In no case was the original supply replenished.

Family celebrations. No example of this kind was observed in Mexico. In the other two cities, the occasions for these included celebration of the Saint's Day of the mother of the host (in Ciudad Juarez), appointment to a post in a ministry in La Paz, and parties (e.g., farewells) held in homes. On these occasions the beverages were all "hard liquor", i.e., distilled liquors. The greatest range of these observed was in Ciudad Juarez; in addition to tequila there was habanera, rum and bourbon. In La Paz the preference was overwhelmingly for scotch; bourbon is virtually unknown, and gin and vodka were taken by very few. The liquor was brought out by the host in the original bottles, together with glasses and "mixes",

usually flavored carbonated soft drinks such as 7-Up, ginger ale, orange. Preferences were asked, beginning with the invited guests, and drinks prepared by the host and handed around individually. As the evening progressed the guests prepared their own drinks. Virtually all preferred to mix the alcoholic beverage with something. One exception was the party held to celebrate the appointment to the post in the ministry. Here the drink was scotch, presented as described, but uncut with any mix. On this occasion and at some of the parties sub-adult members were present. At the parties the one young man present drank sodas only by preference, but as has been noted previously, at one party another youth took the same alcoholic beverage (singani in orange soda) as the mature men. At another several young adult men were present but managed to get through the evening (again by preference) on very little, leaving most of the drinking to be done by the men of about forty years of age or older.

The party to celebrate the appointment to the post in the ministry was structured much more like the hospitality drinking occasions. Only the wife of the host, among the young women present, partook, and that in only the most ritualistic way-she managed to avoid finishing her first and only drink. The other young women did not partake at all, and the several young adult men present each nursed one drink through a period of two hours. When the party moved to the table to eat, all took beer, but the mature adult men continued drinking whiskey as well. Nevertheless, only

one bottle was provided and even it was not finished by the time the evening was over. The other parties were much less formally structured.

At the Saint's Day celebration, the wife of the host took several drinks during the evening. There were no young adults present, and the juveniles were given "soft" drinks. The older adult males continued drinking throughout the supper and after, eventually reaching a considerable degree of intoxication, manifested in increasing euphoria as the evening wore on but without reaching the point of nausea or "passing out." At the other parties in La Paz, the pattern was somewhat different. At the beginning the host initiated the toast with each guest, since they did not arrive in a body together; thereafter the toast was proffered apparently as it occurred to the individuals, and eventually was often ignored, although to the end of the affair any guest was liable to initiate the ritual with any other, particularly the foreign participants. In these cases, juveniles and young adults either partook very lightly or not at all of alcoholic beverages, again either by individual preference (known for one case of a young adult male) or by custom, although no overt example of prohibition was observed. Regarding the adult women guests, however, there was more drinking on their part, approximating equality with the men. Intoxication on the part of the men did not reach the same level as in Ciudad Juarez, but it is perhaps significant that two women reached that state, one of them becoming nauseated. Nevertheless, the quantity of liquor consumed at the parties was not great, considering the number of people involved and the duration of the parties.

It was possible to collect some simple statistical data for three parties by counting the number of people attending, the number of bottles and kinds of liquor supplied and the duration of the party, as summarized below.

<u>Party</u>	<u>No. People</u>	<u>Duration</u>	<u>Liquor Supply</u>
1	7	4 hours	2 fifths scotch
2	9	6 "	3 " " , 1 fifth vodka
3	12	7 "	4 " " , 1 fifth vodka

By calculating the relationship between man-hours at the party (they always broke up in a group, just as they assembled largely as a group) and the amount of liquor supplied, one can arrive at an average figure of consumption of alcohol per person per hour. At the first party this average was .07 of a fifth per person; at the second it rose slightly to .083, partly because the drinkers were one less than the number present, but for the third it sank to .052. This consumption rate is only approximate, of course, and can even be misleading. Not all present drank at the same rate; one woman characteristically consumed only one drink during the entire evening, and at the other extreme was the one who drank to the point of nausea. Furthermore the figures do not reflect the observation that, with each succeeding party, the behavior, including drinking, became increasingly easier. It appeared that the Bolivian participants, as they gained confidence that the American present would not display a pejorative attitude toward them, came to feel themselves more at ease in his presence and relaxed the guards on their behavior to some extent. Nevertheless there is a distinct impression that those

parties were relatively abstemious in comparison with equivalent American affairs of that nature. Unfortunately I do not have similar figures for American parties to permit a more precise comparison.

At these parties singing by those reputed by the others as able in this respect, dancing, and charade-like performance played a prominent feature of the behavior after the first two or three drinks had been consumed, it being almost obligatory on everyone to take part to some extent. The parties did not fragment into smaller groups in other rooms, although necessarily group fragmentation occurred as conversations developed in the party room during the course of the evening. There was little in the way of sexual by-play observed and in no case did any couple withdraw at any time.

Association affairs. Three instances of drinking in this context were observed, one in each city, but the labor union affair in Mexico City was observed so cursorily that, beyond noting that some kind of drinks were served, consumed in very little quantity, without any toasts, no further information was obtained. The drinks were brought to the participants in glasses at their tables; because all glasses were the same it is supposed that the drink (something other than beer) was the same for all.

The association observed in Ciudad Juarez was the annual barbeque for police officers. It was held in a large room in one of the buildings of the distillery--perhaps a warehouse. Simple plank tables laid on trestles, with benches for seating had been provided. A plate filled with barbecued beef, a bottle of bourbon and a tumbler were set before each participant. The initial drink, at least, was preceded by the

toast, but no subsequent pattern of toasting is remembered. Drinking proceeded steadily from the beginning of the affair and a state of euphoria, then of considerable intoxication was reached rather quickly, manifested in shouts of "viva", "cowboy" yells, firing of pistols toward the ceiling, singing, etc. Only mature males were present. That more details are not remembered is to be attributed to difficulty in being a participant observer in such a situation.

The third association affair observed was the celebration of Peruvian independence by the members of the Peruvian colony resident in Bolivia who were able to assemble in La Paz. The celebration was held in the halls of the Peruvian Center in La Paz. The age range of the participants was from about sixteen years of age up, although most of the celebrants appeared to be about thirty or over. Friends and/or acquaintances and their guests, if any, tended to cluster together at tables, forming sub-groups. The drinks served were predominantly scotch; the only other alcoholic beverage identified was vodka. As before, these were almost invariably taken mixed with either orange juice or orange soda or 7-Up--no one was observed taking liquor either straight or diluted with water. In contrast with the other affairs reported on thus far, these drinks were purchased; in our case, as guests, we were not allowed to purchase any drinks, that being done by the individual who invited us to attend. To begin with, people sat around the tables and conversed; after about an hour and two or three drinks, dancing began. People would dance, then return to their chairs and drink a little. Here the ritual of toasting

was observed with greater regularity than noted elsewhere. Of the young people present, one young man and one young woman were observed to take nothing but non-alcoholic drinks during the entire evening, although this was certainly by preference, since alcoholic drinks were freely offered them. One individual at a table would lift his glass (this toasting was almost invariably initiated by the men) and say "salud"; all the rest at the table, whether drinking alcoholic or non-alcoholic beverages, would raise their glasses, respond "salud", and drink (or pretend to). Being the only two foreigners at a table of some thirty people, we found that a preponderance of the toasts were directed specifically at us; as a consequence we found ourselves under a certain amount of pressure. The drinks were ordered from waiters who came around with trays containing a bottle of liquor, mix, and glasses, and were mixed at the table by the waiter. Although there were occasional exhortations to "drink up" when we responded to the toasts by only sipping from our glasses, nevertheless most of the people drank in that way, thus enabling us to comply with at least token response to the frequent toasts directed toward us as foreigners without consuming more alcohol than we could conveniently tolerate. It is possible that the almost constant dancing, often quite vigorous in nature, at that great altitude, which characterized the Bolivian affairs, aided in the rapid dissipation of the alcohol. At any rate, nothing more than a mild state of euphoria was reached by all but a couple of men; these latter could only be said to have passed beyond euphoria into the first stages of intoxication until very late in the

affair, when one of them had to be helped from the room. Here, in contrast to the private parties in homes, the women drank very little or not at all, and exhibited no orgiastic behavior at all--what little of the latter was shown was only exhibited by the men. The essentially formal nature of the affair was epitomized by the midnight ceremony of toasting first Peruvian, then Bolivian, independence. As the hour arrived, goblets of champagne were distributed (not bought, as the case with the ordinary drinks), all gathered standing in one room and facing toward the displayed flags, the national anthems of each country were sung, half the goblet of champagne was tossed off after the Peruvian anthem had been sung, to the accompaniment of shouts "Viva Peru", and the ritual was repeated for Bolivia. Some few afterwards sought and obtained a second goblet of champagne, but the majority returned to their tables and their customary drinks. The affair began about 9:00 p.m. and terminated about 4:00 a.m.

Public celebrations. Under these are included the various national independence days and other such commemorative occasions and, in Bolivia, the week of Carnival. Properly, drinking should be considered here under the headings of drinking in homes and such private situations, and drinking engaged in really public situations, i.e., outdoors. No opportunity was afforded to observe drinking behavior in the former situation, nor are there available to me any reports on that except for Bolivia. There, by report, the drinking in private situations occurred in the context of the party and followed pretty much the pattern previously described. Drinking in the open was observed in

all three places in connections with such occasions, but it was not observed for the socio-economic group for which these behaviors are being described; instead it was observed to occur only among people of lower social-economic rating. In La Paz the week of Carnival was described as a succession of parties--in fact many people were reported to take that week as a vacation, devoting themselves to the attending of parties during the night hours and resting during the day. Reputedly, it is also a period of heightened drinking; some people claimed that they drank only during that period. Nevertheless, no great increase was overtly observable; no intoxicated persons of the class described were seen in public at any time. Drinking in the open in Ciudad Juarez and Mexico City, similarly, was apparently confined to other classes than the one described here.

Restaurants. In all three cities liquor of various kinds was invariably served in eating establishments patronized by members of the criollo class, and was apparently fairly regularly consumed, both in the form of drinks before eating and during eating. In this connection beer was far more commonly consumed than in the other drinking situations identified. The standard brands of cocktails vied with the national drinks (Bolivia has no national drink. but singani occupies approximately that position), but whiskey gave place to drinks composed of vodka, gin and rum. In addition, here was where most wine was observed consumed, almost invariably with the food. Again, such drinking was most frequent on the part of the mature men; mature women partook to a lesser extent or not at all quite frequently

and the young not at all. The patterns of serving, etc., followed those of the United States, since the drinks were being served by waiters. Usually, the first drink was preceded by the ritual "salud", but thereafter no toasts were offered. In no instance was more than mild euphoria observed as a consequence of such drinking.

Bars. Drinking in this situation was common in Ciudad Juarez, less frequently observed in Mexico, and observed most rarely in La Paz-- in fact, I cannot call to mind the existence of a single establishment in that city which fits in that category. It seems fairly obvious that the proximity to the United States, and the requirement of catering to American drinking customs, operates here. In La Paz, the only places which approximated bars were the conveniences provided in hotels catering principally to Euro-American guests and Latin-Americans of equivalent socio-economic status. The drinking behaviors observed there were much more American or Anglo-American than Latin-American. Latin-Americans in such situations tended to observe the "salud" ritual before the first drink, often as a consequence of the American behavior of having picked it up as "the thing to do" and initiating it under such circumstances. Generally the participants were men; women were much less frequently present, since these were often all-male gatherings for "business" (i.e., politics or commerce or both) but, when present, tended to drink the same drinks as the men (if they did not ask for a soft drink instead), but in less quantity. In Ciudad Juarez, women of the class being considered were virtually never observed, owing probably to the special nature of most of the bars there, as catering

primarily to foreign visitors. Because of that circumstance, non-foreign women present were almost invariably part or full-time prostitutes, and there were strong sanctions against women of the criollo class entering bars. In Mexico City, the attitude was more tolerant, although there were some bars into which local women of that class did not enter--in fact, they tended to enter only the hotel bars of the kind described. No comparison can be made with La Paz on this score, since none of that kind of establishment were visited. Criollo women freely entered the hotel bars, but only if accompanied by men, never singly or in groups of women alone.

Attitudes

The attitudes toward drinking and drunkenness were quite uniform in the three cities observed. Drinking itself was regarded as a matter largely of individual choice, somewhat on the same order as food preferences, conditioned somewhat by age and sex associations and the expectations thus accruing to drinking. It is taken as a matter of course that mature men will drink, sometimes to excess, certainly more than women or the young; that young women will not drink at all, young men little. Although it cannot be demonstrated by specific cases, there is a distinct impression that it is regarded as fitting and proper for a mature man to drink; it is not so strong as obligatory, but no instance is known to me of a mature man refraining from drinking in a drinking situation, so I do not know how it would be regarded.

Except for the police banquet (which was a special occasion), comparatively few cases of drunkenness were observed. In such cases, the

victims were not criticized, either at the time or after that I know of; instead, they were treated with toleration, even some indulgence wherever possible their behavior was ignored without themselves being necessarily ignored--the impression was given that the others were almost trying to pretend that nothing was amiss. It should also be noted that drunken behavior was never, that I can remember, of such nature as to require any restraining action on the part of others.

A sharp difference exists, however, regarding attitudes toward drunkenness (and perhaps drinking) on the part of Americans. In all three cities, Americans were or are severely criticized for behavior which, on the part of a local citizen, would arouse no comment. In part, the behavior of American tourists observed in Ciudad Juarez and Mexico City, lends substance to the image of the loud, ill-mannered American drunk, male or female which was described by Mexicans and Bolivians. No instance of American behavior giving substance to this image were observed in La Paz, but an instance of such behavior on the part of a minor American official in a neighboring South American country was reported in some detail in the newspapers in La Paz, behavior which, on the face of it, would hardly have received the slightest mention had it not been exhibited by an American. At the same time Americans are (in Bolivia at least--I have no data on this from Mexico) criticized in a sense if they do not drink. Americans are thought of as "cold", in contrast to the "warm", emotional Latin, and failure of an American man to drink in drinking situations is interpreted as a manifestation of this "coldness." In either case, this image evidently serves as an ego-inflating device for the Latin-American feeling himself at the mercy of world powers

beyond his influence or control which nevertheless may affect him profoundly. Other Americans in Latin-American countries have doubtless had the similar experience of being told by local people that they "are not at all like most Americans" in this respect as well as others.

As far as reasons for drinking can be inferred, since none were given, it generally seems to be for purposes of socializing and conviviality, and as an expected accompaniment to some other element such as observances or "business" conferences. In no case was drinking observed which would justify the inference that the drinker drank to get drunk, as was reported by Heath (1962:16) for a different socio-economic segment of the Bolivian population. It is interesting and, in view of other evidence of the changing nature of society in Latin-American countries, probably significant that the only instances observed where it could legitimately be inferred that individuals drank to relieve tension were on the part of women in La Paz. In each case, these were women in professional occupations, unmarried, of education considerably above the average, who were functioning in roles which caused them to be surrounded by men of the same general professional standing, but usually finding themselves at some point subordinate to men. In one case, the woman occasioned comment by taking drinks, since she was known as a non-drinker; another woman had gained a reputation for taking more than was customary at social affairs, and did so, being also the only case of nausea noted. Another became more intoxicated than any of the men at the gatherings where she was observed, without occasioning comment, but confided upon other occasions that she was concerned

about her drinking. In these cases, once a certain degree of freedom from inhibition had been reached the women revealed anxiety about their own situations on such points as current positions, professional relationships with male associates, futures of their careers as well as futures in general, desires to escape from the current situation by a variety of means such as emigrating or getting more education. It is notable that none listed marriage as an escape from her current unsatisfactory situation and, when questioned specifically about it, all expressed the determination not to marry (or remarry, in the case of those once married) among any of the possibilities apparently available to them. Reference has already been made to the absence of sexual by-play in connection with drinking situations. In this connection, none of the women said anything or exhibited any behavior which would justify any inference about frustration or anxiety in that area of the culture. The tensions seemed all to be economic in origin, but connected of course with the changing status of women in South America.

In summation we may say that drinking patterns among the members of the dominant socio-economic portion of the population in three Hispanic cities exhibit considerable similarity one to the other. Most alcohol is consumed by the young middle-aged and older men. Older women consume less alcohol over a more limited range of situations, younger men consume less than the older men, although over the same general range of situations, and the consumption on the part of younger women is most limited both as to quantity and range of situations. Alcoholic beverages were or are consumed as a part of hospitality

behavior in the home, as a part of celebrations held in the home and restricted gatherings outside the home, in restaurants and in bars. The greatest frequency of consumption of alcohol by the younger men and women was or is in home situations. Of the three cities observed, Ciudad Juarez, Chihuahua, across the boundary from El Paso, Texas, was most "Americanized" in its drinking patterns in public situations, with the exception that, at the time the observations were made, local women of the criollo class did not participate to any extent in drinking outside the home. In most of the cases a strong preference was shown for whiskey; over other, sometimes national drinks--bourbon being the choice in Ciudad Juarez (doubtless owing to the existence of a local distillery), scotch in La Paz, Bolivia. Equally consistently the alcohol was taken in some taste-disguising "mix". Drinking was or is usually accompanied by varying degrees of ritual behavior manifested in the form of conventional toasts; this was least apparent in Ciudad Juarez, most customary in La Paz. Drinking was or is regarded largely as a matter of individual choice, with no associations of moral condemnation of drinking although the initial expectation exists that all mature males will drink. Drinking apparently functions primarily with socializing and convivial associations, as an expected accompaniment to other elements such as hospitality and celebration rather than tension/anxiety reducing associations. Alcohol can seldom be said to be consumed to excess among this group. The inebriate is treated with tolerance, the prevailing attitude being one of ignoring the inebriate's behavior without ignoring the inebriate. Although they are not perceptible on the

overt level, rather strong covert sanctions apparently exist against over-indulgence. This attitude extends only to members of the criollo class; Americans are strongly criticized for the same behavior, but at the same time elliptically criticized if they do not drink in situations where drinking is customary. With the exception of the one Ciudad Juarez instance, drinking is not accompanied by the degree of boisterous behavior which frequently characterizes analogous affairs in the United States. Similarly, such affairs observed in the three Hispanic cities were not enlivened by the sort of sexual by-play--ribald jokes and songs, suggestive remarks, caresses--which are sometimes a feature of American parties.

Comments

Despite the widespread but vague idea that drinking to the point of alcoholism is a characteristic problem in South America at least, such is not the impression gained as regards the criollo class dealt with here. The former probably stems from the circumstance that most reports on drinking have dealt with it as it occurs among segments of the population farther down on the socio-economic scale. The criollo class seems, on the whole, to present a picture of non-compulsive moderate drinking, with few, if any genuine alcoholics in that segment of the population.

Bibliography

Heath, Dwight B.

1962 Drinking Patterns of the Bolivian Comba.

Reprinted from David J. Pittman and Charles R. Snyder (editors),
Society, Culture and Drinking Patterns. John Wiley and Sons,
Inc., New York, pp. 22-36.

The data presented in this comparison were collected under a variety of circumstances. One city was visited as an employee of the United States government, one as a researcher for the Gila River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community through Claims Counsel Z. Simpson Cox, and one as Senior Research Associate, Department of Anthropology, Cornell University. The latter research was supported by Contract AID/1a-206 (Regional) between Cornell University and the Bureau for Latin America of the Agency for International Development. Analysis has been carried out at San Diego State College, with slight support from the Comparative Studies of Cultural Change, Department of Anthropology, Cornell University, under Contract AID/csd-296 with the Office of Technical Cooperation and Research of AID.