Chapter 4

ALCOHOLISM AND FAMILY

FAMILY AS VICTIM

Alcoholism is not a problem confined to the alcoholic. People around the alcoholic are affected by the alcoholism of the individual. This is very much true of the members of the family of the alcoholics. When one member of a family becomes an alcoholic, the whole family suffers. The members of an alcoholic’s family are variously termed as “indirect victims” or “forgotten victims”. While studying the problem of alcohol and alcoholism one tends to ignore the sufferings of the members of an alcoholic’s family.

Very often the family of an alcoholic suffers greater shame and pain than the alcoholic himself or herself. Not only the alcoholic, but in a society which tends to point the accusing finger on the woman for anything, the female members in the family are accused as the cause for the man’s habit. Donald E. Meeks observes, “An alcoholic’s family is often seen as both the cause and victim of the drinking problem. While it may be true that family pressures had a hand in the early development of the alcoholic, it is also true that the family shares in suffering the consequences. Often, families undergo drastic internal reorganization attempting to cope with a problem drinker in their midst. The usual responsibilities undertaken by the drinker are reassigned to others, a situation resented by the alcoholic, who feels, and perhaps is, excluded from the healthy relationships that would normally exist in the family. The problem
drinker also may experience guilt from letting the family down. Whatever the surface appearances, anger, tension, and resentment are usually part of the family picture.”

Hence it is necessary to study the impact of alcoholism on an Indian family, as culture assigns great importance to family. With a very vital role to play in the Indian family structure, the woman, naturally suffers more than the male members. Derek Rutherford, declares, “Alcohol problems in the family are important because families are important…..Many reports have been written about the victims of alcohol abuse, primarily concentrating on the individual problem drinker. Less has been written on the ‘forgotten victims’—members of the problem drinker’s family, both spouses and children. Families of problem drinker are families in distress. They are ‘fragile families’ who need help.”

Though attention has been drawn as to how the woman in the family is affected due to a male member’s addictive habits, the gravity of the problem has not been properly understood by the male oriented society. Alcoholism of a male member not only keeps woman in the family under perpetual tension, but also shatters the very fabric of the family. Uton Muchtar Rafei, says, “Alcohol use is a socio-economic and development issue and it has to be treated as such. Alcohol use breeds non-productivity and thus poverty. It foments social deprivation, disharmony and homelessness. It threatens the very fabric of our communities, and affects families. And most of all, it affects the most vulnerable, the women, mothers and children and the poor. Although
less than five percent of women in the Region use alcohol, they suffer the brunt of alcohol use. Millions of children are deprived of access to health services, good nutrition and education and supportive environment growth due to the excessive use of alcohol by families."

Though this is a global problem, it is a matter of great concern for a country like India for various reasons. Referring to the South East Asian situation, Uton Muchtar Rafei says, “Against the backdrop of the global outcry against alcohol use, we, in this Region need not and cannot remain inactive. Collective and proactive measures are urgently required to save the lives of millions of people entrapped by alcohol. We have the responsibility to protect those who suffer from the use of alcohol by other, particularly, women. We need to articulate more loudly the ethical, health and economic implications of alcohol use and to achieve appropriate policy directions.”

In an already impoverished state, the woman in the family of the alcoholic finds it very difficult to take care of the needs of the home. The husband’s alcoholism adds fuel to fire and undermines the tranquility of the home. This made the investigator probe into what the woman thinks is affected worst in the family of an alcoholic in the fishing hamlets of Kanyakumari District. Whatever be the answer given by women to questions related to this, it is evident that as woman is the centre of the Indian family, it ultimately affects her worst, and alcoholism of the male aggravates the suffering of the woman who is even otherwise browbeaten by various oppressive forces at work in a male chauvinistic society. Women met in this
study were narrating their tales of woe and pointed to the fact that children are very much affected as they witness domestic violence. Needless to say, the impact of man’s alcoholism is all the more severe on the girl child.

When the world is talking about street children, child labour, sexual abuse of children, orphans and destitute children, children of single parents, seldom do we pause to verify whether drinking is the major cause behind all these. It is evident that the problems created by alcohol are not confined to health and family budget. They are only the tip of the iceberg. When it is analysed as a social problem, underneath lies a bog of issues in which is caught the society of a developing country. Drinking has its gory face with its tentacles suffocating the people who already reel under poverty. Usually its worst victims are not those who drink but the women and children.

It is a matter of concern that besides bearing the tortures, the woman in the family, especially the wife, is accused of being the cause for the habit of the male member and also as incapable of coping with or responding appropriately to the drinking habits of the husband. As Jim Orford analyses,

It is not surprising, then, that the scientific and professional community has, from time to time, taken different views of the families of people with alcohol problems, including:
- the view that family members suffer from their own forms of psychopathology (wives with a strong need to control, for example);
- a family systems view, which supposes that heavy drinking by one family member serves a function for the whole system (diverting attention from a problem elsewhere in the family, for example);
- a co-dependency view, supposing that a spouse, probably as a result of her own family history, may be just as dependent on living with a problem drinker as the latter is upon drinking;
a feminist perspective that views male excessive drinking as part of the male sex role, helping to maintain a position of male domination and female subordination.

Each of these positions is of interest and each may have some merit for understanding the dynamic of some families.\(^3\)

While trying to handle alcohol problem in the families, many come out with easy prescriptions of Do’s and Don’ts to the wife of an alcoholic without ever trying to understand her trauma. It is generally felt, more due to ignorance, that the panacea for the problems of alcoholism rests with women, especially the wife. Ultimately, when she tries to seek help from the family or society, her voice is either silenced or ignored. The wife feels that neither her alcoholic husband nor any other member of the family or society is prepared to listen to her. Jim Orford opines, “One of the first needs of family members is to be listened to and to have their version of events acknowledged and understood. All too often this basic need has remained partially or totally unmet. When family members are given the opportunity to talk confidentially about what life has been like at home, and about their anxieties and concerns, the full picture of the disruptive impact of alcohol dependence upon family life begins to emerge.”\(^5\)

Alcoholism spoils family life and relationships. Everything that contributes to the happiness and coherence of a family is jeopardized. Women in the family find it difficult to get adjusted to the atmosphere created in the family consequent to a male member’s alcoholism. In an atmosphere of mutual hatred and suspicion, there is a communication breakdown in the family. When the alcoholic fails to take up responsibilities, certain basic needs of the
family are not taken care of. Tension is built up in the relationships and this has its impact on the quality of life in an alcoholic’s home. According to Jim Orford, "Whatever be relationship of the family member to the problem drinker – whether wife, husband, daughter or father – most family members will talk about how alcohol dependence appears to have spoilt the way the problem drinker interacts with other members of the family, the whole family atmosphere and the climate of trust that they would expect in a normal family and had often known previously. These are often specific concerns about effects upon family finances, violence or threats of violence or embarrassing incidents involving other family, friends, or neighbours. Family members are nearly always worried about the future health and well-being of those their families who are drinking excessively as well as their own health and ability to cope, and the future stability and quality of life for their children or other members of the family and for the family as a whole unit".

It is a known fact that men who are in the habit of drinking want other men to join them in their habit. Some feel comfortable to drink only in the company of others. Peer group pressure is a very vital reason why a person is initiated into this habit. But does this stop with pressurizing peers? Very often men who drink compel anyone who is close to him to share liquor with him. But do men compel women in the family to give them company? If so, who compels the women? It is also worthwhile to study how men in the family compel other members in the family to take alcohol. So the
interviewees were asked whether their husbands compel any other member in
the family to drink.

Table 18  Husband Compelling Family Members to Drink

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Whether compels other members</th>
<th>No. of Respondents (n:504)</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>23.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>386</td>
<td>76.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The study reveals that 23.4% of alcoholic men compel some other
person in the family to drink. The interviewees take this more as part of the
harassment of the drunken husband because many pick up quarrel when the
members of the family do not give them company in the consumption of
alcohol. It is a very common sight in the community under study that close
relatives join together to enjoy a drink. Consuming alcohol in the family
during celebrations and festivals is very common and naturally the members in
the family are invited to join and it gets social sanction.

To find out whether the women in the fishing hamlets of Kanyakumari
District have realized that various aspects of a healthy family life are affected,
they were asked what is affected worst because of their husband’s alcoholism.
73.3% of the respondents said that it is the peace in the family that is affected
worst. When 53.8% thought that it was the financial condition, 19.6% moaned
that food and other care to children are affected. 15.7% said that it is the health
care to the wife and 15% said that it is the health care to the children that is affected. 15.7% respondents said that the respect of the family is lost when the man in the family turns an alcoholic.

Diagram 7

Factors affected worst

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peace in the Family</td>
<td>73.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance</td>
<td>53.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food and other care to children</td>
<td>19.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health care to wife</td>
<td>15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health care to children</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respect in the society</td>
<td>15.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
FINANCIAL DRAIN

The fisher folk in Kanyakumari District in general have very meagre income and that too is irregular and unpredictable as fishing is a seasonal occupation. Absence of steady income adds to the problem of poverty and this makes it difficult for them to have proper planning and regular savings. Alcoholism adds to this problem and men in spite of poverty somehow get money for their drinks. When they become slaves to this habit, by some means they manage to make money to buy alcohol, leaving aside many of the pressing needs of the family. It is worthwhile to study the ways by which men get money to pay for their alcohol and how women are affected because of this.

When many rely on their own earnings (90.7%). 12.1% of men get money from their wife's earnings and spend it on alcohol. The compulsive nature of alcohol addiction drives men to borrow money (29.4%) and resort to pawning (4.1%). Talking to the womenfolk revealed that this kind of indiscriminate borrowing and pawning lead to a debt trap from which many families find it very difficult to come out. When the husband borrows, the responsibility of repayment very often falls on the wife and this eventually jeopardizes the family budget, pushing very important and urgent family expenditure to the background. When the husband pawns, his first target is the gold jewels that the woman possesses and it is very common to see many women without their mangalasutra- the chain the man ties on the bride on the wedding day. During the field study many women narrated incidents in which the men pawned or sold kitchen utensils and also stole earrings of their daughters.
Any poverty alleviation or welfare programme in the country becomes ineffective if the drinking problem goes unchecked in the society. Money that is to be spent on useful and productive purposes is wasted on alcohol.

Whatever be the source of money, it is evident that the money that is to be spent on very essential expenditure in the family like food, health care, education of children etc. is being wasted on alcohol. It is evident from what the interviewees have said about their family income that even if no money is wasted on drinks most of the families live below poverty line in the coastal villages.

**Table 19 Source of Money for Husband’s Drinks**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of Money</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Own Earnings</td>
<td>398</td>
<td>90.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife’s Earning</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>12.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borrowing</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>29.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pawnning</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>598</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The total exceeds the sample size as there are more than one answer given by the respondents.

**Null hypothesis:** There is no significant difference among the sources of money spent on alcohol

**Hypothesis:** There is significant difference in sources of money spent on alcohol
Since the calculated $\chi^2$ value (591.86) is more than the table value of $\chi^2 0.05 (7.815)$, the null hypotheses is disproved. Hence the hypothesis 'there is significant difference in sources of money spent on alcohol' stands proved at 5% level of significance for 3 degrees of freedom.

Diagram 8

Source of Money for Husband's Drinks
The present study shows that when 90.7% of men rely on their own earning for their liquor, 12.1% drink from the wife’s earnings. When 90.7% of men spend their earning on drinks, naturally the burden of running the family falls on the woman, compelling her to take up the dual role of managing the house besides looking for finance to run the house. Many women interviewed expressed their concern over the ever-increasing burden of debt on the family consequent to their husband’s drinking habits. This wailing was very serious among women with grown up girl children. Many of them complained that in a society where women are oppressed by the dowry system, the fathers are indifferent to the needs of grown up daughters and continue to drink even by borrowing. Private money lending is very common in these hamlets and they pawn the jewels of the wife to begin with, and use the money for drinking. Still worse is, many of these men pawn their implements of fishing for their drinks and then get the same implements on hire.

Alcoholism and its consequent poverty and suffering are matters of great concern especially for people who even otherwise find it difficult to make both ends meet. Shekhar Saxena, formerly of AIIMS and presently with the WHO expresses this concern in his article.

In developing countries nearly 800 million people do not get enough food and about 500 million are chronically malnourished ... Not every poor person drinks, but if he drinks, the money comes from cuts made in food and education for children. Drinking by men is a frequent cause of malnourishment and school dropout among children. Excessive drinking also increases poverty that leads to unhealthy living conditions, children forced into work and less health care available for the entire family with further deleterious effects on health. Alcohol in developing countries is also becoming a major contributing
cause of violence against women and children. A vicious circle of poverty, violence, and disease is often initiated by excessive drinking in the family.\textsuperscript{7}

It is very common that the husband, whether under the influence of alcohol or not, demands money from the wife for his drinks. Invariably these men do not give sufficient money for maintaining the family. But the wife becomes the easy and handy target to extract money. Woman becomes powerless before the demands of her husband and this becomes a cause for wife battering. The wife also falls into a debt trap when she is constrained to borrow or pawn to satisfy the needs of her husband. This becomes the root cause for tension, violence, and cleavages in relationships. The interviewees were asked how often they are pestered for money. 22.3% of women said that their husbands pester them frequently for money whereas 22.6% faced this problem occasionally.

Table 20 Frequency of the Husband Pestering for Money

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency of pestering</th>
<th>No. of Respondents (n : 439)</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>28.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rarely</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>26.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occasionally</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>22.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Often</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>22.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Whether the wife is an earning member or not, the alcoholic husband has a tendency to pester his wife for money. Only 28.9% of the wives of
alcoholics said that they are never pestered. Pester ing for money, that too for buying drinks, is sure to create tension in family relationships and undermine domestic peace. Refusal to oblige the husband who is under the influence of drink leads to various kinds of domestic violence.

People in the fishing hamlets have unsteady income as they rely on fishing that is seasonal. When they have a good catch and good income they waste their money on alcohol. This becomes the major cause for poverty, starvation and suffering during the lean season. 77% of the families do not have any savings, according to the study. This indeed is the reason behind malnutrition of women and girl children in the coastal area. Men do not reduce their alcohol intake even during lean season and this aggravates the problem for women. People in the fishing hamlets by and large have no saving habit. They blame their poverty or fate and say that they can save only when they have excess income. When women are aware of the money that is wasted on alcohol, men do not seem to realize this. So questions on saving habits were asked to the interviewees.

Table 21 Saving Habits of Families

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Whether families have savings</th>
<th>No. of Respondents (n:504)</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>23.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>388</td>
<td>77.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Most of the families reel under the weight of debt. They are constrained to borrow during lean season, as they do not have the habit of saving. Borrowing has almost become a compulsive nature for many families. To clear one debt or to redeem pawned jewels and other articles, they borrow money and this eventually leads them to a debt trap. With no nationalized banks or co-operative societies coming forward to extend loan facilities that easily, they turn to private money lenders for loans. They charge 36% to 60% interest and collect the interest in advance every month. Most of the families stated that they are able to pay only the interest, that too, because they are afraid that the moneylenders will forcibly take away their belongings as penalty for default. Alcoholism has created financial instability in many homes and most of the women interviewed said that the wriggle under the weight of debt and that they borrow very often to clear the interest arrears of another loan already availed. 85.5% of the women interviewed said that they have debts and a good portion of their income goes as interest.

Alcoholism and this debt trap have close links and any effort to save them will not bear fruits if attention is not paid to alcoholism. Derek Rutherford says “Western social reformers and democrats in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were convinced that alcohol consumption had to be tackled if the poor were to improve their social and economic condition. It would appear that modern day reformers in developing countries will need to emulate their historical counterparts”. 8
Debt is indeed a pestering problem in the fishing community and as evident from the present study, 85.5% of families suffer due to heavy debts. There are various reasons for that – unsteady income, lack of saving habits, availability of exploitative money lending, escalation in cost of living, etc. But to crown all these is the wastage incurred due to alcoholism and absence of good financial management.

FAMILY COHERENCE AND TRANQUILITY

Alcoholism breeds a lot of violence. Tension at home mounts up consequent to the addictive habit of a member. Many of the homes visited by the investigator have definite signs of this kind of violence. The interviewees narrated stories of strained relationships and how grown up daughters are affected and how in some cases the grown up sons violently reacted when the father comes home drunk. The situation in an alcoholic’s home is abnormal as every member experiences the impact of alcoholism in one way or the other.

During the conversation the common complaint is that they have spent many sleepless nights as their drunken husband becomes a source of

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Whether having debts</th>
<th>No. of Respondents (n:504)</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>431</td>
<td>85.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
disturbance. The tension created by the alcoholic radiates and it has its impact on the relationship between the alcoholic and the other members of the family.

Much discussion has gone into how children of alcoholics are affected both inside and outside their homes. *Children of Alcoholics: A Guide to Parents and Teachers* records, “Alcoholism is a family disease that affects not merely the alcoholic, but each and every member of the family living with him. It affects the children with the same intensity with which it affects the wife; in fact even more. Wives choose their husbands, and they also have the option of leaving them. Children have neither the option nor the mobility to enter into or exit from the parent-child relationship. While the wife feels trapped, the child is really trapped. The wife is emotionally helpless, whereas the child is emotionally and situationally helpless.”

In spite of the heavy damages caused by alcoholism to the indirect victim and society at large, no concerted effort is made to save the society from this evil. Uton Muchtar Rafei, while reflecting on the impact of alcohol on family and society has said “Alcohol also contributes to social disorder and family disharmony. Domestic and social violence, spouse and child abuse and neglect are the sad and tragic outcomes of alcohol use in our region. Millions of productive lives are tragically destroyed or lost due to excessive alcohol use. Countries continue to pay a heavy price in both economic and social terms. Yet, there seems to be some sort of complacency with regard to the dangers of alcohol use.”
Family is the smallest unit of society. Togetherness, mutual dependability and trust, affection, concern, love and proper communication are essential for the coherence of a family. When damage is caused to this smallest unit of society, the effect is seen in the society at large. One cannot think of a productive society neglecting the families. Further in the Indian social fabric, the institution of family is highly valued and though patriarchal in structure, woman is the centre of an Indian family shouldering most of her domestic responsibilities.

**BROKEN HOMES AND MARITAL DISHARMONY**

Alcoholism is one of the major causes for broken homes and marital disharmony. The violent behaviour and the unpredictable emotional outbursts combined with harassments serve as the cause for marital disharmony. Though it is a fact that whether the problem drinker is a male or a female, the effect of alcoholism is almost the same on the home of the alcoholic. Derek Rutherford observes, “One common feature is, of course, that in all countries it is more usual for the problem drinker to be male and the affected spouse or partner, female. It has been suggested that another gender difference is that men may be more likely to separate from a problem drinking female partner than women to separate from a problem drinking male partner. We could not obtain hard statistical evidence on this point, although we did speculate that whatever may have been the case in the past, the pattern may be changing as it becomes
easier for women to find employment and to live independently following
divorce or separation."  

This is very much true of Indian homes. With many oppressive reins
preventing her and making her powerless before the dictates of the male
chauvinistic society, she finds helpless when her alcoholic husband tortures
her. Very often she adjusts and tolerates the alcoholism of her husband, as she
is advised and expected to do so, gulping her woes as an alcoholic’s wife. In
India, woman is taught not to break wedlock whatever be her suffering. Hence
usually she suffers silently until she gets totally suffocated. The book Alcohol
Problems in the Family says “The spouse has to cope with the bewildering
unpredictability and frequent unpleasantness of life with a problem drinker.
The more serious an alcohol problem, the less able a person is likely to be to
perform competently, or at all, the various roles and responsibilities of a spouse
and parent.”  

The wife bears untold physical and mental torture in the hands of the
alcoholic husband and she finds life miserable in his company. Consequently
she tries all ways to escape from him. It is not uncommon that the drunken
husband chases the wife from the house. The wife on her part also finds life in
his company unbearable and decides to leave him. Separation from the
husband as a consequence of unbearable physical and mental torture has its
impact not only on the relationships between the husband and wife, but it has
very far reaching consequences on the well being of children. Hence attempt
was made to find out how many of the women were separated from their husbands at some point of life.

**Table 23  Women Separated from Husband**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Separated from husband</th>
<th>No. of Respondents (n:504)</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>18.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>412</td>
<td>81.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The study reveals that 18.3% women were separated from their husbands at some point of their married life. But this does not mean that the rest i.e. 81.7% have found life safe and happy with the alcoholic husband. Though many of the women would prefer to go away from their husbands many social factors stand on the way of taking such a decision and this makes the wife stay back bearing all tortures, cruelties and insults. Women who are separated from their husbands too have very sad and depressing experiences as they become victims of all sorts of exploitations and they live under perpetual threat and fear, depending financially on others.

This is not an isolated incident. Many alcoholics harass their wives in such a way that living with them becomes impossibility. Many of the interviewees said that they were harassed for money whenever the husband wanted money for alcohol. When wives were not able to satisfy the need, it was not uncommon that they would be asked to get money from their parents.
CASE 1

X (50) of Azhikkal is a widow with a son (24) and a daughter (22). Her daughter was married off to a fisherman from a neighbouring village. To her shock she realized that her son in law is an alcoholic. He demanded more dowry from his daughter and started hitting her under the influence of alcohol. One day he brought her back and told her that he does not want her any more. Her daughter has approached everyone including the police but no one has come to her rescue. Her daughter is terribly afraid of going back to her husband, as she is afraid that her husband would kill her under the influence of alcohol.

Very often the wife wants to break the wedlock but feels helpless. She feels that living with an alcoholic, who has neither concern nor time for the family is an impossibility. He spends his money on alcohol and hence many of the needs of the family are not met. Added to this she has to put up with battering, abuses and even threats to her life. She feels that the only option before her is divorce. But somehow she is not able to get separated from him.

Table 24 Respondents’ Feeling about Divorce

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Whether thought of divorce</th>
<th>No. of Respondents (n :504)</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>34.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>330</td>
<td>65.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
34.5% of the women interviewed feel highly suffocated consequent to the drinking habits of the husband and want to break the marriage and come out. But women who really come out of wedlock to breathe free air is comparatively less due to various reasons. This compels them to put up with sufferings and live with the alcoholic husband.

The Indian woman very often wants to get separated from the alcoholic husband, but the family bonds are very strong and her dependence on him is so great that she prefers to suffer in the home than come out of wedlock. The woman who has broken her marriage is neither accepted nor respected in the society. The society expects her to live with her husband whatever be her suffering and she is advised to bear with her fate.

The main impediment women face in coming out of wedlock is financial insecurity. Whatever be the suffering and torture, the Indian woman in general and women in the fishing hamlets of Kanyakumari District in particular are financially dependent on the male member. This financial dependence makes man all the more cruel or indifferent towards the woman. The culture has many pre set ideas and when there is a separation the woman alone is blamed. Society has taught her down the ages to adjust with the husband, whatever his nature is. Alcoholism never is accepted as a reasonable ground for a woman to think of a divorce. Woman, who is the heart of the society, is worried about the fate of the children if she is separated from the husband. Naturally she gets prepared to bear any kind of torture by her
drunken husband, for the sake of her children. So the question what actually prevents the women from opting for divorce was asked.

Table 25 **Factors Preventing Divorce**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Financial insecurity</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>70.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>14.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Society</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>31.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>28.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hope that he would change</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>271</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The total exceeds the sample size as there are more than one answer given by the respondents.

**Null hypothesis**: There is no significant difference among the reasons preventing the intention of divorce

**Hypothesis**: There is significant difference among reasons preventing the intention of divorce

Since the calculated $\chi^2$ value (200.03) is more than the table value of $\chi^2_{0.05}(11.07)$, the null hypotheses is disproved. Hence the hypothesis ‘there is significant difference among reasons preventing the intention of divorce’ stands proved at 5% level of significance for 5 degrees of freedom. It is understood that there is significance difference among the reasons for
preventing the intention to obtain divorce and the financial security is the main reason.

Diagram 9
Factors Preventing Divorce
The study has revealed that various factors induce the women in the study area to live with the alcoholic husband, whatever may be the suffering she has to bear. She is taught to live with him even if there is total disharmony and chaos in the marital relationship. When 70.1% of respondents said that financial dependence on the husband is the main reason that dissuades them from getting separated from their husbands, for 31% it is fear for the society. 28.7% want to be with their husbands bearing all tortures for the sake of their children. Religion (14.9%) and the fond hope that the husband would change (9.2%) also serve as the cause. This clearly shows that women are powerless when they want to lead an independent life, and so helplessly they put up with sufferings and tortures inside their homes.

HEALTH CARE

Alcoholism is the cause of many diseases. When the breadwinner of the family wastes a lot of money on alcohol, money is not set apart for the health care of the family. Alcohol damages health and many diseases are caused by or aggravated by alcoholism. Problems such as cancer, cirrhosis of the liver, alcohol psychosis, dependence and withdrawal syndrome, heart disease, blood pressure, problems of the digestive system, injuries consequent to fights and accidents etc. are some of the health problems of alcoholics. Referring to the Indian situation, Martha R. Osci, citing various sources has said,

An estimated 40% of home and farm accidents are attributable to alcohol use. The National Road Research Institute has estimated that one third of drivers on inter-city roads is under the influence of alcohol and one fourth of all major road
accidents is alcohol related. Domestic and social violence, spouse and child abuse and neglect associated with heavy drinking are common. The rate of suicidal deaths increased from 6.8 per 100,000 population to 9.9 per 100,000 population between 1984-1994. This is estimated to be partly related to alcohol consumption in the country. Psychiatric morbidity surveys in general populations have reported the prevalence of alcohol dependence cases to be 3.6 per thousand (Surya et al 1964) and 4.8 per thousand (Verghese et al 1973). The role of alcohol in oropharyngeal and oesophagus malignancies has been documented by a number of studies with results supporting that alcohol together with tobacco contributes significantly to these malignancies in India. (Jussawala, 1987, Rao et al 1989, Notani, 1988; Rao et al, 1994). Nearly 15 to 20 % of absenteeism and 40% of accidents at work are attributable to alcohol use by industry workers. 

Drinking is the cause of many health problems which the poor man in a developing country like India finds quite expensive to treat. Sekar Saxena is right when he comes to the conclusion that “There is enough evidence to indicate that excessive alcohol consumption in developing countries leads to substantial negative effects on the health and also on the quality of life of the drinking individuals and their families. It also causes massive direct and indirect costs to these countries that they can ill afford.”

The present study shows that the people in the fishing hamlets of Kanyakumari District face a lot of health hazards. Some are occupation linked and some are due to the poor hygienic condition in the hamlets. Many of the health problems are due to poverty and the resultant malnutrition. But the investigator realized that men have addiction linked health problems. Shekhar Saxena has observed “Not every poor person drinks, but if he drinks, the money comes from cuts made in food and education for children. Drinking by men is a frequent cause of malnourishment and school dropout among
childen. Excessive drinking also increases poverty that leads to unhealthy living conditions, children forced to work and less health care available for the entire family with further deleterious effects on health. Alcohol in developing countries is also becoming a major contributing cause of violence against women and children. A vicious circle of poverty, violence and disease is often initiated by excessive drinking in the family.15

The investigator made a study as to what are the health problems of the alcoholic husbands of the target group. Ulcer (Peptic ulcer) (29.2%) and liver problems (26%) topped the list. 4.8% of them were under the grip of compulsive drinking with withdrawal symptom.

Whatever be the health problem of the husband, it affects peace in the family and causes a lot of tension to the wife. As the income of the family depends mostly on the daily income earned by the male member, staying away from work due to health problems affects the financial condition of the family. Many of the diseases contracted even permanently incapacitate the alcoholic from going for work. It is understood from the visit to the study area that due to alcoholic habit and also due to the poverty, many of these health problems go unattended at the beginning stage. Men go for treatment only when the disease becomes acute and the damages caused irreversible.
Diagram 10

Health Problems of Alcoholic Husbands

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problem</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ulcer</td>
<td>29.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respiratory Problems</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liver Problems</td>
<td>15.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blood Pressure</td>
<td>16.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heart Problem</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Withdrawal Symptom</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In a normal family with healthy relationship, mutual trust confidence and affection, the woman shares her health problems with her husband expecting reasonable concern and attention. To understand whether the husband has real concern for the health of the wife, the question whether the woman shares her health problems with her husband was asked. Many women (37.9%) came out with the answer that they do not share their health problems with their husband. It is evident from the reaction of the interviewees that the wife usually does not share her health problems with her husband, as there is no congenial atmosphere in the family. The woman thinks that there are more important issues to attend to and hence pushes her health problem to the background, silently suffering it. This leaves many of the curable and treatable diseases unattended. Alcoholism of the husband thus becomes the cause of yet another physical suffering of the wife.

Table 26  **Sharing Health Problems with Husband**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Share Health Problem with Husband</th>
<th>No. of Respondents (n:504)</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>313</td>
<td>62.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>37.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This makes one probe into how an alcoholic reacts when he comes to know of the health problems of people in the family. The answers received from the interviewees show how much the health of the other members is neglected. In a family with healthy ties one expects the male member to be
sympathetic and attentive when he comes to know of the health problems of the wife or children. This kind of an atmosphere is essential for early detection and treatment of diseases, but it does not exist in the homes of alcoholics in the area of study.

Table 27 **Reaction of the Alcoholic to the Health Problems of Others**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Kinship</th>
<th>Sympathetic</th>
<th>Indifferent</th>
<th>Attentive</th>
<th>Blames</th>
<th>Curses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Wife</td>
<td>266 (52.8)</td>
<td>170 (33.7)</td>
<td>21 (4.2)</td>
<td>16 (3.2)</td>
<td>7 (1.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Children</td>
<td>182 (36.1)</td>
<td>124 (24.6)</td>
<td>17 (3.4)</td>
<td>1 (0.2)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Other Members</td>
<td>22 (4.4)</td>
<td>22 (4.4)</td>
<td>5 (1.0)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (0.2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The total exceeds the sample size as there are more than one answer given by the respondents.

In a happy home, the head of the family shows a lot of concern for the welfare of other members, especially their health. An alcoholic finds no time to spare for others and even when the health problem of others is brought to his notice, he does not pay the required attention, as his priority is for his drinking habits. So it is essential to find out how the health care to the female members of the family is affected due to the habits of the male member.
CASE 2

X (35) of Chinnamuttom has a son and an eleven-year-old daughter. Her husband is an alcoholic. Her daughter has some congenital heart disease. She is aware that it is only a treatable disease. Her husband is totally indifferent to the problem of the daughter. He drinks and says that he is very much worried over his daughter’s health and only to forget this he is drinking. He believes that everything is in the hands of God and there is no point in spending large sums on such a girl child. But to the mother both the children are equally precious. She believes that one day her husband will stop drinking and take their daughter for treatment. She prays that the daughter should live till the day he stops drinking.

It is indeed sad that what is neglected most by an alcoholic male is the health care of the wife and as evident from the Case Study above, the girl child too. It is strange that when at least 52.8% of the interviewees said that the husband is sympathetic when they shared their health problems with their husbands. 35.7% came out with no answer when they were asked about the reaction of their husbands to the health problems of the children. It is deduced from the reaction of the interviewees that they are depressed when they think of the health care given to children. It is deduced that due to alcoholism not only the health of the alcoholic but also the health care of the alcoholic male’s dependents is affected.
ROLE MODEL AND INFLUENCES

Elders in the family should serve as role models to children. Children, who witness alcoholism take it for granted that taking alcohol is just part of life. Even in the child play, which is a psychological necessity for the growth of children, taking alcohol forms a part. To children, mimicking the elders comes very natural, and they learn a lot from the elders in the society and the family. It is also a known fact that children of alcoholics have greater possibility of becoming alcoholics as they have an easier accessibility to alcohol and they have a wrong role model right inside the house. Children of alcoholics are not taken care of well as the alcoholic spends too little time in the family and if at all he is at home he is invariably under the influence of alcohol. To make an in-depth study of the problem of alcoholism and its impact on women, one should study whether children in the families have ever taken alcohol and if so at what age.

Children of alcoholics are found to have low self-esteem and that they are not good at studies. Violence at home consequent to drinking affects the children in all ways. Many of these children who do not find a good role model in their father tend to be problem children. Of course, some children may become responsible children, to compensate the irresponsible behaviour of the father. But this is very rare. Usually children of alcoholics are found to be disorderly, with lack of enthusiasm in studies or life in general. They are problem children, usually a cause of worry and tension to the mother. Derek Rutherford has said in his book “Children of problem drinkers tend to be
unable to establish good personal relationship and display anti-social behaviour – delinquency, truancy, aggression, hyperactivity and temper tantrums. They are particularly prone to powerful emotional anxieties arising from insecurity. . . . " 16.1% of the respondents said that their children have consumed alcohol. Usually it is in their early teens that the children of such alcoholics are found to have had their experimentation with alcohol. No wonder that 51% of the respondents feel that many children in their village drink.

It is usually found that the children of alcoholics themselves turn into alcoholics. This is because the children tend to learn from their parent that alcohol is the means to cope with the strains of life. The women of the target area were asked whether their children had drunk at any time.

Table 28 Incidence of Children Drinking

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Whether Children Drink</th>
<th>No. of Respondents (n :504)</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>16.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>423</td>
<td>83.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only 83.1% respondents could say that their children have never taken alcohol.
IMPACT ON CHILDREN

Alcoholism of the elders in the family affects children in various ways. Their physical as well as mental health is affected. J.P. Atray observes, “A child, who is unfortunate in being a witness to the physical assaults on his/her mother, would obviously not develop as a normal child but would suffer psychologically and physically. It is not only that his/her physical growth will be retarded but also his/her mental health and development would suffer. It is more likely that he/she would tend to stay away from home and thereby be open to all the hazards of an insecure life.”

Much research has been done on how children are affected due to the drinking habits of the parents. The book *Children of Alcoholics: A Guide to Parents and Teachers* records:

The fact remains that he never feels like a child. He has never known what a child feels like. Any normal child is an innocent, beautiful, delicate being – bubbling with energy, mischievous and playful. In contrast the child of an alcoholic is not a carefree little one – he is often a withdrawn child who hides himself in a corner.

... As a result of living in an alcoholic environment, some of these children experience physical problems like stunted growth. ... These children harbour a lingering fear, anxiety, and stress. They also experience lots of problems in school like difficulty in concentration or defiance of authority and truancy.

... These pathetic children do not drink: but are nevertheless victimized by their father’s drinking.

... They see nothing but guilt, anger, justification and denial of unpleasant realities. There is no positive role model for this child to follow. Father’s behaviour is inconsistent. The same father who was loving in the morning, becomes a totally different man when he is under the influence of alcohol. The child is confused.
Children from an alcoholic's home suppress their emotions and feelings. They do not share their problems with their peers. They lose their trust in the alcoholic parent as they always witness inconsistency in the parent. They get a feeling that they are not taken seriously at home and home is not the place where they get the required love. They in fact lose their childhood. *Children of Alcoholics : A Guide to Parents and Teachers* states, "When does a child lose his childhood? – when he lives with an alcoholic parent. To others, he looks like any other child, dresses like any other child, and walks about like any other child until they get close enough to notice the edge of sadness in his eyes, or the worried look on his brow. He behaves like a child – but he is not at all enjoying. He just carries on. He does not have the same spontaneity which the other kids have. But nobody really notices it – not even his own parents. Even if they do, they probably do not understand." 19

Children of alcoholics live in the midst of problems connected with alcoholism. They themselves witness the evil effects of alcohol and though they decide not to drink they too are likely to take to drinking. *Children of Alcoholics : A Guide to Parents and Teachers* records, "In addition, these children observe the use of alcohol as a method of dealing with uncomfortable situations. Although the children vow not to drink and are aware of the potential harm of alcohol abuse, this position may give way to use of drinking as a means of escape during real or potential crisis in later life. The non-drinking mother’s behaviour also more or less resembles that of the father. Unlike the mothers of other children, she keeps brooding and never spends
enough time with her child. Due to her enormous problems, she becomes highly irritable and shows her anger almost always on the child. She does not cook properly, take proper care of her children or show adequate affection towards them. The child does not have a clear idea of a mother’s image either.

...Wives of alcoholics live with lies and ultimately start telling them. They lie to cover up alcoholism and protect the dignity of the family.”

The home where alcoholism is a problem is a shattered home. Children witness violence and tension. They feel ashamed to talk about the problems at home and find it difficult to bring home their friends. As it is written in *Children of Alcoholics: A Guide to Parents and Teachers*, “The child of an alcoholic does not feel worthy. He has a very low self-esteem. Any child becomes aware of his capabilities when significant people around him acknowledge and appreciate his efforts, performance etc. In an alcoholic home, nobody ever has the time or the mood to appreciate the child. When the child puts in lot of efforts nobody acknowledges; when he performs well, nobody appreciates him. On the other hand, when he does not get good grades or faces a minor setback, everybody confronts him and criticizes him.”

The children of alcoholics face not one problem but a multitude of them. They do not get the care, admiration and recognition which are essential for their growth. Added to the neglect they experience, they are often constrained to take up various responsibilities, which otherwise would have been taken up by their parents. In short, they confront various problems at a tender age.
In all countries the children of problem drinking parents report social isolation. They are forced to take on adult roles and responsibilities like taking care of younger siblings and caring for their parents. Such children are at increased risk of a wide range of problems. Derek Rutherford has mentioned the following problems among children: “Anti-social behaviour, including aggression, delinquency, hyperactivity. Emotional problems, including negative attitudes to parents and to themselves, with high levels of self-blame, withdrawal and depression. Problems at school, such as learning difficulties, reading retardation, loss of concentration and truancy.”

What Derek Rutherford tells about children in the U.K is applicable to the children of homes with alcohol problems in the coastal fishing hamlets of Kanyakumari District. Sufferings of the children in the fishing hamlets may, in fact, be more severe, acute and intense. for, added to these problems they experience eternal poverty and hunger. Derek Rutherford adds,

In the UK, a social worker with a children’s telephone help line summarized what the children of problem drinking parents tell counselors about their experiences:
- having to take responsibility for their parent
- feeling embarrassed and ashamed of their parents, not being able to take friends home
- being preoccupied, lack of concentration
- afraid of what they may find on returning home
- witnessing arguments and fights
- feeling themselves to be responsible for their parents’ behaviour
- feeling hopeless, helpless, nervous, disappointed, depressed, confused, lonely, angry and resentful.

It was found out during the present study that children either run away or pretend to be asleep when the father is unruly under the influence of alcohol, especially when he is violent and attacks the mother. But some of the
interviewees even said that when the grown up son interferes, it further complicates matters and very often ends in a bitter fight between the father and son.

The adolescent in the family of an alcoholic adopts various tactics to cope with the drinking problem of the adults at home. Jim Orford observes, “One of the commonest forms of coping for young people is avoidance of the problem-drinking parent; this is particularly the case in adolescence as more opportunities become available to spend time away from home. In one study this way of coping was correlated with ‘switching off’ emotionally and with self-blame (Velleman and Oxford, 1996). It is also quite common, however, for young people to try to stand up to a problem drinking parent emotionally and assertively. This is more likely when the drinking problem is associated with much family disharmony, and Velleman and Orford (1990) also found that this way of coping was correlated with conduct problems for the children and difficulties in making friends.”

Service organizations and international organizations like the WHO have taken the impact of alcoholism very seriously as children are the indirect helpless victims. This has to be taken very seriously as lives of many innocent children are wasted for no fault of theirs. A WHO document Alcohol-Less is Better says, “Children in families with alcohol problems have special problems because children’s needs in the family differ from those of adults. Such children suffer from neglect and lack of care, security and money. They have difficulties in concentrating on school work. .... The social stigma and
the behaviour of drunken parents result in children’s isolation from the
friends....

Derek Rutherford in his book says: “Children of problem drinkers tend
to be unable to establish good personal relationships and display anti-social
behaviour – delinquency, truancy, aggression, hyperactivity and temper
tantrums. They are particularly prone to powerful emotional anxieties, arising
from insecurity of their home life.”

The brutal behaviour of the drunken father is unleashed on the children.
The study showed that the father attacking the son or daughter under the
influence of alcohol is common in the fishing hamlets. 18.5% of the women
interviewed said that their husbands beat the children under the influence of
alcohol.

CASE -3

X (44) of Irayumanthurai has two daughters and one son. Two years back her
husband beat her son in an inebriated mood. Unable to bear the torture the 14-
year boy ran out of the house. Early next morning when the father was not in the
house, he came home and got some money from his mother saying that he
needed it for treating his wounds. He changed his dress and the mother saw
strips of wounds on his back. That was the last time she saw her son. She now
wants to know whether her son is alive or not. She lives under the hope that one
day he would return home.
As we read in *Children of Alcoholics: A Guide to Parents and Teachers*, “...There is always an undercurrent of resentment of bickering in the family. The child, therefore, does not have a proper role model of a father. He is not clear about the role he has to play or the values he has to follow when he grows up. He feels totally strange and confused.” ^27

Derek Rutherford in his address says, “An important part of the explanation of the neglect of family alcohol problems is that those who experience them typically suffer in silence. These problems are also embarrassing and inconvenient for society at large” ^28

According to Donald E. Meeks, “A Child in the family of an alcoholic may develop troubles seemingly unrelated to the drinking but which arise directly from the anger, resentment, and confusion at home. Underachievement at school, aggressiveness, or sullen and withdrawn behaviour are not unusual”. ^29 Usually it is the girl child who is affected more due to the alcoholism of a male member in the family. Anjana Maitra Sinha states, “A girl child is further vulnerable because of her sex – she is often subjected to molestation, physical assault and even rape. Even inside her home she may not be safe, as instances of incest are not uncommon. When the father is a drunkard, the girl child in many cases is physically assaulted, abused and intimidated. All these leave an indelible impression on her young mind.” ^30
PHYSICAL AND MENTAL MAKE UP OF AN ALCOHOLIC'S WIFE

The wife of an addict also gets dejected with life. Women start their wedded life with a lot of dreams and expectations. When they know that their husband is an alcoholic and his habit interferes with their happiness, their dreams start crumbling down. They try to get adjusted with life but when this becomes impossible, they somehow try to learn to bear their lot. But health and financial problems become too much for them and they get dejected with life. When all options before them to live seem closed they toy with the idea of ending their lives. A suicide mania grips them and they are pushed to this extent due to various reasons. So the investigator wanted to find out how many of the interviewees ever thought of committing suicide.

Table 29  Women having Thought of Committing Suicide

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Whether thought of Committing Suicide</th>
<th>No. of Respondents (n :504)</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>39.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>306</td>
<td>60.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is indeed shocking that 39.3 percent of the women interviewed said that they have thought of committing suicide.

One does not really attempt to commit suicide unless she finds life before her totally meaningless and impossible. Only a few who attempt at committing suicide really succeed in their attempt. If they make a futile
attempt to commit suicide, they undergo painful and expensive experience of medical treatment and the ensuing psychological trauma.

Table 30  **Women who Attempted Suicide**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attempted to Commit Suicide</th>
<th>No. of Respondents (n =504)</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>448</td>
<td>88.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11.1% of the women interviewed said that they have attempted to commit suicide. The story of attempting to commit suicide does not end with the attempt.

**CASE -4**

X (35) of Enayam Puthenturai is married, with two sons and two daughters. Her husband goes for fishing and is an alcoholic. He used to come home drunk, and beat her cruelly. She tried her best to correct him and when things went beyond her control, she went away for a year to live with her parents. In the meantime her husband married another lady and shifted to Vaniyakudi. She is told that her husband visits prostitutes. She attempted to commit suicide by adopting the cruel means of swallowing powdered glass, and is now a completely broken and dejected lady and. She lives under the hope that God will help her.

Having explained the experiences of individual women. The next chapter discusses crimes committed against women by alcoholics.
FOOTNOTES


4. Ibid. 9.


6. Ibid. p.4.

7. Shekhar Saxena Addiction (1997) 92 (Supplement 1) p.44.


15. Ibid. p. 47.
16 Derek Rutherford *op cit* 1997 p.59.


18 *Children of Alcoholics: A Guide to Parents & Teachers* *op cit* p.34.

19 Ibid. p.2,3.

20 Ibid. p. 5.

21 Ibid. p.7.

22 Derek Rutherford *op cit* 1999 p.21.

23 Ibid. p.22,23.

24 Jim Orford *op cit* p.17.


26 Derek Rutherford *op cit* 1997 p.36.

27 *Children of Alcoholics: A Guide to Parents & Teachers* *op cit* p.4,5.

28 Derek Rutherford *op cit* 1999 p.25.

29 Donald E Meeks *op cit* 1989 p.2.