



Rodeo participants : life styles and alcohol
by Angeline Silbernagel Bushy

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of MASTER OF NURSING
Montana State University

© Copyright by Angeline Silbernagel Bushy (1981)

Abstract:

The focus of this study was to describe a group of Eastern Montana rodeo participants and their cultural characteristics in relation to alcohol. The purpose of the study was to describe the roles, norms of behavior, and values of rodeo participants as associated with alcohol. The problem of alcohol abuse is considered one of the major health problems in the United States. Recent treatment trends have emphasized the need to consider the cultural background of the individual client.

An ethnographic research design was utilized. Twenty-one rodeo participants in Eastern Montana were interviewed. Content analysis of interview data led to the descriptive findings. The data obtained described rodeo participants as a group with numerous subgroups. Norms of behavior existed for each subgroup. The values associated with alcohol also varied with subgroups. The role of alcohol varied with the rodeo role of the participant. The life styles of rodeo participants were filled with numerous stresses relating to cost and mobility. These stresses involved finances, employment, and family relations. Conflicts were identified between the reality of the rodeo cowboy's life style and the stereotypical image of the rodeo cowboy. The stereotypical image was promoted by commercial and advertising activities by alcohol beverage producers who were major financial supporters of rodeo competitions.

The conclusion was made that alcohol is valued in terms of social interactions that relate to the role of the rodeo participant. The more success attained by rodeo participants in the sport, the less likely they were to use alcohol.

STATEMENT OF PERMISSION TO COPY

In presenting this thesis in partial fulfillment of the requirements for an advanced degree at Montana State University, I agree that the Library shall make it freely available for inspection. I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by my major professor, or, in his absence, by the Director of Libraries. It is understood that any copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Signature

Angeline Bursky

Date

Dec. 3, 1981

RODEO PARTICIPANTS: LIFE STYLES AND ALCOHOL

by

ANGELINE SILBERNAGEL BUSHY

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree

of

MASTER OF NURSING

Approved:

Ruth Vandenhurst
Chairperson, Graduate Committee

Kathleen Chapin
Head, Major Department

Michael Malone
Graduate Dean

MONTANA STATE UNIVERSITY
Bozeman, Montana

December 1981

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The assistance and cooperation of a number of individuals made this study possible. I wish to extend my sincere appreciation to my advisor and committee chairman, Ruth Vanderhorst, for all of her help, time, and effort in the completion of this thesis. I would like to express my thanks for the assistance and encouragement from Patricia Larson and Keri Peterson, members of my graduate committee.

I am most grateful for the encouragement, assistance, sacrifice, and patience of my husband Jack and daughter Andrea.

My thanks also are extended to the rodeo participants who were involved in the interviews, as well as the colorful rodeo enthusiasts who created my initial interest in the group.

ASB

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
1. INTRODUCTION	1
2. REVIEW OF LITERATURE	4
Groups and Culture	4
Cultural Meaning of Alcohol Use	9
Development of Rodeo	13
3. METHODOLOGY	18
Key Informants	19
Interview Guide	20
Procedure	20
Pilot Study	22
Analysis of Data	22
Description of the Sample	23
4. DATA ANALYSIS: RODEO PARTICIPANTS' LIFE STYLE	24
Description of Subjects	24
Historical Background of Rodeo	28
Roles	32
Rodeo Life Style	34
Mobility and Financial Considerations	34
Group Cohesiveness	38
Physical Conditioning	40
Risk Taking	40

Chapter	Page
Health Problems Related to Life Style	41
5. DATA ANALYSIS: VALUES AND BEHAVIORAL NORMS ASSOCIATED WITH ALCOHOL	44
6. CONCLUSIONS, LIMITATIONS, IMPLICATIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS	52
Conclusions	52
Limitations	52
Implications	54
Recommendations	57
APPENDIXES	58
A. INTERVIEW GUIDE	59
B. INFORMED CONSENT	64
BIBLIOGRAPHY	66

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1.	Description of Key Informants	25
2.	Age and Sex of Key Informants	26

ABSTRACT

The focus of this study was to describe a group of Eastern Montana rodeo participants and their cultural characteristics in relation to alcohol. The purpose of the study was to describe the roles, norms of behavior, and values of rodeo participants as associated with alcohol. The problem of alcohol abuse is considered one of the major health problems in the United States. Recent treatment trends have emphasized the need to consider the cultural background of the individual client.

An ethnographic research design was utilized. Twenty-one rodeo participants in Eastern Montana were interviewed. Content analysis of interview data led to the descriptive findings. The data obtained described rodeo participants as a group with numerous subgroups. Norms of behavior existed for each subgroup. The values associated with alcohol also varied with subgroups. The role of alcohol varied with the rodeo role of the participant. The life styles of rodeo participants were filled with numerous stresses relating to cost and mobility. These stresses involved finances, employment, and family relations. Conflicts were identified between the reality of the rodeo cowboy's life style and the stereotypical image of the rodeo cowboy. The stereotypical image was promoted by commercial and advertising activities by alcohol beverage producers who were major financial supporters of rodeo competitions.

The conclusion was made that alcohol is valued in terms of social interactions that relate to the role of the rodeo participant. The more success attained by rodeo participants in the sport, the less likely they were to use alcohol.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The focus of this study was to describe a group of Eastern Montana rodeo participants and their cultural characteristics in relation to alcohol. These rodeo participants often were labeled as "heavy drinkers" and associated with destructive behavior by other persons in this sparsely populated area of ranches, farms, and small communities. The rodeo participants themselves, in conversation and projection of life styles, often intimated that alcohol consumption was an important part of their group culture. This image of the "heavy-drinking, hard-living rodeo performer," although strongly alluded to, never has been verified. This study, using the anthropological interview technique, ethnography, explored rodeo performer's roles, values, and norms relative to alcohol.

The problem of alcohol abuse is of great concern in Eastern Montana. Recently, two chemical dependency treatment centers were established in this area to meet the growing needs. According to the National Institute of Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism (NIAAA), Montana ranked third in the nation in per capita consumption of beer and eleventh in overall per capita consumption of alcoholic beverages (1980). The development of effective treatment modes has been a constant concern of both centers; yet knowledge of cultural drinking patterns has been limited.

Various modes of prevention and treatment for alcohol abuse have been proposed. A recent strategy has been to identify the meaning that alcohol has for a particular group and then to incorporate cultural differences in treatments. Leininger (1970) encouraged the recognition and consideration of cultural difference in planning and in administering nursing care. Komaride (1980) stated ". . . people who promote rural programs must understand the specific needs and problems of those they want to serve. . . ." (p. 6). Health professionals, in order to assist effectively in the problem of alcohol abuse, must gain insight into the cultures of groups they serve, especially as it relates to its importance to the life style of that group. The specific problem addressed in this study was "What are the roles, norms of behavior, and values of rodeo participants as associated with alcohol?"

The following definitions are used in this study:

Rodeo contestants: Individuals who have participated or are contestants in some rodeo event(s) three (3) or more times.

Rodeo participants: Individuals interested in rodeo, including contestants and all their support groups.

Rodeo support groups: The immediate support groups of rodeo contestants including family, friends, and fans of the sport of rodeo.

In summary, alcohol abuse was found to be a health problem in the United States and the meaning and use of alcohol vary with cultural groups. Montana has recognized alcohol abuse as a problem also.

Numerous cultures exist within the state. A particular group that is associated frequently with alcohol usage is the one comprised of rodeo participants. Rodeo activities frequently are occurring recreational events in Eastern Montana. The purpose of this study was to describe the roles, norms of behavior, and values of rodeo participants.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The literature review was organized under the following areas: groups and cultural characteristics, cultural meanings of alcohol use, and development of rodeo. For this study, groups were addressed in the literature by the cultural aspects of roles, norms, and values. Use of alcohol was explored via the literature as it relates to the person, both as an individual and as a part of a group. The literature on the development of rodeo was utilized to demonstrate the importance, alluded and real, that alcohol has for this evolving culture of rodeo participants.

Groups and Culture

Cultural characteristics have been said to define groups and evolve over long periods of time. Practices and beliefs valued by a group are perpetuated from one generation to another. Brown (1963) reported that cultural characteristics are reflected in the art, art forms, and artifacts which are developed and which are used by groups.

Jacobs and Stern (1952) defined culture as the roles, norms of behavior, values, and beliefs common to a group. Numerous dynamic groups exist in society and vary in structure and membership. The life style of the group's members is influenced by values and beliefs. The converse is also true. Culture is the basis for a group's

behavior and includes the norms of behavior as well as the roles of the group membership.

Mott (1965) and Taylor and Kleinhans (1976) concluded that the life style of an individual is the result of influences from the variety of groups with which that individual associates. Many different kinds of groups exist including family, peers, and society as a whole. Certain characteristics are attributed to each group. These characteristics define the membership and their behavior.

Staydell (1959) stated certain characteristics are common to all groups. First, groups are an organization of interacting individuals with two or more continuing this interaction over a period of time. Second, these individuals share a common purpose or goal. And, finally, the group is dynamic in pursuit of the goal.

Gerwitz and Baer (1958) and Hammond (1972) stated that attractiveness to a certain group motivates individuals to join. The identified attraction may include a personal attraction to the membership, and/or activities and goals. The need for social interaction with other individuals also may attract a person to a group.

Tuckman (1965) wrote that groups are dynamic and have developmental stages. Induction into a group may be either formal or informal. The first stage consists of organizing and boundary testing. This is followed by a second stage of conflict. Next, group norms are established and roles are specified. The final stage

includes group performance and interaction. For short periods of time, these patterns are routine. Over time, both group membership and interaction patterns change.

Mott (1965) wrote that members perform certain activities repeatedly. This collection of repeated activities is identified as a role. Roles are not persons but positions which individuals occupy. Certain activities are associated with each role. Role collections exist in any given social organization. Roles influence the social behavior and the attitudes of the occupants. Mott further stated that certain obligations are associated with specific roles. In order for role occupants to have associated privileges, the responsibilities must be fulfilled. A general association may be made between specialized skills that are required to perform roles and greater privileges. Taylor and Kleinhaus (1976) noted that a particular pattern of role differentiation found in any social organization is defined as the division of labor.

Parsons (1961) stated that similar and frequently repeated patterns of behavior provide for the development of formal and informal rules. In every group one rule or set of rules is dominant. These are identified as standards or norms for behavior.

Jacobs and Stern (1952) suggested that standards of behavior can be informal, unwritten customs or more formalized laws and written documents. Cohen (1966) further described norms. He stated that

prescribed norms must be adhered to by all. Proscribed norms specify forbidden activities. Permissive norms are permitted but not required activities. Preference norms are preferred but not required activities.

Cohen (1966) went on to state that a norm of behavior is enforced by a variety of sanctions differing in severity. Rewards and punishment are specified. Departure from dominant standards lessen group cohesiveness. The more cohesive a group, the less tolerant it is of deviation from specified norms since the group's attractiveness is reduced.

Kituse (1962) discussed the developmental sequence of a group which deals with deviance. A deviant behavior is observed and the violator is identified. A confrontation occurs between the violator and a designated group member. Judgment is pronounced and the offender is assigned to a particular position. Kituse, moreover, wrote that norms, by specifying boundaries of behavior, relieve uncertainty and anxiety of the membership. All group members deviate from behavior norms at some time; and, when overstepping boundaries of behavior occurs, deviance is identified. The definition of norm changes in response to external and social influences on the group as well as changes in membership.

Hammond (1972) found that roles and norms vary in groups that are based on age, sex, social, and economic status. He further noted

that rituals frequently accompany implementation or change of identified standards. The concept of culture is associated clearly with this dynamic state of norms, roles, and deviance of behavior.

Jacobs and Stern (1952) defined culture as the roles, norms, values, and beliefs common to the group. Beliefs include standards that are used to identify the world, other individuals, and oneself. Belief systems are reflected in religions, folklore, legends, and the philosophy of a culture.

Jacobs and Stern (1952), Benedict (1959), and Hammond (1972) wrote that cultures are dynamic and are affected by such variables as climate and geographic location. Available food and natural resources can cause genetic variations in the group. The adaptations which a group makes to these influences are displayed in their technology, institutions, language, and art forms.

In summary, literature supported the notion that culture influences the structure of the group and, in turn, a culture is affected by a particular group and its activities. The past is integrated into the present. Roles, values, and beliefs define the group's cultural characteristics. A group's behavior defines the norms as acceptable or nonacceptable or deviant. Variances in the norms are allowed for age, sex, and the roles that a member of the group assumes. By having knowledge of the histo-cultural components, one can have more meaningful insights into a group.

Cultural Meaning of Alcohol Use

Marshall (1980) viewed alcohol as a cultural artifact differing in rate and pattern of consumption from group to group. He also noted that in the United States numerous subcultures exist. Maddox and McCall (1962) pointed out that a wide range of drinking patterns exist from total abstinence to the extremes of alcoholism. These patterns have been researched only partially.

Maddox and McCall (1962) also described drinking as a social act which was influenced by socially relevant factors such as age, ethnicity, sex, religious affiliation, socio-economic status, and rural-urban residence. Pittman and Snyder (1962) observed the regularities of group's drinking behavior with shared definitions of what alcohol presumably does to and for the drinker. These definitions are transmitted from generation to generation and become a part of the heritage of a culture.

Maddox and McCall (1962) further hypothesized that alcohol dependence may have a variety of behavior forms with proscribed and prescribed norms of behavior defined by each culture. Pittman and Snyder (1962) stated that an individual within the group learns the process and behaviors of drinking from interactions with significant persons within the group.

Alcohol dependence exists in degrees in cultures; and

disabilities associated with dependence may be physical, social, or mental depending upon the complexity of the culture (Clinard, 1962). Alcohol abuse has been identified as a major health problem in the United States. The United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (Dept. of HEW) (1974) estimated the economic cost associated with misuses of alcohol at 25 billion dollars a year. Included in this figure were lost work hours, property damage, and medical and welfare costs. The belief also was that this cost increases annually (NIAAA, 1980). The National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism used a planning figure of 7% of the adult population in the United States who have an alcohol abuse problem. No typical person was described. Among men, drinking problems were described as occurring most frequently during the 18- to 24-year-old age group. Drinking problems were noted among women in the 30- to 40-year-old age group. The proportion of American youth who drink has been increasing. The NIAAA (1980) reported that most adolescents have at least tried alcohol and 18- to 20-year-olds report the highest level of frequent consumption.

Studies have demonstrated that the risk of accidents is increased greatly as the blood level of alcohol increases (Dept. of HEW, 1974). According to the Montana Council on Alcoholism (1976), 50% of all fatal accidents which occurred on the roads of the United States were linked to alcohol misuses. In 1979 alcoholism accounted

for 37.4% of the admissions to state and county mental hospitals. In addition, violent behavior attributed to alcohol use accounted for 64% of the murders, 41% of the assaults, 34% of the rapes, 56% of the fights or assaults within the home, and 60% of the child abuse cases (Dept. of HEW, 1972). In Montana the Alcohol and Drug Abuse Division (1980) used a planning figure of 8.5% non-Indian alcohol abusers when preparing a comprehensive plan book: Alcohol and Drug Abuse Prevention, Treatment, and Rehabilitation.

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (1974) described alcoholism as a treatable disease with differing treatments required by different individuals. National surveys indicated that community alcoholism rehabilitation programs need a variety of treatment methods. Blum and Blum (1967) stated that exposure of every patient to every possible treatment is not essential. A community program should take into account differences among clients as well as interactions within groups of which the client is a part. Holder and Stratas (1972), Wilkinson (1970), and Marshall (1980) suggested that anthropologic research into effects of culture on drinking patterns may be a valuable aid in developing treatment and prevention.

At a forum which was sponsored by the National Council on Alcoholism, Komaride (1980) stated:

By nature a rural setting is completely different from an urban one and those people who promote rural programs must understand the specific needs and problems of those they want to serve.

One way to learn about the attitudes of rural residents is to look at country music. These songs reinforce many of the fundamental feelings such as patriotism and the work ethic. In addition, these songs are imbued with the idea of hard drinking, especially after a long day at work (p. 6).

Chalfant and Beckley (1977) supported the idea that country music reflects an ethic that allows drinking.

Clinard (1962) stated that male-dominated industries and all-male institutional living appear to relate to heavy drinking patterns with a group.

The Army, the Navy, the work camp, the railroad gang, the lake steamer are all rich in drinking culture. In these groups, the harsh, the monotonous and the protective but controlled routines are broken by the nights, weekends and layoffs which offer opportunity to drink. The imagery and the love of drinking are built up through these talks and stories. Fantasy around future drinking episodes serves the function of reducing the impact of heavy jobs in an environment of extreme heat and cold, and of alleviating dull routines, sexual deprivation, and the loneliness of the all-male group. Drinking becomes a symbol of manliness and group integration (p. 434).

In summary, research indicated that the cultural meaning, as well as the patterns of alcohol use, varies from one group to another. Anthropological concepts can be employed to develop insights as to the influence of alcohol in a particular group. Alcohol abuse is considered one of the paramount health problems in the United States. Treatment methods used for alcohol abuse vary. Recent emphasis has been on recognition of group cultural influences on an individual participating in a treatment program.

Development of Rodeo

Cultural characteristics of rodeo participants have not been studied anthropologically. Therefore, insights into the culture of the group were developed through a review of the geographical and historical literature of Eastern Montana. Groups, according to Benedict (1959), adapt to the environment in order to meet their needs. Art, music, dance, song, story, ceremonies, and ritual reflect the culture of the group. Brown (1963) maintained that culture cannot be strictly utilitarian.

According to Hamilton (1957) and Malone and Roeder (1976), the 1740's saw the arrival of the first white fur trapper down the Yellowstone River. The wealth of the area existed in wild game, tall grasses, and the rich heritage of the Plains Indians. Fur buyers from Saint Louis soon followed and paid highly competitive prices for the quality pelts of the harsh cold region. This commercial activity, in turn, resulted in the building of settlements on the Yellowstone River in order to facilitate further exchanges. In time, the settlements evolved into forts.

Forts also served as establishments for social interactions between trappers who had been alone in the wilderness for months. It was here that news was disseminated from the outside world. Few contracts were finalized without a toast to complete exchanges. For

pelts which were delivered by Native Americans, the prized "fire water" was exchanged. Forts compared to colonial American taverns. These served as schools, boards of trade, and as newspapers. They were "their clubs."

Forts later evolved into frontier saloons which were patronized strictly by males. Saloons existed in areas where single men gathered to work in factories, mines, and other transient male-dominated types of employment. Clinard (1962) stated that "a saloon's function was to relieve poverty, loneliness and monotony of the work engaged in by the patrons" (p. 432).

In 1876, after the Custer Battle at Little Big Horn, Fort Keogh was established under General Miles in order to restore order to the area which is known now as Eastern Montana. The pursuit of the Nez Perce and Chief Joseph brought even more military personnel into the region. In order to provide meat for the militia, the cattle industry boomed in the area. For some two decades, settlers continued to come into the region; in time, it developed into one of the leading cattle markets. This male-dominated cattle industry required not only horsemanship but also skills which were appropriate to work with cattle (Hamilton, 1957; Malone & Roeder, 1976).

A natural recreational outgrowth of that industry was rodeo activities. The folk tales about rodeos and about ranching contained descriptions of the strength and endurance of cowboys. Goyens (1966)

described these qualities:

Rodeo fulfilled the urge for mayhem, bloodshed, physical endurance and unlimited variety of female companionship. . . . The men and incidents herein took place during a period when rodeo was a sport for contestants as well as a holiday for the spectators. The horses and brahman bulls were something that just had to be battled between the dance the night before the show, and the flurry of fisticuffs which always followed the rodeo, generally due to differences in opinion as to who should have won. . . . Rodeo is a disease. If an old boy forsakes the comforts of home and family after his second or third trip from the hospital and the bone mechanics, and heads for the next show, he's hooked (p. 9).

The influence of the frontier days was still visible in Eastern Montana at the time of this study. For example, a local liquor-selling establishment used placemats with the following admonishment to stage coach passengers: "Abstinence from liquor is recommended, but if you must drink, share the bottle. To do otheriwse, makes you appear selfish and un-neighborly."

For decades, cowboys and their friends have gathered in liquor-selling establishments for "get-togethers" during rodeos held annually in each community. During rodeos the sale of liquor in saloons and at arenas reaches annual records. The following statistics from a newspaper article include descriptions of a rodeo in one Eastern Montana community: "The Police Chief . . . termed the weekend 'Wild and western' with record-breaking crowds. This year, 17,500 people came for the three-day event" (Miles City Star, May 19, 1980). Alcohol consumption statistics for the event also were

provided in the article:

A record-breaking 1,500 plus cases of beer were consumed. The cases of beer sold at the fairgrounds beat last year's record of 1,200 cases by over 300 cases. . . . The Montana Highway Patrol investigated five related accidents and the City Fire Department answered 20 ambulance calls over the weekend, basically all related to the event (Miles City Star, May 19, 1980).

Conversations frequently have been heard anticipating future drinking episodes or reliving past drinking feats by rodeoing participants. It is with this background that further insights into rodeoing as a subculture in Eastern Montana were pursued.

In summary, the literature suggested that an individual is viewed as a member of numerous groups both formal and informal in nature. Roles, values, and beliefs influence a group's behavior. Repetitive behaviors by an individual define roles within groups. The division of labor is defined by role differentiation. Norms of behavior are established by the group to define deviant and conventional behavior. Norms are based on values and belief systems and reduce group tensions. A group's belief system formulates the cultural patterns and characteristics. A culture is dynamic as it is influenced by external and internal environmental and membership influences. Alcohol has unique meanings and patterns of use in cultures. Alcohol is considered to be an artifact; and, frequently, it is associated with the rituals and ceremonies of groups. Alcohol-selling establishments exist to meet social interaction need.

Numerous cultures and ethnic groups exist in the United States. These may vary from one geographical area to another. One cultural group identified in Eastern Montana is rodeo participants. This group's development has been traced from historical, social, and environmental influences of the region.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this study was to describe the roles, values, and norms of behavior associated with alcohol and alcohol consumption by rodeo participants. An ethnographic research design was utilized. Ethnoscience methods are tools of the anthropologist dealing with the division of mankind into races, their origin, distribution, relations, and characteristics. Ethnography which was developed by ethnoscience is a technique that results in a written description of culture and is based on the assumption that knowledge of all cultures is valuable as it provides empirical data about lives of people (Spradley, 1979). Spradley also described sources of ethnographic information including what people say and how they act. This information is transmitted in two modes. The two modes are tacit cultural knowledge and explicit cultural knowledge. The first requires inferences made on the part of the observer. The second is communicated directly without inference and is referred to as explicit cultural knowledge (Spradley, 1979). For this study, explicit methods were selected and an interview guide was developed to elicit information from key informants. Key informants are selected members of a group who are willing and able to provide information about practices and rules in the group (McCall & Simmons, 1979).

Taylor (1979) discussed the usefulness of anthropological

research for nursing:

Anthropological methods are particularly useful for nursing research. The ethnographic approach in nursing gives us the opportunity to come as close as possible to understanding the client or patient's perspective. An ethnographic approach seeks questions as well as answers. Data are collected in the terminology of the people being studied, using their definitions, their explanations and their observations. The basis for the approach is to prevent the investigator from imposing her or his own cultural background and linguistic categories on the data (p. 1).

Ethno-scientific methods were used to describe the roles, values, and norms of behavior associated with alcohol and alcohol consumption by rodeo group members. The field methods used in this study were participant observation and informant interviewing. Direct observation of group members in informal settings provided information to the investigator on activities of the group which were used to develop broad question areas for interviews. Formal interviews with selected group members were used to describe the group and its activities from members' points of view.

Key Informants

Key informants in this study included rodeo contestants, their spouses and significant others, community promoters of rodeo, merchants who specialized in artifacts for the group, owners, managers, and workers at social establishments for rodeo members. Key informants were selected using ethno-scientific methods. Initial

informants were from a list of names from these sources. Referrals from these individuals provided additional names of individuals active in rodeo. Specific names reoccurred and from this list informants were selected on the basis of sex and age of the individuals to provide broad representation of these variables in the study.

Interview Guide

An interview guide was developed from information obtained in observation of rodeo group members in various community settings in 1979. The interview guide (See Appendix A.) was composed of broad, major question areas. Subquestions were included for possible use to elicit relevant data. The broad question areas related to biographical data of the informant; descriptive ethnographic terms; the value of alcohol in the group; the norms of behavior associated with alcohol use in the group; injuries of members in the group; and referrals to other group members.

The questions were open-ended. The interviews included all question areas identified but the sequence varied according to the natural flow of the interview.

Procedure

Prior to the personal interview, each potential informant was contacted by telephone. The researcher's identity and the purpose

of the interview were stated. The individual or individuals who referred the potential informant were identified.

The length of time for the interview was specified at about one and one-half hours. All of the individuals contacted agreed to participate in an interview. A quiet setting for the interview at a mutually convenient location was identified. These included various eating establishments, homes of the informants, or the places of employment of the informants.

The interviews were not private. Three married couples were interviewed. In two interviews the discussion started with only one member present. As the interview progressed, the spouse entered into the conversation and verified or enlarged on the data presented. Two of the couples had preschool children in attendance during the interview. Fifteen interviews involved single informants.

Prior to the interview, informed consent was obtained (See Appendix B.). Rapport was established with a general discussion of the informant's involvement in rodeo activities. Key phrases, such as jargon, were documented during the interview. This documentation was expanded immediately following the interview in a log and on a tape recording. The group's ethnographic terms, jargon, and data were integrated into successive interviews. Verification of terms and concepts was sought to validate previous descriptive data.

Four informants consented to the tape recording of their

interviews. Of these, three individuals were older group members and provided historical information. One classified himself as a journalist. Tape recordings did not appear to interfere with the free flow of information during the interview.

Pilot Study

A pilot study was done with three subjects from sites outside the immediate area where the study took place. The purpose of the pilot study was to validate the questions' relevance to the group and to improve and standardize interviewing skills. Cultural jargon was identified for verification in successive interviews.

Following the pilot study, no changes were made in the interview guide or process. Since this group was representative, their data were tabulated and analyzed with the rest of the subjects.

Analysis of Data

Data were organized, summarized, and tabulated using content analysis. Verbatim recordings of interviews were categorized using categories established for the interview guide. Subcategories were identified as they freely occurred in the interview recordings.

Frequencies of occurrence of remarks about behaviors, beliefs, and roles were tabulated according to those categories and subcategories.

A descriptive report from the analysis appears in Chapters 4 and 5 of

this report.

Description of the Sample

Twenty-one subjects were interviewed including the pilot study subjects. Eighteen subjects were interviewed in the Miles City, Montana, area and three in the Billings, Montana, area. Seventeen listed Miles City as their current mailing address; seven identified other communities as their home towns but were working presently in Miles City.

In summary, rodeo participants were interviewed using ethno-scientific techniques. This anthropologic method was selected since it was particularly useful for this research question. An interview guide was developed to focus on the roles, values, and norms of behavior associated with alcohol and its consumption by rodeo members. Twenty-one key informants were selected to provide data for this study. A pilot study was completed outside of the Miles City area. Content analysis was used to interpret the data.

CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS: RODEO PARTICIPANTS' LIFE STYLE

Rodeo participants have appeared to value alcohol consumption. The support of rodeo folk literature for this conclusion, as well as the researcher's own observation of rodeo participants over a number of years, provided the incentive to pursue the meaning of alcohol to the group. An interview guide was developed and was utilized during interviews with the key informants. Data from the interviews provided a view of the rodeo participant's role and life style that provided additional insights into the values and norms of behavior associated with alcohol use. In this analysis, jargon of rodeo participants has been integrated into the text in order to present the subjects' points of view.

Description of Subjects

The data in this study were obtained through interviews with 21 rodeo participants. Eleven of the subjects were male while 10 were female. The ages ranged from 21 to 61 years of age. The male age ranged from 21 to 61 years of age. The female age ranged from 24 to 59 years of age. Table 1 shows the sex, marital status, rodeo role, that is, professional or amateur, and years of involvement of each subject.

Table 1

Description of Key Informants

<u>Sex</u>	<u>Marital Status</u>	<u>Years Involved in Rodeo</u>	<u>Professional/ Amateur</u>
M	S	8	Amateur
M	M	25	Professional
M	D	50	Amateur
M	S	12	Professional
M	M	8	Professional
M	S	11	Amateur
M	M	10	Professional
M	M	21	Amateur
M	M	7	Amateur
M	M	50+	Professional
M	M	40+	Amateur
F	S	11	Amateur
F	M	18	Amateur
F	M	10	Professional
F	D	6	Amateur
F	M	27	Professional
F	M	30	Professional
F	D	30	Professional
F	M	9	Family Member
F	M	31	Family Member
F	D	47	Professional

The marital status of the interviewees included single, married, and divorced individuals. Of those who were married, six were male while six were female. Three of these were married couples. Of those who listed their marital status as single or divorced, two were male while four were female. A total of 14 children were included in the immediate families of the participants. Sixteen grandchildren were identified in the families of the subjects. Table 2 summarizes the age and the sex data about the subjects interviewed.

Table 2

Age and Sex of Key Informants

<u>Age Range</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Female</u>
20-29	6	4
30-39	0	1
40-49	2	3
50-59	0	2
60 - over 60	3	0

The number of years involved in rodeo by the sample ranged from approximately six years to 50 years. For the males this range was seven years to more than 50 years. For the females this range was six years to 50 years. Nineteen of the subjects stressed that this identified time frame was approximate. All of the subjects were exposed to rodeo activities in early life. Participation in rodeo as a sport evolved from activities in the rural environment. All of the

subjects had been exposed to domestic farm animals through most of their lives.

The occupations of the sample varied. Four subjects were involved on a full-time basis with some aspect of rodeo, including one male who was a rodeo promoter, a married couple involved in a family business as rodeo producers, and another male who was a professional contestant. The remaining seventeen subjects had a variety of occupations and participated in the sport of rodeo in various ways. Six considered rodeo as a second career or a hobby. The occupations of the subjects included bartender, secretary, clerk, private businessman, farmer/rancher, unskilled laborer, housewife, nurse, teacher, and journalist.

The subjects identified various levels of professionalism in the sport. Twelve subjects classified themselves as active Professional Rodeo Cowboy Association (PRCA) members. Nine classified themselves as amateur participants. The professionals were involved with the PRCA as contestants, noncontestants, life members, or honorary members.

Of the subjects who were classified as amateurs, some held memberships in various regional rodeo associations; some participated on college teams. Some, however, participated strictly on local levels as a hobby. Six males and three females classified themselves as amateurs.

Historical Background of Rodeo

According to the informants, rodeoing related historically to the economic development of Eastern Montana. Farming and ranching were predominant industries in the region. Rodeoing was a natural outgrowth of the cattle industry since it provided recreation for the cowboys and utilized available resources. In frontier times, rodeos occurred on the open range and provided "working cowboys" with an acceptable form of competition and diversion. Minimal preparation was required for such events since skills developed "on the job" were utilized.

From spontaneous isolated recreational events, rodeo evolved into planned social events in rural communities. Rodeos were a time for citizens to get together on a regular basis for social interaction. Participation in competitive events became an annual ritual. Natural ability and skill acquired in an individual's work were rewarded by peer approval as well as by prize money. Because of the distances to be traveled, the social event lasted several days and usually included a weekend.

Business establishments, particularly banks, frequently discontinued services during the rodeo. Because banks closed, "the office" was established as a temporary bank. At "the office" the contestant paid the entry fees for the rodeo. After the rodeo, "the

office" distributed prize money to "rodeo cowboys" or "mount money" which was paid to a citizen who was willing to "ride a bronc." Usually, "the office" was a designated bar or liquor-selling establishment where the citizenry congregated for social interaction. Fans and contestants mingled in this designated area. One informant said that certain liquor-selling establishments in some communities are still called "The Office."

Rodeos became "annual celebrations" and each developed a unique reputation. Informants stated that individuals who attended did so with particular expectations as to the merriment and social exchanges that occurred. According to two informants, "the rodeo" has become only one of numerous attractions associated with a particular community's annual event.

The key informants stressed that rodeo has changed during the last five to ten years. Rodeoing has become a national sport. Like other sports, rodeoing has developed various degrees of professionalism and has required business methods. Rodeo has become more scientific; consequently, rodeoing requires additional skill and knowledge on the part of contestants. Rodeo schools have been a recent development that promote improved knowledge, skill, and safety. "Retired rodeo and working cowboys" have sponsored and presented schools to continue the art and skill involved with rodeo.

Informants agreed that modern technology is changing rodeo.

Improved equipment and techniques influence the performances of rodeo contestants. Furthermore, participation in the sport is costly. Current business and technological advances supplement the rodeo skills of the successful "rodeo cowboy." Rodeo was described as a sport which is no longer limited to people from rural areas. By attending rodeo schools and by utilizing equipment and opportunities provided by modern technology, individuals who "never had been on a horse before" now can become world champions. An interested individual may develop the skill and the ability which are required to be a "rodeo athlete." Training frequently begins during the grade school years then continues through the college years. Thus, today's "rodeo cowboy" is a better athlete and has had more education than his predecessor.

Informants reported that rodeos are no longer social events occurring only in regions where cattle-producing industries predominate. Rodeos exist in all parts of the United States and are organized on an international level. Extensive travel to attend various events is necessary for contestants who are interested in the sport.

Younger informants repeatedly stated that a social network has been established linking rodeo participants. Participation in the network requires adherence to behavior standards. These standards of behavior include providing assistance to participants and their

families and animals. These norms are reinforced by political structures of rodeo organization and vary with levels of professionalism of the members and are described in the by-laws and rules of various organizations. Deviant behavior can result in penalties of fines or exclusion from the organization.

Informants reported that rodeo has become a business. To become a professional, an individual must have skill. In order to develop that skill, an individual will find that experience is essential. Opportunities must be available to obtain experience. This need encourages the development of rodeos for children. The beginning group is called Little Britches. The next groups are high school rodeos, college rodeos, regional organizations, and, finally, the Professional Rodeo Cowboys Association (PRCA). This listing is the scale of progression for many rodeo contestants. However, all contestants do not progress through these ranks.

Informants defined organized rodeo activities as "sanctioned rodeos" (approved by a particular rodeo organization) and "non-sanctioned rodeos" (not approved by a particular rodeo organization). An individual who wishes to attain particular status with a point system or monetary system does so only in "sanctioned events." In nonsanctioned rodeos, requirements and procedures which are required to become "sanctioned" have not been pursued. Most "nonsanctioned rodeos" occur in small towns. "Open rodeos" (anyone can enter) can

be "sanctioned" or "nonsanctioned."

Informants reported much confusion about the political structure in rodeo today. Confusion stems from the fact that all contestants in rodeos participate for financial reward. In this sense, all contestants are classified as "professional." Even though such a reward system exists, the informants classified themselves as "professional" and "amateur" depending upon the organization to which they belong, that is, the PRCA or one of about 40 regional rodeo organizations.

Roles

Contestants who belong to the PRCA were described as "elite professionals." Entrance requirements into the PRCA are contingent on minimum financial winnings within a specified time period. Informants called the PRCA a "cowboys' union." It uses a computer system to monitor its members, particularly in the area of "bad checks and violent behavior." Membership in the PRCA was described as including contestants, noncontestants, life members, and honorary members. Contestants are classified according to events, that is, "rough stock riders" and "timeys" (timed event riders). Noncontestants include "rodeo workers" who are described as "stock contractors, arena secretaries, timers, clowns/bull fighters, pick-up men, chute bosses, announcers, judges, and trick riders" (PRCA, 1979, p. 7).

Informants reported that the by-laws and rules of the PRCA state that members may be involved only in PRCA sanctioned events. Members are penalized financially for violating this rule. Amateur cowboys belong to various regional rodeo organizations which exist in different geographical areas of the United States. Requirements for entry and exit into these groups were described as less rigid than those of the PRCA.

All of the professional informants stressed the fact that many amateurs portray themselves as professionals. Social controls exist to a lesser degree in regional organizations; and, frequently, amateurs give a "bad name" to serious "professional contestants."

According to informants, many communities have annual rodeos sanctioned either by the PRCA or by a regional rodeo organization. The PRCA rules that members may ride in one local nonsanctioned event per year which allows hometown fans an opportunity to view the local cowboy.

Annual community rodeos were described as social events of varying reputations. Rodeo "hobbyists" participate in events near their homes. This participation provides an opportunity for social interaction with other citizens and friends. Expectations of events and behaviors prevail and promises of a "good time and partying" are associated with specific community events. Four of the younger interviewees reported that the "bigger the town--the bigger the

party." The reason given was that more people result in more excitement. Older informants, however, specified that smaller towns and local rodeos provide opportunities for more "good times as everyone knows everyone who is there."

A number of rodeo clubs exist in communities. Informants compared these "to country clubs in urban areas." "Jackpot" team roping is the event in which club members participate. This participation provides opportunities to improve skills for professionals, amateurs, and hobbiests. Rodeo clubs also provide opportunities for older rodeo members to continue participation in the sport.

Rodeo Life Style

Informants reported that participation in the sport of rodeo encourages a particular life style. Involvement required life style adaptations of informants and their families. For some, adapting to this life style resulted in conflicts or stresses. For others, it was a family endeavor.

Mobility and Financial Considerations

The informants stated that rodeo participants are highly mobile and travel extensively. Informants reported traveling from 2,000 to 100,000 miles in 1980. The urge and need to travel were expressed in various ways, for example, as "an addiction" or "vinegar

blood." It was described also as "a restlessness; after two weeks at home I'm ready to go again" and "freedom without commitments, being carefree, doing what I wish to do, when I wish to, and if I wish to."

Mobility of individuals is influenced by the events in which they participate. "Timeys," those cowboys or cowgirls who participate in timed events, require a pickup with a trailer in order to transport horses. For this reason "timeys" do not travel as extensively as "rough stock riders" since these possessions tend to slow them down.

"Rough stock riders" are usually under 30 years of age and single. Bronc riding and bull riding--rough stock events--were considered as a "young man's sport." Informants stressed that many "rough stock riders have no place to call home." Frequently home is a hotel. "Hotel bums" or "rodeo bums" have only a "riggin' bag" of personal belongings. Air travel is the usual means of transportation. A few contestants travel in motor homes which transport families from one rodeo to another. Family problems and conflicts arise when finances do not allow for wives to accompany husbands or when the children become school age. School-aged children require tutors or must remain in the home community during the school year. Preschool children frequently accompany parents to rodeos. Informants stated, however, that health problems which are unique to preschool children interfere with a contestant's mobility.

Informants agreed that rodeo is an expensive sport. Expenses

include travel, air fare, hotels, motor home or van maintenance, food, and entry fees. Animal transportation incurs additional costs.

Female informants stressed that costs are greater for women since they were involved usually as "goat tiers and can runners (barrel racers)."

The cost of a "good horse" was stressed to be \$10,000 and higher for participating females. Female informants stated that, frequently, less prize money is designated for female events even though entry fees are the same as for male-dominated events. These same informants said that recently more equality has been obtained with the Equal Opportunity Act than before.

The informants stated that to minimize expenses, sometimes group travel by other than families is used. The groups might be all male, all female, or mixed. Informants described the group as attempting to attend as many rodeos as possible within a geographical area. Rodeos offering the "highest purse" are entered. In a two- or three-day-period, eight to ten rodeos might be entered in a 700-mile area. By traveling in a group, a number of "rotating drivers" are available, which provides an opportunity for others to sleep.

Expenses are paid with "purse" winnings, and entry fees for the next rodeo are "rat holed." The remainder of the winnings are "blown on partying and having a good time." Participating in rodeos requires time loss from jobs. "Rodeo cowboys" require occupations that allow time away from jobs. Two informants suggested that many rodeo

contestants are transient laborers or construction workers and are "rodeo bums." Short-term jobs, self-employment, and family businesses help to support those individuals who participate in this expensive sport.

Rodeos were described as extending over periods of several days to two weeks. Riders might "draw a ride" on the first day and not again until the last day of the rodeo. The distance and the expense of travel discourage "riders" from returning to their homes between rides. Informants stated that free time between rides results in boredom. Quite often no family support systems are available. Even though several informants suggested a network system between group members, the problem of boredom still was emphasized. According to informants, boredom encourages "riders to hang around bars to socialize between rides."

The notion of a network was stressed by six of the informants. Married informants discussed the rituals of "trailer communities" that are parked around an arena during rodeos. These rituals include the setting out of tables and lawn chairs; the stringing up of a clothes line between the vehicles; and the conversing of women back and forth from one unit to another. If a "rodeo family" were not present, then members of that family were missed by the others in the "trailer community."

In some families, members participate in different rodeo

circuits. Wives participate in more accessible rodeos and travel with horse trailer and pickup to events. Husbands generally travel to more distant events by air. Therefore, a family name becomes better known within "the network." Events are planned also for children at most rodeos. Families of informants who travel by motor home or trailer frequently stated that several family members participated in various rodeo events. Children also are active in events appropriate for their age group.

Informants stated that a "rodeo wife" quite often takes a job while on the "rodeo circuit." This job might involve rodeo arena work or the operation of a business such as selling jewelry or other novelty items in order to provide additional income and diversion during long time periods.

Group Cohesiveness

Informants described "traditional conservative American attitudes of honesty, helpfulness, and sex stereotyping" as being valued by participants. A strict code of reciprocal helpfulness exists among group members. Describing an "animal's pattern" of behavior prior to a ride, aid with travel problems, and the loaning of money are situations where assistance is provided among members. Eighteen informants stated that group members work together. One informant said "there is no room for prima donnas in rodeo." All are willing to

to assist a member who is "down and out." Loaning money particularly for "entry fees" occurs at some time in the careers of most rodeo contestants. All informants stated that "the loan would be paid back when the borrower again had a winning streak." The same code exists for buying rounds of alcohol. If an individual is unable to take his turn at buying a round, no doubt exists among the members that he will make up the difference at the next social gathering. Persons who fail to make good on their obligations are identified as "moochers" and are excluded from the social network.

Even though group members are helpful to each other, informants stressed that members are "fiercely competitive and fend for themselves." All individuals are responsible for their own performance. Nine informants believed that a "known name" had more going for him in a rodeo. Informants also believed that winners are determined frequently before events. Certain familiar names evoke positive feelings in judges. "Riders" with previous exposure are more likely to get points for a ride.

Another aspect of group cohesiveness is that group members are quick to imitate group leaders. One informant classified leaders as the "elite winning professionals." "Trend setters" establish group boundaries with specific western attire, hotel keys protruding from a hip pocket, a feather in a western hat, and use of numerous other artifacts.

In addition, publications tend to promote the cohesiveness of groups. Advertisements are contained within rodeo publications which promote particular artifacts as well as the names and the photographs of group leaders. Frequently, group leaders are photographed using particular artifacts or promoting specific activities.

Physical Conditioning

Optimum physical condition was valued by the group. Twenty informants stated that rodeo contestants need to be "all-around athletes." Weight maintenance is of prime concern. The ideal physique of contestants was stressed by informants to be "small, strong, wiry." Skill is essential, but preparation on the part of the contestant also was believed to be important.

Long-term preparation varies with events and determines exercises in which the "riders" participate. The overall goals are endurance, muscle strengthening, and loosening-up. Short-term preparation activities immediately prior to the rodeo include "psyching-up" and relaxation exercises. To be successful, a contestant must have an "alertness of all body senses for coordination, timing, and balance." If such qualities are not present, then injuries can occur.

Risk Taking

Professional rodeo contestants make every attempt to "minimize

risk and injury to themselves and the animal." Professional informants stressed that they would not expose their bodies to the possibility of injury. If injuries do occur, contestants cannot enter and thus cannot win at a future rodeo. Injuries are minimized at the professional level.

According to informants, amateurs are willing to take risks and believe that risks are essential to winning and to attaining status. One professional contestant stated that "most injuries occur in the practice pen and when striving to reach the top." Injuries in amateur contestants were described as "frequently exhibited by wearing casts and using crutches." All of the male informants told rodeo stories of heroic feats associated with an injury incurred during their lifetimes.

Health Problems Related to the Life Style

Informants related that particular health problems result from the life style of rodeo contestants. "Fatigue" from traveling and from active involvement in rodeos results in "carelessness" on occasion. Accidents when traveling to rodeo events as well as in the arena increase when fatigue exists, particularly over the Fourth of July holiday period. Two informants stated that every contestant's goal was "to win a buckle [belt buckle] in the end." As a result, unnecessary risks often are taken to achieve this goal.

Family conflicts stem from the time and the money spent by contestants developing skills which are required by the sport. Three informants stressed that each year only four or five top contestants are "money makers" in each event. Therefore, the money spent by contestants on equipment and rodeo expenses rather than on the needs of the family causes conflict. Lack of job stability also results in reduced or no family income and further increases family stresses. In addition, the separation of family members is a great source of family conflict.

For females to be attracted to the "cowboy image" is not uncommon. "Buckle Bunnies" were identified as those women who follow the rodeo circuit. Most, reportedly, are unfamiliar with the real values of cowboys. Female informants stated that the reality of the role verses the "cowboy image" causes numerous conflicts in marriage. Conflicts centered around the expenses of rodeo, the separations caused by extensive travel, and the presence of "Buckle Bunnies" at rodeos.

Motivation and endurance to attend a number of rodeos are required to be a winner. "Bennies" (amphetamines) were cited as having been used years ago according to two of the older informants. Three of the younger informants stated that "uppers" are used by some contestants today. Five of the informants believed that the use of marijuana by contestants today is not unusual. All informants

spontaneously referred to the use of alcohol by rodeo contestants.

Certain cultural characteristics were identified in rodeo participants. These have evolved over time and are related to the histo-cultural development of the group. The group was identified as being highly cohesive even though extensive travel is expected of the members. Different subgroups and roles were defined and members are quick to imitate group leaders. Reciprocal behaviors determine membership within a social network. The stressful life style of rodeo participants encourages use of chemical substances to adapt even though drugs and alcohol are seen as interfering with success as a rodeo contestant.

CHAPTER 5

DATA ANALYSIS: VALUES AND BEHAVIORAL NORMS ASSOCIATED WITH ALCOHOL

Rodeo participants are required to participate in a life style encouraging mobility. This participation results in costly expenses, increased family stresses, pressures to win, and boredom during rodeos. The cohesive members are quick to imitate each other and the historical image of the cowboy. Alcohol was viewed as interfering with success in rodeo events, yet the historical image of a cowboy portrays him as valuing heavy alcohol consumption. To adapt to the life style of today's rodeo participant, the cowboy often is encouraged to use alcohol.

Clearly defined boundaries as to who does and does not drink were stressed by informants. Professional contestants are unable to consume alcohol if they wish to remain successful. Amateurs who are serious about succeeding in rodeo do not use alcohol either. All of the subjects stated that "today's successful rodeo cowboy isn't like he used to be, i.e., drinking and being rowdy." Professional rodeo cowboys today "are serious about the sport, but it is difficult to live down the reputation" of predecessors and followers of the group.

Informants agreed that the followers, fans, and groups interested in rodeo imitate the historical "image of the cowboy."

This stereotype makes life more difficult for rodeo participants who are serious about the sport.

Alcohol industries were viewed as highly influential in rodeo. Financial promotions, particularly by the producers of "Coors, Schlitz, and Black Velvet," were noted. Through the advertising media, stereotyped images of cowboy's appearance and behavior are depicted on television, in the movies, in newspapers, and in magazines. Drinking alcohol is a part of this macho-male image. Professional rodeo contestants pointed out that alcohol is a deterrent to success in rodeo; but rodeos, as well as "rodeo purses," are dependent upon the alcohol industry.

Annual rodeos in small communities frequently are fund raisers for various groups. Local businesses, including bars or liquor-selling establishments, rely on the rodeo for profits. Bars frequently provide "prize buckles" for winners of rodeo events. Beer stands usually are sponsored by community organizations on the rodeo grounds. In small communities, socialization revolves around alcohol and alcohol consumption. The informants reported that at these annual events "the older people drink to socialize and the younger community members drink to keep up with their peers." An attitude of "supporting the bar that provides the buckle" prevails.

According to informants, local team-roping clubs meet on a regular basis for "weekend cowboys" to practice and to compete.

Alcohol consumption was assumed to be a part of "jackpot roping events."

Alcohol was described as having other meanings among rodeo participants. For the "old timers," the bars serve as meeting places in the community. Old timers' interactions occur earlier in the day with each member of the group taking his turn at buying "a round" for the group. Two divergent beliefs were expressed about older individual's alcohol consumption. One belief was reflected in the statement, "The guys who go to the bar to drink are not usually your alcoholics--it is the guy who drinks at home alone who has the problems." Another prevailing belief expressed by the informants was,

The old timers have the biggest drinking problems. They are bored, have no hobbies, nothing to do--so every morning they go to the bar and visit their friends. Everybody buys a round of drinks and by the time it goes around the table a couple of times with 7 or 8 guys buying, they are drunk. This happens almost everyday.

Informants reported that younger group members identified particular norms for alcohol use different than older individuals. This group's drinking also occurs in specific community bars, usually in the evening after work and on weekends. Another time for younger members to socialize in bars is during and after rodeos.

Informants stated that rodeo "followers" spend most of the day in the bar with minimal time spent at the rodeo. After the rodeo, contestants arrive at the "office." Even though contestants

may not drink, they visit the bar. Two informants stressed that a particular need for interaction is provided to rodeo contestants by the feedback from the bar's clientele--followers and fans.

The first drink is purchased in one of several situations. An older man may order the winning contestant a drink. This older man usually has known or is a friend of the contestant's father. In other situations, fans who have been in the bar for some time order drinks for contestants for either "staying on" or "being thrown." In a bar with a group of seven or eight rodeo contestants, the winner orders "a round or two" for the group. If he is a big winner, he buys a "round for the house." Among rodeo professionals attending a rodeo in a large city, the winner may buy "steak and drinks in a classy restaurant." As one informant stated of rodeo contestants going to a big city: "they have class--they are classy people and go to the finest restaurants and bars in the city."

Norms of behavior exist which regulate alcohol use for participants in the various strata of rodeo's political structure. According to informants, amateurs imitate the stereotyped cowboy image which is promoted by the media. In smaller rodeos where most amateurs participate, "everyone knows everyone" and more drinking takes place. Some rodeos are known for the "party atmosphere." This reputation frequently attracts spectators in successive years.

The informants maintained that the professional rodeo

participant rarely, if ever, drinks prior to a rodeo. Most participants avoid alcohol completely during a rodeo season. In recent years, the rodeo season has been extended to approximately 11 months. Younger contestants frequent the bar after a rodeo for social encounters and exchange but drink orange juice. None of the informants viewed this behavior as unusual or inappropriate. The PRCA forbids alcohol in a sanctioned rodeo arena. Fifteen subjects stressed that if a professional plans to continue as a professional, alcohol has no place in his life. Seventeen subjects reported that most of the alcohol that is consumed is by "groupies" who are followers, imitators, and amateurs.

Regional or semi-professional members seldom drink before events. According to the informants, their main concern is getting animals to destinations safely. During a rodeo, and after an event, drinking of beer occurs at a designated area near the chutes where animals, equipment, and rides are discussed. Following the rodeos, contestants mingle with fans around beer stands or in designated bars.

A conflict exists within professional rodeos. Informants stated that alcohol is prohibited in an arena, yet the biggest promoters of rodeo are liquor producers who provide the prize money and promotional artifacts such as tooled leather cases, buckles, hats, and caps to winners. A public relations group which is known as the

"Traveling Rodeo 6-Pack" is yet another promotional device of liquor producers. This group appears on national television and at numerous local rodeos.

As a contrast to the emphasis on alcohol, Christian Cowboys Association is a recently developed organization. The informants expressed various views about the Christian Cowboys Association. One informant stated, "It is an excellent group. It gives meaning to the contestants' lives." Another reflected, "It stems from alcohol and drug use by the group members. It is a born again Christian group." A male informant suggested, "Every group has some religious outfit in it. This is rodeo's group." A rough stock rider stated, "It seems like mostly those in the timed events belonged. They seemed to be bargaining with God to improve their timing for the events."

All informants reported that "groupies and fans" do most of the drinking. Beer is consumed most frequently since it is available in rodeo stands. Some fans bring their own whiskey in a thermos bottle. Others keep "a bottle" in their pickups or vans and return to the vehicle during the rodeo for a drink. Groupies or "camp followers" follow the rodeo circuit very closely. Informants stated that they drink "any time and all the time" and give a "bad name to rodeo." The public projects the image portrayed by groupies to all of the rodeo contestants.

Rodeo workers specified that they rarely drink when working except on a hot day when a cold beer is used as a beverage. Most workers are concerned about the well being of valuable stock and do not allow anyone near who might endanger it. The majority of informants viewed workers as being too busy to drink during a rodeo. Clown men and pick-up men are essential for the safety of contestants and need to be alert and "not dulled by alcohol." During rodeos, chute bosses are known to "throw out drunks or people with alcohol on their breath." Only two informants reported ever having observed a drunk individual in a rodeo event.

Values attached to alcohol differed according to informants. Most believed amateurs definitely tolerate and value alcohol and alcohol consumption. Other values and beliefs included these statements: "Girls drink as much as guys" and "Old timers can handle it better." Informants suggested "the age between 17 and 20 is the time when young people get involved with drinking." Rodeo participants were viewed as having particular drinking patterns. These were described as "After rodeos the rough stock riders drink more" and "In open rodeos more risks are taken. Alcohol may have a place here to fortify oneself." The environment too was viewed as influencing the drinking patterns of cowboys. For example, one subject remarked,

Ranch cowboys come to the bars more during the winter season. In good (mild) winters it takes only a short time to do chores.

and feed cattle. The roads are good and they come to town more often since cowboys have nothing else to do. In hard winters they come less frequently and stay longer.

In summary, informants expressed the belief that the meaning of alcohol depends upon the role held by a rodeo participant. They saw the bar as an important social exchange center and as frequented at different times by different age groups. An important factor identified as influencing rodeo participants is the historical stereotypical image of cowboys which continues to be promoted actively by the media today.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS, LIMITATIONS, IMPLICATIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Rodeo participants in this study were interviewed to determine the roles, values, and norms of behavior associated with alcohol consumption in the group. Twenty-one formal interviews of group members by the researcher provided and verified data.

Conclusions

In this study it was learned that rodeo participants saw themselves as a group bound together by their common interest in rodeo as sport. This common interest, an attraction of the group, encouraged members to belong. Boundaries were defined by formal and informal rules as well as the attire worn and the artifacts used by group members. These attributes contributed to the cultural characteristics of the membership. Numerous subgroups existed within the larger group of rodeo participants. The scale of professionalism defined certain skills, achievements, and also associated behavior norms. Conflict occurred within the group as to the definition of "professional" and the associated roles.

The life style of rodeo participants created many stresses. These stresses evolved from the cost and mobility required to participate in the sport. These factors, in turn, affected employment and

interpersonal relations of the rodeo contestants.

Conflicts were identified between the reality of the rodeo cowboy's life style and the stereotypical image of that rodeo cowboy. The stereotypical image was promoted by commercial and advertising activities by alcohol beverage producers who were the major financial supporters of rodeo competitions.

For rodeo participants the bars were establishments for socialization. Even though some individuals abstained, social exchanges centered in identified drinking establishments. The bar was the one identified place for rodeo participants to celebrate their winnings, to bemoan their losses, and to be recognized. A conflict also existed over the use or nonuse of alcohol and the success in rodeo.

The conclusion was made that alcohol is valued in terms of social interactions that relate to the role of the rodeo participant. The more success attained by rodeo participants in the sport, the less likely they were to use alcohol. As rodeo participants ascended the scale of professionalism, they were likely to use alcohol to "fortify" themselves. Imitators, fans, and camp followers who valued the stereotypical image of the cowboy were believed to use alcohol more than the contestants. Therefore, the conclusion was made that norms of behavior varied depending upon the subgroup to which the rodeo participant belonged.

Limitations

The following limitations were identified in this study: the data were obtained in the home community of the researcher which might have been an influence. This study was a first research project for the researcher. In this study, methodology skills were developed. A rough description of rodeo group members and some of their cultural characteristics were identified.

This study was based on reports of 21 individuals. This number of individuals might not be completely representative of all rodeo participants' views. The research related to only one region--Eastern Montana. Variations could exist in other geographical areas.

The design that was used was ethnographic. It was not an epidemiologic study of group members and alcohol abuse nor was it intended to be. The purpose was not to define the existence or scope of the alcohol problem but rather to explore and to describe cultural characteristics of the rodeo group in relation to alcohol use.

Implications

Implications for health care providers exist because alcohol use and abuse are related closely to alcoholism, an identified health problem in Eastern Montana. Rodeo activities, frequently associated

with alcohol use and abuse, are commonly occurring recreational events in this region.

1. Health providers need to recognize rodeo participants as a group with numerous subgroups. These differences need to be considered when providing care to individuals who identify with rodeo cowboys. The life stresses, interests, and values vary in the subgroups. The meaning and use of alcohol also differs among subgroups. These differences are essential to consider when doing health assessment, planning, and intervention for a particular person.

2. Health care providers need to recognize that the life style of rodeo participants imposes particular stresses. For rodeo contestants the pressure to continue winning money and points is great. To maintain such a status, continuous travel is essential. Professional rodeo contestants stated that alcohol has no place in their lives, yet situations arise where the environment encourages alcohol use, for example, relief of boredom during rodeos in bars. The potential "boredom" while attending distant rodeos and the "socialization needs" frequently resolved in bars are two anticipated risks for rodeo contestants.

3. Alternatives for socialization need to be explored by health care providers. In some communities additional facilities for interactions may need to be organized. Education about the use of alcohol in rodeo subgroups, alternatives to alcohol consumption, and

anticipatory prevention techniques should be made available to the personnel of social facilities. Developmental concepts which are related to the subgroups should be included in educational information presented to these groups. Older and younger participants have unique needs which need to be considered.

4. Consideration of the individual as a person when providing health care is essential. In hospitals and chemical dependency centers, consideration of the culture and life style of rodeo participants could foster individualization of care plans. Accurate health histories should be obtained to determine a rodeo participant's role in the group. Stresses from the life style of the subgroup must be understood in order to develop an effective plan of action.

5. The attractive historical stereotypical cowboy image of the cowboy which camp followers are quick to imitate needs to be replaced with realistic information about the rodeo cowboy's stressful life style and activities. The value of alcohol as a social facilitator among rodeo group members, and the norms of behavior in regard to reciprocal behavior among members are cultural characteristics particular to the group. The media could do much to bring about eventual changes in the values and beliefs of the group by presenting realities rather than idolized myths.

Recommendations

The following questions are recommended for further research:

What is the incidence of alcoholism and participation in and compliance with alcohol abuse treatment programs by rodeo participants?

What is the relationship between alcohol use by rodeo participants and health and family casualties?

What are the roles, values, and norms of behavior associated with alcohol of rodeo participants in other geographical areas?

It is recommended that epidemiologic studies of rodeo participants alcohol use as they progress through the hierarchial structure of rodeo groups be undertaken.

In summary, an ethnographic study was conducted about rodeo participants to determine the roles, values, and norms of behavior associated with alcohol use within the group. Conclusions, limitations, implications, and recommendations were made from the data obtained in interviews from key informants.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Age

Sex

1. How do you participate in rodeos?

Describe some of your more recent rodeo activities?

What kind of rodeo events have you been involved in?

How long have you been a rodeo contestant?

2. How do you describe some of your more recent rodeoing activities?

Do you support the group financially? As a booster club member?

Do you participate in any particular community rodeo event during the year? Is this within your community or some distance from your home?

Are you involved as a booster fan, or financial supporter of your children/grandchildren's rodeoing activities?

How does your family feel about your rodeoing interest?

(If they have children) How do you feel about your children being involved in rodeoing?

Have you ever thought about discontinuing your involvement with rodeoing?

APPENDIX A (continued)

3. How/What are you and others who compete in rodeo events referred to?

Does this name vary with the age of the person?

Does this name vary with the sex of the person?

Does this name vary in relation to (a) financial status

(b) occupation or school

status

(c) whether they are married/

single status

4. What do you see as unique about _____?

(whatever they call themselves)

It has been said that rodeoing is one of the most dangerous sports. How do you feel and what do you think about this statement?

What type of training or preparation is required of a rodeo contestant--long term and immediately prior to an event?

Does this vary with the rodeo "event" one participates in?

Does this vary with one's sex or age?

APPENDIX A (continued)

5. Sometimes it is said that rodeos are frequently associated with alcohol.

Describe the alcohol use at rodeos by rodeoers.

I have noticed rodeo contestants carrying finely tooled leather cases---entitled (in the leather) "Rodeo 6-Pack" of what significance or use are these?

In general how would you describe the groups drinking?

Describe the kinds of drinks that are frequently used?

Where does the drinking usually occur--during the rodeo?

When does the drinking usually occur--before the event?

after the event?

Is it possible to belong to a rodeoing group and not drink alcohol?

Who buys the drinks?

When and where do you drink?

Could you describe how drinking alcohol might vary with the rodeo seasons of the year?

How does it vary with specific social events related to rodeoing?

How does it vary with certain people in certain places related to rodeos?

APPENDIX A (continued)

How does drinking vary between a contestant, a fan, and a worker?

6. How does drinking vary between male/female; married/unmarried; newcomers/old timers to the rodeo circuit?

7. How is drinking associated with injuries or accidents in rodeo events?

Is there a difference on that issue between male/female?

How does alcohol affect a contestant's performance in rodeos?

How does alcohol use vary with the type of an event a rodeo contestant is involved in?

When do most rodeo accidents or injuries occur--during events; before the rodeo; when setting up; tearing down, etc.?

Where do most rodeo accidents occur?

8. Ending the interview

Could you give me several names of individuals who might be interested in participating in this interview. These are the key points we have discussed today: (list)

APPENDIX A (continued)

8. Ending the interview (continued)

Do you have any further information that may be helpful to me?

Thank you for your time and interest--I may contact you for further information.

APPENDIX B

Informed Consent

As a registered nurse, I am interested in the characteristics of individuals and groups in the region where I live and work. I am particularly interested in individuals who participate in rodeos and have decided to do a study on this group for my graduate thesis.

In order to complete the study, your signed consent is needed. By electing to participate in the study, an interview of approximately two hours duration will be involved. Your identity will at all times remain anonymous. Responses will be recorded (by pencil or tape recorder) for future reference.

At any time during the interview, you may withdraw your consent if you wish to do so. Later, I may contact you if further questions should arise. It is for this reason your telephone number and address are required here. No risks or benefits have been identified to you as a participant.

The final information will be shared with other professional health providers. A copy of the study will be available in the

Montana State University Thesis Library. Thank you for your time and involvement in this study.

Angeline Bushy, R.N.
MSU Graduate Nursing Student

Name _____

Address _____

Telephone _____

The signed consent forms of this study will be stored for five (5) years in a locked file at the Billings Extended Campus, Montana State University School of Nursing.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alcohol and Drug Abuse Division, Montana State Department of Institutions. Alcohol and drug abuse prevention, treatment, and rehabilitation. Helena, Montana: State Printing Office, June 30, 1980.
- Benedict, R. Patterns of culture. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1959.
- Blum, E. M., & Blum, R. H. Alcoholism: Modern psychological approaches to treatment. San Francisco, California: Jossey-Bass, 1967.
- Boaz, F. Race, language, and culture. New York: The Free Press, 1966.
- Brown, I. C. Understanding other cultures. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963.
- Chalfant, H. P., & Beckley, R. E. Beguiling and betraying: The image of alcohol use in country music. Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 1977, 38(7), 1428-1433.
- Clinard, M. B. Society, culture, and drinking patterns. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1962.
- Clinard, M. B. Sociology of deviant behavior. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., 1968.
- Cohen, A. K. Deviance and control. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966.
- Gerwitz, J. L., & Baer, D. M. Deprivation and satiation of social reinforcers as drive conditions. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1958, 57, 165-172.
- Goyins, B. A. Snake tracks. New York: Carlton Press, Inc., 1970.
- Hamilton, J. M. History of Montana from wilderness to statehood: A history of Montana. Portland, Oregon: Binford & Mort, Pub., 1957.
- Hammond, P. B. An introduction to cultural social anthropology. New York: Macmillan Company, 1972.

- Holder, H. D., & Stratas, N. E. A systems approach to alcoholism programming. American Journal of Psychiatry, 1972, 129, 32-37.
- Jacobs, M., & Stern, B. J. College outline series of general anthropology. New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1952.
- Kituse, J. L. Societal reaction to deviant behavior: Problems of theory and method. Social Problems, Winter 1962, pp. 247-256.
- Komaride, K. G. Specific needs and problems characterize rural program. NIAAA/IFS Special Report, NCA Conference. Rockville, Maryland: National Clearinghouse for Alcohol Information, September 3, 1980.
- Leininger, M. Nursing and anthropology: Two worlds to blend. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1970.
- Leininger, M. Transcultural nursing: Concepts, theories and practices. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1978.
- Maddox, G. L., & McCall, B. C. Drinking among teenagers: A sociological interpretation of alcohol use by high school students. Monograph No. 4. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers Center of Alcohol Studies, 1964.
- Malone, M. P., & Roeder, R. B. Montana: A history of two centuries. Seattle, Washington: University of Washington Press, 1976.
- Marshall, M. Alcohol and culture subject of studies. NIAAA Information and Feature Service. Rockville, Maryland: National Clearinghouse for Alcohol Information, June 9, 1980.
- McCall, G. J., & Simmons, J. L. Issues in participant observation. Reading, Massachusetts: Addison Wesley Publishing Company, 1969.
- Mitchell, C. E. Assessment of alcohol abuse. Nursing Outlook, 1976, 24, 511-515.
- Montana Council on Alcoholism, Inc. Facts on alcoholism. Helena, Montana: Montana Council on Alcoholism, Inc., January, 1976.
- Mott, P. E. The organization of society. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965.

National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism. Alcohol treatment of youth. Rockville, Maryland: National Clearinghouse for Abuse and Alcoholism, October 29, 1980.

O'Briant, R. G., Lennard, H. L., Allen, S. D., & Ransom, D. C. Recovery from alcoholism: A social treatment model. Springfield, Illinois: Thomas, 1973.

Parsons, T. The social system. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1961.

Pittman, D. J., & Snyder, C. R. (Eds.). Society, culture and drinking patterns. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1962.

Professional Rodeo Cowboys Association, Inc. Articles of incorporation by-laws and rules. Denver, Colorado: Great American Printing Company, 1979.

Spradley, J. P. The ethnographic interview. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1979.

Staydell, M. R. Individual behavior and group achievement. New York: Oxford University Press, 1959.

Taylor, D. A., & Kleinmans, B. Social psychology. New York: The Free Press, 1976.

Taylor, J. Strategies in planning ethnographic research. Unpublished article presented to WICHEN, Denver, 1980.

Tuckman, B. Development sequences in small groups. Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1965.

U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Alcohol on health: New knowledge. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1974.

Wild sale marked by new records. Miles City Star, May 19, 1980, p. 1.

Wilkinson, R. The prevention of drinking problems: Alcohol control and cultural influence. New York: Oxford University Press, 1970.

MONTANA STATE UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES
stks N378.B964@Theses RL
Rodeo participants : life styles and alc



3 1762 00110102 9

N378
B964
cop 2

Y