

THE PUB, THE VILLAGE AND THE PEOPLE

GEOFFREY HUNT

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For my parents

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this thesis was to investigate the culture of drinking in a rural community. The emphasis on culture in the title was to distinguish it from the type of research normally found in the alcohol field. So much of the literature in alcohol research has been dominated by a concern with alcohol problems.

The research for this thesis was based on two years fieldwork in an East Anglian community and involved extensive participant observation both in the pubs in the village and in the homes of the residents. I examined the way in which drinking both publicly and privately was organised into particular social groups which were based on class, gender, community membership and age.

The major findings of my research were as follows: First I discovered that the pubs in the village did not conform to the popular idea of pubs as public drinking places open to people from different social backgrounds. Instead they tended to reinforce the social divisions which already operated in the community. Second although I had set out to investigate the culture of drinking I found that each social group possessed its own distinctive culture of drinking which determined who drank where, when, with whom and in what way. Moreover none of these cultures were organised solely around drinking but instead were developed around ways of pursuing a particular type of social life. Third I was struck by the fact that in spite of a relatively high consumption of alcohol by some people, drinking was not seen as a social problem.

Finally I attempted to make use of some anthropological ideas to show how group culture worked to control potentially problematic aspects of drinking. I hope that these efforts will be of benefit to researchers involved in the study of alcohol problems.

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CHAPTER ONE: STEPS TOWARDS AN INVESTIGATION: AN INTRODUCTION

1.1. BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Anthropologists have been interested in cultural studies of drinking for a long time but the majority of their work has been done in societies in the Third World. ¹ In order to remedy what seemed a serious omission in the field of alcohol research, I decided to carry out a research project on the culture of drinking in a community in England. I was fortunate to receive initial funding for this project from the Brewers Society. I began the fieldwork at the beginning of 1984 and appointed my wife, Sandra Satterlee, to be my research assistant on the project.

1.2. DECIDING ON A VILLAGE

In order to obtain an overall grasp of the community I decided that the most appropriate size was a village of approximately 1500 people. I felt that this would also allow me to contextualise the use of alcohol within the community. In addition I wanted to find a village with the following characteristics. First it should have at least three pubs which would allow me to make comparisons between them. Second it should have a mixed social class population so that I could compare

possible differences in the use of the pubs and styles and rituals of drinking. Finally I wanted to find a village that was in the process of expanding because I hoped to examine possible differences between the drinking practices of the locals and those of the newcomers.

In my attempt to find the 'perfect' village, I concentrated on East Anglia, partly because of the available sociological and historical information on the region,² and partly because it was close to London.³ Quite soon I was able to locate six possible villages which appeared to be ideal. However, although they possessed all the necessary characteristics they lacked one essential feature - suitable accommodation for myself and my wife. Some of the villages had no rentable accommodation at all, while others offered places at prices which were more suited to Mayfair than to the wilds of East Anglia. In fact as I attempted in vain to find a place to rent I began to realise the accuracy of the point made by both Newby and Strathern⁴ that the indigenous working class were being squeezed out of the villages in which they had been born because all the available accommodation was being bought up by middle class house buyers looking for second homes.

As a result of this setback I decided to reverse my strategy. Instead of attempting to find first the ideal village and then suitable accommodation, I decided initially to look for accommodation and hope that the village possessed some of my

required characteristics. Eventually, through the help of a fellow anthropologist, I found a place to rent in 'Melton' a 'village' of 4000 inhabitants and seven pubs. Choosing a village with this size of population meant that it was now impossible to produce a 'comprehensive' ethnographic coverage of the community in the traditional anthropological sense and I was therefore obliged to adopt a mixture of rural and urban research techniques. Fortunately over the past ten to fifteen years there has been a re-assessment within the discipline of the applicability of 'traditional' anthropological research methods to the investigation of urban communities ⁵ which has gained pace as the traditional focus of anthropological research has shifted from non-industrial to industrial societies. This change of focus has led to a rethinking of research methods and the subsequent development of new research techniques ⁶ as well as the incorporation of research procedures normally found within the realm of sociology.

1.3. METHODS

Research on alcohol use in Britain has relied on questionnaire surveys to gather information on such aspects as rates of regular drinking, amounts of alcohol consumed and the relative effects of gender, social class and age on alcohol consumption. An example of a national survey of this kind can be seen in Paul Wilson's investigation of drinking in England and Wales. ⁷ He investigated differences in alcohol consumption as related to such factors as

age, marital status, occupation, income and region as well as the differential use of various drinking places and weekly drinking patterns.

In addition to national surveys of this type, data has also been collected on attitudes associated with drinking. For example Aitken and Leather in 1982 ⁸ conducted a survey on adult attitudes towards teenage drinking. They questioned a sample of adults in Scotland on a number of issues including young people drinking in bars, introducing children to alcohol in the home and the effects of parental influence on children's drinking behaviour.

These types of research have two major problems. First in relying heavily on the use of structured questionnaires they encounter potentially serious problems of data validity and reliability. According to Pernanen, in addition to the methodological problems associated with inadequate sampling frames, surveys on alcohol consumption face problems of respondents 'forgetting and lying'. More specifically when asked questions about 'typical drinking behaviour', 'people tend to underestimate the frequency of their drinking.....(and)...overestimate the quantities consumed on a 'typical' drinking occasion'. ⁹ Moreover according to Room, in his work on drinking in the U.S., respondents' tendency to underestimate appeared to be related to those areas of the country where 'drinking is not publicly accepted'. ¹⁰

Because of these difficulties some researchers ¹¹ have suggested that a possible way around the problems is to utilise a 'disguised questionnaire' in order to obtain a more accurate account of alcohol consumption. However even this strategy, according to Plant and Miller, has its drawbacks.

The reason for this type of enquiry (the indirect survey) is the known tendency of the alcoholic to deny his symptoms. The hope is that a disguised questionnaire, which includes questions on drinking embedded amongst others relating to a variety of topics, may improve the validity of the responses. The disadvantage of this disguised approach is the necessity for superfluous questions, thus increasing the length of the questionnaire and diminishing the number of relevant questions. ¹²

They might also have noted the dishonesty of such a method.

The second major problem with this research is that it tells us little or nothing about the socio-cultural context of drinking. An example of this failure to examine the social and cultural determinants can be seen in the recent D.H.S.S. survey by Elisabeth Breeze ¹³ on differences in drinking patterns between selected regions. The main purpose of the study was to compare the 'differences in average drinking patterns between two pairs of health regions considered to be at opposite extremes of the consumption/alcohol risk spectrum'. ¹⁴ In doing this, the aim was to examine whether differences in drinking behaviour 'could be explained by different types of residential neighbourhood' ¹⁵ within the regions chosen. The thinking behind this was that individuals are 'heavily influenced by practices and beliefs of those with whom they have the most contact'. ¹⁶

On the face of it, this would appear as a positive move to situate drinking within a socio-cultural context. However, instead of attempting to explain how the culture of a particular neighbourhood or social group may influence drinking, the investigation concentrated on itemising a number of characteristics of drinkers. As a result the major finding of the survey was that heavy drinkers in lower-status, high risk areas were more numerous and drank more than heavy drinkers in lower status, low risk regions. Although this piece of information is of interest we are not given any further data to understand why this should be the case. Moreover even though we are also given further titbits of information such as the discovery that there exists a greater expectation amongst heavy-drinkers in the high-risk, low status areas, that men should cope with their drinking and not get drunk, we are still not supplied with any further information to make sense of such findings.

Therefore, in spite of the desire to examine the effect of different drinking practices and beliefs, this type of survey investigation nevertheless considers the effects of alcohol as quite separate from the social and cultural contexts in which alcohol is used. And yet, as Mandelbaum and others have clearly shown, not only is alcohol a 'cultural artifact' but 'drinking is fundamentally a social act performed in a recognised social context' ¹⁷ and without an appreciation of these factors it is difficult to understand either the role of drinking within our society, or its underlying meanings.

Thus instead of relying on questionnaire type research methods I decided to use participant observation as my main research technique. I felt that this method was the most appropriate research tool in understanding the socio-cultural aspects of drinking. I also hoped that by absorbing what Malinowski called the 'imponderabilia of actual life',¹⁸ through a process of continual observation and interpretation, to begin to understand the different ways in which people 'perceive, cherish and even accentuate their cultural boundaries'.¹⁹ Furthermore I felt that by using such methods it would be possible to counter the research problems of topic sensitivity and subsequent problems of data bias.

1.4. INITIAL ENTRY

Anthropologists and sociologists have noted three problems when entering a fieldwork setting. The first issue relates to the role of the researcher. Does the researcher attempt to adopt a particular role in the community for example teacher or 'expert'²⁰ or does the researcher allow the residents 'to define the ethnographer in terms which are familiar to them'?²¹ Both possibilities have potential problems. For example, Berreman, while conducting research in the Himalayas, gathered information on the subject of agriculture assuming that this would be an 'innocuous' area of investigation. However this role 'led to the rumour that the research team were government agents assessing land for tax purposes'.²²

In my own case my presence caused no real suspicion partly because of the size of the village and partly because the people of Melton were used to seeing newcomers. Hence my wife and I were seen as yet another couple who had come to settle in the village. In fact one of the first questions I was asked was 'How long have you been here?' followed by 'Why did you choose Melton?'. Interestingly enough, although I told them I was an anthropologist, they tended to think of me as a historian doing research on the history of the pubs. This type casting continued until the media found out about my research and decided to visit the village. This led to our being interviewed on television and radio. As a result of this coverage, the residents appeared to accept my true identity more easily, though not necessarily with any greater understanding of my research purpose.

How to become integrated into the social groups in the community was the second problem which I faced when I started research in the village. The ability to join any social grouping entails convincing the group members that the researchers are 'acceptable' enough to be able to share in the group activities. However acceptance is not only a question of an individual's appropriateness for it may also be related to the degree of cohesiveness that exists between group members. If the group is loosely structured then it may be easier for the researcher to gain entry than in the case of a group with a more formal or rigid structure. In the latter case a researcher may have to fulfil the various criteria of membership before being allowed to

join. Moreover, in some fieldwork settings it may also be the case that the very differences between the researcher and the group members may in fact promote acceptance. For example Diamond²³ discusses the case of the researchers being taken up by the group as a 'symbol of importance' because of the fact that they were different. In my own case my ability to gain acceptance by different social groups in Melton depended to a large extent on their social class. For example in the case of the middle class group my entry and acceptance was relatively rapid partly because I was seen as being middle class. However it took much longer before I was accepted by the working class group.

Third, the way in which an investigator enters the fieldwork setting can determine not merely the speed with which he is able to 'integrate' into the community but also the type and range of information that is made available to him. This feature which Bell and Newby²⁴ have referred to as 'sponsorship' is often more a matter of luck than of planning. For as they have noted, William Whyte in 'Street Corner Society'²⁵ was extremely fortunate to be adopted by Doc.

But what if Whyte had been adopted by someone else, say in a gang that was about to split - would he then have had such insight into the other half of the gang...It is by no means certain that in a fieldwork situation the fieldworker will be adopted by the most prominent individual, he may get attached to less socially secure characters lower in the pecking order.²⁶

Therefore I decided that the most appropriate way to enter the social life of the village was to commence my work in the pubs.

I had already come to the decision that it would be impossible to cover all seven pubs adequately consequently I decided to examine only four in detail. I eliminated two of them immediately because they had become restaurants and, although the bars were used by daily drinkers, they tended to be used more by people who had come there for a meal. Because of this special character, I decided not to include them in my sample which meant that I then had to choose four out of the remaining five. I found this to be more difficult. I chose two of them because of their obvious social class contrast (one appealed to middle class customers, while the other appealed more to a working class clientele) and then decided upon a third pub because of its location in the village. This pub was separated from the rest of the village by a by-pass and as a result of this geographical separation it relied for some of its business on passing vehicles.

After I had made this decision, I was left with choosing the final pub. I was guided in this choice by information given to me by an informant who told me that one of the pubs was not popular and as a result attracted only a small and often irregular clientele. Furthermore my initial experiences there had not been particularly pleasant because the young male customers had made some blatantly sexist comments about my wife. Therefore I decided not to investigate this pub. In fact as it turned out I had inadvertently made the right decision because soon after I had begun the fieldwork the landlord became bankrupt and the pub

was subsequently closed down and sold for conversion into private homes.

My next task was to make contact and attempt to integrate into the various social groupings. This was improved by the very fact that I had decided to begin my research in the pubs which, as many writers have noted, can play an important role as meeting places. Indeed my task was made even easier by the help I received from some of the landlords who, once having discovered the true purpose of my visits to the pubs, spent a good deal of time suggesting people who might be useful for me to meet and get to know. They were also particularly helpful in providing me with information on the various changes that had occurred both in the pubs and the village.

However being introduced by the landlords to particular individuals did have one drawback. Once I had become linked to a particular group in a pub it became very difficult for me to make contact with any of the other groups. For example in one of the pubs I initially got to know the older regulars and hence whenever I was in the pub I would renew my friendship with them. This meant that increasingly I became identified with this particular group and my ability to make contact with a younger group was impaired. Moreover this latter group saw me as only being interested in socialising with the old men and having no interest in meeting the younger people in the village. Many ethnographers have discussed this problem. For example Hammersley

and Atkinson note that:

to one degree or another, the ethnographer will be channelled in line with existing networks of friendship and enmity, territory and equivalent boundaries. Having been 'taken up' by a sponsor, the ethnographer may find it difficult to achieve independence from such a person, finding the limits of his or her research bounded by the social horizon of a sponsoring group or individual. Such social and personal commitments may, like gatekeepers' blocking ²⁷ tactics, close off certain avenues of inquiry.

In my own case this problem was modified because I was conducting research in a number of pubs, which allowed me to meet people in different social groups.

1.5. FIELDWORK PROCEDURE

Initially, when I first arrived in the village, we had shared a house with another anthropologist who lived in the village, however after four months I found alternative rented accommodation in a 'Granny annexe'.²⁸ By moving into our own place we were now much freer to act as an independent couple and invite people into our home. We began to entertain as much as possible. In addition to individuals 'dropping in' for a coffee during the day or a drink in the evening, I invited people for informal drinks, after the pub on Saturday and Sunday afternoons, informal parties and formal dinner parties. This type of home entertaining followed the pattern adopted by our middle class informants. Our working class friends did not appear to entertain at home except when one of the women invited a couple of her female friends for a coffee.

As well as entertaining at home I organised our fieldwork schedule in the following way. The week began on a Friday evening when I arrived in the village with my wife and daughter. I then remained in the village until Sunday evening when I returned to London accompanied by my daughter. My wife then continued the fieldwork until Wednesday lunchtime. Although this was the general pattern, I also came up to the village on a Wednesday or Thursday if there was a special event taking place, such as a charity function at one of the pubs. I also made spot visits to the village on days when I was not regularly there in order to check the numbers and types of customers at the pubs. I had decided to organise the fieldwork in this way partly because of my daughter's schooling and my other academic commitments and also because more social events, both inside and outside the pub, took place at the week-ends. During the holiday periods I varied our time in the village depending on what was going on and sometimes I would arrange to spend longer stretches of time in the village.

I structured each research day around pub opening hours and we would monitor each of the chosen pubs. In general whenever I was in the village, we conducted the research as a couple, however there were particular times or events when only one of us would do the research. For example on a Sunday morning I attended the Applecourt pub on my own, because it was frequented by the young men from the football club and it seemed that I stood a better chance of becoming 'one of the lads' if I went there on my own.

(In fact as it happened, in comparison with my ability to gain acceptance by the older working class men or by the middle class couples, I was in general unsuccessful in gaining real integration in the social life of these men).²⁹ Another example of a special event that I attended on my own was that of the football club stag night which was centred around a strip show. For the same reasons my wife attended the women's darts evenings on her own.

During our time at the pubs, we monitored the numbers of people, their gender and ages, the types of drinks they consumed and the conversations they had. After we left the pub and returned home, we always tried to write up our fieldnotes immediately, however on a number of occasions, especially after an evening drinking session when we were both tired and had probably consumed too much alcohol, the writing up of the notes was left until the morning. In addition to writing up these notes we also spent a good deal of time discussing what had occurred, what we had discovered and on a couple of occasions, we argued about what information should be included in the notes and what information should be kept private. This dialogue between us was very important in assisting me to make sense of the data that we were collecting.

As well as spending time at the pubs we also attended other social events in the village for example Conservative party wine and cheese evenings, a charity barbecue, the women's institute

fashion shows and village fetes. Finally my wife also went to a number of classes at the village college. During the fieldwork she attended a local history class, from which I was able to obtain very useful information on the history of the pubs and the village. She also went to classes on literature, tennis and disco dancing. In the dancing class, because of her earlier training in dance and classical ballet, she became quite a star and was entered by the teacher for various competitions. Her ability to disco dance and rock and roll - a dance that was just coming back into fashion - proved to be of great value at the parties we attended. I had hoped that my wife's attendance at these classes would help us to gain access to a social group which did not go to the pubs. However this strategy was of only limited use for although she was occasionally invited by one of the women for a coffee or snack during the day, as a couple we were only once invited to dinner.

1.6. CONCLUSION

As the fieldwork progressed, and we became increasingly integrated into the social life of people in the pubs, I found that we were concentrating on developing the most productive contacts and it became clear that our ability to monitor the more general social life of the village was diminishing. As a result, this research thesis cannot in any way be seen as an overall picture of the village and instead is a discussion and analysis of the public, and in the case of the middle class group, the

private drinking life of people who were regular customers at three pubs. However I do not feel that this narrowing of research focus takes away from the importance of this piece of research. For it became increasingly clear that my initial and seemingly straightforward aim of investigating the parameters of 'normal drinking within a socio-cultural context' was in fact much more complex than I had anticipated. For I was soon to discover that to investigate drinking is to open a window onto a much wider social world. Although I had initially started the work to focus on normal drinking in the village, I soon came to realise that not only was drinking an essential component of social life but much more interestingly a key indicator of social differences. The way we drink, the people we drink with, the places in which we drink and the times that we do it are all signs of our social position - a social position which is determined by factors far beyond the limits of a glass of beer. Hence this investigation goes far outside the parameters of alcohol research and instead begins to shed light on our notions of the English village and on class and gender divisions. All of these features of stratification are reflected in the social world of drinking.

CHAPTER ONE: FOOTNOTES

1. For a fuller discussion of the anthropological literature on alcohol see Dwight Heath 1975 and 1987.
2. See for example E.J.Hobsbawm and G.Rude 1973, H.Newby 1977, 1978, 1980 and J.Saville 1957.
3. At the time of the project I was also involved in another piece of research in London and therefore it was essential for me to be able to commute between the two places.
4. H.Newby 1979 and M.Strathern 1982.
5. P.Gutkind 1974 and U.Hammerz 1980.
6. S.Wallman 1980.
7. P. Wilson 1980.
8. P.P.Aitken and D.S.Leather 1982.
9. K.Pernanen 1974, p.362.
10. Ibid. 366.

11. R.H.Wilkins 1974.
12. M.Plant and T.-I.Miller 1977 p.21.
13. E. Breeze 1985.
14. Ibid. 1985, p.1.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. D.G.Mandelbaum 1965.
18. B.Malinowski 1922, p.18.
19. A.Cohen 1982, p.9.
20. For a further discussion of the role of researcher see
R.H.Wax, 1971.
21. Ibid. p.113.
22. G.D.Berreman, 1962.
23. N.Diamond. 1970.

24. C.Bell and H.Newby 1971.
25. W.Whyte 1955.
26. C.Bell and H.Newby, op. cit. p.59.
27. M.Hammersley and P.Atkinson 1983, p.73.
28. Prior to her death, one of the men in the village had built an extension to his house so that his mother could live close to him but independently.
29. I think that my inability to play darts and football contributed greatly to my difficulties in adequately integrating into the world of young male football players.

CHAPTER TWO: ALCOHOL AND THE SOCIAL SCIENCES: AN OVERVIEW.

Social Scientists in Britain have had a professional interest in the topic of alcohol consumption for the last 100 years. ¹ This interest has generated a wide range of responses from all the major disciplines. For example psychologists have concentrated on the individuals' relationship to alcohol, economists have examined the cost benefit effects of alcohol consumption and sociologists have investigated such issues as vagrancy and different types of treatment for alcohol problems. However cutting across these diverse approaches there has existed a sharp division between those writers who have concentrated on the problems of alcohol and those who have investigated its use within a socio-cultural context. This division reflects our own society's contradictory attitudes towards drinking. For while, on the one hand, we see alcohol as a potentially harmful substance which needs to be tightly controlled and monitored, on the other hand we look on it as an important component of our social fabric. Of these two contrasting perspectives it is the former which has dominated the field of alcohol studies while writers who have examined the wider social context of drinking have played a very small part.

2.1. ALCOHOL AS A PROBLEM

Writers within this framework, whilst agreeing that there is a definite problem associated with alcohol have nevertheless spent an enormous amount of time disagreeing about the nature of the problem and its precise aetiology. Most writers ² within the alcohol field have pinpointed the writings of Benjamin Rush ³ an American physician and Thomas Trotter ⁴ an English physician as the starting points for discussions on the history of alcoholism. However a recent article by Roy Porter ⁵ shows that attempts to define the precise nature of an alcohol problem can be traced back to medical writers in Georgian England. For example, Porter shows how George Cheyne ⁶ and Thomas Wilson ⁷ had discussed the progressive dependency on alcohol, which once it had gained a hold, led to:

a progressive enslavement to the alcohol habit, that downward spiral in which alcohol gave stimulus, stimulus was followed by depression and stomach disorder, which could be obliterated only by more powerful draughts of alcohol, until victims would reach a state where they were so 'habituated' they 'could be justly reckoned among the dead'. ⁸

However although Porter shows that 'the formulation of the disease concept of alcoholism was not the inspiration of a single pioneer', ⁹ both Rush and Trotter are important because they systematically discuss the nature of the problem. In 1786, Rush published 'An enquiry into the Effects of Ardent Spirits upon the Human Body and Mind'. ¹⁰ He defined inebriety as an 'odious' disease from which the individual 'could no more control his drinking impulses than he could control a convulsive movement of his arm or foot which took place in spite of his will'. ¹¹ He identified a number of

contradictory symptoms which included garrulity, unusual silence, captiousness and a disposition to quarrel, uncommon good humour, an insipid simpering or laugh, profane swearing and cursing, a disclosure of their own or other people's secrets, a rude disposition to tell those persons in company whom they know their faults, immodesty (especially in women), the clipping of words in speaking, fighting and certain extravagant acts which indicate a temporary fit of madness. ¹² Rush also identified certain signs of madness which were related to the disease. These included:

singing, hallooing, roaring, imitating the noises of brute animals, jumping, tearing off clothes, dancing naked, breaking glasses and china and dashing other articles of household furniture upon the ground or floor. ¹³

In addition to various symptoms, Rush, like Wilson and Cheyne, was also important because he saw the disease as a progressive disorder that would develop slowly.

It belongs to the history of drunkenness that its paroxysms occur, like the paroxysms of many diseases, at certain periods, and after longer or shorter intervals. They often begin with annual, and gradually increase in their frequency until they appear in quarterly, monthly, weekly and quonian or daily periods. ¹⁴

Moreover he suggested a series of therapeutic measures to combat the disorder which included 'Plunging the body into cold water, terror, the excitement of anger, severe whippings, sweats, bleeding, shaming etc.' ¹⁵ In fact, as Paredes notes, it would appear that Rush pioneered a form of aversion therapy.

The association of the idea of ardent spirits, with a painful or disagreeable impression upon some part of the body has sometimes cured the love of strong drink. I once tempted a Negro man, who was habitually fond of ardent spirits, to drink some rum...and in which I had placed a few grains of tartar emetic - the tartar sickened and puked him to such a degree, that he supposed himself to be poisoned. I was much gratified by observing he could not

bear the sight nor smell of spirits for two years afterwards. ¹⁶

Thomas Trotter's 'Essay on Drunkenness', which was published in 1804, was one of the earliest attempts in England to confront the problem.

In medical language, I consider drunkenness, strictly speaking to be a disease produced by a remote cause, and giving birth to actions and movements in the living body, that disorder the functions of health. ¹⁷

Trotter's treatise was written as part of his medical degree at the University of Edinburgh. Like Rush, Trotter saw drunkenness as an addiction and a 'disease of the mind' which was developed over time and eventually led to the diseased state. Trotter was also important because of his attempt at wresting the disease of drunkenness from the clutches of 'moralists and parsons' and placing it firmly into its 'rightful domain, medicine' where it would be managed not by evocations of sin and vice but seen as a 'disease of the mind' to be 'managed by the discerning physician'. ¹⁸

Trotter was followed by Von Bruhl-Cramer, ¹⁹ a German physician, who argued in 1819, that individuals who are prone to excessive drinking are suffering from the disease of 'dipsomania'.

Dipsomania consists of an increased impulse, or an involuntary desire for the use of ardent spirits. Since we cannot make such an impulse into an actual concept, but rather at best only into a symbolic representation we must take into consideration other analogous specific impulses. For example, we see not uncommonly in phlegmatic diseases an involuntary desire for salty and hot substances...in the intermittent fever a desire for very uncommon and in that respect damaging foods; and who does not know of the often strange desires of pregnant women? ²⁰

Having defined dipsomania he then subdivided the disease into several varieties: periodic, decreasing, intermittent and continuous. Of these it was the continuous variety that was the most serious.

After a restless, dream-filled, and not refreshing night's sleep, the dipsomaniac awakens with especially unpleasant and very annoying feelings. He is very sullen and inclined to anger, has a tremor in all his limbs, feels nauseated and has a tendency to vomit....he speaks out very briskly of his need for brandy....After he has drunk a portion, he feels somewhat cheered, and his usual depressed and confused physiognomy is a bit livelier....he appears more satisfied with himself and his surroundings than before. But after a certain - and often very short - time the last effects have disappeared....and the desire for brandy comes anew, and he drinks again...So goes the whole day and so every day. ²¹

A fourth important early writer was Magnus Huss. Born in 1807, he studied medicine at the University of Uppsala in Sweden. His most famous work was the book 'Chronische Alkoholskrankheit oder Alcoholismus Chronicus'. ²² His work is especially important, according to Bynum, because he was the first writer, not merely to coin the term 'chronic alcoholism' but also because he defined the disease in strictly clinical terms and gave it the most sensitive clinical treatment of the 19th century.

This form of disease corresponds with chronic poisoning, and stands on the one hand very near a form of secale cornutum poisoning, and on the other hand is not unlike certain symptoms of lead and arsenic poisoning. This group of symptoms I wish to designate by the name alcoholismus chronicus, by which I understand those pathologic symptoms which develop in such persons who over a long period of time continually use wine or other alcoholic beverages in large quantities. ²³

As a result of the work done by these writers, the approach towards a definition of the disease became increasingly scientific and medical and the responsibility for the 'deviant behaviour' associated with it was shifted from the individual to that of an illness which could be subjected to treatment and therapy.

Today most writers adhering to this model use the work of E. M. Jellinek²⁴ as their starting point. Jellinek was the first director of the Yale Research Centre of Alcohol Studies which was established in the early 1940's.²⁵ Jellinek formulated and codified 'the various meanings of the disease concept as it had developed over the previous century and a half'.²⁶ He initially used the term alcoholism to refer to those individuals whose excessive drinking is brought about by some physical or psychological pathology which necessitates medical and psychiatric treatment.

This early formulation was based on responses to a questionnaire administered to members of Alcoholics Anonymous in the U.S.²⁷ Later he modified his definition to 'any use of alcoholic beverages that causes any damage to the individual or society or both'.²⁸ Having defined the term alcoholism Jellinek then went on to distinguish five distinct species. These were alpha alcoholism which 'represented a purely psychological continual dependence or reliance upon the effect of alcohol to relieve bodily or emotional pain',²⁹ beta alcoholism which was 'that species of alcoholism in which such alcoholic complications as polyneuropathy, gastritis and cirrhosis

of the liver may occur without either physical or psychological dependence upon alcohol', ³⁰ gamma alcoholism 'in which 1) acquired increased tissue tolerance to alcohol, 2) adaptive cell metabolism 3) withdrawal symptoms and craving....and 4) loss of control are involved', ³¹ delta alcoholism whereby 'the first three characteristics of gamma alcoholism' are present but instead of the fourth characteristic that of loss of control, there exists the 'inability to abstain' ³² and finally epsilon alcoholism which was the equivalent of dipsomania.

Jellinek's overall conceptualisation of alcoholism has been fundamentally important in alcohol research. As Heather and Robertson have noted:

his conception of alcoholism has become dominant in medical and psychiatric circles. This is not to say that the complexity and subtlety of Jellinek's thought have been retained, but that his view of alcoholism as a disease characterised by a form of pharmacological addiction based on physiopathological changes, which are caused in turn by prolonged excessive drinking, has been widely accepted. ³³

His concepts were assimilated by medical and psychiatric circles; they were also adopted by the general public. As a result of his theories the general population became divided into two groups: those that could drink without any consequences and those that could not. The latter group were the alcoholics who because they could never be cured of their disease could never drink again.

Although Jellinek's influence has been marked within the field of studies on alcohol problems, there is still little agreement as to a precise definition of an alcohol problem. This uncertainty can be

seen quite clearly in the attempts by the alcoholism subcommittee of the Expert Committee of the World Health Organisation to find an acceptable definition. In 1951 they defined alcoholism as:

Any form of drinking which in its extent goes beyond the traditional and customary 'dietary' use, or the ordinary compliance with the social drinking customs of the whole community concerned, irrespective of the etiological factors leading to such behaviour and irrespective also of the extent to which such factors are dependent upon hereditary, constitution,³⁴ or acquired physiopathological and metabolic influences.

In 1952 they had a second attempt and came up with the definition:

Alcoholics are those excessive drinkers whose dependence upon alcohol has attained such a degree that it shows a noticeable mental disturbance or an interference with their bodily and mental health, their interpersonal relations, and their smooth social and economic functioning or who show the prodromal signs of³⁵ such developments. They therefore require treatment.

Twelve years later the committee recommended that the term dependence as used in the 1952 definition should replace the notion of addiction, for future purposes. Finally in 1977 the W.H.O. produced a further publication entitled 'Alcohol Related Disabilities'.³⁶ This publication owed much to the work of Griffith Edwards, who in 1976 with M.M. Gross had outlined the notion of the Alcohol Dependence Syndrome in which they attempted to take account of the increasing body of evidence which called into question the notion that alcoholism could be seen as a 'discrete entity'. They outlined a set or cluster of characteristics which need not necessarily 'always be present, or present in the same degree',³⁷ nor was it necessary that there be any 'causal nexus as to why these phenomena cluster in such a fashion'.³⁸ In fact the syndrome was described as merely a clinician's 'working tool' which was said to

possess the following 'core elements': 1) narrowing of the drinking repertoire, 2) salience of drink seeking-behaviour, 3) increased tolerance to alcohol, 4) repeated withdrawal symptoms, 5) relief or avoidance of withdrawal symptoms by drinking, 6) subjective awareness of compulsion to drink and 7) re-instatement after abstinence.

In all these various attempts to define the problem, there nevertheless appears to be general agreement that first the starting point for research is that the excessive use of alcohol produces a recognisable condition in people, causing physical, emotional and social problems that have the same deleterious results as severe physical illness. Second, that this condition can be treated medically though its cure or containment may require therapeutic treatment for the individual and professional help to deal with the accompanying social problems which may be both the cause and the result of drinking. Third most writers agree that it is possible to divide the general population into two groupings the 'normal' drinkers and the 'abnormal' or 'problem' drinkers, although there may be disagreement about the dividing line between these two groups and the precise or key characteristics that identify the latter group.

2.2. ALCOHOL WITHIN A SOCIO-CULTURAL CONTEXT

In contrast to those writers who have sought to discover the aetiology of alcoholism, a smaller number of social scientists have examined the use of alcohol and attitudes towards it within a socio-cultural context. These writers can be sub-divided into a two groups.

2.2.i. THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONISTS

The first group, the Social Constructionists, although still interested in alcohol as a social problem nevertheless, sought to examine the way in which the problem was defined and constructed. They were heavily influenced by the labelling and interactionist school of deviancy. As Taylor has noted, these theorists rejected the 'genetic, psychological or multifactoral accounts of crime and deviance which stress the absolute nature of the causes of criminality or deviance'.³⁹ They emphasised the nature of social rules and 'the social reaction aimed at individuals who contravene such rules'.⁴⁰ Unlike those theorists who had attempted to uncover the causes of alcoholism, the social constructionists saw the inherent uncertainty of the concept of alcoholism as a prime focus of their work. To them the arbitrariness of the definition was a clear indication that alcoholism, drunkenness and problem drinking were categories which were socially constructed and differentially applied in different cultures and at different times in history. For example, social constructionists like Conrad and Schneider examined the way in which alcoholism was regarded as sin in the Middle Ages (when a religious conception of the world prevailed), as a crime in

the era of developing factory production (when drink posed a threat to the growth of a sober hard working labour force necessary to the profits of industrial capitalism), and as an illness today. They argue that along with other forms of disturbing behaviour it is now recognised as an illness which can be treated by medical science. Therefore they explain the notion of alcoholism as a disease not so much in terms of real advances in medical knowledge but as a part of the overall development of rationality in the Western World and the hegemonic claims of science to be the only legitimate basis for knowledge. Hence the emphasis of this perspective is on the way in which some behaviours in certain circumstances become problematic while others do not. It is therefore the definers and the process of defining which are to be analysed, rather than the activities in question which become shadowy and devoid of objective features.

Although the social constructionists have examined drinking within a social, cultural and political context and have called into question the way in which particular groups in society define the behaviour of others as unacceptable, they have nevertheless tended to remain within the realm of problem drinking. Therefore in order to examine a discussion of the day to day usage of alcohol which is the focus of this work we must turn to the second group of writers who have examined day to day drinking practices.

2.2.ii. EVERYDAY PRACTICES OF ALCOHOL USE

Anthropologists have concentrated on the normal use of alcohol and its attendant rituals and customs. In fact this overt concentration by anthropologists on the non-problematic use of alcohol has led one writer to accuse the discipline of 'systematically underestimating' alcohol problems.⁴¹ However anthropologists have not only traced the everyday uses of alcohol they have also attempted to relate the type of drinking behaviour and practices to the social organisation and culture of the society.

These two aspects have been present in anthropological accounts of alcohol use since the earliest writings. For example Buckland writing in 1878 on the 'Ethnological hints afforded by the stimulants in use among the savages and among the ancients',⁴² not only catalogues the different types of alcohol found in different parts of the world, but also traces the relationship between the type of agricultural system and the form of alcohol produced.

Where the agricultural skill is of that imperfect and primitive type which consists in the cultivation of roots and fruits only, these fermented drinks are commonly mild in character, and composed of roots or herbs prepared in a peculiar manner; but whenever the cereals are cultivated, we generally find a sort of beer prepared from the principal cereal, and forming the chief beverage of the people, whilst fruit wines form the luxury of the rich and infusions of plants and herbs unfermented, continue to be used as agreeable and refreshing or medicinal beverages.⁴³

Buckland's work was followed by Emerson's two volume encyclopedic account of the different types of alcohol found in societies throughout the world.⁴⁴ His aim was to fill an important gap within the social science literature at the time.

Thousand of tomes have been written upon anthropology and

ethnology, and to hazard a guess as to what has been done in reference to sociology would be presumptuous, yet, withal, very little, comparatively speaking, has been written upon the subject of gastronomy. ⁴⁵

In order to fill this particular lacuna he set out to examine the various types of alcohol produced and their accompanying rituals in countries as diverse as Tibet, Siam, Madagascar, Mauritius, Palestine, Egypt, Turkey, Cyprus, Timor, Ireland, North America, Spain, Portugal, Scotland, and even Lapland and Transylvania. In each of these cases he gives a detailed account of the types of alcohol produced, the techniques by which it is created and some of the ceremonies which accompany its consumption. He was able to do this by analysing many accounts of drinking written by missionaries, explorers, amateur anthropologists and government officials.

However, although Buckland and Emerson had examined the types of alcohol found in different countries, it was not until 1940 that the first sophisticated comparative analysis was done. Bunzel compared the role of alcohol in two Central American communities, the Chamula in Mexico and the Chichicastenago in Guatemala. ⁴⁶ Her account was distinctive because:

the drinking customs and drinking behaviour of these two contrasting Indian communities.....are viewed in relation to the economic, social and religious institutions and in relation to the distinctively structured character of the people whose life is shaped by these institutions. ⁴⁷

Horton, using the Cross-Cultural survey data bank at Yale University, gave fresh impetus to comparative cross-cultural studies when he compared the use of alcohol in 56 societies. Horton's aim

was 'not to initiate an analysis of drinking behaviour within the context of one society, but rather to take the first steps in the development of a general psychocultural theory of the use of alcoholic beverages'.⁴⁸ His psychocultural theory contained the following hypothesis:

1. The drinking of alcohol tends to be accompanied by the release of sexual and aggressive impulses.
2. The strength of the drinking response in any society tends to vary directly with the level of anxiety in that society.
3. The strength of the drinking response tends to vary inversely with the strength of the counter-anxiety elicited by painful experiences during and after drinking.⁴⁹

The study published in 1943 was to become a landmark in cross-cultural studies and as Heath has noted, it 'served as a model for future studies'.⁵⁰ For example Field re-examined Horton's data and concluded that Horton's study was too simplistic. Field argued that sobriety was not merely related to levels of anxiety but more importantly was positively correlated to specific aspects of formal organisation, which included corporate kin groups, patrilocal residence at marriage, approach to a clan-community organisation, presence of bride-price and a village settlement pattern.⁵¹

However, it is interesting to note that, in spite of the importance of Horton's analysis in moulding future anthropological research, one key feature of his work has been neglected by anthropologists. Horton stated that one of his major aims in analysing drinking in

'primitive societies' was to use the results to further an understanding and analysis of drinking in industrially developed societies. With a few notable exceptions, ⁵² Anthropologists have concentrated their attention on drinking in the Third World and have shown little interest in examining drinking practices in their own societies. Hence although it was clear to me that anthropological studies of drinking would be the most useful for my investigation, especially because of their concern with the importance of culture, it was also apparent that they may have certain drawbacks for my analysis. As we will see in the next chapter anthropological perspectives on drinking have concentrated on the importance of drinking as a cohesive and integrative mechanism. This emphasis while nevertheless important has serious limitations for an analysis of drinking in a highly stratified industrialised society.

CHAPTER TWO: FOOTNOTES

1. For a further discussion of the early involvement of the Social Science Association and the study of drinking see R.M. MacLeod, 1967 and J.Mellor, G.Hunt, J.Turner and L.Rees, 1986.
2. See for example N.Heather and I.Robertson, 1985 and J.T.Marconi, 1959.
3. B.Rush, 1812.
4. T.Trotter, 1804.
- 5 R.Porter, 1985.
6. G.Cheyne, 1724.
7. T.Wilson, 1736.
8. R.Porter, op. cit., p.392.
9. Ibid., p.393.
10. B.Rush, op. cit.
11. W.F.Bynum, 1968, p.167.

12. For a further discussion see P.Conrad and J.Schneider, 1980, p.79.
13. Ibid.
14. H.G.Levine, 1978, p.152.
15. A.Paredes, 1976, p.17.
16. Ibid.
17. J.T.Marconi, op. cit., p.223.
18. R.Porter, op. cit., p.390.
19. C.Von Bruhl-Cramer, 1870.
20. W.F.Bynum, op. cit., p.170.
21. Ibid., p. 171.
22. M.Huss, 1849.
23. W.F.Bynum, op. cit., p.181.
24. E.M. Jellinek's first important work on alcohol addiction was published in 1946.

25. The centre, which was later moved to Rutgers University in New Jersey, was particularly important not only for its research work in alcohol problems but also for the publication of the Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol, later to become the Journal of Studies on Alcohol, the key international publication on alcohol research.
26. P.Conrad and J.Schneider, op. cit., p.90.
27. A.A. began in the U.S. in the late 1940's and today is considered to be the largest self-help group in the world. See D. Robinson, 1979.
28. E.M.Jellinek, 1960, p.35.
29. Ibid., p.36.
30. Ibid., p.37.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid., p.38.
33. N.Heather and I.Robertson, 1983, p.13.
34. D.L.Davies, 1976, p.56.

35. Ibid., p.57.
36. G.Edwards and M.M.Gross, et. al. 1977.
37. G.Edwards and M.M.Gross, ibid., p.137.
38. Ibid.
39. I.Taylor, et. al. 1973, p.140.
40. Ibid.
41. R.Room, 1984.
42. A.W.Buckland, 1878.
43. Ibid., p.240.
44. E.R.Emerson, 1908.
45. Ibid., p.1.
46. R.Bunzel, 1940.
47. D.J.Horton, 1943, p.300.
48. Ibid., p.216.

49. Ibid., p.230.
50. D.W Heath, 1975, p.230.
51. P.B.Field, 1962, p.72.
52. Notable exceptions to this are such studies as Mass Observation 1940, S.Cavan 1966, J.P.Spradley 1970, J.P.Spradley and B.J.Mann 1975 and P.Archard 1979.

CHAPTER THREE: THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF DRINKING: A CRITIQUE.

3.1. COHESION AND THE FUNCTIONALIST PARADIGM

The major theme to emerge from the anthropological literature is its emphasis on the cohesive features of drinking. Anthropologists have regarded drinking as a socially integrative act which is crucially important for the harmony and smooth functioning of the community. The use of alcohol is seen as a social cement which along with other group activities binds together the members of the community thereby enhancing group solidarity.

This view of drinking as a cohesive feature of society has its intellectual roots in Durkheimian functionalism which is particularly surprising given the fact that Durkheim paid little attention to the role of alcohol in society. Much of his influence on later anthropology comes from his emphasis on the role of ritual and ceremony in maintaining social cohesion which appears in both the 'Division of Labour' and in the 'Elementary Forms'.¹ Especially in pre-industrial societies held together by 'mechanical solidarity' symbolic activities unite members of the society otherwise immersed in their own separate daily routines. Anthropologists have noted that in 'primitive' or tribal societies these shared rituals often include bouts of ceremonial drinking. For example Krige writing in 1932 noted that

No one can remain long among the Balobedu without being impressed by the part played by beer in the lives of the people. On almost every occasion or ceremony of importance there is beer in evidence at some stage or other - beer passing from one group to another, beer given in honour of someone, beer as a thank-offering - so that, to the Balobedu, beer is not merely an intoxicating drink to be imbibed on festive occasions but has great value, economic, social and religious. ²

The early anthropologists were struck by the way that alcohol pervaded all aspects of the social life of these communities. Moreover they were also struck by the social nature of drinking. For example Bunzel noted that 'In Chamula drinking is a social act. The solitary drinker, or the man who drinks while others abstain is as unknown as the total abstainer'. ³ A point that Mandelbaum emphasised further when he remarked 'drinking is commonly a social rather than a solitary activity'. ⁴ These endemic and for the most part beneficial uses of alcohol must have appeared in sharp contrast to the anthropologists' own and their societies' attitudes towards alcohol. Many Western societies at that time, and especially the U.S., increasingly saw alcohol as a social problem. Moreover other social scientists regarded drinking as an individual habit rather than a group activity. Therefore anthropologists, especially in the light of these differences, tended to emphasise the positive uses of alcohol and specifically the following features:

3.1.i. ALCOHOL AS A SOCIAL LUBRICANT.

Many anthropologists have noted the use of alcohol as a normal accompaniment to social interaction or as Parsons would call it a 'generalised medium of social interaction'. ⁵ For example McNetting argued that amongst the Kofyar:

If we choose to regard social relationships as a series of flows, both material and symbolic, from one individual to another, we can see the overt manifestation and acknowledgement of the most important of these flows among the Kofyar in the giving of beer.⁶

Brandes in a totally different context of a Castillian village bar discovered that 'On Sundays and whenever afternoon work is rendered impossible by the weather, all the men in the community are expected to congregate in the bars, to play cards, drink or just be sociable'.⁷ Finally Mars, in describing drinking amongst longshoremen in Newfoundland, argued that

The role that drink plays is so basic in linking work and non-work roles and one so taken for granted by longshoremen that it can easily be missed by a casual enquirer. When....I was giving a questionnaire designed to find out about leisure, I hardly ever elicited replies about drinking. After several interviews with no mention of it, I gave the questionnaire to a man well known for his drinking. He, too made no mention of his pastime....Don't you ever go drinking with your buddies?...Hell! he replied, I didn't think you counted drinking! Everyone always drinks with their buddies.⁸

Anthropologists described both its use in maintaining and confirming existing social relations as well as its ability to establish new relationships. For example the Balobedu drink beer as a way of gradually drawing together two families who are about to become related through marriage.

The visits of the boy to the girl's Kraal, after they have become formally betrothed, extend over a number of years and are not directly concerned with courting the girl..They are largely the means of drawing the two families more closely together. The tsetse as the bridegroom is called, is an honoured guest and is always treated with great hospitality. A beer party is usually given in his honour.⁹

In this example alcohol assisted in establishing the relationship by acting as gift through which the individuals became also entwined by a relationship of reciprocity. In this case alcohol played a double

function. Firstly it operated as a social lubricant and secondly as a social exchange item which had to be returned either in the form of more alcohol or in some other goods or services. Karp, for example, described the way in which:

Large scale tasks, such as the mudding or thatching of houses, are also performed by groups of persons 'working for beer'. The economic motive for giving beer parties is particularly apparent during the weeding and harvesting seasons, but these sorts of beer parties are to be found at all times of the year...The provision of beer for labour is not direct. It is part of a complex series of reciprocal exchanges...Beer is not the item exchanged for labour in communal forms of co-operation among the Iteso. The beer party is instead the vehicle through which co-operation is achieved. ¹⁰

3.1.ii. ALCOHOL AS A COMPONENT OF FORMAL SOCIAL ACTIVITIES

Anthropologists have concentrated on two areas: the economic and the religious. ¹¹

3.1.ii.a. The Economic

Writers have shown the economic importance of alcohol both in its own right and as a medium of exchange. In fact in some societies alcohol is the main currency through which all economic transactions are conducted. McNetting, in his work on the Kofyar, showed the way in which beer was used both as a payment for taxes and as 'a major source of ready cash'. ¹² Its role as an exchange item was also emphasised by Krige, for instance in paying for the services of the specialist skin cutter, ¹³ and by McNetting as a payment for voluntary labour.

The majority of all voluntary labour is repaid in beer. Hoeing and harvesting, stone corral building, the preparation of building mud, and the gathering of thatching grass are all occasions on which a beer party can mobilize large work groups without reference to kinship or

neighbourhood affiliation.¹⁴

Finally Sansom, in his work on the Aborigines, illustrated this economic role of alcohol within a particular drinking context. Alcohol was the payment for the services of a 'Masterful Man' at a 'grogging session'. The Masterful Man prevented the participants from being harmed by evil spirits which could easily penetrate the alcohol. In exchange for this service he was provided with an adequate supply of canned beer.

Keeping a Masterful Man in beer is, for the common drinker the price of drinking under authority. The common reward is protection, the relative safety of drinking in a situation where control is guaranteed by a masterful presence.¹⁵

Anthropologists, in addition to emphasising the economic role of alcohol have also shown its importance in trade. One of the striking examples of this was its use in the trading relationships between the Europeans and the people of the Third World. For example alcohol was used to lubricate trade between the Khoikhoi and the Dutch. Willem Ten Rhyne, writing in 1686, noted that during negotiations an extra 'few jars of brandy' were used because 'for the most part the natives are great drinkers'.¹⁶

In a similar way alcohol was used by the Europeans to encourage the native people of North America to trade.

Alcohol was used as an inducement to participate as a medium of exchange, and as a standard of competitive success. Alexander Henry of the Northwest company has indicated that it was company practice to give out liquor as a means of encouraging payment of debts, to get Natives to provide provisions for the subsistence of the trappers as well as traps for furs.¹⁷

In fact alcohol became so important in these economic transactions that it soon became a crucially important trading item.

Bishop in his analysis of the role of the Hudson Bay Company in fur trading with the Ojibwa, found that between 1780 and 1829 brandy, rum and wine were so important a medium of exchange that a shortage of these items in spring or summer could mean the difference between a poor or a successful season.¹⁸

3.1.ii.b. The Religious

Anthropologists have not only emphasised the role of alcohol in fulfilling obligations between the living but also between the living and the dead. They have emphasised the way in which ancestors or spirits are seen to demand an alcohol tribute from the living, which when provided, will put them in a good frame of mind. The Tiriki, for example, believed that dealings with their ancestors should be carried out in a similar way to their daily dealings with each other. They showed friendship and hospitality by serving food and wine. Hence when they came to 'beseech their ancestors' they ate the sacrificial food, drank the beer and then left offerings of food and beer to supplicate the ancestral spirits.

All Tiriki agree that the ancestral spirits have a special predilection for beer, indeed the presence of beer is believed to be a beacon that will make ancestral spirits aware of a special occasion...Once attracted by the beer, the ancestral spirits are supposed to be flattered if they discover that they have not been forgotten at the festive gathering.¹⁹

Karp has also dealt extensively with the ritualised religious use of beer drinking. In his discussion of the burial and mortuary ceremonies, he showed how beer was used as an 'instrumental symbol'

to mark the five stages of the ritual.

Each stage is a step in the progress of the dead person from the world of the living to the world of the dead. A different sector of his or her social personality emerges at each different stage of the ritual complex.²⁰

To mark the different stages a particular type of beer was brewed by a specific group of individuals. For example at the first stage after the funeral the beer was brewed by the married women of the household, whereas at the third stage six months after the funeral, it was prepared by the women of the home and the daughters who had married out. Within each of the ceremonies:

it is the beer party that is the vehicle for the enactment of the ritual and one of the means by which the purpose of the ritual is achieved. Through the medium of the sharing of drink a ritual congregation emerges.²¹

Moreover the rituals and beer ceremonies were perceived both as important for the bereaved and for encouraging the spirits of the dead - the Ipara - to participate.

One of the reasons that Iteso give for performing mortuary rituals at a given time is that the home of the bereaved person has been attacked by the spirit of the dead and the spirit has to be propitiated with a sacrifice and beer. The Iteso believe that spirits of the dead are greedy creatures who beset homes with illness to signal their desire to be propitiated with sacrifices of beer and meat.²²

3.1.iii. ALCOHOL AND THE SYMBOLIC ROLE

Anthropologists have identified the symbolic use of alcohol as a third major cohesive feature. Under this overall heading they have identified 2 functions: its tension reducing role and its time-out role.

3.1.iii.a. The Tension-Reducing Role

Horton was the first writer to elaborate the argument that alcohol is a mechanism for reducing tension. He argued that the primary function of drinking was to reduce anxiety. 'The strength of the drinking response in any society tends to vary directly with the level of anxiety in that society'.²³ He went on to identify three major causes of this anxiety, which included the level of subsistence economy, the subsistence hazards and acculturation.

Szwed, following Horton's lead, considered the way in which alcohol is used by residents of a Newfoundland parish to reduce tension and potential conflict. He examined the role of drinking at political gatherings and concluded that it offered a 'safeguard against divisive and disruptive behaviour'.²⁴ According to Szwed alcohol was able to do this in two ways: first it had the effect of reducing

all large gatherings - formal or otherwise - to the same basic framework as that of the small drinking group, i.e. it attempts to put relations in these meetings on a 'friendly' loosely structured basis.²⁵

and second it provided an

institutionalised excuse to explain away public outbursts of hostilities and at the same time a means of resolving them.²⁶

For example antagonistic behaviour was later excused on the grounds that for instance 'he just can't hold his liquor and goes out of his head'.²⁷ Other anthropologists, for example Ennew and MacAndrew and Edgerton,²⁸ have also noted this role of alcohol as an excuse mechanism.

3.1.iii.b. Time-Out Role

MacAndrew and Edgerton were the first writers to examine systematically the idea of alcohol operating as a mechanism of 'time-out', when they analysed the relationship between alcohol and drunken comportment. They argued that while there was

an abundance of solid evidence to confirm alcohol's causal role in the production of changes in at least certain sensorimotor capabilities, there is no corresponding body of hard documented evidence for the notion that alcohol plays a similar causal role in the production of changes in man's comportment. ²⁹

To support their argument they analysed numerous ethnographic examples and concluded that:

These accounts suggest that in each of these societies the state of drunkenness is a state of societally sanctioned freedom from the otherwise enforceable demands that persons comply with the conventional properties. For a while - but just for a while - the rules (or more accurately, some of the rules) are set aside, and the drunkard finds himself, if not beyond good and evil, at least partially removed from the accountability nexus in which he normally operates. In a word, drunkenness in these societies takes on the flavour of 'time-out' from many of the otherwise imperative demands of everyday life. ³⁰

Since MacAndrew and Edgerton, other writers have adopted their ideas and attempted to test the accuracy of the notion of time-out. For example Lithman, in his work on a Canadian Indian community, noted that drunken behaviour may not necessarily symbolise a time-out period but instead may emphasise other symbolic meanings for instance an expression of 'opposition ideology' against the Whites.³¹ Hill also developed this point when he examined the drunken comportment of a group of North American Indians in Sioux city. He argued that although drunken comportment was essentially

learned behaviour, MacAndrew and Edgerton had 'over-estimated the extent to which drunken comportment functions as 'time-out' behaviour'.³² Consequently Hill concluded that it was necessary to 'detail the situational variables surrounding drunken mis-behaviour, the accounts offered, and the reactions made to the misconduct and the accounts',³³ in order to ascertain the true extent to which instances of drunken behaviour possess a 'time-out' quality.

These subsequent re-workings of MacAndrew and Edgerton's initial hypothesis point to the importance of their work both within the study of the anthropology of alcohol and in explaining a behaviour which other social scientists had tended to see as a 'social problem'.

3.1.iv. THE BREAKDOWN OF COHESION

Although anthropologists have emphasised the positive features of drinking, some of them have examined the more negative aspects. However they have still tended to use a functionalist framework which has led them to analyse disruptive drinking from either a dysfunctionalist perspective or from the viewpoint of a 'breakdown of culture'. Again borrowing from the work of Durkheim, they have tended to consider this breakdown as leading to a situation of 'normlessness and anomie'. Durkheim's work which informed much of the early theories of deviancy saw the destruction of traditional communities as leading to deviant behaviour for instance prostitution and excessive drinking. Moreover deviant behaviour was

attributed to social disorganisation as a result of culture contact and acculturation.

In the U.S., where the term was first used, acculturation described 'what happens when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups'.³⁴ This initial use of the term gradually became modified to describe a situation whereby two unequal societies or cultures come into contact. In this situation the 'weaker' of the two becomes involved in culturally borrowing from the other. The effect of this cultural borrowing leads to the dominated people deciding to:

adopt cultural elements from the dominant society in order to survive in their changed world. Or, perceiving that members of the dominant society enjoy more secure living conditions, the dominated people may identify with the dominant culture in the hope that by doing so they will be able to share some of its benefits.³⁵

As a result, culture contact came to represent social disorganisation and therefore any behaviour which appeared to be disruptive or maladjusted was thought to be due to that process. For example one of the first North American studies to utilise this approach was Margaret Mead's work on the Omaha Indians in Nebraska, where

In explaining the dramatic rise in the number of delinquent or 'loose women' in the tribe during the last 50 years, Mead pointed to the breakdown of the old cultural tradition. Instead of 'a coherent social fabric, it (Omaha society) had been replaced by a series of discontinuous, non-comparable disunited...homes.'³⁶

Lemert's study of alcohol use amongst the Northwest Coast Indians of North America,³⁷ which followed on from Mead's work, can be seen as

one of the most striking discussions of this approach in the alcohol field. According to Lemert a psychological approach which emphasised merely the individual's anxieties and conflicts (a direct reference to Horton's work) was at best only a partial explanation of drinking. In order to really come to grips with the situation it was essential to examine the cultural impacts that had occurred. This broader cultural impact, according to Lemert, could be summarised by the word 'acculturation'. Therefore acculturation referred to that situation whereby native people came into contact with and had 'necessary interaction' with people whose culture 'displayed a marked technological superiority'.³⁸ This led amongst other things to a crisis in status amongst the native people. Moreover increased contact with the whites led inevitably to what Lemert called 'socio-economic individualism', which led in turn to a differential acquisition of wealth.

The increase of these native equivalents of 'nouveaux riches' individuals and bands placed a great strain upon the system of status differentials which had served the coastal tribes before the white man came.³⁹

As a result the society suffered from new strains and conflicts. In order to deal with these problems, the Northwest Coast Indians turned to alcohol as a useful protective reaction to the impact of acculturation. In fact the drinking group became:

one of the few forms of social participation giving at least a semblance of traditional activity and identification with older values which whites could not easily interfere with or destroy. In this context, intoxication often seems to have functioned as necessary support....to permit Indians to engage in traditional rituals or older forms of behaviour they would hesitate to follow when sober.⁴⁰

Furthermore as the 'culture of the white man' began to undermine the

traditional rituals, intoxication through drink often became a

direct reaction to boredom induced by the disintegration and disappearance of such ritual, where there has been a decay of substitute or supplementing social organisation adapted from whites. ⁴¹

This is the approach adopted by many writers who have attempted to explain deviant drinking behaviour. For our purposes what is important is the fact that not only did these writers attempt to explain deviant drinking within a functionalist framework but also that 'deviant drinking' was the only type of drinking that was seen to be divisive. To these writers alcohol consumption was still basically a functionally useful feature of society which in 'normal' circumstances produced increased harmony, cohesion and integration. Drinking only became disruptive to the smooth running of the society when the society itself was experiencing disruption through rapid social change. Under these circumstances, traditional culture disintegrated and consequently drinking became problematic. However even when this situation occurred, drinking could still be analysed in a functionalist and quasi-positive way. Problematic drinking, albeit inevitably disruptive, was nevertheless useful to the society and had to be seen as a reaction by the subordinate culture to maintain its cultural identity.

This type of approach has underestimated the way in which drinking, even in seemingly intact and integrated 'traditional societies', can be equally cohesive and divisive. As I hope to show in the next section, it is clear from many of the ethnographic accounts that drinking in addition to its cohesive role, can work in a way that

both produces and maintains social divisions and social stratification. When individuals within a social group use alcohol to confirm and assert their feelings of social togetherness they also mark out their separateness and express their individual boundedness and commonality not only to themselves but additionally to other individuals and groups within the society. In this way individuals can regulate their behaviour in order to demarcate and announce their separateness - thereby further increasing their own sense of belonging. Moreover it is not only drinking which produces this sense of separateness but also its associated styles, rituals and meanings.

3.2. DRINKING AND DIVISION

Anthropologists have underestimated the divisive features of drinking in two key areas: gender and the drinking arena.

3.2.i. GENDER

The vast majority of anthropologists, with only a few notable exceptions, have largely ignored women's drinking. As Natkin has noted alcohol culture has been seen as synonymous with male culture.⁴² Moreover much of the literature on drinking and especially public drinking has assumed that drinking is male drinking. As a result anthropologists have tended to ignore not only the crucially important role that women frequently play in the production of alcohol but more importantly the way in which women's access to drinking has been consistently restricted. For example

Bales' classic study of drinking in Ireland, ⁴³ while emphasising the cohesive role of drinking in male culture, virtually ignored its effect on women.

The major thrust of his argument was that as boys grew up they became accepted into male groups which became increasingly separate from the women of the society. These male social groups achieved their solidarity both from the fact that they were gender specific and because they were drinking groups which were maintained and enhanced by drinking and its accompanying communal rituals.

In the gatherings of the boys of his own age and social position, the male finds a place where his status is secure, and this security and solidarity is manifested and strengthened by the ubiquitous practice of 'treating'. ⁴⁴

These male drinking groups produced and confirmed male solidarity and male dominance. Hence alcohol was used both as a way of asserting male togetherness and as a convenient symbolic tool designed to separate off the men from the women. Male drinking emphasised the pub as a power base distinct from that of the home. Unintentionally Bales shows us not only a cohesive drinking culture but more significantly a society which was stratified by gender differences many of which were confirmed by the act of public drinking. Unlike the men, the women were excluded from important social and public spheres.

drinking in clubs, hotels and saloons affords the chief social life of men and the chief means of getting them out of the homes dominated by their women. ⁴⁵

Far from alcohol contributing to a sense of cohesion, it instead became a symbol of the gender divisions within the society. For on

the one hand 'going for a drink with the boys' became not only a way of men asserting their solidarity with each other but an essential part of their training as men, their sense of superiority and power over women. Yet for the women alcohol was associated with all those male activities from which they were excluded. Alcohol was a symbol of male power in Irish society, male disruption and potential male violence. In fact as Bales noted even the marriage settlement and the woman's future, which was usually settled by the woman's father and her future husband was negotiated and sealed with the help of 'liberal offerings of whiskey'.⁴⁶

Although the majority of anthropologists had overlooked the implications of women's unequal access to alcohol consumption, some writers had noted the extent of this inequality. For example Horton,⁴⁷ in examining 32 cultures, had discovered that even in those societies where women were either forbidden to drink or had their access severely limited, they still nevertheless prepared the alcohol. Furthermore he noted that although in some societies women had access to certain alcoholic beverages they were still restrained from partaking of the more 'sacred' drinks.

Margaret Bacon followed up Horton's initial work and with two colleagues examined the same set of human relations area files, albeit in an expanded version. She noted that within the 'anthropological literature the drinking behaviour of women has received relatively little attention'.⁴⁸ Moreover she found that the fact that women tend to drink less in Western Societies had led

to the erroneous belief that 'in all societies men drink more than women'.⁴⁹ She discovered that in 109 of the 113 societies they examined, both men and women drank, of these 109 societies, in 53 of them men drank more than women and in 36 there was little or no evidence of any sex differences in drinking patterns. On the basis of this data she concluded that:

Clearly, the tendency for men to drink more than women is a frequently observed pattern, cross-culturally, but it is by no means universal.⁵⁰

Unfortunately although noting the fact that there were 36 societies where there appeared to be few sex differences in drinking, she said little about them. Furthermore her call for further investigation appears to have fallen on deaf ears except for a few more recent anthropological investigations, where either the issue of female drinking has been dealt with under the heading of 'drinking and the family'⁵¹ or where anthropologists have carried out epidemiological work.⁵²

However there is one major exception. In 1934 Elisabeth Hellman examined women's role in beer production in the 'skokiaan' yards of Johannesburg.⁵³ As in many African societies beer-brewing was and in some cases still is the responsibility of the women. This role of women in beer production reflected their dominance in agricultural production in many African societies. For example Boserup has shown that in female farming systems which were characteristic of much of the agricultural production in Africa, women's rate of participation in agricultural production could be as high as 70% to 80%.⁵⁴

According to Hellman, it was the duty of a wife to make beer both for her husband and to supplement the family income.

It has repeatedly been emphasised that economic necessity is the force instrumental in stimulating and maintaining the illicit beer-trade. A woman desires to please her husband and provide beer for him, but above all she must increase the family revenue.⁵⁵

As a result, the brewing of beer allowed the women an increased economic and social status.

Beer-brewing is primarily the concern of women... Obviously the status of women must be affected as a result of the earning ability which the sale of beer affords them. They thereby become an economic asset to their families, and their earning capacity secures for them a degree of economic security and independence... Her earning power secures for the native woman greater equality; it invests her with some measure of family authority and control.⁵⁶

However although beer production was important economically it was nevertheless illegal. This meant that the task of making the beer was even more difficult. For the process itself was not only arduous, but had to be done as quickly as possible to ensure that it was not discovered by the police.

Beer-making, arduous in the extreme, demands the expenditure of considerable energy. The chief labour is involved in cleaning the tin, which is buried several feet below the level of the ground, in digging up the opening every time beer is put in or taken out, and in firmly plastering down the earth again, so that the police may not notice any unevenness in the ground. This work demands rapidity and alertness, having to be performed in the intervals between police inspections.⁵⁷

In addition to individual beer-making, the women often formed themselves into groups known as 'stockfairs', which according to Hellman could be described as a 'mutual benefit society'.

Stockfair is primarily a women's society, although men have infrequently tried to adopt it. The stockfair has two functions; to assist in disposing of any surplus beer which has remained unsold during the week-end and to act as a

kind of savings society. ⁵⁸

Hellman's work stands out as one of the very few examples of an investigation of the social implications of women's involvement in alcohol production. Most of the other writers including Krige, Sangree and McNetting, ⁵⁹ although noting the fact that women brewed alcohol, ignored its implications and also failed to examine the significance of women's differential access to alcohol.

3.2.ii. THE DRINKING ARENA

The drinking arena is the second key area where anthropologists have underestimated divisive features of drinking. A drinking arena can be defined as an allocation of space with a surrounding boundary which has symbolic and material connotations. The boundaries serve two purposes:

they act as physical barriers and as symbolic barriers between the spaces assigned to individuals and/or to groups....As...barriers they serve to constrain access to and contacts between those who occupy the spaces. As borders they represent the symbolic, the notional edges of adjoining spaces and signify the presence of rules that also constrain access and contacts. ⁶⁰

This distinction between borders and barriers is particularly useful in examining the drinking arena for it allows us to distinguish the drinking space, which can be created instantaneously and practically anywhere and the drinking place, with its more elaborate physical structure. In the drinking space, the borders are symbolic. They include, for example, areas created by meths drinkers on park benches or under railway arches ⁶¹ and pitches created by Australian aboriginals.

A pitch is a place where one can sit and watch and drink, talk and play cards; from which one can call to countrymen

who 'come up' to the shops; from which one can launch a foray against a wanted person spotted in the crowd. ⁶²

The space is controlled by a series of group-defined obligations and reciprocities. Archard in his study of vagrant alcoholics shows how the 'drinking schools' or 'bottle gangs' far from being disorganised turn out to be elaborately structured membership groups which operate clear rules of reciprocity.

Usually an individual's access to a drinking school is guaranteed on the strength of being able to make a contribution towards the next bottle. However, absence of any monetary resources does not exclude homeless men from sharing in drinking; for as observers of group drinking processes on skid row have noted, alcoholics not only contribute financially in return for the immediate consumption of alcohol but do so in the knowledge that on future occasions they will be able to participate in drinking on the basis of past donations.... Thus a fine balance is created, on the one hand, between one's performance and reputation as a drinking school member and, on the other, one's right to participate in the sharing of a bottle without making a financial contribution to it. ⁶³

Drinking places possess a more elaborate material structure, which physically separates activities within the building from outside activities. They include taverns, alehouses, wine shops, pulquerias or pubs. The allocation of alcohol consumption to a pre-defined place can lead to its exclusion from other non-designated places. This is, in part, related to the development of regulations concerning the appropriate time to consume and, most importantly, which individuals constitute acceptable participants.

A sense of belonging within a particular drinking arena is the result of the individual becoming an accepted member of a particular drinking group - a 'regular'. If an individual is a regular then he

or she can then expect a certain type of treatment which differs from that given to non-regulars. This can include:

knowing and using the patrons name, knowing his or her beverage preference and often having the beverage ready before it has been requested, introducing the patron to other regulars with common interests letting him or her know when other regulars have arrived, treating the patron to a free drink from time to time especially on occasions such as anniversaries or birthdays...and lending or offering to lend small amounts of money. ⁶⁴

The status of a regular depends not merely on regular attendance but also on a knowledge of the shared rituals and practices. Once the arena has been established as a 'home territory bar' its characteristic feature is that the

habitués treat the bar as though it 'belonged' to them, as though it were no longer within the domain of public drinking places. ⁶⁵

Once an arena becomes 'colonised' then the regulars develop a whole host of 'proprietary' acts which confirm their territorial control. Cavan in her work on bars in San Francisco describes examples of these proprietary acts:

Telephone calls and messages may be made and left at the bar, with the expectation that information will be forthcoming and delivery will be assured. The bar may be given as a mailing address...Money may be deposited, with the knowledge that the same sum will be available to the depositor when he returns at a later date. On occasions items may be pawned...or money borrowed without a promissory note. ⁶⁶

Access to the arena can be controlled in three ways. First, there may be legal rules such as prohibition on children under a specific age entering a bar. Secondly informal controls may operate by the attribution of moral failings to those who frequent the drinking arena. An example of this, which I will discuss in the next chapter, is the way in which women's access to the pubs has been curtailed.

Thirdly access can be controlled by making certain individuals, who do not conform to the characteristics of the rest of the clientele, unwelcome. Those who are not welcome are referred to as 'outsiders'. The way in which outsiders are excluded varies and can involve a whole host of techniques used by both staff and regulars. These techniques have been referred to by Thomas as 'freezing techniques' and include such activities as 'giving a person his drink but not interacting with him socially, making embarrassing racist or sexist comments in the presence of the outsider and moving one's stool away from the outsider'.⁶⁷

These controls may lead to a greater sense of solidarity for those who belong to the in-group, but for those on the outside they can re-inforce the social divisions operating within the society. Moreover, particular drinking arenas may be developed by particular groups to fit their specific needs. For example Wolcott ⁶⁸ in his analysis of the beer gardens of Bulawayo identifies four types of clubs or groupings. These are the 'drinking clubs', the 'sports clubs', the 'benevolent societies' and the 'holisana groups'. ⁶⁹

3.3. CONCLUSION

According to Douglas, ⁷⁰ anthropologists have a distinctive perspective on the study of drinking - a perspective which is particularly suitable to my aim of investigating normal drinking. However although anthropologists have concentrated on the everyday practices of alcohol use, they have nevertheless tended to consider

this use from a cohesive perspective. In so doing they have tended to underplay the divisive elements of drinking. Furthermore, although it is possible to uncover, within the available anthropological literature, the extent to which gender differences and divisions based on group membership determine drinking practices, it is less easy to discover any anthropological discussions of the impact of social class. And yet class has had a major effect on determining the social composition of drinkers within English pubs. Hence although I shall use many of the insights from the anthropological literature it will also be necessary to supplement this approach by material which has examined the impact of class and gender on drinking in England. In the next two chapters I shall discuss the available historical and sociological data which will help us to understand how drinking in contemporary pubs is both cohesive and divisive.

CHAPTER THREE: FOOTNOTES

1. E.Durkheim, 1964 and 1976.
2. E.J.Krige, 1932, p.343.
3. R.Bunzel, 1940, p.82.
4. D.C.Mandelbaum, 1965, p.282.
5. I.Karp, 1980, p.89.
6. R.McNetting, 1964, p.376.
7. S.Brandes, 1979, p.4.
- 8 G.Mars, 1987, p.93.
9. E.J.Krige, op. cit., p.351.
10. I.Karp, op. cit., p.88.
11. Anthropologists have also investigated the role of alcohol in formalised political activities, for example E.J.Krige, op. cit. has noted the use of beer as a political tribute.

However for the purposes of my discussion I have concentrated on the use of alcohol in the two most important areas that have been examined by anthropologists.

12. R.McNetting, op. cit., p.377.
13. E.J.Krige, op. cit., p.347.
14. R.McNetting, op. cit.
15. B.Sansom, 1980, p.66.
16. I.Schapera, 1933, p.137.
17. J.Hamer and J.Steinbring, op. cit., p.7.
18. Ibid.
19. W.H.Sangree, 1962, p.12.
20. I.Karp, op. cit., p.90.
21. Ibid., p.92. This last point about the ritual congregation is similar to Durkheim's notion of the 'ceremony of sentiments'. See H.Alpert, 1965.
22. I.Karp, ibid.

23. D.J.Horton, op. cit., p.230.
24. J.F.Szwed, 1966, p.439.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid.
28. J.Ennew, 1980, and C.MacAndrew and R.B.Edgerton, 1969.
29. C.MacAndrew and R.B.Edgerton, *ibid.*, p.84.
30. *Ibid.*, p.89.
31. Y.G.Lithman, 1979, p.122.
32. T.Hill, 1978, p.465.
33. *Ibid.*
34. J.Beattie, 1964, p.242.
35. C.R.Ember and M.Ember, 1981, p. 303.
36. T.Hill, 1984, p.317.

37. E.Lemert, 1954.
- 38 Ibid., p.325.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid., p.334.
41. Ibid., p.335.
42. R.Natkin, 1985.
43. R.F.Bales, 1962.
44. Ibid., p.171.
45. Ibid.
46. Ibid., p.170.
47. D.J.Horton, op. cit.
48. M.Bacon, 1976, p.29.
49. Ibid.
50. Ibid., p.30.

51. See for example S.J.Wolin et. al. 1980 and M.Holmila 1988.
52. For a further discussion see D.B.Heath, 1979.
53. E.Hellman, 1934.
54. E.Boserup, 1970, p.22.
55. E.Hellman, op. cit., p.45.
56. Ibid., p.59.
57. Ibid., p.44.
58. Ibid., p.50.
59. E.J.Krige, op. cit., W.H.Sangree, op. cit., and R.McNetting, op. cit.
60. H.Harris and A.Lipman, 1980, p.419.
61. P.Archard, 1979.
62. B.Sansom, op. cit., p.55.
63. P.Archard, op. cit., p.69.

64. R.Popham, 1982, p.64.
65. S.Cavan, 1966, p.211.
66. Ibid., p.212.
67. A.E.Thomas, 1978, p.19.
68. H.Wolcott, 1974.
69. Ibid.
70. M.Douglas, 1987.

CHAPTER FOUR: COHESION AND STRATIFICATION:

THE CASE OF THE ENGLISH PUB.

4.1. THE ALEHOUSE

Although, according to the literature, the twin elements of cohesion and division can be seen in the earliest forms of the English pub such as the Roman tabernae or the Norman inn, I shall begin this discussion by examining the medieval alehouse. ¹ There are three reasons for starting here. First, as a result of recent interest by social historians, it is now much easier to examine the extent to which the alehouse played a divisive and cohesive role. Second the alehouse can be seen as a forerunner of the village pub and it is clear from the historical data that it played a similar role in the village to that of the contemporary pub. Finally the alehouse and subsequently the village pub became important symbols for 20th century reformers in their campaign to produce the respectable pub and therefore it is important for us to examine the available historical evidence on the alehouse and compare it with the image of it put forward by the reformers.

4.1.i. COHESION AT THE LOCAL LEVEL

The Alehouse, which was developed from the Roman tabernae, had a physical structure similar to the houses that surrounded it. In fact it was often a private house where one could buy a drink in the

kitchen. The inside reflected the character of an ordinary cottage - a trestle table, a few chairs and a couple of benches.

Old records show the kitchen as the operative room prior to the nineteenth century, with its rough interior solid settles and large fireplace with all the necessary cooking paraphernalia of the hearth. ²

Though the alehouse existed before the 1500's it is not really until this period that it became widespread both in the towns and villages.

By 1577 there were at least 14,000 houses in 27 counties. Allowing for the counties and the unlicensed houses omitted from the survey, there may have been as many as 18,000 or 19,000 alehouses functioning in the country at this time; by the 1630's the total figure was probably in excess of 30,000 and by the 1680's was certainly well over 40,000. ³

Originally, the church had been the central focus of the village and handled not only religious affairs but many secular activities.

in the late Middle Ages it was the parish church and the churchyard which provided the principal centre for communal life. It was there that fraternities met, that religious and civic processions assembled, local plays and pageants were performed, villagers participated in folk games, and most inhabitants celebrated at feasts and church-ales. ⁴

However as the Reformation took hold, (and the church became gradually removed from the more secular activities of society), the alehouse took over many of these activities and soon became the hub of the community.

The alehouse was the centre of fairs, festivals, wakes, dancing and sporting events such as cock-fighting, bull-baiting, bull running, badger-baiting, dog fighting, boxing and football matches. By the early 17th century new types of indoor games were emerging such as card games, guile-bones, nobby-board, penny-prick, shove-halfpenny

and many others. ⁵ People came to the alehouse to relax, to talk, to meet friends, to borrow money, to get jobs, to transact business, to consume alcohol, to sleep, to eat and on occasion to get drunk. But the alehouse was important not only because it was a centre of village activities, it also played a key role within the domestic economy of the poor. Because the alehouse was run by the poor as well as for the poor, it served as either a regular or irregular alternative form of income for many households. According to Clark who analysed the available statistics from Kent and Herefordshire, it would appear that between a third and a half of the 'rural alehouse keepers belonged to the depressed social world of labourers and husbandmen and small holders'. ⁶ Moreover the income necessary to set up an alehouse was minimal.

Given the incentive of poverty, there were few obstacles to inhibit a man from taking up ale-selling as a by-employment. The necessary apparatus was simple and the principle problem was that of obtaining large quantities of malt or barley for brewing....For the most part, however, unlicensed ale-sellers obtained supplies of malt or of beer, often on credit, from local maltsters and brewers...for whom the setting up of new alehouses was one of the few means of expanding their trade. ⁷

In addition to this more obvious economic function, it appears that the alehouse and more specifically ale selling was important in assisting those individuals who came on particularly hard times. Ale selling on occasion was used as a way of circulating aid in the community. "'Bid-ales", drinking held to raise money for a needy neighbour, which were 'biden' by the parish officers and supported by neighbours, were a feature of the rural society of the period'. ⁸

4.1.ii. DIVISION AT THE LOCAL LEVEL

The typical customer at the alehouse was a young or middle-aged man, either single or married, whose occupation was likely to be that of a craftsman, a labourer or a servant. As Clark has noted the alehouses appealed to customers who were in the 'bottom half of the social order'.⁹ For example from an analysis of alehouse customers in Kent between 1590 and 1610 compiled by local magistrates, 24% were labourers, 20.7% were servants and 24% were in some of building, food or clothing trade.¹⁰ Although this survey was by no means a random sample (the Kent Justices only took the names of customers after a crime was committed) it nevertheless provides us with some evidence as to the social background of the customers. However this concentration of customers in the lower strata does not imply that individuals from other social groupings did not frequent the alehouse. For according to both Clark and Wrightson, gentlemen and Yeomen could be glimpsed in alehouses from time to time as well as individuals from other occupations and professions for example the clergy.

But the alehouse not only divided the community by catering to the 'lower social groupings', it also divided the men from the women. Female visits to the alehouse were strictly regulated by social conventions which had to be adhered to if the women wished to maintain their reputations. Married women, who went to the alehouse, were either accompanied by their husbands or other married women and if the women were unmarried then they could visit the alehouse with their boyfriends or with other couples. If a woman went to the

alehouse on her own, she was 'usually regarded as promiscuous and might well be accosted or assaulted.....a woman who escaped the slander of promiscuity was still likely to be condemned as a sot for going to the alehouse on her own'. ¹¹

However attitudes towards women going to the alehouse were not necessarily constant and fluctuated with the more general attitudes towards the alehouse as a centre of sexual encounters. For example after the civil war, as Puritanism gained ascendancy, the authorities increasingly saw the alehouse as a place upon which controls, and especially controls on women, should be placed. Imposing these controls, however, was not that easy, for not only did women drink in the alehouse they also worked there. According to Clark, using quarter session records in the 16th and 17th century, 9% of 'tipplers' ¹² in Kent were women, in Leicester the figure was 6.6% and in Northampton it was 10.3%. An observation further substantiated by Oakley who noted that most of the beerhouses and alehouses in London 'were owned by women and the ale-wife was a noted character in rural England'. ¹³ Their importance in the drinks trade was even reflected in the accepted use of the feminine term for a brewer, as brewster.

However even the authorities' attitudes towards women as brewsters and ale-wives were mixed, for although they disliked women between the ages of 14 and 40 to be victuallers, they nevertheless accepted victualling as a suitable occupation for widows.

Almost all the women running alehouses in their own names were widows. Of these women victualling in the Kent

countryside from the end of Elisabeth's reign whose status is known, only a handful were wives and spinsters, the great majority were widowed. Though men were already prominent in the popular drink trade in the late Middle Ages, the authorities during the sixteenth century may have shown a growing hostility to women tippling under their own auspices unless they were widows. ¹⁴

The picture of the alehouse which emerges is that of a drinking place which, although reinforcing social divisions within the village, nevertheless operated as a focal point for village social life - a role that was to mark it out for scrutiny and attack by the authorities.

4.1.iii. DIVISION AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL

Concern with the alehouse by the authorities can be neatly classified under two headings - leisure and drunkenness and public order.

4.1.iii.a. Leisure and Drunkenness

Shadwell claims the first attempt to suppress drunkenness was made by King Edgar in the 10th century who decreed that eight pegs be inserted at regular intervals in the half-gallon drinking pot and that 'whoever should drink beyond these marks at one draught should be obnoxious to a severe punishment'. ¹⁵ However it was not until the beginning of the 17th century that we see a more systematic attempt to control drunkenness.

Between 1604 and 1625 four statutes attempted to control drunkenness and heavy drinking even going to the extent of

attempting to control the length of time a man was allowed to sit and drink. In the Book of Orders issued between 1587 and 1631, alehouse keepers were obliged to 'turn out of their premises a 'tippler' who stayed too long'.¹⁶

In addition to these concerns about drunkenness, attacks on the alehouse appear to have centred on the belief that it was a centre for prostitution and debauchery and consequently corrupted conventional family life.¹⁷ However, according to Clark, although it is certainly true that prostitution did go on, it was not to the extent that contemporary commentators would have us believe. This perceived connection between the alehouse and sexual freedom was also reinforced by the fact that young lovers often used it as a place to meet away from the eyes of their family or their masters.

Parents and masters strongly resented the idea that junior members of their households could go there to meet friends from their own age group as well as other inhabitants in a free and easy fashion without proper supervision. Over pots of beer they might swop gossip about their masters' business or personal peccadilloes, sneer at their betters, meet with an unsuitable girl, run up drinking debts that could only be settled by stealing from their employer, get drunk, and become involved in brawls or street-fighting...Yet for the young man or apprentice the alehouse offered one of the few opportunities to escape from the increasingly regimented and status conscious environment of the household....The alehouse was neutral territory.¹⁸

4.1.iii.b. Public Order.

The alehouse was seen as a threat to public order in two particular ways: - first as a centre for criminals and second as a meeting place for political dissenters. However all the evidence appears to point to the fact that these charges by the authorities indicate

concern about its importance in village life rather than its being a real centre of political and criminal intrigue. As Wrightson has so clearly pointed out

Given the presuppositions that the lower orders were given to disorder and that drink rapidly dissolved such restraints as magistrate and minister could instill in them, it is scarcely surprising that among its most severe critics a stereotype of the alehouse emerged which elaborated the medieval view of the tavern as the womb of all disorder. ¹⁹

Moreover according to Clark, the 'evidence would indicate that the criminal activity centred on alehouses was amateur, small-scale and sporadic'. ²⁰ A point substantiated by Wrightson from his investigation of the court records of offences in the Essex village of Terling from 1590 to 1649.

Furthermore, if one examines the evidence of political offences originating from the alehouse, it would appear that any communal action or protest 'tended to be negative and defensive - primarily concerned with protecting local custom and interests against outsiders' ²¹ as opposed to the 'radical levelling centre that preachers and magistrates portrayed'. ²² However even though there is little evidence to support the thesis that the alehouse was a centre of discontent, the authorities nevertheless saw it as a place to be controlled and hence tried to control both the numbers of alehouses allowed and also their activities. Pressure to control them came not only from puritan M.P.s but also from other 'respectable' members of the community including county landowners, yeoman farmers and prosperous merchants who felt that the alehouse was encouraging unsuitable behaviour amongst the poor. This resulted

in a number of Acts of Parliament which not only attempted to control drinking behaviour but also regulated the existence of the alehouse. It was these Acts which laid the basis of our current licensing system.²³

As a result of these legislative developments as well as the impact of increased centralisation of the brewing trade, the smaller 'disreputable' unlicensed alehouses began to disappear and consequently so did the authorities' concern with them except in so far as they provided much needed revenue to the State.

By the late seventeenth century the problem of the alehouse appeared increasingly under control. Numbers had probably started to stabilize.....and there was marked reduction in the output of polemic against the alehouse and its threat to respectable society.....all this stemmed in part from the success and effectiveness of the growing formal and informal regulation.²⁴

But although the concern with the alehouse as a place of disrepute began to wane it was not long before a new 'disreputable' drinking place began to emerge. However this replacement was no longer located in the rural areas but instead was to be found in the new centres of population growth, industrial development and social change - the towns.

4.2. THE URBAN PUB AND THE URBAN POOR: 1800 - 1900

Prior to the early 19th century the pubs in the towns were basically of two types. They were either the large coaching inns catering for people travelling around the country, whereby

passengers loaded up in the great backyards and coaches entered and left through a large archway into the

main road. ²⁵

Or they were small houses

set back a bit from the by-road, with a sign on the far side of the way, a couple of benches and tables outside and a couple of deal settles inside. ²⁶

However by the turn of the century the publicans and the brewers had become increasingly worried both by the loss of business and by the potential outside competition.

The monopoly of licensed houses was under attack to open up the drinks trade. The result of this pressure to breach the licensing and publican monopoly was a series of Acts culminating in the Wellington Beer Act of 1830 which allowed 'any person whose name was on a rate book (to)open his premises as a beer shop free from any Justice's license or control simply by payment of two guineas to the local office of excise'. ²⁷ The effects of the Act were immediate and have been immortalised by Sidney Smith who said 'The Sovereign people are in a beastly state. Everybody is drunk. Those who are not singing are sprawling'. ²⁸ In 1830 alone, 24,000 beer shops opened and by 1835 the figure had risen to 40,000. Because of the smallness of the initial capital the beer shops were often

small and poky located up courts or down lanes, not infrequently kept in back rooms. The customers were generally the poor who could not afford the higher prices of the publican's taproom. In addition the beer shop offered some basic services for the labourer which the respectable public house had come to neglect. They were places for gaming, finding jobs and lodgings, picking up a prostitute, ²⁹ organising petty crime and fencing stolen property.

Moreover as Clark points out the beer shops occupied the 'social

territory which the alehouse had vacated when it became respectable and commercialised in the 18th and 19th centuries'.³⁰

In response to this sudden upsurge in competition the established 'licensed' trade hit back. Firstly as Gorham and Dunnett have noted the 'pubs began to aim at being not only unlike their customers' own homes but unlike anybody's home'.³¹ The epitome of this development was the Gin Palace which burst out of the squalid urban surroundings 'with a riot of bow fronts and engraved glass and called attention to itself with a gigantic gas lantern hung on a monster bracket cast in tortured iron'.³² Inside it had

Carvings and mouldings on all the innumerable partitions, intricate decoration dimly seen through the smoke and grime of the ceiling, heavily engraved glass for the windows, the lights in the partitions, the shutters on the bar; bevelled mirrors with drink advertisements gilded in every flourish.....brass rails, enormous brass pots.....tiny banisters to every shelf and cupboard-top.³³

Moreover these new drinking places were different in their layout and their style.

They solved the problem of space by doing away with seats; this also discouraged dawdling, which in turn meant a more rapid turnover in customers. Any feeling of congestion among the new generation of 'perpendicular drinkers' was relieved by an upward spaciousness provided by higher ceilings and the illusion of roominess contrived by the generous use of mirrors and plate glass.³⁴

Secondly the publicans and the brewers set out to attract and cater for their new working class clientele. They promoted new commercial attractions 'including concerts, music saloons and music halls'.³⁵

This new drinking place was to prove to be as important in the working class communities in the towns as the alehouse had been to

the village communities. Furthermore, like the alehouse, the urban pub was to be identified by those in authority as a place of disrepute. Reformers characterised it as the 'source of many working class ills' ³⁶ and as a 'pernicious alcoholic well'. ³⁷ Hence in the rest of the chapter I shall examine the extent to which the urban pub replicated similar divisive and cohesive features to those already outlined for the alehouse.

4.2.i. COHESION AND THE WORKING CLASS COMMUNITY

According to Harrison the major functions of the pub were recreation and its use as a meeting place. It provided many of the amenities and comforts which were missing from the average home including lighting, heating, cooking facilities, newspapers and furniture. In order to fulfil these functions the pub had to be strategically placed within the community.

Of the 160 pubs in the area bounded by Bethnal Green Road/Commercial Street/Whitechapel Road/Cambridge Road, 131 were situated on corners, or opposite road junctions; two pubs stood guard over the entrance to many a side-street. Pubs with more than one entrance simultaneously attracted pedestrians from more than one thoroughfare'. ³⁸

This placing of the pub meant that it was the 'local' in the sense that an individual did not have far to walk to find one. Moreover Victorian community life unlike much of our urban areas today, spread out on to the streets, 'All but the busiest streets at that time united rather than divided the community'. ³⁹ Life existed not so much in the home but in the streets

the street alone was left as the new commons of the industrial poor.....The street also provided an informal meeting place for gossiping neighbours, and a seasonal promenade for the young and flirtatious. ⁴⁰

Furthermore as Harrison has noted many people actually made their living off the street including 'the beggars, stallholders, acrobats, organ grinders and pedlars'.⁴¹ This was the community in which the pub became a central part, for not only did it become an essential informal meeting place but also an important formal meeting place for trade unions, local associations and friendly societies. They also served as centres for obtaining work and as banks for paying out of wages, in fact the pub served as 'an all purpose service institution in working class life'.⁴²

In an age of social dislocation the pub was a centre of warmth, light and sociability for the urban poor, a haven from the filth and meanness of inadequate and congested housing, a magnet for the disoriented newcomer and disgruntled regular alike.⁴³

As in the case of the alehouse whose importance in the community had brought it under the scrutiny of the authorities, so also did the all-purpose nature of the pub inevitably attract the attention of the 19th century reformers and government authorities. In fact 'in the minds of so many of the (mid 19th century) philanthropists, all roads led back to the beer-house'.⁴⁴ But the attack on the pub was not an isolated occurrence but part of a much wider campaign to educate and regulate the newly emerging working class. This class was increasingly being obliged either 'choose the life of the pub and the music hall or the life of the temperance society, mutual improvement society and chapel'.⁴⁵

4.2.ii. DIVISION AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL: ATTACKS ON WORKING CLASS LEISURE

The 19th century marks both the introduction and consolidation not only of capitalism but also industrial production and the factory system. The work regime carried out in the factory was qualitatively different to the working practices that had been adopted previously. Moreover a working population that in general had been used to work regulated by nature rather than man, found itself being disciplined not only into working a regular week but also a measured day. To enable the maximum return to be extracted from his investment, the industrialist required that the machinery be used regularly and constantly. This meant that the workers also had to work regularly, constantly and punctually. In attempting to achieve this aim, the industrialists soon realised that to achieve discipline inside the factory gates, it was necessary to encourage discipline outside. As Pollard has noted 'the drive to raise the level of respectability and morality among the working classes was not undertaken for their own sakes but primarily or even exclusively as an aspect of building up a new factory discipline'.⁴⁶

The industrialist, in collaboration with other reformers, began to condemn any leisure activities which were judged to be 'unrewarding' or 'unproductive'. They launched campaigns against leisure on Saturdays and Sundays which was identified as an example of immoral idleness. 'For every increment of increased free time allowed to the worker by his employer.....he must be persuaded to fill it with activities of a sober, elevating or educational nature'.⁴⁷ As

Storch has noted the 'problem of working class leisure' can be said to have

symbolised a whole complex of other problems faced by the urban middle classes, all of which no doubt tended to run together in their minds whenever key terms such as 'improvidence', 'immorality' or 'crime' were raised. Specifically it tended to be symbolic of the related problems of civil order and the imposition or reinforcement of labour-discipline: ⁴⁸

In these attempts to transform working class leisure patterns, the moral reformers increasingly identified alcohol as a central problem or obstacle to creating a healthy, disciplined and hard working labour force. As Price has remarked 'Beer was seen as a symptom of the barbarism of working class society'. ⁴⁹ But the problem of drink existed not only during leisure but also during work. The use of alcohol in the work place was rife.

Complaints against the disorderliness of apprentices, which in many respects appear to have been entirely justified, must also be set alongside the nature of pre-industrial work organisation.....Periods of hard work, interspersed with bouts of idleness and drinking, were regarded as a more normal and natural rhythm to the working week. The traditions of 'Saint Monday', religiously observed in some trades, dictated that the week should begin with an extra holiday for drinking and social intercourse which would sometimes stretch into Tuesday. ⁵⁰

One of the reasons for this was that people believed that alcohol was necessary for doing strenuous work. Moreover drink played an important role in many of the ritual activities associated with work.

During working hours a wide variety of customs was enforced to extract payment for drink. Among skilled artisans footings, or payments on entry to the trade, were practically universal. The plumbers extracted money for drink when the apprentice cast his first sheet of lead, the block-cutters when he cut his first printing block. In woollen mills the changing from one loom to another, the

first lighting of the factory in the autumn, or the first time a young man was seen by his mates with a young womanwere all made occasions for drink money. ⁵¹

The task of the industrialist was then to rid the workplace of alcohol, and, as Pollard has noted, their methods were a mixture of the carrot and the stick, though punishments tended to be more frequent than rewards - workers were dismissed or fined for drunkenness. For example in Fernley's Stockport mill, drunkenness was punished with a fine of 5 shillings (the average weekly wage being 13s.). ⁵²

However to eradicate the use of alcohol within the factory where discipline was relatively easy to administer was one thing, to solve the problem outside was much more complex. According to the reformers, the solution to the drink problem was inextricably tied to the pub and therefore they began to challenge the role of the pubs in the urban areas. Specifically they concentrated on two issues - drunkenness and morals.

4.2.ii.a. Public Order - a question of morals and drunkenness

Although drunkenness and morals were separate issues, the reformers linked them together. Their reason for forging this link was largely due to their concern about women and alcohol. As I showed in my discussion of the alehouse men drank more openly in public. However by the middle and latter part of the 19th century it would appear that attitudes towards working class women drinking in public had become more relaxed. For example, Shadwell referred to two surveys done in Manchester on public houses, in 1834 and 1854,

where, in both cases, women accounted for 50% of the customers. 53
Furthermore Rowntree, in his study on poverty in York in the 1890's, noted that the percentage of women drinkers in the inner urban pubs was as high as 36 per cent. 54

This increase in equality of male and female drinking might be explained by the relative attractiveness of the pub and especially the splendour of the Gin Palace. A point which was even noted by the Commissioner of Police for the Metropolis who remarked:

It is evident that the women are attracted by the warmth and glitter of the public houses, which afford a contrast to the houses in which they live. 55

The very fact that women were seen to be more obviously using the pub added to the reformers' disquiet at this development. However reformers were concerned not only with female drinking but also identified two additional features: the general moral condition of women and the increase in female drunkenness.

The Temperance movement particularly emphasised the association between female drinking in pubs and sexual encounters whether paid or unpaid. According to Harrison they 'often saw prostitution where none existed'. 56 This is not to imply that prostitution was not present in the pubs. As Smith points out

the public drinking place had an important function as a context in which selling the pleasures of sensuality and fun, easily fostered the selling of much else including sex for money. 57

Walkowitz confirms this point when she notes that prostitutes were more likely to reside in pubs than in formal brothels. In fact some

pubs were specially designed to facilitate private sexual encounters. For example in Plymouth they

were fitted up with 'snugs', small private compartments that facilitated sexual intimacy. Snugs could be entered through the back alley⁵⁸ and drinks were served through a slit in the partition.

This concern with the pub as a potential 'bordello' meant that increasingly 'respectable' women were encouraged not to frequent the place. However the perceived relationship between the pub and sexuality was not the only issue which hindered female access to the pub for the reformers also pinpointed female drunkenness as a problem.

In fact in 1898 social reformers from the Society for Promoting Legislation for the Control and Cure of Habitual Drunkards and from the British Medical Association obtained Parliamentary approval for legislation to forcibly commit women, who had been convicted for drunkenness more than four times in one year, to a reformatory for up to a maximum of three years.⁵⁹

In addition to these more specific concerns the reformers were particularly worried about female drinking and its effect on their role as mothers. Female drinking was seen to be having a deleterious effect both on children and on the foetus.⁶⁰ For example in 1908 the then Secretary of State sent letters to the Chief Constables of Birmingham, Bristol, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester and Sheffield asking them to ascertain the extent to which women took their children into public houses. In their

replies the Chief Constables noted that the practice certainly existed and in some cases was widespread.

It is common practice in the low class districts of this city for women to take infants and young children into public houses. The practice is most prevalent on Saturdays and Mondays, particularly on Mondays, which in large manufacturing towns in the north is the day in the week when women of the lower classes largely frequent public houses for the purpose of drinking together. ⁶¹

In an attempt to control this practice the authorities put forward a number of measures. For example the 1908 Children and Young Persons' Act prohibited children under 14 from entering a public bar and prohibited the sale of alcohol to them except in sealed containers. The effect of this legislation was to curtail even further female access to the pub. Finally in addition to this formal legislation there were a number of other campaigns which emphasised the inappropriateness of women going to the pub and fostered the idea that the pub was not a place for the respectable English woman. There were even campaigns to restrict the use of women as barmaids on the grounds that:

although some barmaids are abstainers, many lapse into inebriety the number of barmaids who fall victims to alcoholism, great as it is now, would almost be far greater if barmaids were older women less capable of supporting over exertion and fatigue.....The nature of the environment is necessarily such as must be inimical to mind and body. ⁶²

These campaigns helped to foster the idea that the pub was not the 'proper' place for 'respectable' women, and led to female use of the pub being severely restricted.

4.3. THE PUB BECOMES RESPECTABLE

By the early part of the 20th century urban pubs had seemingly become confirmed as places of disrepute. However at the same time that one sector of the temperance reform movement was seeking to eradicate these 'pernicious alcoholic wells' ⁶³ another more moderate group of reformers was setting out to 'rehabilitate and reform' the pub itself. This group aimed to transform pubs from centres of debauchery and sexual licentiousness to respectable leisure centres where the whole family could safely congregate and enjoy themselves.

Reforming ideas of the pub had their origins in associations dating back to the late 1870's. For example the Reverend Osbert Mordant had pioneered the idea of distributing the profits of his pub to local charities. This initial idea was then taken up by Francis Jayne, Bishop of Chester, who in 1896 founded the People's Refreshment House Association (PHRA).

The company bought pubs, put in managers who were given commissions on the sale of food not alcohol, and gave profits, beyond those necessary to pay a 5 per cent dividend, to public utilities. ⁶⁴

The PHRA was followed in 1900 by the Trust House Movement founded by Earl Grey. He put forward a company scheme to control the liquor traffic, which was based on the Gothenberg scheme. ⁶⁵ The basis of his scheme was made up of eight clauses of which I note the five most important:

1. Whilst recognising that public-houses are a public

necessity, to eliminate, as far as possible, the element of private profit from the retail trade of intoxicating liquors.

2.To accept new licenses wherever magistrates are willing to grant them.

3.To vest the control of these public-houses in persons who desire no profit from the sale of intoxicants.

4.To maintain the public-houses acquired, not as mere drinking saloons, but as refreshment houses.

5.To provide counter-attractions to the bar in reading and recreation rooms, where food and non-intoxicants can be obtained. ⁶⁶

The first Trust House pub based on these principles was opened in 1902 at Broomhill.

It got off to a bad start when the first manager embezzled the takings, but the Trust movement as a whole expanded fast enough to be running 170 pubs by 1905. ⁶⁷

In their attempts to 'rehabilitate' the pub the reformers sought both to re-design its physical appearance as well as 'sanitize' ideas about it.

4.3.i. THE RE-DESIGNED PUB

The classic Victorian or Edwardian pub was designed to increase drinking efficiency as well as maintain class distinctions under one roof. For example the central part of the Gin palace was the 'drinking bar' where

You went in and stood at the bar, your order was taken and your drink slapped down. You paid for it, drank it, and had another or went out. ⁶⁸

Although wishing to maintain easy access to the bar it was still nevertheless essential to segregate the customers from one another.

But even efficiency could not overcome the ineradicable class-consciousness of the English....customers had to be segregated from each other whilst still having immediate access to the bar. Hence the intricate and wonderful geography that traced out a dozen different compartments under one rectangular roof....even the bar itself was fenced, in the more select compartments, with wooden frames bearing glass shutters, so that you could slip your order through without looking the barman straight in the face, and feel sure that your indulgence was not being observed from the cheaper compartments where your social inferiors were having one too. ⁶⁹

In addition to bar counter separations, class and status distinctions were maintained by the creation of different bars, which according to one foreign observer clearly reflected the class divisions of English society.

First there was the 'bar-room', where all sorts of London types congregated...The other divisions of the public house are the tap-room and the parlour. The tap is the meeting-place of mechanics and artisans....The parlour, cleaner, better lighted, better decorated, in a word more respectable...is generally frequented by persons of the lower middle class...It is furnished with tables, isolated to some extent from one another by wooden screens of a certain height....Separation in unity - there is the whole of English life....The tap has no communication with the parlour, for the entire economy of English society depends upon a strict separation of the classes. ⁷⁰

These class and status distinctions were still part of the pub in the late 1930's. For as the Mass Observation study notes there was a clear differentiation between the vault and the lobby or parlour bar. Distinctions between these bars were achieved by means of different decor, for instance different types of furniture, floor coverings and even the use of plant decoration.

The presence of potted plants in a room is normally an indication of its status...In the vault of another larger pub, we have observed five aspidistras on the window sills and two pots of them on the counter. The aspidistra is in

the front window, best symbol of the private house. 71

These distinctions were even maintained in pubs where no physical dividers existed.

A sharp example of this differentiation can be seen in one of the smaller town centre pubs, which is unique for the fact that there is a vault and a better class bar between which there is no physical separation. Halfway down the bar counter, there is a gap, and then another bar begins and runs on further. Above the gap is a notice PARLOUR PRICES BEYOND HERE. 72

However the reformers sought not only to re-direct profit and establish an enlightened ownership, but they also wished to alter the design and appearance of the pub. The rooms were to be large and airy and were to include non-drink facilities such as tea-rooms, dining-rooms and assembly rooms. One of the first specially designed and renovated pubs was that of the Fox and Pelican at Grayshott in Hampshire, which was built in 1899 by the Grayshott and District Refreshment Association.

Its main rooms - tap-room, smoke room and coffee room - were large and airy and had long windows exposing users to the gaze of passers-by. Upstairs there was a ladies sitting room. Outside, the tile-hanging and white paint-work added to the homelike effect, a far cry from the flashy splendours of the brewers' pubs. 73

Four years later the Liverpool Public House Trust Company built the Bridge Inn at Port Sunlight.

Here the non-drink facilities were even more evident including a tea room, dining room and upstairs assembly room. 74

The idea of reforming the pubs was given a major impetus in 1915 with the setting up of the Central Control Board. The Board was given:

powers of control over the sale and consumption of alcohol

in any area scheduled by Order in Council. The areas scheduled were to be those where excessive⁷⁵ drinking was held to be interfering with the war effort.

In 1916 the Board acquired by State purchase:

all breweries, public houses and other licensed premises in Carlisle, Gretna, Silloth, and a considerable area of Cumberland...extending also over the border to embrace the small towns of Annan and Ecclefan...covering in all about 500 square miles.⁷⁶

It also acquired licensed premises in Enfield Lock Middlesex and the Cromarty Firth district. The reasons given for the acquisition of the Carlisle area, which was the most important of the three areas, was that the drunken and unruly behaviour of the imported navvies endangered the construction of government munition factories at Gretna.

By 1916 the population of Carlisle had risen by 20,000 above the pre-war number, and for all these extra workers no adequate housing facilities were available, one of the results of which was that excessive drunkenness was rife, and had become unmanageable. In the City of Carlisle by 1916 the annual average of 250 convictions for drunkenness had increased to nearly 1000 per annum.⁷⁷

Once the Board had acquired the 182 licensed premises and businesses in and around Carlisle, they immediately began to close many of them. Between July 1916 and October 1918, 58 were closed down in Carlisle alone. In addition to cutting down the number of pubs, the Board also began to re-design the remaining pubs and open new ones. The architect to the Board, Harry Redfern began to strip

away old bar partitions, introduced seating where there had been none and hung up framed prints and engravings. Outside...he pulled down the brewers' advertising and their lamps, substituting nothing but the pub name.⁷⁸

As a writer at the time noted the Board has

a wholesome passion for light, cleanliness, and good decorative taste, which means that they are the inveterate foes of the 'snuggery', frowsiness, meretriciousness

glitter, and the artistic horrors with which the walls of the average uncontrolled house are adorned. ⁷⁹

The first new pub that they opened was the Gretna Tavern which had originally been a stone-built post-office

the counter room became the bar while the long sorting office was turned into a refreshment room where food was served and a piano, newspapers and writing materials were available. There were no spirits sold and no spittoons were provided. ⁸⁰

The Gretna Tavern was soon to become a 'mile-stone' in the development of the new and respectable improved pub, so much so that it was also officially approved by the Royal Commission on licensing in 1932.

A second example of improving the pubs was carried out in Birmingham and became known as the 'surrender' scheme. The scheme had actually begun in 1896, when the then Chairman of the Birmingham licensing magistrates, Arthur Chamberlain, had begun to 'bludgeon the brewers into surrendering licenses'. ⁸¹ However Chamberlain's methods did not gain the co-operation of the Brewers and it was not until later, under the Chairmanship of Alex Chance, Chamberlain's successor, that the scheme began to take real shape. As a result the inter-war period, saw 'agreement between the brewers and the licensing justices.....(whereby) in return for the surrender of licenses in the crowded centre of the city, spacious suburban sites for building on' ⁸² were provided. According to one commentator at the time, the scheme resulted in

an extraordinary good lot of houses. The new houses put up are splendid buildings, well equipped both for the supply of food and drink...The effect of this system is that we have some splendid buildings which I am quite certain would never have been built if the applications had merely been

for new licenses. 83

Characteristics of the new Birmingham pub included:

Plenty of drawing up space for parking cars; a good garden, including usually a bowling green....oak doors; clear glass in entrance doors;....plenty of ventilation,...assembly room;.....garden service,...provision for supply of meals and tea; separate garden for children to play in. 84

The Brewers once having accepted the idea of the reformed pub began to publicize its virtues in opposition to the older Victorian and Edwardian pub. For example a memo from the Brewers' Society

recognized that the real success of the future licensed houses would depend on their value as social centres, on their prestige in the public mind and their place in public affection. 85

This desire to proclaim the positive features of the improved pub could also be seen in a 1929 Davenport Brewery pamphlet advertising the 'new type of pub', 'vastly different from the old, squalid, furtive, back-alley gin palace, lurking in the shadows afraid of the light' . 86 This trend towards

the replacement of several smaller pubs by one bigger one, provision of tables and chairs indoors and gardens and bowling greens outside, even if this meant enlarging the premises, and the supply of food both in dining rooms and in the bars 87

was further confirmed by the findings of the 1944 Morris Committee which had been set up to inquire into the future of licensed premises in the reconstruction of heavily war damaged areas. These recommendations were put into practice in the Licensed Planning Act of 1946 which in conjunction with the New Town Act of the same year organised the post war urban building programme. The pub along with other community facilities were to be built at a central location, but separate from the residential area. The pub as conceived, in for

example the Garden Cities, were to become a key feature of the 'respectable' community life of the New Towns.

4.3.ii. THE MYTH ESTABLISHED

In order to make the pub appear more respectable the reformers had to disassociate the idea of pubs from those notions that surrounded the working class urban Victorian or Edwardian drinking places. It was essential therefore for the reformed pub to be connected with a more reputable and hence respectable ancestor. The reformers sought to link their revamped pubs with ideas of the 'traditional' village pub. The fact that the real rural ancestor was no more respectable than its urban counterpart, did not seem to matter. All that was important was that a new respectable notion of the ideal pub should be created. The development of this ideal can be seen in the work of Elisabeth and Gilbert McAllister who at the start of their book the 'Inn and the Garden City' note that:

at the heart of every English community, hamlet, village...are the twin symbols of an integrated social life, the church and the pub. It has been so in all the Englands of which we have records, in Chaucer's England, Shakespeare's England and the England of today...the public house has at all times been the very centre of social life. It was the place where the villagers met to discuss their problems...The pub beside the village green is part of the anonymous tradition bequeathed to us by those forgotten forefathers whose names can be faintly traced on the crumbling stones in the churchyard...Today when an Englishman is abroad defending an English idea of liberty...and he tries to conjure up a picture of the very heart of England, he thinks of the little church, the little pub, village cricket on a Saturday afternoon and the river where 'lightly skims the midge'.⁸⁸

By emphasising the healthy qualities of the traditional rural pubs, the reformers also attempted to counterpose this rural idyll with

the 'degenerate' nature of the urban pub.

In our bigger towns, in our swollen cities, however, there was a time, not altogether passed, when the pub degenerated and from being social became anti-social from being a place of fellowship and friendship became 'the drinking den' ⁸⁹ beloved of the frenzied rhetoric of the prohibitionist.

Writers such as the McAllisters sought to reinstate the pub in the minds of the public to a position of pre-sullied innocence. Furthermore they sought to defend the pub against those who saw it as the centre of all contemporary social problems. They aimed to point out that the 'drink problem did not necessarily have its roots in the pub'. ⁹⁰ Many of these writers felt that prohibition

might easily cause more problems than it solved unless it was accompanied by a constructive attempt to provide some substitute for the social functions of the pub. Those who saw little hope or use in obtaining any form of prohibition, turned their attention to the idea of keeping the pub but reforming it....Under enlightened ownership the pushing of alcoholic drinks could be prevented while non-alcoholic drinks, ⁹¹ food and other facilities were given proper emphasis.

Their attempts to reinstate the pub were assisted by a new wave of rural nostalgia. From the latter part of the 19th century the English village had become identified as the true basis of English life, and was portrayed as changeless, stable and tranquil.

The traditional village community was seen as the cell from which English society had been built up, remaining, through its decline, the 'fly-wheel' of national life. ⁹²

According to Raymond Williams the cultural importance of the idea of the village and rural life appeared to be in 'inverse proportion' to the 'importance of the working rural economy'. ⁹³

The fascination with the 'old country life' spread throughout the middle class after the first World War and included broadcast talks

on the radio and an upsurge in the publication of books on rural topics for example 'Old English Household Life', parish churches, folk songs and dances and village inns. In discussions of the English village, the pub played an important part in the emerging rural imagery. For example Fred Cowle writing in the early 1940's asked the rhetorical question 'What does England mean to the ordinary Englishman?' to which he replied:

just the ordinary things that have always been dear to the simple folk of this island - the ancient traditions, the old churches, the winding roads, the wayside inns, the leafy woodlands, the green meadows. ⁹⁴

However it was not only writers, architects and planners that cultivated this rural imagery, the Brewers also took advantage of this rural nostalgia to sell their beer. For example between 1936 and 1939, Worthington Brewers ran a series of magazine advertisements depicting rustic scenes which stressed the traditional rural character of their ale.

The men of the cities (as one of the first advertisements put it) yearn for the things of the country...old turf, quiet valleys and abiding peace. There do they find themselves nearer the heart of their race, nearer the source of honest kindly things...To them in their canyons of stone and steel comes Worthington brewed in the age-long English tradition, redolent of the countryside, friendly and shining clear as the English character itself. ⁹⁵

4.4. CONCLUSION

The historical data has highlighted the way in which both the alehouse and the urban pub, in spite of fulfilling many communal functions, nevertheless attracted particular sections of the society. This sectional appeal was determined by factors within the

community as well as by the English class structure. In an attempt both to widen the appeal of pubs and to make them more respectable the reformers and the brewers sought to develop a new type of pub. A pub which, in comparison with the Victorian and Edwardian drinking places, was not only architecturally different but also designed for a different clientele. No longer was it to be seen as solely a working class drinking place but instead it was to cater to a more socially varied clientele. In fact the influx of the middle class to the pubs was precisely what many of the reformers had wanted. They felt that the working class would learn and benefit from seeing the middle class in reality.

If only men of good-will make it a rule to visit from time to time the various licensed houses of the neighbourhood, their very presence would be a wonderful help to the cause of morality...the rehabilitation of the pub is likened by the same authors to that of the theatre, which rose from disrepute to total respectability through the patronage of the middle class.⁹⁶

However if our initial argument that drinking and pubs re-create divisions and reinforce pre-existing allegiances is correct, then we would expect to find that these attempts to attract customers from a more heterogeneous social background would still not be completely successful. In spite of efforts by the brewers to modernise their pubs and integrate them into the new emerging leisure industry, we would expect to find that social divisions still occurred within pubs.

CHAPTER FOUR: FOOTNOTES

1. For a discussion of the Roman tabernae and the Saxon and Norman inns see T.Burke, 1930, E.G.Baird, 1944, H.P.Maskell, 1927 and R.E.Popham, 1978.
2. M.Gorham and H.McG. Dunnett, 1950, pp.49-50.
3. P.Clark, 1978, p.50.
4. Ibid., p.61.
5. For a fuller description of games associated with the Alehouse see P.Clark, 1983.
6. P.Clark, 1983, op. cit., p.74.
7. K.Wrightson, 1981, p.3.
8. K.Wrightson, *ibid.*, p.5.
9. P.Clark, 1983, op. cit., p.123.
10. *Ibid.*, p.126.
11. *Ibid.*, p.131.

12. It appears that a number of words were used to denote alehouse-keepers including tipplers, victuallers and brewers or brewsters.
13. A.Oakley, 1974, p.12. See also A.Clark, 1968.
14. P.Clark, 1983, op. cit., p.70.
15. R.E.Popham, op. cit., p.256.
16. F.A.King, op. cit., p.85.
17. P.Clark, op. cit., p.59.
18. Ibid., p.148.
19. K.Wrightson, op. cit., p.12.
20. P.Clark, op. cit., p.57.
21. Ibid., p.68.
22. Ibid., p.72.
23. The first major Licensing Act was in 1552. It required that alehouses 'were to be licensed by two justices of the peace, while their keepers were to be bound annually to be

of good behaviour and to permit neither unlawful games nor other disorders in their houses'. This Act had mixed consequences partly because of a lack of any central supervision and partly because it was unclear whether licenses were to be granted for one year only or semi-permanently. Moreover, it proved difficult to impose a new licensing system on an existing institution. According to Clark, (1983) magistrates had succeeded in licensing only half of them by 1600. The 1552 Act was then followed by further pieces of legislation in 1599, 1604 and 1608 which increasingly empowered local justices to curb the alehouses. This handing of authority to the local J.P.s was to be a major feature of the Licensing Act. The administration of the Acts at the local level led to much disparity in its operation with some counties being particularly harsh, while others were much more lenient. Furthermore, local magistrates began to issue their own regulations to control the location, the hours and the facilities that the alehouses offered. In some cases the magistrates simply reduced the number of alehouses by half on the grounds that they were unnecessary.

24. P.Clark, op. cit., p.71.
25. B.Harrison, 1977, p.162.
26. M.Gorham and H.McG.Dunnett, op. cit., p.23.



27. M.A.Smith, 1981b, p.11.
28. N.Longmate, 1968, p.16.
29. P.Clark, op. cit., p.336.
30. Ibid., p.337.
31. M.Gorham and H.McG.Dunnett, op. cit., p.26.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid., p.27.
34. P.Bailey, 1978, p.16.
35. P.Clark, op. cit., p.337.
36. R.N.Price, 1971, p.6.
37. J.Lowerson and J.Myerscough, 1977, p.62.
38. B.Harrison, op. cit., p.169.
39. Ibid.
40. P.Bailey, op. cit., p.15.

41. B.Harrison, op. cit., p.169.
42. R.D.Storch, 1977, p.145.
43. P.Bailey, op. cit., p.10.
44. G.Pearson, 1983, p.165.
45. B.Harrison, op. cit., p.161.
46. S.Pollard, 1964, p.270.
47. R.D.Storch, op. cit., p.145.
48. Ibid., p.147.
49. R.N.Price, op. cit., p.10.
50. G.Pearson, op. cit., p.194.
51. J.F.C.Harrison, 1971, p.72.
52. S.Pollard, op. cit.
53. A.Shadwell, 1902, p.88.
54. B.S.Rowntree, 1980.

55. Cmd, 3813, 1908, lxxxix, p.627.
56. B.Harrison, op. cit., p.50.
57. M.A.Smith, op. cit., p.35.
58. J.R.Walkowitz, 1980, p.156.
59. For a further discussion of this point see G.Hunt et. al. 1989.
60. An example of this concern can be seen in a study by A.Barrington for the Eugenics Society, 1910.
61. Cmd. 3813, 1908, lxxxix, p.627.
62. British Journal of Inebriety, 1905, p.208.
63. J.Lowerson and J.Myerscough, 1977, p.62.
64. R.Thorne, 1976, p.107.
65. The Gothenberg scheme which had originated in Sweden had been based on the idea that control of the pubs should be placed in the hands of the local authority who would determine the number, run the pubs in the 'interest of temperance and morality' (M.Girouard, 1984, p.212.) and use

the profits for the benefit of the community. For a further discussion see J.Rowntree and A.Sherwell, 1901.

66. A.R.Sennet, 1905, p.690.
67. R.Thorne, op. cit., p.108.
68. M.Gorham and H.McG.Dunnett, 1950, p.26.
69. Ibid.
70. B.Spiller, 1972, p.16.
71. Mass Observation, op. cit., p.103.
72. Ibid., p.99.
73. A.Crawford et. al. 1986, p.45.
74. R.Thorne, op. cit., p.108.
75. M.E.Rose, 1973, p.73.
76. B.Oliver, 1947, p.57.
77. Ibid., p.58.

78. R.Thorne, op. cit., p.110.
79. Ibid.
80. Ibid.
81. A.Crawford, op. cit., p.40.
82. Ibid., p.48.
83. B.Oliver, op. cit., p.81.
84. Ibid., p.84.
85. E. and G.McAllister, 1948, p.19.
86. A.Crawford, op. cit., p.55.
87. A.Gorham and H.McG. Dunnett, op. cit., p.38.
88. E. and G.McAllister, op. cit., p.7.
89. Ibid., p.8
90. R.Thorne, op. cit., p.107.
91. Ibid.

92. M.J.Wiener, 1981, p.51.
93. Ibid., p.48.
94. Ibid., p.74.
95. Ibid., p.76.
96. W.J.Callaway, 1980, p.2.33.

CHAPTER FIVE: DRINKING AND THE CONTEMPORARY PUB

One might assume, given the pub's long tradition as an important feature of social life in England, that a comprehensive body of sociological research would exist. However contemporary research in the social sciences has to a large extent neglected this possible area of study, which is even more surprising given the interest in community studies in the 1950's and 1960's and the development of leisure studies as an important area of investigation in the 1970's.

Whatever the reasons for this neglect, and one writer has even suggested that one of the reasons may be that sociologists, like temperance men are seldom pub goers,¹ we are nevertheless left with a relatively small collection of literature on which to base our assessment of the contemporary role of pubs.

What little information there is can be divided into: internal studies, national surveys and community studies.

5.1. CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

5.1.i. INTERNAL STUDIES

These studies have concentrated on the pub primarily as an arena where alcohol is consumed. Their aim, by using observational methods, has been to record the amount and type of alcohol sold, the

number of customers that enter the pub during a given period, the number of drinks each individual consumes, the length of their stay and the social characteristics of each customer. ² The most famous of this type of research was the Mass Observation study 'The pub and the people' done in the late 1930's in an industrial town in the north of England. ³

5.1.ii. NATIONAL SURVEYS

These studies, the first of which appeared in 1970, ⁴ although not specifically dealing with pubs, nevertheless contains some material on the gender and socio-economic characteristics of the pub-goers and the extent to which they frequent the pubs.

5.1.iii. COMMUNITY STUDIES

The final source of data can be found in the many community studies produced by anthropologists and sociologists from the 1950's onwards. Following the tradition set down by the Lynds, Dollard, Warner, Whyte and others ⁵ in North America, these studies were predominantly ethnographic in style. Within this literature research was done on family labour farms in Gosforth, ⁶ social change in Banbury, ⁷ mining in Ashton, ⁸ village life on a border, ⁹ and class relations in Westrigg. ¹⁰ In spite of the plethora of descriptive data, little information exists either on the use of the pub or its role within these communities. For example we find in Kerr's work ¹¹ on a working class area of Liverpool a number of references to the use of the pub. These references give us very little idea of whether the pub acts as a neighbourhood community

centre or whether other alternative clubs provide the traditional functions of the pub as a meeting centre. Furthermore even in a study on a working class fishing community in Hull with a reputation for heavy male drinking, the author fails to analyse the role of the pubs within this 'occupation and drinking' community. ¹²

Therefore in my attempt to investigate the role of contemporary pubs I have had to rely on pieces of information gathered from a whole range of different sources. In so doing I hope to identify both the current trends as well as the contradictory role of pubs in English society.

5.2. CLASS DIVISIONS AND THE CONTEMPORARY PUB

During the 1940's and 1950's pubs still played an important role as a social centre. For example, the Mass Observation study noted that

more people spend more time in public houses than they do in any other buildings except private houses and work places...Of the social institutions that mould men's lives between home and work in an industrial town, such as Worktown, the pub has more buildings, holds more people, takes more of their time and money, than church, cinema, dance hall and political organisations put together. ¹³

The reason for this according to the researchers lay in the fact that:

It is the only kind of public building used by large numbers of ordinary people where their thoughts and actions are not being in some way arranged for them...within the four walls of the pub, once a man has bought or been bought his glass of beer, he has entered an environment in which he is participator rather than spectator. ¹⁴

The importance of pubs for the residents of Worktown was centred

around the communal activity of drinking.

It is essentially a social group around widespread and commonplace social activities. These attain new angles ...by being pressed into the service of satisfying or dissatisfying, these numerous small communities bound together by the bond of beer habits. ¹⁵

The sense of community was further highlighted by the authors in two ways. First the range of activities and social clubs that existed in the pubs which included singing, gambling, domino playing, card games, darts and quoits as well as trade union meetings, pigeon flying group meetings, bowling clubs, dog clubs, and angling clubs. Second the community nature was also illustrated by the fact that many of the researchers' informants in the pubs were able to tell the researchers not only the occupations of other regulars, but also where they lived, their marital status, the number of children they had and in some cases even their actual work places. This range of knowledge about other pub-goers is indicative of the 'local' or 'neighbourhood' pub.

Doris Rich in a later study on leisure in Coseley ¹⁶ also showed the importance of pubs as social and community centres. She discovered that two thirds of the men in her sample had visited a pub or social club in the previous week. By recording the leisure activities of the men and women she was able to highlight the importance of pubs, at least for men.

TABLE 1: THE FAMILY WHO GO TO THE PUBLIC HOUSE¹⁷

<u>DAY</u>	<u>FATHER</u>	<u>MOTHER</u>
<u>MONDAY</u>	At home for part of the evening then went to public house..with his wife for the 'last hour'	At home for part of the evening and then went to public house with husband.
<u>TUESDAY</u>	At home during part of evening then went to same public house with son-in-law for the 'last' hour.	Spent the evening doing ironing with daughter
<u>WEDNESDAY</u>	Spent evening in same public house	Went to the Roseville Cinema with next door neighbour
<u>THURSDAY</u>	Went to the same public house for the 'last' hour	At home mending
<u>FRIDAY</u>	Same as Thursday evening	Same as Thursday evening
<u>SATURDAY</u>	After dinner-time drink at the same public house rested until tea time and then went with wife to the public house	Spent the afternoon at home with her daughter. Went to the usual public house with husband in the evening
<u>SUNDAY</u>	Stayed in all day. Spent evening at usual public house	Stayed in all day and evening

Source: D. Rich, Spare Time in the Black Country, 1953.

In spite of this continued importance, it is also clear that by the late 1950's, for the first time, pubs as leisure centres were having to compete with the home. As Willmott and Young found in their study of Greenleigh ¹⁸ staying at home and drinking in front of the television was becoming increasingly popular. Although the pub now had a new type of competition it was also clear that the brewers' attempt to 'gentrify' their pubs had succeeded in attracting more middle class customers. However this did not necessarily lead to similar drinking practices. In fact the national surveys that investigated pub attendance showed that social class still determined who drank what, where and when.

TABLE 2: PROPORTION WHO ARE FREQUENT VISITORS
TO LICENSED PREMISES AND WHO HAVE A DRINK AT HOME FREQUENTLY,
ANALYSED BY SOCIAL CLASS AND INCOME.

<u>PLACE OF DRINKING</u>	<u>SOCIAL CLASS</u>				
	<u>Prof.</u>	<u>Inter- mediate</u>	<u>Semi-skilled non-manual</u>	<u>Semi-skilled manual</u>	<u>Unskilled</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>Public- House</u>	40	44	46	47	47
<u>Club</u>	22	25	23	28	33
<u>Restau- rant</u>	39	28	15	11	8
<u>Hotel</u>	19	13	8	6	5
<u>Home</u>	77	58	44	45	25

Source: M. Bradley and D. Fenwick, Public Attitudes to Liquor Licensing Laws in Great Britain, 1974.

As can be seen from the table 2, although the difference between the proportion of informants from professional backgrounds who were frequent visitors to pubs was not greatly different to that of informants from manual occupations, it is nevertheless clear that there was a significant difference in the importance of the pub within the social life of these two groups. For if we compare the percentages of frequent drinkers at home between these two groups, the comparison is quite striking. In the case of the working class drinkers, pubs played a much greater role in their social lives, than for the non-manual workers.

Class differences, such as these, were also noted by Wilson in a later national survey done in 1980.²⁰ He discovered that whereas 45% of men in manual occupations drank in pubs or bars, only 37% of men from non-manual occupations did so. Moreover he also discovered a similar pattern to that of the earlier OPCS study in terms of class differences in drinking patterns in the private domain. He found that drinking at home or in the homes of friends occurred more frequently for men from non-manual occupations than for men from manual occupations. All together he found that whereas 70% of drinking by men in manual occupations was done in bars only 50% of non-manual drinking occurred in public.²¹

Furthermore as the brewers attempted to eradicate status differences within pubs, so distinctions began to arise between them. Particular pubs became identified as either middle class or working class.

Moreover even though class differences began to be removed within pubs one divisive factor amongst the customers, whether they were working class or middle class, remained - that of gender.

5.3. GENDER DIVISIONS WITHIN PUBS

It might be supposed initially that, although traditional pubs could be seen as male strongholds, the pubs today, as a result of both trends towards a new and improved pub coupled with the impact of the feminist movement, would exhibit a more equal gender attendance. However what I discovered when I compared the data in this period of 1900-1980 is that there has been little significant change in attendance rates of men and women. Moreover in some cases the female attendance rates have still not yet reached the levels found in certain urban working class pubs at the turn of the century. Obviously it must be remembered that in noting this finding, I am relying on data which is not strictly comparable, for much of the material in the earlier part of the century is based on relatively small research investigations, whereas data from the 1960's onwards is based on much larger research surveys. Nevertheless I feel that the evidence clearly supports the view that in spite of all the changes that have been noted pubs remain, in general, male domains.

Rowntree in 1900 in his study of poverty in York examined the differences in male and female pub attendance. In order to do so, he chose three different pubs located in three different parts of the city. Pub A was 'a small dingy-house situated in a narrow street in

the heart of a slum district'.²² Pub B was 'situated in a busy thoroughfare lined with small shops...close to a poor class neighbourhood'.²³ And finally pub C was 'situated at the corner of two streets; one of these is a narrow street of small workmen's cottages, the other a broad street, the thoroughfare to a wealthier residential district'.²⁴ Having chosen the pubs, Rowntree then monitored the numbers of men and women entering the pubs on three different days of the week. From his results he produced the following table.

TABLE 3: MALE AND FEMALE ATTENDANCE RATES, YORK 1900²⁵

<u>Days of</u> <u>the week</u>	<u>Pub 'A'</u>		<u>Pub 'B'</u>		<u>Pub 'C'</u>	
	<u>Male</u> %	<u>Female</u> %	<u>Male</u> %	<u>Female</u> %	<u>Male</u> %	<u>Female</u> %
<u>Wed/Thur</u>	68	32	65	35	88	12
<u>Saturday</u>	60	41	72	28	82	18
<u>Sunday</u>	69	31	75	25	88	12

Source: B.S. Rowntree, Poverty: A Study of Town Life, 1901.

From the table, we can see that the percentage of female attendance varied from 12% to 41%. The highest percentage was on a Saturday evening in Pub A and the lowest percentage, that of 12%, was in Pub C on Thursday and Saturday evenings.

The Mass Observation study provides the next available piece of information on differences in male and female attendance. According to the researchers, the overall percentage of female pub-goers was 16%. However this figure, as in the Rowntree study, varied between different pubs and at different times of the week.

TABLE 4: OVERALL MALE AND FEMALE PUB ATTENDANCE RATES IN WORKTOWN²⁶

	<u>Town Centre Pubs</u>		<u>Main Road Pubs Outside Town Centre</u>	
	<u>Weekdays</u>	<u>Weekends</u>	<u>Weekdays</u>	<u>Weekends</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>Males</u>	83	74	91	84
<u>Females</u>	17	26	9	16

Source: Mass Observation, The Pub and the People: A Worktown Study, 1970.

The percentages of female drinkers varied from 9% during the week in pubs outside the town centre to 26% at week-ends in town centre pubs. Furthermore they also found that the percentage of female pub-goers varied depending on the particular age-group. The highest percentage was found in the 41-55 female age-group which accounted for 60% of all female drinkers and 24% of all adult drinkers. In spite of a gap of nearly forty years between the two studies, the overall proportion of female to male drinkers appears not to have significantly altered. Moreover if we now examine the studies done since 1945 we see the same pattern emerging.

Williams and Brake ²⁷ analysed all the available national statistics on male and female pub visiting. They began by examining the data from the British Market Research Bureau (BMRB) study²⁸ done in 1969. The information for this survey was collected from 33 pubs chosen randomly throughout the country. On the basis of the data collected they discovered that the overall average patronage was 75% male and 25% female.²⁹ Williams and Brake then compared these figures with the information produced by the 1970 OPCS study. ³⁰ Unlike the BMRB survey this later study, in addition to investigating English pubs also surveyed Scottish hotels. By analysing the data they were able to conclude that the percentages for male and female drinking in pubs lay 'somewhere between 72% male and 28% female and 80% male and 20% female'. ³¹ Finally they compared these two surveys with the 1980 OPCS study. ³² By using information from the frequency of visits to the pubs data as well as the average time spent once

there, they were able to calculate the differential percentages of male and female attendance, which worked out at 73% male and 27% female. Williams and Brake concluded that these percentages showed that 'there is no evidence of any substantial change in the sex composition of the customers at bars in public houses in England and Wales between 1969 and 1978'.³³

Therefore for the whole of the period from 1900 to 1980 it is possible to conclude that male and female attendance has varied only slightly and that there has been little or no marked change towards a more equal distribution. Moreover the fact that little change has occurred may highlight the unease felt by women when they visit pubs. For example as Garvey has noted

There's something very tricky about being a woman alone in a pub, even if you do stick to the lounge part and have a bitter lemon. The atmosphere is alien. Regular denizens either leer knowingly or look mildly affronted. You're in foreign territory and although you know there are going to be no open hostilities, you are expected to go through the motions of defensive action, to acknowledge the proprietorial presence of the native inhabitants.³⁴

This point was also confirmed by Bradley and Fenwick when they discovered that 90% of the women interviewed 'wouldn't want to go into a pub alone',³⁵ and 39% of them 'never felt really comfortable in a pub'.³⁶

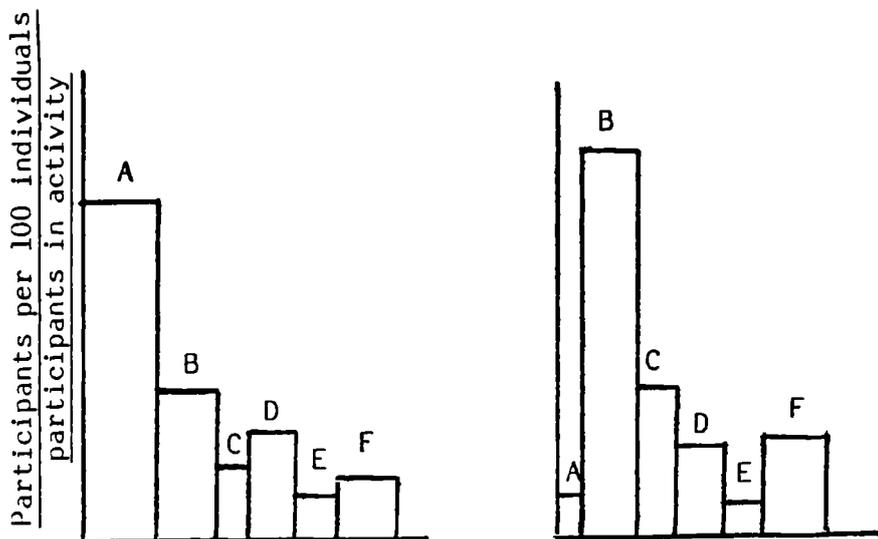
In fact it would appear from many of the studies that the only occasion when women felt more at ease and were also more accepted was when they were accompanied by their husbands, boyfriends or male

relatives. For example Rich showed, in the following diagrams, the extent to which women were accompanied by their husbands.

DIAGRAM 5: COMPANIONSHIP AND PUB VISITING³⁷

MALES

FEMALES



KEY: A: Alone, B: Spouse, C: Relatives in household, D: Relatives out of household, E: Neighbours, F: Others.

Source: D. Rich, Spare Time in the Black Country, 1953.

Rich concluded that

97% of the time the wives spent in the public house or club was with their husbands, but this only represented 30% of the time the husbands spent in the public house or club and the rest³⁸ of their time there, was spent alone or with others.

Although Rich completed her study over thirty years ago, the marked gender differences in pub drinking companions appears to have remained relatively constant. In the 1980 OPCS study,³⁹ Wilson found that whereas between 6% and 20% of men, in the four age-groups drank alone, the corresponding figures for women varied only from 1% to 7%. Moreover when we examine the proportion of occasions when husband and wives drank with their spouses, we find that whereas between 63% and 71% of men drank without their wives, only between 14% and 30% of the wives drank without their husbands.

TABLE 6: DRINKING COMPANIONS IN BARS⁴⁰

<u>Drinking</u> <u>Companions</u>	<u>Male Drinkers</u>				<u>Female Drinkers</u>				
	18-24	25-34	35-54	55+	18-24	25-34	35-54	55+	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
<u>Proportion of occasions when:</u>									
<u>Drinking alone</u>	6	7	16	20	1	2	0	7	
<u>With one other</u>	22	29	19	27	29	24	25	41	
<u>With two others</u>	14	15	12	13	13	9	13	11	
<u>With 3-6 others</u>	42	38	36	35	41	48	44	34	
<u>Proportion of occasions when</u>									
<u>drinking</u>	<u>Yes</u>	0	31	29	37	81	70	77	86
<u>with spouses</u>	<u>No</u>	0	69	71	63	19	30	23	14

Source: P. Wilson, Drinking in England and Wales, 1980.

Women's unwillingness both to go into pubs on their own and to feel comfortable within them cannot merely be seen as some form of female paranoia, for what is also clear from the available literature is the very real attempt by men to control women's access to pubs, or at least to ensure a subordinate position for them once inside the pubs. For example the Mass Observation study illustrates the existence of various restrictions on their general use of the pub.

...there are a number of taboos about women in pubs. Vault and taproom are closed to them. In one small beer house we have observed a handwritten notice over the taproom door 'Gentlemen only'. Only once have we observed women in the vault; this was in a large town centre pub, which has a 'very good class' vault, with chairs and tables.....They were not local...Also, women don't stand at the bar. Again, we have observed one case of this custom being violated. ⁴¹

Through the use of such restrictions, women were confined to specific rooms within the pubs, for example the 'best room'.

A number of men come in the pub with their wives but separate inside, the wife goes off into the best room while the husband goes into the taproom, either to participate in games or indulge in conversation. ⁴²

However it should not be assumed that barriers such as those described operated only in the pre-war period for there is clear evidence that discrimination against women whether through formal or informal techniques still operate today. For example in 1982, Coote and Campbell detailed the way in which women were refused bar service at El Vino's in Fleet Street. ⁴³

5.4. CONCLUSION

Since the Second World War, the Brewers have attempted to broaden the appeal of their pubs. In the 1960's they spent large amounts of money renovating the interiors. According to Hutt ⁴³ £25 million was spent on what one Bass Charrington spokesman called 'tarting and re-vamping'. Much of this money was used on demolishing the different bars within pubs and constructing a single bar. In renovating the pubs, the Brewers sought to attract not only more middle class drinkers but also women and young people - the new potential target groups.

As the structure of society has changed since the last war, so have trends and habits in relation to the pub. A greater proportion of middle-class people are regular pub-goers than used to be the case. Women and young people represent two enormous markets...Their presence in the pub makes the brewers more anxious than ever to knock down the partitions and encourage the public bar trade to follow this new example. ⁴⁴

Today the older divisions still exist in the pubs albeit in newly decorated surroundings. Neither the reformers nor the brewers have succeeded in creating a socially homogenous clientele - class and gender divisions still determine who drinks where, when and what.

However to know that class and gender divisions determine the overall social groupings does not tell us precisely which groups of people will find themselves drinking together. Moreover we should not underestimate the possibility that people who generally have little or no social interaction may on occasion drink together in a

pub. The communal act of drinking coupled with the niceties of polite conversation may create new allegiances which may or may not be transferred outside. Hence to understand the precise configuration of these potential allegiances and divisions within a village community it is now essential to consider the social stratification of contemporary English villages and examine the way in which the macro elements become translated and modified within particular village communities.

CHAPTER FIVE: FOOTNOTES

1. Mass Observation, 1970, p.339.
2. M.Plant et. al. 1977.
3. Mass Observation, op. cit.
4. M.Bradley and D.Fenwick, 1974.
5. J.Dollard, 1937, R.S. and H.M.Lynd, 1929, W.Lloyd Warner 1963, and W.F.Whyte, 1954.
6. W.M.Williams, 1956.
7. M.Stacey, 1960.
8. N.Dennis et. al., 1956.
9. R.Frankenberg, 1957. See also R.Frankenberg 1971.
10. J.Littlejohn, 1964.
11. M.Kerr, 1958.
12. J.Tunstall, 1962.

13. Mass Observation, op. cit., p.17.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid., p.25.
16. D.Rich 1953.
17. Ibid., p.313.
18. P.Willmott and M.Young, 1968.
19. M.Bradley and D.Fenwick, op. cit., p.114.
20. P.Wilson, 1980.
21. Ibid., p.24.
22. B.S.Rowntree, 1980, p.314.
23. Ibid., p.320.
24. Ibid., p.323.
25. I calculated the percentages from the various tables that Rowntree produced.

26. Mass Observation, op. cit., p.135.
27. G.P.Williams and G.T.Brake, 1982.
28. British Market Research Bureau, 1969.
29. The researchers did find a difference in female attendance in the public bar from the non-public (15% and 34% respectively).
30. M.Bradley and D.Fenwick, op. cit.
31. G.P.Williams and G.T.Brake, op. cit., p.58.
32. P.Wilson, op. cit.
33. G.P.Williams and G.T.Brake, op. cit., p.59.
34. A.Garvey, 1974, p.459.
35. M.Bradley and D.Fenwick, op. cit., p.55.
36. Ibid.
37. D.Rich, op. cit., p.338
38. Ibid., p.337.

39. P.Wilson, op. cit.
40. Ibid., p.26.
41. Mass Observation, op. cit., p.144.
42. Ibid.
43. A.Coote and B.Campbell, 1982.
44. C.Hutt, 1973.
45. Ibid., p.127.

CHAPTER SIX: THE ENGLISH VILLAGE.

English village life has been affected by two major and contradictory processes. On the one hand there has been a significant movement of labour from the rural to the urban areas and on the other hand there has been an influx of middle class newcomers.

The 'drift from the land' has denuded many villages of a substantial proportion of their former working population and this exodus has in many areas of lowland England been compensated for only by the arrival of a car-owning, overwhelmingly middle-class group of immigrant urbanites.¹

6.1. RURAL DEPOPULATION

As Saville² has showed in his well known study on migration, there has been a significant loss of population from the rural areas since the middle of the 19th century. Various reasons have been put forward to explain the continuation of this rural depopulation since the end of the Second World War, the most important of which, has been the decline in agricultural employment. According to Newby whereas in 1948 there were nearly 573,000 full-time agricultural workers, in 1975 the number had fallen to 184,000.³ This represents a shrinkage of nearly 20,000 a year, although as Newby points out this decline has neither occurred in a uniform manner nor has it hit all sectors of the agricultural workforce evenly. The overall rate of decline has to a large extent been dependent upon such factors as 'the overall level of employment in the

economy....(and) local employment conditions'.⁴ One of the major reasons for this has been increasing mechanisation which has enabled farms to be run with the assistance of a much smaller workforce.

Through mechanisation and other labour-saving devices agriculture has been able consistently to shed labour to other sectors of the economy to the extent that Britain now has the smallest proportion of its population engaged in agriculture of any country in the world.⁵

The second important reason for the occurrence of rural depopulation has been the lack of alternative employment in the rural areas. According to Phillips and Williams the 'attraction or pull of alternative jobs and higher wages' is just as important as the 'push' from the decline of farm jobs.⁶ Finally the decline in rural facilities and services has been a third reason for rural depopulation. As Phillips and Williams have noted the link between deteriorating facilities and services and the decline in the population is:

usually portrayed as a vicious circle of cause and effect: as services decline people react by out-migrating, which leads to further fall in demand, and a consequent further reduction in service provision.

The shortage of available housing has been particularly critical for the lower income groups, a point emphasised by Shelter, the housing campaign group, when it organised a 'Housing Aid Tour' in Dorset in 1976. The organisers found that 'the poor who are badly housed in rural areas often suffer greater hardship than their urban counterparts'.⁸ Furthermore this shortage is increasing both as a result of urbanites who are able to afford higher prices and because

of the inability of the local council to provide sufficient housing for the younger people in the rural areas.

In addition to the shortage of housing, other services and facilities such as health services,⁹ recreational facilities¹⁰ and the transport system¹¹ have also declined.

6.2. COUNTER-URBANISATION

In recent years a population outflow from the metropolitan centres has occurred. As Spence et. al.¹² have shown the conurbations have 'been losing population relative to the smaller free-standing cities and almost all the 'cores' of the metropolitan areas had experienced absolute or relative population shifts to their metropolitan rings'.¹³ More recently the Henley Centre confirmed this trend when they noted that the rural-urban pattern has returned to the same percentages that existed at the beginning of the century - a 66% to 34% split.

Increasing numbers of people across the age groups are 'trading-out' to the 'Outer Ring' by cashing in on their urban property-holding and re-establishing their main home in a rural setting, often maintaining some kind of more modest metropolitan base. The pattern is reinforced by many middle-aged couples inheriting a second, or even a third home, selling up and opting outwards in their re-sorting of location priorities. And there are already significant numbers of long-distance weekly commuters with less voluntary double lifestyles, shuttling along the Inter-City lines.¹⁴

This movement is in fact nothing new, for example the rural districts around London have experienced population increases since 1921. However, what has occurred more recently is that 'commuter'

villages have developed further away from the urban centres.

Between 1939 and 1971 the population living in rural areas has increased from 7.3 to 10.6 million; in proportional terms, a rise from 17.6 to 21.8%.....and physical urbanisation has been replaced by functional urbanisation of the countryside. ¹⁵

Prior to the 1970's the rural areas which gained most impressively were the rural south-east including Kent, Surrey, Hampshire, Berkshire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Hertfordshire and Essex. After the 1970's the areas which had the largest gains were the South-West, East Anglia and the East Midlands.

6.3. NEWCOMERS AND LOCALS

The analysis of conflict between an in-group and an out-group is not a new area of investigation for either sociology or social anthropology. Nadel, for example, writing in 1949 discussed the issue of belonging and non-belonging in his overall discussion of what constitutes social groups.¹⁶ Elias and Scotson produced one of the first studies to deal specifically with this issue. ¹⁷ They investigated the relationships between the inhabitants of three 'zones' in a Midlands community. The oldest part of the town, called zone 2 was inhabited by working class families, who christened their area -'the village'. In the 1920's and early 1930's, zone 1 was built. This zone, located north of the village contained detached and semi-detached houses.

They catered for the needs of professional and business people. And in course of time some of the prosperous skilled workers from zone 2 and individuals from zone 2 who had acquired some wealth as traders and shopkeepers moved there as an outward symbol of their success. ¹⁸

The final part of the town, zone 3, was built in the 1930's. The majority of these houses were rented during the 1940's by immigrants from London, who had left because of the bombing. These new inhabitants were mainly skilled and semi-skilled workers and hence similar to the residents of zone 2. However in spite of this similarity the 'newcomers' were seen as being different in terms of:

their customs, their traditions their whole way of life. Moreover with them came a minority of unskilled labourers...whose standards of conduct...differed not only from those of the 'villagers' but also from those of the majority of Estate residents. ¹⁹

The newcomers were looked upon as being of lower status than the older residents of the village. These differences in terms of social ranking then led to friction and tension.

The tensions between the old and the new residents were of a particular kind. The core of the old residents valued highly the standards, the norms, the way of life that had evolved among them. They were all closely associated with their self respect and with the respect they felt was due to them from others.....The newcomers who settled on the estate were felt as a threat to this order, not because of any intention they had of upsetting it, but because their behaviour made the old residents feel that any close contact with them would lower their own standing, that it would drag them down to a lower status level...that it would impair the prestige of their neighbourhood. ²⁰

This early study is an important example of the way in which newcomers can become type-cast by the locals in particular ways which re-inforce the social barriers erected between them. Moreover the study is particularly interesting because not only does it investigate the relationship between locals and newcomers but also because it examines the conflict and tension that can arise between different groups within the same social class. Unlike later studies which have tended to concentrate on the characteristics of

'established' and 'outsiders' from contrasting social classes, Elias and Scotson sought to examine the effect of these characteristics on the relationships of two working class groups. An aspect, which as they noted in their introduction, had not previously been examined.

the fact that length of residence can be a factor in the ranking of families and groups is quite well known..The fact that similar distinctions may also play a part in the relationships of working class groups is perhaps less well known...one might expect working class groups to be less prone to this kind of ranking. ²¹

Pahl's study in 1960 ²² was also important because it examined the relationships between newcomers and locals in a village as opposed to a town. He became interested in this issue as a result of his work on the rural-urban fringe, which he felt had been neglected by early studies on rural areas. His first study called 'Urbs in Rure' had examined the impact of the outward population movement into the rural area north of London, encompassing such towns as Stevenage, Hitchin and Welwyn Garden City. The prevalence of social and spatial segregation between the newcomers and the locals - a segregation largely based on social class differences was a major feature of this population impact. According to Pahl, this form of segregation was a key distinguishing characteristic between the older metropolitan centres and the newer metropolitan fringes. 'It is one of the central theses of this monograph that a change from hierarchical to segregated structures is one of the distinguishing features of a metropolitan fringe'. ²³ The chief characteristics of the rural urban fringe was firstly the occurrence of spatial

segregation not only in the new towns but also in the expanding villages. Secondly the rural - urban fringe was attracting a new type of immigrant. These immigrants were 'mobile, middle-class commuters, who live and work in distinct and separate social and economic worlds'.²⁴ Finally the influx of these new immigrants was leading to a clear segregation which resulted in the 'polarisation of the social structure along class lines'.²⁵

Pahl developed further this theme of segregation in his work on the rural parishes of Hertfordshire and specifically in his famous study on Dormersdell - a commuter village.²⁶ In conducting a questionnaire he discovered that in addition to agricultural workers, the village was polarised between the local non-agricultural manual workers and the professional non-manual workers. According to Pahl the reason for the relative absence of occupational groups between these 'extremes' was that to 'buy a house in the country, added to the extra expense of rural living, is an economic burden only the relatively affluent can afford'.²⁷ Once having discovered the existence of these two major groups, he decided to investigate the relationship between what he called the 'enclosed and traditional' world of the working class and the more mobile, more affluent middle class. In order to do this he carried out an investigation of one commuter village - Dormersdell. The village had a population of 1200 and the two groups lived in different parts of the village. The middle class newcomers lived in the area known as the 'wood', and the working class locals lived in the village. The 'Wood' consisted of a 'concentration of middle-

class housing in an area of poor quality wood-land about a mile from the local authority housing around the school at the centre of the village'.²⁸ Representatives of both groups saw the village as being clearly divided, for example as the village schoolmaster remarked 'We're a split society'.

The social and geographical divisions between the groups and their lack of contact with each other led to a development of stereotype views of each other. For example:

On the one hand the 'Wood' claims that the 'village' will not do anything for itself; on the other hand, the village accuses the 'Wood' of having organisations run by and for themselves and thus curiously, of dominating the village.
29

Furthermore the traditional working class in the village resented the newcomers because, according to Pahl, it had lost its 'clear position in the hierarchy and the reflected status of the gentry for whom it worked'.³⁰ In other words the arrival of the newcomers had disrupted the world that the villagers had known, and had forced each group into an 'unusual consciousness of each other'.³¹

This can lead to an articulation of resentment by the manual workers, whose feelings of relative deprivation may be exacerbated by the proximity of the village situation.
32

Thus ironically the middle class newcomers who had come to the rural areas to find a 'meaningful community', discovered that their very presence inevitably helped 'to destroy whatever community was there'.³³

Part of the basis of the local village community was the sharing of the deprivations due to the isolation of country life and the sharing of the limited world of the families within the village. The middle class people try to get the cosiness of village life without suffering any of the

deprivations, and while maintaining a whole range of contacts outside.³⁴

The development of this division and potential conflict was further analysed by Newby who identified two major issues - a material one and an ideological one.

6.3.i. THE MATERIAL ISSUE

The arrival of newcomers in the villages led to a further deterioration in an already chronic shortage of housing. It had the effect of both increasing the cost of accommodation as well as increasing the competition within the housing market. This meant that local residents found it more and more difficult to obtain accommodation.

For the vast majority of agricultural workers...the purchase of privately owned housing has been and remains, completely out of the question, given the extremely low level of their incomes. The meaningful housing market for the agricultural worker was in the past, therefore, either privately rented property, local authority housing or the tied cottage. The arrival of middle-class newcomers has not only finally put paid to any hopes of owner-occupation by the few aspiring farm workers but it has also priced most of them out of the privately rented market too.³⁵

Furthermore the locals' need for more subsidised housing conflicted with the newcomers' 'romanticised' view of the English village, which was to 'preserve the character of the village'³⁶ and prevent any changes which may be detrimental. Hence:

it is the newcomers who form village amenity societies, complain about uprooted hedges or diverted footpaths, and who, most significantly, protest against any plans to build more houses in the village, especially council housing, which is considered in both its aesthetic and its social connotations as being...'detrimental' to the character of the village.³⁷

Strathern gives an example of this type of conflict in her work on

Elmdon. In the early 1960's the word had got out that four to six bungalows were to be built in one part of the village. The plan 'aroused so much feeling' that the Elmdon people went along to a meeting arranged to discuss the possible development. The proposals to build these new buildings produced considerable antagonism which highlighted the competing interests among the residents. On the one hand the middle class residents who lived in the lane where the bungalows were to be built 'had voiced opposition on the grounds that the road was inadequate to service further buildings'.³⁸ On the other hand the locals interpreted this as a desire on the part of the newcomers 'to keep the lane with its pretty cottages looking as it always did'³⁹ - a desire which conflicted with their needs for more housing. However, although the locals argued in favour of the building of new houses, the proposed buildings were in fact unsuitable for them because of the proposed price of £5000 - a figure totally beyond the reach of the locals.

6.3.ii. OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AND CONFLICTING VALUES

The above example illustrates not only the conflict over housing but also the different attitudes and perceptions towards the village. For whilst the newcomers wished to preserve what they saw as the true nature of the village and its community, the locals needed certain basic requirements such as housing, if they were to be able to remain in the village or attempt to keep their children there. The occurrence of these different views could very easily fuel a situation of conflict between the two groups. Moreover the arrival of the newcomers led to a major alteration in the 'traditional'

social relations. People in the village, prior to the arrival of the newcomers, had been dependant upon agriculture, which had led Newby to argue that the rural village was first and foremost an 'occupational community'.

Its main feature was that one industry - agriculture - dominated the employment of its inhabitants, and moreover.....the agricultural village contained a virtually homogenous class structure. It consisted almost entirely of agricultural workers, together with those workers employed in servicing the agricultural population.

40

The social life within the village had similar characteristics to other working class occupational communities which included:

a strong sense of shared occupational experience, a distinctive occupational culture, an overlap between work and non-work roles and loyalties, a prevalence of closely knit cliques of friends, workmates, neighbours and relatives and generally a strong sense of group identity which marked off the village from the others that surrounded it. This strong sense of attachment to primary groups was partly a function of geographical isolation and a common occupation, but it was also forged out of economic necessities of living close to poverty, which promoted values of mutual aid and neighbourliness. 41

However although there was a strong sense of group identity, this did not necessarily imply that there had been no status differences within the community. Status differences especially for the men came from the:

esteem gained from skill at work. Although this was not the only criterion of interactional status, it does seem to have been the most important one as far as the individual agricultural worker was concerned. It allowed the agricultural worker to possess a degree of status in his own immediate set of relationships which could be at complete variance with that attributed to him by the rest of the society...In addition to being an economic necessity, his work was a serious business of status enhancement institutionalised in formal ploughing and drawing machines. 42

This status system had become, however, increasingly under threat as

a result of the influx of a new population who for the most part knew little and understood less of the complexities of a farming community and hence cared little for status differences based on this occupational system. The newcomers possessed a totally different set of attitudes and values to the local residents. Their values and standards were urban based in spite of their desire to 'appreciate' country life.

These new 'immigrants' have brought with them an urban, middle class life-style which is largely alien to the remaining local agricultural population. Unlike the agricultural workers in an occupational community the newcomers do not make the village the focus of all their activities. The possession of a car enables them to maintain social contacts with their friends elsewhere, and if necessary, to make use of urban amenities while living in the countryside. Their entertainment, their socialising, even their shopping, tend to take place outside the village.⁴³

Furthermore the newcomer arrived not, as in the past, as a 'lone individual' but as 'one of' a large group of recently arrived migrants',⁴⁴ this characteristic when coupled with their different lifestyles and attitudes both threatened to undermine the traditional interactional status system and develop a sense of 'relative deprivation' amongst the locals. The newcomers also arrived with a very different attitude towards the village itself. They had in their minds a set notion of what constituted a village - what Pahl had called the 'village in the mind'.⁴⁵ The newcomer expected to find 'an idyllic scene of social harmony -contented and in tune with nature'.⁴⁶ An organic community where all its inhabitants had a pre-defined place and a common set of values. The village to the newcomer represented a haven.

In contrast to the apparently unending gloomy news about conflict-ridden, strike-prone, double-digit inflation,

urban industrial England there has been created a peaceful, if mythical, rural idyll out beyond the high-rise flats and the Chinese take-aways which, if not quite inhabited by merrie rustics, is at least populated by a race which it is supposed, is attuned to verities more eternal than the floating pound and the balance-of-payments crisis. Somewhere it is believed...there are 'real' country folk living in the midst of 'real' English countryside in - that most elusive of all rustic utopias - 'real communities'.⁴⁷

By moving to these communities the newcomers expected that the 'natives will be friendly and by implication, the immigrant outsider will be accepted, if not into the bosom of the family/village, then at least as an integral part of the system'.⁴⁸

The conflict could be further exacerbated by the fact that there existed little or no social contact between the two groups which might help to break down some of the barriers. For example Pahl showed how the divisions between the groups cut across even village social organisations. The newcomers saw 'joining things' as the way in which they could become real members of the community, and once they had joined and become full participants in a number of such organisations they might feel that they had become integrated into the village. However far from having integrated into the social life of the village they had merely become integrated into the middle class organisations in the village, which contained few local residents.

Although it first appeared that middle class people are well integrated into village social organisations and indeed appear to run most of them, this is in fact rather a false picture of middle class dominance, although one the working class seem happy to hold. Certain organisations are run by and for the middle class but there are other activities, such as the football club or Greenleaves Club for old-age pensioners, with predominantly working class membership.⁴⁹

Any contact became reduced to formal occasions such as parish council meetings or the village fete - an event which in itself may also have been organised by the middle class. Consequently the newcomers and the locals interacted socially not with each other but amongst themselves. Their chances of meeting socially and potentially reducing the barriers that separated them had been steadily reduced, partly because of their separate social worlds and partly because many villages today have few or no leisure centres. In fact it is often the case that the pub is the last remaining community meeting place. In villages where this has occurred the potential closure of the pub may mark the death knell for the the social life of the village. As Hutt has noted

The brewery have killed this area, they've killed off the social life of the village. People have nowhere to go now for a drink and a chat. The darts team was one of the best in North Norfolk, and there were keen cards and domino players in Stiffkey pubs. The cricket team and the football team find it difficult to get together to pick sides, and they go home straight away after matches. ⁵⁰

However in villages where pubs still remain, their importance to both the locals and the newcomers may be substantially different, and they may represent different things and fulfil different functions. To the locals the pub may operate as the centre of their social life, especially if there are no other alternative social facilities. They may feel comfortable when they enter the pub because they will be recognised and will know the other drinkers. Yet to the newcomers the pub may represent an essential part of their 'village in the mind'. They may seek a pub which fits this image, with a thatched roof, white washed walls, oak beamed ceilings

and a location close to the village pond. They may wish their village pub to be populated with friendly smiling 'merrie rustics' or as Pahl has called them 'props on the rustic stage', willing to recount tales of traditional village life before the changes and produce snippets of local wisdom.

It is therefore quite likely that the village pubs, far from matching the romanticised vision as put forward by such writers as Jackson and Burke ⁵¹ as places where people of different cultures and different class backgrounds can rub shoulders, may in fact become arenas for potential conflict. The locals may find the intrusion of these outsiders cause for resentment while the newcomers may find the locals far from being open and instead being openly hostile.

In such cases the locals or the newcomers may attempt to 'colonise' one particular pub for their own use. For example Elias and Scotson have shown how, in Winston Parva, the locals decided to leave their usual pub the 'Hare and Hounds' when it became used by the Londoners and occupy the other pub the 'Eagle'. Once ensconced, they made sure that the newcomers 'were frozen out'. ⁵² This division of the community between the two pubs then led to the newcomers' pub gaining 'a reputation for noisy behaviour and heavy drinking'. ⁵³ If however the village possesses only one pub then the locals may decide to colonise one bar or one section of a bar.

...there are two pubs in the village. One is almost entirely devoted to the middle class, developing the atmosphere of a private party at which most people know each other. The other pub has tried to follow suit and

certainly in the saloon bar has achieved some success. However, the public bar of the pub nearest to the village contains little sophistication. Talk centres around local events, neighbouring villages, football or cricket. ⁵⁴

Any attempt by a newcomer to penetrate their coterie would be met with resistance. As Newby has noted quoting one village immigrant who expressed his exasperation at the lack of friendliness among the local pub regulars.

'Admission to a Masonic Lodge is easy compared with an entry into this coterie of diehards. The qualification of a candidate appear to be: one he must have attained the age of seventy years; two his family must have resided in the parish for 200 years; three he and his father before him, must have taken an active part in the age-long dispute with the local estate concerning the right of way across Shepherd's Close. These old men have a simple expedient for dealing with an untoward situation that arises or any intrusion on their sacred precincts at the inn. They just 'drink up' and walk out in a body, muttering under their breath. ⁵⁵

6.4. CONCLUSION

The village to many of the social reformers was the birthplace of the ideal English pub. To them village pubs along with village churches were centres of village life - a life that was fundamentally peaceful, harmonious and conflict free. Within this setting pubs were open to all and hence represented symbols of social integration. Unfortunately English villages have never been unstratified communities. More recently they have lost many of their established inhabitants and have experienced an influx of urban middle class exiles seeking the 'real' England. The remaining working class residents have attempted to retain their sense of community by separating themselves from the newcomers. Within this

development pubs have become even less centres of integration and instead arenas for potential conflict. Within their walls locals and newcomers maintain their social and cultural boundaries. These boundaries which 'demarcate most powerfully and meaningfully their sense of similarity to and difference from other people', ⁵⁶ are confirmed both by particular pub allegiance and by a set of ritualised drinking patterns. Hence what initially appeared on the surface as a similar social practice becomes on further investigation a symbolic activity invested with different and contrasting meanings. 'People may...use the 'same' symbolic structures or forms, but to signify or express quite different meanings'. ⁵⁷ However in order to understand the way in which these boundaries are translated into particular pub allegiances and specific drinking practices we must examine first the social context in which these activities occur. Therefore it is at this point that we must return to our research village and commence our analysis of the various social groups and their use of the pubs. In so doing we will begin to highlight the way that key social divisions such as class, gender, and community membership are reflected in the drinking groups and in their drinking rituals.

CHAPTER SIX: FOOTNOTES

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11. M.Moseley, 1979.
12. N.Spence, et. al., 1982.
13. D.Phillips and A.Williams, op. cit., p.82.

14. The Henley Centre, 1987.
15. D.Phillips and A.Williams, op. cit., p.83.
16. S.F.Nadel, 1963.
17. N.Elias and J.L.Scotson, 1965.
18. Ibid., p.14.
19. Ibid., p.16.
20. Ibid., pp.148-149.
21. Ibid., p.3.
22. See R.E.Pahl, 1964b, and 1970.
23. R.E.Pahl, 1964b, p.14.
24. Ibid., p.72.
25. Ibid.
26. R.E.Pahl, 1967.
27. Ibid., p.33.

28. Ibid., p.37.
29. Ibid., p.42.
30. Ibid., p.43.
31. R.E.Pahl, 1968, p.275.
32. Ibid.
33. R.E.Pahl, 1967, p.44.
34. R.E.Pahl, 1964a, p.9.
35. H.Newby, 1977, p.331.
36. M.Strathern, 1981, p.223.
37. H.Newby, op. cit., p.332.
38. M.Strathern, op. cit., p.88.
39. Ibid.
40. H.Newby, op. cit., p.327.
41. Ibid. This is a similar point to that made by Pahl. 1964b.

42. Ibid., pp.328-329.
43. H.Newby, 1979, p.165.
44. H.Newby, 1980, p.259.
45. R.E.Pahl, 1967.
46. M.J.Wiener, 1981, p.54.
47. H.Newby, 1979, pp.13-14.
48. M.Strathern, 1981, p.222.
49. R.E.Pahl, 1967, p.42.
50. C.Hutt, 1973, p.136.
51. See for example T.Burke, 1930 and M.Jackson, 1976.
52. N.Elias and J.L.Scotson, op. cit., p.16.
53. Ibid.
54. R.E.Pahl, 1964a, p.9.
55. H.Newby, 1977, p.334.

56. A.Cohen, 1986, p.1.

57. A.Cohen, 1985, p.309.

CHAPTER SEVEN: MELTON AND ITS PUBS

7.1. INTRODUCTION

Located in a fertile Cambridgeshire river valley, Melton has had a long history of settlement. According to available archaeological records, Melton can boast of early Iron Age remains, a Saxon burial mound and evidence of a Roman villa. The earliest written records of the community appeared in the 10th century when 'one Wulfun granted land at Melton' to a local Abbey. ¹

Unlike other villages, Melton could not be described as an 'occupational community' ² for it did not depend on one industry for its survival. Until the 20th century its inhabitants were involved in both agriculture and trade. In fact, although agriculture was important to the community, Melton's reputation was as a market place and as a centre for trade. According to the available estimates, the population of Melton has both increased and declined, since the 10th century. For example in 1279 the population was estimated at 80. From this early period it gradually increased and by the beginning of the 18th century there were 252 households in Melton with 976 inhabitants. The population remained relatively constant until the middle of the 19th century when it stood at 2061. At this point it began to decline, partly as a result of emigration, and by 1901 it had fallen to 1530 and then in 1931 to 1402.

TABLE:7 MELTON'S POPULATION 1600 -1981³

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total Population</u>
1600	600
1731	976
1801	1157
1821	1519
1851	2061
1871	1838
1891	1726
1901	1530
1921	1446
1931	1402
1951	1608
1961	1982
1971	2702
1981	3890

Source: Taken from L.F. Salzman, The Victoria History of the Counties of England: A History of Cambridge and Ely, Vol. II, 1948 and Census 1951, 1971 and 1981, England and Wales.

Changes in population were also reflected in the changes in number of dwellings in the community. For example, in the late 17th century there were 180 houses, which by the 1830's had risen to 214. After 1830 the number of dwellings increased rapidly so much so that by the mid 19th century the number had doubled. What is interesting about this expansion is that the physical area of the village remained the same as it had in the 1660's. The expansion had been brought about by:

erecting groups of tiny cottages around courtyards between and behind existing dwellings into which the families of the less well off were packed. A man born in 1806 and writing in the 1840's, who had lived in one of these cottages as a child, described it thus: You scarcely could stand upright in it. Cold and damp; no garden; scarce yard enough to keep a pig or swing a cat around; no convenience.

Its importance as a centre for trading officially began in 1246 when the Crown granted a licence to the Lord of Great Melton to hold a weekly fair on Tuesdays and an annual three day fair. The granting of the licence encouraged trading activities in Melton and by 1279 it boasted of:

48 shops, whose owners included 4 mercers, 2 bakers, 2 potters, a smith, a skinner, a baker, a barber, a tailor and Adam Caiaphas, perhaps a Jewish money lender.

The market thrived and by the 16th and 17th centuries had become so established that there were:

rows named for the woollen and linen drapers, and stalls were kept by tanners, shoemakers and glovers. By 1604 two searchers of leather were appointed and from 1622 two clerks of the market. Under Charles II besides a clerk and crier there were searchers of flesh, fish and leather and weighers of bread and butter.

As the market grew so did the range of trades that were on offer in Melton and these included a glasier, a cutler, a rope-maker, a

weaver, a clothier, a locksmith, a wheelwright and a periwig-maker. Trading became so important in the village that, according to statistics at the time, non-labouring occupations accounted for 40% of the population a percentage much higher than in other rural centres in Cambridgeshire.

The market was at its peak in the early 1600's when 41 shops in and about the market were recorded. However by the close of the 17th century the market had begun to decline. In 1685 the number of shops had fallen to 23 and by 1715 there were only 12. By 1850 the importance of the market was still declining in spite of changing the market day, and by 1864 it had ceased all together. The village, however, continued to maintain its importance as an economic centre and by the 1800's other industries had been established including a hemp factory in 1832 and a brewery in 1851. Finally in 1904 a small printing firm was established.

7.2. MELTON'S PUBS

In charting the early history of Melton's pubs it is difficult to be completely accurate. First there is a problem of nomenclature. Today we talk about the pub as though it was an homogenous institution, and yet as we have seen from the earlier chapters, the contemporary pub is merely an amalgam of different types of public drinking places, each with its own tradition and history. Clark in his discussion of alehouses identifies:

three types of victualling house ..in declining order of

size and status, the inn, the tavern and the alehouse.⁷

We can subdivide these general categories even further. For example the alehouses in the Tudor and Stuart period were referred to as 'tippling houses, boozing kens and the more local tup-houses and beer houses'.⁸ Second, in addition to the question of title, the degree of permanency also causes problems in any attempt to discuss the history of pubs. Alehouses and beer shops could be started up with very little initial capital, or even without a licence, which meant that many of them could have come and gone in a relatively short period of time with very little likelihood of being recorded. Hence in the earlier period the only places that were likely to be mentioned would have been those that attained either a licence or a certain degree of permanency. Furthermore in the case of Melton, to add to the confusion, it appears that some of the pubs changed their names and were even moved. Nevertheless what is clear, from all the available data,⁹ is that Melton always possessed a large number of pubs. For example in 1783 Melton had 12 pubs while other equivalent villages usually only had two. The importance of Melton as a market centre may in part account for this for as many writers have noted pubs played an important role in trading activities and negotiations.¹⁰ The total number of recorded pubs from the 1600's to the present day was twenty - the actual number at any one time fluctuating from 8 in the latter part of the 17th century to 6 in the mid 18th century to 13 at the start of this century and finally 7 today.

1903 was the earliest precise record of the number of pubs. A survey carried out at that time tells us that the village possessed 13 pubs all of which were relatively close together. Starting at one end of the village the distance between the pubs was; from the Black Falcon to the White Hart 7 yards, then 68 yards to the Crusader, 130 yards to the George and Dragon, 200 yards to the Griffin, 50 yards to the Rough Hay, 50 yards to Backers off-licence (which included two public rooms), 60 yards to the Axe and Saw, 50 yards to the Three Hills, 140 to the Applecourt, 37 yards to the Three Barrels, 240 yards to the Dolphin and finally 36 yards to the Coach and Horses.

The White Hart, which was first referred to in 1418, was one of the earliest pubs to be mentioned. In 1880 the pub was noted as a regular meeting place of the Friendly Society. However soon after this it began to decline and by 1842 was catering mainly for tramps and vagrants. By 1903 its clientele, according to the survey were mainly labourers. Soon after this it ceased to function as a pub and by 1911 the building had been demolished to improve access for motor cars coming into the village.

The Unicorn and the Crusader were the two most prestigious inns in the 18th century. Both of these pubs were important because they were coaching inns. During this period there had been a major improvement in the road system, especially with the introduction of turnpikes. The Unicorn, which in 1725 had changed its name to the Red Lion, was described in detail in a sales advert in a local

paper in June 1825.

A very old established inn and posting house with extensive beer trade to be sold at the Red Lion on July 7th 1825. An excellent travellers' room, a parlour, kitchen and bath. There are seven principal bedrooms a good dining room and four attics. Extensive and complete cellary storage for 7000 gallons of ale with separate well arranged wine and liquor cellars. The yard is compact, five stables contain twenty standings. There is a large loose stable and a lock up coach house for four carriages. There is a laundry, a small beer cellar under the granary, a coach house, a barn, a piggery and two small gardens. 11

In the 1800's it became a main stopping point for the Cambridge to Colchester coach. It was also used as a Court House and for the Petty Sessions until 1840 when they were moved to the Rough Hay. The trading importance of the inn began to decline in the latter part of the 1800's partly as a result of the decline of the market and partly because the opening of the railway took away its business as a coaching inn. The pub was eventually put up for sale in 1850 after which time the buildings were divided into private residences.

Information on the second coaching inn, the Crusader, is not nearly as extensive. It was first mentioned in 1575 and like the Red Lion was at its height in the 18th century. By the early 1800's it had begun to decline and in 1840 it was closed down. However, unlike the Red Lion, it did not disappear completely, for after the closing down sale, the Crusader was re-opened on another site further up the High Street. By 1888 it was refurbished as a hotel and today functions primarily as a restaurant.

With the demise of the two coaching inns, the Rough Hay became the major pub in the village. It was first recorded in 1725 and

according to the available local accounts appears to have remained the most popular pub in Melton throughout the 19th and into the 20th century.¹² In 1903 the Rough Hay was still the busiest pub in the village with extensive facilities including four public rooms, three entrances and accommodation for four guests. Its clientele included travellers, farmers and tradesmen and it remained an important pub until the late 1950's. By the time of my study the Rough Hay had lost many of its regular customers and during the second year of the project, the landlord was declared bankrupt and the pub closed.

Other pubs in the period up to the 19th century, include the New Unicorn, first mentioned in 1725, which changed its name to the Green Man and ceased to exist in the 1770's; the Chequers mentioned in 1685; the Black Bull recorded in the early 1700's and then converted to a school in 1777; and finally the Marlborough, referred to in the mid-1700's, which appears to have ceased trading by the 1830's. Two other pubs, mentioned in this period, still exist today. First, the Black Falcon recorded in 1725 and second the Cavalier which occupies the oldest building in the village and dates back to the late 16th century.

During the 19th century - a period when pubs and beer houses flourished - a number of other pubs opened. In 1840 having established his brewery, Henry Thompson opened two pubs - the Three Barrels which had previously been a row of tenements and the Griffin which had been a butcher's shop. Both these pubs exist today and much of my research took place within them. Six other pubs, which

were referred to in the records, have now closed. These were the Race Horse Inn, the Wheatsheaf, the Black Eyed Susan, the Coach and Horses, the George and Dragon, and the Axe and Saw. Finally the Applecourt, which was first mentioned in 1860, is the newest pub in the village. The original building was pulled down in the 1920's and a newly designed pub was completed in the 1930's.

7.3. MELTON TODAY

Since the 1950's Melton, like other rural villages has expanded both in size and in population. However unlike the villages described by Pahl and Newby,¹³ Melton has experienced an influx of socially mixed newcomers. In addition to the 'rustic idyll' seeking middle class, lower middle class and working class newcomers have taken up residence. Hence the new status differences and distinctions found in Melton today are much more complex and stratified than those described by, for example, Newby.¹⁴ Each of these different groups, along with the locals, inhabit a geographical and social world which only occasionally interlinks with others. Therefore my purpose in describing the village and its pubs is not merely to flesh out the discussion with description but more importantly to begin to examine the extent to which these networks and allegiances are reflected in the different pubs.

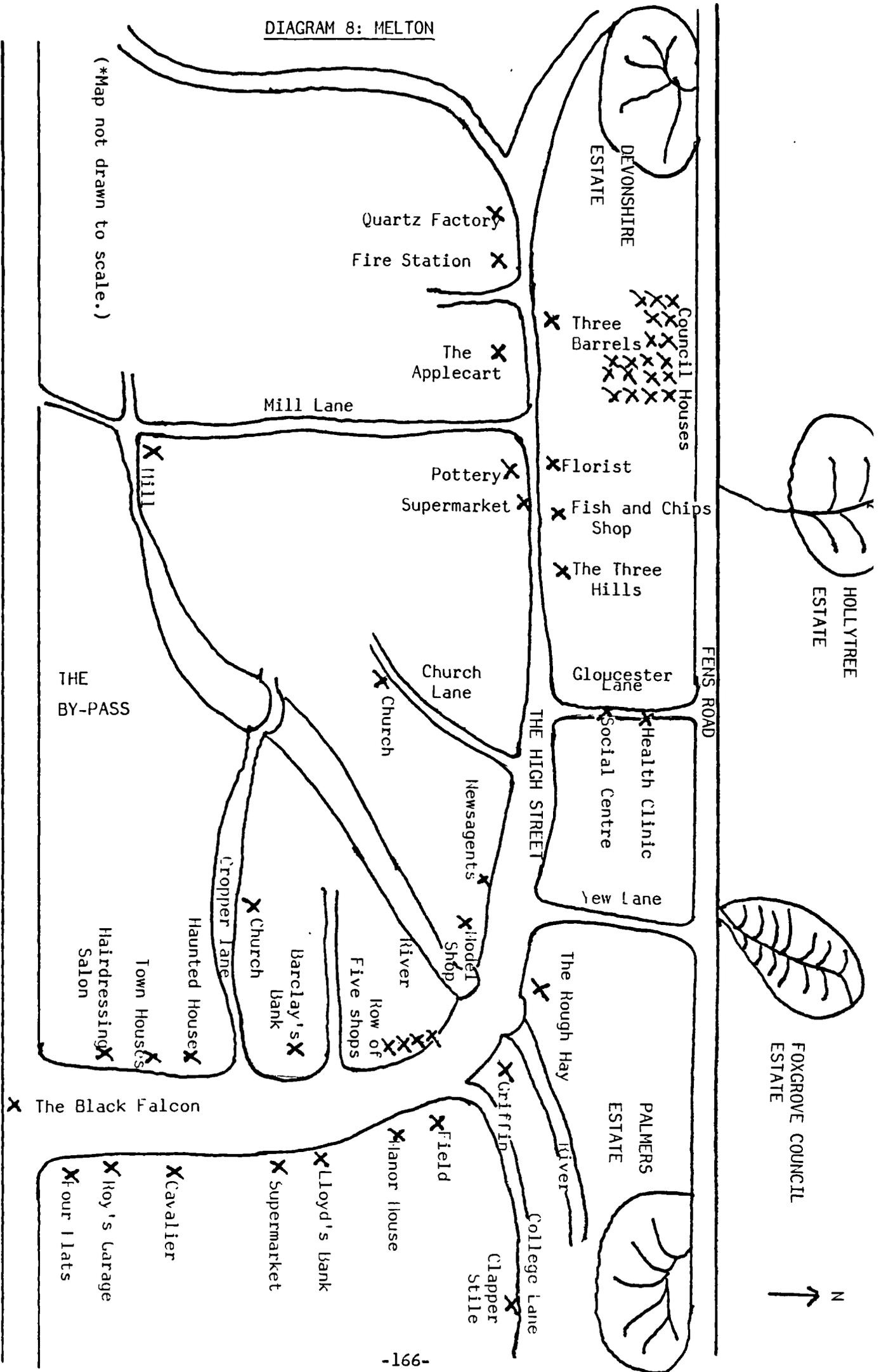
As can be seen from Table 7, the population more than doubled between 1951 (1608) and 1981 (3850). Two factors were particularly important in this growth. The first was Melton's geographical

proximity to a London County Council development 'overflow' town, and the second was the decision by Cambridgeshire County Council to make Melton a service centre for the surrounding area. As a result of the Holford Report of 1950, ¹⁵ the Council submitted a statutory development plan which, while advocating severe restrictions on industrial development in Cambridge, recommended that development be dispersed throughout the county. In addition, the report also recommended that future housing developments in Cambridge be deflected to surrounding villages. This policy, known as the 'Green Belt and Satellites', plan was further developed in the 1965 draft review of the Development Plan which set out to encourage:

development of certain villages...and to take the necessary measures to ensure that they become more self-sufficient communities serving as minor service centres for the surrounding rural areas. ¹⁶

The first major housing development in Melton had in fact occurred between the two world wars when the local authority increased the number of council dwellings in the village. This expansion of council property, which was continued in the 1950's with the building of a new estate (Foxgrove) north of Yew Lane, (see Diagram 8) meant that by 1958 there were approximately 500 dwellings in the village. However it was not until 1963 that the more recent developments occurred. Between 1963 and 1968 220 new dwellings were built the majority of which (73%), unlike the previous expansion, were private. Private housing was further increased in the 1970's so that by 1981 there were 1338 dwellings in the village of which only a quarter (411) were council.

DIAGRAM 8: MELTON



In addition to an expansion in housing, new industries provided extra work for the residents. Melton began to attract industries as a direct result of the county plan to restrict the expansion of Cambridge as an industrial centre. A metal engineering firm opened in 1952 and a quartz crystal factory, which opened in 1953, were the most important firms. Others included a shirt factory, a printers, a herbalist company and an abattoir.

According to statistics collected in 1971, Melton's 610 employment opportunities were divided into the following categories:

TABLE 9: MELTON'S WORKFORCE 17

<u>Employment Category</u>	<u>%</u>
Manufacturing	46
Retail trading	19
Residential Institutions	8
Education	7
Agriculture	7
Miscellaneous	13
	100

Source: Melton Parish Council, Melton: The Story of a Market Town, 1982.

86% of these employment positions were filled by residents of Melton. Today, unlike earlier times, the vast majority of Melton's residents are employed outside the village. In a 1971 survey, of all those residents who were in employment, only 48% were working in Melton the rest were employed either in the local town (22%) or in other parts of the county (16%). The majority of the remaining 14% worked in London. 18

7.3.i. THE HIGH STREET

Today, Melton is still largely centred around the High Street which stretches for approximately one mile from the by-pass at one end to the Quartz Factory at the other. Superficially, much of the High Street is similar to what it must have been like in the 19th century. However although the outward appearances of the houses may appear the same, their uses have altered. Whereas previously there existed an alehouse or a hardware shop, today we find a well-kept, tastily preserved private residence. The High Street maintains its importance in the village partly because of its central location and partly because it contains the major amenities of the village. The banks, the supermarkets, the pubs and the hairdressers are all located in the High Street. Moreover whereas previously there existed a few short and narrow lanes leading to some scattered outlying houses or to the open fields, today there exists one way streets with double yellow lines leading to a health clinic, a social club and the housing estates. However, although the new housing estates have expanded the village to the North, the East and

THE HIGH STREET, c. 1890



West, Melton's residents still have to come to the High Street to shop.

The Black Falcon stands at the bottom of the High Street looking up its length. The pub with its surrounding houses, which until the 1960's were an integral part of the village, is now separated by the by-pass. Opposite the Black Falcon, where once the White Hart stood, there is now a new apartment building. Further down on the same side of the street, there stands the Cavalier, to the side of which there is Roy's garage, with its forecourt full of second hand cars. Joan, Roy's girlfriend, owns the hairdressing salon opposite, which is next door to three newly built small town houses. These are set slightly back from the street to allow the residents to park their cars. Alongside these houses, the design of which is in marked contrast to the older buildings, stands Melton's only haunted house which was built in the 1700's.

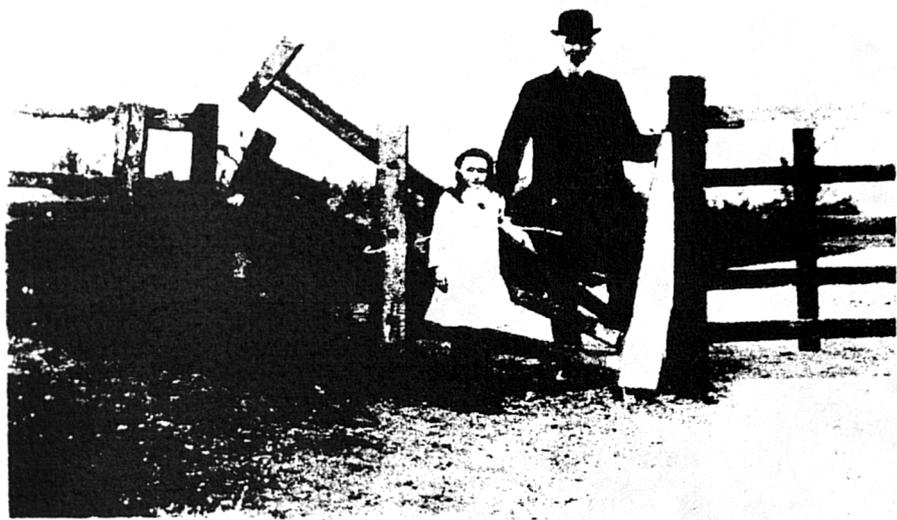
Just past the haunted building, Cropper lane leads off from the High Street and goes first to the United Reform Church and then on down to the river. Attendance at the Reform church was at its peak in the middle of the 1800's and since then has declined until in the early 1980's membership was as little as forty. Passing on from Cropper lane, we arrive at Budgen's supermarket and Lloyd's bank which is opposite its only competitor; Barclays. To the side of Barclays is Market lane which originally, as the name implies, led to the market and the Chequers pub. Today, however, the pub has gone and little remains of the market. Just past Market lane we find a

row of five shops which includes a television/radio and electrical shop, a bakery, a small post office, a florist and an estate agent. Across from the shops stands the Manor House which is one of Melton's largest houses. The house is adjacent to a large open field where occasionally deer and goats can be seen grazing.

At this point the High Street veers to the left and leading off at a tangent to the right is College lane which goes to the playing fields, the village college and the famous 'clapper stile', so called because of its unusual design.(see photo) This stile, according to one of the village historians, marks the ancient boundary between the two estates of Great Melton and Little Melton. Next is the Griffin pub which is bounded on one side by College lane and on the other by the river and the bridge. At one time a wooden footpath went across the river, but this was replaced in the late 1800's by a narrow iron bridge and then by the present concrete road bridge. On the opposite side stands the Rough Hay which, although at one time was Melton's premier pub, is today in urgent need of repair.

Yew lane by the side of the Rough Hay, goes north out of the village and up to the Foxgrove council estate. Opposite the lane there is a newsagents and model shop adjacent to which is Church lane leading to the parish Church. Attendance at the parish church has fluctuated from a high of 1200 in 1897 to a low of 11 in 1959. The Guildhall, which is opposite the parish church, was built in the early part of the 16th century and according to the village history

THE CLAPPER STYLE, c. 1890



book, was used 'amongst other things ...for marriage feasts, by troupes of players and as a refuge....during times of plague'.¹⁹ Gloucester lane, which is diagonally opposite Church lane, leads to the new Health Clinic, the social centre and the Hollytree and Foxgrove estates.

At this point where the road begins to narrow, the Three Hills pub, with its over hanging upper storey, its exposed timbered walls and small latticed windows, overlooks the High Street. A large pole and hook, which were used for pulling down burning thatch, hang on the side of the building. Next door, Charlie's fish and chip shop can be found. Its only 'fast food' competitor is a mobile Chinese restaurant which comes to the village on a Tuesday and Saturday evening and is sometimes disparagingly referred to as the 'Chinky'. Next door there is a florist and vegetable shop, which is opposite to an International supermarket slightly smaller than Budgens. A pottery shop, by the side of the supermarket and on the corner of Mill lane, sells pottery and clothes downstairs and coffee upstairs. Mill lane leads to the Old Mill which, until a couple of years ago, operated as a profitable business. Today the main part of the Mill stands empty and the white paint is beginning to peel off the wooden walls and the overhead gantrys are beginning to rust. However in the rear section of the mill, which overlooks the ford, luxury apartments have been built. Further up from Mill lane we find the Applecourt, which stands diagonally opposite the Three Barrels, the final pub in the village. Within a hundred yards the original High Street ends and thereafter Melton loses much of its historical

character. Just past the Fire Station and the Quartz crystal factory, which stand at the end of the High Street, the road widens and divides, one road going north out of the village to the Devonshire estate while the other curves round and eventually joins up to the by-pass.

7.3.ii. THE HOUSING ESTATES

The first major housing development, which was Council house accommodation, occurred in the twenties, thirties and early forties. The semi-detached two storey houses were built of grey sand-blasted brick and grouped in threes. Each house was provided with a small plot of land at the front and a much bigger, although very narrow, garden at the back. The houses were identical and very close together which made the estate look rather cramped. Very few of the houses had garages which when coupled with the fact that the roads into the estate were extremely narrow, leads one to think that the council planners had assumed that the residents would never own their own cars. Consequently today, people are forced to park their cars on the grass verges to allow other vehicles to pass by. Because some of the houses do not even have direct access to their front doors, residents have to walk along a narrow foot path in front of the adjoining houses. Only a few of the buildings were constructed with the 'luxury' of central heating except for those designated as 'sheltered' accommodation which were built for pensioners.

The council estate was, as one might have expected, in sharp contrast to the private estates. Here there exists a feeling of spaciousness and a large variety of different styles of houses and apartments. The oldest estate, the Devonshire, was built at the North West end of the Fens road; Palmers estate built 6 years later, at the other end; and Hollytree - which has the new junior school - is off the Fens road on a hill overlooking the village.

All three estates have been designed on an open plan format with wide feeder roads, and large unfenced gardens at the front of each house. All the houses have their own driveways and most have their own garage, some for two cars. The houses range from single bedroomed apartments to four bedroomed detached houses. The majority of them, in sharp contrast to the grey tones of the council estate, were built in bright red brick.

As a result of these developments and changes, Melton can be seen as being made up of a number of constituent housing areas which geographically separates its residents:

1. High Street and historic lanes off it
2. Three private housing estates
3. The newer council estate
4. Council house development in the inter-war period and immediately after the war.

However place of residence was not the only distinguishing characteristic which divided the people of Melton. Notions of

local/newcomer can also be affected by the length of time a newcomer has lived in the place. For example according to Strathern ²⁰ the villagers in Elmdon acquired different status positions as a result of having been in the village for different lengths of time. The time that a local or a newcomer had lived in the village had an effect on whether they were seen as belonging or not belonging to the community. On the basis of these distinctions Strathern was able to classify the residents into the following family types: core families, other established families, old immigrant families (i.e. pre 1914), new immigrant families (i.e. post 1914) and commuters and weekenders. ²¹

Finally, as both Pahl and Newby have noted, social class can also modify the broader division of local and newcomer. However, changes in Melton were not necessarily typical of all rural communities, for Melton had not merely experienced the arrival of middle-class immigrants but also a large influx of young, lower middle class, first time house buyers. This new population, found predominantly on the three new private housing estates, completely outnumbered the indigenous population. Furthermore, since the 1950's, there had been an increase in the working class population of the village, a development which, as we saw in Chapter 6, was unusual. This group lived on the newer council housing estate. Therefore if we combine these distinguishing characteristics of geographical location, social class and length of residence, it is possible to identify the following groups within Melton.

TABLE 10: SOCIAL DIVISIONS WITHIN THE VILLAGE ²²

		<u>SOCIAL CLASS</u>		
		<u>Working class</u> (33%)	<u>Middle Class</u> (67%)	
<u>Length of Residence in the Village</u>	L O C A L S	Those who have lived all their lives in the village - inhabit older part of the village (44%)	Those who have occupied houses in the High Street prior to 1950 (7%)	} 19%
	N E W C O M E R S	Those who came to live in the first Council Development (36%)	Those who moved into the village in the 1950's and before the expansion in the 1960's (2%)	} 81%
		Those who came to live in the second Council development (16%)	Those who bought houses in the High Street in the late 1960's and 1970's (29%)	
		Those who live in the latest Council development (4%)	Those who live in the new private housing estates (62%)	

The middle class residents can be divided into four groups: first a very small number of locals who had lived in the village all their lives and who resided in the older section. Second a group of residents who also lived in the older part of the village and who, although technically not locals, nevertheless saw themselves as being so, mainly because they had moved into the village before it expanded dramatically. The third group had bought and renovated houses in the older part and appeared to be the most affluent sector of the middle class. Finally there were those middle class individuals who had bought the more expensive housing on the new private housing estates.

The working class residents were divided into a similar number of sub-groups. First there were the locals who have lived all their lives in the village and who either lived in the old part of the village or in houses on the first council housing estate. Second there were those residents who came to the village between the wars and who lived also in council housing in the same estate. Third there were those, who had moved into the village in the 1950's, and who lived on the second council estate. Finally there were those who had arrived recently and who lived in the latest council development.

Even though it was nevertheless clear that these boundaries had produced distinct social groups, it was not necessarily the case that they led to totally distinct existences, for many cross-cutting ties existed between them. These ties were for example, of

an economic nature as in the case of the working class women who did paid housework for middle class families, or they were cases of face to face contact in, for example, the local supermarket. However for my purposes the most important case to examine was the extent to which these groups mixed socially within the pubs.

7.4. MELTON'S PUBS

People in Melton went to the pubs for a number of different reasons which included wanting a drink, 'getting together with friends', 'somewhere to talk to colleagues away from the office', 'chance to have a bit of a chinwag', as a place to meet and entertain friends without feeling they intruded on privacy. As one informant put it 'it was easier to get in touch with people you like in the pub without it being seen as an intrusion'. Customers also saw the pub as a place where they could go to play darts and dominoes. In Melton, where few alternative facilities existed, the villagers considered the pubs important because they were places to go to - when there was little else going on. This feature was particularly important for those members of the community who could not easily visit the nearby town.

The landlord played a key part in determining the role of the pub. He was the person legally in charge of the pub and responsible for the general behaviour of his customers. This legal responsibility meant that the landlord not only had to ensure that drinking took place within the hours stipulated but also that his drinkers

conducted themselves in a 'proper' way and did not give offence to others. This role of overseer has been noted by anthropologists in other societies. For example Sansom ²³ refers to the role of 'masterful men' who supervise drinking sessions among the Wallaby Cross aborigines, and Krige ²⁴ discusses the role of the 'Legota' among the Balobedu.

In addition, the landlord was also important in influencing the type of customers that came to the pub. The installation of a new landlord could lead to a complete change of customers and hence to the overall atmosphere of the pub. A new person may not correspond to the customers' idea of a 'good landlord' and they may therefore move en masse to a new pub. One of the landlords noted this possible effect when he remarked that 'For a lot of people the pub is their only social life - if you get a bad landlord - that can ruin their social life'. However although notions of what constituted a good landlord differed usually it included the way he treated the 'regulars'. As one informant remarked, a good landlord was someone' who had your 'usual' drink on the bar as you came in'. Finally the landlord's popularity may depend upon the way in which he socialises with his customers and whether he is seen as too friendly or too off-hand. Ideas about degrees of friendliness sometimes overlapped with customers' ideas about the quality of the pub atmosphere. One respondent did not like a previous landlord because she 'always felt that she was walking into someone's home'. Furthermore general factors such as similar class background, age and local origin may also influence his acceptance. As one landlord

remarked rather ruefully, 'I could be here 50 years, I would still not be accepted as a Meltonian'.

A landlord could also determine the particular drinking style or general behaviour of his customers, and the extent to which drunken or rowdy behaviour was permissible. However this role as an agent of social control may bring him into conflict with his customers. In situations of such conflict the landlord may have to compromise or modify his sense of acceptable behaviour or risk the loss of the drinking group. For example, John the landlord at the Applegart wished to 'ban' a member of the football club because of his overly aggressive behaviour but was unsure whether he would also lose the rest of the group. (In the event he decided against banning the individual). Moreover the landlord may run the risk of incurring complaints from other customers for not ensuring acceptable drinking behaviour. Similarly he may condone particular behaviour because it is conducive to the 'atmosphere' of the pub. As one landlord put it, 'Customers in here swear all the time, it is part of the pub being a working-class pub'.

However the landlord may also provide a more general social service in addition to his more specific roles as a retailer of alcohol and a controller of drinking behaviour. He may play an important role as a provider of communication both in terms of his role as the 'supplier of the official version' and as a 'custodian of gossip'. These roles are not new for as many writers have shown the landlord has traditionally played a key role in providing important

information on job possibilities, places to stay and general goings-on within the community. For example Peter Clark discussing the alehouse in the 17th century noted how 'For the newcomer to a community the victualler.....afforded information about local economic conditions, wage-rates and places of work'. ²⁵ In a similar way in Melton customers often called upon the landlord to provide the definitive account of a particular incident. For example on one occasion one of the older customers from the Black Falcon pub had been knocked down by a motor cyclist while he was crossing the by-pass. Discussion about this incident became the major topic of conversation not only in the Black Falcon but also in other pubs within the village. Within the Three Barrels the regulars swapped various versions of the incident emphasising different elements and weighing up different factors such as whether Joe had been crossing the road too slowly or whether the motor cyclist had been going too fast. Having debated these points for a while, the regulars then turned as a group to David the landlord to ask for his version, which when provided was taken as definitive. David had however not been at the scene of the accident and had obtained his information, like that of the regulars, from hearsay. His account was nevertheless given more status than the others.

Finally in addition to acting as a communication agent, a landlord may be called upon to provide more practical information. For example if a regular needed part-time unofficial employment a landlord may often know of someone in the village who was looking for a couple of part-time workers. Or if someone needed an item to

be repaired such as a clock, it was quite likely that he would know of someone who possessed the necessary skill.

Landlords performed these various functions for their own particular clientele, a clientele that was peculiar to that pub. Each pub possessed its own distinctive group of customers that had certain social characteristics in common and which marked it out against the other pubs.

7.4.i. THE GRIFFIN

The Griffin looked, from the outside, like a 'typical' English village pub. Built originally in the 16th century as a private house, it had whitewashed walls, small latticed bay windows and a thatched roof. It was located in the High Street, next to the village stream and bridge. To the right of the pub there was a car park and a small garden which sloped gradually down to the river. Occasionally during the summer months, if the weather was suitable, the landlord served barbecued food outdoors to his customers.

Inside there was one long room with an oaked beamed ceiling. At one time, as with many English pubs, this single room had been divided into separate bars with a 'bottle and jug' off-licence in the middle. All three of the different sections then had their own entrance. Today two of the doors have been blocked off and the customers entered by a door at one end of the room. The bar counter was to the left of the room as one entered and occupied about a third of the wall. At the back of the bar an entrance led to a

THE GRIFFIN, c. 1900



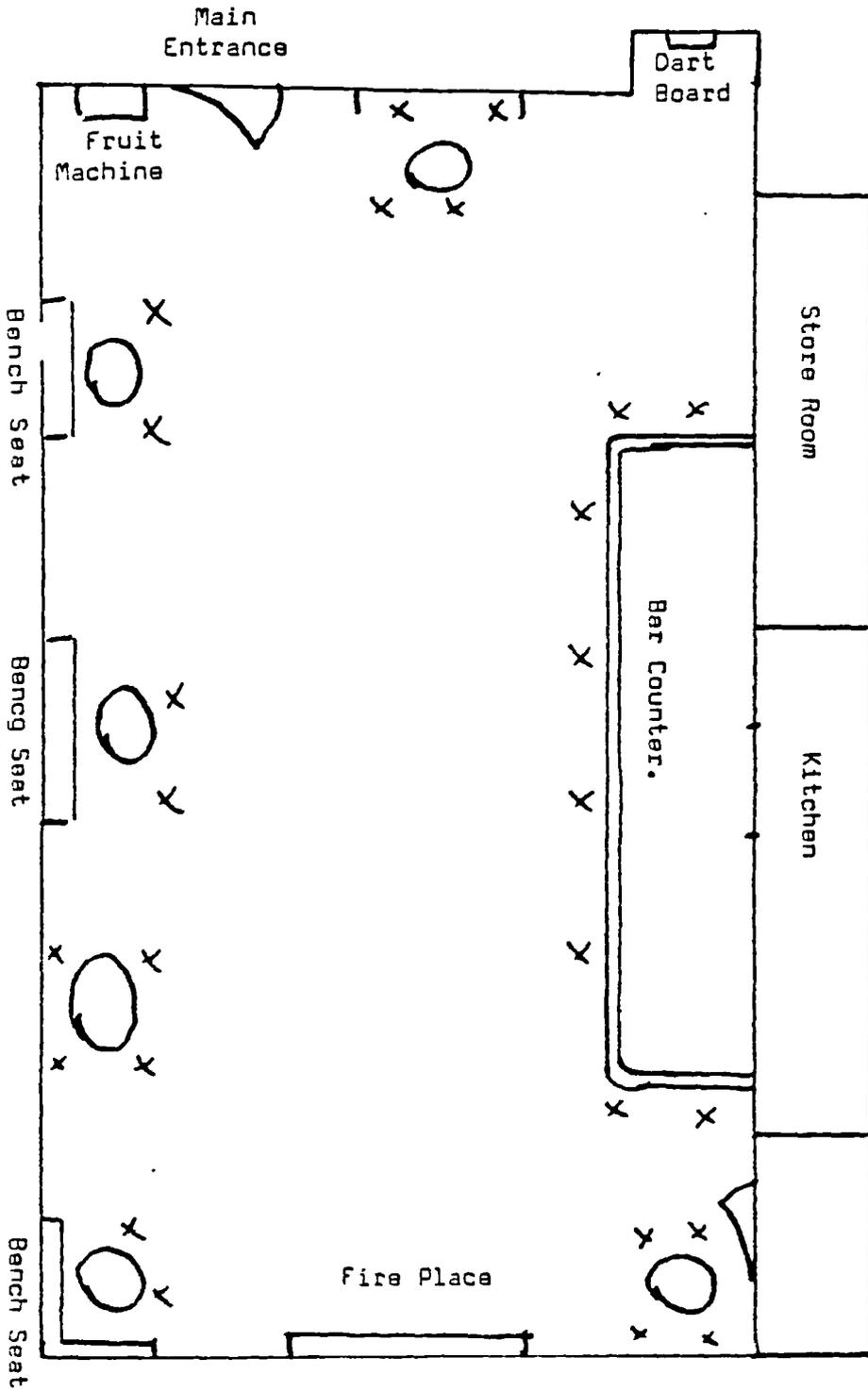
storeroom, the kitchen and the landlord's living quarters. To the left of the entrance there was an alcove where originally a dart board had been hung, but because it was hardly ever used, the landlord had removed it. The Griffin was the only pub in the village not to have its own darts' team. At the other end of the room, opposite the entrance was a stone fireplace around which hung various pieces of bridewear. Highly polished tables with vases of flowers on them were arranged around the outer walls of the room and chairs or bench seats surrounded the tables. Along the bar counter there were seven high stools. The room itself had no physical dividers separating one area from another, nor was there a clearly demarcated sports area. In fact, except for the customers who used the fruit machine, no games were ever played.

The Griffin was the most popular pub in the village, especially at the week-end when, except for between 8 and 9 on a Saturday evening and the early part of Sunday evening, it appeared to be continually busy. However, although it was clear that it was both a popular and a busy pub, it was also obvious that it appealed to a predominantly middle class, and to an extent, middle aged clientele, many of whom came from outside the village. The one exception was on a Saturday evening, between 5.30 and 6.30, when the members of the football club arrived.

Edward, a local, and his Swiss born wife Helga took over the Griffin in 1978. Edward had previously worked as a meat salesman for a local firm. Both were in their forties and they had two teenage

children who could be seen occasionally in the bar, especially after closing time, when they helped with the clearing up. Edward and Helga were generally liked by their customers who saw them as friendly but also relatively strict in the way that they ran the Griffin, for example they hardly ever allowed any after hours drinking. People said Edward was the 'front man' of the team, and generally agreed that Helga was the 'real boss'. Four bar staff, all of whom lived in the village, helped on different days of the week, and, for three of them, working at the Griffin was a second source of paid income. Janet, a full-time housewife and married to one of the middle class regulars at the Griffin, was the exception. Her working there confirmed its middle class respectability. Many villagers, including the non-regulars, saw the Griffin as the place to go to if one wanted a drink in pleasant surroundings. For instance many of these non-regulars visited it with friends or relatives from outside the village for a Sunday drink before lunch or a Saturday evening drink before going on to a restaurant. Many also saw the Griffin as a place where women could meet each other without encountering hostility or trouble from the regulars.

DIAGRAM 11: THE GRIFFIN

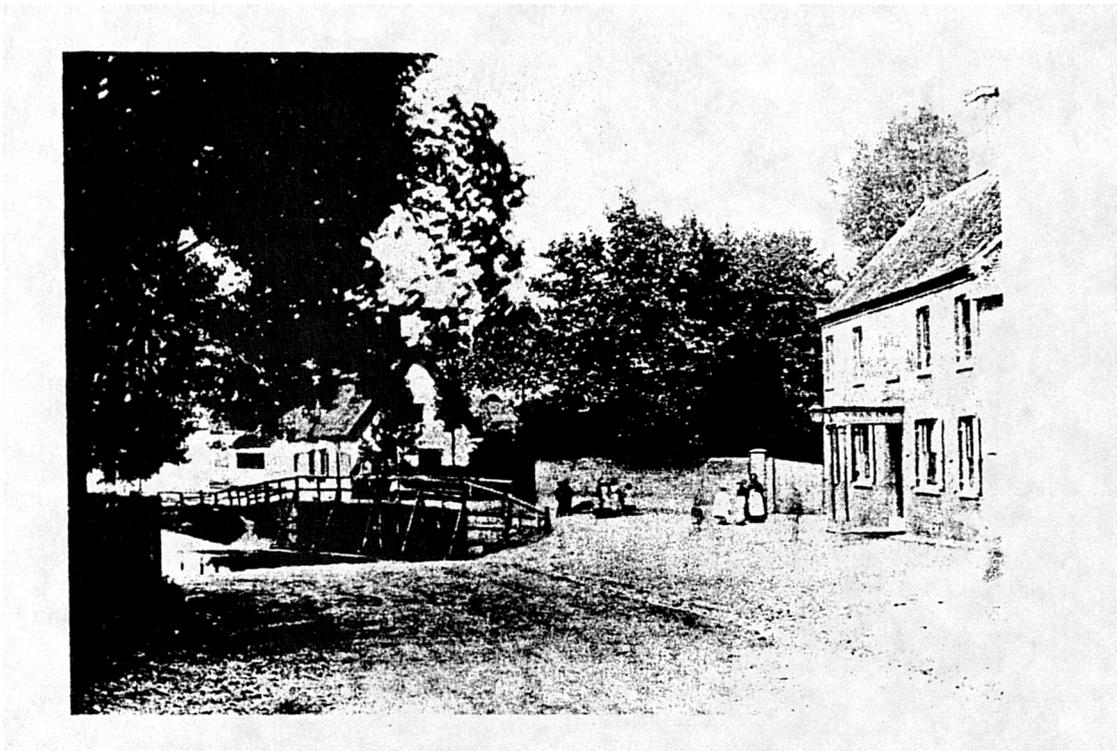


7.4.ii. THE ROUGH HAY

The Rough Hay was seen to be at the opposite end of the social respectability spectrum and although, in the past, it had been the most popular drinking place in Melton, at the time of the research, it had become very dilapidated. It was a large two storey building with a canopy over the entrance, and a car park at the back. To the right in front of a set of large closed gates there stood a decaying 1963 Rover 90, half draped in a plastic protective covering, which did little to protect the vehicle from the weather. This rusting vintage vehicle seemed to exaggerate the lost splendour of the pub. Inside, were a public bar, a saloon bar, a dining room and a pool room. The saloon to the left of the entrance was separate from the other three rooms and was by far the most inviting looking room in the pub with easy chairs clustered around small tables. A few of the remaining older regulars came to drink here. The public bar was a small rectangular room with only three tables and a few chairs. The bar was in one corner and behind it was the pool room. By the side of the bar counter was a fruit machine and on the wall opposite a dart-board. Most of the younger regulars tended to cluster around the bar counter which gave the room a feeling of sparseness.

The dining room, which was only that in name, was separated from the public bar by a dividing wall. The room was much larger than the public bar and had in it many more tables and chairs and at one end a piano on a raised platform. The dining room was hardly ever used

THE ROUGH HAY
AND
THE RIVER BRIDGE BEFORE 1867

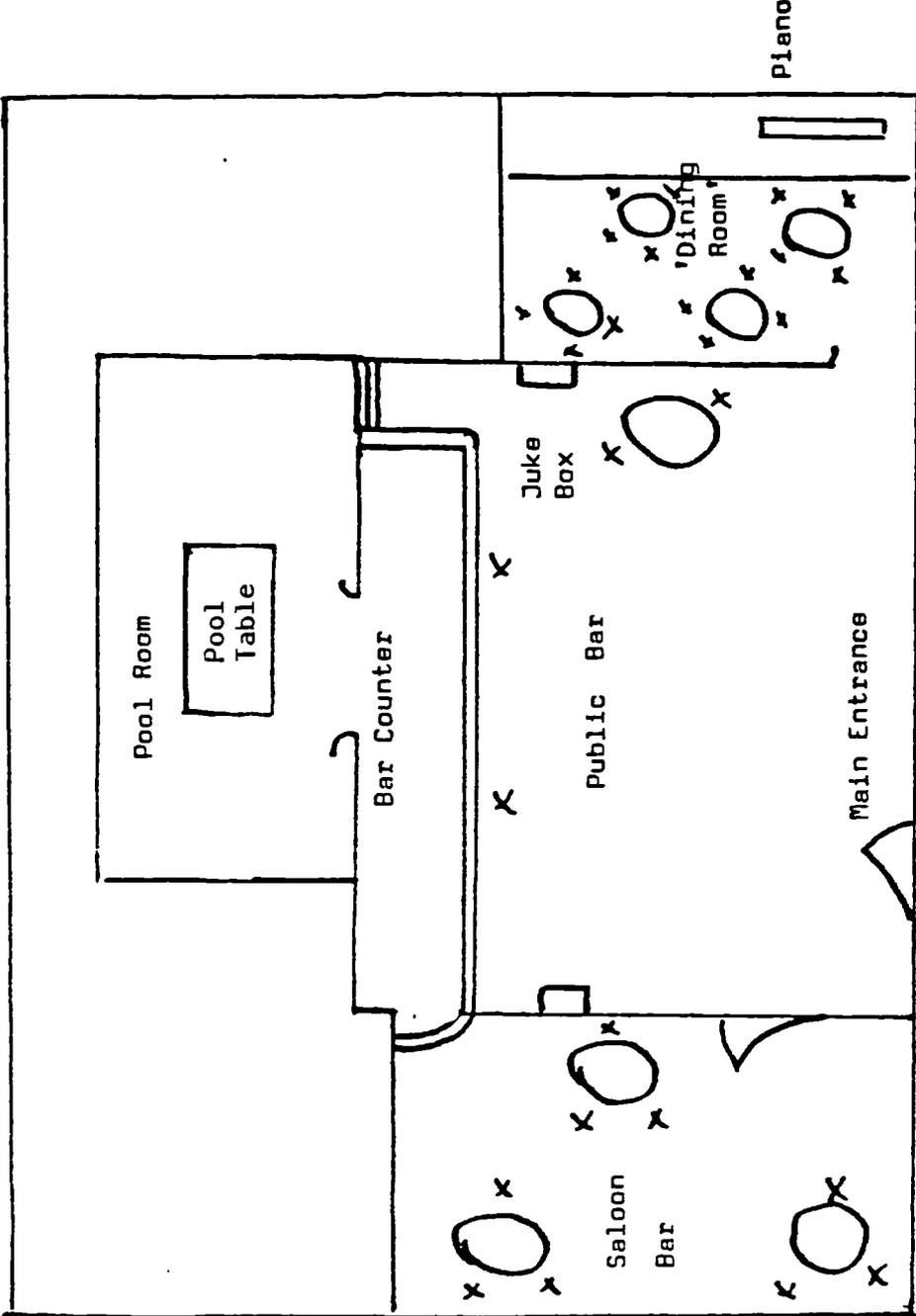


except on rare occasions when there was live music, which in fact never occurred during the fieldwork.

Villagers to whom I talked had two opposing opinions about the Rough Hay. On the one hand some saw it as the epitome of the unacceptable side of pubs, and saw it as a dangerous place frequented by a group of rough and young male drinkers. Moreover many of my middle class respondents saw it as a working class pub and therefore unsavoury - a view confirmed by an incident which had occurred. The son of one of the middle class families had gone into the pub with a friend and while there had been recognised and identified as one of those 'stuck up' kids who did not attend the village school but who went to school in the nearby local town. As a result the young male regulars made it clear that he was not welcome and he and his friend were threatened with violence.

On the other hand many of the older male working class pub goers looked upon the Rough Hay in a nostalgic way and remembered it in its former glory. They recalled the happy times that they had spent there and although they admitted that the pub had declined and was going through a 'bad patch' they still nevertheless looked upon it in a friendly way. They also knew some of the older regulars who still used it as well as some of the 'unruly' younger group, whose behaviour they tended to excuse on the grounds that there was little else for them to do in Melton. They therefore saw the Rough Hay as 'friendly' territory in spite of not drinking there.

DIAGRAM 12: THE ROUGH HAY



7.4.iii. THE THREE BARRELS

Many of the former customers of the Rough Hay moved to the Three Barrels, a single storey building at the far end of the High Street. Prior to 1840, it had been a row of tenements and had been the last pub to obtain a full licence, having only an ale and beer licence until the 1960's. Like the Griffin, its two bar rooms had been knocked into one, though the original division was still apparent: the two parts of the new bar were on different levels, and they were divided by a wrought-iron railing. In the larger section, to the left of the entrance, was a fruit machine and a small juke box which hung on the wall, while in the other part, there was a dart board. In both sections there were small tables and stools and around the walls a long continuous bench.

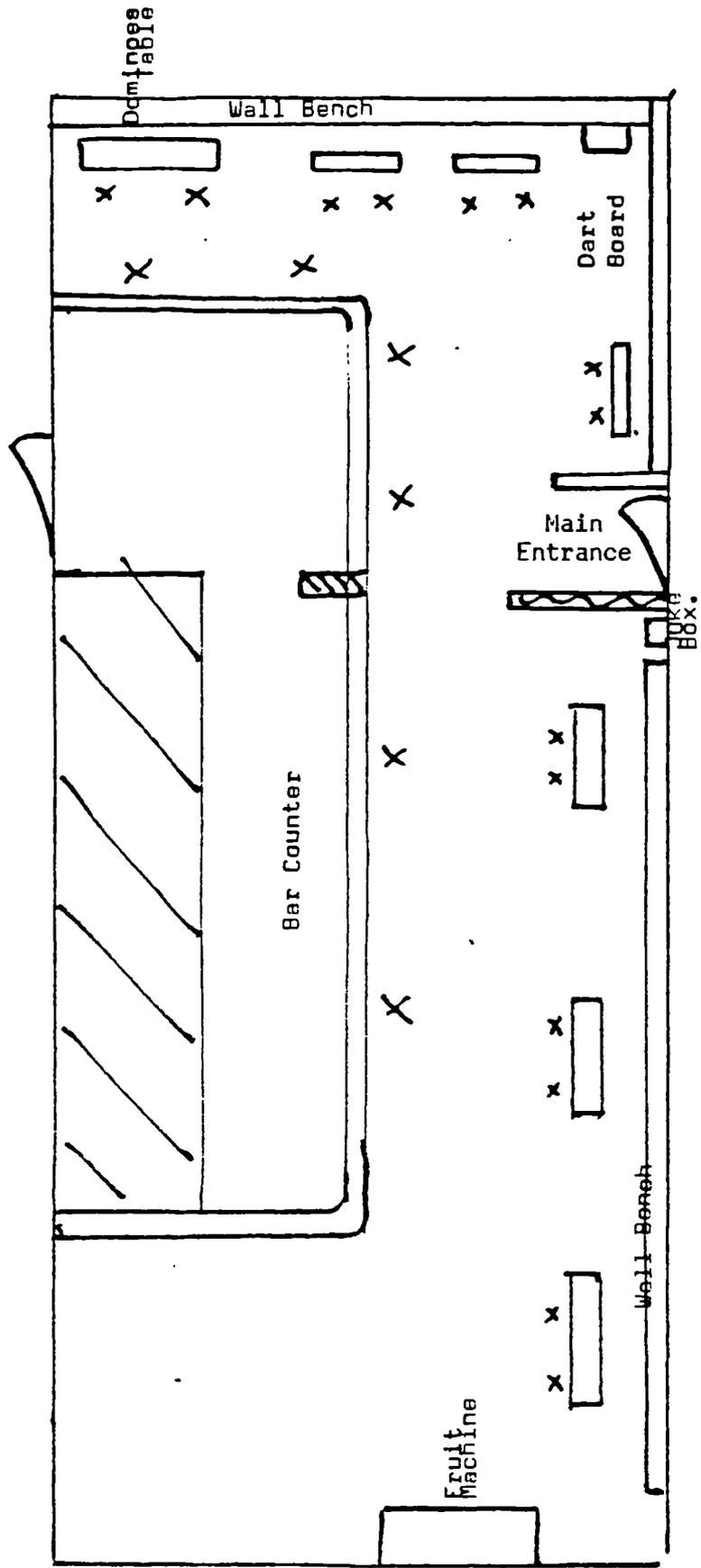
Enid and David, both of whom were in their forties, ran the Three Barrels and were well liked by the regulars. They had only recently married and each had grown up children from previous marriages. Enid, who had been born in the village, had worked as a barmaid for the previous landlord before taking on the tenancy. David, though not born in Melton, had been stationed nearby soon after the war, and had decided to settle there after meeting his first wife at a pub dance. Enid, who was not the official tenant, ran the Three Barrels during the day while David was away working for the Council in the nearby town. She was helped by Margaret, a local who lived on the Foxgrove council estate and knew all the other 'locals', and by two other women, one of whom was Enid's cousin.

THE THREE BARRELS, c. 1890



Many of the working class residents saw the Three Barrels as Melton's major social club. They went to the pub if they wished to see their friends or relatives. However many of the middle class residents, to whom I spoke, did not share this view. Instead they saw the Three Barrels as 'dowdy' and uninviting and the women in particular saw the pub as being an unsafe place to drink in.

DIAGRAM 13: THE THREE BARRELS



X= Chairs or stools

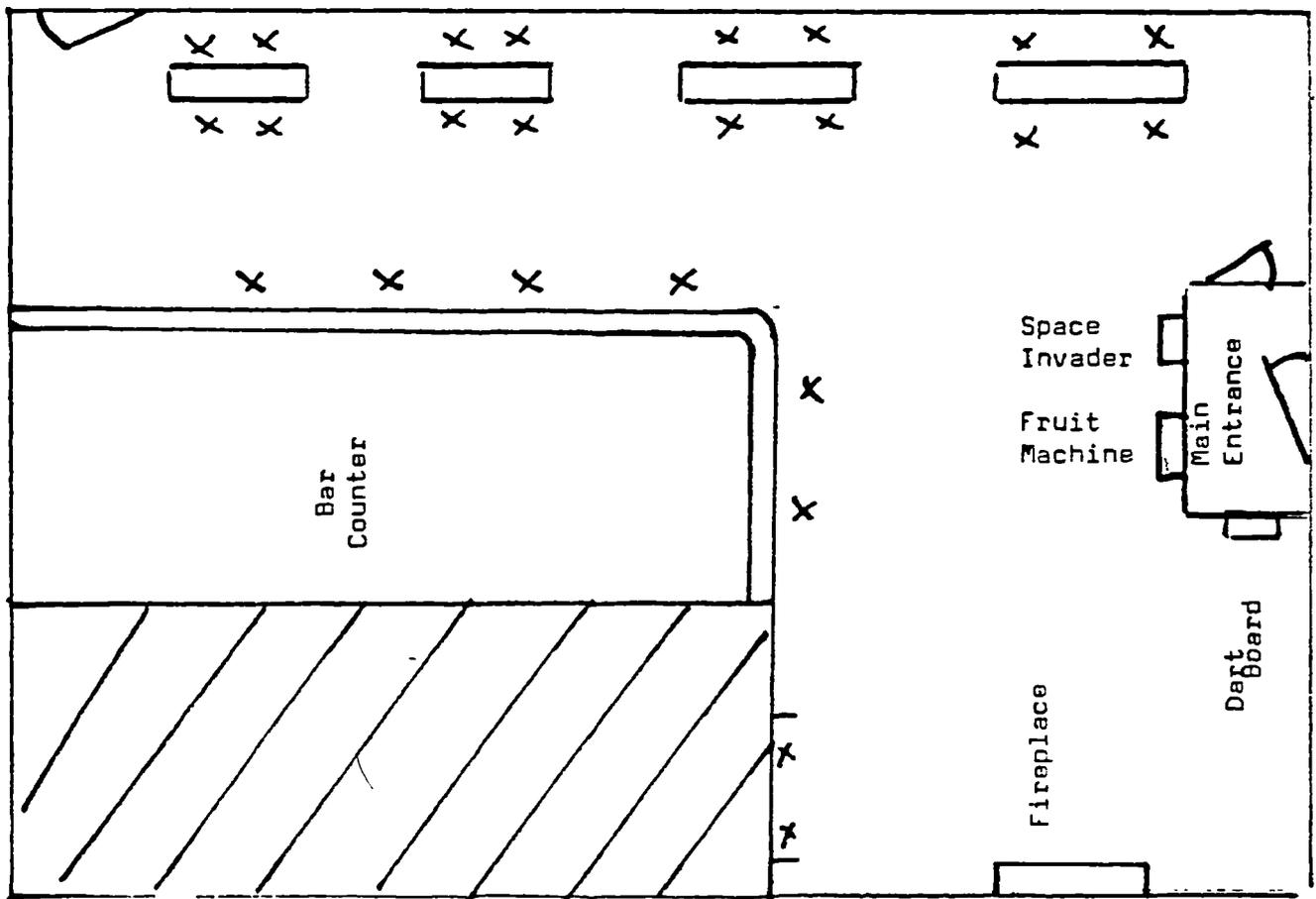
7.4.iv. THE APPLECART

The Applecart, the only purpose built pub, stood opposite the Three Barrels. It was a large red-brick building which had a small car park in front and a pub sign. Inside, there was a single L shaped room with a bar counter occupying one whole wall. The room was divided into two sections, but unlike the Three Barrels, no physical barrier existed. In one part there was a large fireplace, fruit machine, dart-board and space-invader machine. This section known as the sports area, had few seats except for the stools around the bar counter. Many of the customers either stood around in front of the fireplace, threw darts or played on the machines. A Guinness poster and Marlborough cigarette calendar, portraying a naked woman sitting on the beach, hung on the walls. The other part, where there were more chairs and tables, was used as a quieter sitting area.

On a Sunday the landlord provided two or three tabloid newspapers for his customers. The majority of his customers were young men, many of whom were members of the local football club. On a Saturday evening and Sunday lunch time they often discussed the football results both of the local clubs and the national teams. Members of the local youth club also came to the pub and because of this the pub was christened the 'Rompers' Room'. Moreover John, the landlord had had to put up a notice on the front door warning customers that if they were under eighteen and asked for an alcoholic drink, they may be asked to prove their age.

John, who was considered by his customers as 'one of the boys', was a large jolly ex-security officer in his late forties. He joined in the conversations of the football regulars and went to watch the local teams play on Saturday afternoons and Sunday mornings. John also attended many of the 'lads' social events such as the football club annual dinner dance and the Christmas stag party and strip show. However Helen, John's wife, like Helga at the Griffin, was seen to have the real power in the relationship and was known to keep a watchful eye on her husband. She also acted as a 'surrogate' mother for many of the younger male regulars and would listen attentively to their problems.

DIAGRAM 14: THE APPLECART



7.4.v. THE BLACK FALCON

The Black Falcon, which was separated from the rest of the village by a by-pass, was the fourth major pub and relied on motorists for part of its trade. Jackie, the landlord's wife, continually emphasised the fact that the Falcon was the oldest surviving pub in the village and she would often proudly display a picture of a pair of 17th century shoes found during alterations to an upstairs room.

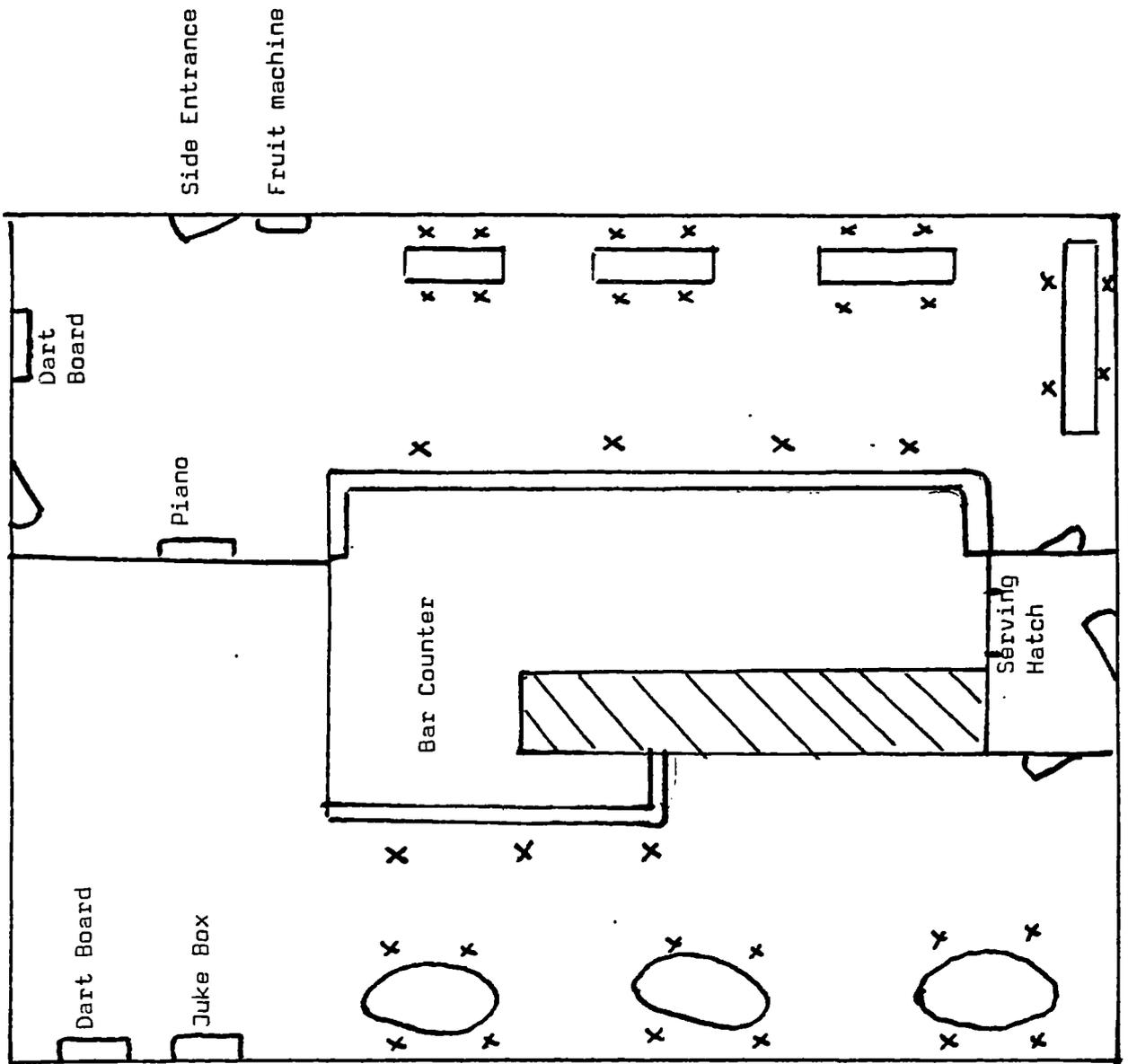
The front door opened on to a little hall way with a serving hatch where customers, who did not wish to go into either of the two bars, could buy cigarettes, sweets and drinks. On each side of the hall way there were doors to the two bars, which although similar in size, were used by different customers and decorated in different ways. The bar to the left had easy chairs which were covered in gold mock velvet and which were positioned around three tables. Four high stools stood in front of the bar which was along the right hand wall. In the top corner of the room a dart-board hung on the wall and to the left of it was a juke box which had been specially provided by Jackie for the young customers.

The other bar had two distinct sections. In the area nearest to the entrance there was a bar counter on the left hand wall while the rest of the space was taken up with large rectangular wooden tables around which were placed four chairs. On the brown walls there were posters advertising Guinness, a national dart's competition and a local point to point meeting. The second area, at the far end of the bar, contained one small table, a couple of chairs, a dart-board,

fruit machine and a piano. I was told that there used to be group singing on Friday and Saturday evenings, however I never heard the piano played. Above the piano hung an old photo of the village football team. It had been taken in the late 1940's and many of the regulars were in it.

Tony, the landlord, who used to work for a bridge construction company, enjoyed running the pub, because he no longer had to commute to work and therefore was able to spend more time with his family. Few of my informants had ever been to the pub and even those who knew some of the regulars felt that it was too far away and did not wish to venture across the by-pass, especially after having consumed a few drinks.

DIAGRAM 15: THE FALCON



7.4.vi. THE THREE HILLS AND THE CAVALIER

The Three Hills and the Cavalier, the two remaining pubs, functioned more as restaurants and as a result people used the bars only for a pre-lunch or pre-dinner drinks. The Three Hills with its overhanging first storey, exposed beams and latticed windows, was the most architecturally interesting of all the pubs. The entrance, which was at the rear of the building away from the High Street, opened on to a hall way from which were doors to the dining room and the bar. The bar was designed to resemble a hotel cocktail bar with plush velvet easy chairs, small tables and subdued lighting. Instead of a landlord, two barmen dressed in black trousers and small black waistcoats served the customers. The dining room, on the other side of the hallway, was a large open room which could accommodate about fifty people.

The Cavalier, which was located at the top end of the High Street near the by-pass, had two entrances, one at the front and one at the side. The small bar at the front had wooden stalls along the walls and high stools around the bar. A passage, to the side of the bar, led into another room, which had two levels. The lower one had small tables placed around the walls, and by the side of the bar counter there was a large refrigerated display cabinet, containing hors d'oeuvres and puddings including prawn cocktail, melon, creme caramel and black forest gateau. Opposite the bar counter, in the raised section of the room, a large painting portraying a hunting scene hung above the fireplace in front of which stood two large

THE HIGH STREET AND THE THREE HILLS, 1980



tables and chairs. A doorway, by the side of the fireplace, led into the dining room which could accommodate about twenty people.

The majority of the customers in both the Cavalier and the Three Hills were middle class, many of whom came from villages nearby. Working class villagers rarely ate at the pubs except on special occasions such as Christmas, weddings and special dart's evenings.

Melton's pubs individually catered for specific social groups distinguished by age, gender, socio-economic background and community membership. The Griffin appealed to the middle class, the Three Barrels to 'local' working class men and women; the Black Falcon to both older working class male newcomers and to younger working class men and women and the Applecourt to the young men of the football club and some of the younger people in the village. Each group colonised a particular pub which then came to be identified by its customers' characteristics. The pubs reinforced the pre-existing social divisions and allegiances within the village, which like many other English villages was composed of many dissimilar groups. Therefore while they could be seen to perform a communal social function by bringing people together under one roof they also maintained social barriers by appealing to different types of people. The fact that a middle class newcomer living in the High Street was attracted to the Griffin confirmed, in the minds of the working class 'locals' at the Three Barrels, the social characteristics of that particular newcomer. In the same way the activities and individuals to be found in the Applecourt confirmed,

in the minds of the older regulars at the Black Falcon, the social characteristics of those Applegarth regulars. However these divisions and separations did not only occur between pubs they also occurred within them. Some of the pubs were divided spatially which allowed socially different people to carry out different activities. For example, the older male regulars at the Black Falcon looked on the second bar as totally different from their own, and when on occasion the noise of the latter disturbed the quiet of their own realm, they saw this as an invasion of their privacy.

Finally I also became aware that time divisions in the same way as spatial divisions reflected social differences. For example Saturday night at the Three Barrels was a completely different social event from Saturday lunch time, just as Saturday early evening at the Griffin was different from Friday early evening or from Wednesday lunch time. The fact that one particular social group used one pub at one time of the week as opposed to another was not merely a coincidence for it highlighted the way in which external social divisions invaded the social life of the pubs and became reflected within them. The extent to which the customers changed during any one week can be seen from the chart given below.

TABLE 16: PUB SCHEDULES: MONDAY TO THURSDAY

<u>Class</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Reg</u>	<u>Casual</u>	<u>Sing</u>	<u>Coup</u>	<u>Quiet</u>	<u>Busy</u>	<u>Occas</u>
GRI MC	+	+	40/65	+	+	+	+	+		
3B WC	+		50+	+		+		+		
APP MC/WC	+		35/55	+	+	+		+		
FAL WC	+		40/60	+	+	+		+		
GRI MC	+	+	35+	+		+	+	+		
3B WC	+	+	20/70	+	+	+			+	Women's Darts
APP WC	+	+	16/50	+	+	+	+		+	" "
FAL WC	+	+	40+	+	+	+			+	" "
GRI MC	+	+	40/65	+	+	+	+	+		
3B WC	+		50+	+		+		+		
APP MC/WC	+		35/55	+	+	+		+		
FAL WC	+		40/60	+	+	+		+		
GRI MC	+	+	35+	+		+	+	+		
3B WC	+	+	35+	+	+	+			+	Men's Darts
APP WC	+	+	16/50	+	+	+	+		+	" "
FAL WC	+		35+	+	+	+			+	" "
GRI MC	+	+	40/65	+	+	+	+	+		
3B WC	+		50+	+		+		+		
APP MC/WC	+		35/55	+	+	+		+		
FAL WC	+		40/60	+	+	+		+		
GRI MC	+	+	35+	+		+	+	+		
3B WC	+		20+	+	+	+			+	Men's Darts
APP WC	+	+	16/50	+	+	+	+		+	Women's Darts
FAL WC	+	+	40+	+	+	+			+	" "
GRI MC	+	+	40/65	+	+	+	+	+		
3B WC	+		50+	+		+		+		
APP MC/WC	+		35/55	+	+	+		+		
FAL WC	+		40/60	+	+	+		+		
GRI MC	+	+	35+	+		+	+		+	
3B WC	+	+	20+	+		+	+		+	Mixed Darts
APP WC	+	+	16/50	+	+	+	+		+	Men's Darts
FAL WC	+	+	20+	+		+	+		+	Mixed Darts

Key: GRI: Griffin, 3B: Three Barrels, APP: Applecourt, FAL: Falcon
 Reg: Regular, Sing: Single, Coup: Couple, Occas:
 Occasion, MC: Middle class, WC: Working class.

TABLE 17: PUB SCHEDULES: FRIDAY AND WEEK-END

<u>Class</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Reg</u>	<u>Casual</u>	<u>Sing</u>	<u>Coup</u>	<u>Quiet</u>	<u>Busy</u>	<u>Occas</u>
GRI	MC	+	+	40/65	+	+	+	+		
3B	WC	+		50+	+	+		+		
APP	MC/WC	+		35/55	+	+		+		
FAL	WC	+	+	40+	+	+	+		+	
GRI	MC	+	+	30/65	+	+	+			+
3B	WC	+	+	20+	+	+	+			+
APP	WC	+	+	20/60	+	+	+			+
FAL	WC	+	+	40+	+	+	+			+
GRI	MC	+	+	30/65	+	+	+			+
3B	WC	+		40+	+	+				+
APP	WC	+		30/50	+	+				+
FAL	WC	+		40+	+	+				+
GRI	MC/WC	+	+	20/65	+	+	+			+
3B	WC	+	+	20+	+	+	+			+
APP	WC	+	+	17/60	+	+	+			+
FAL	WC	+	+	40/70	+	+	+			+
GRI	MC	+	+	20/65	+	+	+			+
3B	WC	+		40/70	+	+				+
APP	MC/WC	+		18/50	+	+				+
FAL	WC	+		40+	+	+				+
GRI	MC	+	+	40/65	+	+	+			+
3B	WC	+	+	20/70	+	+	+			+
APP	WC	+	+	17/55	+	+	+			+
FAL	WC	+	+	40+	+	+	+			+

Key: GRI: Griffin, 3B: Three Barrels, APP: Applecourt, FAL: Falcon
 Reg: Regular, Sing: Single, Coup: Couple, Occas:
 Occasion, MC: Middle class, WC: Working class.

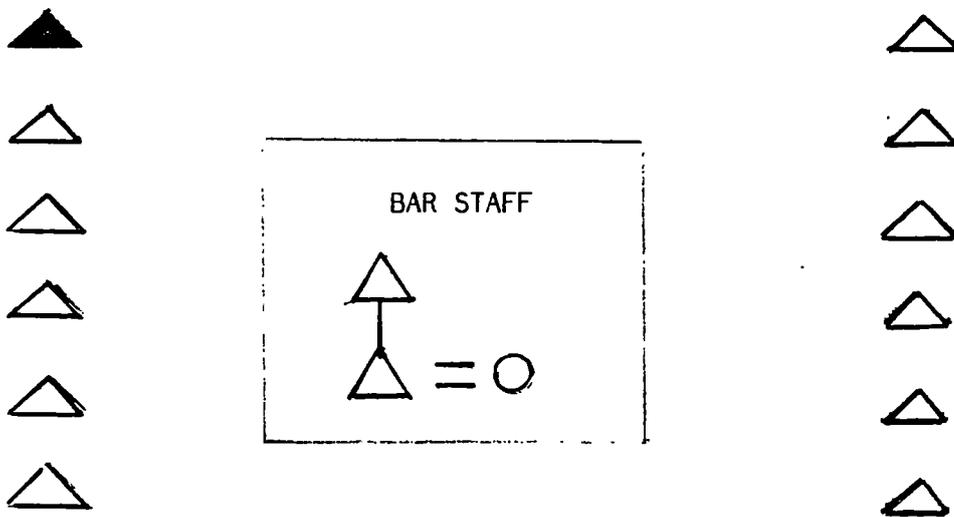
On a Sunday lunch time, for example, the Three Barrels and the Black Falcon catered to an older working class male clientele, while the customers at the Applecourt were younger and more socially mixed. The people at the Griffin were socially different from the other pubs and were more likely to be in couples. The chart also illustrates the changes that occurred in customer profiles during the week within any one pub. For example, as the landlord at the Griffin remarked 'if someone came in at lunch time and then in the evening they would find a completely different set'. But the customers altered not only from the morning to the evening but even within a single session. For instance the customers who arrived between 5.30 and 6.30, called by one landlord the 'after work drinker' were different from those who came in from 7.30 onwards. However in spite of these variations the customers at any one pub tended to be of a similar social class background. The customers at the Griffin remained predominantly middle class, regardless of the time or the day of the week, in the same way that the customers at the Three Barrels remained working class.

The chart also highlights the way in which additional factors such as providing food or the playing of darts produced differences in customer profiles. The Griffin, the Applecourt and the Black Falcon all offered lunch and as a result businessmen and other visitors as well as Melton's residents were attracted to these pubs. During the lunch period, the customers at these three pubs unlike those at the Three Barrels were a mixture of regulars and casuals. Darts also played an important part in determining the type of clientele. The

Griffin was the only pub not to have a darts' team which meant that its weekly evening clientele remained generally the same. However the customers at the other pubs altered significantly depending on whether it was a dart's evening or whether the men's or women's teams were playing at home.

From this analysis of the pubs schedules, we can see the way in which customers were attracted to particular pubs. However in order to see the extent to which locals and newcomers mixed let us consider the following tables which examine the regulars at three of the pubs.

DIAGRAM 20: REGULARS AT THE BLACK FALCON



KEY:



LOCAL



NEWCOMER

For example whereas, over 50% of the customers in the Three Barrels were residents born and bred within the village, the number of locals in both the Griffin and the Black Falcon was considerably smaller. However what was particularly interesting was that the Black Falcon had the least number of locals and not, as we might have expected the Griffin. It appeared therefore that even though both the Three Barrels and the Black Falcon were frequented by working class regulars, the fact that some were born in the village and some were not, pointed to the fact that notions of local and newcomer were important at least amongst working class drinkers.

The Black Falcon was not a 'locals' pub. As can be seen from the chart only one of the regulars, Greg, could be strictly described as a local. However although the customers at the Black Falcon could be classified as newcomers when compared to those at the Three Barrels, they could be seen as locals when compared to the majority of the Griffin's customers. For in spite of classifying them as newcomers, it would be incorrect to assume that they were recent arrivals. In addition to those who had lived in the village for over thirty years, others, although not born in the village had nevertheless been connected with it since childhood.

For example Jack, who was a builder, had lived in the neighbourhood all his life and had even gone to the village school. Others like George, who used to be in the Navy and now worked as a part-time gardener, arrived nearly forty years ago. Many of them had seen the village change in just the same way as the locals at the Three

Barrels had. However, in spite of these long connections with Melton, none of them, except Greg, saw themselves as being locals and in fact they saw and described themselves as being 'foreigners'. For example, one day they were sitting and talking about different accents and joking about the fact that none of them could understand what Ian, who came from Newcastle, said. To which Ian replied that they were all bloody foreigners because they had all come from different parts of the country. They agreed and one of them even suggested that the Black Falcon be renamed the 'Foreign Legion'.

7.5. CONCLUSION

In the last 30 years English rural villages have experienced many changes. In analysing these changes writers, like Newby and Pahl,²⁶ have examined the effects of these changes. However although much of their discussion is relevant, it is clear that Melton's particular history is slightly different to other rural communities. For example both Newby and Pahl²⁷ have tended only to discuss the impact of middle class newcomers whereas newcomers to Melton have been of both middle class and working class origin. Hence a simple dichotomy of newcomer-local, which they use, underestimates the social differences in Melton's newcomers. Moreover unlike Pahl's Dormersdell²⁸ or Elias and Scotson's Winston Parva,²⁹ the various groupings are not so neatly geographically bounded. For example many working class locals live on the same estate as working class newcomers.

These changes in the social make-up of Melton's population have influenced the type of customer found in the pubs. However, although the schedule charts give us some idea of the make-up of the clientele of the pubs, it provides little information as to how the customers maintained their dominance. In order to investigate the way in which this dominance was achieved I shall examine in the next chapter the social life of two pubs and in both of them I shall analyse in more detail how each group uses its own rituals and practices to create their togetherness and maintain their separateness.

CHAPTER SEVEN: FOOTNOTES

1. A.P.M.Wright, 1978, p.84.
2. H.Newby, 1977.
3. This table has been compiled from a number of sources including the table of population 1801-1931 from L.F.Salzman, 1948, p.136 and from more up to date figures from the Census 1951, 1971, and 1981.
5. Melton Parish Council, 1982, p.40.
4. A.P.M.Wright, op. cit., p.96.
6. Ibid.
7. P.Clark, 1983, p.5
8. Ibid.
9. The majority of the information on the history of the pubs in Melton came from from the local history teacher at the Village College who gave an extremely informative lecture.
10. See for example B.Harrison, 1977 and P.Clark, 1983.

11. Handout given in the local history class.
12. Ibid.
13. R.E.Pahl, 1964 and 1970, and H.Newby, op. cit.
14. H.Newby, ibid.
15. For a further discussion of the development of the Cambridge area see I.M.Purdy, 1980.
16. B.H.Mellor, 1971, p.3.
17. Melton Parish Council, op. cit.
18. Although precise statistics are not available, my own research suggests that this trend continues today.
19. Melton Parish Council, op. cit., p.14.
20. M.Strathern, 1981.
21. Ibid., p.28.
22. The percentage in this table are very approximate, calculations based on my own knowledge of the village coupled with information from the electoral register.

23. B.Sansom, 1980.
24. E.Krige, 1932.
25. P.Clark, op. cit., p.56.
26. R.E.Pahl and H.Newby, op. cit.
27. Ibid.
28. See R.E.Pahl. 1964, 1967, and 1968.
29. N.Elias and J.L.Scotson, 1965.

CHAPTER EIGHT: DRINKING IN THE VILLAGE: COHESION AND DIVISION

8.1. DRINKING AND SOCIAL CLASS: THE CASE OF THE GRIFFIN AND THE THREE BARRELS

The Griffin was a 'village in the mind' pub. Its layout and the decor -the bridle gear above the fireplace, fresh flowers on polished tables, the absence of a pool table or even a dart-board - were all characteristics of a pub whose landlord wished to attract a predominantly middle class clientele. To a large extent the Griffin was successful in doing this, although, on occasion, the pub attracted working class drinkers, such as the football club crowd on a Saturday evening. However, as Edward the landlord remarked, 'I have the best of both worlds - the working class locals use the pub in the early part of a Saturday evening, when the pub might have been quiet and yet they've usually gone before my middle class customers start to arrive at 7.30'. The fact that the pub attracted footballers on one evening a week, did not in any way jeopardize the patronage of the pub by middle class drinkers, for these two social groups were kept apart by the barrier of social time - a barrier created, not physically as in the case of 'snob screens' in Victorian pubs,¹ but by the wider social norms of the customers.²

However in spite of the Griffin's ability to appeal to customers of different social classes, it was nevertheless dominated by a

middle class clientele, within which there existed a core group of 26 people. The occupations of the men included two garage owners, an airline pilot, an engineer, a journalist, three company executives, two self-employed businessmen, a farmer, a builder, a sales manager and a hairdressing salon owner. Among the women there were two hairdressing salon owners, a beauty specialist, a part-time waitress, a market researcher, a building society employee, an accountant, a saleswoman, a self-employed business woman, a full-time secretary, a part-time bar helper, a health visitor and three full-time housewives. The majority were in couples whether married or living together. Many of the group were similar to Geoff and Pauline. They had come to the village eight years ago because Geoff was transferred by his company to work in a local chemical plant. Geoff worked as an export administrator and had worked for the company for over twenty years. Pauline, once they had settled in the village, had taken a job in a nearby town helping a friend run a restaurant. They liked to come to the Griffin because they were able to meet their friends. In addition there were three single women and two men, one of whom appeared at the pub at the week-ends with one or other of his regular girlfriends.

The middle class group met on Friday evenings, Saturday lunch times, Saturday evenings, Sunday lunch times and occasionally Sunday evenings. Sunday lunch time was their most regular meeting time. Some of the men also dropped in at the Griffin after work to have a quick drink before going home and, occasionally, they were joined by their wives or girlfriends.

When the group met at the Sunday lunch session most of them arrived in couples, although some of the men came independently after spending an hour playing darts with the 'lads' at the Applectart. During the summer, four of the couples regularly played tennis at a club in the local town, before going to the Griffin. The group nearly always stood in one area of the bar, at the opposite end from the entrance. On the couple of occasions that they did not occupy this position it became a topic of conversation why the early arrivals had been unable to commandeer their usual place.

Once everyone had arrived the group tended to divide into smaller gender based groupings of 3 or 4 people and stand and discuss various topics. For the men these included sporting activities, such as their performance at tennis, squash or weight lifting; their latest business trips or changes in their companies; forthcoming holidays and wine buying. In addition to these, previous drinking bouts were also discussed. For example on one occasion there was a lot of boisterous discussion about Alex who at an afternoon party had stood naked, except for a top hat and umbrella, on the roof of his house. Subjects discussed by the women included fashion, the previous week's entertainments, arranging social meetings for the forthcoming week and holidays. Holidays were a common subject for discussion because of the frequency with which some of the members of the group went abroad. Personal relationships were another subject discussed by the women, especially if one of the couples was going through a difficult spell or in the process of separating.

Members of the group were inevitably the last to leave the pub - at least half an hour after closing time - at which point someone would suggest that they should come home for a drink. If this was accepted (and it usually was), others would buy wine or beer from Edward to contribute to the afternoon's drinks. These spontaneous gatherings often lasted until late afternoon or early evening. In addition to these informal home gatherings, individuals also met regularly at village dances, at restaurants both inside and outside the village, at each other's homes for dinner parties, at charity barbecues and at Conservative party social events. Moreover, because many of them lived in the village and worked or ran businesses there, they often saw each other regularly during the week.

Unlike the Griffin, the villagers saw the Three Barrels as a working class pub. The customers at the pub were predominantly working class men in their fifties and sixties, and included an electrician, a part-time postman and garage owner, two agricultural labourers, two builders, a welding labourer, a railway worker, two retired council workers, a retired seaman, a foreman in a factory, a meat processing worker, a design engineer, a retired hospital porter and an apprentice. The men drank at the pub at different times during the week, the older men often spent four or five hours in the pub every day playing dominoes, chatting about changes in the village and slowly drinking their beer, or in one case a diet-pepsi. Other male regulars who worked locally often stopped in for a quick drink at lunch time or after work. They then returned home, had something to eat and returned to the pub later on in the evening. During the

week, except on darts' evenings, the bar was relatively quiet. However on a Friday and Saturday evening this tranquillity was broken and by nine o'clock the pub, or at least one side of it, would be full. The men were joined by their wives, daughters, sisters and, on occasion, their nieces. Work clothes gave way to smart casuals and in some cases ties. The occupations of the women regulars included factory workers (three), butcher, housewives (five), supermarket cashier, canteen worker, horse riding student, fruit and vegetable shop owner, civil servant, secretary, ancillary hospital cleaner, retired factory workers (two) and part-time bar helper.

The most important characteristic of the Three Barrels was that it was the 'locals' pub and therefore acted as a neighbourhood social centre. When the locals entered the pub they were greeted by their first name, their regular drink (at least for the men) would be ready for them on the bar and, in many cases, it was served in a special tankard. Unlike the middle class grouping at the Griffin, the majority of the customers at the Three Barrels had been born and bred in the village. Not only had many of them known each other from childhood, but many were also related. Thus the pub was exceptionally important for them as their primary meeting place, a point that was even more important given the lack of alternative meeting places in the village.

The regulars congregated in one particular place, near the darts board and the dominoes table, which meant that on the busiest nights

of the week this side of the bar would be very full while the other side, which had the juke box and fruit machine, was relatively empty. Saturday was the major social evening of the week and David and Enid, the publicans, often chose this night to have a special event, such as a charity auction. On these occasions the customers donated gifts such as old records, unwanted Christmas and birthday presents, flowers and vegetables. These were then auctioned and proceeds given to a local charity. The auctions were accompanied by much laughter and fooling around, for example, on one occasion, a 'surprise' package, which turned out to be a packet of contraceptives, was auctioned. Janet who had bid successfully for the package, decided to blow up one of the condoms. As it floated and darted about the room, it was auctioned a final time before it hit the floor.

The vegetable show, which took place on one Saturday morning in September, was a special event at the Three Barrels. All the vegetables were displayed on the tables of the pub so that the customers could admire them. Journalists and photographers from the local newspaper attended and they took pictures of the contestants with their vegetables. After the exhibits had been judged and prizes awarded, some of the vegetables were removed, especially those which were to be exhibited in other vegetable shows. The rest were auctioned off and the proceeds were given to charity. As in the charity auction, the customers were very jovial and many of them made lewd jokes especially when it came to auctioning the large carrots and cucumbers.

The regulars also chose Friday and Saturday nights for doing 'silly' things. For example, one couple often appeared at the pub in fancy dress, the man usually dressed as a wanton looking woman. On another occasion, James, who was in his mid-forties, was bet £5 to streak naked to the Griffin pub and back. He immediately took up the bet and the money he received was donated to charity.

Although neither the Griffin nor the Three Barrels possessed a specific name, nevertheless they possessed a particular identity which was clear to others. For example other customers at the Griffin referred to the middle class regulars as the Henry Cuthbertson group (Henry being one of the more extrovert regulars). In the Three Barrels the younger drinkers, who sat apart from the older regulars, referred to them as the 'old fogies' even though some of them were far from old. Each group expressed its identity through a distinctive set of practices which can be dealt with under two headings: round buying and reciprocity at home.

8.1.i. ROUND BUYING

Round buying occurred all the time amongst the regulars at the Griffin but hardly ever at the Three Barrels. It usually took place amongst individuals who knew each other or who were known to each other and who had a similar status. However it could also be used by a newcomer as a way of 'buying' the friendship of other individuals thereby hopefully establishing the himself as a friend.

Round buying amongst the regulars at the Griffin could involve as many as sixteen to twenty people. A sense of trust was implicit within the system for it was accepted that if an individual bought a round he or she would be included in a future round. Occasionally one couple was allowed to opt out of the system because of financial difficulties. The fact that this was allowed pointed out the trust operating within the group and the notion of 'stored credit' built up as a result of past reciprocal exchanges. ³

A smaller disposable income of the regulars may be one possible reason for the absence of round buying at the Three Barrels. However the occurrence of round buying amongst other working class groups ⁴ suggests that differences in income cannot be taken as the sole reason and therefore we must look for additional explanations.

Within the Griffin group, round buying performed an important function both as an indicator of available disposable income and as a ritual to affirm status. By involving themselves in this form of reciprocity, individuals both invested energy in their relationships and also confirmed their own acceptability. In return, the individual could expect both an 'equivalent return' and confirmation of his or her group membership. Round buying reflected a system of exchange 'in which obligations are continually created and discharged'. ⁵ Thus it was not only necessary for the members to possess an appropriately high income to share in the life-style of the group, it was also necessary for them to be prepared to dispose of part of this income through round buying to maintain their

membership and hold on to their reputation as a 'sociable person'.

⁶ If an individual broke the rules either by not participating in round buying or by deliberately and consistently waiting to buy a 'small' round - that is buying a round when only a small number of group members were present - then the individual stood to jeopardize not only his or her group position but also his or her relationships with other individual members. The individual's failure to adhere to the rules may lead to being excluded from round buying, although not necessarily immediately from the social life of the group as a whole. For example, during the research, a relative newcomer to the group was felt to be failing to 'pull his weight' in round buying. This feeling led to his being deliberately excluded from the round buying which resulted in a change in his behaviour. He began, rather ostentatiously, to buy rounds of drinks which led to his being reinstated into the round buying practice.

An individual could also jeopardize his or her position by attempting to dominate round buying, which was seen as an attempt to assert 'superiority' over the group either in terms of wealth or generosity. Such attempts could result in the other members of the group resenting the individual and either refusing to accept the drink or disposing of it. For example on one occasion one of men kept insisting on paying for the rounds and on everyone in the group accepting further drinks. Initially this was accepted, but as the evening wore on, both his constant generosity and the continuous flow of drinks began to irritate some of the members. As a result one of the women when confronted with yet another double Gin, which

she hadn't asked for, decided that the only way to deal with this was to pour some of it on the floor while the culprit was not looking. In doing so she remarked to those around her 'I think that it will be all right, its Gin, it won't stain, if it were red wine I wouldn't do it'. A little later in the evening she was yet again faced with another double Gin. This time she decided to dispose of it in a crystal flower vase on one of the tables close to her. A couple of days later, when he was absent, some of the group who had been present discussed his aggressive behaviour which was generally excused on the grounds that he had drunk too much alcohol. Nevertheless, although his behaviour was seen as being unusual certain people still felt reluctant to accept a drink from him. Fortunately, soon afterwards, he was given a new position by his company which involved his working at the week-ends and he was therefore unable to socialise as much with the group.

Occasionally a system of 'pooling' ⁷ took the place of round buying. In 'pool buying' an arbitrary amount of money, for example £4 or £5 was given by each male member to put in a kitty, out of which drinks for all the group were bought. This form of exchange took place when it appeared that there were either too many members present or that too many people in the group were not regular drinkers. This situation could then lead to a possible breakdown of reciprocal exchange, and therefore instead of relying upon the practice of round buying to maintain reciprocities within the group, a more elaborate 'organisation of reciprocities' ⁸ was introduced. When this practice occurred it was usually accompanied by a series

of jokes about the efficiency of its function and the economic fairness of the exchange. One individual, for instance, jokingly complained 'so far this pint has bloody cost me two pounds'. Furthermore if members arrived late they were either encouraged to buy their own drinks or if the 'kitty' was still solvent they would be treated to a drink.

For the Three Barrels group this type of group affirming ritual was unnecessary, and the reasons it was unnecessary lay not so much in the characteristics of the group itself but in the existence of two exterior structural factors shared by the majority of its members, namely shared kin and shared neighbourhood.

DIAGRAM 21: KINSHIP CHART OF THE REGULARS AT THE GRIFFIN

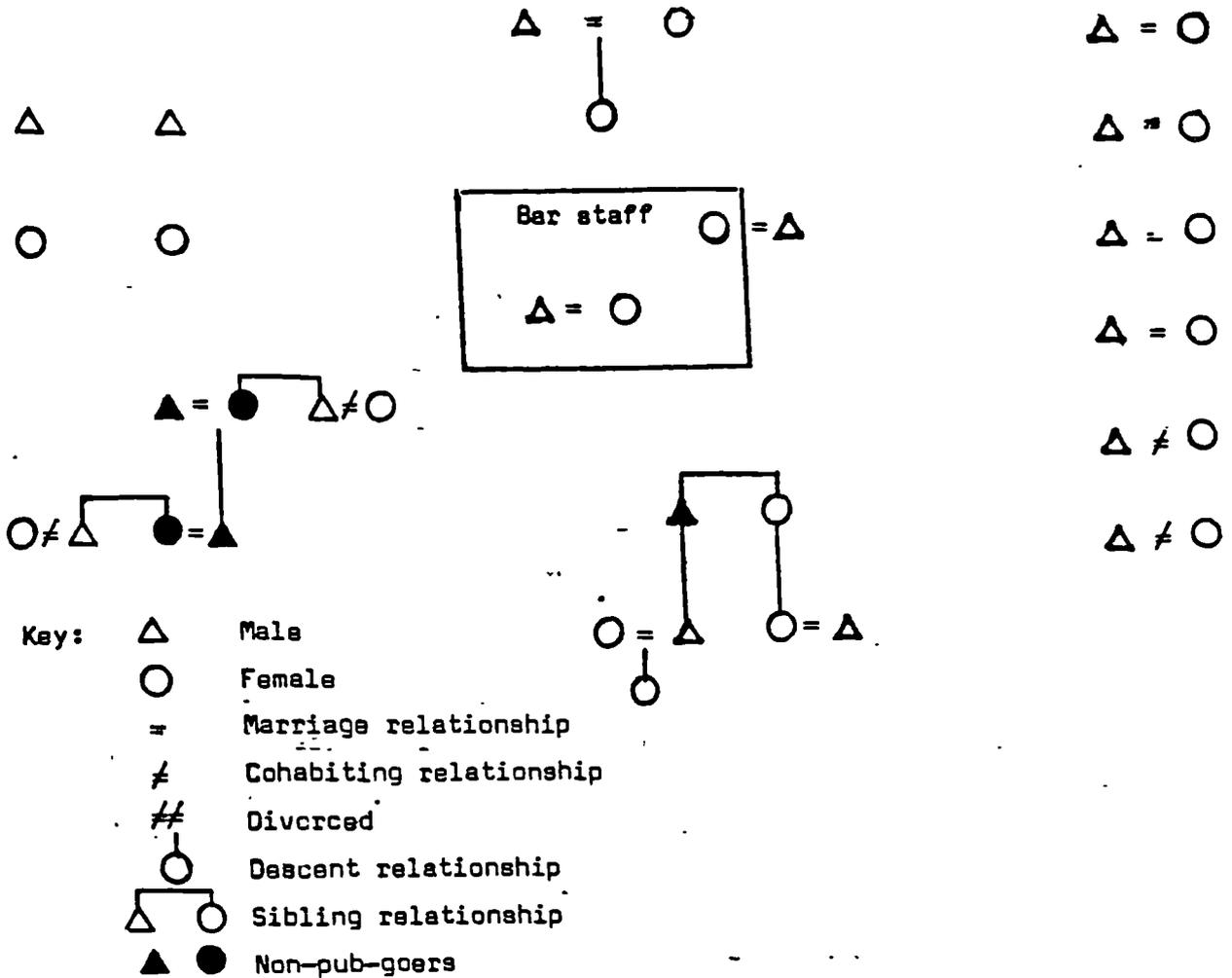
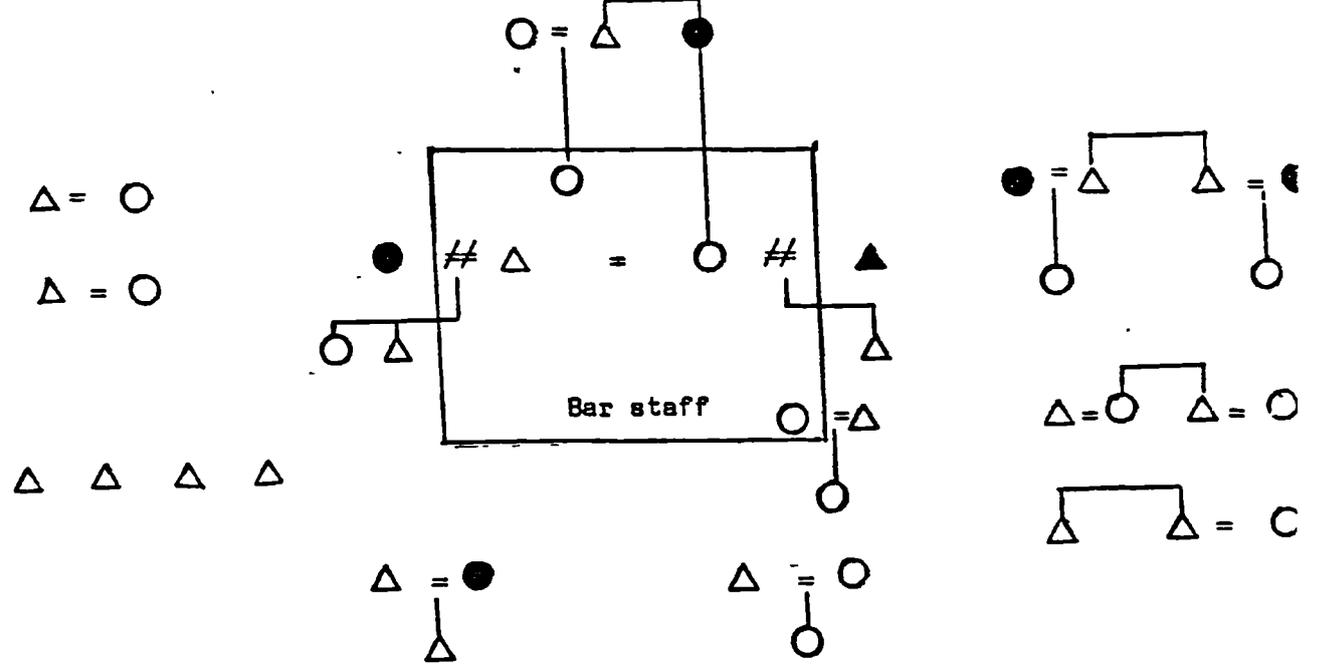


DIAGRAM 22: KINSHIP CHART OF THE REGULARS AT THE THREE BARRELS



If we examine tables 21 and 22 the most significant difference is the extent to which kin relationships existed in the Three Barrels group in comparison with the regulars at the Griffin. Whilst the majority of the drinkers at the Griffin were in couples, drinkers at the Three Barrels were more likely to be relations. For example whereas at the Griffin only two of the drinkers were related, in the Three Barrels there were nine people who drank with either one or both of their parents, four who had sibling relationships and four cousins. It would therefore appear that at the Three Barrels people who were related were likely to spend their leisure time together. Many other studies have found that working class families spend more of their leisure time socialising with their kin than middle class families. For example, Allan in his summary of the available literature, notes that

Although there is some disagreement about the importance of non-kin neighbours and workmates as sources of friendships in working class social life - all are agreed that kin generally plays a most significant part. In contrast to this, the role of kin in middle class sociable life is generally recognised as being quite minor.

In spite of the similarity of my findings to the general picture, my data, especially in terms of sibling contact, varies slightly from research on working class leisure patterns. For although various writers such as Young and Wilmott¹⁰ and Allan¹¹ have noted the involvement of kin in working class life, they have also argued that contact between kin is often of a fairly limited nature and that there is usually little need 'to interact in other situations or settings, including those, like pubs or clubs, which are 'social' in

the general meaning of this term'.¹² I suspect therefore that shared neighbourhood may be a possible reason for the prevalence of kin relationships amongst the Three Barrels group.

The majority of the regulars lived within a short walking distance of the pub and on similar council housing estates. This geographical proximity of the regulars meant that the Three Barrels acted as a 'neighbourhood' pub. (Members of the Griffin social group lived in a much more scattered area around the pub, some as far away as twenty miles.) Therefore regulars, who were related, met regularly in the pub because, as Allen has noted, 'they came across each other whilst engaging in activities which were undertaken for reasons other than that of intentionally servicing this particular kin relationship'.

¹³ Although these meetings appeared to be chance encounters they were in fact instances of 'structured chance'.

By structured chance I mean that while interaction is unplanned and not purposeful as far as the interactants are concerned, it is nevertheless consequent upon principles of organisation which are integral to their social, and especially kinship, behaviour.¹⁴

The regulars at the Three Barrels went to the pub secure in the knowledge that they would meet people they knew and with whom they would be able to share a common knowledge based on shared characteristics. To paraphrase Allan,¹⁵ it did not matter whether Arthur or Henry would be in the pub that night because if they were not then at least Sheila, Tom or Cyril would be there.

Consequently the regulars at the Three Barrels, unlike those at the Griffin, did not need to enhance further group cohesion through such practices as round buying because they shared a common structure of kinship and neighbourhood. For those in the Three Barrels group, the sharing of common characteristics was a prerequisite for effective membership in the group. Furthermore, for individuals who possessed these common characteristics, it was not even necessary to attend the pub on a regular basis to be accepted by the group. Thus Alfred, who was John's brother (John and Isabel being regulars in the Three Barrels) came to the pub rarely and yet whenever he did he was always greeted by the landlord, by his first name and was always immediately incorporated into the group. If, however, an individual wished to become a group member but did not possess these shared characteristics then it was essential that he or she attended the Three Barrels on a regular basis to ensure acceptance by the group.

8.1.ii. THE PUB, THE HOME AND FRIENDS

Reciprocity amongst the regulars at the Griffin extended beyond round buying and encompassed home entertaining - a practice which was not evident amongst the regulars at the Three Barrels. Many writers have noted a difference in the use of the home between working class and middle class groups. For example Allan noted that whereas 'the working class respondents tended to restrict interaction with their friends...to particular social contexts, the middle class respondents developed their friendships by explicitly removing them from the constraints imposed by specific settings'. 16

The use of the home allowed the relationship 'to flower' because only in the home were

the constraints imposed on interaction in externally organised settings...largely removed, and the individuals are (apparently) free to interact as they wish...Further, because such meetings are clearly consequent on choice rather than circumstances, they serve again to emphasise the desire of the participants to interact purposefully for its own sake with one another. 17

In contrast to this, working class relationships with friends or work mates were contained within particular structures. For example, Stacey in her study on Banbury noted that

Working class husbands rarely bring their workmates home. Even when workmates are also neighbours it by no means follows that they will spend leisure time together. If they meet at all outside work it is usually only in the pub. 18

Similarly Young and Willmott quote one of their respondents as saying 'I've got plenty of friends around here. I've got friends at work and friends at sport and friends I have a drink with'. 19

This difference in working-class and middle-class leisure patterns was fully supported by data from my own research. While the working-class regulars socialised mainly in the Three Barrels, the regulars at the Griffin met both in the pub and in their homes. This contrasting use of the home pointed both to differences in sociability patterns and to a major difference in the role of the pub for these two groups. The regulars at the Three Barrels used the pub as a central location for maintaining friendships. As one informant put it when asked whether people in the Three Barrels met socially outside, 'no, thats the beauty of the pub, you can come in here and you don't have to see people elsewhere'. On the other hand

the middle-class group used the Griffin as merely one possible place to meet friends and to form new friendships which could be developed in other contexts, such as the home. One regular remarked that if the Griffin did not exist 'we would meet all the time in our homes'.

Home for the regulars at the Griffin was a symbol of their financial and social success, and acquiring a new house or carrying out improvements to the existing one was a frequent topic of conversation. Many of them, like Heather and Robert, lived on the High Street. Their house had originally been two shops which they joined together to form a five bedroom house. They were particularly proud of the conversion and often showed photos of the building before and after. Home entertaining, which ranged from informal drink gatherings to formal dinner parties, meant that the home should be appropriately designed and furnished and that people should always have an available and adequate supply of alcohol. Furthermore people were required to always be ready to entertain the chance caller. However the possession of material goods was not the only factor that determined home entertaining.²⁰ Another important element was a shared life-style. This included the possession of particular styles of furniture, for example antique furniture was considered more acceptable than modern furniture unless the latter was designer furniture. It also included a specific style of decorating. For example the rooms had to have plain coloured walls preferably in pastel colours and on the floor single coloured carpets or persian carpets were to be used. Finally particular areas

in the home had to be designated for entertaining. For example even though all the middle-class homes had a dining room, friends were also entertained in the living room and the kitchen and if there was a large number of guests, all three rooms would be used. Moreover, unlike the designation of home space in other societies, there appeared to be no clear demarcation between the rooms in which relatives and friends were entertained.²¹

This sharing of a seemingly similar middle class home culture amongst the group was even more striking given the fact that there was some disparity between their incomes. Nevertheless all the homes, according to group standards, were seen as 'tastefully' decorated and furnished and at no time during the research did I encounter amazement at an inappropriate or unacceptable home design or decoration.

The regulars at the Griffin used the private home as a way of reinforcing group identity, which was achieved both by the use of the home and by the use of an elaborate set of rituals and practices which controlled drinking and entertaining in the home. However, initially what was unclear was whether these practices were simply a random cluster or whether in fact they were an elaborate set of rituals which the participants knew and understood.

8.1.iii. RITUALS IN THE HOME

If we examine the four different types of entertaining encountered during the research, we can see the extent to which social events in the middle class private domain were either governed by an elaborate sets of rituals or were merely randomised practices. To compare the different rituals that operated I will begin by describing an example of each type of event.

8.1.iii.a. The Formal Dinner Party.

Janet and Alan invited four couples for dinner one Saturday evening. They were invited verbally and told to come 'about eight'. The first couple to arrive were Philip and Jenny who came soon after eight. Philip was a senior salesman for a local chemical company and Jenny ran a second hand clothes shop in the village. They were greeted by Alan and shown into the living room where Philip handed his host a bottle of wine, saying 'hope this is all right I haven't tasted it before'. Alan took the bottle and put it away in the kitchen, where it was kept for another occasion. (Philip later remarked privately to me that he had been hoping to taste the wine and was a little disappointed that it had been 'stored'). They were immediately offered a drink and Philip asked for a whisky, while Jenny had a gin and water. On the small wooden table, alongside the coffee table books on 'Food in France' and 'A stroll through Madrid', were a set of three dishes containing assorted nuts, corn chips and savoury sticks. Janet who had briefly come into greet them, immediately returned to the kitchen to put the finishing touches to the first course. At about 8.20 Michael and Rachel arrived accompanied by

their baby son. They had phoned earlier to say that they would have to cancel coming because their baby sitter had let them down. However Janet insisted that they came and bring their baby with them, because he could easily be put in one of the rooms upstairs to sleep. In addition to their son they also brought with them two plug-in baby alarms which would allow them to listen to the baby. Like Jenny and Philip they had also brought wine and were also offered a drink. Finally at about 8.40 the final couple arrived who, in addition to bringing the obligatory wine, had also brought some Elisabeth Shaw mints. Now that all the guests had arrived and were sitting drinking, Janet came in and announced that dinner would be ready in about twenty minutes. No sooner had she left the room when the sound of a baby crying suddenly emerged from behind the sofa, where the baby alarm had been plugged in. At which point Rachel got up and went upstairs. However even with Rachel's presence upstairs, the baby still continued to cry - the noise of which was beginning to hinder the conversation. Michael then decided to go upstairs himself to see if he could comfort the child. Even though both parents were now in attendance the baby still maintained his crying. In an attempt to minimise the disruption, Alan got up and turned up the volume of the Hi-fi, which had little effect. As a result of these disruptions, the conversation shifted to a discussion of babies and dinner parties and whether or not babies should be brought out with their parents or merely left at home. Philip suggested that a possible solution to the problem would be to place a cushion over the baby plug, a suggestion which was immediately taken up and which substantially reduced the noise. After a further

five minutes the parents, having got their child to go to sleep, re-appeared with both a triumphant and embarrassed look. They quickly finished their drinks and the guests moved into the adjoining dining room.

The table was very elaborately set with a linen tablecloth, candlesticks, napkins, side plates and three glasses at each place setting. The guests stood around the table waiting to be told where to sit, while Janet, who had given some thought to the seating arrangements, carefully positioned people making sure that both neither two men nor two women sat next to each other and that no couple sat together. For herself, she reserved the place nearest the door so that she could easily get to the kitchen.

The dinner consisted of four courses and included a fish and artichoke soup to begin with, a boeuf bourguignon for the main course, a chocolate mousse dessert and finally cheese served with savoury biscuits and grapes. During the meal Alan poured out the wine, making sure that a particular wine was drunk with each course. At the end of the meal the guests were ushered back into the living room where Janet served coffee and chocolate mints brought by Penelope and Alan offered various liqueurs. While coffee was being served the baby started to cry again at which point Rachel decided that it would be best to take him home. So having quickly drunk their coffee they thanked their host and hostess and made a speedy departure. Although none of the other guests made any direct reference to their going, it was clear that their leaving early was

seen as a disruption to the evening in the same way that the baby's crying had been. Soon after 12.30 Jenny and Philip announced that they also must go, at which point the other couple followed suit.

8.1.iii.b. The Informal Lunch/Dinner Party

Informal lunch/dinner parties usually occurred on a Sunday afternoon after the Griffin had closed. One of the regulars would suggest that the group come home for a drink and something to eat. One such occasion took place when Gwen and Ian invited a group of 12 to their house which was about eight miles outside the village. Although Gwen warned them that the 'pickings would be slim', the invitation was eagerly accepted and before the couples left the Griffin, the men bought wine and beer to take with them. Some of the women offered food, for example, Susan suggested that she bring along some cold cucumber soup and Carol offered a pasta salad.

By three o'clock everyone had arrived at the house. Initially some of the guests stood and talked in the dining room and in the living room while others assisted Heather in the kitchen. Lunch was ready at about five o'clock and because it was sunny, Heather decided to serve lunch in the garden and everyone helped themselves to the food and drink which was laid out on a large garden table. As the meal progressed the guests became more jovial and a couple of them began to tell jokes some of which were of a risqué nature. After everyone had eaten, having appeared with Heather's bicycle from out of the garage, John suggested that there should be a riding competition, which involved an obstacle race around the garden. Each

person was timed for the circuit and if anyone put their foot on the ground they were disqualified. The competition was completely chaotic, because some of the competitors found it difficult to balance on the bicycle having consumed a good deal of alcohol. In fact one of the women, as she negotiated a particularly sharp section of the course, fell over into the shrubbery.

When it got dark, candles were brought out and the group returned to sitting around the table, where the mood became more serious with discussions about male and female division of labour in the home and the rights and wrongs of abortions. At around 10 o'clock the group began to disperse, though one or two of them remained behind to help Heather clear up. While the women were in the kitchen they began to discuss Annabel, one of the younger women, who had attended earlier in the afternoon. They felt that she was not really part of the group but had a tendency 'to hang around'. As Carol remarked: 'She often gets included because she simply stands around or sits with them in the Griffin', to which Heather replied that when she was inviting people, Annabel had been in earshot and she felt that it would have been unkind not to have invited her. Connie replied that if it had been her however, she wouldn't have invited Annabel, furthermore what particularly irritated her was that Annabel hardly ever said anything, 'I wouldn't mind too much if she joined in more'. After clearing up the debris, the remaining guests left at about 11 o'clock.

8.1.iii.c. The Formal Party

Alaistair and Elisabeth decided that they wanted to have an evening party and sent out formal invitations. The invitation stipulated that it was a 'black tie' affair, which meant that the men were expected to wear a dinner jacket and the women evening dress. Elisabeth explained, to those she had invited, that she thought 'it was fun to get 'dressed up' especially for the men, because the women are always getting dressed up, but it was so nice to see men in evening dress'. People were asked to arrive between 7.30 and 8 and most of the guests arrived at this time, but unlike the dinner party, it appeared that it was inappropriate to bring a bottle of wine. ²² Instead, the 18 guests arrived with either chocolates, flowers, or bottles of liqueurs; some came with nothing at all. When the guests arrived they were ushered into the living room where they were served wine and introduced to all the other guests. On the small tables around the room there were bowls of nuts and savoury snacks. While Elisabeth served a few hors d'oeuvres, such as vol au vents, Alaistair acted as butler and served wine.

At an appointed time Elisabeth announced that dinner was ready and the guests were ushered into the dining room where they obediently queued in line waiting to be served. On a large table there was a vast array of both hot and cold food, of which the main centrepiece was a very large cold turkey and a whole salmon. Other food included salads, hot vegetables, jacket potatoes and a selection of different sauces. While Alaistair carved and served the turkey, Sue his grown up daughter, helped people to the salmon. Once the guests

had received their salmon and turkey they then helped themselves to the other food, after which they returned to the living room. Some sat at small side tables, others perched on the edge of easy chairs, balancing their plates on their knees. After an interval they were invited to return to the dining room for 'seconds' or, if they had eaten enough, they could help themselves to the desserts which included fruit salad, profiteroles, a gateau and cheese and biscuits. Some of the guests decided to remain in the dining room and stood eating and chatting. Finally after everyone had finished eating, Elisabeth called all the guests to the living room for coffee and liqueurs, where they remained until about 12 o'clock when they began to leave.

8.1.iii.d. The Informal Party.

The informal party was the final type of social event in this world of middle class socialising. This was the largest of the gatherings and often consisted of up to 50 people. Moreover these parties often included other friends of the host and hostess in addition to the regulars from the Griffin. When Anita and Henry, who was a farmer in a nearby village, decided to give a party, they sent out both written invitations and invited people verbally. The party took place on a Saturday at 8 o'clock, however, it was not necessary to arrive at any particular time. Furthermore unlike the formal party, the hosts made little attempt to introduce everyone, partly because of the numbers involved. People were free to congregate in any of the downstairs rooms. As people arrived they handed wine or large cans of beer, to their hosts; their contribution was then added to

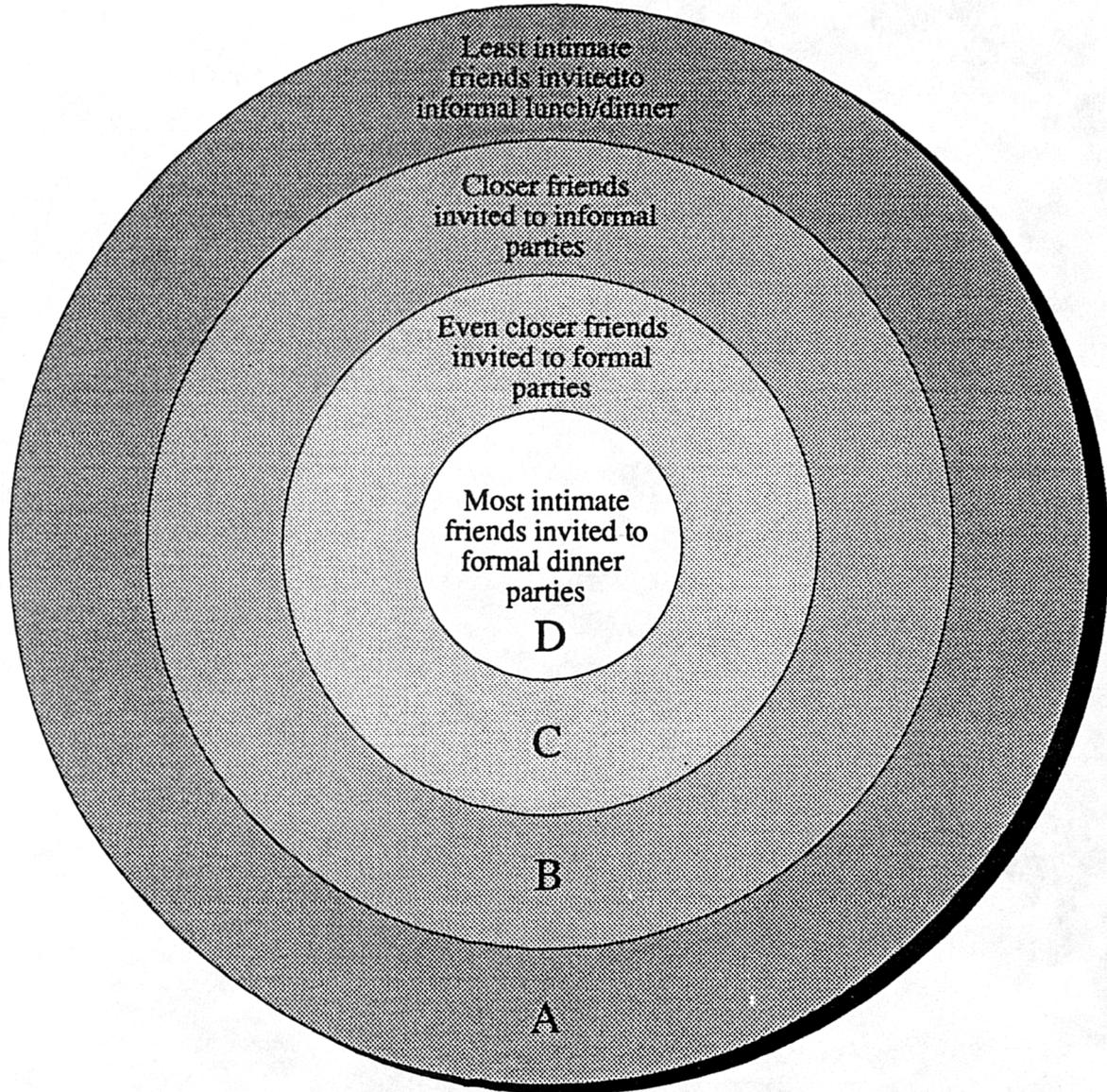
the stock of alcohol already on display in the kitchen. If however, a special bottle of wine was given, or in one instance a bottle of spirits, then these were discreetly hidden away. Guests were asked what they wished to drink and after being helped to their first drink it was assumed that they would help themselves. At the far end of the kitchen there was a large table on which a range of savoury snacks, cheese and bread were displayed. In addition, Anita served a couple of hot snacks including sausage rolls and stuffed mushrooms and at about 9.30 she invited the guests to have some 'chilli con carne' which she served from a large pot. The guests then helped themselves to garlic bread, cutlery and napkins from the table and then dispersed to the other rooms to eat. After this they helped themselves to the cheese. Finally, as it was near Christmas, Anita served some hot mince pies.

There was no single group gathering and the guests remained in smaller clusters for most of the evening although people freely circulated. Music was played in one of the rooms and later in the evening a number of the couples began to dance. Guests began to leave from 11 o'clock onwards but by 12.30 there was still a core of about fifteen who happened to be the regulars from the Griffin. While some guests danced, and others sat around and talked, Henry had fallen asleep and as he slept one of the women took off his shoes and hid them. When he awoke he looked unsuccessfully for them, and then realised that they had been stolen by Ursula. He jokingly attacked her and eventually hoisted her up in the air by her feet and removed her shoes saying 'if you don't tell me where mine are

I'll bite your toes off'. Ursula continued to struggle and both of them fell back on the sofa, where Arthur proceeded to tickle her. However, because he was slightly inebriated, Ursula, although not as strong, was able to release herself and in the struggle was able to remove his cravat and with it tie his feet together. The whole incident was greeted by the rest of the guests with howls of laughter, and they all seemed to enjoy the contest. Soon after this event people gradually started to go home and by 1.30 they had all left.

These different types of social interaction occurred regularly amongst the middle class during the course of the research. All four of them were centred around a preferred combination of food and alcohol. The events can be graded on the basis of friendship intimacy and membership status which can be illustrated by the use of the following Venn diagram:

DEGREES OF FRIENDSHIP INTIMACY AND HOME BASED SOCIAL ENTERTAINMENTS



Degree of intimacy increasing inwards
from social event A to social event D

Degrees of hospitality reflect degrees of intimacy - the offer of tea and biscuits may be confined to people of lower status or people who are little known, whereas meals preceded by drinks are reserved for close friends, honoured guests or relatives. ²³ Furthermore guests who are offered meals may also be given tea and biscuits though the reverse is not true. In the case of the middle class regulars at the Griffin an invitation to social event A represented the first step on the ladder towards complete membership acceptance. As the newcomers received invitations to the respective gatherings so they moved from the outer coterie to the inner coterie. The formal dinner party represented the most intimate event - it also was the event with the most elaborate ceremony.

Ceremony is expressed by rules about plate changes and extra utensils - spoons, forks as well as knives. The larger the number of contrasts which a meal incorporates, the more ceremonious the meal. ²⁴

Attendance at each of the different events necessitated a return invitation to at least a similar function. Reciprocity became more rigid the closer a newcomer moved towards the centre. For example whereas a couple could fulfil obligations of reciprocity from an informal lunch party by inviting their hosts to a drink at home on a Sunday afternoon after the pub, they could not do this for a formal dinner party invitation. This type of event necessitated a similar reciprocal invitation.

In addition to these rules of reciprocity and segmentation of the group by social event, what was particularly significant was the way in which behaviour differed at each event. In order to examine

these differences let us consider Table 24²⁵ which compares the four events on the basis of a number of elements.

TABLE 24:HOME BASED SOCIAL ENTERTAINMENTS.

	<u>A</u> <u>INFORMAL</u> <u>LUNCH/DINNER</u> <u>PARTIES</u>	<u>B</u> <u>INFORMAL</u> <u>PARTIES</u>	<u>C</u> <u>FORMAL</u> <u>PARTIES</u>	<u>D</u> <u>FORMAL</u> <u>DINNER</u> <u>PARTIES</u>
INVITATION	Verbal Invitations	Written/Verbal Invitations	Written Invitations	Written/ Invitations
TIME	Afternoon/ Evening	Evening	Evening	Evening
COMMENCEMENT	No set time	No set time	Set time + 30 minutes	Set time + Approx. 30 Minutes
ENTRY GIFTS	Wine/beer/food contributions	Wine/beer/ spirits	Liqueurs/ flowers/ chocolates	Wine/no food except chocolates/flowers
PARTICIPANTS	Adults + children	Adults + children	Adults	Adults
NUMBER - Min.	4	10+	10+	4
Max.	18	50+	30	10
STRUCTURE	Variable	Variable	Invariable	Invariable
SEQUENCE	None	None	Drinks+Snacks Buffet,Coffee + Liqueurs	Pre-dinner drinks + Savoury Snacks, Meal (4 Courses), Coffee/Liqueurs
PATTERN OF FOOD	Meal	Snack/meal	Meal	Meal
RELATIONSHIP OF FOOD/DRINK	Unplanned combination	Unplanned combination	Planned combination	Planned combination
CEREMONY	Simple	Simple	Elaborate	Elaborate
PRESENTATION	Combination of self-service/ by hosts	Combination	Combination	Food + drink served by host/hostess
DRESS	Casual	Casual	Formal	Formal/Casual
DRINKING BEHAVIOUR	Non-violent drunken beh. acceptable	Non-violent drunken beh. acceptable	Drunken behaviour <u>not</u> acceptable	Drunken behaviour <u>not</u> acceptable
OTHER ACTIVITIES	Dancing + Games	Dancing	None	Background music

The events can be initially and very broadly classified according to their degree of spontaneity so that whereas the informal lunch party was the most spontaneous, the formal dinner party was the most planned. Secondly if we apply Douglas and Nicod's definition of a 'structured event': 'a social occasion, which is organised according to rules prescribing time, place and sequence of actions' ²⁶ to our classification then we can see that although all occasions were home based, they varied according to the time they took place and the degree to which they possessed a structured sequence of events. For example the formal dinner party and the formal party had a highly structured sequence, while the others did not.

Another important element which can be examined through the use of the chart was the relationship of food and drink. In the informal lunch or dinner party there were no required food and drink combinations. The guests were allowed to consume whatever drink they wanted with whatever food they were eating. However in the formal dinner party and the formal party this was not the case. In the dinner party drinks which were to be consumed were pre-determined by the hosts and were sanctioned by a middle class culture of what drinks went with what course - a culture laid down in numerous wine and cookery books, for instance white wine with fish and red wine with meat. Before dinner there were aperitifs which could be table wine, distilled alcohol, cocktails or fortified wine. It would not be acceptable to drink liqueurs at this stage of the evening. During the meal a range of table wines were served and at the end of the

meal liqueurs were offered. Moreover at the formal dinner both the alcohol and food, except in the form of pre-dinner snacks or after dinner mints, were served by the hosts whereas at the informal party of the informal lunch/dinner party the guests were allowed to help themselves.

At all four events the relative importance of food and alcohol varied. For example at the formal dinner party the central ingredient was the food and the alcohol played merely a supporting role. Before dinner, alcohol was used to begin the evening, during dinner it was there to complement the food and after dinner it rounded off the evening. However, in the case of the informal party, food was not necessarily an important element whereas alcohol was. A party without alcohol was inconceivable. Furthermore the way in which alcohol was consumed at each event was different. For example at the informal party the guests could choose, from the available selection, both what to consume and the amounts they wished to consume, whereas at a formal party or dinner party the alcohol was strictly controlled. Guests were expected both to consume the alcohol in small amounts as well as savouring the different tastes and qualities. In other words it was crucial that the required form was adhered to while consuming the alcohol. As Bourdieu has noted:

the bourgeoisie is concerned to eat with all due form. Form is first of all a matter of rhythm, which implies expectations, pauses, restraints; waiting until the last person served has started to eat, taking modest helpings, not appearing over-eager.....correct eating (and drinking) is a way of paying homage to one's hosts and to the mistress of the house, a tribute to her care and effort. ²⁷

While it was clear that guests were encouraged to consume alcohol at all four events, drunken behaviour was not acceptable at all of them. Although non-violent drunken behaviour was permitted at both the informal lunch/dinner party and at the informal party and was in general seen as amusing, this type of behaviour would be unacceptable at the other two events. Finally excessive drinking which occasionally led to guests falling asleep, although perfectly acceptable at an informal party, was nevertheless unacceptable at a formal dinner party. On one occasion when this occurred, one guest, having consumed a large amount of whiskey both before and after dinner fell asleep, which was initially ignored. However when he began to snore it became more difficult and his wife attempted to excuse his behaviour on the grounds that he had had a tiring week at the office.

Entry gifts were another important element in each of these events. The most common gift was alcohol, usually wine. The only occasion where wine was unacceptable was the case of the formal party - where the acceptable alcohol was liqueurs. The other types of entry gifts were either flowers or food. However although flowers were acceptable at any social occasion, the giving of food was much more strictly controlled. For instance although gifts in the form of meat, vegetables (either cooked or uncooked) and cereals (in the form of snacks) were acceptable at an informal lunch/dinner party, they were not appropriate at the other three events. On these latter occasions chocolates in boxes were the only prepared food that was acceptable.

The majority of the guests knew how to behave at each of these social events. Few of them disrupted the accepted patterns of behaviour or for example appeared with inappropriate gifts or in an unacceptable outfit. Moreover new members also behaved correctly without any apparent coaching or group socialisation. This would suggest that the structured forms of behaviour and rituals were part of a larger middle-class socio-cultural behaviour pattern. However, although the vast majority of social events took place without any disruption, it happened that on at least a couple of occasions certain people did offend the accepted ways of behaving. For instance at the formal party previously described, an incident provoked a response which highlighted what could happen when a guest transgressed an accepted code of practice. During the party, having been served the turkey and the salmon, I decided to return, without asking, to the dining room for seconds. On entering the room, I found another guest, a large man with ruddy complexion, attacking the turkey carcass, whereupon, on seeing me, he immediately stopped and looked tremendously embarrassed as though he had been caught doing something very naughty. However, once he ascertained that I was not shocked by his 'inappropriate' behaviour but in fact had come to the dining room to do exactly the same thing, he relaxed. However every time a new guest came in he began to apologise for his presence, only returning to his eating when they left. Although he had failed to adhere to a particular practice, his inappropriate behaviour was obviously not too serious, as the hostess excused it on the grounds that he was a 'healthy eater'. Nevertheless, comments were still made about the offending

guest and when the other guests moved on to the desserts, the shortage of the profiteroles was laid at his doorstep.

Another example of an occasion when the 'form', as Bourdieu has called it, ²⁸ was disrupted occurred at a formal dinner party given by Geoff and Margaret. Andrew one of the guests discovered during dinner that Battleship Potemkin by Eisenstein was being shown on television and he began to insist that his hosts turn on the television so that he could watch it. Initially Geoff tried to change the conversation but Andrew continued to insist. Eventually Geoff, although obviously irritated, decided to give in and the television, which could be watched from the dining room table, was turned on. For the next twenty minutes four of the guests sitting facing the television watched the film while the other four with their backs to it attempted to continue talking to their hosts.

At the end of the evening when Andrew and his wife had departed, the rest of the guests discussed Andrew's behaviour. Geoff and Margaret said that, although they liked Andrew and especially his wife, they would not invite them to dinner again.²⁹ This was supported by the other guests who felt that his behaviour was outrageous. Stephen, one of the guests, suggested that a possible reason for his behaviour was that he had been drinking before he arrived and that maybe he should get some help for it because it was becoming disruptive. The other guests thought that this was a good suggestion.

8.1.iv. CONCLUSION

In this section I have attempted to explain and illustrate the way in which two socially contrasting groups of people in the village used alcohol, the pubs and home entertaining to establish and maintain their identities. The precise way in which they maintained their cohesion and exclusivity was the result of both the social position of the individual members and the culture generated by the groups themselves. The customers at the Three Barrels were self-selected and created from a wider social network of overlapping ties in a social world outside the pub. Their identity arose not so much from their internal culture as from an identity superimposed on pre-existing and given identities, based on a shared kinship and shared neighbourhood. Drinking in the Three Barrels re-affirmed a cohesion that already existed. When members entered the pub they were known and accepted not only because of previous drinking sessions but because they continually encountered each other in situations outside, whether casually in the street or formally at weddings and funerals. They were invited to these ritualised gatherings not because they were customers at the Three Barrels but because they were related, or were friends of long standing. Moreover by drinking in the pub they were able to control within a specific context some of the potential obligations of these relationships. By restricting them to the Three Barrels they were able to avoid further social debts, which might have arisen if they had involved themselves in extensive home entertainment.

In contrast, the regulars at the Griffin shared no pre-determined structural features except that of similar social class. For the members there were no pre-existing and overlapping ties to maintain cohesion. In order to achieve and sustain the group's identity it was necessary to adhere to an elaborate set of practices, the basis of which was a relatively high disposable income, and a willingness to live up to a particular life-style similar to the code of 'good fellowship' identified by Hansen³⁰ This involved regular drinking sessions at the pub, a willingness to entertain at home and a desire to eat out at other pubs and restaurants. In addition an elaborate system of reciprocity existed both inside the pub, in the form of round buying, and in the home in the form of mutual entertaining.

As a result of these different characteristics, the two groups operated different forms of exclusion. For those at the Three Barrels, shared neighbourhood and kin were important in achieving acceptance. If newcomers lived in one of the council housing estates then they would gradually be accepted if they were prepared to visit the pub regularly. However, because they were newcomers, and hence non-Meltonians, and unrelated to other members, they would never fully be accepted into the group because they lacked a shared knowledge - of both the history of Melton and of its local people. For the regulars at the Griffin exclusion was achieved by a combination of economic spending power, a specific life-style and shared class culture. As long as the outsider possessed these three features and was willing to participate fully then he or she had a good chance of attaining full membership. Absence of any one of

these could create problems and undermine the individual's status. Newcomers must also be prepared to open up their homes, in order to fulfil their obligations to other members and cement their relationships. Unlike the regulars at the Three Barrels, the home, for the middle class, was an essential component of their social lives. An invitation to come home for a drink was a clear sign that a friendship was being formed and that the newcomer was starting to achieve group membership. Once invited home, however, the onus then fell on the newcomers to reciprocate and be prepared to open up their homes for group scrutiny. Without a willingness to do this newcomers had little or no chance of achieving acceptance. However it would be incorrect to assume that this condition of acceptance was in any way a burden, for it was clear that the home was a key element of their culture and life-style. Their homes were the centre-pieces of their success - both financially and in terms of style, and a couple, and especially the wife, would be complemented for good taste. A couple were also praised for their ability to entertain for it reflected both their skills at organising such an event as well as their willingness to be sociable. The home was therefore no mere supplement to the pub but was central part of their social lives. They saw the pub as only one possible arena where they could meet people and form new friendships. However once these friendships had been developed to a sufficient degree they would then be transferred to the private realm.

8.2. WOMEN AND THE PUB: THE CASE OF THE REGULARS AND THE GUESTS

Gender is the second major distinguishing characteristic that I wish to examine. Although women did take part in public drinking their opportunities were constrained by their relations to men in the sense that they were usually either accompanied by men or took part in activities already legitimated by men as part of a 'pub culture'. However contrary to the view conveyed by the literature which portrayed women as an homogenous group, I found that social class determined the way women drank and their use of the pub just as it determined men's drinking and pub going.³¹ Both working class women and middle class women used different pubs in different ways, which initially seemed to me to have nothing in common. Gradually, however it became clear that although the rituals and practices which constrained their activities were totally dissimilar, their relation to men in regard to drinking was the same. Both took part in a world defined by men which set very firm boundaries around activities regarded as permissible. Pub going did, however, have a different salience for the two classes of women - for the middle class woman it was a 'staging post' for other social activities outside the pub, whilst for the working class woman it was a chance to 'go out' in itself. This was particularly important for working class women where very little entertaining at home took place and where the man naturally went to the pub. But in both cases women remained 'guests' rather than regulars and their 'normal' drinking

was constrained by social conventions which allowed them a prescribed place in the pub that they were free to inhabit.

8.2.i. GENDER AND DRINKING AT THE GRIFFIN AND THE THREE BARRELS

The type of alcohol consumed was the first noticeable difference between the men and the women in both the Three Barrels and the Griffin. Amongst the regulars at the Griffin the men drank beer and always in pints and during an average drinking session the amount of beer consumed could be as much as four or five pints. The women drank a range of beverages which included gin and tonic, gin and water, campari, cinzano, wine or half pints of lager. Gender differences were also consolidated by the procedure for buying drinks. Drinks, bought communally in the form of round buying, involved each of the men buying a drink. At no time during the research did I observe a woman buying a round. This differential status of men and women was confirmed when my wife attempted to buy a round. Her attempt was rejected by the men, one of whom said, 'Ladies don't do that' at which point he promptly bought the round himself. This gender difference in the buying of drinks also extended to the practice of 'pool buying'.

Relationships between men and women were usually very friendly and much of the interaction occurred in joking behaviour. As Whitehead has noted, the occurrence of joking behaviour between potential sexual partners who are otherwise 'non-available' is often common. From her research on gender relations in a Herefordshire village she argued that the presence of this type of behaviour 'suggests that

consciousness of sexuality and of gender differences are irreducible elements in this interaction; men and women cannot be non-gender specific friends'.³² Moreover amongst the regulars at the Griffin, much of the joking was accompanied by physical contact which was initiated equally by both men and women. The extent of the physical contact led one female member of the group to remark that 'she was sure other people must think that the group is into wife-swapping' even though this was not the case. The only time when there appeared to be an inequality in this sexual bantering was between the men and the publican's wife, who was often subjected to sexual jokes. On occasion she responded by blushing which would provoke a further series of jokes. One possible reason for this difference in the joking relationship may be that the role of barmaid provided a licence for a more overt hostile sexual relationship than the one which was acceptable among the customers.

As I have already shown, in addition to meeting regularly at the Griffin, the men and the women met both in their homes and in other public places such as restaurants and other pubs. At home there was little male control on female drinking, nor was there much difference in the amounts of alcohol consumed at social events within the private domain. These occasions, although ritualised gatherings, nevertheless appeared to be generally relaxed where both men and women drank freely and where notions of acceptable and unacceptable drinking behaviour were relatively elastic.

As individuals the men and women often met separately. The women were engaged in independent activities during the day which provided them with a certain degree of flexibility, for many were either involved in part time work or ran their own business, and had a reasonable income at their disposal. Moreover many women not only earned a reasonable income themselves but also the majority were married or living with men whose income was sizable and operated as the mainstay of the household.

This flexibility of working hours and the available income allowed the women a certain freedom to venture out of the village whenever they wanted to. All the women had cars or had the use of their husbands during the day which meant that they were in no way tied to the vagaries of public transport. They went on shopping trips to the nearest town; they went out to lunch both in the local town and in surrounding towns; they went on special visits to London either to shop or to go to a special hairdresser; they went to local auctions and even on occasions on day trips to the Continent. In addition to these day time activities they also went out in the evening. Such activities included going to films, concerts, fashion shows or cosmetic evenings. All the activities were done with two or three other women. Finally, unlike the working class women, they had few kinship ties in the village, nor were they part of an extended family, which meant that they were in no way constrained by obligations of kinship. Only three women had relatives in the village, and these included one mother, one mother-in-law and one sister and one brother-in-law.

The fact that they possessed few extended kinship relations within the village may go some way in accounting for the importance of the friendship ties that existed between them. Their involvement in a whole range of activities may, as Jerome has noted in a similar situation, point to the supportive role of their friendships in the absence of other primary group ties. Such friendships may 'enhance individual experience and locate each person within a framework of shared values and attitudes'. 33

Although the regulars at the Three Barrels were predominantly working class men, the women came to the pub on a Friday, and Saturday evening. The men always drank beer and many of them would have their own special tankard. The women drank lager in half pints, shandy or soft drinks and a few drank shorts such as vodka and lemon or rum and peppermint. Also some of the women occasionally, as the evening wore on, changed from soft drinks or lager to shorts including brandy and gin. Once the regulars had assembled on these evenings, the men and women would mix freely with little obvious gender separation except that of the dominoes players who were almost exclusively men. Except for isolated instances and in spite of the general friendliness and gaiety that went on, there was little or no physical contact between the drinkers.

8.2.ii. WOMEN, DRINKS AND DARTS

In both the Three Barrels and the Griffin it was clear that the pubs were male domains - if only because men drank there more often and more regularly. When the men entered they knew that they would be accorded certain privileges by the landlord. In the Three Barrels for example the landlord would pour the regular male's drink, even before he asked for it - a privilege never accorded to women, no matter how often they drank there. Moreover the male drink was often served in a personal glass - a symbol of being 'at home'. In contrast the women were given few privileges and in general treated as 'guests'. The membership symbols were even enshrined in male consumption of beer, the drink traditionally associated with the pub. Even when the women drank beer they tended to drink in smaller quantities, or if they drank the same amount it would be served in different glasses. On one occasion for example, the publican's wife in the Griffin enquired as to whether a half pint order was for a man or a woman so that she could serve the appropriate glass.

Male drink buying was another symbol of male dominance. This control over access to the buying of the alcohol confirmed the indebtedness of women within the pub. The men never allowed themselves to become publicly indebted to the women. Women entered the pub as appendages of men, they came as sisters, wives, girlfriends, daughters and nieces, but hardly ever only as women. The single female drinker was still largely unacceptable. During the course of the research we only came across a few isolated instances of women drinking on their own. One of these was an older woman who

drank at the Griffin every lunch time whose presence was excused both because she was old and hence not sexually threatening, and because she was a regular. The only other case of a single regular female drinker was the case of my wife. Initially she received a rather cold-reaction from a couple of the landlords and especially their wives. This reaction became slightly modified when they learnt that she was conducting research and they became even more assured when they learnt that she was 'attached' to the other male researcher. This checking out of single women has been noted by Smith ³⁴ and by Whitehead who also notes the problem of a female researcher in a male domain. Acceptance within the pub, in spite of her class and professional status and her role as researcher, was accorded to Whitehead only when a young married lorry driver announced that 'Ann and me, we're like brother and sister'. ³⁵ By announcing a fictional kinship tie and hence excluding her from being seen as sexually available did her presence in the pub become accepted.

This general feeling against single women using the pub was also noticeable in the responses I received in my talks with the women in the village, for although our female respondents felt that it was in order for women to use the pub, many of them would not go there on their own or disliked it even if they were going to meet a friend. This finding was corroborated by other research. For example Dixey and Talbot in their study on Women and Bingo ³⁶ found that one of the attractions of the bingo club was that women felt at ease going there on their own. Whereas they did not feel at ease going to

a pub.

When you go in there (the Bingo club) you can go in on your own...I know I'm not going to get accosted by a perfect stranger. And I think a lot of women think the same because you get a lot of women going in on their own. When you get in there its sort of like going to a meeting you know.... You can drink and you can have a laugh, and you're safe from anyone coming up and pestering you, not like if you go into a pub, especially round here. 37

The women's dart team at the Three Barrels was the only exception to the predominantly male dominance of the pubs. There were two female darts teams at the pub in addition to its two male teams. These were the A team and the B team which met regularly on Monday evenings. If the A team played an away match then the B team played at home. In each team there were at least eight players, although ideally they liked to have ten in order to cover for any absences. The darts year was divided into two seasons - the winter season which began in September and continued until mid-spring and the summer season which started in June and ended in August. Local teams were allocated a place in one of two leagues: the Melton League and the Chesterford League (a local village). The leagues were further sub-divided into the more talented teams - the A teams and the not so talented ones - the B teams. In addition to the leagues there were local competitions which included teams from other leagues. On one occasion the A team at the Three Barrels was narrowly beaten in a final of this type. The teams which played in the two leagues came from a number of pubs in the surrounding villages within an area of approximately twenty five square miles.

On a women's darts evening the game began at approximately 8.30 p.m. and the team members started to arrive at about 7.30. If however the team was playing away, then the players would arrive at the pub soon after 7 p.m. One of the first to arrive was Margaret who worked part-time at the Three Barrels and who was noted for her keenness as a darts player. Having ordered a bitter lemon she would take the opportunity to have a few practice throws. Soon she would be joined by Enid, the publican's wife who was considered to be the star of the team. Gradually the rest of the team arrived, each being greeted in a very friendly way as soon as they came into the pub. Before going to practise they would chat about the weather or the difficulties of organising the children before they had come out because their husbands had arrived home late .

When the team played at home, the women always ensured that they occupied the best position from which to view the game. Once the opposing team arrived, the two captains divided a pack of cards to draw lots for the pairing up of the players. After the 'pairs' four players from each team would then be chosen to play in the 'fours'. The choice of these players was made by the team captain and would depend on the state of the game. If, for example, it was a closely fought game then the captain would choose the four best players, if, however, the game had already been decided, then the captain would ensure that everyone in the team had a chance to play, especially if there were more than the required eight players.

During the game drinks usually were bought individually. There was, however, some more generalised reciprocity, for it was customary amongst the Three Barrels team for the first round of drinks to be bought by the publican's wife. She would buy the round at both home and away matches. This practice was continued even when on occasion she was unable to be present. In such cases she delegated the responsibility to the team captain. In addition to this ritual, there was also the practice during the competition between 'pairs' of the losers buying drinks for the winners. This was especially prevalent if the game had been particularly close. However it did not occur all the time and its absence was often explained as a matter of economics - 'These days with the price of drinks so high it's just not expected to buy the winners a drink'.

In addition to the exchange of alcohol during the game, the home team always provided food, usually sandwiches, for the visiting teams. These were served at the end of the game not only to the darts players but also to any other customers in the pub at the time. The money for this food was provided by the sale of raffle tickets. At every darts evening the home team would organise a raffle and everyone in the pub, both players and non-players would be expected to buy a ticket. The money collected would then be used to buy prizes, which were usually bottles of alcohol or boxes of chocolate and to pay for the sandwiches. The raffle was drawn at the end of the match and the winners given their prizes. Some of the darts teams gained a poor reputation because other players felt

that they only bought cheap prizes and kept the rest of the raffle money for their own purposes.

Hardly any of the women had their own vehicles and the team relied on a husband or boyfriend to transport them to the pub where the away game was scheduled. One pub in the area had solved the problem of transport by raising money to buy a mini-bus.

The team had a weekly subscription of 50 pence, which in part was used as a contribution towards the cost of petrol if the team was playing an away game. Any money that was left over from the weekly subscriptions went towards financing a celebratory meal at a local restaurant at the end of the season. On the last evening the team met up at the pub and the treasurer handed each member an envelope with her name on it which contained individual shares of saved subscription money. If any member felt in financial difficulties, they were allowed to keep the money and forego the meal. The rest of the team, which was usually the vast majority, returned the envelopes to the treasurer who then used them to pay for an end of season meal.

As well as the scheduled games, there was occasionally a Monday evening when the team would have a 'by'. On these occasions the women met and had a friendly match amongst themselves, or against the men. These matches were normally occasions for much joking and frivolity between the players. However, the contests were nevertheless bounded by a number of rituals. For example the game

would begin by one of the captains laying small pieces of paper on a table. Each piece had the names of the players written on it. One male and one female player were drawn at a time establishing both the pairing and the order of play. The female team was given the advantage of not having to obtain a double to commence the playing of each leg, whilst the men still had to. After the first two or three games the atmosphere became extremely lively with the women goading the male players and shouting 'shame' whenever a male player failed to achieve the score he needed.

The importance of darts for the women was that it gave them an opportunity to get out of the house. This reason was much more important to the women than the game itself. For example when the women were asked why they played darts they would often reply: I play darts for a night out and a laugh and for me it gives me a free night away from the children when hubby looks after them. It was therefore seen as an opportunity to break the normal routine and as many of the women noted a 'chance to have some fun'. (The men usually said they played darts because it was a challenging sport). The importance for women of breaking the daily routine has been noted by other researchers investigating women and leisure. For example Green, Hebron and Woodward found, in their study on women and leisure in Sheffield, that one of the main reasons given by women for choosing their favourite ways of spending their free time was 'the need to escape the daily routine'. 38

The ability to get away from the obligations of the home and join in a social activity was even more important when we remember the lack of available amenities in the village and the restrictions that existed for these women especially in comparison with the relative freedom of the middle class women. Few of them possessed cars or even had the use of one which meant that in order to go outside the village it was necessary to get a lift or use public transport. The bus service in the village was neither efficient nor frequent. As a result the majority of the working class women left the village only about once or twice a week, unless of course they worked outside the village. Moreover the major reason for leaving the village was to do shopping at the large supermarket in the local town.

But their freedom to come and go was not merely restricted because of problems of transport, for their work situation also curtailed their day to day freedom to a much greater extent than for the middle-class women. The occupations of the women included supermarket assistant, factory workers, kitchen assistant and housewives. In addition to being employed in time-consuming occupations many of the women had children. For example, Gladys who worked part-time in a newsagent's shop had three children whose ages were six, ten and twelve. Others such as Joy who worked full-time in the local quartz crystal factory had two children aged eleven and thirteen.

Moreover these women not only had responsibilities of looking after their immediate families, they also had to service a whole series of

kinship obligations. In fact many of the women spent a considerable amount of their 'leisure' time looking after other relatives. Enid, for example, who was married to the publican, had to take care of her own mother and also regularly visit her husband's mother. Margaret, who also worked in the pub, and who was sixty herself, had to look after her husband's mother who was ninety as well as his aunt who was eighty five. Constraints on their available free time because of family commitments would appear to be a problem faced by many married women. For example, Green Hebron and Woodward have noted the way in which "free-time for women is often 'odd bits of time here and there' fitted in between paid housework and other commitments". 39

However the joining of the darts team was not merely important as an opportunity to get away from domestic and family responsibilities, it was also vital for the women to join the darts team to attain some degree of freedom of access within a key social centre of the village. It gave them an acceptable reason to enter the pub on their own or in pairs without having to be with their husbands or boyfriends. In spite of their desire to gain an entree into the pub, the men nevertheless attempted to control its relative importance vis-a-vis their own playing and hence control any possible threat to their feelings of superiority.

For example the atmosphere of the women's darts evening was in stark contrast to that of the male evening. On the nights when the women played, the other activities within the pub were allowed to

continue, whereas on the nights when men played, the match became the focal point in the pub, and other activities were curtailed. It was not unusual for conversations amongst non-players to be subdued and on occasion silence could be demanded. This degree of importance was rarely accorded to the women. Moreover male superiority within the game was confirmed by the notion that the men were more skilful than the women, the fact that this could be related to differential practice time was however not admitted. As one female darts player noted when asked why she thought that the men were better - 'Its not surprising, the men practice six or seven times a week, we only really practice on the night we play'.

These attempts by the men to control the women were not altogether successful. For example women often used the darts evenings to gain some control within the pub. By the fact that they outnumbered the men, they attempted to maintain an upper hand and thereby lower the status of the men present. The few male regulars that attended on these occasions were often subjected to a barrage of sexual teasing and joking from the women. In so doing the women sought to reverse the 'normal' situation when it was usually the women who were the butt end of the male jokes. Moreover the women used their membership of the team to gain entry to the pub on occasions other than merely the darts evenings, for it was not uncommon for a couple of women to drop in the Three Barrels to 'throw a few darts' or have a friendly match. Finally membership allowed the women a certain degree of solidarity with each other, which gave them the

opportunity to relate to each other, socialise and play together without having to rely on 'their' men.

The working class women sought to gain greater access to their pub by joining a predominantly male sporting activity. In so doing they were able to achieve a greater degree of control over when and with whom they went to the pub. Their desire to obtain this greater freedom came not from a desire to consume more alcohol - an activity they could easily have done at home - but from a desire to participate more fully in an important social centre. Unlike the men who could more easily and more legitimately use the pub as a place to spend their free time away from the home, the women possessed no such equivalent sanctuary. Hence by joining the darts team they were able both to enter the pub more regularly and to 'carve out' a period of free time away from responsibilities of their home and kin. Playing darts gave them an opportunity to break the normal routine. Like other women who engaged in other leisure activities such as bingo, these women found both companionship in the darts team and the 'chance to have some fun'.

However for the middle class women there did not exist a similar desire to obtain greater access to the pub. For them the Griffin was not as central a part of their social life. Whereas the working-class woman was tied to the home and the village, the middle class woman had a much greater degree of mobility. Many of them owned cars, possessed a higher income, had fewer family ties and worked in occupations with a greater degree of flexibility. For these women

the social life of the pub was less important. The Griffin was but one possible place to meet their friends or form new friendships. If they wanted to socialise with their girlfriends they could arrange a shopping trip, go for a meal, go to the cinema or even a day trip to France. They were not tied to the home or the village in the same way as their working class counterparts. Nor did they feel that the home was so restricting, to them it was seen as a showpiece from which to manage their social life and hence had to be exhibited. Therefore unlike the working class women at the Three Barrels, these women had little need to gain greater access to the Griffin.

8.3. CONCLUSION

In chapter five I examined, at the national level, the extent to which class and gender differences determined the social composition of drinkers in pubs. In this chapter I have examined the impact of class and gender at the local level. However my aim has not been to produce an analysis which merely reflected the national picture. Instead I have sought to deepen our understanding of the effects of class and gender by showing the way in which social groups find ways of expressing and realising their individual cultures which make them distinctive from one another. In this chapter I have explored the cultures of two socially contrasting drinking groups who used pub visiting, specific drinking practices and home entertaining to establish and maintain their identities.

Moreover unlike many writers in the alcohol field I have attempted to examine the inter relationship of class and gender and see the way in which these key divisions modified each other. For example whereas much of the alcohol literature has portrayed female drinkers as an homogenous group I have attempted to illustrate the way that gender becomes stratified by class. Although women are discriminated against by men and especially within male dominated pubs nevertheless the culture and lifestyle of middle class female drinkers has little in common with that of working class drinkers and hence their use of pubs is very different.

Furthermore by comparing two contrasting groups I have also explored the social life of one middle class group of friends. Neither anthropologists nor sociologists have regarded the middle classes as a proper area of investigation. As one sociologist remarked "the middle class is not so much ignored as taken for granted by many sociologists who regard it as less of a 'problem' for class analysis than the working class".⁴⁰ For many of us, probably because we are middle class or have been socialised within a middle class culture we tend to take our own culture for granted as being normal or natural or as one which has no intrinsic interest. Precisely because we are ourselves part of the middle class we assume that our culture has few rituals and hence is not worth investigating. However if we 'suspend our preconceptions'⁴¹ we can begin to see our own culture as both anthropologically strange and, as can be seen from my discussion of the four social

events, made up elaborate sets of rules and rituals which determine the boundaries of acceptable behaviour.

A key part of their social life was centred around their homes. The problems of investigating the private domain have always proved to be a stumbling block for research. Fortunately I found myself not only accepted into this group but invited into their homes and consequently in the lucky position of being able to observe and participate in their private social lives. As a result I discovered the importance that both food and drink played in their entertaining. So far, within the literature, studies of eating and drinking have developed separately and yet it is clear that they are inextricably bound together. All the major examples of home entertaining involved food and drink in some form, whether this was a simple case of coffee and biscuits or an elaborate five course dinner party. However it was not simply that food and drink played a central part in their lives but the fact that the accompanying rituals were orchestrated by the middle class to demarcate their social group. As Douglas has shown,⁴² food can be used as a system of communication - the way a meal is organised and presented, the types of food and drink chosen and the manner in which they are consumed all convey a particular message which produces a boundary tying together the insiders and excluding the outsiders.

CHAPTER EIGHT: FOOTNOTES

1. M.Girouard, 1984.
2. Although the Brewers since the 1960's had been intent on producing an 'homogenous' pub which could be easily used by different social classes, it was nevertheless the case that the use of any pub was still in fact controlled by outside social forces.
3. J.Collman, 1979.
4. See for example N.Dennis et. al. 1956, and N.Dorn, 1983.
5. G.A.Allen, 1979, p.131.
6. I.Karp, 1980, p.97.
7. M.Sahlins, 1974, p.189.
8. Ibid.
9. G.A.Allen, op. cit., p.135.
10. M.Young and P.Wilmott, 1962.
11. G.A.Allen, op. cit.

12. Ibid., p.103.
13. Ibid., p.112.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid., p.49.
17. Ibid., p.51.
18. M.Stacey, 1960, p.114.
19. M.Young and P.Wilmott, op. cit., p.108.
20. G.A.Allen, op. cit., p.89.
21. It appears that there has been little or no specific research on the use of the home by working class groups. For a further discussion of the use of space see R.Hirschon, 1981, and L.Sciama, 1981.
22. In fact my wife and I, working on the basis of our experience of parties in North London, arrived at the party with a bottle of wine, which we soon discovered was an inappropriate gift.

23. P.Farb and G.Armelagos, 1980, p.103.
24. M.Nicod, 1979, p.58.
25. I discovered after devising this table that P.Bourdieu in his book Distinctions (1986) had produced a similar table to compare middle class and working class eating culture in France.
26. M.Douglas and M.Nicod, 1974, p.744.
27. P.Bourdieu, 1986, p.196. It is interesting to note the similarity of the eating rituals between the French and the English middle class.
28. Ibid.
29. This incident occurred towards the end of my fieldwork and hence I do not know whether their threat of exclusion was enforced.
30. E.C.Hansen, 1977.
31. S.Otto, 1981, and B.McConville, 1983. A notable exception to this is V. Hey's book Patriarchy and Pub Culture 1986.
32. A.Whitehead, 1976, p.181.

33. D.Jerrome, 1984, p.714.
34. M.A.Smith, 1981.
35. A.Whitehead, op. cit., p.176.
36. R.Dixey and M.Talbot, 1982.
37. Ibid., p.78.
38. E.Green, et. al., 1985, p.38.
39. Ibid., p.37.
40. R.King and J.Raynor, 1981. p.1.
41. M.Hammersley and P.Atkinson, 1983. p.92.
42. M.Douglas, 1983, p.105.

CHAPTER NINE: CONCLUSION

My aim to begin with was to investigate the culture of drinking in an English rural community. Because so much of the literature in the alcohol field had been dominated by a concern with alcohol problems, there had been little research done on the non problematic aspects of drinking. Most of the material on alcohol problems has failed to examine drinking within a socio-cultural context and instead has investigated the behaviour of individuals almost as if they were in a social and cultural vacuum. In opposition to this approach I set out to explore the day to day practices of drinking and examine the way in which these practices reflected the norms and values of different social groups within the community.

From my reading of the available literature it was clear that Anthropology was the most appropriate of the social sciences for this task. Although sociology had examined drinking within a social context, it had tended nevertheless to concentrate on a social problem perspective and had ignored everyday drinking behaviour. I was therefore obliged to turn to the anthropological literature to find a discussion of drinking from a non-problematic viewpoint.

However although the anthropological literature was to guide me in carrying out the project, both theoretically and especially methodologically, I still discovered certain major shortcomings with it. Anthropologists had, until recently, focussed their attention on

the culture of drinking in non-industrialised societies. As a result they had emphasised the cohesive and communal role of drinking and under-estimated its divisive features. In order to understand the way that drinking could reflect and even reinforce social divisions in a class society I turned to the available historical material. However, although this material did provide a picture of the historical context in which different drinking practices developed, it did not entirely explain the intricacies of present day customs. I therefore had to assemble a skeleton picture from a rather ad hoc mixture of ideas, a kind of bricolage drawn from research in different disciplines.

Once having produced this schematic back-drop, I began my investigation. I set out to examine public drinking over a two year period. I considered the way in which drinking was organised into particular social groupings which were based on class, gender, community membership and age. In addition, because I succeeded in integrating into a middle class group, I was able to examine drinking in the home.

This kind of detailed research at times seemed almost directionless and it was difficult not to become swallowed up in day to day trivia and lose sight of the goals I was supposed to be pursuing. It all seemed too commonplace, too familiar a setting within which to discover anything new or surprising. However, on re-reading my field notes to draw the project together, it became clear that some quite unexpected findings had emerged from the fieldwork.

First, the role of the pubs in the village did not fit the general idea of pubs as public drinking places open to all where people from different social class backgrounds and of different ages 'rub shoulders'. This portrayal of this most famous of English drinking places was only a small part of the true picture. Instead I discovered that although the pubs did play a communal and cohesive role in the sense that anyone could go and drink there, they also, and more importantly, tended to reinforce the social divisions which already existed in the community.

Second I discovered not one culture of drinking but many. Moreover the cultures were not specifically drinking cultures but instead were cultures which had developed around ways of pursuing a particular type of social life in which drinking occurred. In other words these overall cultures determined both the way that people drank and the importance or the role of the pubs within these peoples' social life. Hence I failed to discover any culture which was centred primarily around drinking although for example amongst the middle class regulars at the Griffin the consumption of alcohol did play a key role in bringing them together and amongst the regulars at the Three Barrels the pub was perhaps even more important as a meeting place because they did not entertain each other at home.

Moreover at the Griffin I found a group of middle class newcomers who also spent a good deal of time socialising together. They met frequently though not exclusively at the Griffin. In addition they

entertained each other in their homes, at restaurants and in other pubs. The group itself could be further sub-divided on the basis of gender. For the men alcohol played a more important role than it did for the women for nearly all of their socialising occurred around beer consumption. They drank together regularly both after work and after sport. Each one of them was expected to consume regularly a sizable quantity of alcohol and in doing so it was perfectly acceptable to become merry and jovial. In fact they considered this behaviour to be an essential part of having fun.

The women also met independently of their husbands but unlike the men drinking did not play such a key role. Instead they went on shopping trips, attended fashion shows and had lunch together. They also met regularly in each others' houses. Their homes were an essential feature of their lives and from them they received status and praise both for their competence at being able to entertain lavishly and for their taste in home design. When they were in the pub their access to alcohol was controlled by their husbands who paid for the rounds, whereas if they were at home then their access was much freer and it was quite acceptable for them to consume as much as the men and on occasion to behave in a non-aggressive drunken manner.

This middle class culture was in sharp contrast with the working class men who drank at the Three Barrels. Unlike their counterparts at the Griffin the regulars used the Three Barrels as the centre of their social activities and used it on a daily basis. Instead of

going to an old people's club, the older men spent their time at the Three Barrels talking to their friends, playing dominoes and darts and discussing village life. They also sipped their pints of beer. The basis of their culture was shared kin and a shared neighbourhood. As locals they saw themselves as the survivors of the real Melton and hence their socialising at the Three Barrels represented the remaining example of a past village life. Unlike the regulars at the Griffin they did not need re-affirming rituals like round-buying to ensure group coherence because their group identity was already firmly established. In fact it was not even necessary for them to appear at the pub on a regular basis, because on their return they would still be accepted as group members.

In spite of the fact that the group was male dominated there was nevertheless a strong female presence especially at the week-ends when the men changed from casual to more formal dress and came to the pub accompanied by their wives, daughters, sisters and nieces. Some of the women sought to increase their access to the pub by joining a female darts team. Membership of the team allowed them access to the pub not as appendages to their men but as independent women, hence they gained a certain degree of freedom. In order to ensure the coherence of the team they devised a number of ritual practices including round buying, collecting membership fees and an annual dinner. Both the male and female cultures that operate around the Three Barrels were based on ties and a shared knowledge which had little to do with alcohol although drinking did help the regulars to enjoy themselves.

Finally I discovered a third major culture which was centred around the male working class regulars at the Black Falcon. These drinkers although sharing some similar characteristics with both the drinkers at the Three Barrels and the Griffin also differed significantly. When compared with those at the Griffin, the regulars at the Black Falcon shared a common characteristic of newcomer and consequently used the pub as an important place to meet new friends and socialise with old ones. As with the drinkers at the Griffin, those at the Black Falcon sought to maintain group cohesion by meeting regularly at the pub. If one of their group was absent for a number of days they sought to find out why, to provide assistance and if possible to help him return. However although they shared this common characteristic, it was nevertheless the case that there were major differences between themselves and those at the Griffin, which was the result of their different social class backgrounds. Unlike the middle class regulars, those at the Black Falcon did not attempt to widen their pub friendships into other social settings, and in particular into the home. From this point of view it was clear that they did not use the Black Falcon as a spring board from which to develop their friendships.

Although the Black Falcon regulars shared a similar social class background to that of the drinkers at the Three Barrels, they did not have a similar extended kinship group. Like the middle class, their kinship connections were almost exclusively centred around their immediate families. Because of the absence of these wider kin ties, the regulars at the Black Falcon were not known by their

fellow drinkers in the same way as the drinkers at the Three Barrels would know each other. A regular at the Three Barrels was seen as not merely a local but as a member of a wider kinship group, whereas a drinker at the Black Falcon was known only through his own 'individualised' reputation. Furthermore this absence of a wider kinship group affected the gender ratios of the customers in the two working class pubs. For whereas the ratio of men to women at the Three Barrels altered significantly at the week-ends when the wives and daughters, cousins and aunts arrived, at the Black Falcon this did not occur. In fact this pub had the lowest percentage of female drinkers of all Melton's pubs.

Each of these social groupings had its own distinctive culture and its own sets of rituals. Prior to the fieldwork I had assumed that these rituals would reflect social class membership. However instead I found that although different rituals such as exchange and reciprocity reflected social class position, more importantly they reflected group membership. Taking part in them was a way of asserting that a person was a group member. Hence the communal practice of drinking with its accompanying rituals helped the group to reinforce its boundaries and ensure its separateness from other social groups in the community.

My third and final discovery was that in spite of a relatively high consumption of alcohol by some people in the village, drinking was not identified as a social problem. Neither the residents nor key officials saw alcohol consumption leading to social disruption. This

somewhat curious fact suggests two interesting questions. First what is the relationship between the findings of this project and the conclusions of other research within the area of alcohol problems and second what were the social mechanisms within the village that appeared to be successful in controlling drinking behaviour.

9.1 NORMAL AND PROBLEMATIC DRINKING

My interest in the relationship between the village research and other work on alcohol problems was heightened during the project because at the same time as conducting the village study I was also involved in a study of the treatment of problem drinkers.¹ For a period of approximately six months I spent every Monday morning at a day centre for vagrant alcoholics in Camberwell while at the same time socialising during the rest of the week with the regulars from the Griffin and the Three Barrels. Hence in a very real way I was faced with both ends of the alcohol spectrum. At one end I watched a group of people use alcohol as part of their relaxation and their fun and in spite of sometimes quite heavy drinking no violence ever occurred and little disruptive behaviour took place. At the other end of the spectrum I listened to men and women recounting the way in which alcohol had ruined their lives, lost them their jobs and their families and often reduced them to ill health and penury. I began to ask myself was there any connection between my two research projects where on the one hand social drinking was wrapped in an elaborate series of rituals and where on the other hand problem drinking seemed to be totally devoid of

rituals and consequently uncontrolled. Was there anything to be learnt from the fact that drinking in the village seemed to be controlled and hence non-problematic and if this was the case what were these controls and could an analysis of them help us to suggest possible reasons as to why problematic drinking occurred?

In other words was Mary Douglas right that 'anthropologists have a distinctive perspective on drinking'² which because it has concentrated on the cultural context of normal drinking could assist the understanding of alcohol problems. Or is it more the case that the anthropological approach is only distinctive in the sense that it has ignored the problems of alcohol. This issue has recently been given a fillip by the publication in Current Anthropology of a seminal article by Robin Room.³ In this article Room criticised anthropological studies of drinking for what he called 'problem deflation' by which he meant that anthropologists had tended to downgrade or overlook the problems that emanated from drinking and to concentrate on the more positive features, 'anthropologists tend to minimise the seriousness of drinking problems in the tribal and village cultures under discussion'.⁴

According to Room the first reason for this 'problem deflation' was the historical importance of the functionalist paradigm within anthropology which had resulted in anthropologists examining tribal cultures as 'organic and autonomous wholes'⁵ and focussing on the agreement of drinking norms and 'the harmony of these norms with the culture's overall normative patterns'.⁶ Although Room is correct

to identify the possible dangers of the functionalist approach he has failed nevertheless to realise the extent to which functionalism has been superseded within Anthropology. As Marshall has noted 'while functionalism once was the dominant paradigm in anthropology, it has not held that position for at least the past quarter century. It is thus inappropriate to suggest that anthropological studies of alcohol deflate alcohol-related problems because of a disciplinary functionalist bias.'⁷ Moreover within this project my own criticisms of a functionalist perspective arose not so much because it underestimated the existence of alcohol problems but because it overlooked the divisive features of everyday drinking. Hence I do not think that Room's first reason can be taken as a sufficient explanation for the absence of overt alcohol related problems.

Second, Room believed that within the ethnographic method there has been an implicit bias towards the ethnographer witnessing

all or most of the pleasures of drinking but to miss some of the problems - particularly the life-threatening problems that are the focus of attention of the epidemiologist.....Ethnographic methods, in short, may underestimate the problems related to drinking because they are better attuned to measuring the pleasures than the problems.⁸

The effect of this, according to Room, was to

underestimate abstention from drinking and negative attitudes towards drinking particularly when abstention or negative attitudes are private matters rather than public and symbolic statements.⁹

Many of the contributors who replied to Room's article argued that he had described a stereotypical view of contemporary anthropological methods. For example Marshall noted that as

Anthropologists increasingly conducted research in modern industrial societies they had had to expand their 'methodological repertoire'.

In these new fieldwork settings anthropologists no longer only study 'whole societies' as if they were independent, self-contained entities, and we no longer focus only on 'the study of the everyday', now giving attention also to events and behaviours that are not so commonplace. Thus, Room's contention that ethnographic field methods predispose anthropologists to observe and record only the pleasures of drinking and to miss or ignore the problem side of this pastime cannot be sustained when we look at the nature of the discipline today.¹⁰

In my own research, because I used participant observation as my main research technique, it is true that I concentrated on the 'pleasures of drinking' and consequently overlooked the problems. For example I made no attempt to examine the health of the people of Melton nor was I in any position to make an epidemiological study of the long term effects of drinking on people's health. However this does not imply that I was oblivious to other social problems which could be seen as alcohol related. For example in a community the size of Melton I would have easily heard about the more overt public problems of drinking such as public drunkenness, violence and drunk driving. Furthermore because I gained access to peoples' homes I was in position, at least within one social group, to compare drinking in public with drinking in private. In fact I discovered that people far from abstaining from alcohol often drank more at home than they did in public. Moreover there appeared to be very little difference in people's attitudes to drinking between the private and the public domain. Nevertheless, although I was

fortunate to observe drinking at home, I was obviously unable to observe solitary drinking or, except in one case, the possible consequences of heavy drinking on personal relationships within the family. ¹¹ It is therefore clear that although Room had set up a straw man he had nevertheless identified certain limitations with participant observation if one wishes to record all the possible consequences of alcohol consumption.

In his third reason, Room suggested that because anthropologists were members of the 'wet generation' they viewed 'drinking as the 'natural' state of man and abstinence as an unnatural goal'. ¹² According to Room the 'wet generation' was that generation of anthropologists which, unlike their predecessors writing before 1930, had grown up in particular societies and at a time when liberal attitudes towards drinking were dominant. Although as Agar has pointed out Room's argument implies that anthropologists unlike other social scientists are 'uniquely burdened with cultural baggage', ¹³ Room does raise an important point. I suspect in my own case my interest in research on 'normal drinking' may have been influenced at least in part by my growing up in a hotel and consequently living within a culture where drinking was both an everyday occurrence and economically important. Therefore it is possible that I may have felt more at home exploring the benefits of day-to-day drinking within the village rather than seeking out possible problems. Furthermore if I am to analyse my own 'cultural baggage' it may also have been the case that an equally important influence on the way in which I sought to analyse drinking was my

attitude towards village life. I, like many other people in England, have the instilled idea that village life, unlike life in the cities, is basically communal and harmonious and free from social problems. Village life is where we can all find our cultural roots and if possible get a little closer to nature. Therefore it may be the case that I would instinctively see drinking as inherently a communal act and hence vitally important in maintaining cohesion and harmony in the community. However I think that both my involvement in a parallel piece of research on problem drinking and my focus on division as well as cohesion had the effect of balancing these personal predispositions to underestimate the possibility of alcohol problems.

Finally Room argued that because the disease concept of alcoholism is the 'governing image' of alcohol problems especially in North America, ethnographers have tended to assess potential alcohol related problems on this dimension and consequently have both ignored 'the culture-boundedness of alcoholism concepts'¹⁴ and depreciated 'the alcohol-related problems that do not fit the concept. Alcohol-related problems other than alcoholism simply disappear from view'.¹⁵ This criticism may well have been true for those anthropologists for whom, as Heath has noted, alcohol research was merely a 'felicitous by-product' of other field research and who were largely unfamiliar with the literature on alcohol studies,¹⁶ but this is hardly an accurate description for later anthropologists who have examined drinking behaviour. Today most anthropologists, like myself, who are involved in alcohol research are well versed

in the the debates around alcoholism and the alcohol dependency syndrome. Therefore I feel that I was not guilty of ignoring alcohol related problems which failed to fit the concept of alcoholism.

Therefore if Room's criticisms of anthropology are only partly applicable to my analysis of drinking in Melton what then are the reasons for the seeming absence of alcohol problems in the village. In order to answer this we need to examine the way in which controls on drinking operated.

9.2 DRINKING AND SOCIAL CONTROL

Drinking in the village was controlled in three ways - first by national legislation which determined what hours alcohol could be consumed in public, what hours alcohol could be purchased and at what age a person had to be in order to be able to buy alcohol legally. Second it was controlled by the landlord who not only enforced the legislation but also controlled both the way in which alcohol was consumed and the behaviour of people while they were drinking. The landlords also on occasion controlled the type of alcohol consumed especially by younger customers. For example at the Applecourt the landlord regularly refused to serve his young customers with distilled alcohol even though legally they were entitled to buy it. Moreover the absence of alternative social centres also helped the landlords control disruptive behaviour. For if a regular behaved in such a way as to be banned by the landlord it was also likely that he may be excluded from other pubs. Hence

the threat of a possible ban was doubly effective because not only would an individual be excluded from places to drink but also from places where he could socialise with his friends. The third control was enforced by the social groups themselves who obliged their members to conform to group norms of behaviour. Each culture determined the boundaries between acceptable and non-acceptable drinking behaviour. For example, amongst the regulars at the Griffin drunken comportment was acceptable especially in the home as long as it did not disrupt other ritualised behaviour such as the meal. Individuals within each of these cultures defined what was normal and what was deviant not from any quasi-medical definition or government advice but from their own group determined standards. Hence drinking was an integral part of each culture and consequently controlled by it. Ideas about normal drinking behaviour were a product of each culture and were therefore liable to change as the culture changed. However cultural bonds over drinking behaviour were necessarily tenuous and could in certain circumstances break down. For example one of the middle class couples who attended the Griffin went through a period of marital problems and during this time it was known to the others that the man was occasionally violent to his wife after he had been drinking. Although violent drunken behaviour was unacceptable, the regulars, in spite of disapproving, defined this behaviour not as an alcohol problem but as a problem of marital breakdown.

Therefore one of the key findings of this project is that notions of acceptable and unacceptable drinking behaviour are culturally

determined and if groups of individuals such as football supporters behave in a socially disruptive way it may be the case that alcohol is not the cause but merely an integral part of the cultural norms of the group which accepts violence as a legitimate aspect of group behaviour. Just as the middle class saw wine as being a necessary and essential component of the dinner party so football supporters may see the drinking of lager as a key component of their Saturday afternoon ritualised behaviour.

Furthermore although the middle class regulars engaged in drunken behaviour they were protected by the private domain. However if they had transferred this behaviour to Melton High Street then it is quite likely that it would have been defined as a social problem. Moreover if one of them had been involved in a car accident while driving home after an evening of drinking then this behaviour would have become in the eyes of the law and action groups like MADD ¹⁷ unacceptable behaviour and yet another example of the problems of alcohol. What is not clear however is whether the group itself would have viewed it in that way. It may be as Thomas in his research found that the group would see the incident as merely an example of bad luck. ¹⁸

9.3 CONCLUSION

At the time of the research these controls within the village operated to contain any disruptive drinking behaviour. However it cannot be assumed that such community controls would always be so

effective. For example a recent Home Office study reported that drink-related violence was on the increase in rural and semi-rural communities. ¹⁹ According to the report the people involved in the violence were not the 'yuppie jobboes' that had been portrayed in the popular newspapers but were young men who were unemployed or employed as semi-skilled or unskilled manual workers. Therefore contrary to popular belief the violence was not due to affluence but instead was seen as the result of boredom and feelings of alienation and anomie. The report suggested that alcohol related violence may occur when young people feel that they are neither part of the society in which they live nor has the society much to offer them. If this suggestion is correct then it may be that a possible reason for the absence of problems in Melton during the research was not only the result of formal and informal controls but also because the people in Melton and especially the young people felt that they were part of the community. They were members of the local football club and drank at the Applecourt where John, the landlord, was one of the boys and Helen his wife acted as a mother. Hence they felt constrained by the norms and values of their community and any disruptive behaviour would have been seen by their own group as unacceptable. However people's sense of belonging can be affected either by changes at the national level or at the local level.

This would appear to have happened in Melton where, since the fieldwork ended, incidents of disruptive behaviour have occurred. For example one night a group of young working class drinkers who had

been attending a private party decided to play a game called 'chicken in the road'. The game involved one person standing in the middle of the road while another drove a car at high speed towards him. The object was to remain in the road until the very last moment. If the pedestrian jumped out of the way too soon then he would be called a chicken. On this particular occasion the youth standing in the middle of the road failed to get out of the way in time and was killed. In order to explain why such an incident did not occur during the fieldwork it is possible to put forward a number of reasons. First soon after I left the village I heard that John the landlord at the Applecourt had left the village. For a while the Applecourt was closed and then re-opened with a new landlord whose aim was to attract a more middle class clientele. This meant that the young people lost not only a place where they could drink but more importantly a place where they could meet. The absence of a meeting place in a village which offered few alternatives meant that the young people would be forced to meet and consequently drink elsewhere. It appears that they chose two places: their homes and the street. The possibility of their meeting regularly in their homes would have been limited because they lived with their parents and therefore the only alternative was the High Street. In the High Street there was no pre-existing set of controls nor was it regularly monitored in fact during the field work I rarely saw the police or a police car in the village. Therefore it would be left to the group itself to create its own code of behaviour - a code which might be influenced by the publicity given to drink-related violence amongst young people. Furthermore the fact that the incident occur

in the High Street is not that surprising if the findings of the Home Office report are correct. For according to the researchers it would appear that drink-related violence usually occurs not in pubs but out on the streets. 'Young people leave pubs en masse at the same hour, emerge on the streets still looking for further entertainment, cluster at fast food outlets or at other gathering points and are at this point excitable tinder, ready for any spark which may cause quarrels or violence.'²⁰ What is particularly interesting about this pattern is that not only is it similar to the pattern of drink related violence which has been identified in urban settings,²¹ but that it suggests that violence tends to occur not in places such as pubs where both formal and informal controls exist but instead in open spaces where few controls exist. Therefore groups of people who feel in any way disenfranchised from society will look for alternative places to socialise and establish their own codes of behaviour. This pattern has been noted by Archard in his work on vagrant alcoholics²² and by Mars in his study of longshoremen in Newfoundland²³ Within this territory they will create their own rules and their own code of behaviour in which alcohol and violence may be acceptable. Therefore what would appear to have happened in Melton is not so much a break down of controls but more a case of young people being forced to find an alternative territory where they could meet and drink. However whereas in the pub they accepted a code of behaviour which was pre-determined and in which drinking behaviour was controlled in the street few controls over acceptable behaviour existed and therefore they created their own.

Finally, what then are the major lessons to be learnt from this project which are in opposition to those writers who have analysed alcohol from a problem perspective and which will support Douglas' belief that anthropologists have a distinctive perspective on drinking. ²⁴

First, drinking cannot in any way be seen as a behaviour which is socially homogenous. Not only is drinking different for different social groups it is also different for men and women, for young and old people and for locals and newcomers. Second, the notion of excessive drinking is both socially and culturally specific. In spite of the medical and psychiatric professions' attempt to define a safe limit, ²⁵ ideas about acceptable drinking will be defined and determined by the social groups to which individual drinkers belong. Third, the presence or absence of a safe and private place to drink may have an important effect on the possibility of a particular drinking behaviour becoming defined as a social problem. Fourth, social controls which emanate from the individual's own social group are more likely to be effective in containing disruptive behaviour than those which are imposed from outside. Moreover because the controls came from within the community they were less likely to be seen as controls. This fourth finding gives us a clue to be able to answer the question which I raised earlier about the possible relationship between the project in Melton and the one I conducted at the same time in Camberwell. The major difference between the drinkers in the two projects was not the differences in the amounts of alcohol consumed, but was based on differences in their

respective community memberships. The drinkers in Melton were part of a community which included family and kinship, friendship, neighbourhood, sports, work and leisure. All of these features played a role in ensuring that drinking did not become socially disruptive. However the drinkers in Camberwell had lost their jobs, their previous friends, their families and their homes. They possessed only one feature - membership of a social group whose *raison d'etre* was to survive through drink. For the drinkers in Melton alcohol consumption confirmed their ties with the community and with society, for the drinkers in Camberwell alcohol separates them from society and reinforced their position on skid-row.

Heavy drinking in the context of skid row social relationships simultaneously divorces alcoholics from the normal community and consolidates their identification with the skid row world. ²⁶

CHAPTER NINE: FOOTNOTES

1. For a further discussion of this research see G.Hunt, J.Mellor and J.Turner, 1988.
2. M.Douglas, 1987.
3. R.Room, 1984.
4. Ibid., p.170.
5. Ibid., p.171.
6. Ibid.
7. M.Marshall, 1988, p.12.
8. R.Room, op. cit., p.172.
9. Ibid.
10. M.Marshal, op. cit., p.13.
11. This exception will be discussed later in the chapter.
12. R.Room, op. cit., p.173.

13. M.Agar, 1984, p.178.
14. R.Room, op. cit., p.176.
15. Ibid.
16. D.Heath, 1975.
17. MADD are the initials for Mothers against drunk driving which is a powerful pressure group in the United States campaigning for stricter legislation on drunk driving.
18. A.E.Thomas, 1978.
19. Home Office Research Study 1989.
20. The Guardian, April 6th 1989, p.2.
21. L.Gofton, 1988.
22. P.Archard, 1979.
23. G.Mars, 1987.
24. M.Douglas, 1987.

25. See for example The Royal College of Physicians, 1987 and The Royal College of Psychiatrists, 1986.
26. P.Archard, op. cit., p.184.

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