PUBLIC DRINKING AND SOCIAL ORGANISATION
IN METHVEN AND MT. SOMERS

by

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PREFACE

The Agribusiness and Economics Research Unit undertakes research into economic and social issues in both urban and rural settings. In the past, much of the social research has been applied in nature and addressed such issues as rural unemployment and farmers' responses to economic restructuring. In this report we are able to meet those concerned with applied issues and those concerned with the more general issue of the nature of contemporary rural life.

This report describes everyday public drinking in Methven and Mt. Somers and it explains public drinking in terms of culture, interaction and social structure. Public drinking is examined in its historical and structural context so that it can be seen as part of everyday social life, influenced by gender and occupation. The results of this detailed ethnography will be of use to policy makers concerned with public drinking in rural settings. Further, it will be of value to people keen to learn how our rural communities develop and change, and how social life occurs on a daily basis.

Tony Zwart
DIRECTOR
AUTHORS' NOTE

This report is a joint product of John R. Fairweather and Hugh Campbell. J.R.F. designed the research project, applied for funds, and coordinated the project over an 18 month period. H.C. undertook 12 months fieldwork, and wrote a first draft of Chapters 3 to 9. J.R.F. revised and added to the drafts and prepared this report in close consultation with H.C.

Both researchers are interested in rural affairs while pursuing academic careers. J.R.F. is 38 years old and works as a full time research sociologist in the AERU and H.C. is 26 years old and is continuing his post-graduate education in anthropology.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The authors are grateful for financial support from the Alcohol Liquor Advisory Council who provided first a seeding grant and then a Research Project Grant.

We are grateful to the people of Methven and Mt. Somers for their co-operation and contribution to this study. Special thanks must be made to the Methven and Mt. Hutt Promotions Association and especially Jackie Hunter for her constant help and support in both Methven and Mt. Somers. James Dixon and Tracey Ower provided rental accommodation near Methven and also assisted in the project. Their help and friendship is gratefully acknowledged.

Thanks are due to Dr. Julie Park, Anthropology, University of Auckland and Dr. Harvey Perkins, Parks, Recreation and Tourism, Lincoln University for their comments on an earlier draft.

Last, our gratitude must be extended to Marion Campbell who played a major part in the success of this research.
The results from an ethnographic study of two South Island rural towns, Methven and Mt. Somers, are presented in this report along with a selected review of the literature on pubs. An argument is developed that integrated ethnography is necessary to fully understand public drinking, and that practice theory is appropriate for integrating interactions with such factors as gender and occupation.

Specifically, our results show that public drinking occurs on a regular basis in which men interact in networks in order to achieve status within and between interacting groups. Regular attendance and local knowledge are important factors in successful interaction which features exclusion of different occupational groups. Women are also excluded and the men's world accentuates the values of masculinity and opposes the values of femininity in an attempt to control leisure time.

We conclude that the findings from the ethnography can be best explained in terms of status, exclusion, and control over both work and identity. The findings are similar to those from overseas studies suggesting that the interactions found in Methven and Mt. Somers occur in a similar form in other rural locations.
CHAPTER 1

OBJECTIVES, SCOPE, AND OVERVIEW

The main objective of this report is to describe and interpret rural public drinking in Methven and Mt. Somers. The most common venue for public drinking is the pub, so that this study necessarily is a major account of the rural pub. An ancillary objective is to undertake a study of the pub in a way that shows up how it is part of a wider community. Hence we used an ethnographic approach to provide in-depth information about public drinking within its community context. Included in this context is the social, economic, and political history of the towns themselves. With ethnography aimed at the context of public drinking we expected that it would be possible to observe what role, if any, such factors as work, play, gender, and class would have in public drinking.

This study examines primarily ordinary, everyday public drinking. Public drinking is examined as it occurs in pubs, sporting clubs, and at other social events. Nothing is said about private drinking. We include in Appendix 1 an overview of drinking problems as they were seen during the course of the fieldwork. When possible, public drinking is documented and amounts consumed are recorded. There is some attention given to social and economic data in describing the location for study. However, we have not emphasised quantitative data and there are no accompanying tables used to summarise a description or present an analysis. Instead, the quantitative data play a background role so that the report can illustrate the richness of social life and convey in human terms the interactions in the pub.

This report provides a description and interpretation of public drinking in the two towns of Methven and Mt. Somers, located near the foothills of the Canterbury Plains in the mid part of the South Island, New Zealand. Initially, Chapter 2 provides a selective literature review of pub studies to find that typically they are poor at explanation and that they fail to examine the social context of public drinking. We advocate the use of integrated ethnography and use four case studies to develop a model of the working-class pub in rural or small communities. Chapter 3 focuses on methods and reviews developments in anthropology to find that practice theory and the ethnographic method hold most promise in examining the meanings, symbols, interactions, and structures manifest in public drinking. We give an account of how the study area was selected and then describe the fieldwork process. Chapters 4 and 5 provide a background to the ethnography and cover the history and social structure of both Methven and Mt. Somers. Chapters 6 to 9 present the main substantive findings of the ethnography. Chapter 6 gives an account of the main drinking locations and patterns in Methven. These form the basis on which important interactions occur. Chapter 7 examines these interactions to show that status, gender, and occupation are crucial factors in
both Methven and Mt. Somers. Chapter 8 then compares public drinking in Methven and Mt. Somers to find some basic similarities and some specific differences. Chapter 9 concludes the ethnographic section with final interpretations of the data pertaining to Methven and Mt. Somers. The concluding chapter then gives a wider interpretation of public drinking, considers the generality of the findings, and discusses the limitations of the study and future research.
CHAPTER 2
PUBLIC DRINKING AND SOCIAL ORGANISATION

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a selective review of literature on public drinking, and focuses on pubs, bars, taverns, and inns in advanced societies. The main topic of interest is pubs in small communities. The principal objective of this review is to examine the interpretations that researchers have advanced for everyday public drinking and how public drinking has been examined. To this end it is necessary to consider the contributions that anthropology and sociology can make to understanding alcohol use. Of particular interest are ethnographic studies of pubs, and after examining traditional approaches to pub research we focus on ethnographies that successfully integrate structure and action.

The review shows that many of the traditional pub studies, while describing quite accurately the events occurring inside the pub, fail to develop a comprehensive interpretation because they do not integrate important social factors external to the pub. Typically, micro-level aspects of the pub are studied and macro-level aspects are overlooked because of the narrow focus on the pub itself. Some of these studies do acknowledge external factors but portray these as a backdrop to events in the pub, rather than integrating them into the account of pub behaviour. In contrast to the prevailing approach, this chapter advocates using micro and macro levels of analysis by way of integrated ethnography and thereby including class and gender, for example, as key interpretative variables in understanding pub behaviours.

To begin this chapter we use several review articles to give an account of the anthropological, ethnographic and sociological approaches to alcohol and pub studies. Singer's (1986) critique of traditional anthropology and outline of a political economy of alcohol is taken as a point of departure for developing concepts relevant to the integrated approach advocated here. While political economy is one possible approach, we argue that ethnography sensitive to both structure and action can explicate fully the topic of public drinking. We then review four studies of pub and community which integrate structure and action. These studies form the basis of an ideal-type model of the working class pub which has interpretative power in a number of diverse contemporary contexts and which illustrates the utility of integrating structure and action.

2.2 The Current Status of Alcohol and Pub Studies

There are two major review articles available to illustrate the standard way that pub research has been conducted in the social science literature. We use these reviews to characterise pub studies, offer a brief critique of these typically functionalist approaches, and then examine alternative anthropological
approaches. The latter offer examples that integrate structure and action.

Clark (1981) reviews the social science literature on the contemporary tavern from the perspective of a researcher involved in the area of alcohol studies, interested in the drinking of alcoholic beverages and in correlates of drinking. The available literature comprises observational or ethnographic studies, quantitative or behaviouristic studies, and surveys. Clark notes that a common perspective in modern times is explanation for the existence of the tavern in terms of its function both for society and for its patrons. He recognises also that some researchers study the tavern as vehicles for the study of something else, such as social class, sex roles and lifestyles. For Clark, the methods and findings of many tavern studies show that few of them examine variation in behaviour either between tavern or over time at one tavern. Detail is lacking about amount of alcohol consumed. Further, many ethnographic accounts do not provide information to allay fears that the interpretation developed by the ethnographer is idiosyncratic.

For Clark, the literature shows that sociability at the pub is the central attraction for the patrons, and he outlines some of the features of sociability as developed in many of the studies. In essence, patrons are open to sociable encounters and the conversation is typically light and inconsequential so that the pub provides a sociable environment conducive to the interactions that occur. Another important concept for Clark is the idea that pubs provide an atmosphere of separateness. Taverns are places where patrons can socialise in ways separate from their other activities. Clark thus shows that much of the literature accounts for tavern behaviour in terms of its functions of sociability and separateness. However, he acknowledges that other dynamics occur, such as arguments and fights, and the relative freedom granted by the tavern may be exceeded. Taverns also serve practical uses so that consequential and important behaviour patterns do occur despite the lightness of sociability. Clark argues that the separateness of the tavern from the outside world, while a common feature of many taverns, is not absolute and patrons cannot completely shed their identity at the tavern door. Thus, the functional interpretations are juxtaposed to other factors which are not fully integrated into an analysis of public drinking. For example, in summarising what can be learnt from ethnographies of taverns, Clark says that occupation and sex roles have much to do with bar patronage without discussing how and why they are important.

The concept of sociability and separateness in themselves have their own limitations in providing an understanding of drinking behaviour. Typical of such functional interpretations there is failure to account for why sociability and separateness are important and for explaining how they develop. If sociability is so important then why are women not present to enjoy the sociability? Aside from these functionalist weaknesses, Clark's own points, about other dynamics and practical uses, and the limits to the separateness of pubs, weakens the very concepts
used to interpret pub behaviour. It seems that preoccupation with tavern 'functions' leads to the underemphasis of other factors.

Single (1984) also provides an overview of pub literature and describes four methods of study, namely: historical, ethnographic, quantitative, and experimental. Single notes the lack of explicit focus on alcohol in anthropological or community studies before 1970, and then reviews Canadian ethnographic studies, acknowledging Clark's review of other North America literature. Since 1970, ten ethnographic studies of taverns have focused on characteristics of the drinkers, rates of drinking, factors affecting dancing, aggressive behaviour, anxiety in singles bars, and gay bars. The findings reflect a concern with the many functions that taverns serve. Single makes an important concluding point that the literature is largely a-theoretical and is poor at interpreting alcohol use.

Both of the above reviews of the ethnographic literature display similar limitations deriving from the emphasis on the functions that the pub serves, either for patrons or for society. The emphasis on pub functions appears to be part of a narrow focus on the pub itself and not on the social context in which it is located. Hence, when Clark reviews some items of literature which explicitly study the pub within its social context (e.g., Le Masters, 1975) he classifies these as studying the tavern and its patrons as vehicles for studying something else (Clark, 1981:426). It is quite likely that Le Masters wanted a full explanation of the pub and was forced to integrate social context in order to develop a full understanding. But to Clark, with a narrow focus on the pub itself, such broader approaches are bringing in extraneous variables. Pub functions may have been given emphasis by Clark and other researchers because their focus was on alcohol studies and on the development of policies aimed at moderating drinking levels. Another limiting factor within the literature is a concern with the breadth of drinking problems, a concern which leads to survey research which cannot easily examine context. Even when observational methods are used they tend not to be sophisticated in-depth ethnographies but are observational, and piecemeal, sometimes including up to 100 limited cases (e.g., Cavan, 1966).

Our main point is that the literature on pubs is contextually weak, typically failing to locate the pub within a specific social and cultural setting, a point which was recently recognised by Hunt and Satterlee (1986a). Many pub studies lack specific theorisation about culture and social structure. Some appraisals of public drinking explicitly address the context of drinking but they do not fully integrate both levels of analysis, nor integrate social context into the research. For example, Harford and Gaines (1981), in a collection entitled Social Drinking Contexts, define Level I concepts as aspects of individual or psychological properties, and Level II concepts as aspects of society which are the context of Level I concepts. But the papers provided in the collection use typically only demographic characteristics as the Level II context, and only a
few papers describe changing social structure and changing drinking patterns, or how the same people in different situations (contexts) drink in a different way dependent on the context. In fact, in their introduction, Harford and Gaines briefly emphasise the importance of the economics and politics of alcohol production, but acknowledge that these issues are not addressed in their volume.

Ethnography itself needs to be examined in detail, and to do this we turn to the abundant anthropological literature on alcohol. Alcohol studies within the anthropological tradition have increased in number in recent decades so that there are now available a number of comprehensive review articles (Heath, 1975, 1976, 1987). Heath notes that anthropological studies show that drinking is a normative and not necessarily a deviant part of most cultures, and this is in contrast to problem-oriented approaches which emphasise alcoholism and attendant social problems. Heath reflects anthropology's interest in the particularistic by saying that the ethnographic viewpoint adds to the understanding of variation in human belief and behaviours with respect to alcohol, in addition to the notion that outcomes of alcohol use are mediated by cultural factors.

Drawing from a critical review of ethnographic literature, Heath proposes a number of propositions about drinking. These are:

1. Drinking is normally a social act embedded in a context of values, attitudes, and conceptions of reality
2. To a significant extent, the effects of drinking are shaped by those values, attitudes, and conceptions of reality, as well as by the social setting in which it takes place
3. Drunkenness involves significantly different kinds of behaviour
4. Alcoholism is rare in the vast majority of societies in the world.

The first two points are important because they emphasise both culture and social context, and they show that the anthropological approach is quite different from the alcohol studies approach reviewed above.

The anthropological approach has been developed largely in non-Western settings and with non-literate people, but more recently anthropologists have studied Western cultures. Singer (1986; 116) sees this recent move as potentially counteracting individualist and clinical approaches that ignore cultural, social, or economic aspects of subjects. However, in Singer's opinion the holism of anthropology when applied to Western cultures has failed to focus attention on the larger structures, patterns, and processes that create the settings, and bring into being, the social groups that produce the alcohol. Thus, anthropological contributions have been restricted to naturalistic observation of drinking and micro-sociological and
cognitive understandings of its meaning. Such an orientation, according to Singer, has emphasised culture but not context, and in effect emphasised only the first of Heath's propositions about drinking at the expense of the second. Singer's critique thus echoes our criticisms of traditional pub research.

However, while Singer may have accurately characterised some of the anthropological literature to 1986, there are some recent examples of holistic and integrated ethnographies which include both structure and action. Douglas (1987) contains thirteen anthropological studies of drinking in which are given accounts of how drinking constructs the world as it is or could be, and how alcohol is linked to the economy. Many of the articles link drinking to its social context: either its immediate setting such as how inclusion in the longshoremen's gang results in more work and higher earnings, or to the broader context of an Austrian village. In another example, a study of feudal Poland shows how peasant demand for alcohol was used to support the gentry and insulate peasants from integration into a wage economy. These examples show that anthropology can provide viable and integrative accounts of alcohol use in Western cultures.

At issue then is the way in which context is developed as an explanatory variable and used to develop an understanding of public drinking. From anthropology we can take Heath's four propositions as foundational and anthropology can illustrate ways of developing an approach to alcohol which focuses on everyday meanings and contexts rather than on social problems which emerge from everyday drinking. However, it is necessary to formulate concepts of structure and action in order to develop a thoroughgoing and integrated account of public drinking in Western societies.

2.3 Political Economy or Integrated Ethnography?

The theme of poor interpretation of drinking is the main point made by Singer (1986) in advocating a political-economic approach to the anthropology of drinking in capitalist societies. Singer attempts to explain the parallel rise in publications on alcohol use and in alcohol problems in terms of a flawed approach in existing studies. The flaw rests with the tendency to focus on the individual and by not theorising the concept of society. As a result, proponents of micro-level analyses tend to see society as cohesive and orderly, and further, social problems like alcoholism have a tendency to be reduced to personality.

The essence of Singer's argument is that anthropological studies have focused on the case study and failed to examine uniform processes underlying global change. Anthropology's focus on non-Western and many-varied cultural contexts has led to an emphasis on the particular rather than the general. For Singer, the prevailing socio-cultural model of alcohol use has emphasised the particular social character of drinking, the intra-cultural variation in drinking patterns, and the socio-cultural and psycho-social functions of drinking. We see that such approaches
are typical of researchers who focus on the individual level of analysis.

Singer's objective in response to the mainstream direction in the anthropology of alcohol use is to begin developing concepts for a cross-cultural, political economy of alcoholism. Such concepts include the idea that drinking is a health and social problem which is a product of class relations in which heavy drinking may serve to foster in-group social solidarity. The availability of alcohol and the role of the state in its availability are important issues, and an important focus is the class who controls and profits from alcohol production and distribution.

Singer's critique is important because it shows how the anthropology of alcohol use has tended to avoid looking for generalities among cases. However, Singer's alternative is only one possible response to the situation and it is important to appraise carefully Singer's response otherwise political economy may be seen as the only alternative. We note some problems with Singer's proposals before discussing an alternative.

One problem of Singer's political economy of alcohol is that, typical of some Marxist literature, it attaches too much significance to the characteristics of the capitalist mode of production as an explanatory variable. For example, there is the derivative belief that social problems, alcoholism in this case, increase under capitalism. Thus, Singer (1986:114) emphasises that the literature suggests that pathological consequences rarely if ever occur under pre-capitalist conditions. Singer assumes that there were no alcohol problems in pre-capitalist mode of production. But Levine (1987) shows that in Eighteenth Century Poland the gentry controlled alcohol distribution, via Jewish distributors, in order to maintain economic control and insulate their economy from integration into markets. Closer to the mark is the view that elites can use alcohol as part of the means to dominate, and that this can occur at any time. Further, it is documented that alcohol use can increase at times of rapid, large-scale change such as with urbanisation (Douglas, 1987) so that with the rise of capitalism alcohol consumption would increase by virtue of the degree of change. Such increases need not be permanent. A good example of change in alcohol use over time in association with major social change is Lomnitz's (1976) account of the Mapuche as they adopted to the dominant Chilean culture over a period of 400 years.

A second problem with Singer's political economy approach is that it appears to simplify the social manifestations of alcohol use in its attempt to generalise. It follows that cultural meanings of alcohol use under capitalist development become less important and structure has priority. Culture is underemphasised in the political-economic model. A final problem with Singer's proposed political economy of alcohol is that it focuses specifically on alcoholism and is thus unsuited to interpreting everyday use of alcohol.

In essence, Singer attempts to resolve the problems of
individualistic anthropology by pursuing a structural direction which fails to integrate structure and action. It is not necessary to discard the socio-cultural model and use the political-economic model proposed by Singer. In fact, we think Singer recognises the potential of improving the socio-cultural model by integrating context when she says "cognitive and micro-level analyses (unless grounded in an appreciation of the larger picture...) can, in the bright light of political-economic realities, take on a very conservative cast" (Singer, 1986: 116). This comment implies that it is possible to incorporate micro-level analysis into the larger picture. We take this condition as essential and argue that a modified socio-cultural model grounded in an appreciation of integrated ethnography, and with an adequate conceptualisation of structure and action, can provide a useful interpretation of alcohol use. This idea is not new because Heath's (1975: 56) propositions about drinking (listed earlier) include social setting as an important influence on drinking. There is also an active debate within the sociological literature on how best to integrate structure and action (e.g., Thrift, 1983). In making our claims we are not arguing against the political-economic model by implying that it is flawed necessarily. We are arguing against Singer's exclusive use of a political-economic level of interpretation. Having agreed with Singer's critique of traditional anthropological studies of alcohol, the task remains to develop integrated ethnography.

A concrete example of an ethnographic approach which addresses both culture and structure is available for a non-pub setting, and it illustrates many aspects of an integrated approach that avoids overemphasis on structure. Marcus (1986) uses Willis's (1981) Learning to Labour as an example of a study of one location, within a wider context of capitalist economy, and the main thesis is that a cultural form created from resistance to dominant class indoctrination in school prepares boys to adapt to factory work. The ethnographic text probes the experience of the subjects while adequately representing the large social order in which they are implicated. Marcus describes the three main conceptual ideas in Learning to Labour as first, the idea of cultural forms forged by resistance and accommodation to capitalist institutions, secondly, the ethnographer's articulation of critical theory embedded in working class experience, and finally, the system beyond the ethnographic locale manifests in the study area with unintended consequences that have an ironical character.

Learning to Labour has a model of political economy at a large scale which is used as a prior view of the social structure. The social order is used as a background model from which the study is used to illustrate in detail the thesis about boys' culture formed in response to its institutional context, that is, as a way of shared problem solving. The account of the boys' culture provides an account of the actors' meanings, within an ideal type model. Learning to Labour thus includes political economy and focuses on understanding the meaning of events for participants. Culture is how the boys, whose lives were structurally defined
by capitalist institutions, respond to them in their everyday life (Marcus 1986; 177). Marcus uses Willis to illustrate in detail an example of a thoroughly integrated study which uses an ideal type and which incorporates culture and meaning and thus includes both structure and action.

The above example of an integrated ethnography has parallels to the interactionist perspective described recently by Hall (1990), and we review briefly Hall's concepts because they specify how ideal-type models can account for both action and structure. For Hall (1990:3) the key topics of sociological study are action, culture, and structure. Social action refers to behaviours undertaken and motivated by reference to other people (interactions), both immediate and distant, and these behaviours are based on meanings that actors give to their social environment. These meanings are taken for granted and not immediately obvious to participant or observer. For Hall, culture reflects these meanings and can be studied because actors share symbolic recipes to solve the particular problems they face in their daily lives. Thus, culture can reflect structures which shape the emergent practices of social actors, and description of meaningfully adequate cultural practices can be included in ideal type models of action. The ideal-type models do not represent reality but precipitate out the aspects of reality that may be presumed as important by a given sociological interpretation, leaving the unexplained to other socio-historical models, and the residual to historiographic explanation (Hall, 1990; 11).

To develop ideal-type models it is necessary to have concrete empirical cases to which one can look for key features that are relevant to interpreting the topic in question, in this case public drinking. In the next section we review in detail four integrated ethnographic studies to provide the appropriate background for developing an ideal-type model of the pub in Western Society. Each study, to a greater or lesser degree, incorporates structure as a background to the events described, and they examine pub and related culture in terms of meanings developed to solve problems. Each study also emphasises interactions.

2.4. Four Examples of Integrated Studies of Public Drinking

In this section we present four studies and provide a brief summary of the main findings for each case. These cases come from ethnographies in England, Ireland, and Finland and are good examples of integrated studies of public drinking. In each case public drinking is located within its context, either a village or, in the Finnish case, a suburb of a city. A dominant theme in each study is the relationship between husbands and wives and the connection this has to public drinking. We refer to this as a gender relationship which constitutes an element of social structure. There appears to be a tension in this relationship over the issue of control because, typically, men have economic responsibility and women have moral responsibility. In addition to this relationship is the effect of class, defined simply in
this case as either working class or middle class. Middle-class people appear to be different, in some respects, to working-class people in their use of the pub.

2.4.1 Sexual Antagonism in Herefordshire

Whitehead (1976) describes a rural setting in Hertfordshire. Divisions between farming and non-farming classes are noted, and there is little interaction between these two classes. The main focus is on non-farming households and, in particular, the different characteristics of behaviour associated with each gender. Generally, there is little contact between sexes outside of the home and many of the community organisations are gender-based. Typically, men denigrate women's ability to organise and where men and women combine in one organisation it is hard for women to avoid a catering role. The absence of shared interests between men and women means that non-regular interactions between them have a sexual connotation and are the subject of considerable joking and teasing. Dances provide a venue for partner selection in which interactions between courting couples are indirect and mediated by others. Joking and teasing at this time are common.

The pub in this particular study was a location for the practice of male privilege, and conversation with reference to sex was used to maintain female exclusion. Few women went to the pub. The young married men rarely brought their wives to the pub and most of their wives complained about the amount of time their husbands spent there. In two cases, in which young married women were in the pub, the men undertook a joking abuse relationship in which the women were subjected to unsolicited sexual jokes and jibes. These situations, which were uncomfortable to the women and beyond their control, Whitehead interprets as joking abuse used to control women. In addition, young men and bachelors were frequently teased about their sexual inexperience or need for a wife.

Relationships between men and women manifested generally in joking, teasing, banter, and sometimes obscenity and horseplay. The behaviours ranged from gentle reciprocal teasing or hostile and boisterous teasing between gender groups, to hostile and physically abusive attacks on individual women by groups of men. Whitehead refers to anthropological literature which shows that joking relationships occur between members of different exogamic groups, and where there is an ambivalent hostility and friendliness. Further, cross-gender joking is commonly associated with possible sexual relationship and sexual availability, hence men see young married women, who are presumably sexually active, as potential sexual partners who are not available. Horseplay is the common resulting pattern of behaviour. Whitehead sees the cross-gender joking as indicative of consciousness of gender differences and of sexuality such that men and women cannot be friends without reference to gender. In the pub the ever-present element of sexuality in male-female relations was exaggerated. At the same time most of the men and women who behaved in antagonistic and ambivalent ways towards
each other were also husbands or wives.

Marriages in this study were found to be a stable and traditional economic relationship with a clear division of labour. There was a strong moral component to marriage: it was the right thing for all adults to do. For most of the women marriage was a financial necessity because there was both little desire for work and little work available. Typically, men kept their pay packets. Women were responsible for housework and men were responsible for paid work outside the home. Few men had domestic skills. The segregated division of labour meant that there was little mutual basis for a balanced relationship. Hence there was evidence of quarrelling, rows, lock-outs, and strikes, even though the marriages were 'stable' and lasted. A frequent source of complaint among wives was that husbands were never at home.

Whitehead carefully examined the local pub. She observed that work and non-work life were closely connected with the links reaching into home and marriage. The pub was a clearing house of useful information: jobs were found or advertised and men went off to jobs from the pub and returned when finished. Working at the weekend or evening was synonymous with drinking. Business matters or conflict typically were not discussed in the pub, and drinking involved reciprocal exchange between equals. The primary activity in the pub was verbal, and the following extended quotation illustrates this point and many other key features of pub social life:

"Within the pub, activity might be focused on darts, on quoits, or on a card game, but the primary activity was verbal. This provided other rewards than simply those of companionship and the stimulus and pleasure of drinking. The pub was a place where men gathered, passed on, appraised and assessed news and information about events and people they all knew. The customers also took a great interest, disguised and undisguised, in the affairs of other drinkers. Frequently, however, the conversation developed into a highly characteristic set of exchanges in which joking and humour were uppermost. The joking, teasing and humour might be subtle or crude, but it was all prevailing, continuous and almost impossible to convey. No opportunity was lost of making a witty remark, no statement went unchallenged which could form the subject of a joke, no suggestive remark or obscene interpretation escaped, no action or comment went unseen or unheard. At these times the pub was an unparalleled situation of social drama. It was a circle of recreation and entertainment in which the conversation proceeded by allusion and innuendo, brimmed over with laughter and jokes and was full of banter, obscenities and long competitive exchanges." (Whitehead, 1976:191).

The joking depended for its humour on references to the matters which were internal to the set of men at the pub. A joke was used to score a point off a fellow colleague as an equal, and it permitted the communication of outrageous comments. Any joke
situation involves a joker, an audience and a victim: the joker tries to get the audience to affirm his defeat of the victim. Joking is about unreal events but teasing is about real things. The major content of teasing was the degree of control that a married man exerted over his wife's behaviour. Thus:

"The men acted as if a married man should be able to do just what he liked after marriage. He should be able to come to the pub every day; to stay all evening after 'calling in' on the way home from work, and to stay out as long as he liked. He could and must row with this wife, hit her or lay down the law. Rows and quarrels in which he had the upper hand brought a man esteem, but if his wife rowed with him, locked him out of his house or refused to cook for him, he lost esteem. If he babysat while his wife went out he lost face." (Whitehead, 1976:193).

As a result men were ribbed by their peers about their wives' activity, especially if it involved drinking. Husbands appeared to have been made very insecure about their wives' sexuality and thus tried to limit their independent time and activities. Presumably, this attitude stemmed from the prevalent double standard. Major conflicts occurred over who could go out and who should babysit. Because they would be teased at the pub, men attempted to limit their wives' attendance at the local Bingo night. Thus, the pub interactions were a rewarding but finely-balanced game for the men. Men were made vulnerable by their wives but the agents of teasing or approval were their own close friends. The verbal exchanges in the pub presented women in three ways:

1. An attitude to women, expressed in obscene and vulgar language, that emphasised sex and sex relations

2. An ideology of gender differentiation that was a source of humour involving stereotypes of women as contemptuous and degrading

3. Control over behaviour of wives was one counter to the apparently perpetual competition for male standing.

Women appeared not to form networks with other women in similar situations in response to the uniform influences from men, and the links that were formed occurred among primary kin. There were constraints on the development of friends, and help for young mothers came from mothers or mothers-in-law who tended to see that the duty of the wife was to stay home and raise the children. There was little development of mutual resistance to oppression because, in part, there was no physical basis for solidarity, in a work situation for example. There were few opportunities for women to form groups and this prevented the development of solidarity. For a husband, his wife's friends or close relations were a threat because they provided an unwanted channel of communication to the husband's peers in the pub, and he may suffer in esteem as a result. Much safer were links to family.
Whitehead's study of one community illustrates how gender is a salient aspect of social structure and relates to pub behaviour. The study effectively links micro and macro issues by relating behaviours to gender structure. Meanings are explicit and the culture of the pub is described as men and women forge different patterns of response to the given social structure. Fundamental to pub behaviours is the relationship between men and women. The pub is a scene for the promulgation of masculine values in a way that denigrates female values, and masculine ethos is built on attacking female values. Thus, masculinity entails demonstrating effective control over women, and behaviour in the pub can only be fully understood by recognising the nature of men's relationships to their spouses and how it features conflict and control. While the precise patterns of behaviour described by Whitehead will not occur in other settings it is still very likely that relationships between the sexes are fundamental to many public drinking situations. The following examples of case studies illustrates this and other points.

2.4.2 Playful Rebellion in Ulster

Buckley's (1983) study of an Ulster community does not focus on public drinking expressly but it is relevant to public drinking, and indeed, his paper includes analysis of dynamics in the pub. The study examines the relationships between men and women. This relationship features an interplay of social control in which typically there is mutual agreement about the kinds of messages that are acceptable to each party. The basis of this interplay is the universal (in Western societies at least) parent-child relationship in which parents expect responsible behaviour from children and pass judgement on children's actions. The child can act and comply, or the child can rebel (evade, ignore, or disobey). In a parent-child relationship, children do not criticise parents and if they do it is taken as an attack on the parent role.

The parent-child relationship provides a context to interpret events in that people, including adults, can occupy either a parent frame of reference or a child frame of reference. Interacting people recognise these respective frames and use them to interpret their own experience and to decide how to act. The child frame can include the rebellious child (rudeness, brusqueness, and determination to stand up for one's rights) or the compliant child (shy, reticent, and embarrassed). The parent frame includes the view that people in child roles can be too wild and rough--that nature requires civilising--and the parent frame entails values such as discipline, hard work, frugality, quietness, and restrictions on pleasure (such as drinking, smoking, gambling, dancing, television, or sex). At the heart of the parent-child relationship is the idea that children pursue action via play while parents judge action. The parent-child relationship can occur between husbands and wives, brothers and sisters, or employers and employees, for example.

Because women in the study typically used the parent frame,
Buckley found that they were willing, helpful, and sympathetic to the research effort whereas the men were shy or reluctant to help. Anthropological experience shows that in male-dominated societies it is the women who are shy and unable to help the researcher and Buckley derives the view that in the Ulster case women were dominant. Women's adult consciousness of the social order means to Buckley that women regulated the community via the parent-child relationship. He makes this assessment independent of claims about the relative power of men and women within the family. As an aside, because women typically occupy parent roles, on those rare occasions that they may occupy child roles (e.g., a women's sports team on an away visit) men may feel threatened by such 'liberation' because their monopoly of the child role is being challenged.

Buckley observed that women typically occupied parent frames and in this role attempted to exercise social control over men. Men saw women as able to nag at them and keep them under supervision. Thus, men believed they were justified in resisting the moral authority of women.

Buckley then applied this relationship model to drinking. To men, drinking had symbolic importance as a masculine activity in which child-like behaviour and play were the key components. Men went to the pub to escape parental control exercised by their wives. For men, this activity entailed evading perceived restrictions originating from women occupying parent roles. Men adopted a playful mode and used the playful child frame to disrupt and challenge regulations derived from women. Thus when women were present in the pub there was greater challenge to the limits of tolerable behaviour. The landlord did not adopt the male patrons' child frame and showed parental concern when behaviour bordered on the unacceptable. Men in the pub engaged in horseplay with a demeanour that teetered on the fragile line dividing acceptable from unacceptable behaviour. Conversation between men took the form of joking insults and playful threats interspersed with playful punches.

An important aspect of play in the pub is that the setting and definition put on it by participants meant that a punch, for example, was play and was not serious. There was a metamessage associated with the "punch" saying that "this is play". Further, honest play occurs when the definition of a message or action as playful is clear and shared by all relevant people. The parent figure involved is thus invited to relax the rules of acceptable behaviour and in so doing is still able to exercise legitimate behaviour and describe the actions going on. Description is the strategy of social control used by someone in a parent frame because implicit in the description is an evaluation of the appropriateness of the behaviour. In contrast to honest play, paradoxical play involves a victim who is in a parent role and is unable to describe the actions going on. Robbed of a parental mode the person must fall back on child-like behaviour, and the 'child' gains the upper hand, or is successful in not complying with the parent.
In addition to drinking there were other interactions in which parent-child frames dominated. Buckley described the activity of "wrongfooting" in which there was a victim and an audience. The objective was to playfully put the victim in a difficult situation where he is forced into a compliant child frame and robbed of rebellion, while the wrongfooter wins over the audience. In Buckley's example a man wrongfoots an English official (operating in a parent frame) in an attempt at rebellion but then finally acquiesces to the wishes of others and behaves appropriately, that is, complies.

Buckley's emphasis on the role of the parent-child relationship in understanding village dynamics explicitly emphasises gender as an important aspect of social structure linked to interactions. Further, there are some important similarities to Whitehead's observations and interpretations. In both cases men's drinking in the pub as play and child-like behaviour is linked to masculinity and uninhibited nature. The women occupy roles as parents and seek to restrain this behaviour, and the men react typically as rebels. Thus men seek to control women, as Whitehead would put it, because they are reacting to women in parent roles, as Buckley would put it. Common to both is the dynamic of conflict and control between men and women and the expression of these dynamics in the pub.

Buckley's child role is also characterised by play, that is, a sense of unseriousness or time taken as different from the usual where the usual restrictions do not apply. Play can include wrongfooting or taking advantage of others and in this activity there is great similarity with joking and teasing reported by Whitehead. The game is played but there is also competition to put down a victim and gain esteem in the eyes of an audience. Further, Buckley, like Whitehead, does incorporate structure into the ethnography, and it is the gender dimension which is important. However, for Buckley, the fluidity of role play is emphasised rather than the fixity of gender per se. The structures of the parent-child relationship are the dimensions by which power is manifested in interactions, and the account of these interactions reflects important elements of social structure. In both studies the meanings of the actors are described and different types of problem solving are illustrated. Explicit in Buckley's approach is the universality of the parent-child relationship and in this sense the parent-child relationship is presented as an ideal-type model. Buckley would argue that the parent-child relationship occurs between employer and employee and the model could be developed to include class dynamics.

2.4.3 Untamed Nature in Finland

The Finnish studies (Natkin, 1984; Sulkunen, 1984) were located in the Helsinki area and in two suburbs of another city. The focus was the urban pub in a context of rapid urbanisation and change from an agrarian to an urban-based economy in which women were able to have paid work. The methods included observation in the pub, analysis of juke box music themes, study of male
patrons, and interviews with women in the suburbs.

The theoretical contribution of these Finnish studies was not strongly developed and a theory from a British context was taken to account for the observed working class pub culture. That theory, coincidently, was developed by Paul Willis in his book *Profane Culture* and, in brief outline, emphasised the similarity between the motorbike culture and the mainstream working-class culture.

The cultural values found in the Finnish pub included dexterity, strength, power over nature, and masculinity. The men were skilled moulders of nature in their work and did not understand or appreciate intellectual or office work. They valued independence and did not compete with other workers. In their lives there was home, work, and the pub. Attending the pub meant freedom from the female world and was a ritual of male solidarity in which they expressed important values in their life. These values were: skill in manual work, resistance to control, shop floor solidarity and honesty, and freedom in family relations. Their behaviour in the pub reflected their emphasis on these values, and the values were particularly apparent in the way the game of darts was organised and played. Thus, pub values matched work values, in similar ways to Willis's homology between motorbike boys' culture and working-class culture.

Women's view of the pub was quite different from the men. Many women could not understand men's drinking at the pub, and thought that drinking alcohol was the prime motivation for attending the pub. (The men did not see drinking alcohol as the main motivation.) Women also suspected men went to the pub to meet other women. Women perceived the home as clean, goal-oriented, private, and nourishing and perceived the pub in contrasting terms. The fact that the men attended the pub regularly restricted the freedom of the women and isolated them from their men. It was their wish that the men should spend more time at home.

The pub was the stage on which marital problems were acted out, and pub behaviours were intimately linked to home and family. For these Finnish men, marriage entailed the view that the women were morally superior than the men. The woman is the wife, mother, homemaker, and childcare person who has to domesticate her husband's untamed nature. This nature entails seeking adventure, alcohol, and transgression of propriety in which increasing alcohol intake increases adventure and decreases responsibility. It is a man's right to follow his nature and his urge towards excitement, and it is unmanly to resist. (Heavy drinkers believe that they are free to drink as much as their nature tells them to.) Given that women were seen to have the role of moral guardian, the obligation to control drinking was externalised, and men allowed wives to make them go home or accepted advice from waitresses that they should go home. Thus, to the men, the pub was the citadel of masculine freedom.

The moral dimension of the marital relationship suggests that
women control men because it appears that they can, and do at times, curtail drinking. However, responsibility does not imply effective or easy control, and many women said that they did not enjoy the responsibility put on them by drinking men because it was a burden on their freedom. In fact, because of the responsibility to be moral guardians the women felt controlled by the men.

This point was illustrated well by interviews with divorced women who were more open to discussion about drinking. Divorced women felt relieved of responsibility for their husbands once they had achieved separation. Looking back on their marriage they recognised their lack of power and that they suffered abuse "because of the kids". Only after the divorce could they see the effect of the power exerted by their husbands. At this stage they wanted change, including the right to go to the pub on their own terms. Presumably, many wives entered marriage with an idealised view and would find it inherently difficult to see its power features until it was broken.

The power structure of the relationship between husband and wife, in particular the wife's moral guardian role, was sustained by a 'moral communion' in the community. A wife's respectability depended on having a sound marriage in which she successfully controlled her husband. These expectations were particularly upheld by full-time mothers and paid child minders, whose work involved family and marriage, more so than women who were in wage work. In this sense, the family values were homologous to the community values. Thus, when a husband became a regular drinker then gossip and other remarks by women implied that the wife was failing in her duty. A derivative and ironical aspect of this family-oriented set of values was the common belief among men and women that women were not able to go to the pub and let their basic natures prevail, as men were able, because women were more likely to succumb to their nature. Those women who went to the pub were therefore fallen women who had lost their moral virtue.

The Finnish case studies show that the pub can reflect and sustain work values which express masculinity and in this way the findings are similar to the earlier case studies. A further and obvious similarity is the interaction between men and women along dimensions of morality and control. Just as Buckley described in an Ulster village in Finland, it is the women who adopt the parent role of moral guardian for the husbands who, while at the pub, believe they have to let their basic nature prevail. The urge for excitement is none other than play which is a reaction to the parent role that their wives adopt. But just as Whitehead described in an English village, it is the women who were also controlled by men by virtue of this moral responsibility. Also similar to Whitehead's findings is the moral communion of the suburb or village which maintains and supports the relationship between men and women. For the village in England it was the parents and in-laws who reinforced the responsibility of the wife to put up with her situation; in the Finnish suburb it was the neighbours and gossip which maintained and defined the wife's role. In both cases it was difficult for women to collectively
recognise their similar roles, and in both cases it was typically women who separated and chose an independent lifestyle.

The men in the Finnish study had developed a common solution to a cultural problem by seeking to foster their untamed nature in the sanctity of the pub. Drinking for these men meant freedom. In addition, the culture of drinking included values akin to those in their place of work. The Finnish studies thus attend to culture and meaning and also links these to gender relationships and integrates important elements of structure into the account. Meanings were brought to light by learning from divorced women who were able to see women's situation in a different light. This is a good example of learning about everyday, mundane culture from ruptures from the norm which explicate taken-for-granted meanings.

2.4.4 Cohesion and Division in an English Village

Hunt and Satterlee (1986a, 1986b, 1987) provide a detailed ethnographic account of drinking behaviours in an English village in which class is a major explanatory factor in the pattern of drinking. They explicitly link events in the pub to the surrounding social and cultural context. The study examined all pubs in the community and then focused on one working-class pub and one middle-class pub.

A major division in the village was between middle-class newcomers and working-class locals, but for both groups the pub was an essential part of their social life. In fact, alcohol provided both a basis of cohesion and demarcation between these two classes. The process of drinking was a key element in group identity and each group had a different pattern of drinking. In the middle-class pub round buying was common and there was reciprocal exchange of alcohol which entailed obligations. In addition, money, lifestyle, and a shared culture of civility were attributes needed to gain access to this group and membership was dependent on maintaining sociable behaviour. In contrast, round buying was unnecessary in the working class pub because participants lived in the immediate neighbourhood and had many kin in the pub so that there was no need to prove or maintain membership. Living in the neighbourhood provided the basis for entry into the group. Another major difference between the two classes concerned patterns of sociability in the home. For the middle-class patrons, sociability extended to the homes on a spontaneous basis stemming from initial meetings in the pub. Working-class patrons never socialised at home, keeping the pub as the central location of sociability.

Gender intersected with class in the explanation of pub behaviours. A major finding was that women in each class did not use their pub in the same way. For middle-class women, going to the pub was a point of reference for other activities. The women typically had their own incomes and transport, and few kin; hence they had an active social life both in the pub and at other locations. Working-class women went to the pub, particularly on Friday and Saturday evenings, as their main social activity.
These visits were the main option for escaping from the home. The working-class women's dart club was a popular weekly activity undertaken to challenge male dominance of the pub and to gain greater access to it. At times when the number of women exceeded the number of men, the women joked and teased the men on sexual themes in a reversal of roles. Despite these different patterns of women's use of the pub it remained true that all women, regardless of class, faced discriminatory practices inside the pub. Women in the pub were guests in a man's world that set firm boundaries on behaviour. In the middle-class pub, women were never allowed to buy rounds, however, there was no control of women's drinking at social events in the home. In the working-class pub the men had their drinks prepared for them as they entered, and their drinks were served in personalised containers. These drinking practices helped to maintain the higher status of men.

The findings from Hunt and Satterlee's study illustrate gender relationships similar to the other cases. The similarity is pronounced for the working-class pub. It appears that middle-class women have some relative autonomy because they have independent income and transport, while working-class women are more closely tied to their husbands because they lack independent income. Despite these differences the pub was still a male domain for men of each class, albeit one to which middle-class women had improved access. It appears that middle-class men do not attempt to control women outside of the pub to the same degree as working-class men. Socialising in the home entails drinking on an equal basis without the men controlling the buying of drinks. Perhaps middle-class drinking patterns reflect growing acceptance of women as economic and moral equals and the gender relationship is not characterised by polarity between economic and moral control.

2.5 The Working-class Pub and the Interactions of Culture, Gender and Class

The ideal type can be a model of action and structure that emphasises selected aspects or topics of interest which can be subsumed under a single interpretation. Micro and macro aspects are integrated by specifying how social structure shapes emergent social action or actual social practices of actors. Meaning adequacy insures that attention is given to actors' intentions and these are integrated into the researcher's account and not merely proffered as an explanation in itself. Merely discovering intention is insufficient for explanation because different actors may have different understandings for a particular event, or they may have even forgotten their rationale for a particular action (Silverman, 1985). Hence the researcher has to provide more than a record of intention or motivation. Explicit in ideal types is culture, which is exhibited in the meanings and the ways actors solve 'problems' and operate successfully in their social setting. In what follows we provide an account of the working-class pub in ideal-type terms and emphasise alcohol, gender, work, play, and social structure.
The general background is a capitalist society in which typically men work for wages in a work location not contiguous to their home. These men have three main locations for their social interactions: home, work, and leisure venues. In some cases, the men have recently come to urban areas from rural areas in which older patterns of social organisation prevailed (probably family-based). The new urban location and work situation are key factors making the pub an important arena of activity, and for leisure in particular. Pub culture is thus a cultural solution to a given structural conjuncture of home, work, and leisure. Men in a wide variety of locations in the Western world have adopted similar solutions and developed similar cultures and meanings in response to their structural setting. In societies where women either control or produce alcohol, or when only food is available to celebrate solidarity, then men are dependent on women for the material used in the symbolic interchange (Szwed, 1966) and different cultural solutions emerge.

The particular background to the ideal-type model to be developed here is the village or relatively small community in which patrons usually have personal knowledge of each other. Three of the four cases reviewed above were small communities and the urban pub in the Finnish case was in fact suburban with a working-class clientele thus making it, in some ways, similar to the village studies. Not part of this review is the urban or downtown pub in which a greater proportion of anonymous interactions occur. Thus, the ideal-type model is relevant to pubs in small communities in Western capitalist societies.

The economic division of labour establishes men as the principal wage earners. Working men thus have economic responsibility and typically women do not. It is the men's wage which is used to reproduce physically the family and reproduce physically the worker. Men can claim (but do not always necessarily) that the money earned is theirs, while women have to base their claim to money on a different basis, and this claim is typically founded in the moral realm. Women tend to be located in child-care roles in the neighbourhood and remain isolated from each other. The community sentiment typically endorses their acceptance of the status quo.

The pub is a male club or domain in which men seek to escape constraints from work and home. The pub interactions and atmosphere reinforces work and male values. It is an arena of leisure and association between equals. There is an importance given to equality, possibly in reaction to hierarchical or class-based work structures. The men typically do not accept any direct challenge to the egalitarian ethos, and yet there is competition between them in their proof of manliness and in their quest for status. The pub as an arena of leisure is the location where men can temporarily escape the burden of responsibility or restraints of home or work. In this sense it is a place for childlike or game-like behaviour in which the principal feature is diminished responsibility and enhanced pursuit of play. Typically, business pursuits or serious conversation do not occur in the pub because such activities would be seen to be breaking
the rules of exchange. Play in the pub is in direct opposition to the adult role occupied by women typically at home.

Alcohol is the symbol of the male club, partly because it is seen as having power and believed to enhance masculinity. This power is shared among the 'equal' men. Men use alcohol to symbolise life and friendship among equals independently from women. Beer is consumed not because of its taste but because of its meaning as a masculine drink. The symbolic importance of alcohol for men means that its exchange can take the form of shouting, round buying, or pool buying, rather than strictly commercial exchange. The symbolic value of alcohol means that values are given to the particular alcohol beverage over and above its monetary worth. Purchasing alcohol can become a way of integrating the group by using mutual obligations to sustain male solidarity.

Men are in the pub to escape moral constraints on their behaviour and constraints set by women in particular. Men's relationship to women are a source of tension and directly relate male drinking behaviours to the family. Men exert economic control, and women exert moral control in ways that have contingent outcomes. Time spent in the pub is in direct confrontation to the wishes of the spouse in the home. Most wives would like to see more of their husbands and most men would like to spend more time in the pub. When men are pursuing their playful pub activities they readily adopt a child frame of reference and can either comply or rebel from the approval or disapproval of people in parent frames. When pressured by people in parent frames, men will often rebel and challenge regulations in order to assert their masculine identity which emphasises the virtues of unconstrained nature. Behind the emphasis given to unrestrained behaviour is the male view that typically women are moral guardians.

Having achieved an independent club for men in the pub, the conversation in the pub reflects this structure. The antagonism between men and women manifests in the constant need to promulgate and develop a masculine ethos in the pub. The conversation is thus focused on male activities (like sports) and avoids female activities (like showing a full range of feelings and discussing personal issues). Ironically, it appears that masculinity is not guaranteed and there is a need to constantly reinforce it. To do this, women are objectified and seen as the target of control and maleness is defined in terms of success at controlling women. Any sign of attending to the needs of women appears as an outright capitulation and entails loss of status.

Much of the verbal interchange in the pub exhibits teasing, joking, and laughter. Within the context of reciprocal exchange between equals these techniques are seen as compatible with an ethos of equality and play. However, the demands for demonstrated masculinity entail competition, and this is pursued by joking. Thus, between and among men a variety of verbal skills are developed in which games are played in order to determine a 'winner'. A joke attempts to win audience support for the joker's comment and score against an opponent.
Alternatively, other techniques, like wrongfooting, are used to rob people of an appropriate frame from which to respond. Regardless of technique the objective is similar, namely, to achieve status in the group without being seen to violate the norm of equality. Verbal interchanges typically emphasise sex, contempt for women, and control of women. Verbal interchange in the pub can also serve practical functions like providing information relevant to many male activities. There is gossip about members of one's own group and members of other groups as boundaries are created and defined. There is keen interest in the affairs of others.

Men in the pub enthusiastically preserve their domain. Thus, when women come to the pub they are there as guests of men. There is no satisfactory way for a women to attend a pub by herself because she can be subject to verbal abuse, or else she is seen as a "fallen" women, and accorded low status. A number of techniques are used to preserve the male domain. Conversation and the techniques of teasing and joking are used to maintain the status quo. Women who enter the pub may be subjected to ridicule, embarrassment, or discomfort by being made targets of joking and teasing. In this way it is possible for men to control their pub under the guise of levity. Further, men can control women at home by fostering the isolation of their wives and by leaving them with the role of moral guardian.

Sport and darts or pool are an important pub activity for men because they are associated with masculinity. With these activities men can demonstrate control over themselves and nature, and reaffirm to men their role as being active in the world as opposed to being confined to the home. Sports are well-suited to men in the pub because they are perpetual rituals that are entertaining and which provide an opportunity to demonstrate ones knowledge of events which are judged to be important.

The above account helps to build an ideal-type model of the working-class pub. The data from the case in which middle-class and working-class pubs are compared is relevant. The activities of the middle-class pub are both distinctive and yet similar to those in the working-class pub. While in both cases the pub is a male domain, the women in the middle-class pub are not so constrained: the pub is not the sole location of social activity and when socialising at home gender distinctions are minimal. The distinctive features of the middle-class pub and its activities derive from the greater economic wealth of the middle-class women. This is in contrast to the working-class pub where distinctive work roles are common. In the working-class setting there is greater tension between men and women, which can lead to women attempting to use the pub in the same way that men do (e.g., the women's darts group). The pub is seen by the women as their sole escape from the home. Clearly, class is one major structural factor in the patterns of alcohol use, the cultural meanings or solutions to problems, and the interactions between participants. Not examined in this ideal-type model are self-employed men and the character of their drinking interactions.
2.6 Conclusion

The main argument of this chapter, while selectively reviewing pub literature, has been that an integrated approach is needed to develop interpretations that do justice to action and structure. To develop this argument, we have examined alcohol and pub literature in both sociology and anthropology to show that functionalism in the former and particularism in the latter have lead to failings in fully explaining everyday public drinking. We have argued that integrated ethnography is suitable for accounting for both action and structure, and use four examples to illustrate both the possibility of integrated ethnography and the actuality of integrated pub studies. The four examples then provided the basis for an ideal-type model of the working-class pub in Western society in which gender and class are important factors in interpreting public drinking.

One concluding point can be made which relates to the important issue of gender. In two of the four examples used above the researchers were a male and female team (Natkin, 1984; Sulkenan, 1984; Hunt and Satterlee, 1986) and these studies provide an in-depth account of both male and female pub behaviours. Whitehead (1976) provides a woman's view of male drinking and how women are controlled by men, while Buckley provides a man's view of how men are controlled by women. Gender plays an important role in the way the research is done and has a major bearing on the relative emphasis given to particular aspects of drinking behaviour. In a similar way, our report reflects a male approach to public drinking in Methven and Mt. Somers.
CHAPTER 3
ETHNOGRAPHY AND DRINKING PRACTICE

3.1 Introduction

Careful preparation before undertaking social science research is an important prerequisite for success. Chapter 2 has provided a picture of the community pub and gives a benchmark to which the results of this study can be compared. However, before presenting our findings it is necessary to be explicit about our methods and adopt an informed approach to ethnographic research. This chapter provides a framework for ethnographic study by briefly reviewing what an informed ethnography should attempt to do. The review shows that practice theory is an effective way of focusing on culture and everyday interactions, and for integrating history and structure into ethnography. Our understanding of ethnography and our application of the ethnographic method will influence the kinds of data found, thus it is important to describe both our approach to ethnography and the fieldwork process in this methods chapter.

This chapter also gives an account of the process by which fieldwork began. We describe our general approach to pubs in Canterbury and how the particular locale was selected. In the fieldwork section, three arguments are put forward to support the choice of Methven as the main focus of study. Selecting a location merely provides the first step and we describe the process by which Hugh Campbell settled in, made contact, gained entry, and participated in community social life in the Methven and Mt. Somers location.

3.2 An Ethnography of Alcohol Use

The previous chapter has outlined the general treatment of alcohol in past studies. Even those studies that avoid a strict 'problem' focus on alcohol use and try to examine alcohol as a component of cultural systems eventually fail to do justice to the topic. The overriding problem that has remained is the tendency to identify alcohol as the main or only component of complex social systems. If the focus of research is purely limited to alcohol itself, and to those social domains in which alcohol is present, then a major methodological error can occur. The error is the belief that the cause and effect of alcohol use can be understood from within a delimited study area, usually the pub.

In the more recent (and integrated) pub literature, the two overriding themes that have emerged is that alcohol use in Western societies has a distinct correlation with the relations of class and of gender. The literature discussed so far has been very beneficial in highlighting these intriguing structural factors, but has not yet been successful in pursuing these lines of enquiry to their full extent. It is our intention in this ethnography to pursue a multi-level form of integrated ethnography, which examines class and gender both in the pub and

(25)
in the wider social realm. However, while integrated ethnography is suited to these intentions, care is needed in the way ethnography is used.

To many, the past attraction of intense ethnographic methods has been the seemingly magical ability of anthropologists to demarcate their subjects spatially and freeze their subjects historically. As such, these ethnographies are based on two related and false assumptions, namely, that ethnographic localities were causal wholes, both in time and space. Recent research concerns over the incorporation of history into ethnographic analysis has highlighted these flaws:

"Historical sources, once invoked, require a new explanatory framework. Such sources wreak a peculiarly destructive magic, turning to dust the beautiful but insubstantial functional and structural models. It is arguable that it was only by excluding historical material that anthropologists were able to simplify the complexity of human life to a level where it seemed possible to achieve a new synthesis. By delimiting in time, as they did in space, they seemed able to achieve an overview of all thoughts and actions... We now know this to be largely a deception..." (Macfarlane, 1973)

The task then seems reasonably simple: pursue ethnographic analysis while neither ignoring the dynamic process of history inside which the subjects are embedded, nor artificially drawing a spatial line around subjects which implies that wider society has no real influence.

Having accepted these two methodological objectives, practitioners of ethnography are immediately faced with being swamped by an unlimited mass of social and historical data. How then shall we precipitate out the crucial elements of daily social process, whilst retaining the integrity of both intense fieldwork and the influences of wider society? One solution is to adopt what is known as a theory of practice.

3.2.1 Practice Theory in Anthropology

Any integration of macro and micro levels of analysis must address the problem of the relationship between actor and culture. Is culture the product of social action or alternatively is action determined by cultural norms? This old problem has received some relief in the 1980s with the concept of practice (Ortner, 1984; Bourdieu, 1977). Prior to this, in the 1960s, theorists tended to deal with static notions of culture. Consequently, the causality of the relationship between actor and culture was a distinct problem with the two main sides of the debate emphasising either actors or culture. However, once a more historical perspective is used this complex relationship becomes the central dynamic in which cultural forms are developed, maintained, and in turn influence actors. Introducing history thus resolves the chicken and egg issue of whether the actors, or culture, comes first. Thus the historical
development of cultural norms is vital to understanding current patterns of cultural behaviour. This dynamic and historical perspective is achieved by studying the 'practice' of culture. Practice is the historical process of developing, reproducing, and maintaining particular cultural forms. Whereas all individual human action, or group action, can be seen as practice, those elements of daily practice which have implicit structural significance become the prime focus of study. In this way social action and culture can be integrated in ethnographic study.

One of the starting points of practice theory was symbolic interactionism, a perspective derived from the sociology of Goffman (1959), Strauss (1969) and Berger and Luckman (1967), along with the anthropology of Barth (1969) and Bailey (1969). Derived from the Meadian school of social psychology which was predicated on the interaction between the 'self' and the 'other', interactionist proponents saw social interaction as the key dynamic of all social processes. In this view, people do not simply absorb cultural data from their surrounding life-world in a passive way, but rather interact with other social actors and negotiate status, identity, history, values, and ideas through the medium of constant social interaction. Berger and Luckman established the idea that actors negotiate and become acquainted with their cultural world through a process of daily interaction.

'Practice' is closely akin to interactionist theory, but it is an historically-informed interactionism, set within the evolving and changing structural contexts of individual and small group interaction. Like interactionism, practice theory develops an account of everyday life. There is a focus on everyday living as a powerful social process. Therefore the focus of practice theory is on those elements of everyday interaction which have implicit structural significance for the dominant social relationships in the study. The review of the drinking literature has already acquainted us with the relationship between drinking behaviour and class and gender. Our use of practice theory should therefore focus on those aspects of daily interaction which have implicit significance for the structural relations of class and gender. To do this successfully one must study the nature of a social unit over a significant period of time, i.e., historically. This kind of historical data must focus on the dynamic relations between major social factors like class and gender.

The micro-level basis of practice theory within interactionism sets its own spatial limits on the immediate study area. The actors themselves are involved in a daily process of interactionally defining and redefining the inclusive boundaries of the community. Each community sees itself in terms of a 'local' area and a 'non-local' area. However, 'localness' is not something that an outside observer can objectively impose on a study area. The daily interaction of the community imposes its own interpretation of who is local and who is not. Consequently, the researcher must become involved in the self-ascribed local group and its surrounding excluded groupings. This may sound
complex, but as the study is presented, the inclusive and exclusive groupings in the study area become more easily identifiable. Within these inclusive and exclusive groups the study area finds its natural spatial limits. These natural limits do not necessarily exclude a broader focus.

3.2.2 A Framework for the Study of Drinking Practice

The above brief review of practice theory highlights the important issues for an informed and integrated ethnography and in this section we outline in more detail the key issues for study. Our study comprises an ethnography set in two rural towns within one province of the South Island of New Zealand. The objective of the study is to describe and interpret rural public drinking in these towns. To achieve this objective at least two additional objectives must be met. First, an account of the daily pattern of public drinking and the regularities and irregularities that emerge in the daily drinking life of the town must be provided. Within this daily account, the basic social interactions that surround drinking are of vital importance and they provide a context for the second additional objective. The second objective of analysis is the practice of public drinking. This entails an analysis of the way in which public drinking plays a dynamic role in the central social processes in the towns, and it must show how drinking is a major element of the dynamics of class and gender in the towns. If particular group formations of class and gender are sustained through the practice of public drinking then this must be carefully examined. Additionally, socio-economic formations in one town can be compared to another town in the area sharing a common historical developmental process. Comparative research can show up any similarities in particular drinking practices and in particular social groups that have emerged and flourished within the political-economic development of each town. If there are any similarities then the pattern of drinking practices can be examined in the light of common political economy.

A complete and integrated ethnographic study of alcohol use cannot be confined just to the significance of alcohol as an element of inter-group relations. While these relations are the main focus of this study, a second aspect will also be examined, albeit tentatively. The second aspect involves the value of alcohol as a commodity. While ethnography was in progress it was possible to examine the economic role of alcohol in the local economy. This focus entails considering political and economic factors external to the study area, and showing how these have developed historically and manifest themselves over time. Particular groups and sectors of the economy will have an interest in fostering alcohol consumption while others will seek to moderate alcohol consumption. It is important to reiterate that given the importance of the symbolic role of alcohol in cultural life and daily practice, we see the former focus as a first priority and emphasise this aspect in our study.

Finally, given the current theoretical directions in ethnography we must address the historical development of the communities in
question, especially in terms of the creation, development, and maintenance of current social structure. Observation must focus on the everyday practice of drinking and the way it relates to the maintenance of current social structure. The commodity status of alcohol should be examined, not only in the light of local economic manoeuvering, but also in regard to corporate involvement in the life of rural communities.

3.3 The Fieldwork Process

There are two issues that were important in the conduct of the ethnography. The first was the choice of location and we review the process by which we came to choose first Methven for detailed study and then Mt. Somers for additional study, especially for comparison. The second issue was the process of settling in to the Methven location, making initial contact, gaining entry, and then participating in social life. An account of this process is given in order to provide a context to the findings, and to provide a record of the process that may be useful for future research.

3.3.1 Selecting a Location

The main objective of the ethnography was to study public drinking in all its forms. One of the main locations for public drinking is the pub, so the pub was a suitable starting point for the research. Between the Hurunui River in the North of Canterbury and the Waitaki River in the south there is a total of 68 pubs. If we exclude the pubs in each of the provincial towns of Rangiora (3), Ashburton (3), Temuka (4) and Waimate (4) there remain 54 rural pubs. Of these rural pubs, Hugh Campbell visited 31 (57 percent) in an extended trip over two weeks, ranging from Waihao Forks near Waimate in the south to Amberley in the North. There is a distance of about 230 kilometres between these two pubs. Figure 1 shows a map of Canterbury on which are located the towns visited in this initial field trip.

The field trip provided a general picture of social and economic conditions in rural Canterbury in May, 1989. The small service towns situated in drought areas, such as Kirwee, Hororata, Hinds, Cave, and Albury, were economically depressed and local spending power had declined causing reduced demand for goods and services. The larger service centres such as Oxford, Fairlie, and Pleasant Point were less affected by the drought or economic downturn. There was a general pattern of out-migration, typically of men in the 18 to 35 year old range, who went to Australia for work. In addition, some places reported that there was in-migration of welfare beneficiaries taking advantage of low house rentals. Finally, pubs had taken over some banking roles and they cashed cheques for locals where Postbank no longer operated.

The field trip also provided information on pubs and drinking. Each pub played a unique role in its community. Some were recently upgraded and were now providing a family atmosphere in order to foster patronage, while others were completely unchanged and relied on their regular customers. Attendance levels varied,
FIGURE 1

Map of Canterbury Showing the Location of Rural Towns Visited
in some cases closely linked to the degree of popularity of the publican or bar staff. Pubs also varied in the degree to which their clientele were locals or visitors. Interviews with some doctors and nurses in a few of the towns indicated that these professionals were concerned with the problems of drinking. We did not pursue these interviews because our interest lay in everyday social drinking and the professionals tended to respond to enquiries by referring to the social problems drinking can create. By doing this, we did not mean to exclude drinking problems from the arena of public drinking. Rather, it is likely that drinking problems arise as a consequence of some aspects of social drinking patterns. By concentrating on everyday social drinking behaviour we wished to examine the baseline existence of drinking as a social phenomenon. If we had deliberately attempted to investigate drinking 'problems' we would have been observing the 'effects' rather then the 'causes' of the drinking dynamics within these towns. In the course of the research certain obvious (and some less obvious) problems associated with drinking did arise, and these are discussed in Appendix 1.

One criterion for selecting a locality was that it should not have any obviously unusual characteristic such as a recent freezing works closure. Such an event would have a major impact on a rural town and would contribute to high levels of unemployment or population loss. Undertaking research in such conditions might be possible but it would be in danger of being perceived by locals as insensitive and inappropriate. Also relevant to selecting a location was the idea that the locality should be thoroughly rural and not adjacent to Christchurch or a provincial town. Related to this aspect was our reluctance to select a location on a major road such as Highway 1 (the main road north and south) or Highway 73 (the main road west). Pubs on these roads tend to have a higher proportion of visiting patrons and truckies. Further, two pubs had low attendance levels and would not be a good point of entry into public drinking. Other potential locations had only a low population and while they may have been relatively easy to study, it was possible that they may not have provided suitable richness to which the ethnographic method is best suited. A suitable location should have active clubs and other activities so that non-pub public drinking could be studied. These considerations meant that of the 31 pubs visited there were 13 remaining pubs that could provide a suitable location for study.

Another dimension of the pubs was relevant to our choice, namely the interest in public drinking per se. It was desirable to select a location in which drinking was an integral part of community life. Oxford was one candidate for study, especially since it had been studied earlier by W.H. Somerset, but it has a number of prominent churches on its main street and the pub is on the edge of town suggesting that it does not play a major role. There was a strong temperance movement in Oxford earlier this century which closed all but one of the pubs. Public drinking must be part of social life in Oxford and it could be studied there, but since public drinking is our main focus we considered it better to select a community with an obvious and
Both Fairlie and Methven appeared, near the end of the initial field trip, to be locations in which public drinking was an integral part of community life. These observations were formed after the initial visit. Both towns have two pubs and they were large enough to provide a wide range of social activities in which public drinking would occur. Methven was just outside the dry zone when Ashburton voted prohibition in 1902. Methven is a 45 minute drive from Lincoln University so it was decided to try and make Methven and its surroundings the locality for study. Later in the research and in response to concerns from ALAC about typicality, nearby Mt. Somers, with one pub, was included in the study.

Methven has a large ski-field nearby and in recent years the town has developed to provide services to tourists, particularly in winter months. The presence of the ski-field raises the question of typicality because, at first view, Methven appears to be quite unlike other rural towns. We believe that Methven is as typical of rural towns as any other and is suitable for study. Our view is supported by three arguments which entail questioning uniqueness, the extent and impact of the ski industry effect, and the appropriateness of concern for seeking a representative sample of one.

The first argument rests on questioning uniqueness and the idea of typicality. Usually, when typicality is sought, one tries to remove confounding factors in the belief that there is a typical case, in this instance an ideal rural town. But all rural towns have their own peculiar features which, in this view, would confound the research. In the case of Methven, one of its distinctive features is known to many people but such features occur for other towns too. For example, Mt. Somers has a mining industry and now there are many retired miners living there. With knowledge of each rural community it becomes apparent that each is distinctive and no ideally typical rural town exists. All that one can reasonably do is avoid obvious factors like a factory closure because it would make for practical difficulties in fieldwork.

The second argument rests on qualifying the extent and impact of the ski industry. The activity is seasonal and there is a direct impact on Methven social life for, on average, about four months each year depending on the weather. For the rest of the year the dominant activity is the agricultural industry and its related services.

The third argument rests on questioning the appropriateness of seeking a representative sample of one. In those research frameworks which emphasise random sampling, concerns over representativeness are quite appropriate. But in a framework which emphasises the single case this concern requires unwarranted mixing of quite distinctive epistemologies of science to admit of one case but to want it to be typical, or representative, as well. Further, within the philosophy of
science appropriate for ethnographic or qualitative research it is important to recognise that interactions between researcher and researched, or between different sectors of the community, are not problematic contaminations but an integral part of social life and its study. Hence, the interactions between the new industry (tourism and skiing) and the established industry (agriculture) yield information about the agricultural sector and its social life which would otherwise be latent. Thus, the interactions between tourism and agriculture reflect the nature of the latter, not distort it, and they improve the research, especially when one season can be contrasted to the other. Most of the one year of field work, including the final months, occurred when Methven was in its dominant, agricultural mode.

In view of these considerations we believe that Methven was suitable as a major focus of study. However, while the findings of this ethnography do not in themselves prove that the results have generalisability, the generality of the findings can be assessed in two ways. First, it would be useful to enter a second phase of research and address the issue of generalisability directly by studying all, or a sample, of rural pubs. Such an approach would seek to assess the applicability of the Methven and Mt. Somers findings to other areas. Particularly appropriate would be a town, like Oxford, that appears not to have a prominent drinking life. The contrast would be valuable for developing an understanding of public drinking which could account for both strong and weak instances. Second, the results of this ethnography can be compared with other studies in other countries to see if the findings here are similar to those overseas. Such a comparison will be undertaken in the concluding chapter and it will show in what ways the findings are general or particular. In the meantime we expect that some of the findings, especially those that touch on fundamental themes, would have relevance to rural communities generally.

3.3.2 From Entry to Participation

The project began in early May 1989 and a month was taken up with preparation including the extended fieldwork sweep of the Canterbury area. The entire fieldwork period lasted for 12 months. At the start of June it was necessary to find accommodation in the Methven area. Accommodation was difficult to find after the rural downturn because many farm women were renting out farm cottages to skiers, and an unseasonably early snowfall meant that the ski season began some weeks earlier than anticipated. Accommodation was available ten minutes outside of Methven and this was taken. Having residence slightly out of the central area of focus was a bonus. It meant that Hugh Campbell (H.C.) and spouse could retain some degree of autonomy over their private lives, visitors could come without raising speculation from neighbours, and the sense of isolation, for the researcher and his spouse, was reduced. Being a married couple (albeit without offspring) was a major aid in joining the community. Married couples are treated with less suspicion than single strangers, and generally are invited out on a regular basis.
Similarly, being married allayed some fears about the 'unconservative' behaviours locally attributed to social scientists.

Making Contact. The first few months in the field were quite disorientating. The goal in mind was to integrate and become part of local social activities. To achieve this goal, in a short time and without appearing pushy, was no easy task. The prime overriding criterion was that 'legitimate' entry should be sought. By legitimate, H.C. felt that only those things that a stranger in town could justifiably attend should be attempted initially. In this we avoided two things. First, the image of being simply an alcohol researcher. We wished to avoid the notion that we were interested only in 'problem' drinking. This strategy was reinforced during early visits to the communities, as those persons who were interviewed in regard to setting up the study, all assumed that alcohol 'problems' would be our main interest. Second, by attempting to attend legitimate openings for outsiders, H.C involved himself in as wide a range of community activities as were available. This made sure that entry into the communities was through many avenues and not only the pubs. With these intentions, H.C. went along to every possible event at which outsiders or strangers could attend without needing to give a special reason. These events included public meetings, quiz nights, church services, visiting local service professionals like doctors, taking on excess recreation, attending festivals and local theatrical productions, and also meeting local community leaders.

For any further contacts, legitimacy was crucial. The main criterion essential for male integration is who you know. At events like farm sales and meetings men circulate talking to people they know and one of the vital first questions to relative strangers is to find out who they know. Location of residence is ascertained and one is immediately questioned as to how well one knows the people in that area. "Do you know (so and so)?", "How close do live to (such and such)?" Answers to these questions can immediately reveal how many people you actually know and how well you know them. If you draw a blank on acquaintances then further interaction is unlikely. H.C. had the great misfortune not to have even any distant relatives in the area. Luckily, living in a farm cottage on a well-known farm he was able to claim his landlord as an acquaintance. Men use the acquaintance test to sort out locals from outsiders. It is crucial for inclusion into male fraternising that you know people or have a powerful sponsor. It is the classic "catch 22" for outsiders that if you cannot lay claim to acquaintances you are unlikely to find it easy to make any. Thus, the in-group is reinforced. A grave error is to claim to know somebody well that you really do not know well. The temptation to do this is great but careful questioning usually always discovers your true level of intimacy. Comments like "he's supposedly everyone's friend!" are the kiss of death socially.

An example of how knowledge of locals is important, and the luck of the researcher, can be seen in one pub situation. H.C. was
sitting on his own at a large group of tables. None of the locals were keen to sit by him (he had deliberately chosen a seat where he could quietly watch without claiming any of the more prestigious bar-stools). Finally, the after-work pressure of numbers forced some to sit near H.C. He was saved from a cold-shoulder at close quarters by the arrival of a man he knew from the Golf Club. The man sat nearby and directed a few comments towards H.C. but only enough to invite him in but not to become intimate. By chance the conversation proceeded to speculation on the farmer who was H.C.'s next door neighbour and tennis partner. H.C. was able to join the conversation as he was more intimate with the farmer in question than anyone else present and able to speak of his activities. This knowledge impressed the locals and H.C. was accepted, grudgingly, into the ensuing conversation. The lesson to be learnt from the initial contacts is that it is important above all else to make and develop social contacts first no matter how long it takes, or to have friends or relations who can introduce you to the community.

Another important criterion for acceptance is occupation. There are three main occupational groups in Methven: farming, farm servicing, and tourism. Each group ranks itself as the most important sector and as far as identifying a central core to Methven then the historical presence of farming well before tourism puts tourism well down the list of priority occupations in all the established local institutions. Here H.C. had an advantage: being associated with Lincoln University was an acceptable way for a young man to pass his time. Doing research is acceptable provided it is useful or contemporary. One comment H.C. received when questioned about his research was "it had better be about something useful like grass-grubs!" When H.C. replied in the negative the man involved turned his back and walked off. Knowledge about the local community is the prerogative of locals and detailed knowledge is the inclusive right of the inner sanctum of localhood. An outsider poking into these areas is not very welcome.

Two locally-acceptable areas for research remain. First, history is acceptable if it deals with events well before the lifetime of the current generation. While some knowledge of the past is touted by locals it does not carry the same prestige as the present. The second area is the very recent past. It is the prerogative of locals to despair over the current state of the community and country, and if anyone wants to unravel this mess he is welcome. Recent history has not yet been digested into significant events with which familiarity is crucial for male inclusion. Notable exceptions are major sports events and activities in men's clubs. These are important topics of male discussion and familiarity with these is crucial for inclusion into male activities.

Gaining Entry. Gaining entry into most social institutions in Methven was not easy. One public institution which has relatively easy access is the church. Anyone is free to go to churches, especially the mainline protestant denominations. Actual acceptance by other churchgoers is another matter,
especially if they know that you are a researcher. H.C. attended
the Anglican and Presbyterian churches in Methven as regularly
as was possible during the first six months in the field and
eventually contacts were made. H.C. was familiar with
traditional Anglican forms of service and thus appeared as an
acceptable member to other churchgoers. Some of them made
contact, and the most vital was with a keen golfer who invited
H.C. to come along and consider membership at the Methven Golf
Club. This was a welcome invitation and H.C. joined up.

Joining golf clubs is no easy matter as the general ability of
new golfers is closely scrutinised. Early performances must
match claimed ability and in H.C.'s case there was a minor
crisis. Having claimed to possess only meagre golfing skills,
H.C. then proceeded to play well above expectation during his
first club day. This had the effect of drawing unwanted
attention, as claiming to be worse than you really are (known as
'burgling') is severely frowned upon. The only recourse was to
'accidentally' hit a few balls out-of-bounds, in the latter
stages of the round and reduce H.C.'s score closer to the
predicted level. Having avoided being branded a 'burglar'
(something another new player is still trying to overcome), H.C.
was generally ignored. This status was not an ideal state of
affairs so H.C. participated in club activities, coaching
seminars, and club golfing meets. These not only provided a bit
of leisure 'in the field' but eventually paid off as H.C.
featured enough in the novices section of the Club Championships
to gain some attention. After the Club Championships many
members now talked to H.C., and more importantly, recognised him
outside the golfing context. He was greeted in the pub and
invited to drink with other golfers and fieldwork began to move
ahead.

An important aside can be made at this point. No amount of
academic training can equip an ethnographer with the essential
tools for gaining entry to a small community. An outsider can
only effectively enter into activities where he or she can claim
some form of legitimacy. Years of academic training in itself
provides few resources that could give any credibility with the
locals. In this case the familiarity with the Anglican Church
and moderate skill at golf were valuable and eventually proved
enough to gain some access to the community. These attributes
are not developed in academic work and yet were crucial for the
ethnographic method.

While all this golfing took place a second line of approach was
developing. Contact had been made with a local business
association who were interested in the study and we went even
further and proposed a joint business survey. H.C. would design
the research, and draft and present results to local businesses,
and the business association would help with gathering the data.
The business survey took about a month and had a number of
beneficial results for the research, in addition to the benefits
to the community. First, the information on business and
employment gave important insight into the economic nature of the
town and its predominant employment sectors. The second benefit
was that it allowed H.C. to spend a great deal of time with members of the business association and establish useful contacts with a wide group of business folk. Third, it supplied concrete evidence of H.C.'s employment to members of the community and was easy for them to understand. The methods of anthropology often met with scepticism from locals who thought that it sounded like an overpaid holiday. One repeated question was "what do you actually do during the day?" However, the locals saw the business survey as a valuable and typical research activity, and they saw that something recognisable was being done. Some business owners or workers were very supportive of the research and when H.C. arrived with the survey form said "I've been expecting you!" Doing the survey gave the whole study a social profile that was recognisable to the people involved. From that time on, even though H.C. insisted that the survey was only a small part of the total project, people constantly greeted him with "how are the surveys coming along?"

Hugh Campbell was able, through many, various, and often unexpected means, to make the transition from merely an observer of the community to a participant observer. It took at least three months in the community to manage to participate fully in any major social institutions and another three months before good progress was obtained. Even then H.C. still had to wear the badge of an outsider but he was no longer an anomalous or threatening outsider, and could be allowed to participate in local events. For many in the rural community becoming a local is a lifetime's work, and most key locals inherited their status rather than earned it. H.C. would never become a local, but he had the foot in the door and achieved the status of an acceptable form of outsider.

Alongside H.C.'s efforts, some outside help was also enlisted. H.C.'s spouse was not a paid member of the research team, and was not obliged to officially participate in the fieldwork process. However, by pursuing her own vocational interests (ceramics and pottery), she joined in with the life of the community. In the course of her activities many snippets of information were picked up and discussed with H.C. This was very valuable as an entry point into the female side of community life. Some help on female data was also provided by female colleagues/friends, who, when visiting, would happily participate in pub research. Some valuable insights (notably powder-room chatter in the pubs) were provided by these voluntary helpers.

Methods Of Participation. Having entered into church and club life to a small degree the major challenge centred around entering the key domain of male interaction—the pubs. The two pubs are the central site for the negotiation and confirmation of male in-groups within the community. They are the centre for gossip, local knowledge, the display of relative status, power, and wealth. Outsiders aspire to be accepted at the pub, and locals guard this domain carefully.

Entry to the pubs was tentative at first, with the regularity of visits increasing as acquaintances were made. The pubs were only
visited a few times a week during the early stages of the fieldwork, until some legitimate reason for attendance could be developed. The original plan was to gain some form of employment that would immediately justify attendance at the pub after work. Jobs were not forthcoming so this legitimate avenue was not available. Eventually golf club members made contact with H.C. at the pub and a legitimate profile (albeit a low one) could be maintained. After about three months in the field the number of visits per week was increased and the duration of each stay extended to a number of hours. After six months of fieldwork had passed, intensive pub visiting was begun with one of the two pubs being visited almost every night. This continued for a period of two months. Visits were rotated around the three pubs which avoided having to account for H.C.'s presence at the same pub for a number of consecutive nights.

In the various stages of integration into the local community certain patterns emerged and there was a tendency for men at the pub to relate to visitor's group size and gender. H.C. visited the pubs in groupings of various size and gender mix. The maximum size of his group was four and composition fell into four types. First the 'couple' or 'two couples' group. Second, the group with one male and three females. Third, a group of two males, and fourth, the solo male pub visit. First visits to the pub were made as a couple or as a pair of couples. In these instances the couples were almost totally ignored. There was no overt aggression towards them as long as they kept a low profile, however there was also no attempt at conversation except in one instance when the barmaid found out that H.C. was researching the community and sent a renowned local 'bore' over to talk for two hours. These 'couple' visits were the safest for a bit of casual observation and were suitable for the early stages of the study.

The second grouping was to visit the pub as a couple with a few extra female friends. This was not deliberately contrived but when it did happen the response from the men at the pub was different. There was more covert observation from local men, with the whole group being closely observed. In one instance where an accompanying acquaintance become slightly intoxicated and boisterous the group moved to the lounge bar, however the men still carefully watched through the hatch to see what happened. In this grouping the men made some advances towards the unattached females in the group. Almost without exception these advances were made by men who were visiting the pub and were not locals, e.g., travelling stock and station advisors, men holidaying in the area, and transient labourers. H.C. never saw a local man openly approach a visiting woman in the pub.

In the situation of two men visiting the pub again the dynamics changed. While the pair were ostracised from actual conversation, there was more in the way of pleasantries, greetings, farewells etc. For a mixed gender or 'couples' visit, pleasantries were absent from all except the barstaff. Despite the reticence inside the bar, it was markedly different in the toilets where men would talk with visitors, crack jokes, and ask where people were from. These behaviours were absent in the bar.
Having never been bold enough to send two women alone into a male-dominated bar the final approach was H.C. attending the bar alone. The arrival of a single male in the bar engenders the widest range of behaviour. During the early days of research the single male tended to be totally ignored, a few pleasantries were sometimes passed, and this often varied with the duration of the visit. If a male stayed at least an hour at the bar then some pleasantries might commence. Later in the study, when a few local acquaintances had been made, the dynamics of single male interaction became quite complex and began to reveal the dynamics of male in-group exclusion and inclusion. Of all possible approaches to the pub the single male eventually proved to be the best. Two males were useful and couples visiting allowed a bit of space for observation of the bar but rendered it impossible to really interact with the local drinkers.

In addition to the above patterns of interactions with people in the Methven pubs, H.C. also spent time visiting the pub in Mt. Somers. Contact at this pub was facilitated by a local person who introduced H.C. to the other locals and provided a valuable description of the usual patterns of interaction in the pub. The simple fact that H.C. and spouse could attend as legitimate friends of a local person placed H.C. on an immediate level of familiarity with Mt. Somers drinkers. It by-passed what had been nearly six months hard work in the Methven pubs, and provided a large amount of valuable data. In Methven, the difficulty with penetrating male drinking groups provided almost too much information on male exclusive behaviour. The relative ease of entry into Mt. Somers made for a good balancing period of fieldwork, diverting the main focus of attention away from constantly battling for group entry.

After pub visits a log entry was made in computer files on each pub. Data were collected and filed under each drinking location. This included both local discussion about the various pubs, made outside the pub context, as well as descriptions about activities, conversations, and behaviour in the pub which were logged after each pub visit. H.C.'s spouse and friends often accompanied him to the pub and would contribute their thoughts on what had transpired during a pub visit. Several of these friends were also students of anthropology and made a valuable contribution to analysis. The main barrier to smooth recording of information (apart from partial inebriation) was the impossibility of taking notes or tape recordings of bar conversations. Only once did H.C. try and take notes in a bar, and this drew immediate attention to him. From then on memory alone had to be relied on. It was obviously not an ideal way to collect data, but neither is a pub an easy location to study.

These log books of pub data were maintained throughout the fieldwork period and made up the basis of material utilised in writing up the ethnographic data. Files were kept and updated on each main drinking location, as well as other important aspects of the community.
3.4 Conclusion

The above presentation of practice theory, combined with the findings of the literature review in Chapter 2, indicate that sensitive ethnography can be used to study public drinking and integrate it into its social context. The ethnography should use both historical data on the formation of social groupings in each town, and contemporary data on the daily practice of public drinking in each town. A location for study was selected in which one town, Methven, had an active drinking life, two pubs, sufficient size for a number of sporting clubs, and was not too distant from Lincoln University. An additional town, Mt. Somers, provided a comparison. The presence of a major ski field near Methven was shown not to be a contamination but a factor which brought to life the dynamics of group interactions. Fieldwork for one year occurred in the Methven and Mt. Somers area.

Before presenting the findings from the participant observation it is necessary to review the history of both Methven and Mt. Somers. The next two chapters provide an account of this history giving emphasis to Methven and using Mt. Somers as an interesting comparison. These two chapters help to explain why each town has its current social structure and helps establish the background to patterns of public drinking.
CHAPTER 4
METHVEN COMMUNITY: HISTORY AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the history of Methven community and the origins and nature of its current social structure. This is a large but necessary task in order to provide a proper context to the later ethnographic account. While a narration of Methven's history could be quite detailed, in this case, since we are heading towards a study of drinking practices and their relationship to dominant social groupings in the town, it is appropriate to focus on the developing social formations in Methven, rather than the minute detail of everyday life in past periods of the community's existence.

The following account has been broken into three major sections. The first section relates to the origins of Methven in 1879 and the development of Methven as a centre for servicing rural labour needs until 1920. This first phase saw the decline of estate farming and the rise of family farming which intensified the service role Methven played. The second section deals with the period of time from 1920 to 1970 which was the heyday of family farming and farm-related business in the area. Many social structures which arose with this industry still occur in Methven to the present day. This period ended with the gradual decline in the business participation of farmers in Methven.

Section three discusses changes from 1970 to 1984, including the development of Mt. Hutt as a ski field and the corresponding emergence of a tourist industry in Methven. The old farming sector and the new ski-field businesses remained distinct until the mid-1980s when the farming recession triggered changes which are still being worked through at the present time. These latest events are described in the fourth and final section.

There is a small body of historical literature that formed the basis of the historical material in this chapter. Scotter's (1972) history of Ashburton county is the most comprehensive account of the study area. It draws on the major early Canterbury histories which do present a rather staid and conservative version of local events. Some spice is added to local bourgeois history in the analysis of Eldred-Grigg (1980, 1982). The Methven Historical Society compiled a local history from both the remembrances of famous locals, and the records and accounts of the town. This valuable work (McCausland, 1979) was published for the town centenary in 1979, and provides much of the basic material of this chapter. In the course of the fieldwork some life histories of prominent locals were studied.

Historically, the changing, and persisting, nature of class and gender have been important indicators of macroeconomic change in and around Methven. The general theme to emerge is that early
business and social life developed in response to changing patterns of farming and changing regional relationships. Economic change is reflected in the changing social structure of the community. Within these changes, Methven has always provided services for workers and businesses in the surrounding area. Documenting these changes is crucial to understanding the present nature of the community.

4.2 Origin and Early Development (1879 to 1920)

Prior to the establishment of Methven the area was dominated by a number of large runs, on which sheep were grazed on leased land, and estates, on which more intense production occurred on privately-owned land. The area immediately surrounding Methven was considered by estate owners to be very favourable for wheat production—a factor which would have influenced the situation of the township. Springfield estate pioneered the use of irrigation races ensuring that the surrounding area would be well irrigated. The runholders and landowners dominated politics at this time and the politics centred, on trying to avoid having to fund the activities of the Ashburton Road Board. In response to these regional tensions, in 1870 the Mt. Somers Road District separated from the Ashburton Road Board, and in 1875 a South Rakaia Road Board formed. In 1879 this new board split again and the Mt. Hutt Road Board was formed. The Mt. Hutt Road Board stretched along the south bank of the Rakaia River (a strip eight miles wide) from Barrhill to the mountains (see Figure 2). This road district remained separate until well into the 20th century and was considered in local politics to be the most prosperous area in the Ashburton District. The town of Methven would appear in the Mt. Hutt Road Board area and it was part of Ashburton County.

4.2.1 Railroad Origins

The District Railways Act 1877 was an obvious attempt by the government to encourage the private development of railway lines. However, in all the country only one private group actually established a line. This was the Rakaia and Ashburton Forks Railway Company which comprised local landowners and Rakaia businessmen all who stood to gain if the interior of the Mt. Hutt Road Board district was opened to the coast by rail. The scheme flourished and the line was completed in 1879. The terminus of the line was a six-way crossroads, on the Ashburton–Upper Rakaia road. This site was near a farm owned by R. Patton called 'Methven' and the name stuck to the locality. Patton had encouraged a blacksmith to set up his foundry on the crossroads and a saddlery and post office had also been established. The subsequent arrival of the railway line saw the establishment of a small community.

The choice of location for the terminus must have had a great deal to do with the grain-producing nature of the area—all of the grain would be channelled out through Rakaia not Ashburton. For the local landowners the railroad not only gave easier access for transportation of goods, it also boosted the capital value
of the district's land. Generally, developments to the infrastructure were associated with financial gain as the land was subdivided and its value increased. For example, the Mt. Harding estate sold eighty acres (32.4 hectares) of land in the vicinity to McKerrow's, the grain merchants at Rakaia, at a large profit. Similarly McKerrow's subdivided and sold the land at an even greater profit. It is also recorded that Grigg's, of the famous Longbeach estate near Ashburton, had a permanent 'tin shed' at the site of what would be Methven town, purely for housing Grigg's cattle drovers. This 'tin shed' allowed Grigg to claim the legal 200 acres (80.9 hectares) grazing land allowed by law around any permanent building used for droving. This land would be subdivided into over half of the new town. All in all, a great deal of money could be had by those in a position to exploit the situation of the new town.

The new community appeared to flourish at a fairly rapid pace.
Certainly the patronage of many local landowners ensured that all the usual facilities would be present and there was a steady flow of incoming people. The first church in the area was the Anglican, supported by J. Grigg who donated a portion of his subdivided land to be the site of the Anglican church, and in 1880 the church was built. 1888 saw the construction of a Catholic church, and the Methodists and Presbyterians, all who had congregated since the beginning of the community, built church buildings at the turn of the century. The Methven School was opened in 1882 with an opening roll of 41 pupils. In an ambitious move, the early founders of the town built a library as early as 1880. This served more than a recreational and educational purpose as all the relevant stock and grain journals were kept at the library, a convenience for the local farmers who could avoid having to travel to Ashburton to hear the latest overseas commodity prices. Similarly, the breakaway Mt. Hutt Road Board used the new town as an operational base. Grigg again donated land and a Road Board office was completed in the first year of settlement (1879). For the wealthy farmers in the region Methven town was providing an alternative to much of the earlier dominance over the district, exerted by Ashburton nearer to the coast and on the main north and south transport routes.

At the turn of the century Methven had weathered the long depression of the 1880s and 1890s and was set to boom in the years before the First World War. The building boom of Churches, Bank of New Zealand and the rebuilding of one of the hotels which had been destroyed by fire a few years before, all indicated that Methven was moving into an era of prosperity. The population of Methven town was recorded as only 300 in 1902. The 1902 population probably did not account for the transients passing through seeking work on the major estates. The early survival of Methven had been as an adjunct to estate production in the area. However, the next decades would see Methven emerge as a small-farmers town, set in some of the most fertile land in Ashburton County.

4.2.2 Early Social Classes

The location of Methven, at the end of the new transport route into the interior of Ashburton County, ensured that business would cater to two sectors of the local community: the farmers and the transient labourers. First, farmers would require all the services pertaining to agricultural production at that time. Blacksmiths and livery stables ensured that horses were kept in working order and that farm equipment could be maintained, and stores catered for the more specialised foods desired in the locality. Similarly, clothing and shoes could now be purchased without the need for a trip to Ashburton. All these businesses slowly prospered as the farming of the surrounding area intensified through the turn of the century. As the number of individual farmers in the area increased, formerly mobile salesmen, smithies, and other small businessmen could now set up shop in one permanent location. The emergence of family farms
in the Methven area saw the number of permanent trades settled in the town increase between the turn of the century and 1920. The second category catered for were the transient labourers used by the large farms in the area. Even though Canterbury was going through a transition towards a greater number of family farms, Methven lagged behind in the rapidity of this process. The foothills area just to the west of Methven retained a predominance of big farms. Even in the present day six of the largest New Zealand sheep runs, occupying the Ashburton and Rakaia Gorge areas, would have Methven as the nearest service town. This would have been accentuated when Methven was also the main rail route out of the foothills. Consequently the town played host to a large number of farm labourers. Many histories have documented that farm labour in New Zealand was very transient, with the average length of stay on a station being about five months. In Ashburton County, with the predominance of grain production, there were many labourers who would be recruited from Ashburton and be in residence for up to three months during harvest time. The transient labour force either resided in Methven in its search for work or congregated in Methven after working hours or, in the case of more remote stations, during the transportation of wool out to Methven railway station. The presence of this pool of labour led to a demand for grocery and clothing retailers, but to a much greater extent labourers used the pubs, billiard halls, brothels, and boarding houses that were present in Methven in the early days of the town.

These two (partially overlapping) client groups determined the nature of Methven business up until the 1920s at which point some major changes to Methven business occurred.

4.3 Continued Growth as a Service Town (1920 to 1970)

The 1920s saw major changes to farming with the introduction of a whole range of farm machinery and transport technology that reduced dependence upon horses. Correspondingly, business records in Methven (McCausland, 1979) show a change from livery stables and smithies to garages and engineering firms, and there was an increase in the number of motorcars. This gave greater access for farmers both to nearby small towns and to Christchurch, but it also greatly decreased the costs involved in transporting goods out to rural areas. Therefore the 1920s saw the arrival in Methven of outlets of larger companies such as Dalgety's and Wright Stevenson and Co. Alongside these, transport firms began to compete with the railroad in the transportation of farm goods. Enhanced transport was possibly one of the most significant factors in establishing Methven as a prime location for family farming. The arrival of electricity would rank as another major factor in increasing the spare time of family farmers and allowing both farmers and their wives the luxury of visiting town more frequently and participating in community life.

The other side of Methven life, that of the transient labourers,
went into a slow decline with the gradual reduction in average farm size. This is not to say that small-scale farmers and labourers were two different sets of people. Rather, it was a common aspiration for a labourer to save up enough money to purchase land and develop his own farm. The transition from labouring to small holding was reflected in a decreasing usage of pubs, boarding houses, and billiard rooms as leisure time became absorbed into farming life at home and not in town.

It is important to note that communities like Oxford, near the foothills but further north, which saw a complete decline in the size of farms and the complete disappearance of landless labour, experienced an almost total decline in traditional labourers' leisure industries. Five pubs at the turn of the century declined to one pub by 1930. Similarly the billiard rooms disappeared and prostitution almost disappeared. Methven, however, did not change to this extent and its two pubs in 1900 were still going in 1930. The survival of large estates in the Methven area ensured that there was a continual presence of farm labour in the town. The fact that Methven still experienced drunken revelry and other 'vices' well into this century was reflected in the lingering reputation that Methven endured as an uncivilised town. The best efforts of the 'respectable' locals to promote a 'community' image to Methven could not hide the fact that labourers still used Methven as a place to congregate and 'blow their pay'. Further, the prohibition movement stalled in Methven even at the peak of its popularity at the turn of the century. Whereas Ashburton, Hinds, Tinwald and Mt. Somers all became 'dry' at the turn of the century, Methven's pubs remained open and thrived on the new customers who would regularly visit from the dry areas.

4.3.1 Business Changes

From the 1920s an important transition affected business in Methven. Prior to this date most of the local businesses were Methven-based concerns. However from the 1920s onwards business in Methven became increasingly dominated by outside concerns. This process was solidified during the Second World War when many small businesses were absorbed 'for the good of the war effort'. One example was the local transport industry. Even though the industry now had local operators in Methven, a major change did occur in 1939 when a company was formed which merged 17 different private transporting firms into Mid-Canterbury Transport Limited. This company was run from Ashburton and Methven, and the Methven office became a sub-branch of the main concern. Another example was the seed dressing industry which was important in such a prominent grain growing area. The first permanent local seed dressing firm was established in 1926. From 1930 mobile seed dressing plants were operating from Methven. However in 1954, The Mid-Canterbury Seed Dressing Company Ltd. opened in Methven capturing most of the market. Later, in 1969, Pyne, Gould and Guinness Ltd. opened a large grain store and seed dressing plant in Methven.

The economies of scale involved in large-scale grain storage
meant that even in early times large businesses presided over this industry. A prominent Ashburton businessman Hugo Freidlander built a grain store at Lyndhurst, nine kilometres from Methven, at the turn of the century but this was bought out by N.Z. Loan and Mercantile and later bought by Dalgety's N.Z. Ltd. In Methven itself nearly every major N.Z. agribusiness built a grain store: Dalgety N.Z. Ltd., National Mortgage and Agency Co. Ltd., Wrightson N.M.A., and the N.Z. Farmers Coop. Assoc. Ltd.

One industry which has retained local ownership is the Methven Sawmill. The mill was established in 1940 by the Department of Public Works. After the war, and the completion of the Highbank power station, the mill was sold to R.T. Cochrane and the mill is still run by the Cochrane family.

4.3.2 Class Structure and Social Activities

In the 1920s Methven became established as the centre of a family farming area, with some residual larger farms. As technology and transport improved the participation of farmers and their families in the life of the community increased. However the labouring group which had characterised early Methven still remained with one significant difference. Whereas in early Methven the vast majority of labourers were transient, the establishment of farm servicing industries in Methven provided the opportunity for a permanent blue-collar labour force to settle in Methven.

Much of the emergent local farm service industry was the result of settled farm labourers moving into contract work and finally setting up businesses. All the major transport firms operating in Methven prior to 1950 were initiated by solo contractors who worked their way into business. One of the two major trucking firms in Methven at present is still run by a solo truckie who started driving in the 1950s. The increase in the number of settled labourers and contractors continued until the Second World War when many small firms began to be amalgamated by larger units. However it was not until after the 1960s that business actually became centred out of Methven. Even the larger firms which absorbed smaller operators continued to hire large numbers of local workers. Therefore prior to the 1960s Methven supported a large body of blue-collar workers who formed a significant class grouping in the town.

In addition to blue-collar workers, there were the petty bourgeois: the shopkeepers, tailors, cobbiers, publicans, garage owners, pharmacist, baker, greengrocers etc. These entrepreneurs were the most stable class in Methven's history. Despite the fact that Methven businesses have often changed hands the existence of a strong petty bourgeois in Methven has never diminished. The population of Methven never suffered any major set-backs up to 1960, and only with the increase of shopping trips to Christchurch in the 1960s did local business feel any pressure.
The obvious third class grouping participating in the Methven community was the farmers. Two World Wars each brought soldier settlement schemes, and around Methven two such schemes at Highbank and Lyndhurst were, and are still, significant localities of smaller farms. The improvement of roads ensured the increasing participation of farmers in the business and leisure activities of the community. The local schools had a large number of farming children on the roll throughout these decades (and still do).

These three rough class groupings did not necessarily mingle homogenously throughout local institutions. Principal amongst those institutions accentuating class difference were the local churches and the lodges. Throughout Methven's history, the Anglican church has been patronised by nearly all the wealthier locals. Only one major run-holder patronised (literally) the local Presbyterian church, and he was a self-made man, unlike the predominantly inherited wealth of the other Anglican gentry. The Anglican church has retained its slightly wealthy air. The smaller farmers tended to congregate at the Presbyterian and Methodist churches. These two churches did not really flourish until after 1920 corresponding to the rise in the number of small farms. The Catholic church attracted a few farmers but also catered to a number of the settling, blue-collar families. The various lodges were important institutions in early Methven. The grand masters of the early lodges were often run-holders, estate owners, or successful businessmen although membership did not exclude manual workers (except Catholics) who were permanently residing in the community. Most of the members were married men and, of course, all lodge meetings and matters were forbidden to women especially the wives of lodge members.

The next important institutions were the sporting clubs. In New Zealand, popular memory has often associated early rural communities with their accompanying clubs and associations. However, it is most likely that these clubs are more closely related to the rise of family farming than to rural communities per se. As has already been noted, Methven did not appear to be a significant community of small farms until the 1920s and this pattern of development is supported by the early records of various clubs. There was a slow development of the first six clubs over 28 years from 1883 to 1911. Then there was a quickening of pace as there were 17 new clubs over 27 years from 1918 to 1945. The following are the starting dates of Methven's major clubs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Club Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>The Methven Lodge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>Methven Rugby Football Club</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>Methven Lawn Tennis Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>The Loyal Methven Lodge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>Methven Agricultural and Pastoral Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>Methven Collie Club</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>Methven Outdoor Bowling Club</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>Methven Cricket Club Methven Ladies Hockey Club</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>Methven Plunket Society</td>
</tr>
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<td>1924</td>
<td>Methven Golf Club</td>
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1927 Methven Gun Club  Methven Trotting Club
Methven Miniature Rifle Club
1928 Methven Volunteer Fire Brigade
1931 Methven Country Women's Institute
1934 Methven Amateur Swimming Club
1935 Methven Young Farmers Club
1936 Methven Caledonian Society Netball Club
Methven Women's Division Federated Farmers
1939 Methven Croquet Club
1941 Methven Choral Society
Methven Women's Division Federated Farmers
1945

Figure 3 shows an aerial photograph of Methven (NZ Aerial Mapping Ltd) in April 1939 illustrating the established pattern of family farms, and showing the foothills with Mt. Hutt under cover of snow.

4.4 The Rise of a Dual Economy (1970 to 1984)

The development of farming-related businesses in Methven proceeded unchecked from the 1920s until 1970. However, local records of businesses show that during the 1960s there was an increasing reliance on branches or agencies of national companies and a decline in locally-controlled industries. As roads and transport became more developed farmers began to travel to Ashburton and Christchurch for their purchases. This trend has continued and whereas five major stock and station firms jostled alongside many local units in Methven during the 1960s, now only two firms tenuously remain with their retail outlets serving principally as a base for farm advisors and grain and wool buyers. Centralisation reflects not only the decline in demand for farm inputs in Methven itself, but also the change in national-level control of stock and station companies. With the changing demographic characteristics of rural life, only the major firms have managed to straddle the gap between rural outlets and urban head offices.

The decline in rural business demand paralleled the decline of Methven as a thriving rural service centre, however the economic direction of the town took a new direction after the Methven Lions Club initiated a feasibility study into the possibility of Mt. Hutt operating as a ski field. This 1971 study led to the opening of Mt. Hutt in 1973 as a commercial venture.

The ski field proved itself to be viable, and while most skiers made the journey to Mt. Hutt from Christchurch on a daily basis, a number of tourists began seeking accommodation and services in Methven. This demand was met with the establishment of a number of accommodational facilities, restaurants, and tourist activities. The town underwent considerable renovation in the main shopping area to facilitate the arrival of new businesses, and the sites for 14 new shops were built in 1975. Some of these sites were not filled until recently. However by 1989 Methven had five hotels, three motels, twenty ski lodges, two camping grounds, nine licensed restaurants, six bring-your-own (alcohol)
restaurants and a host of shops catering to the ski industry. The impact on the town of the new industry has been underrated in some quarters and exaggerated in others. In some respects the farming and servicing side of Methven and the ski industry form a dual economy. It is without doubt that the town feels the effects of recession in either industry, and the years of 1987 and 1988 saw both industries in difficulties. Since 1985 New Zealand primary production has had to adjust to a more-market policy and this adjustment has led to considerable change in rural towns. In recent years there has been an erratic supply of snow, with 1987 and 1988 proving to be difficult years for Methven. Most of the locals consider that these years were the worst in Methven's recent history.

Both the farming and the other non-tourist industries in Methven are based on the production and refinement of primary products. As the supply of capital and technological inputs becomes more centralised into urban corporations, the geographical location surrounding Methven has become wholly devoted to the primary productive sector of New Zealand's now complex agricultural industry. The only major input supplied principally from the local area is labour in the form of farmers, farmer's families, and the contribution of hired farm labour, some of which is local and some of which is itinerant.

The town of Methven serves the farming industry initially by providing outlets for corporate inputs into farming, but more importantly by maintaining the rural labour force. The day-to-day requirements of food and the like are serviced by Methven workers to the local farmers. Methven also provides accommodation and entertainment for the larger contracting gangs of shearers and others. The town also provides recreational, religious, and educational services for the farmers of the area. In this way Methven falls into the pattern of the typical rural 'service' town.

The ski industry is similar to farming in that it is dependent on the weather and requires snow as a basic input. This reliance on a natural phenomenon is identified as the weakest link in the industry and at the start of the 1990 season, artificial snow-making machines were installed on Mt. Hutt. Other than this the industry runs on a mix of capital and technological inputs serviced by a seasonal labour force. The ski industry is very capital-intensive and from only a few years after the establishment of Mt. Hutt as a field, corporate ownership and investment was required to make the ski field viable. Recent changes include a move to off-shore ownership and the ski field is now owned by a Japanese company.

Like the farming industry, the ski industry relies on Methven to service its labour. However, here is where the issue of dual economy comes into question. Typically, the labour force utilised directly in the ski industry is only seasonal, and only a small minority are permanent residents of the local area. In winter the size of the town almost doubles but with very limited
impact on the permanent residence pattern of the town. In the past a number of local entrepreneurs have entered the market for tourist dollars with some success, however this number is proportionately small.

It is beyond the scope of this project to assess the relative wealth deriving from farming as opposed to tourism in the Upper Ashburton region. However, whereas in the past these two industries have been quite distinct, the duality of local industry in the region is now becoming blurred in the town of Methven itself. In recent times the recession in rural areas has led to a blurring of the established distinctions between industries in Methven. This is most obvious in the incorporation of local female labour into part-time work in the tourist industry. The productive base of each industry is completely different, but just as the small rural towns in New Zealand serviced the labour needs of the large estates in early New Zealand, the town of Methven is servicing the labour of both industries.

4.5 Contemporary Methven (1984 to 1990)

Throughout its economic history, Methven has remained as a service centre for workers in the surrounding industries. For the first 100 years of farming in the area Methven was established and has retained the role of servicing the needs of farmers and farm labour. Subsequent industries have all drawn on Methven as a supplier of labour with varying degrees of success. The sawmill was established in Methven at the end of the Second World War to bring logs from the foothills to be processed by labourers resident in Methven. The flax mill also utilised Methven as a source of labour in aid of the war effort. Finally, the ski industry utilised Methven as an accommodator and more recently provider of seasonal labour to work in ski-related business. This 'labour-servicing' character of the Methven economy has remained constant and has had an obvious bearing on the social structure of the community. However, closer examination of the recent social history of Methven indicates that economic change has occurred and is reflected in the changing social structure of the community. Before describing these changes we outline the social activities that were developed by the time of the last decade.

4.5.1 Social Activities

Throughout the last 40 years the backbone of the Rugby Football Club has been farm labourers and farm cadets from Lincoln College. Young farmers also play rugby but there is a marked tendency for active participation to decline after marriage. The older and more-established businessmen and farmers support rugby more at a provincial and national level. The exception has been the publicans who solicit the patronage of the young men's drinking fraternity centred at the Rugby Club.
The Golf Club is a centre for civic pride as the combined efforts of members developed the golf course to a standard somewhat higher than other country clubs. Membership in the men's club has been maintained at just under 200 per year, which is a considerable proportion of the male population. If the Rugby Club attracts a number of young unmarried men, then the Golf Club holds the bulk of middle-aged and older men. A large number of farmers attend the club and membership has even been held by Christchurch residents who drove out each Saturday. The Ladies Golf Club is also very active.

Other clubs are well attended with squash, bowls, croquet, shooting, and others producing national-level competitors during their history. The clubs tend to be attended by distinctive age and gender groups rather than class groupings. This is consistent with a sense of egalitarianism throughout New Zealand's sporting clubs.

The final major social institution is the pubs. The two major pubs in Methven were historically a centre of activity. As they will be examined later at length, it is sufficient to say that the pubs relied on a predominantly blue-collar male clientele as their chief source of income. Blue-collar workers in local industry, farm labourers, contractors, and unmarried young farmers make up the majority of pub drinkers. Married blue collar workers have attended the pubs while married farmers have tended to drink at the Golf Club.

The general participation in these clubs remained constant after the arrival of the Mt. Hutt skifield in 1971. What was different was that those persons who had arrived in the community to participate in the ski-field and its associated trade had almost nothing to do with the clubs and associations in Methven. These people established their own leisure patterns and associational networks in the community.

4.5.2 Mt. Hutt and Social Boundaries

The arrival of the skifield has attracted a number of people into retail, restaurant, and accommodation businesses in Methven. The original inhabitants have participated in the basic retail businesses and at the budget end of the accommodation businesses. Over and above this a number of people have moved into Methven to exploit business opportunities. Only a minority of these have actually stayed for a number of years. Most newcomers will buy an established business and only invest in it for a couple of winters. The ski industry has organised a promotional association which, although open to any who pay the subscription, is populated by ski and tourism-related businesses, supplemented by some local retailers. This association is the most overt element of the ski industry network and the Mt. Hutt Company interacts with the Methven business community through this organisation.

The tourist industry people who stay in the vicinity tend not to enter into established institutions like the sporting clubs and
churches, and they have developed their own networks and leisure patterns. Most notable is the overtaking of the Methven Hotel during the winter months. The Methven Hotel has become world famous for its hospitality to skiers. This reputation was enhanced by the hostility of the bar manager of the alternative hotel towards any obvious outsiders. Several locals have recounted that the old manager used to greet skiers wandering into his pub with the phrase "Get over the road where you belong". Over the road, the skiers take over the Methven Hotel and members of the ski businesses tend to fraternise in the same locations as their clientele.

The other major influx into the community is the arrival of workers participating in seasonal employment in the ski industry. As the great majority of these workers are also skiers they tend to associate in the skiers leisure activities. These workers are accommodated in a number of rental properties (often on farms) that are on offer during the winter.

Much of the social dynamics of the town is taken up with the maintenance of a distinct boundary between 'locals' and 'newcomers' (or "johnny-come-latelys" as one local described them). One local defined newcomers as those who are "purely economically motivated" and who have "no roots in the town". Despite these strongly-held opinions there is a seeming contradiction in the application of these stereotypes. On one side, there are several people who have strong Methven 'roots' and are firmly established in the new 'purely economically motivated' camp. Similarly, relative newcomers to the area (less than ten years) are accepted into the local fraternity. The difference lies in which industry grouping is involved. Newly-arrived young farmers and labourers are always welcome at the Rugby Club or at the local's pub, the farming and farm servicing networks being reasonably open to newcomers from within the wider farming industry. Some status-seeking occurs within this network and in these pursuits town pedigree is a major factor. Generally, throughout the 1970s, and early 1980s the pastoral industry networks and the ski industry remained distinct.

In between these two camps are the retailers who gladly receive added winter custom. The number of new shops increased competition markedly and therefore the established businesses continued courting locals as the basis of their custom. An uneasy truce emerged with locals grudgingly accepting the presence of skiers but grateful for the amenities they sustained. In general, the locals will take the tourists money at every opportunity and otherwise avoid them.

4.5.3 Recent Changes

Since 1981 distinct demographic changes have occurred within the two industry groupings. A major factor has been the decline in the farming industry. Since 1984 farmers entered a time of high interest rates, declining land values, and low product prices. Low farm incomes affected farm service industries in towns like Methven. The most significant event occurring within the farming
industry in recent times has been the recession in farming in the years 1985-1989 and related demographic changes. The recession has had a significant effect on the nature of the local population. Farming has always tended to retrench in times of difficulty by cutting labour costs, and in Methven this has resulted in the tightening of the farm employees labour market. The result of farm adjustments was the widespread disappearance from the Methven area of farm cadets from Lincoln College (now Lincoln University), farm labourers, and married couples resident on farms. Similarly, some young farmers have been forced off the land. There has been outmigration by these groups with a severe depletion of the 18 - 30 years old bracket. School roll figures show that the number of young people in the community has steadily declined throughout the 1980s. These population changes are exacerbated by a growing tendency for school leavers to depart from the Methven area. In 1980, over fifty per cent of school leavers obtained employment in Methven with only six per cent leaving for other areas. By 1989, 25 per cent of school leavers were remaining in Methven with 30 per cent now leaving for other areas. Many of these migrating school leavers are taking up employment opportunities in the Australian farming industry. The population of Methven community was 923 in 1986 at the time of the last census. Housing occupancy has remained constant in Methven itself in the interim, however the surrounding rural areas have shown a decline in permanent population as farm cottages, which once housed farm labourers, are now accommodating holidaymakers.

With the decline in the number of farm-related labourers in Methven the blue-collar workforce is now dominated by men employed in the local farm service and manufacturing industries. Due to job uncertainty, these men are now less likely to leave their jobs. Recession has lowered the number of manual workers in and around Methven and those who remain tend to be both older and more likely to be married. Some families, typically young couples, have responded to redundancy in Methven by commuting to work in Ashburton. Commuting is one way of remaining in Methven while securing tertiary sector employment which is very scarce in Methven.

Very few youths from Methven remain in town if they are likely to be unemployed, and none have been encountered during field work. However, Methven does have unemployed people living in it, and these are welfare beneficiaries seeking cheaper housing than can currently be found in Christchurch. The Department of Social Welfare has encouraged beneficiaries to consider shifting to cheaper housing in rural areas. The current lack of employment in rural areas means that the beneficiaries will remain unemployed. Recent school surveys showed that seven per cent of Methven households were one-parent families. The same survey showed that concern over the arrival of Domestic Purposes Beneficiaries into the community was the biggest issue parents identified in Methven (one of the other biggest issues was too much alcohol in the community). The number of beneficiaries is moderated by the presence of the ski industry. The development of Methven as a tourist location has meant that housing prices
in Methven are higher than in other rural communities. This has ensured that the proportion of very low income families is much lower than in neighbouring towns like Rakaia. The arrival of beneficiaries is a new change to the industrial groupings present in the town.

In response to economic pressures seasonal jobs at hotels and shops during the ski season increasingly were being filled by local, married women. The Mt. Hutt Company has always had a policy of hiring locals in a bid to improve its image in the town, but previously only a few locals would be interested in seasonal work. There has been a dramatic increase in the number of women working in part-time employment in Methven during the winter. In the 1981 census 33 women (ten percent) in Methven categorised themselves as being in part-time employment compared with 61 per cent who claimed not to be engaged in wage employment. By the 1986 census, 72 women (22 per cent) were in part-time work with only 49 per cent claiming no employment. In our 1989 survey, even excluding employment in the Mt. Hutt Company itself, 25 local women were employed in a part-time basis at local cafes, restaurants, and pubs. What is more, 77 women were employed at local accommodation businesses, doing mainly cleaning work. In these two sectors of service and cleaning alone, over three times the number of women in part-time employment in 1981 are now employed. A majority of these women are locals as the vast majority of transient workers are employed by Mt. Hutt Company itself.

In this new work force are a large number of women married to blue-collar workers in the town. Farming women are also occupied in this sector, but since they have other sources of income they are not as prevalent. An example can be seen during the asparagus growing season. Growers seem to rely heavily on a network of rural women to pick the crop. Only when local women have been thoroughly canvassed will growers resort to townsfolk from Methven and Rakaia to pick the crop.

Census data shows a similar increase in the female workforce for the rural area surrounding Methven. The proportions of adult women engaged in full-time work rose from 29 per cent to 38 per cent during the 1981 to 1986 period. The proportion of women in part-time work rose from 13 per cent to 20 per cent during the same period.

Local women in the rural areas have other means of obtaining income and one of these is accommodating seasonal workers. The casual accommodation market in Methven is very significant. A network exists which finds accommodation for not only workers but also longer-term tourists (many houses are let on a two week basis). Houses which in the past were used to accommodate farm workers, married couples and contractors now accommodates skiers and ski-field workers. A nationwide New Zealand Tourist and Publicity survey showed that 26 per cent of the 'visitor nights' spent in Methven could not be accounted for in any official form of accommodation. This figure is very high when it is compared with the rest of the country where the next highest figure in
this category is six per cent.

The recent movement of women into the tourist-related industry has meant a softening of the boundaries between the two industries. As the rural recession became deeper, it was the women of the area who entered the part-time workforce or engaged in informal economic activity to supplement declining incomes. This change is very recent and the long-term impact on the traditional division of the town between old and new business is hard to assess at this time. The main conclusion is that it has been women who have made the transition. Men have seemingly retained the old divisions. The traditional male domains of pubs and sporting clubs are still cast in the pattern of the last two decades.

4.5.4 Maintenance of the Male Status Quo

The two industries do not mingle at any point in the workplace and so it is in leisure time that the local men strongly resist mixing with newcomers. This leisure time can be observed in two contexts: the pub and the sporting clubs.

The main 'locals' pub is still resistant to infiltration by skiers. The management recognised that skiers were an important source of revenue if the publican was to survive the decline in the number of drinking males in the town. The compromise arrived at was that the pub built a bistro and lounge bar facility to cater for skiers and other visitors, while the precious local clientele could drink undisturbed in the Public Bar. The locals are not too displeased with this as after the ski season ends the bistro is a good facility for occasional dinners. In this way the pub has cashed in on the tourist dollar while retaining its identity as a strong local drinking domain.

Alongside the male domain of the Public Bar at the Hotel, at least one business has its own social club. The 'Boars' Nest' at a local transport firm is definitely a male-only, blue-collar drinking location, and the success of the social club ensures a strong manual work ethic amongst the drivers at the firm. It also drums up a bit of business for the firm.

Sporting clubs have been hard hit by the departure of young male labourers and farmers. The two main clubs in the area, the Golf Club and Rugby Club, have had to take action to ensure their survival. Both have pursued charity and fund-raising activities with mixed success. The problem facing each club is the maintenance of current facilities in the face of declining annual subscriptions and decreasing number of young men involved. The Rugby Club has responded by promoting their clubrooms as a social venue and running a bar for non-rugby events at the clubrooms. To give an example, in June 1989, the Highland Pipe Band fund-raising quiz night attracted a large number of people. The event was held at the clubrooms and the Rugby Club ran the bar and took all bar proceedings. These bar activities have supplemented the falling income of the Rugby Club.
The Golf Club also has used a bar to supplement its income. The club committee devises raffles and other competitions to ensure the maximum number of men staying on in the bar after club rounds. The revenue from drinking was used by the club to offset falling subscriptions. At the 1989 Annual General Meeting it was revealed that bar takings for the year provided one third of the club's revenue and was the only growth area in revenue, other than a slight increase in green fees.

In these male enclaves, resistance to change has required some form of economic response to replace the financial losses incurred by men leaving the area. In each male domain, drinking has been a key element to retaining a local male identity, and drinking also provided an economic buffer for the ailing clubs.

4.6 Summary of Economic History

It is clear that Methven has retained a constant economic function within the surrounding industries throughout its history. This function has been the role of servicing the labour needs of local industries. While retaining a constant economic function, Methven has undergone changes and these show up in five main phases: initial development, transition to family farms, continued growth, ski-field development, and finally, inter-industry mingling.

The first phase of Methven's development saw a predominantly estate-based farming system utilising large pools of transient labour. This labour was both accommodated and entertained at Methven. Methven also provided a transport outlet for produce from the estates. The second phase relates to the classical phase of transition from estates to family farms. This transition was slower around the wealthy Methven area, resulting in a persistence of transient labourers in Methven, with the associated businesses being present for longer than in other areas. As family farms became prevalent, tradesmen settled in Methven and small farm servicing businesses emerged. Methven also serviced the needs of the farmers themselves. The presence of farmers and their families in Methven was boosted considerably by the advent of motorcars and better roads. This led to an increase in retail trade in the town. The third phase came as the present century progressed and the farm servicing industries increased and then declined slightly as larger firms began buying out solo operators. As transport continued to improve, more farmers began shopping in Ashburton and Christchurch leading to a slight decline in the retail sector in Methven. As the 1970s approached Methven hosted distinct groups of farm labourers, blue-collar farm service industry workers, farming families, and small retail businesses.

A fourth phase began in the 1970s with the arrival of the ski-field which immediately arrested any decline in local population. Throughout the 1970s the pre-ski-field population distanced themselves from newcomers and their businesses. The locals were not unfriendly to tourist and skiers' money but retained a completely separate social life. A few locals entered the
tourist industry but very few actually showed any desire to be employed by the Mt. Hutt Company.

The fifth and final phase began in the 1980s with a diminished distinction between farming and tourism as some people in the traditional farming and labouring sector began to take employment in the local motels and eating places. This inter-industry mingling occurred at the height of the farming recession and was carried out almost totally by women. Local men have remained almost uniformly resistant to mingling with the ski-industry or its participants. Instead, the men have congregated in their traditional places of association: the pub and the sporting clubs. Local men have put considerable time and energy into sustaining these institutions despite the widespread departure of younger people from the community.

4.7 Conclusion

The economic and social history of Methven and the surrounding area shows that early business and social life developed in response to changing patterns of farming and changing regional relationships. Methven was founded because both wool and wheat production required transport out of the area, and the railway which provided this transport ended at Methven. Local politicians gained regional predominance and gave Methven an independent basis for its existence. With this basic economic structure in place, farm servicing businesses then developed in early Methven along with transient labourers. After 1920 there were increasing numbers of family farmers, servicing industries, and there was a continued need for blue-collar workers. Mechanisation and transport developments meant that Methven was drawn into the wider economic system and outside firms established offices there.

The trend to centralisation continued into the 1970s and in response to declining business activity, Methven then began to diversify its economic base by starting a tourist industry based on skiing at nearby Mt. Hutt. Slowly, a type of dual economy developed with Methven maintaining its role in providing services. Other changes included the continued economic pressures on farming resulting in decreased proportions of working-age men and an increase in welfare beneficiaries consistent with the national trends. Local Methven people have traditionally maintained distinct boundaries from Mt. Hutt people and successfully sustained their rural way-of-life founded on an agricultural economy. However, the recent agriculture downturn has meant that Methven women have sought additional income in the tourist economy, meanwhile most of the men have adapted and maintained themselves within the agricultural economy.

The economic changes described above have led to a class structure consisting of farmers, businessmen, and service industry or blue-collar workers. This structure has persisted with only slight modification over time. The size of Methven has been large enough to sustain a variety of clubs and associations, although these have changed over time. Among the men, at least,
sports, service clubs, and drinking at the pub are popular activities.

Much of current social dynamics in Methven can be seen in the maintenance of a boundary between old and new industry. This effort is being challenged as Methven women take up earning opportunities in the ski industry. In addition, from the tourism side, the newcomers are engaged in a constant struggle to make the image of the town more suitable for tourists, an activity that does not meet with universal approval. It is in the interplay between old and new industry, and between the groups involved in each sector, that much of the social dynamics of Methven can be seen. These dynamics are complex. Most of what has happened in Methven has been a response to changes occurring throughout the Canterbury region. However, no matter what industry emerged throughout the history of the area, Methven has remained an important service centre for these industries, especially as a collecting point for labour inputs into local industry. We can now look at the smaller town of nearby Mt. Somers to see whether similar or different historical processes have been at work.
CHAPTER 5
MT. SOMERS COMMUNITY: HISTORY, SOCIAL STRUCTURE, AND COMPARISON TO METHVEN

5.1 Introduction

This chapter on Mt. Somers history has similar goals to that of Chapter 4 in providing background to our ethnography. In addition, this chapter provides a comparison between the two towns so that we can link similarities and differences of the towns to similarities and differences in drinking. In this way, it may be possible to strengthen the claims made about rural public drinking in general. The histories of Mt. Somers and Methven have striking similarities, mainly due to the fact that both inhabit the same general geographic area in Mid-Canterbury (see Figure 2). The widespread economic trends that affected the development of Methven also affected Mt. Somers. Both emerged out of the same early rural political economy, and in this political economy they both performed the same role: namely, as important rail depots. Mt. Somers, like Methven, developed a capacity to service rural industries and rural workers.

Again Scotter's (1972) history of Ashburton County was a valuable source of information and this source was enhanced by an entertaining local history of the 'Bushside' area compiled by Vance (1976) and released for the centenary of the area. These two works, supplemented by information stored in the Mt. Somers Museum, provided the historical material used in this chapter.

Within the pattern of generally similar histories there are some differences. The distinctive features of Mt. Somers history make for some changes in the dates used for sectioning this chapter. The first section describes the wide range of extractive industries in early Mt. Somers that were prominent from 1876 to 1900. The second section emphasises the acute effects of prohibition in 1902, which did not affect Methven, and the third section notes that mining was important in the immediate past of Mt. Somers. These background events are used to describe the current social structure of Mt. Somers. This structure is influenced today by the current economic activity, just as it was late in the nineteenth century when the available resources were exported to other places.

5.2 Early Extractive Industries (1876 to 1900)

It is the pattern of economic development in an area that best indicates the ensuing patterns of settlement. In Mid-Canterbury, the economic mainspring was the development of intense rural production. We have already discussed how the new town of Methven formed within an area of intense wheat production. This town was situated at the junction of the railroad intended to serve the needs of the large landowners in the area. However, around the periphery of this fertile area other industries had already emerged. It was only with the opening of the Rakah
Bridge in 1873 that large demand for farming land emerged in Mid Canterbury. It was this demand that was the basis for transport centres like Methven. However, before large-scale farming started, the region already was extracting raw materials from the hinterland. The first of these raw materials was timber. To the south of where Methven would emerge lay a conglomerate of small settlements known locally as 'Bushside'. The main industry was sawmilling. Because of the treeless nature of the Canterbury Plains there was immediate demand for timber from the foothills. Alford Forest was the centre for sawmilling. In 1876 two sawmills worked near Alford Forest and in 1890 another sawmill opened a few miles away in Staveley. In that year it was estimated that 13,000 feet of timber was cut per month. The trade in cut timber, stakes, and fenceposts continued for decades.

Other extractive industries emerged in this area. Limestone and coal were extracted by the original owner of the Mt. Somers station. It was not until the turn of the century that large-scale coal extraction was organised. Limestone was also quarried and burnt down to produce agricultural lime as early as 1888. In the mid 1870s a diamond rush temporarily turned Staveley and Alford Forest into boom towns but the diamonds turned out to be quartz crystals and the diamond rush died.

Another major influence in the whole area was the West Coast gold rush. There was good demand for cattle on-the-hoof in Hokitika and enterprising Canterbury farmers sent off large cattle drives to the Coast. These drives passed through Mt. Somers, Staveley, and Alford Forest on their way north to the Harper Pass.

The net result of all these peripheral industries was a great demand for labourers, and the resulting rise in labour servicing industries like pubs and boarding houses. Similarly to the two Methven hotels, the Bushside area had three renowned hotels. The Spreadeagle Hotel was built at Ashburton Forks in 1862, with the Alford Forest Hotel following in 1865. In 1873 a hotel was opened in Mt. Somers which at that time was a smaller settlement than the other two more northerly sites. The Alford Forest Hotel provided for the labourers required to work the sawmill, and the Spreadeagle Hotel stood at the junction of the bullock track and the main route out of Bushside. Both these hotels benefitted from the supposed diamond strike in the area. Mt. Somers itself stood at the mouth of the Ashburton Gorge and provided a pooling centre for the labour requirements of the large stations up the gorge like Erewhon, Mt Possession, Hakatere, Lake Heron, Clent Hills, and Mt. Somers station itself. The presence of so much industry meant that Bushside was a centre for labourers in Canterbury, and while the sawmill and bullock track persisted, the hotels flourished.

All this occurred before Methven was even on the map. However the same political forces that brought Methven into being were going to work well in Mt. Somers. In 1886 Mt. Somers was selected as the logical railroad terminus for a transport route west from the coast that was south of the Ashburton River.
Before this time, access to the high country sheep stations behind Mt. Somers was through the Ashburton Gorge, after bullock tracks had wended their way up the Ashburton River to gain access across the Canterbury Plains. The finishing of the line in 1886 saw Mt. Somers established as a major transport centre, strategically located by the Ashburton Gorge some three years before Methven was even founded. There was some controversy over where the line would end up, but the powerful lobby of farmers up the Ashburton Gorge saw Mt. Somers favoured over Ashburton Forks. That decision marked the start of the decline in both Ashburton Forks and Alford Forest as major labour settlements.

The nature of the thriving town of Mt. Somers was much the same as Methven. The extractive industries in the area and the large runs and estates both required a constant supply of labour, and the new railway terminus at Mt. Somers provided access to the area and a convenient centre to cater for the needs of this labour. Like Methven, Mt. Somers had a distinct early economic role: feeding, accommodating, and entertaining the continual stream of transient labourers passing through the area. All the hotels in the area functioned as boarding establishments and a number of unlicensed boarding houses also operated.

The mining industries helped Mt. Somers during the long depression of the 1880s and 1890s. Prior to this time, landowners had arranged and patronised most social activities of a community nature. Alongside the workers' pubs, landowners formed lodges and associations but these institutions petered out as the 'Long Depression' set in. Significant community activity did not re-emerge until nearer the 1920s. And as the new community emerged, and transport improved, the town's social life would become less influenced by landowners. As the turn of the century approached, Mt. Somers grew as the new extractive enterprises of digging coal and lime were growing in size. However, 1902 was to bring a nasty shock for the prosperous hoteliers in the nearby Bushside area.

5.3 Prohibition, Transport, and Sport (1902-1950)

Through the last decades of the 19th century Ashburton, as the main centre of Mid Canterbury, had begun to change from a labour servicing centre for the entire region into a business town with a corresponding rise in the local middle class. Throughout the region the great estates were starting to sell out to a large number of family farmers. The general trend was towards fewer blue-collar workers and a generally larger number of women living in the area. These factors, combined with the governmental decision to give women the vote, saw the rise of a National Prohibition movement. Canterbury and Otago were strong centres for prohibitionist activity and in 1902 Ashburton voted to go 'dry'. The 'dry' area included all three Bushside hotels, but missed Methven and Chertsey. The Alford Forest hotel and Spreadeagle hotels went bankrupt, while the Mt. Somers hotel remained viable only as an accommodation house. The opening of the railway had made Mt. Somers a centre for new
settlers in the area, and not only was the hotel kept viable through demand for accommodation, but the railway itself built a number of huts which were constantly in demand. The railway ensured that Mt. Somers would grow while Alford Forest and Ashburton Forks declined. A second transport development also boosted the growth of Mt. Somers. A tramway was installed to go up the Ashburton Gorge and this greatly enhanced the extraction of coal and limestone. This tramway remained in operation until the Great Depression.

Like Methven, the benefits of farm technology and marginally better transport routes, meant that by the 1920s farming families had more time for leisure activities. Correspondingly, a number of clubs and organisations formed which reflected this trend. The New Zealand Farmers' Union and the Country Women's Institute both arrived in Mt. Somers during the late 1920s. The same trends saw those with access to motorcars begin to spend more time out of the area. Gradually some local landowners shifted their social allegiance to Christchurch.

Rugby had made an early introduction to the area with an annual Ashburton Gorge versus Mt. Somers match. Sports clubs flourished throughout the 1930s with hockey and basketball (now women's netball) being popular. One of the major attractions was the skating rink which opened in 1949. It is still used today.

Throughout this time, the demand for alcohol remained constant. It is reported that literally dozens of illegal stills were set up in the bush around Mt. Somers and Alford forest (Vance, 1976). The area was renowned for 'sly-grogging' and as Ashburton was some distance away, the temperance scruples of the main centre were only vaguely enforced in the hills. One history of the region hints delightfully at the state of passengers going to and from Mt. Somers station (Vance, 1976). Apparently alcohol was carried by one of the crew and sold to passengers during train journeys. This source of alcohol dried up in 1933 when, due to improved roading, the railway closed down its passenger services to Mt. Somers. This closure was the most significant event that occurred prior to 1952 when the prohibition was finally lifted.

5.4 Mining, Pastoralism, and Tourism (1950 to 1990)

From 1950 to 1980 extraction industries continued to be the biggest employer in the Mt. Somers area, while surrounding farming drew a constant stream of shearmen and shepherds through the town. Three main mining industries were present: coalmining, limestone extraction for fertiliser, and silica sand extraction for glass manufacturing in Christchurch. The Mt. Somers coal mine employed between 15 and 20 men throughout its history. In 1954 the other main coal venture, the Blackburn mine, closed down after 30 years of operation. Limestone was extracted well before the turn of the century and the limeworks remained as a major local employer during the present century. The two main limeworks ceased any significant quarrying for stone after the Second World War, and concentrated on supplying the increased
demand for fertilisers throughout the 1960s. Prior to the 1970s the limeworks operated two rotating shifts of workers and produced up to 900 tonnes of crushed lime per day. The second shift has been abandoned and production is now half of its original peak.

The third extractive industry was silica sand mining. It was in the 1920s that glass sand around Mt. Somers was identified as being of industrial potential. The resulting silica mine provided employment in Mt. Somers until 1987 when the mine was closed. A small-scale clayworks was also operated, producing clay for the new ceramics works at Temuka. This clay mine is still operated today on a very small scale. In addition to the mines themselves there were the associated transport industries, themselves undergoing change. The railway was already feeling the pinch of competition from road transport in the 1930s. Since then, trucking business survived primarily on the transport of mining products.

The mining industries led to a strong presence of blue-collar workers in Mt. Somers. Both the mines themselves and their ancillary industries have dominated full-time employment. Alongside these industries have developed an equally visible employment niche: the large farming ventures up the gorge from Mt. Somers.

The Ashburton Gorge contains a number of very large sheep runs and around Mt. Somers are many sheep farms. Thus, unlike Methven, Mt. Somers is an important servicing centre for the seasonal labour requirements of the wool industry. Large farms need a stable staff of shepherds and labourers, however the seasonal nature of shearing and mustering leads to a large number of seasonal labour contracts. Mt. Somers is a base where shearing gangs can congregate and negotiate work contracts. Similarly, musterers gather in Mt. Somers in late summer to sound out employment prospects. Both groups are a strongly identifiable presence in the town, with a number of shearers living in Mt. Somers full time. At the present time three shearing gangs work from Mt. Somers involving at least 20 shearers and many shed hands or 'rousies'. Another gang works out of Mayfield, a short distance down the road.

The three shearing gangs mainly involve permanent residents in the town, although some shearers will arrive and live in town for up to a year. For the permanent shearers there is more-or-less a constant stream of work with only three to four months of little activity. In these slower periods shearers will often go on holiday or seek work out of the district.

Shearing works on a strong networking basis. Certain men who are the heads of gangs can draw on a large pool of men from within their own gang and even from other gangs, to meet a job requirement. Shearing contracts will take one of three forms. First, the 'closed contract' which involves a farmer asking a shearing contractor to perform a certain job. Once the price per 100 sheep has been settled the farmer takes no further part in
the shearing except to put the sheep in the woolshed on the appointed day. The contractor organises every other aspect. Shearing contractors often have up to 100 shearers at their disposal and may be organising dozens of jobs at once. Only one contractor works out of the Mt. Somers region, but a number of gangs will come into the area to meet closed contracts that have been arranged from as far afield as Rangiora.

The less formal contract is an 'open contract'. With an open contract the farmer organises his own shed and provides some of the labour and food. For well-equipped farmers an open contract is a cheaper option. It also requires more co-operation with the shearers, so that farmers consider that local gangs are better suited to an open contract. Even more informal is non-contracted shearing. In this situation shearers and shed hands actually work as individuals each presenting an individual bill to the farmer. Each worker negotiates his or her rates with the farmer involved. Again this is likely to involve mainly local labour.

Shearers typically do not have a long-term work schedule. Instead, closed and open contract shearers may be contacted on a daily basis. Shearers who are low down on a gang's list may only get work a couple of times a week. Reliable and established shearers will get work each day.

In the past there was segregation between rival gangs, and this persists in other parts of New Zealand. However, in the last decade in Mt Somers there has been a tendency for gangs to swap workers and generally co-operate. Another trend of the last 25 years has been the arrival of a large number of women as shed hands in gangs. Previously only men worked as shed hands, but now over 50 per cent of local shed hands are women. Some female shed hands are permanent workers in gangs, while a large number do shed-handing as a source of casual income.

While they are on the job, shearers and musterers from out of town will be accommodated on the larger farms. Nevertheless a large number of shearers will work from the town itself. Either way, the secondary needs of this labour force are met in the town.

Over the last thirty years these two groups of labourers, the mining workers and the farm-related workers, have been the backbone of the local workforce. During this time several changes have altered the population of the town. In 1967 the railway line was closed with all the concomitant effects ensuing from such a loss. While road transport took over the carrying side of the railway, the closure nevertheless signalled a slight decline in the populace of the community. In 1986 the population of Mt. Somers locality was 241 persons and the current population wavers between 300 and 350 depending on the season. Another change has been a gradual increase in the average age of the local workers. Ten years ago most shearers would have been in their early 20s, but now the average age of shearers is around 30. With the depression in rural industry less young men have been able to get jobs in shearing. Similarly, the workforce of
the mines has been gradually decreasing in number, with the majority of workers now being over the age of 40 years.

Of the mining ventures up the Gorge only the Mt. Somers coal mine and the two limeworks remain. Some of the workers from the other mines have retired to Mt. Somers. In addition, some people from the surrounding district have chosen Mt. Somers rather than Ashburton as a locality for retirement. In addition to retired people there are workers from out of the area who buy up cheap housing and commute up to 40 minutes to Ashburton to work. A number of freezing workers from the plant north of Ashburton commute from Mt. Somers.

Like Methven, Mt. Somers is making its own entry into tourism and the holiday industry. The site of the town, at the entrance to the Ashburton Gorge, means that it is located strategically to service holidaymakers from Christchurch and Ashburton going to the popular high country lakes. Not only do travellers pass through using the store and garage, but in the last ten years they have been able to use a motel, a takeaways food and video business, and a holiday/camping park. While the bulk of holidaymakers pass through in summer rather than visit in winter as for Methven, the motel and holiday park are situated near enough to Mt. Hutt to make some business out of the ski industry. In addition, Mt. Somers has two adventure tour companies and a farm visit programme at a nearby sheep station.

The remaining service businesses in the town are the pub and a few shops. The pub is run by the Ashburton Licensing Trust, and forms the social focus of the community. With such a large body of transient community members, the clubs in the town only cater to long term locals, and the pub is an important place for both permanent and transient members to visit. Other than the pub, there is a restaurant/takeaways/video hire shop which is relatively recent in origin, a general store which is certainly not recent, and a garage. Like Methven, the town has its own primary school but no secondary school. These are the main services remaining in the town since the closure of the Post Office in 1987.

5.5 Current Social Structure

As with many rural towns, Mt. Somers is an accommodational centre for workers employed outside the town itself. Only the mine is in close proximity to the town. Otherwise, shearers, musterers, and other agricultural workers may travel many miles to work. In the town itself, the services required by workers and their families provide nearly all local employment. The shopkeepers, publican, garage owner, and schoolteachers are in this category. Alongside these rural and service industry workers are a large number of retired workers living in the town. The majority of these are miners.

As has been described above, the town has two distinct labouring groups. On the one hand, the mines and their ancillary industries, like trucking, provide most blue-collar employment
for workers living permanently in the town. On the other hand, the local sheep industry provides jobs for a large number of shearsers, shepherds, and some farm workers. While a majority of rural workers are permanent residents, a number are transient, and may stay in the area for between two weeks and six months. In general, the mine workers tend to be older than the shearsers and shepherds and a greater proportion of miners are married.

There are two distinct social groups in Mt. Somers: permanent residents and newcomers. The mine workers, truckies, and some service industry workers, either current or retired, are all long-term and permanently resident in the town. There are a few sheep industry workers in this category. In comparison to Methven's social structure, these long-term residents take the position of 'locals' and form the continuous basis of the community. In addition, there is one significant group of permanent residents that is low in numbers but large in influence. This is the rural elite of large landowners who inhabit the sheep stations in and around the Ashburton Gorge. The large landowners in the area are described by locals as the 'unofficial leaders' of the local community even though they have very little to do with life in the community itself, and tend to live their social lives in Christchurch. There is still a degree of deference between local labourers and the landed gentry of Canterbury.

The newcomers include those who have taken advantage of the holiday industry in the area to create permanent jobs. This group is becoming more obvious now although most do not have the roots in the town to claim real 'local' status (a few of them certainly can). In this way, the local involvement in tourism-related employment is similar to the early development of tourism in Methven. But in Mt. Somers the tourism industry has not expanded to the extent where it attracts a significant number of outsiders. While this is the case, the tourist developments occupy a historically anomalous, but unthreatening niche in the town. In addition, the service industries have provided opportunities for transient professionals to visit the community. In this category are the publican and the schoolteachers, who live for a few years in the community before moving on. Other seasonal workers are in the sheep industry. Many of these workers stay for only a matter of days in accommodation provided by the farms they are working on. Others rent accommodation in the town itself. A number stay in the area for the whole season.

As in the Methven area with economic pressure on the agricultural industry, some women in Mt. Somers have found work in the shearing gangs and in other places in Mt. Somers. While two decades ago working women were rare, now it is quite acceptable and common. However, unlike in Methven, as the agricultural economy has improved in the last year, there has been movement of women out of work into mothering roles and the birth rate has increased noticeably.
5.6 Conclusion

This chapter has described Mt. Somers' history and social structure, and provided a comparison to Methven. The economic and social history of Mt. Somers parallels that of Methven in that early economic growth based on primary products sustained the fledgling communities. For Mt. Somers, wood and minerals and then wool were early products needing transportation. Like Methven, Mt. Somers formed at a railhead taking products to the main north-south line on the coast. The Bushside area, of which Mt. Somers was a part, had three pubs and related services until prohibition. After that only the Mt. Somers pub survived beyond 1902. Mt. Somers continued to develop, although on a smaller scale than Methven, supported by minerals extraction and the wool industry. A significant group of miners lived in Mt. Somers alongside other blue-collar workers, the shearsers. Today there is a small tourist industry to supplement the declining minerals industry.

Unlike Mt. Somers, Methven is a large rural town with two pubs and a variety of clubs and services, and with a large tourist industry. Mt. Somers is smaller, with just one pub and a few other shops. The pub is a major venue for club and other social activities. Generally, both towns have evolved slowly in response to changing economic conditions, and to technological and transport developments. Both have blue-collar workers, farmers, and some small businessmen. Mt. Somers is different in that it has both miners and retired miners to increase the relative proportion of blue-collar workers.

Both Methven and Mt. Somers have their distinctive features and provide a good base in which to observe public drinking in a number of settings and for different occupational groups. In presenting our ethnographic research we will follow the same order used for chapters 4 and 5 and present first the findings for Methven followed by the findings for Mt. Somers. Since Methven was the primary focus of study there are more data on it, and this data is presented in the next two chapters.
CHAPTER 6
THE MAIN DRINKING LOCATIONS AND DRINKING PATTERNS IN METHVEN

6.1 Introduction

Within the large number of social institutions that make up the community of Methven certain key locations are especially important for alcohol consumption. The objective of this chapter is to describe the locations and patterns of alcohol consumption as it occurs in Methven and its surroundings. This description will form the base on which the dynamics of drinking occur, so that once the main drinking locations and patterns are described we can then go on, in Chapter 7, to account for how different groups interact. These details will provide the basis from which we can come to some conclusions about the practice of rural public drinking.

If viewed as a daily event the pattern of drinking shows up mainly in the pubs. However, daily pub drinking, despite its obvious importance, only involves part of the general pattern of drinking in Methven. Many people do not drink on a daily basis, but regularly drink in a set weekly routine involving workplace social clubs, sporting clubs, or voluntary associations. Other situations and contexts, such as Christmas, New Year etc., also involve non-regular drinking as a key part of accepted interaction. Similarly, events like charity fundraising efforts also involve a considerable amount of drinking. In addition to daily, weekly, and non-regular drinking this chapter provides a brief description of the types of alcohol consumed. So to present a wide introductory picture of the pattern of drinking in Methven we will present the key sites of drinking and relate the standard pattern of drinking behaviour that occurs in each.

6.2 The Principal Pubs and Other Bars

The pubs are the only locations where 'daily' drinking takes place. In the past, one of the workplace social clubs organised drinks on a daily basis, but was unable to maintain the administration necessary to sustain this practice. There are two pubs in Methven: the 'Blue Pub' and the 'Yellow Pub'. These are both local names for two hotels known otherwise as the Methven Hotel and the Canterbury Hotel, but to refer to these establishments by their proper names reveals immediately that one has not been in Methven for very long. Use of the proper names is one of the first key indicators that one is an outsider.

Other bars exist in Methven on a part time-basis and operate bars during winter. These are the Methven Country Club (a hotel not a club) which has accommodation facilities all year round, the Methven Country Inn, and a restaurant which has a nightclub upstairs. However, none of these ski bars are frequented by any locals (except in extraordinary circumstances) and they are not frequented for daily drinking which is the characteristic pattern
for the majority of Methven drinkers. A clear example of locals avoiding ski bars could be seen during the big yearly lamb sales held at the Methven stock yards during February 1990. The stock yards are situated about 50 metres from the bar at the Methven Country Club. Yet despite the fact that the farmers, musterers, and shepherds who came into Methven from the surrounding area drank copious quantities of beer at the Blue and Yellow Pubs 300 metres down the road, no one crossed the road and drank at the bar of the adjacent Methven Country Club.

Figure 4
Photograph of the Blue Pub

Before returning to the prime pub locations, it is interesting to note in passing that the ski bars have drawn in a small section of the drinking public from within the local ranks in Methven. There is a significant group of underage males, mainly 6th and 7th form high school students, who seek to drink in Methven, or elsewhere. They tend to circulate through the district pursuing those bars where, word has spread, underage drinkers are tolerated. For a while the Mt Somers tavern was identified as a place where they could go and be served. However, during the winters of 1988 and 1989 the Methven Country Inn opened a bistro and barbecue in their bar which allowed 18
year olds to be served drinks with their 'meals'. This allowed, as always, persons well under the 18 year old limit to drink in some degree of tolerance. This ploy continued until the local policeman called a halt. Other examples of this kind of extra-legal activity can be observed at other drinking locations. For one restaurant the word got around that the restaurant bar would be open on Sunday and that the management was not too fussy over whether the drinkers were actually dining or not. When the crowd became so large as to be spilling onto the street, the policeman again called a halt. These episodes were short-lived but shed some light on the slight bending of licensing laws that may occur in rural communities. Despite these occurrences of underage drinking the major part of drinking is carried out in legal circumstances.

Figure 5

*Photograph of the Yellow Pub*

Returning to the main pubs, these are both situated in what is euphemistically called the 'Square' at the six-way crossroads that determined the site of Methven over a century ago. The six roads still meet and the hotels have stood at this junction since
the 1880s. The pubs were very significant in the early business
development in the town. Only one other commercial building can
claim a lifespan equivalent to that of the pubs, and this other
building has housed many different kinds of business, unlike the
hotels which have retained their basic character and purpose for
over a century. Both pubs also have accommodation facilities
which are rarely used and excite little commercial interest from
the hotel managers.

At the time of the commencement of this study in May 1989 the
Yellow Pub was owned by New Zealand Breweries and the Blue Pub
was in private ownership. In the early months of 1990 the Yellow
Pub had changed over to private ownership. Traditionally, the
managing and ownership of pubs in Canterbury has been a transient
business. Most hotels are permanently on the market and change
hands every two to five years. In Methven, after the demise of
the establishing owners of the hotels last century, the Blue Pub
exhibited this turnover with 25 different owners between 1900 and
1980 (McCausland, 1979). Since 1980 the turnover of new
managements in the Blue Pub has increased in volume. The Yellow
Pub has had a more settled course of management. Sixteen
managers inhabited the hotel from 1900 to 1960, and since then
only three changes have occurred with the most recent only just
in progress. This recent stability of management at the Yellow
Pub has given a stronger rapport between locals and the barstaff,
and fostered an older and more settled clientele.

6.3 Drinking in the Public Bars

Drinking occurs in specific areas inside each pub. Both pubs
have a lounge bar which is generally ignored by local drinkers.
Typically, only outsiders drink at the lounge bar and apart from
local women who drink in the lounge bar almost all of the local
male drinking occurs in the public bars. The public bars are the
location of all daily drinking by the two dozen or so regular
drinkers who frequent each pub for lunchtime drinking, pre-dinner
drinking, or both. At the Yellow Pub, cheap bar meals are served
which draw in a regular daily clientele of about a dozen males,
with a number of others who will visit for lunch a few days a
week. This pattern occurs in all seasons and results in
distinctive patterns and interactions of daily drinking.

6.3.1 Lunchtime Drinking

The lunchtime session runs to a regular pattern with about six
retired men waiting at the door or arriving soon after 11.00 A.M.
when the Yellow Pub opens. These men do not usually have a meal.
At midday from six to thirty men begin to arrive for dinner, and
in addition, at least a dozen men will come and talk at the pub
during lunch hour without eating. Some days there are more than
30 people taking lunch at this exclusive lunch 'club'. At
lunchtime it is acceptable for men to drink non-alcoholic
beverages. During the lunch hour all these men talk in small
groups centred around the very regular local drinkers. These
regular, twice-daily pub goers dictate the degree of sociability
to be shown to newcomers or less regular drinkers at the pub.
The regulars inhabit one end of the bar and stand there to eat their lunch. This is the one spot which commands a view of both halves of the public bar in the Yellow Pub (see Figure 6). Other men come in and sit at the tables to eat their lunches. They are greeted or ignored when they first enter the bar, then talked to (or ignored) with measured degrees of intimacy as they pass the regulars to collect their lunches at the bar. When they return their plates the regulars may then invite conversation with the diner, and the diner could join the exclusive group clustered at that end of the bar. The flexible hours worked by many contractors means that lunchtime sessions last until about 1.30 P.M., and by 2.00 P.M. the pub is empty.

During the lunchtime session only a small amount of alcohol is consumed. Most men, if they drink at all, will consume no more than one jug of beer. Many men will drink non-alcoholic drinks like 'raspberry and coke'. There is a generally expressed idea that men should not imbibe much alcohol until the day's work is over. Stories are told of 'pathetic' British work habits exemplified in an apparent tendency for British workers to drink heavily during lunchtime. This reported practice is treated with some disdain. Consequently men do not indulge in heavy drinking at lunchtime. For a man to drink heavily before 4.30 P.M. is considered to indicate that he may have a drinking 'problem'.

Across the road at the Blue Pub a similar lunchtime session occurs, with the exception of the retired men who tend to stick together at the Yellow Pub. A greater variety, and quality, of lunches is presented by the Blue Pub and accordingly the prices are higher. Nevertheless, many men have lunch at the Blue Pub, and on a good day 20 lunches will be eaten. Like the Yellow Pub, the lunch hour at the Blue Pub attracts a number of working men from around the town and also a number of farmers and farm-related workers who are in town on business. As the clientele is less regular than the exclusive lunch 'club' at the Yellow Pub, the interaction between pub-goers is less ordered by a key local group. Like the Yellow Pub, the drinkers have all left by 2.00 P.M.

6.3.2 Post-Work Drinking

Drinking starts in earnest at both pubs after 4.00 P.M. when the after-work drinking commences. The first wave of drinkers are the retired men who arrive between 4.00 P.M. and 5.00 P.M. As work ceases for the day other men begin arriving, with the peak being reached from 5.00 P.M. to 6.00 P.M. Men always attend the pub straight from work rather than going home first. They turn up in their work clothes with no concern for tidiness or dirt, grease, dust, or paint. In fact the opposite applies as men who turn up having recently washed can be ribbed by other drinkers.

It is extremely rare to see an after-work drinker consume anything other than beer. Only on about six occasions during the one year of fieldwork were spirits consumed after work. So beer is the norm, with variations only in the type and quantity consumed. Most men will drink the pub's main draught beer with
Figure 6

Plan of the Yellow Pub

Source: Marion Campbell
about ten per cent of drinkers consuming lager. There is a tendency for lager drinkers to be either light drinkers who will have only one jug, or alternatively, retired men who claim that lager is better for their health. About 90 per cent of beer is bought by the jug, with the remainder in handles or in the occasional bottle. Not surprisingly, those men who have only a small amount to drink before going home are also the ones who order by the handle or bottle. Some men, about half, will have only one jug or less before heading for home. About forty per cent of the drinkers will consume between one and three jugs, and the remaining ten per cent have over three jugs during the post-work session. A few drinkers will have six jugs on a daily basis (more on Friday), while the local Alcoholics Anonymous co-ordinator reported that some local men would be consuming six to ten jugs a night. A local budgeting advisor said that at least one local labourer was spending nearly $300.00 per week at the pub, which amounts to eleven jugs per night. Drinkers at this end of the consumption scale do not go home for dinner until closing time.

At each pub regular drinkers are encouraged to drink the draught beer of the two main brands available, the lager of the same brands coming distant second in popularity. Apparently this token acceptance of lager has been a phenomenon of the last ten years. Other pubs in Canterbury reported to us that dissatisfaction amongst regular drinkers with the large brewing corporations had led to a recent shift towards regionally-brewed beers. This trend was not apparent in Methven at the early stages of the study, with even Wards, the regionally-identified Canterbury beer, receiving scant support from the local people in the pubs. However, by the end of fieldwork, the Yellow Pub had put Wards on tap to satisfy new demand. Apparently Methven drinkers were following the trends evident elsewhere, but at a slightly more conservative pace.

Unlike lunchtime, very few men have dinner at the pubs. When a man does have dinner at the Yellow Pub he will not consume it in the bar but will go through to the dining room to eat his meal. Few, if any, evening meals were consumed by the local drinkers at the Blue Pub. This non-dining norm does not apply to special occasions, nor to some Friday night drinking which is somewhat different to normal daily drinking.

The dynamics of interaction among the drinkers at the post-work session are different to those at lunchtime. Regular drinkers at both the Yellow and Blue Pub were observed to have priority locations for drinking within the bar. At the Yellow Pub, among the older retired men, the table by the window (with its own personal heater in winter) is sought after. This table commands a view of the main intersection and a good view of people coming to the pub, and also who goes to the other pub. The Blue Pub has no window seat.

In both pubs the local workers assemble at the bar to talk and drink. At the bar one can talk to a variety of people and as there are so many drinkers around the bar it is impossible for
one small group to regulate interaction. If a stranger stands
at the bar, the locals will ask him where he is from, whom he
knows, and what he does. If the answers fail to satisfy the
questioner(s), then that person will be ignored. It is hard to
remain within a group of fraternising males if you are being
frozen out, and the stranger usually moves away from the bar
area.

Initially, the first post-work drinkers to arrive at the pubs sit
on the barstools, often at the Blue Pub the same old men will
claim the same barstool. The end by the poker machine is most
popular while the other end by the entrance to the lounge bar is
the least popular (see Figure 7). When others begin to arrive
most men will stand at their place to make room for other
drinkers. When the bar is crowded out one of the senior local
drinkers will suggest a move to one of the tables (usually the
same table each day: the one by the back door) and about six men
will break off and sit down.

The barmaid has described the treatment given to one cheeky but
unpopular commercial traveller who sat himself at a barstool
during the start of the after-work drinking session. Worse, he
sat at the popular end beside the poker machine. The locals
tried to ignore him but he was a talkative and persistent chap.
Finally, when a large number of drinkers had arrived, the
traveller went to the toilet and on his return found his stool
occupied by its normal owner. Slowly the traveller was shuffled
down the bar until, without any open disharmony, he had been
shifted to the other end of the bar and out of the action.

While most local men stand at the bar there are some exceptions
to this pattern. Young men who come to the pub with their
partners (which does not happen very often) never take their
partners to the bar itself, but sit at one of the peripheral
tables. Older men, whose partners come, may split up with
husband and wife fraternising separately. Older women who turn
up at an after-work drinking session are usually well known
locally, talk to the men, drink beer, and join in with the dirty
story telling that takes up much of the bar room conversation.
They do not tend to sit at the bar itself, but tend to mingle on
the periphery. As far as numbers go, these women are a rarity,
but they must be mentioned as the proportion of women entering
men's drinking arenas is so small.

6.3.3 After-Dinner Drinking

After the post-work session, a change occurs in some of the
clientele. While some of the men will remain until closing time,
most leave for dinner by 7.00 P.M. From 6.00 P.M. onwards after-
dinner drinkers will start to arrive. It is at this point that
women might start appearing in the pub. During the day, very few
women will be seen in the pub and no women were seen to attend
the pub on a daily basis. Similarly, the most frequent form of
attendance for women is weekly attendance but most local women,
however, only attend the pub on special occasions. So in the
daily drinking cycle, while a few women who work locally might
Figure 7
Plan of the Blue Pub

Source: Marion Campbell.
go to the pub at lunchtime together, it is unusual to see women until after dinner. After dinner it is acceptable for men to bring partners to the pub. Young men bring their spouses but those with girlfriends rarely bring them to the pub. Older men can be seen with their wives and in the after-dinner drinking session they do drink together. Older couples sometime come to the pub after dinner to catch up with other friends. One couple comes to watch their favourite television show in the early evenings. Nevertheless, in general, couples at the pub often come prior to some evening engagement and as such are usually gone by 8.00 P.M. Then the pub reverts to mainly male drinkers.

After dinner the monopoly on beer decreases slightly with some men and some women drinking spirits, and women (never men) drinking white wine or shandy. Typically, men drink about one jug every three-quarters to one hour. Therefore the number of jugs consumed is directly related to the duration of stay. Drinkers who come to the pub after dinner (at around 7.30 P.M. for example) may stay until after 10.00 P.M. and in the interim drink about three jugs of beer. In this way it is possible to distinguish between those who are 'dropping in', those who would usually stay for just one drink, and those who are at the pub as their main social activity of the night. In the former 'dropping in' category usually one and sometimes two jugs will be consumed. In the latter category (staying for the duration) at least three jugs would be consumed, with nearly one half of these drinkers consuming between three and six jugs. The drinkers in this category would usually have begun drinking in the post-work session and have stayed on at the pub.

As the evening progresses interaction between groups tends to decline. Men who have been drinking since after work stick together and generally welcome any latecoming group of male workers, like a shearing gang or contractor who has just finished a job. This established group of drinkers resembles the post-work drinkers. Others who have come to the pub after dinner tend to stay in smaller groups, usually the group they came with or with a few friends that may already be at the pub.

Often, as the post-dinner drinkers begin to leave, a movement occurs back towards the bar. The tables are abandoned and local drinkers cluster around the bar and talk to the bar staff. In the Methven hotels there is little chance of staying open much after closing time ( unlike some country hotels, with one that was surveyed often staying open till 1.00 A.M. during the harvest). There is never any suggestion of continuing drinking elsewhere, and anyway, for some of these men it is a good time to go home and get some dinner.

The above description focuses on the week-day drinking in the two local pubs. However a different pattern emerges on the special weekend nights.

6.3.4 Friday and Saturday Nights

Friday night presents a slightly different pattern. Lunch on
Friday is as normal, but the after-work drinking session is much more accentuated. Typically, all the men who drink on weekdays are present, but they will only represent 50 per cent of the total number of weekend post-work drinkers. Many men who do not usually drink after work will always drink with their workmates on Friday, similarly the bosses of the big farm supply and manufacturing businesses in town will also drink with their employees on Friday. As such a crowd gathers, many young men who are farmers, musterers, labourers etc. will join the Friday night session. Due to the fact that the bigger firms in town have their own social clubs drinking for a short time on Friday, it is common for an influx of local drinkers to arrive between 6.00 P.M. and 7.00 P.M.

After 6.00 P.M. some men, often young farmers, bring partners into the pub, but they do not enter fully into the gathering around the bar. As the bar is so crowded the whole public bar gets given over to drinking among locals. People who do not fit the main drinking categories (like solo women) either are too intimidated to drink in the public bar or are shuffled into the lounge bar. Some young men deliberately take their girlfriends into the lounge bar rather than the public bar. One characteristic of Friday night at the pub is that it is common for local raffles to be sold. Raffles are an important part of fundraising for local clubs and organisations, and Friday night presents a good opportunity for sales.

The Friday post-work drinkers tend to stay for a few hours longer than a normal weeknight and often there is a large body of men still drinking at closing time. On Friday night it is permissible to initiate an after-pub party to continue the drinking. Some of the remaining young men still remember the days, prior to the departure of a large number of young men from the district, when there would be an after-pub party almost every Friday night. Rumours still circulate in the Friday night session that such and such a country pub will be open late tonight and the young men head off in their cars often to be disappointed.

Another characteristic of Friday night drinking is that the quantity of alcohol consumed per person increases. Regular drinkers usually keep a close tally on how many jugs they have consumed and on Friday night there seems to be a license to double or triple their normal intake. Again this is directly related to the duration of stay at the pub. On Friday nights the men stay longer and are more prone to stay at the pub rather than going home for dinner. Therefore the upper limit of three jugs for most men gets stretched to six jugs. The normally heavy drinkers can stretch their limit out to six to nine jugs.

Saturday night produces yet another change to the pattern. Whereas during the week it is nearly unknown for the pubs to be used during the afternoon, Saturday is the exception. The television set is usually showing sport and if there is something interesting on a number of local men may turn up. There is no late afternoon or pre-dinner rush on Saturday, as most local men
are members of the local sporting clubs and they are involved in
sport or related social activities in the afternoon. The main
appearance put in by local men is after the sporting clubs' bars
have closed.

Saturday is not a very popular drinking time for local men as
there are often a number of day trippers drinking in the pub. All the pubs on Highway 72, at Oxford, Springfield, Coalgate, Hororata, Methven, Mt. Somers, Mayfield, and Geraldine experience the arrival of day trippers out from Christchurch. Saturday is also a night when younger couples may go out for a drink. All this adds up to a very different group in the bar on Saturday evening. Some locals do appear, but nowhere near the number seen on any weekday evening.

In this way the weekly cycle of drinking at the two main pubs can be divided into the three main sessions of lunch, post-work, and after-dinner drinking, with variations occurring on Friday and Saturday night. Very nearly all drinking is done by men, and the majority of these men are blue-collar workers. However, even though the pubs have a monopoly over daily drinking other significant non-daily drinking locations exist; namely the clubs and associations that meet on a weekly and monthly basis.

6.4 Weekly Drinking: Clubs and Associations

As far as weekly drinking goes, the three main sporting clubs, golf, rugby, and cricket, dominate Saturday drinking. The Golf Club's season runs from March to November, with less formal club meetings occurring over the summer period as well. The Rugby and Cricket Clubs share the same facilities which are therefore utilised all year round. Alongside these sporting clubs are the voluntary associations like the Volunteer Fire Brigade and the Search and Rescue Organisation. Both these associations meet regularly to drink. Similarly, the Rotary, Lions (Lions meet at the Blue Pub), and Freemasons meet monthly with drinking involved as a part of their meetings. Other smaller sporting groups have their own bar facilities with the Bowls and Croquet Clubs sharing facilities. Drinking also takes place in the context of the Squash Club. But with all these clubs, drinking occurs in celebratory contexts rather than as a fixed and regular event.

Another part of weekly drinking is the Friday night social club meetings at the main workplaces in town mentioned earlier. Most of the large employers have a social club, and one at a local transport firm became so popular as a drinking venue with its members that they began to meet there every day after work rather than at the pub. This did not last long as the administration required for such a popular social club stretched the capacity of purely voluntary organisers.

The clubs in Methven, especially those which draw on younger members, have suffered in recent times with both the decline of farm labourers and the decline in the number of Lincoln University students working as farm cadets or getting summer employment in the area. As a result, those clubs relying on a
more middle-aged membership have survived the economic downturn much better than the clubs drawing on younger participants. Nevertheless, all clubs have suffered as the economic decline has caused both a decrease in the number of transient labourers and a relative decline in the leisure time or spending money of local farmers. One very wealthy farmer at the Golf Club was even ribbed slightly by other farmers for having the time to play golf during lambing (he still had eight full-time farm workers). All in all, the clubs in Methven have had a difficult last few years. In the following sections we give special attention to the main sporting clubs.

6.4.1 The Golf Club

The Golf Club has a paid up membership of nearly 200 men, which is a large proportion of adult males in a community of not much over 1000 persons. All occupational groups are represented in membership although mainly farmers, blue-collar workers, and service industry members (including some white-collar workers) turn up and play each Saturday. There are members of the ski industry who belong to the club, but typically use their membership to play casual rounds of golf rather than attending official club days. The main criterion identifying members is that they are generally older than members of the Rugby Club which is a main Saturday alternative. The Ladies Golf Club also attracts nearly 200 women.

Between 60 and 80 golfers will turn up on Saturdays, with over 100 persons attending important meetings. The average golfer will spend from 12.30 P.M. to 6.00 P.M. at the Club, of which only three hours are spent playing golf. Initially, men talk to their friends when they arrive and mill around the clubhouse. When the draw is made (for golfing foursomes) this determines much of what happens in the rest of the meeting. It is very rare for someone to try and fiddle their way into a particular four, and the draw is always done randomly. It is not acceptable for golfers to complain about their draw. All Methven golfers will proudly point out that in Ashburton members can book their own four and tee-off time and therefore a lot of members never fraternise with anyone outside their own weekly foursome. This exclusive attitude is treated with some contempt by Methven golfers. Basically, once you have been drawn in your four, you must not only play with the four, but also drink with your four after the round.

Alcohol can make an early entry into proceedings depending on the skill (or lack of it) by the various golfers in the foursome. If a golfer swings his club and misses the ball completely (an 'air' shot in common jargon) the other players in the four will exultantly shout "Gin, Gin!". By playing a 'gin shot' (pun on 'shot' as both the term for a golf swing as well as a slang term for a measure of liquor) the offending golfer must 'shout' the other members of the foursome to literally a shot of gin at the clubhouse afterwards. If a golfer does a gin shot on the putting green this is considered to be such a gross lapse of concentration as to warrant a double gin shout.
This mild alcoholic penalty is understandable in the context of a bad mistake while playing, but out on the course a much worse penalty occurs if a player achieves the ultimate shot in golf: the hole-in-one. If a player scores a hole-in-one then the entire Club must be shouted. If the shot was played in a non-Saturday match then all persons playing on the course that day must be shouted, as well as the Club the next club day. Some players get so carried away that they shout the next ladies' club day as well. These shouts can run to about $400.00, so the Club includes an insurance payment of $10.00 per year from each member at the start of the year, and this covers the cost of 33 jugs of beer. This is seen as a bare minimum 'shout', and to stop at that level would be considered a bit cheap. During the year of field work, six holes-in-one were scored.

Apart from these occurrences, Saturday club day typically runs to an established pattern of drinking. After each foursome completes its round, the four will assemble at one of the tables sprinkled around the bar. The four must always sit together unless something exceptional happens like a committee meeting which calls away senior players. This rule is relaxed after about an hour or so when some of the players head for home. Members who have not actually played that day often turn up after 5.30 P.M. and fill in the gaps at tables. Fathers are not allowed to sit with their sons, nor husbands with wives. The presence of women at all at the men's club day is quite interesting. Women from the Ladies Club are rostered to prepare afternoon tea for the men. This consists of making sandwiches, boiling sausages and heating up meat pies, hardly a taxing culinary task, but one the men are totally unprepared to do. Once the afternoon tea has been consumed the women do the dishes and then sit (a foursome again) at their own table (not with their husbands) and join in the drinking. This segregation of tasks between the gender groups is reflected in seating patterns during club days. In men's club meetings the golfers will sit in one section of the clubhouse, the same section which has the bar. In ladies club meetings the women will sit at the opposite end of the clubrooms, away from the bar. This end is where the kitchen and servery are located.

Nearly all of the men drink jugs of beer after golf. The jug seems to be the accepted beverage measure after three hours of golfing, and even men who are teetotallers will have a jug of orange juice or raspberry and coke. The few remaining men have handles of beer. The Club subsidises bar prices so that low price and a few hours physical exertion makes for quite heavy drinking. About half of the men present would drink one jug of beer only in the entire evening and then leave the clubhouse. By 6.00 P.M. about half of the remaining men would have had three jugs of beer. As the night progresses the remaining quarter of the total number of golfers would drink well over three jugs of beer. These amounts are more than in the post-work sessions at the pub. At about 5.30 P.M. the gin shots start being settled, and after 6.00 P.M. some of the men will change to drinking spirits. Apart from the customary gin shots, during competitions it is sometimes known for victorious golfers to shout for their
opponents. This is not a set custom, but it does sometimes occur. Other informal alcohol exchanges go on with one pair of men having a standing shout of one whisky for whichever one had the best score that day.

Players begin to depart at the end of the actual golf. It is common during lambing for farmers to leave immediately after the golf itself. However if no work commitments exist then nearly all players will remain for at least an hour until leaving. The Club organises activities like a raffle and a lucky membership number draw, as well as giving out the day's plaudits and prizes after the afternoon tea. These activities are carefully designed to keep the golfers at the Club for at least two hours after the round of golf. The lucky membership number is the last activity at 7.00 P.M. (two and a half hours after golf finishes) and many players leave after that. Some will stay until much later, and the bar has been known to stay open until after midnight on a good evening. The lucky membership number draw was revised recently when numbers at meetings were dropping. The prize of a six-pack of beer was jackpotted if the person whose membership number was drawn was not present. Given that only 40 or so golfers out of 200 were staying until the draw the jackpots became huge. Eventually ten dozen of beer was riding on the draw and nearly 100 golfers were turning up. At this point the committee received a complaint from the Ladies Golf Club saying that too many husbands were now late home. The committee then revised the rules to provide slightly less incentive for staying (a limited jackpot only) but has rued the fact that fewer men are staying than previously.

The weekly Saturday sessions at the clubhouse are vital for the Club's survival. The gross annual take of money over the bar was in excess of $70,000, with the bar recording a net profit of nearly $30,000 which represents nearly half the revenue of the Club. With membership subscriptions decreasing, the Club has looked to bar sales as the main area of increased revenue to aid its finances. Club purchasing of alcohol is done carefully. The Club committee recognises that $70,000 dollars of liquor is a lot of alcohol to obtain from one supplier, so they spread their orders between the two pubs who supply them.

The culmination of the Club year is presentation day in late October. For once women are allowed to play golf with the men in a mixed competition. (This happens on only a few other occasions such as New Year, and some public holidays.) The golf round progresses as normal and finishes at about 5.00 P.M. As many as 200 members of both the Mens and Ladies Clubs attend. After golf, drinking starts as normal and the normal raffle is sold and drawn. The prizegiving itself then occupies about three quarters of an hour, with the whole year's prizes being distributed. Then at 6.00 P.M. a dinner starts. All the women have been asked to bring a plate of food, and the assembled company dines on this provender for about an hour. At 8.00 P.M. the band begins playing and dancing begins. The drinking and dancing went on until 1.00 A.M. this year which was considered to be good considering that less people than normal had turned
During the presentation day festivities an interesting drinking event occurs. About 25 to 30 cups are presented as major trophies and the cupwinners have to then proceed with a club tradition. This involves every cup being filled with champagne (or white wine when the champagne runs out) and passed around the entire assembled company. The cup bearers pass from table to table around the room and everyone is obliged to take a sip. The cupbearers carry a white napkin to wipe the rim of the cup and the impression is akin to a church service. People who did not want to drink were strongly urged by senior members to participate. This ritual has immediate affects. First, it cost each cup winner a lot of money as it generally took eight bottles of wine to do the rounds. Second, after 30 or so sips of champagne, very few people remained in a totally sober state. Some variations occurred with one 'hard-case' filling his trophy with rum (and one measure of coke). Likewise, one self-confessed hard-case would ambush his friends who had won trophies by draining the cup rather than taking one sip, forcing the cup­ bearer to buy even more wine. He became very drunk and ended up loudly abusing his fiancée. No one made any attempt to intervene in this situation. This prize winners' ritual was the only time men were seen drinking wine outside of a restaurant.

As the evening progressed, the foursome tables broke up and men danced with their partners and talked with their mates. As is the case on normal Saturdays at the Golf Club rooms, the bar was run by a roster of men. Consequently the bar was loosely run with charges for drinks ranging between $1.00 and $2.50 for the same drink, depending of whether the barman knew the customer or not. There is a tension in charging an acquaintance or friend the full amount for a drink, but this tension emerges only at clubs and is avoided at pubs due to the impartial third party status of barstaff.

6.4.2 The Rugby Club and the Cricket Club

These two sporting clubs share the same facilities in Methven and they are strategically located near to the pubs. There is a close relationship between the Rugby Club and the Blue Pub. Practice nights often end up at the Blue Pub, and it sponsors the team and receives in return the guaranteed patronage of club members. Further, the Blue Pub hires rugby club members to serve on the bar at busy times of the year. The Cricket Club uses the club rooms for drinking after team practice.

The Rugby Club. Popular opinion in New Zealand often holds to the idea that the Rugby Club is the central institution of small town life. In Methven this is not the case. It is an important club in the eyes of the town, but as a centre for male leisure activity it is only peripheral to men's activities at the pub. The Rugby Club inhabits a slightly unusual socio-economic position in the town as it is sustained by an essentially unstable sector of the local population: the transient labourers
passing through the area. The reliance of the Rugby Club on young players has meant that the Club has suffered with the departure of a large proportion of transient labourers and farm cadets from the area. At the recent Annual General Meeting, older members outnumbered actual players by two to one. Given that annual subscriptions are declining the Rugby Club has sought outside sponsorship to aid its situation. The Club has entered into fundraising activities, like woodchopping and charity work, but the principal factor for the club has been the Rugby Club's tight control over running casual bar facilities at special events. For a number of years the Rugby Club has run the Agricultural and Pastoral Show bar which is a very lucrative source of revenue. Unfortunately, the Agricultural and Pastoral Show committee is itself feeling the economic pinch and has taken over the bar to raise the funds for itself.

The Rugby Club also runs a lucrative bar as part of the conditions of hiring out their attractive clubrooms for events. The first social event attended during field work in Methven was the Methven Highland Pipe Band charity 'Quizarama', a quiz night which attracted nearly 200 people. It was held in the rugby clubrooms, and the Rugby Club ran the bar. The Club members acted as waiters going from table to table taking and delivering orders. It was a very salubrious evening.

The club is divided into two general groups: present players and older non-playing social members, and the following account describes the activities of the younger players in some detail first. The younger group of lads treat the Rugby Club as the focus for an active social life. Many of the players come to the club from country areas so that, apart from drinking at the pubs, this is their main chance of meeting their peers. Both traditionally and at the present time this group of young men have an active, and not necessarily well-received, profile in the community. At their meetings they sit around and talk of their exploits for the previous week: for example, going to a rock concert in Christchurch via at least 12 pubs. Then they plan their next social outing. During interviews with restaurateurs and other nightspot owners in Methven a common theme emerged. A few had been visited by this social group from the Rugby Club shortly after new management had arrived. By all accounts they got very drunk, harassed waitresses, other patrons, destroyed property, and got banned from ever returning. One new proprietor who took over one of Methven's ski restaurants had this occur. Luckily, and unbeknownst to the lads involved, she had family connections in Methven and had her family contact some senior members of the Rugby Club. They turned up immediately and order was restored. The lads did not get banned, but they never 'tried it on' again.

Possible drinking venues are limited in Methven so that often the lads have to resort to a traditional form of entertainment: drinking excursions into the hinterland. Most rugby lads either own, or aspire to own, fast cars. On given evenings they pile into their cars and go in search of an unsuspecting drinking establishment. The normal search ambit is anywhere from
Geraldine to Oxford. Publicans talk of a network between themselves that warns if a very rowdy group of lads is on the move (of course the Rugby Club lads are not the only ones who engage in this common practice).

This roving social activity, sometimes known as 'hooning', has a long and bitter history in Methven, highlighted in an incident in the mid-1970s when four drunken local teenagers were killed, victims of drunk driving, after the annual Agricultural and Pastoral Show. Generally, the community abhors this kind of activity but to the lads involved the inherent dangers only accentuate the fun and sound good at the next Club meeting. Witness one conversation with a Rugby Club member when we were discussing the fate of a young man who had been caught recently speeding at 180 k.p.h. after a Saturday night party. The Rugby Club lad expressed solicitous concern for the fate of this young man, but expressed clearly that the young man was inexperienced. He had not known what he was on about as anyone at the Rugby Club would have known what to do:

You see... rather than panicking when you go through a radar trap at night, and at night it gives you a bit of a fright... and R obviously panicked because you know what? The silly prick didn't turn his lights off! The cops can't get near you if you just kill your lights and turn off as soon as possible they can't get even close. It was a bloody stupid mistake to make and I bet he won't do it again!

The lad then went on to talk about great traffic police chases in his past and the topic remained in avid conversation for at least half an hour.

The lads in the Rugby Club form a most intriguing social unit. Their drinking behaviour is patterned to Tuesday night practices when there is a drink in the clubhouse after practice followed by a compulsory trip to the Blue Pub. On Saturday there is, of course, aftermatch drinking either at the Methven clubrooms (six home games per season) or at the away venues. Each way, one is either hosting another team or being shown the hospitality of another club. Both involve extremes of beer drinking, none so much as when a team comes into town for a double header: a club match on Saturday and a social match on Sunday. Some members consider it poor form if the Sunday match players had any sleep the previous night and "... anyway, if you spend the whole night at the clubhouse you don't have to worry about billets for the visitors".

We turn now to the older members of the Rugby Club. The older members of the club do not have the intrinsic legitimacy of being current members, but they get by with reminiscing over their past active roles in the sport, or by coaching junior teams in the Club. The most unusual dynamic in Club social gatherings is the way in which middle-aged men will assume the behaviour patterns of the young 'laddish' players. All the men then behave in a deliberately childish and irresponsible fashion with older men
as well as young boasting about brushes with traffic cops, nasty barmen who kicked them out etc. Part of this behaviour is a general criticism of the oppressive nature of women, who appear to these men peripherally as the unwelcome spoilers of laddish behaviour. To sit at a Rugby Club social gives one the impression sometimes that men are competing with each other to present undiluted stereotypic behaviour. In fact, the transient nature of the playing members in the Club, and the anomalous non-playing status of the older members, makes for continual renegotiation of this stereotyped behaviour. Many of the men come in to the Club seeking social contact and present the safest (and therefore most stereotyped) roles and conversational gambits.

Both present players and older non-playing social members engage in unique interactions. Being by nature a transitory and unstable group of men, the group interactions seemed oriented towards reinforcing club solidarity through casting doubt on people external to the club. The focus of the conversation was on topics external to both the Club and its membership and to country rugby, and these topics were seen as suspect and worthy of derision. A good example was the ice-breaking, group discussion that unfolded around the bar at a club social. This conversation ran through several gambits, all derisory. First, the present All Black rugby team came under discussion. One Auckland-based player from a wealthy background was loudly ridiculed with doubts cast upon his sexual orientation ('...his middle initials must be F.P, standing for Flaccid Penis...'). Then urban dwellers and urban rugby players in general got similar treatment ('...You can't go to fucking wine-bars and play rugby can you!...'). Politicians were the next to come under fire, with the main thrust of conversation being a concoction of derogatory associations between male politicians and female genitalia and vice versa:

"A. ..... .....'s got a shrivelled dick!
B. He's got no dick at all. No Labour Politicians have.
A. Except for the fucking women!
C. ..... ..............'s the one with testicles in her trousers!..."

This conversation progressed with ease into derision of females in general with specific comment on both their attempts at domestic authority and their inability to co-operate with males sexually. From here a favourite topic was resurrected: cars and particularly driving them at speed. The conversation then flagged until someone asked a known jokester to tell a few 'yarns', and this led to a prolonged session of jokes involving the previous themes of women, politicians, and genitalia except in jocular form. After this, group conversation settled into a more fragmented form of interaction between individuals. The ice had been broken and everyone felt more relaxed (except perhaps the anthropologist present, who wished he were able to use a secret tape recorder).

Surprisingly, the club was one of the easiest places to account
for the anthropologist's presence. Even though H.C. had played rugby at school he could not claim any interest in playing at club level. This did not seem to matter at all, and the fact that he had come along at all to a rugby social meant that he had the 'right stuff'. No one questioned him, and the Club president took him around the room introducing him to the senior club members with these words "... take care of Hugh... he's a rugby man!" This seemed to sum it up. Nowhere else in Methven's male social circles was access so freely granted and questions so seldom asked. This must be a consequence of the aforementioned transitory and unstable nature of club membership, with a corresponding willingness to accept any new male recruits.

The transitory nature of the membership is the Rugby Club's biggest problem. Unlike the Golf Club it cannot draw on a large number of settled community members for its basic tasks. There are not enough married men in the Club to be able to initiate a wives' cleaning roster like at the Golf Club. Consequently a commercial cleaner comes in once a week. It is difficult to find enough people to look after the bar on social nights. The Club has no lack of trained bar staff: there is a significant number of casual staff they provide to the Blue Pub, and they manage a number of charity and fund-raising bars. But the Rugby Club is unable to get a permanent barman. When Club members do work at the bar they are unable to take on the role of impartial barman seriously and seem to shout their mates continually. In the Club accounts there is a special column called 'Barman shouts', and the outgoings in this column are the equivalent of 20 per cent of the annual subscriptions received. One commercial barman was hired to try and reorganise this state of affairs. When the 'barman shouts' and the cavalier 'help your self' attitude to the stack of beer out the back of the Club was stopped, the barman was subjected to extreme abuse by the young men in the Club. He left after one night when the drunken players let down his car tyres and urinated into his car petrol tank. When a new barman was sought, only one person applied for the job. This is unusual, as serving at other sporting bars is a favourite occupation of retired men in the community.

One factor aiding the Rugby Club's survival is the patronage by the major breweries. At the end of winter 1989 the two top office holders in the Club were invited to a brewery promotion night in Ashburton to launch a new variety of canned beer. About 80 sporting club officials and hotel managers from around Mid-Canterbury turned up and were treated to a lavish complimentary dinner (with free beer of course) and witnessed a cabaret performance which centred around dancing girls dressed up as beer cans (the newly launched brand). Each person present was invited to pose with a dancing girl/beер can and have a photograph taken which would be sent to the relevant club on request. In response to this promotion the Rugby Club restocked their bar with not only the cans of the new type of beer but also kegs of the same. The brewery responded by providing a free keg for the Club's Annual General Meeting.

In general, the contribution of the Rugby Club to the drinking
pattern of the town is mainly on Tuesday nights after practice and on Saturdays when a visiting team is in town. Apart from this the young men at the Club tend to hang out in a social group and provide some of the flavour of young male drinking exploits.

The Cricket Club. The Cricket Club has some advantages over the Rugby Club. First, it is not in competition with the Golf Club for membership over the winter months and so has a following among middle-aged males in the area. Second, it is possible for men to keep playing cricket for many years after one would have to retire from rugby. One celebrated local captain is in his 40s and is still going strong. Unlike the Rugby Club there is a significant club out-of-town at nearby Lauriston as well as the club in Methven itself.

The Cricket Club resembles the Golf Club in terms of its behaviour. Older men hold a position of authority in the club, and there is a distinct sense of the team captains directing behaviour. The main difference with the Golf Club is that there is competition against out-of-town teams on a weekly basis. This gives a certain rhythm to drinking practices as the winning and losing teams meet in the clubhouse to drink together after the match. Whereas the cricket does attract a certain 'gentleman farmer' type of support, it also appeals to blue-collar workers in the town.

Other than the Saturday drinking sessions, the tone of which often depends on the team's success, the most regular drinking sessions are after practice. On Tuesdays the club house in Methven is used by the teams to drink after practice and this usually involves the team members only. However, in Lauriston the drinking sessions of the Cricket Club are legendary and when a light can be seen in the clubhouse it is an indicator the outside world that the unofficial "Lauriston Pub" is in session. At Lauriston, more hangers-on attend on practice night. The Lauriston Cricket Team is not just a drinking club as they won the local championship two years ago, but drinking does play a large part in the character of the club. After a victory at a home game the clubhouse lights have been known to stay on until 4.00 A.M.!

6.4.3 The Voluntary Associations and Social Clubs

The impression given so far is that most men will be at the pub on Friday night, and this impression is only accentuated by the knowledge that two other voluntary organisations also have popular drinking sessions on Friday evenings. The Methven Search and Rescue Association has been operating since the early 1970s and has remained one of the strongest groups in Methven. Without a doubt, Search and Rescue have performed creditably in their given field but outdoor emergencies are not a regular weekly event. What is a regular weekly event is the Association's social meetings on Friday evening. The Association is the quintessential expression of the local male network in action. The rooms for the Association were donated and all the items needed to furnish the rooms mysteriously appeared from within the
hoarded treasures of local knowledge (e.g., someone knew there was a Zip water heater abandoned in an old Council building in Mayfield which sparked off a field trip to secure the prize). A well-respected local man started the Association and has been its leading figure throughout the Association's history. To be invited to join the Association as a member or to be invited along to drink on Friday night is an indicator that you have entered the inner circle of local men.

Run along the same lines is the Volunteer Fire Brigade. Around Canterbury there is a history of active fire brigades with a very active social calendar. In Fairlie, the publicans complained that the Fire Station bar was taking too much of their custom. In Methven, the Fire Station bar has been more carefully guarded against indiscriminate use and only the firemen themselves and their invited friends can attend Friday night sessions. The number still comes to a large yet selected group. Few men who are invited to the fire station would prefer to stay at the pub. Like the Search and Rescue, the fire station bar is used by selected local men and indicates a certain local status and acceptability.

Other locations where weekly drinking takes place are the workplace social clubs. These are popular in most of the major firms in town and usually run along similar lines. Firms have access to purchasing beer by the pallet for their social clubs so that there is no variety of drinks available. Only one brand of bottled beer is available to drinkers, and this leads to much debate as to which brand should be bought.

A renowned social club in town is at one of the local trucking firms. It is known to some locals as the 'Boars' Nest' and became so popular that sometimes drivers were having beers together on a daily basis. The daily drinking did not last but the regular weekly drinking certainly has. Firms consider that a healthy social club is an indicator of a good firm and clients often support firms which have a high social profile. This relates to a perennial problem for social clubs: the lifting of unpaid beer from the club for private consumption. Lack of control over beer seems to be a problem wherever there are drinking groups without impartial barstaff. The casual lifting of beer was the main reason that the 'Boars Nest' stopped operating on a daily basis. Nevertheless most firms accept this casual license within their clubs and do not make a real fuss over it.

The wider significance of these Friday night drinking venues is that the Methven pubs have an influx of drinkers from these clubs after the Friday night work or club 'do'. Basically, the great majority of Methven males will be engaged in drinking somewhere on Friday night. In addition to daily and weekly drinking there are other drinking times.

6.5 Non-Regular Drinking

To restrict drinking occasions to daily or weekly patterns would
miss out a whole range of distinctive drinking behaviours. These are the occasional drinking situations that emerge throughout the year. These come in either celebratory contexts or work contexts. Having just dealt with formalised workplace drinking we will proceed to discuss less formal workplace situations first.

6.5.1 Casual Work and Shouting Beer

The nature of the rural economy is such that much manual labour takes place outside fixed workplace settings like factories. Most manual labour takes place on farms, and much work is done on a casual basis. The rural economy in cropping and sheepfarming areas does not rely solely on permanently-employed farm labour because the many farm tasks are seasonal and sporadic. Casual work is done by contractors or by farmers helping each other.

A large number of farm tasks are undertaken by seasonal contract labour like shearing gangs or oat stockers. The relationship between farmers and contracted labour is not recognised by either party as a boss-to-worker hierarchy. In Methven, contract labourers see themselves as skilled professionals and expect to be treated as such. Similarly, farm labourers or contractors are often young men who are building up capital to purchase their own land and they are very much aligned with the class interests of farmers. The nature of the farmer-to-employee relationship shows up in drinking behaviour and beer is used to minimise tensions. At the end of farm contracts and often even at the end of a day's work it is expected that the farmers will shout the workers some beer. Farmers who do not shout are rare and very unpopular because shouting is a common practice. Sometimes these shouts will be written into shearing contracts over and above the set fee per sheep that has been negotiated. One contractor explained that his contract included a dozen of beer a day on a normal work day, and ten dozen for the 'cut-out' shout when all the sheep had been done (six shearers in the gang). The beer would have added several hundred dollars to the cost of the contract. Thus, while contractors work for wages, they adopt an egalitarian attitude and expect additional payment in the form of beer. The exchange of beer appears to mask any differences that might be generated out of a purely economic relationship.

Farm shouts go well beyond the formal agreements (written or unspoken) that occur between farmers and contracted labour. Often farm tasks require farmers to help each other to get each other's hay in, move stock, borrow equipment etc. Mutual exchange of work is an accepted part of farm life and often one farmer's permanent worker is utilised with the recipient farmer having no immediate opportunity of reciprocating. The offer of money for a casual helping hand from a neighbour is sometimes made but invariably would not be accepted. However, it is acceptable to shout beer in return for the work done. In this way farmers repay others for work done both by shouting at the time and reciprocating in future.
Exchange of beer for work occurs in charity projects. At the local country school, parents were asked if they could do some voluntary maintenance to help the school budget. About half a dozen farmers turned up and worked for nearly three hours. In return they were shouted two dozen bottles of beer.

To sum up, alcohol is an acceptable form of payment for the casual utilisation of your fellow's skills or time. In many local relationships it is impossible to repay people with money without giving the impression of hierarchy and implying a proletarian status to the person who has helped you out. Repayment through alcohol is the solution to this tension.

6.5.2 Celebratory Drinking

Throughout the year people gather to celebrate various occasions like Christmas and New Year. In the same way, sporting clubs have a 'do' on their opening and closing days. During the year there are also charity dances and dinners and other events, all of which involve the consumption of alcohol. The main locations for celebratory drinking are the restaurants, the modern hotels (the only time locals will venture into a ski hotel) or at the function facilities at the Blue Pub. Clubrooms are also hired for the occasional 'do' (usually the rugby/cricket club rooms). These occasions present a different pattern of drinking to that seen in the regular rhythm of Methven drinking life. Nevertheless they are a significant occurrence: at the function facilities in the Blue Pub, 32 Christmas 'do's' were held last year. Some people spend nearly every night for two weeks prior to Christmas attending club and work 'do's'.

Celebratory drinking is different from regular drinking in three ways. The first main difference associated with public celebratory drinking is the relaxation of the strict division of gender. When clubs and workplaces have their Christmas 'do's' it is a matter of course that people bring their partners. Celebratory drinking events are about the only time where family units drink in public. The only exception is restaurants where families dine out and drink together. However, restaurant dining is not a matter of habit in Methven and for local families to dine out usually means that there is something to celebrate. The second main difference associated with celebratory drinking is that the strict drink codes are relaxed for men. Men will often still drink beer, but a much larger number than usual will drink spirits. The third difference is that music is involved. None of the regular drinking locations in Methven have any music playing while regular drinking is in progress. However, at celebrations there is always music, either recorded or live. Music is a key indicator that the occasion is a party rather than a normal drinking session.

The presence of family groups alters the dynamics of the evening. Rather than having a key group of men dictating action as in the Golf Club or Cricket Club, people tend to sit in their extended family groupings. Then men circulate and form new groups standing at other tables, and after a while groups of females
will sit together. These groups of men and women then stay relatively static. The night belongs to the young singles. Often celebratory drinking events occur in the holidays, like Christmas and New Year, and consequently large numbers of young people who have left town will be home for the holidays. This vastly supplements the number of unattached singles at the event and interaction between singles becomes significant to an unusual degree compared to Methven's normal social life.

The New Year party at the Blue Pub was a good example of these dynamics. H. C. was present along with spouse and female anthropology colleagues and this enhanced the range of data gathered. While the eyes of adults stayed firmly within their immediate group, the eyes of the young folk were literally speeding around the room. Clusters of young men or young women formed, and the young men began consuming large quantities of beer. Both groups were engaged in display-orientated behaviour. The young men performed attention-seeking acts: the main one of which was the loud hailing and yelling of welcome across the room to newly-arrived acquaintances. They seemed eager to portray an impression of being well known (a phenomenon not unlike what the older men practice in more subtle ways). The young men were on display while clasping bottles and jugs of beer and drinking copiously. The young women appeared to be totally indifferent in public, completely ignoring the lads even when a bold one tried to put his arm around some of the young women. However, in the ladies' toilets scheming was afoot. One group discussed loudly which lads they would go for and divided up as to who would get whom. Back out in the action one young woman was giving encouragement to the lads by asking for cigarettes and drinks. This created a crowd of young men all gathered around performing for attention. As the singles paired up, a number of young men were left out of the action. They resorted to trying to kiss everyone at midnight (New Year) and finally descended into drunkenness.

Celebratory drinking can be seen as an interruption to the regular pattern of drinking in Methven. It is only during celebrations that men and women will usually drink together. Celebratory drinking involves a relaxation of the male norm of beer drinking and this in itself is an important indicator. Beer is not associated with drunkenness whereas spirits are. If men drink beer they are not expected to become drunk or to express drunken behaviour. Men often become intoxicated on beer and suffer impaired co-ordination but they still do not express drunken behaviour. When they have been drinking spirits they often do. The uninhibited behaviour associated with drunkenness is not often seen amongst adult men at the pub but it is acceptable behaviour in the context of celebrations when men are drinking spirits. Married woman typically do not get drunk in public in Methven---this is unacceptable behaviour.

6.6 Types of Alcohol Consumed

Different locations and drinking contexts have different types of drink. Three principal types of drink are usual in Methven:
beer, spirits, and wine. The most common in terms of volume is beer. In male drinking locations, which form the vast majority of drinking activities in Methven, beer is the absolute and total norm. In the daily drinking sessions at the pub and at weekly drinking events at the pub on Friday night, at workplace social clubs, and at sporting clubs on Saturday, beer is always the main beverage consumed. The drinking of beer is so normative as to make the imbibing of other beverages indicative of a special occasion. Men will drink spirits after dinner when they are full of beer, or more often at a celebratory occasion. At these occasions the typical spirit consumed is whisky. Men seldom drink wine in public. The only time men drink wine is with their families at a restaurant or at the Golf Club during the winners' ritual.

Women often drink beer if they are present at a daily or weekly male drinking event. After dinner women can drink white wine or gin (or a Gin Sling). Later, liqueurs are acceptable (like Bailey's Irish Cream). While it is not strictly public drinking, women who meet together at their homes will drink sherry or white wine. At restaurants women will also drink spirits and wine.

No local person at Methven was ever observed to drink cocktails because they are a sign of being a skier or a visitor. In some other country pubs a house special cocktail, involving about eight measures of liquor, is quite common and is used as a test of male bravado at stag parties and the like. This is not the case in Methven and none of the local pubs have a house special cocktail. One of the restaurants with an attached bar has a special: the 'Flaming Lambourghini' which costs 12 dollars and has seven measures of liquor. Skiers drink this as a statement of wealth and a test of alcohol capacity. One skier was put under medical supervision after drinking six of these concoctions. To the best of our knowledge no locals have ever deigned to take the 'Flaming Lambourghini' test.

6.7 Conclusion

Chapter 6 describes the locations and patterns of public drinking and shows that drinking in Methven occurs in two main pubs. In these pubs there is a rhythm to the pattern of daily drinking with men visiting at lunchtime, after work, or after dinner. This regular daily pattern is accentuated on Friday night when a regular weekly pattern of more enthusiastic drinking occurs. Saturday drinking is less popular because of the presence of outsiders. Drinking also occurs in clubs and associations and varies in each location. In addition to the daily and weekly patterns there is non-regular drinking. In casual work situations drinking beer softens the appearance of occupational differences, and in celebratory drinking there is music, female involvement, and some consumption of spirits by men.

The main drinking locations and drinking patterns in Methven provide the backdrop to understanding the dynamics of interactions that occur when people engage in the practice of drinking. These interactions are the focus of the next chapter.
CHAPTER 7

GROUP DISTINCTIONS AND THE INTERACTIONS
OF STATUS AND GENDER IN METHVEN

7.1 Introduction

The drinking locations and drinking patterns mapped out in
Chapter 6 are the basis on which social interactions among people
occur. This chapter examines in detail the patterns of
interactions among members of the Methven community, particularly
those that occur in the pub. Inside the pub, conversation is the
medium by which sub-groups are formed and status is earned or
lost. Local knowledge and regular practice are important in
maintaining status. In addition, pub interactions also sustain
distinctions between different work groups in the community, and
there are clear boundaries between these groups which show up in
the geography of the bar. However, class does not prescribe
drinking dynamics because there are distinct groups of drinkers
within the blue-collar class, and there is shared drinking among
farmers and blue-collar workers. Men make an important
distinction between the male and female worlds in order to
legitimise and maintain male group solidarity and exercise
control. The adult male group is sustained by young men keen on
achieving adult status. The transition to adulthood, and the
importance of specific values, meanings, and symbols, is
highlighted by the character of stag parties. The chapter begins
with a description of the physical environment of drinking.

7.2 The Drinking Environment and the Symbols of Male Drinking

Most drinking takes place in environments that have been designed
with male drinking in mind and the main pubs in Methven provide
an environment which supports male drinking only. In only one
pub among the 31 that were visited at some stage in the course
of this research, was there any physical item that referred to
female drinking. This was a mirror in the ladies' toilets at a
remote pub with the words 'DB makes the best shandy' etched on
it. The only other reference to women as participants in
drinking locations was a licensing trust sign portraying a woman
with the words 'Include a non-drinking driver in your party'
written underneath it. Of course women appear often in the
pictures surrounding male drinkers but these are designed for
male not female perusal.

The environment of male drinking has items of adornment,
practical objects, and references to sport generally all carrying
an advertising message. These items also illustrate meanings
that are complementary to male drinking and thus are symbols of
male values. The pub environment thus exhibits an important
symbolic world of male drinking, and it is well ordered and quite
clearly laid out. All pubs have a great variety of adornment on
their walls, most of which is provided free of charge by the
major breweries as a useful form of advertising. In the Mt.
Somers pub there were 36 appendages on the walls all bearing some
advertising message. Thirty four of these were from Dominion Breweries or New Zealand Breweries and the remaining two were from cigarette companies. In addition, there were practical items like clocks or etched mirrors, notice boards, 'phoneside writing boards, dart board cupboards, pull/push signs on doors, beer mats, and bar towels. The third type of item is tied up with sports. Dominion Breweries has a series of 'sporting greats': pictures of sports stars beside the brewery's logo. Calendars and posters also bear the sports theme, for example, Steinlager posters feature the rugby All Blacks and Lion Red posters feature the Kiwi Rugby League team. In amongst all this beer advertising one advertisement for spirits sits in a corner of the Blue Pub: it portrays a skier.

The advertisements are supplied regularly by the brewery representatives and are uniform in pubs throughout Canterbury. What is less organised and more local are the other adornments that pubs provide for themselves, either from the management or from the customers. Cartoons, usually of a drinking nature, are stuck on walls. At the Yellow Pub there were cartoons depicting
Dominion Breweries beer as barrelled horses' urine (it is a Lion Pub). A poster on the wall depicted a naked woman superimposed on a man's head with the caption 'What's always on a man's mind'. Another was a mock road sign saying 'U TURN (me on)'. An unusual but not surprising object was a large glass phallus sitting above the bar. Beside it were two toilet seats called the 'Plonkit shield' (a pun on the old New Zealand cricketing trophy: the Plunket Shield). On other parts of the wall were photographs from the earlier years of the pub showing a familiar band of cheery male drinkers around the bar. The Yellow Pub is also the local Totaliser Agency Board with both betting facilities and a teletext continually tuned to the Totalisator and race dividends. The betting area is surrounded by the visual symbolic paraphernalia of the betting industry, such as T.A.B. signs, pictures of horses, and racing advertising. Figure 8 above shows part of the public bar of the Yellow Pub.

Figure 9

Photograph of Part of the Public Bar of the Blue Pub
The Blue Pub has more of a rugby emphasis in its wall adornments and less home-grown contributions. Racing prints compete with local rugby team photographs. Above the fireplace is a mounted stags head. In the rest of the pub, brewery advertisements predominate. This may be because the management has been more transient than the established crew across the road. Figure 9 shows part of the public bar of the Blue Pub.

In general, the symbolic world of the pub is entirely male-oriented. Most brewery contributions centre on sport as the main vehicle of attracting attention. The local contributions involve a wider array of crude humour, sexual innuendo, and the display of extraordinary trophies.

7.3 Pub Interactions: The Conversational Practice of Exclusion, Status, and Local Knowledge

A large amount of significant interaction between community members, especially men, goes on in the context of drinking occasions. Drinking together in an informal setting can often be a way of easing the tensions of interaction. An example is the way in which both farmers and contractors use beer shouts to avoid the appearance of a class distinction or of a subordinate wage relationship, as discussed earlier. But, just as alcohol can be used to ease interaction between potentially distinct social groups, it can also be used as a means of excluding people from social groups. It is this second aspect, which occurs in the more formal established drinking situations, that we examine now after briefly describing different types of interaction between men.

Interaction between men in Methven occurs in basically three forms. First, there are casual meetings around town in which both will say hello and then pass one line of conversation before moving on. It is very rare to see men in discussion out in the public eye. The second kind of interaction is work-related and does not take place in public. Men's work relationships at their own place of occupation are very important to them. The work ethic is given emphasis and men must appear to each other to be good workers, and to give this appearance to people outside the firm. Social interaction tends to run along work-oriented lines. While fieldwork is difficult to conduct inside a working situation without actual employment, inferences can be drawn as to men's working relationships. Men at their workplace mix over morning and afternoon 'smoko'. In the workplace, hierarchy is often obscured behind the overall notions of egalitarianism. The worker-boss relationship which exists at the workplace is covered over by the fraternising that takes place between workers and bosses in the social club or at the pub on a Friday night. The symbolic world of the workplace is dominated by familiar symbols of male control. Naked and semi-naked women adorn calendars or are simply displayed as pin-ups. Trucks, motorbikes, and cars tend to dominate the rest of the symbolic themes visually displayed at the workplace. These aspects of mateship and symbolic displays of male control are exhibited and examined to a far more detailed degree in the following pub analysis.
Outside public and workplace interaction, the third forum for male social interaction in Methven is at the pub, and it is by far the most important arena for male interaction. For blue-collar workers, non-work time tends to be divided between drinking settings like the pubs and sporting clubs, and their domestic life. These two spheres are very important and they can make contradictory demands on men, hence there are tensions often emerging between the domestic sphere and the drinking sphere. As far as status determination and social success in the town can be measured, among men at least, the pub is by far the more important location. Male status, popularity, and acceptability within the local male network is negotiated and determined at the pub, not at home.

There is social pressure on males to both attend, and be successful, pub-goers. Any impression that men go to the pub to relax is slightly misleading for in terms of daily image maintenance most men save their best performances for the pub. If one has spent any time in the pub, it becomes obvious that there is a hierarchy of 'in' and 'out' groups continually being negotiated. Men who make it into the 'in' groups tend to be prosperous in business, receive greater respect, and gain the most power in determining who is 'in' and 'out' around the town. Their statements carry more authority; their demeanour is more relaxed. There are many labels to describe this happy state. They are the 'real locals', in local parlance, that is, people who can really claim to belong and be legitimate within the community. To a certain extent locals are born not made. It is hard for a recent arrival in town to make it as a local and a certain time has to have elapsed before one could be accepted. In the same vein, having roots in the area and a large number of relatives nearby does help enormously. However, many men have these criteria and still do not figure on the 'local' scale to the extent to which they might. It is the daily 'practice' of localhood that sorts the men from the boys and nearly all of this practice takes place at drinking locations.

In male networks at Methven, power is apportioned differently to that which is typical of urban settings. There, power is more likely to be associated with wealth, yet in a rural community like Methven the notion of status as attached to wealth runs counter to the general notion of egalitarianism which is historically precious in the self-identity of the town. Even a cursory visit to Methven shows that a genuine economic egality is not present nor ever likely to be. The presence of egalitarianism is an ideological not a material reality. Egalitarianism manifests as the refusal to practice power division along economic lines and anyone who makes bald economic power distinctions between individuals is subject to strong social sanctions. No matter what happens privately and out of the community's eye, the public practice of egalitarianism remains as a dominant force circumscribing local male action. Thus, locals do not compete socially along economic lines. However, they do negotiate power along a number of other dimensions. The ability to hold power rests on a local male's ability to define who and what is or is not legitimate. If
someone is legitimate they can move within the inner circles of 'localhood'. If someone inside the circle defines someone else as not legitimate then the other person will be excluded socially. These dynamics conform to the normal patterns of inclusive and exclusive 'in-group' behaviour as it has been observed in decades of interactionist research.

While power is negotiated in terms of localness it is expressed in a subtle manner because the prevailing ethic of egalitarianism still pervades the blue-collar drinkers. For the purposes of this study it is interesting that the social interactions which negotiate inclusiveness and exclusiveness occurs in the context of drinking. To initiate some kind of description of male inclusive and exclusive behaviour let us describe the interactional criteria that define ascending tiers of localness at the pub on a normal post-work drinking session. These dynamics occur separately at both pubs in Methven, and we begin with the Blue Pub.

The pub has high-status and low-status seating areas. The bar is the highest status area in which to interact, with the end nearest the poker machine and the toilets being the best possible location (see Figure 7). All bar seating is sought after with the least desirable seat being the end nearest to the lounge bar door. After the bar itself, the table beside the back door is the next best location, then the table by the pool table, then the two tables by the fire, and finally the table under the television set. All areas in the public bar are superior to all areas in the lounge bar.

Some people come in work groups and some enter with other drinkers they have met on the way to the pub. Men who come in after work will attempt to establish themselves in a precise drinking location within the pub. However, a man can only go where he knows people, and outsiders are left to hang around the edge of the groups and are fed only snippets of conversation. People with more acquaintances can move to the bar to order their beer, usually picking a spot where they are known. Men do not like having to look around for a position themselves; they would rather be asked to join a group via some inviting comment. Similarly, men of high local standing like to surround themselves with equally highly-regarded men to ensure that less desirable people cannot muscle into their area.

The first minute of a pub visit after work can be a crucial time for less well known visitors. When you enter the pub, if no one immediately extends an invitation into their group, you proceed to the bar by the most promising route. If someone does invite you over to a high-status position as soon as you arrive, then your beer can be ordered from within the group, otherwise you stand at the bar and wait for the barmaid's attention. Waiting for attention is a key indicator of your local standing. If you are a regular drinker then the barmaid should know your preferred brand and quantity of beer. The best possible scenario is for the barmaid to spot you coming in and to have your drink waiting as you approach the bar. Your thirty seconds at the bar gives
time for a gesture of welcome from an appropriate group; if this is not forthcoming then you will finally approach some group and attempt to join in. Of course, if you are unfamiliar with the pub you will probably abandon the crowded bar area, where you are being studiously avoided in the midst of a crowd of drinkers, and sit at a table not too distant from the action. While these observations derive in part from personal experience they were seen to occur to many other people. There is a steady flow of outsiders visiting the pubs requiring the exercise of these dynamics.

Eventually the bar will be nearly full, and as men move around, either to the bar or to the toilet, secondary interactions will take place. It is important to most groups that they appear well known and well liked. This means that high-status men will talk to acceptable others both on their way to the bar and to the toilet. Similarly, men standing in a group will gesture or direct conversation to men outside the group as they are moving past. If you are sitting by the poker machine you can greet men all along the bar as well as those going to the toilet.

To be able to direct conversation to all the right people is crucial, and this is why the highest status bar positions are also the ones that will be passed by a large number of men. In practising these dynamics, powerful locals can define who is ‘in’ and ‘out’ in the bar by inviting men into their group to start with, or directing conversation to them as they pass by. The process is fast and quite subtle. It is also assisted by regular attendance at the pub.

Men open up interactions on a hierarchy of levels. First, a man can be totally ignored. If two men recognise each other and one ignores the other or hardly gives much of a nod in greeting then this is a severe social rebuff. Some men will be ignored if they attempt to enter a group uninvited but eventually talked to if they turn out all right. Second in the hierarchy is a one line greeting: "Hello", "Gidday", "How's it going" etc. These are a basic formula and convey no implicit invitation to join in. Third is a two line greeting, which is more welcoming, and fourth, a greeting that opens with a question and indicates a willingness to initiate conversation and interaction.

Having activities in common helps to initiate interaction and working in the same place or the same occupation, or attending the same club, provides material for a good opening gambit. If a group of locals forms around the lines of shared industry or club it provides ample material for the men 'in the know' to discuss while the others present, who do not have the same job or sport, will have to take the back seat in conversation.

The size of the drinking groups that form is often determined by the state of company which the men arrive in. Men will mostly arrive on their own and in this situation must go through the above incorporational process. The end result is groups of between four to six men drinking together. Men who arrive in groups from work are usually committed to drinking in that group.
for at least a while. If two men come in together they will try to infiltrate another group, but if, for example, six workmates arrive they will naturally form their own drinking group.

The presence of drinking groups raises the question of whether round buying of drinks occurs. Typically, it does not occur and most men arrive alone and therefore buy their own beer, a practice that remains the norm for the evening. There is actually very little round buying within drinking groups, and men are responsible for their own drinks. Men who arrive together as mates will often reciprocate a round for their first two drinks. Thus, there is no requirement for men to 'round buy' within an interactional drinking group. The probable reason for this is that in a group of six men all drinking jugs of beer, a full reciprocal round would involve each man eventually drinking six jugs of beer. This would take about four hours and is obviously impractical in the context of loose interactional groups. Men who are socialising as a pair, like a couple of old friends, would round buy between them but not involve any other drinkers. Among close drinking groups some men may offer to buy for other men but would expect to be turned down if the other was not staying on. However, interesting dynamics with round buying can occur. If one man is holding sway over a group of other high-status men, he can sustain the time the group must stay in interaction by forcing a shout onto other members. Any members who have been shouted must then stay in the group until they have reciprocated. An example of this could be seen one quiet night when only a few locals were left at the pub. One of the four remaining men, who were drinking together, wished to go home as it was late and he was hungry (he was single so it did not seem like he was giving in to female demands). But his drinking partners kept buying him rounds of beer and forcing a return round. In this way they kept him present until closing time.

Round buying is less common in the post-work drinking session than in other contexts like celebratory occasions. However, there is an alternative buying practice at post-work drinking sessions. One man in a drinking group may offer to go up to the bar and he gathers drink money from other members who are ready for more beer. One man goes up, but each man contributes his own monetary share. All these purchasing activities are only supplementary to the main activity going on: the verbal negotiation of status and power.

Within the conversational interactions in the pub several resources will aid the successful local. First, an acquaintance with the staff of the pub and a familiarity with all the prime movers in post-work interaction is very helpful. Second, a wide knowledge of people and events in the surrounding area also helps. With so many men drinking together, and with groups of only six to eight men forming each night, it is easy for men to fall behind in information about other people. Most men do not know more than half of the full number of local men. There are well over 300 men who drink around town somewhere and to know nearly all of them is a sign of genuine status and authority. For this reason a person moving into the area (like an
anthropologist) will be quizzed at length by the key local men, who will ask if you have relatives in the area, if you have friends, and what job you do. In future conversations this newcomer can then be identified in terms of the key local criteria: who his family are, who his friends are, and what he does. The newly-arrived male friends and family of 'in' locals are treated with a degree of respect and hospitality as a sign of respect for the local themselves. It is therefore crucial to vet out strangers to see where they stand in the existing social map. If you stand as a newly-arrived anthropologist with no family, no friends, and an incomprehensible job, then it is obvious to all that you can be safely ignored. The desirable state of affairs is to have family and friends throughout the area, and to possess a blue-collar job.

Because most men will not know all others the process of group formation can become problematic: how do you know the status of someone you might invite into your drinking group, or of someone who approaches your group? To those at the top of the pile, the very regular drinkers, this is not a problem because they know who the other high-status people are. The experienced and successful locals know and can place nearly everybody. But further down the status scale are groups of men who do not necessarily know more than half the men present in other groups. At this level men will often simply try to enter the groups of other drinkers. From the recipient group's point of view it is important to know the signs that indicate whether someone may be acceptable or not. Stock and station agents will always wear their company's jersey and so are identifiable as bona fide rural workers as against other commercial travellers who do not figure highly in local reckoning. Men wear their firm's caps, or caps displaying emblems from the automotive or racing industry. These indicate an acceptable work status. Similarly, men wear their working clothes or overalls to give the impression of hard manual labour.

When groups are uncertain about the identity of other men they will pass out a few opening lines like "Hard work today?" or comments on the weather, the day's news, or local events. An example of exclusion processes and the use of opening lines occurred when a man, who had retired to Methven and was therefore not well known, arrived at a group of drinkers and sat down. He had recently taken a job pumping petrol part-time at the Mt. Hutt Service Station. When the locals saw the words 'Mt. Hutt' written on his cap they assumed he was from the unpopular Mt. Hutt Ski and Tourist Company, and so ignored him completely after giving a cursory nod. When this happened on another day, a man in the group thought he recognised the newcomer from some other context and asked him a question. The newcomer made it obvious in his reply that he was a garage man (and therefore employed in a respectable industry) and from that time on he was accepted into the group's conversation. All the men in that situation were working in the dark as they negotiated who was acceptable relative to whom. The garage man, as a newcomer, had failed to recognise that any connotations of Mt. Hutt were not advisable. Either this or he assumed that the locals knew that the garage
was totally independent from the company. The men in the group did not know his occupation. This example illustrates initial exclusion, the use of opening lines, and acceptance depending on work status.

In these and other situations men may find themselves in a powerbroking role because they can reject or accept a person. To do this the maximum amount of local knowledge is desirable because then one can maximise one's prominence in the group. If you are the only one in your group to be able to identify or 'place' someone, you are in a position to define your group's reaction and therefore elevate your own status.

In addition, competition for status occurs within groups as men swap information on topics about which they believe themselves to be 'in the know'. People offer bits of inside knowledge in order to win points like gamblers playing cards. For example, in one conversation a man proffered that he had heard that X was thinking of selling his horse. Another man affirmed that X was and it was to Y. The first man replied 'for $60,000' revealing that he had already known more than he had let on. A third man came in with the statement that $60,000 was only the opening offer and that $45,000 was the closing price. This was quite a coup over both the original two men. Other men present then changed tack, apparently not knowing anything about the deal or the price, to comment that they would not have sold it as it had won two races and was showing promise. Another replied that the wins had been against weak fields and it was better to sell on the strength of the wins. One of the original speakers cut in with the comment that the price may have dropped because of the weak fields. In all this conversation, men were revealing snippets of knowledge in piecemeal fashion while carefully working out who had the most inside information. To interact successfully and maintain or gain status one must have local knowledge.

A valuable fieldwork session occurred in the Blue Pub and illustrates the process of entry into a group by means of having unique information. The anthropologist was alone at the table by the back door awaiting the inevitable overflow of men from the crowded bar. They were led by a senior golfer who commented "Don't worry I play golf with Hugh. He won't bite". They sat down but did not really invite H.C. into the flow of conversation. Eventually the conversation turned to the growing trend of exchange students who work as farm hands. The conversation then centred on a farmer who happened to be H.C.'s neighbour and social tennis team member. When inquiries were made as to his exchange student no one knew anything about it. H.C. did, and began to proffer a bit of information. For the next minute he was able to not only hold his own but direct the conversation. The man who started the conversation was impressed and responded to the fortuitous introduction to the general conversation by telling a dirty joke. The telling and listening to such a joke is an accepted way of incorporating an unknown person into a situation. In addition, it is often a fallback when conversation gets away from a participant's own area of
expertise. For the rest of that session H.C. was able to talk with the members of the group but he never again had such a fortuitous entry into a male drinking group in the pub setting.

Not only are the men presenting a great deal of image-maintenance within their groups, they are concerned also that their group appears to be popular among all the other groups. Thus it is judicious to display the popularity, success, and good fellowship that most befits a group of drinking men. Within groups, even though men are bantering for prestige and relative status, the overall appearance of the group still adds up to giving the impression of good fraternity within their group. The combination of internal competition with the appearance of bon homie parallels the generally successful attempts to gloss over economic differences and emphasise egalitarianism. It is good for one's general prestige to be seen drinking with an obviously humorous and good-natured group of men.

The preservation of image is well illustrated by one particular incident. A group of young men were drinking at an important gathering. There were single women present and the young lads had gone through the standard procedure of procuring jugs of beer to clutch, and had loudly welcomed each other in order to show just how popular and at home they were. There was some loud bantering all punctuated with loud (slightly too loud) laughter. Then the unthinkable happened: one of the lads dropped his full jug of beer which crashed to the floor and splashed everyone's legs. There was loud music at the time and this partly masked the incident. If the good-natured banter that had preceded this mishap was anything to go by, the culprit should have been roundly ridiculed by his mates. Instead the group moved with military precision to quickly pick up the jug, half fill it with beer from someone else's jug, and rapidly rub the beer into the carpet with their jandals and shuffle off to a new spot. Not a word was spoken. To the great majority of the people present nothing had seemed to happen. The group had preserved the image that they were displaying to the room. This example reinforces the idea that much of what goes on inside drinking groups is for the benefit of potential observers, not just for the group members themselves.

In summary, among the working men in Methven a great deal of power play, status seeking and confirmation, and exclusion of undesirables from the local set occurs within the context of the conversation accompanying daily drinking at the pub. The pub is the key situation where interaction and negotiation of social status takes place. Conversation, local knowledge, and establishing legitimacy are important components of the practice of exclusion. There is a distinct geography of seating or location within each pub, and there is the practice of conversation as the medium of gaining or losing status in the formation of in-groups and out-groups. In ways similar to the resolution of tensions among different work groups; drinkers in the pub have to juggle the demands of competition with the imperative of displaying a demeanour of bon homie.
The dynamics of competitive interaction occur among particular groups of working men. However, in and around the pub, interaction between different social groups also occurs which ensures that drinking interactions remain the preserve of working men who have distinctive occupations. This exclusion parallels the wider social group boundaries in the town.

7.4 Drinking, Inter-group Exclusion, and Work Groupings

Farmers are acceptable in the pub in part because economic distinctions are not supposed to matter. Generally, they do not attend regularly, and regular attendance is vital to be able to penetrate the key groups. Farmers start the race at a disadvantage by not having a well-defined arrangement of work and leisure and an unclear distinction between work and home. Most farmers come to the pub either due to inclement weather, or through coming to town to do some business. These visits are hardly ever daily, so farmers can only start in the middle order of local acceptability.

However, outside the town itself, young male farmers and farmers sons are able to fraternise on their own. They may not be able to practice fraternal drinking on a daily basis but they do gather on occasions to drink together. Young Farmers' Clubs are known to some people as thinly-disguised drinking clubs. Young farmers have a tendency to throw parties for their 'mates', all of which adds up to a great deal of drinking and fraternisation between young farming men. But, in the final analysis, this drinking does not take place in public to the regular degree that blue-collar drinking occurs.

Farming does not threaten the status quo in Methven and is acceptable to working males in the town, but tourism, as the other main industry, is not acceptable. Tourism has no historical roots and has attracted only a small number of locals into employment within its ranks. The antipathy to ski-ing and its related tourist ventures occurs in a number of settings. Locals are traditionally hostile to ski-ing institutions. The example of the Rugby Club lads 'crashing' new ski-ing restaurants and bars illustrates this feeling. Any commercial institution that emerged as a consequence of tourism-related investment has not been adopted happily by locals. Witness the fact that four ski bars are almost totally ignored by local male drinkers (except the under-age ones).

However, the withdrawal of locals from contact with skiers is impossible when the skiers actually crowd into the established pubs. During the peak three months of the ski season the Blue Pub will be patronised by as many as 300 skiers. This presence cannot be avoided by the local drinkers. The relationship between skiers and locals can be defined along interactionist lines and the main variable is the actual number of persons present. During the day, when there are only a few dozen local or ski-ing drinkers, the skiers will tend to patronise the lounge bar while the locals patronise the public bar. By using different locations their paths do not have to cross. When the
ski-ing crush comes on at the end of the day there are several options for local drinkers. First, they can stay fixed in the public bar, as the skiers usually stay in the lounge bar and then spill out onto the street before really making a push into the public bar. Those that do venture in generally sit at the tables and do not try and dislodge locals from the bar. The ski season does not last for long at that level of intensity and so many of the locals sit it out. In the ski season locals tend not to stay for long after tea time and by about 7.30 P.M. the public bar is full of skiers.

The second option open to local drinkers is to cross the road to the Yellow Pub. In the 1970s the manager of the Yellow Pub, anxious to protect his local clientele, would not serve skiers and told them to get across the road to where they were welcome. This anti-skier reputation has stuck and now, ten years after that manager left, the skiers still do not drink at the Yellow Pub. Even tourist brochures and backpackers' guide books warn visitors against venturing into the wrong pub. This haven of localness attracts some of the regular drinkers from the Blue Pub during the height of the ski season. The management of the Yellow Pub has tactfully accommodated the ski industry by starting a bistro and family bar. This venue is popular with the skiers, and again, the use of different locations within the pub helps to maintain the public bar as local terrain only.

One wonders why all the local drinkers do not abandon the Blue Pub for the peak three months in winter. But some men do not wish to appear double-minded about their drinking locations and they do not want to lose ground by operating in a less-familiar conversational environment. To be a Blue Pub drinker and to have to enter the Yellow Pub would place the drinker at a social disadvantage. Probably another contributing factor is the fact that ski-ing is an uncertain business and if the weather is poor most skiers will stay home in Christchurch. This leaves the pub basically unaltered, except for the foreign skiers who generally populate the lounge bar. Foreign skiers do not excite the same animosity as New Zealand skiers. Foreigners are at least staying in Methven and spending money there. Even if this expenditure has no effect on the farm-related industries that most local men work in, it is still seen as of general benefit to the community. New Zealand skiers symbolise many negative things to local men. They are seen as urban dwellers, 'yuppies', they have too much leisure time, waste their money, drink without control, lead a loose sexual life, may be 'liberated' women (worse, some are wage earners!), cause trouble in the town, and act as if they own the place.

Leaving the subject of the skiers themselves, it is even more important to examine the relationship the blue-collar and farmer drinkers have with members of the ski industry who reside permanently in the community. While nearly all ski-industry workers are seasonal and do not live in town all year, some do live in Methven permanently. These are the permanent administrative and maintenance staff at Mt. Hutt and the few owners of those hotels and motels that do not leave town for the
summer. These ski-industry workers do have lunch in the Blue Pub on occasions, but unlike the local drinkers they eat their lunches in the lounge bar. Not many ski-industry workers attend the pub on a daily basis after work. On Fridays, however, they turn up as a group at the Blue Pub for a drink. One Friday session exemplified the relationship between the local and ski-industry groups. The post-work local men were already in attendance when the first group of Mt. Hutt personnel arrived and they immediately took the table furthest from the local drinkers: the low status one under the television set. As more ski-industry workers arrived they all clustered around this table. Finally, there were about a dozen people crowded around one small table. Between this table and the bar, which was also very crowded, was a two metre strip of clear carpet. The visual effect was of complete and voluntary segregation. The ski-workers did not try to mix in at the bar and the local men did not try to go near the table.

The irony of segregation is that many of the Mt. Hutt permanent staff are actually manual labourers in the ideal mould cast by the local blue-collar drinkers. These workers should have distinct class empathy between themselves, especially in an activity like drinking that is typically divided along class lines. The reality is that Mt. Hutt blue-collar workers are not historically significant. The blue-collar drinking group that has formed at the pubs is the product of 100 years of rural labour at Methven. The membership of blue-collar drinking groups is not only along class lines it is also along historical lines. By class the two groups are indistinguishable, by history they are.

In the early days of Mt. Hutt, local men were hired to do the maintenance jobs but eventually, as any local drinker will tell you with grim satisfaction, the company tossed them aside for a younger, out-of-town, workforce. One local recounted to me a particular incident:

X had been grading the road, the second road, after Hood's had tried to go up straight over Mt. Hutt Station. The second road was graded by X for years and now they don't want him. Instead they got younger guys on six-month contracts. X was a permanent employee, but now the road's total dog tucker. X is down at Twizel doing contract work and making three times more than he ever did for them.

It is a common tale of supposed local benefits from Mt. Hutt proving fickle, and no true respect being shown to locals.

Another important factor in the distinction between types of blue-collar workers relates to the importance of local identity. The ski-industry workers typically are only active for about three to five months each year and thereby fail to satisfy the criteria of being local. Given the importance of local identity to Methven people, the ski-industry workers will always be an out group.
It is important to realise that the inclusive and exclusive nature of drinking groups is defined and emphasised by the workers themselves. It is during the daily practice of drinking that people are placed in or out of the key drinking groups. The key groups are made up principally of blue-collar or manual workers. If drinking is a male activity then it is carried out by men who do recognisably male work, according to the historical notions of masculinity that are held by these members of the community. Men have mobilised as a drinking group on the basis of drinking as a practice that demarcates the boundary between work and home. Drinking that is done after dinner is different to the significant drinking session that occurs after men finish work and before they go home. Post-work drinking is the period of time where men can exert the most control of time and situation and claim an identity independent of both work and home. If male elite hegemony exists in the town, then this is one key location where it is formed and sustained: in the period of time and space between the spheres of work and home. Consequently, the nature of the work done by men is important in qualifying them to participate in the key drinking sessions. By very definition, the men who participate in this practice must be undertaking employment that has a clear distinction between work and leisure.

The ideal occupation for which this distinction applies is proletarian wage employment. As has already been observed, farmers do not fit this definition very well. They do not come to the pub in any post-work sense. They can still participate, but their inability to practice daily drinking diminishes their drinking status. Similarly, the ski-industry group does not have the credibility to participate in the dominant drinking practices. The ski-industry workers are not involved in a recognisably male or rural industry, and they represent an industrial section that has little historical significance in Methven.

The conclusion one must come to is that drinking is not determined by class in a straight causal sense, i.e., working class men tend to drink together after work. What occurs is an historically discreet male social group that has been sustained and maintained throughout the development of Methven during the practice of daily drinking. The group can be seen to have class characteristics, but its strict relationship with class forces took place many years in the community's past. Through the emergence of a rural labouring class in rural service towns like Methven, drinking emerged as the prime entertainment and group behaviour of these particular working-class labourers. The rural labouring class has survived as a discreet cultural entity throughout the subsequent changes in the political economy of the town and has remained as a strong unit. Alongside it has grown other economic groups, such as a young farming male population, who now have the chance to participate in town events. (The mobility of young farmers has been facilitated by roading improvements in the 1960s.) However, young farmers have not been fully incorporated into the regular male drinking status quo. Ski-industry workers and skiers are excluded from the regular
drinking process.

Thus, drinking interactions help to maintain distinct groups and not necessarily those of the same occupation. The dominant groups that form have clear boundaries of exclusion and inclusion and these groups have derived from the early rural labouring pattern characteristic of Methven in its agricultural past. This argument, that current drinking formations closely resemble important historical formations in the town, can be backed up by observing an alternative form of social division to that of class: namely the division of drinking along the lines of gender.

7.5 Gender, Male and Female Values, Symbols, and Control

As has been abundantly clear throughout this chapter, women in pubs are generally conspicuous by their absence. In most drinking events within the pub men are always the main participants. The occasional older couple will attend the pub together but this is not common. Younger men who come to the pub with their wives tend to sit at the tables away from the bar and do not mix willingly with the main groups of male drinkers. At these drinking sessions there are usually no young single women present and when they do come they often drink in the lounge bar. It is the family-age women who are most obviously absent, and this absence only tends to reinforce the idea of the pub as a practical and symbolic division between the work sphere and the domestic sphere. Blue-collar men do not usually return to the pub if they have already moved from work into the domestic sphere. These men may be ridiculed for having been home first, so that, typically, the after-dinner drinking session is not dominated by blue-collar workers. Further, they draw a sharp distinction between the pub and the home and they attach negative values to the latter. However, there is a difference between blue-collar workers and farmers in this regard, and this difference is illustrated with reference to the Golf Club.

The rules of the Club stipulate that there is to be no exclusive drinking behaviour and that you drink with those players with whom you are drawn. These rules are seen by locals as making the Methven Golf Club a superior rural golf club when compared to the nearby Ashburton clubs. Nevertheless, among the golfers there are markedly different attitudes to the issue of spare time and leisure. Discussions with farmers reveal that often they are persuaded by their wives to attend the Golf Club. In the current economic climate farmers have had to decrease the level of hired labour on farms and the shortfall has been made up from the added contributions of farmers and their spouses to the manual workload of the farm. This labour adjustment has led to a widespread tendency for the amount of leisure time spent by farmers to decrease. In rural areas Federated Farmers and other organisations have been running seminars and stress clinics which among other things advise farmers not to overdo physical work. Farming wives have a genuine concern that their spouses do not have enough leisure activity, and consequently urge and support them to attend clubs like the Golf Club. In contrast to this
pattern spouses of blue-collar workers are not so supportive of their husbands' leisure pursuits.

The farmers' current preoccupation with the need for increased time on the farm means that they are usually the first to leave the Golf Club after one to two hours drinking. Farmers show no indications that they are doing something weak, bad, or unmasculine when they leave the club. The response of the blue-collar workers present is most revealing. When people leave early they are often greeted with comments like "Wifey's waiting is she?", or "Can't let the dinner get cold can we, eh?", or "Back to the ball and chain". The idea of returning to the domestic sphere is a preoccupation with the blue-collar workers that is not a significant issue with farmers. The wage-earning men present have an acutely developed sense of the distinction between work and home and they actively spend leisure time out of the domestic sphere. In fact, these men seldom pursue leisure with their families and when they do it is typically out-of-town. If one observes the men who stay until the late hours, it is invariably the blue-collar workers. This is by no means a trend which is confined to the Golf Club. The same blue-collar attitudes to drinking and home are displayed in pub drinking.

The blue-collar men have developed a symbolic world by which work is associated with masculinity and home with femininity. The world of work is associated with men, wages, and money and women are cast in opposition to this as being irresponsible with money. I heard one regular drinker exclaim, to much agreement, that "we drink less in one month, than a women will spend in two days with a credit card!". This clearly exemplified the idea that women are irresponsible with money in comparison to men. This example is typical of the way in which women and men are opposed in the ideational system of bar talk. This talk is not totally consistent. For example, some time after I heard the above comment I heard one old 'wag' say the same phrase in reverse: "I drink more in a month than my old lady spends in two days with a credit card". This reversal of the old saying was greeted with much hilarity. Sometimes, contradictions are introduced into conversations as a talking point. However, derision of women usually is standard and consistent.

One day however, the issue of female farm exchange workers was bought up and discussed and it illustrates the norm because she was seen as exceptional. The conversation started with farm workers, then moved to foreign exchange workers, and female workers in particular. One man wondered aloud at the general attractiveness of female farm workers and whether farmers only hired the attractive applicants. One man had hired an exchange scheme female who was "a sight for sore eyes". Another man had a story to tell of an incident that occurred while this particular female was working with him while wearing loose shorts. His style exhibited paternal concern at others getting the wrong idea about him and the woman in question. At the same time he managed to imply that:

(a) he was above such suspicions
(b) the other men working made all the innuendoes
(c) she seemed a bit 'randy'
(d) nevertheless she was a good worker.

The other men enjoyed this story and yet agreed that these female farm workers were good workers as well as good looking. Some could even drive trucks. This was generally seen as an interesting paradox which may explain the interest in the topic.

The exchange worker story involved a paradox between 'typical' female behaviour and the characteristics of this particular person. Even though ideas opposite to traditional stereotypes were supported, the whole incident derived its interest from the notion that this was an exception to the rule. Typically for these men, women are not associated with work and the earning of money.

The symbolic world of men goes further than the association of men with work and money. The male core group in Methven have a symbol system which divides the world into masculine and feminine parts. Thus, membership of the male, blue-collar group is associated with the values of masculinity and manual labour, and these values are used to denote who is a legitimate member of the group and who is not. The symbol system is wider than just work or home. The following are the main dimensions of masculine and feminine symbolic values:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Work</td>
<td>Home</td>
<td>Mental Labour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manual labour</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mental Labour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beer</td>
<td></td>
<td>All other types of drink (even 'feminine' brands of beer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working clothes</td>
<td></td>
<td>Care in dress, especially hairstyling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drinking</td>
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<td>Cooking</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sport</td>
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<td>'Culture' (Theatre, films etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watching sport</td>
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<td>Shopping</td>
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These oppositions could be supplemented with others, however the main point is that the male out-group is labelled with feminine attributes. Solidarity with the male in-group is achieved through the exclusion of femininity, either symbolic or real.

A significant element of drinking symbolism is that men must be seen by other men to control women and female symbols. This is not only true for drinking per se as an interesting example from the Golf Club illustrates.

At the Golf Club it is common for blue-collar men to swear copiously as they play their round of golf. This swearing takes an interesting form. The basis of the game of golf involves a golfer's ability to control a golf ball. The relationship between golfer and ball takes on a symbolic form and the ball is given feminine attributes and is referred to in feminine form. In this way the golf ball is taken to represent women and the game is played by the men trying to control the ball and make it
do as they desire. If the golfer hits the ball very well he may say "take that you little whore/cow/bitch!". If the ball 'misbehaves', by missing the hole or bouncing badly, then the golfer swears at the ball calling it a bitch, cow, slut, whore etc. In one case it was sufficient to simply say "you little woman!". While the golf ball is referred to in feminine form other things like situations of bad luck (a sudden gust of wind or rain etc.) or extreme difficulties like getting stuck behind a tree are not referred to in feminine form (even if the golf ball is). Usually the golfer refers to the situation as a prick, bastard, or shit. There is a clear division of swearing into feminine and non-feminine forms. When the golfer's ability to control the ball is in question then derogatory abuse is used. In this example the control of male over female is clearly exhibited, and when the 'female' object of control behaves independently, this is an acceptable cue for swearing. Men thus exhibit contempt for wayward female behaviour.

A key issue in male symbolism is the connection between masculinity and manual work. Both owner-operators of local businesses and blue-collar workers can adhere to the values of masculinity and manual labour because class distinctions are never clear in rural New Zealand. One of the underlying pillars of rural ideology is the notion that hard work will bring prosperity and ownership of a firm or farm house. Therefore the labourers in these firms will not exclude owners who have risen 'through the ranks'. For example, in Methven, both independent transport firms are owned by former solo operators who worked 'bloody hard' to set up a business. Promotion of key male attributes and a rugged work history are the vital inclusive criteria for the male labourers in group. However, opposition between blue and white-collar workers is triggered if the owners or administrators of local industry are not able to muster a work history of 'masculine' manual labour. Men who have emerged in local industry as intelligent, or possessing mental rather than manual skills, are definitely excluded from blue-collar fraternisation and drinking. These men are defined out of interaction or association through the utilisation of feminine labelling.

The male symbol system has developed historically to legitimise and maintain male blue-collar solidarity. Inside a male social group, masculinity is its own justification. It is right and legitimate to be male and this legitimacy is sacrosanct. The sole acceptable source of male symbolism is the men themselves. Inclusive symbols are developed and negotiated at the level of day-to-day interaction in male blue-collar social environments. The exclusion of femininity and the promotion of masculinity is not a consequence of some Machiavellian conspiracy, rather it is the legitimising by-product of the daily practice of male inclusiveness. The emergence of a powerful blue-collar male social group, possibly with large influence over both work and leisure time, and therefore control over women without being tainted by the symbols of femininity, most likely emerged in the early economic history of the town. Personal life histories recorded during field work indicate that the men's drinking
groups certainly existed as far back as the 1920s. What the exact nature of men's drinking behaviour was at that time is hard to pinpoint exactly.

However, in the recent past, the sustenance and maintenance of this particular social group has been built upon the ability of the men to perpetuate their values on a daily basis within their drinking groups. The most significant consequence of this is that men can control the local labour market through controlling the leisure time of workers. The local labour market operates on a basis of networking. Men who want jobs are unlikely to find them through the labour department or situations vacant column in the local newspaper. The state of local jobs is under constant discussion in male drinking groups and those men inside the groups are the ones most likely to successfully take job vacancies.

By controlling the drinking and leisure networks, men control access to blue-collar employment. This is a most crucial aspect of the practice of male drinking, and is critical when trying to relate drinking to the socio-economic structure of the town. As such, the practice of male drinking is a key element in the maintenance of male economic hegemony in the town.

However, despite the importance of male control of symbols it is not the only consequence or explanation of male drinking groups. The symbolic world of the barroom does function in a symbolic way towards excluding women from the centre of male networks. Nonetheless the symbolic world of male dominance is not completely directed towards this one end. Further, it would be deceptive to insist that the research only exposed symbolic male control of women. Several incidents observed in the pubs showed real physical domination or humiliation of women by male drinkers. Three incidents exemplify this.

The first involved no physical domination but clearly displayed the male need to control women's social time. The event was the Christmas dinner of a local women's craft group. Husbands were invited along as a matter of course. During the dinner, speeches were made and congratulations given to all the Club office holders. The event involved drinking, but was not in any way progressing into drunken behaviour. At the end of the speeches, one man got up uninvited and began to tell dirty stories, with his wife and other women in the club being the butt of his jokes. He received a loud and favourable reception from some of the men present but severely offended many of the women. He followed up his 'speech' by circulating a photocopied pile of obscene cartoons among the guests. His actions changed the atmosphere and character of the evening. As he sat down (next to H.C.) he commented "that got things going!". He had successfully humiliated many of the women present, and reinstated male drinking values into a female social event.

The second incident involved a male shearer who had just competed with some success in a local competition. He was celebrating at the Blue Pub with his shearing mates. They were also accompanied
by their partners who had come to see the competition, and the partners were therefore faced with the choice of sitting in their cars for a few hours, or joining the men. They joined the men, but as the evening progressed, one male shearer became loud and vociferous. His partner responded by several times trying to quieten him down. He refused and when she persisted he responded by pulling down his trousers and underwear. His 'mates' all laughed, and his partner was humiliated into silence for the rest of the evening.

A more extreme incident occurred in the same pub during a celebratory drinking event. More young single persons than usual were present at the bar. In one loose group of singles there was a group of males (around 20 years of age) who were verbally abusing a single woman in their group. She was returning the taunts, which was slightly unusual. The 'joking' abuse escalated until one young man picked up the woman (she was small), dumped her on the pool table, lifted up her skirt exposing her underwear, and then simulated intercourse with her. All the young men in the group laughed loudly, she was humiliated but not defeated. After a few minutes she tried to pour beer over the head of the man who had just mock raped her. She failed and he responded by grabbing her by the hair, pulling his trousers down and pushing her face into his crotch. These people were apparently a group of acquaintances: she remained with them but was quiet for the rest of the evening. No matter how much she tried to resist male abuse she was eventually 'bested' and humiliated as well.

These examples were not common, but were entirely consistent with the values of male control expressed in men's drinking groups and in other arenas. Not only do the men's drinking networks serve to maintain male control over work, they also fit within male control over leisure time. What happens within the third sphere of daily life, the domestic sphere, is open to conjecture. The simplistic notion that women rule at home while men rule at work does not measure up to the available ethnographic evidence. While men consign women to the domestic sphere and actively resist association with things domestic, the women still do not necessarily control their husbands at home. Conflict is apparent. Local health professionals talk of a significant incidence of wife bashing by drinking men. There is no way in which this research has been able, nor intended, to penetrate into the nature of people's private lives. However, in a more public context the contest between the pub and the domestic sphere is apparent in what might be termed the 'dinner battle'. It has already been documented that men show reluctance to be seen returning home for dinner. This leads to a number of men actually waiting until 7.00 P.M. or 8.00 P.M. before going home (some later). Women do ring up the pub and ask if their husbands are still there.

One particular dinner battle incident, recounted to me from several different sources, involved one of the 'core' local men: a labourer, with impeccable local pedigree and acquaintance. One night his wife burst into the pub mid-way through the evening and
placed his dinner in front of him. There are two recounted endings to the story. Local women finish the story with the comment that they have felt like doing likewise many times over. Local men finish the tale with the recounting of the man's reaction. Apparently he turned to his wife and said "where's the pudding?". This story will always get a laugh from local men. It displays what in their terms is the ultimate expression of a local man's ability to best his wife in domestic combat. This dinner battle is a big element of the practice of drinking in blue-collar circles.

Male drinking is not the only social factor that sustains male hegemony, but it is a very significant one. This leads to an interesting point. On a static, ahistorical level, the male drinking group sustains itself through the daily practice of drinking. However, as we remove ourselves to a wider historical focus, some other issues emerge. As the male drinking set has been present in Methven for over 100 years, how does the male social group reproduce itself over time?

7.6 The Reproduction of the Male Status Quo

The practice of public drinking is not a new phenomenon in Methven community but has been part of the socio-cultural status quo for over a century. For the majority of males, weekly drinking patterns stand alongside weekly work patterns as the main organising principles of their world. Therefore, on an everyday basis, the practice of public drinking is a powerful social force. We have already seen that once a man embarks on participation in the men's pub scene, and most local men do, the forces of interaction on a daily level sort out and sustain the ideas of maleness, acceptable behaviour, acceptable occupation and solidify the male status quo in an enduring pattern. We turn now from the daily practice of public drinking and its role in male exclusion dynamics to the issue of the maintenance of this pattern over the long term. A key aspect of this maintenance is the process of incorporation of young men into the adult male world with its attendant values.

There is no lack of concern about the behaviour of young men in the community. Ever since a car crash in the early 1970s that killed four youths, people have engaged in perpetual self-examination of the place of young men in the community. One of the comments that have come forward, mainly from women, is that the young men have no activities that they can call their own. This view is correct because while young men do occupy themselves, it is in adult male activity by way of being incorporated slowly into the key adult male institutions. The transition from childhood to adulthood in Methven is very clearly defined. When a boy is at school he is not an adult—when he gets a job he is. The gaining of employment is a key step in a Methven lad's life. Once you are employed you can join in the post-work drinking and enter the central arenas of male behaviour. It is the process of being incorporated that is problematic to the young men, and to the concerned members of the
community, because it takes time to become a fully-fledged member of the adult male world. To get anywhere in adult male circles the young men must perform along the acceptable masculine lines.

First, one must be able to drink beer, something that the young men have been training to do all their teenage life. Beer drinking is an acquired skill. People must drink regularly for a number of years to be able to achieve the desired masculine ability to drink several jugs of beer with ease and no apparent inebriating effect. Young men, perhaps because they do not have the opportunity or regular practice, may take a long time to acquire beer-drinking skills. The second key criterion is manual labour. Young men who show academic aptitude or a leaning towards a white-collar profession do not stay in Methven. There is very little tertiary sector employment for young people, and it is for this reason that both young men and women who show any educational promise do not stay in Methven. Those who show a desire to labour manually will stay in town and seek work. These young men are then caught between youthfulness and being an accepted adult male because they occupy a lowly position in the status hierarchy. They do not have the natural authority of age, nor do they possess the funds of local knowledge that are vital for holding their own in pub conversation. They are on the bottom rungs of the social ladder.

Despite their low-status positions on entry to adulthood the young men still endeavour to achieve status in the adult male sphere. They can do this by joining sporting clubs and making an effort in their workplace to become mates with other employees. At the same time young men meet in their own social groups, and because they are competing with their peers for some status they produce an extreme caricature of adult male behaviour. It takes a while to learn the tricks to becoming a successful male, and young men tend to make a few errors as they learn. If manual labour and strength are key attributes of maleness, then young men sometimes overaccentuate their strength with horseplay. Similarly, when young men are hanging around, they often go through the motions of body-contact sports like rugby. It is a very common sight to see young men throwing a football around in a way that is not practice per se but a display in itself. These informal sporting displays are a large part of the young men's social life.

If drinking is a key male symbol then young men seeking acceptance as men 'oversymbolise' regularly. Young men are very keen to pursue drinking on Friday and Saturday nights, and are inebriated frequently. Further, another key attribute of manual labour is an interest in tools and vehicles. At the pub both young and old men will constantly refer to vehicles, especially commercial ones, as a topic of conversation. Similarly, young men learn all they can about cars and trucks, and one of the greatest steps a young man can make is to own his own vehicle. One of the other key attributes of the male world is to shun female control, and this is accentuated in young men. Any signs of weakness imposed by females is ridiculed by one's peers. Even the first tentative moves towards 'picking up' a female are often
disguised, curiously, as open abuse. It is one of the most mysterious elements of teenage life in Methven to see a group of young men verbally abusing young women at the local restaurant/nightclub and then dancing with them twenty minutes later.

Not only do peers ridicule young men's interest in women but mature men warn of impending doom. Adult men at the Rugby Club (one of the only institutions where young men are present in numbers) say that young men have freedom by not being encumbered with women. This is the subject of much banter as older men probe young men as to their 'love-life' and then chide them, in a superior fashion, that this will be their downfall.

Young men who hang out together are, as yet, unpractised exponents of masculinity. As they become more experienced they will eventually be able to mix in with the other adults and they will stop fraternising with other young men. Thus, the community concern about young men derives from the processes at work in transition from youth to adult. The dangerous age young men go through, which causes so much anguish to community members, is a period of learning. Once lads have finished their formal schooling they have to complete their education on how to become a successfully-integrated male adult with some degree of status in the male drinking circles.

The male institutions in Methven rely on the constant supply of young men. Yet this brings us to a present crisis in the town. With the decline in farm-related industry, the job market is tight. In the past, large local firms absorbed the total number of willing school leavers. The sawmill management deliberately sought to give employment to young men with very limited learning abilities and social skills. Now, these firms are actually starting to make their established staff redundant and there have been no jobs for young men in the community. Because of the strong emphasis on labour as an attribute of masculinity, young men cannot bear the stigma of unemployment for any length of time. At the end of 1989, no male youths enrolled for unemployment benefit in Methven. The longest an out-of-work young man stayed in the community was one month. It is more acceptable for young women to be unemployed around the community. Some recent female school leavers took up jobs as shop assistants, but generally young women must leave the community to find work. As for young men who did not stay around Methven, they all either went to Christchurch or to Australia. During the third school term of 1989, an employment recruiter from Western Australia arrived in Methven for a week seeking farm workers and contractors. In his time in Methven he recruited 150 young men.

There are a few exceptions to the pattern of out migration. During recent years the Methven High School has encouraged some skiing as a sporting pursuit. High school pupils commented that it was not a very popular option for students but that some students did ski every week. Some of these skiing school leavers stayed in Methven for the ski season and worked on the ski field. These persons were an exception.
All this points to a current social crisis in Methven: the disappearance of people under the age of 30 from the community. It is not unlike the situation experienced by many Pacific Island nations during the middle stages of widespread migration. However, unlike the South Pacific, the base industries in Methven are starting to make a comeback. In future, the labour market for manual labourers should open up again and the male status groups should find new recruits.

New recruits to the adult male world help sustain the pattern and dynamics of male drinking groups. The transition from youth to adult requires learning appropriate skills. Drinking and exaggerated behaviour are common during this transition and underlie the observation that young men create disturbance in the community. The slow transition from youth to full adulthood takes place on a day-to-day basis. Young men slowly learn and become adept at the practice of adulthood. However, at times the key features of the transition to adulthood become highlighted in a revealing way.

7.7 Transitions to Marriage and the Defence of Masculinity

In Methven and the surrounding area 21st birthdays can become very important celebrations. But what is revealing is that at the heart of the celebrations is massive drinking, and in some cases the occurrence of strippers. Both the consumption of alcohol and the control of women and women's sexuality through strippers, is indicative of the priorities that young men give to the world they are entering. Even though the 21st birthday is an interesting example, it is still only a transition stage in achieving adulthood. A more significant situation is the impending marriage.

Since young men are warned about the dangers of marriage and listen to adult male warnings, they respond to single women with a variety of tortured responses. To young men, marriage is an institution that seriously threatens status seeking within the male drinking groups. Hence much of the symbolic world of the drinkers consists of values which emphasise the importance of attempts to control women or alternatively to deny women's control over men. Speculate then on the significance to young men of marriage as an institution totally at variance with the fraternal behaviour of their peers and their mentors. To young men, marriage is the ultimate expression of the potential control that women have over men.

How then do men respond to one of their number 'succumbing' to the state of marriage? Here the two worlds of male leisure (with its strong associations to masculine work) and domestic life (with its strong association with female control) meet with a jarring clash. Logically, with such a powerful set of associations coming together, one would expect some culturally significant event to have emerged to signify the attendant tension. For the male side the event is the stag party. Stag parties can be a significant aspect of many cultures which involve male groupings outside a marriage institution. However,
in Methven and the surrounding area stag parties take the form of a logical expression of the anticipated loss of male control and a relinquishing of a comrade to the clutches of female domestic control. Further, stag parties are characteristic of both farming and blue-collar drinking crowds. Both have a well-developed young men's sense of fraternity even if the young farmers do not fraternise on a daily basis.

Significant events that occur in local stag parties are as follows. Beer drinking is essential as the key male group symbol. Copious quantities of beer can be drunk at stag parties often facilitated by drinking 'dares' or commands. In addition, there can be almost toxically-concocted drinks using up to ten nips of spirits. The groom-to-be is challenged to drink as many of these as is possible. Heavy drinking seems to not only make the groom less resistant to further indignities that will be performed but may also be an attempt by the groom to become comatose prior to the worst trials that must be endured. The common reference to stag parties is to a man's 'last night of freedom'. Like 21sts, strippers are a common item at stag parties with really serious parties having actual prostitutes doing the stripping and then sometimes performing sexual acts with the (by then inebriated) groom. The combination of enforced drinking and sexual control of women by men is the most common recurring theme.

Men are often tied up naked. In one local party the groom was dangled naked from the beam in a woolshed; another nearly caught pneumonia when he was left all night tied naked to a lamppost. Another recurring theme is to symbolise castration with lambing rings. These are not usually carried out, and remain only threats. Genitalia can come in for other forms of treatment with toothpaste or bootpolish, thus identifying symbolically the reason for the man's downfall.

Another category of activities is to make difficult the groom's attendance at the wedding by presenting large barriers to his attendance. One celebrated local stag party story has it that the groom was made comatose with massive doses of alcohol and then put on a plane to Sydney (the others chipped in for the air fare). He awoke in Sydney and only just made it back to New Zealand for the wedding. Even though the stated intention is not to harm the groom or actually prevent the wedding, it seems very common for the groom to be incapacitated to some degree, even if only with a nasty hangover. At the same time, incidents which did almost prevent attendance at the marriage are mulled over afterwards with some satisfaction. One local incident saw a groom awake with his leg in plaster. An elaborate story was told that he had fallen in the drain while drunk and was taken to hospital. The best man informed the groom of the hoax after the honeymoon. To have been given a particularly punitive stag party is seen as a sign of true friendship from one's mates. To have been subject to an insipid celebration indicates that you were not worth 'saving'.

Even if many of these stories are embellishments on real
incidents (and most of them certainly are not) they give a lot of insight into the rationale of stag parties. The stag party gains importance because the male fraternity believe they are losing control over their comrade and advertise this fact with the many crude rituals. Beer drinking to excess establishes for participants that the event is a male activity. The mandatory presence of strippers represents sexual activity, but under conditions where men have control and there is no emotional attachment between the parties. The tying up of the groom anticipates expected control from the future wife which is seen as a powerful force and accurately represented by being tied with ropes. In the stag party the 'comrades' do the tying up possibly to show that they can match women's power and also as a punishment for the defecting comrade. Finally, the men come very close to preventing the wedding either by 'castration' or by incapacitation. The whole event is centred around the loss of a comrade from the ranks of a male drinking fraternity and represents an attempted defence in the face of ultimate capitulation to the other world of female values.

An interesting postscript to the stag party is a man's first return to the pub after the honeymoon. This is treated with exclamations and attention is given to the fact that the man has returned. Alternatively, it is quite common for a wife to forbid her new husband to attend the pub before coming home from work. Publican's have noted that some of their best drinkers get married and never return to the pub.

The pub is not only a male domain but is ideally a place for unmarried men. Because it is the location for the expression of values that contrast with home, women, and female life it is not acceptable to represent these opposing values in the pub. Thus men who are married behave at the pub as if they were single. Even if no real adulterous intent is meant, and sometimes it is, men at the pub portray an image of singleness. They engage in symbolic sexual banter with female barmaids. This banter occurs all the time, and is a way for men to express sexuality in what is a subservient relationship. Bar staff have to comply with the requests of customers as far as drinks are concerned and the men then mix up these drinking requests with sexual innuendoes, comments about barmaids' physiques, and sexual advances. Nearly all of these activities are not grounded in real intent: the pleasure for the men is in the symbolic control of a potential sexual partner.

In the pub there is no expression of marriage which gives any impression that women control men. However, the reality is that the domestic sphere does control part of men's lives (whether women control that sphere or not) and that marriage signifies an increase of symbolic female control over men.

7.8 Conclusion

This chapter examines interactions, especially those that occur in the pub, and shows up a number of features of male drinking life. The principal feature is that drinking is a male activity
rich in meanings and values which identify and sustain the male group. Pub interactions show that, rather than partaking of relaxed drinking, men are involved in a serious game of improving their position within the group, or excluding membership to their group. Local knowledge counts as a crucial factor in success in these interactions. Differences between groups do not occur along neat class lines because historical precedence of one's particular industry carries weight in the interaction. The conversational practice of drinking also exhibits sharp distinctions in the values associated with male and female worlds. Further, young men aspire to the values of the adult male world and the difficulty in transition can make the process problematic. Men contrast single and married life, and an interpretation of stag parties shows that the particular activities at these events help to defend male values.

The general behaviour of men while they are drinking together has throughout this chapter been linked to the nature of socio-economic divisions within Methven and its surrounding area. Different groups in the pub reflect the different groups in the community. Thus, while men interact within their groups to enhance their status, they also interact between groups to enhance their status or to exclude other occupational groups. Different status groups form both within occupational classes and between occupational classes. Further, gender divisions show up markedly as the pub is maintained as a male world and the values of masculinity are set in opposition to the values of femininity. The general absence of women in the pub bespeaks a division in the community which shows up markedly in the pub and in pub conversation. The overriding conclusion is that drinking groups and the daily practice of drinking are activities preserved solely for blue-collar male workers. The occupational divisions in the pub accurately reflect the inclusion of those groups which are either central to local employment, or the exclusion of those groups which are marginal components of the historical labour market. Of interest now is whether these interactions in Methven occur in a similar way, and for similar reasons, in Mt. Somers.
CHAPTER 8
PUBLIC DRINKING IN MT. SOMERS AND COMPARISONS TO METHVEN

8.1 Introduction

The objective of Chapter 8 is to examine drinking interactions in Mt. Somers and to compare them with drinking interactions in Methven. Since we have found that public drinking is linked to socio-economic divisions, we expect that the basic dynamics of drinking will remain relatively constant in Mt. Somers by virtue of its similar social and economic history. However, since Mt. Somers has different occupational groups, we expect some differences as well. The comparison between Methven and Mt. Somers is important because it can strengthen our claims about public drinking in rural towns, and any common patterns that are found suggests that they may occur in other rural towns as well.

The main features of public drinking in Mt. Somers have striking similarities to those in Methven although some differences do occur. The smaller size of Mt. Somers, the greater historical stability over time of local industry, and the resulting decrease in outside influences makes for a more settled drinking pattern than in Methven. Mt. Somers has no large influx of either tourists or tourist-industry personnel. Tourist businesses are emerging in Mt. Somers, but are under the control of accepted local people at this point in time. Unlike Methven, Mt. Somers does not have different industries like skiing and farming experiencing differing economic fortunes. The whole community has been under economic pressure and as a result the traditional industrial divisions, of extraction industries, farming, and services have been partially overshadowed by a perceived need for community solidarity in the face of declining economic conditions. This solidarity is fostered by the smaller size of the town.

To present a picture of drinking in Mt. Somers we use the same categories utilised in examining the patterns of drinking in Methven, namely: daily drinking, weekly drinking, and non-regular drinking. Initially, however, we describe the principal pub in Mt. Somers.

8.2 The Mt. Somers Pub

The variety of bars available to the Methven drinker is not replicated in a small town like Mt. Somers. Mt. Somers has only one pub. It has no restaurants with attached bars and only one club presenting drinking opportunities for members. There is also regular drinking by shearers out on farms and this workplace drinking is important in an area where much shearing goes on. However, the pub dominates the weekly practice of drinking even more than occurs in Methven.

The pub has its roots in early Mt. Somers, but existed as an accommodation house during the 'dry' years from 1902 to 1952.
The renewal of a pub license saw the abandonment of any accommodational facility with the pub running as a tavern only. Under the guidance of the Ashburton licensing Trust (A.L.T.) the pub has a manager who is a direct employee of the A.L.T. Actual direction over the running of the pub is worked out generally by the A.L.T. with the manager having some discretion over day-to-day activities. As the manager is on a salary, there is no economic incentive for increasing beer sales at the bar. The pub never remains open for long after the official closing time as it brings no financial reward to the manager and overtime work is unpaid.

Both the pub manager and the A.L.T. itself negotiate beer supplies and other business with the breweries. Brewery representatives visit individual pubs and offer advertising material, posters etc., and help organise competitions. Recently the A.L.T. decided to repaint their sign outside the Mt. Somers pub. They contacted one brewery who agreed to pay if their logo was incorporated in the sign. In this way, the management of Trust pubs is in a unique position. The manager can often enhance his own position and yet enforce unpopular ideas, like a strict closing time, simply by expressing that he is only an unwilling agent of Trust policy. Whether this is true or not is beside the point. The pub shuts on time, and the manager stays on side with the locals.

The pub also serves other purposes in addition to its drinking role. It is vital as the community's informal bank. Most local pay cheques will end up in the till of the pub by the end of the week. The bar staff are adept at sizing up whose cheques they are prepared to cash. In the same vein the pub serves as a drop-off point for pharmaceuticals or prescriptions that may have been ordered from an out-of-town chemist. Similarly, the Methven butcher makes a weekly trip to the pub on Thursday nights to deliver orders and take new ones. In the same trip he brings down a number of standard-order Lotto tickets and at least fifty Instant Kiwi tickets, all of which are sold that evening.

8.3 Daily Drinking

Like Methven, Mt. Somers has a set pattern of daily drinking. This drinking generally occurs in the pub as there is no other facility for daily drinking in the area and while some daily drinking takes place within the shearing gangs, this is irregular and not in one set location. Like Methven, there are distinct episodes of drinking, the first of which is the opening or lunchtime session.

8.3.1 Lunchtime Drinking

At the lunchtime session, the predominant group represented is retired men. The labouring businesses in the area are not in close proximity to the pub and a casual trip to the pub at lunchtime is a difficult task for labourers. Instead, old men gather at the pub at lunchtime. This session starts around 11.00 A.M. when the pub opens and there is not as much emphasis on
actual eating as in Methven. About one to two dozen old men can be seen in the pub at this time and they are all usually drinking beer. This session is more rigorously supported by a large number of drinkers in Mt. Somers than at Methven. One man told me in a jocular way that in Mt. Somers there are 'regular' drinkers and 'occasional' drinkers. You can tell the 'occasional' drinkers by the fact that they only visit the pub once a day. General observations support the fact that a very large number of male drinkers, especially retired males, will visit the pub twice daily. In consequence the lunchtime session becomes an important arena for local male interaction. The lunchtime sessions occur despite the fact that no lunch is available in the pub. The men go to the pub and then go home to have their lunch.

Amongst the retired men are a number of different groups. The most obvious is the large number of retired mine and quarry workers who have remained in the town. These men are well-stocked with both the wide range of acquaintances and the funds of local knowledge that ensure success in male interaction. There are also retired farmers. In addition, there are people from out of Mt. Somers who have retired to the town in search of a more peaceful rural lifestyle. These folk are usually enthusiastic participators in community life, although they lack the long years of local knowledge and association to be able to climb far up the male social hierarchy.

At lunchtime sessions other participants, besides retired men, may be present. Farmers who have come into town on business will often stop at the pub before returning home. They are allowed to enter into mainstream interactions. Other visitors to the pub, such as tourists or holidaymakers, are often present but they are very rarely invited to participate beyond a few pleasantries.

In general, lunchtime drinking is when the daily pattern of male interaction in the community starts and when the retired men of the community regularly gather. Interaction is dominated by long term residents in the area, especially mineworkers. In comparison, Methven's lunchtime sessions are less important to the local men, with the real action beginning after work. In Mt. Somers both are important to retired men.

8.3.2 Post-Work Drinking

The lunchtime session peters out at around 2.00 P.M. when the pub empties. At 4.30 P.M. the next session begins with the return of a larger number of retired men. The blue-collar workers in the town come in progressively over the next few hours. The shearsers are slightly more variant in their time of arrival. Those not working will make an appearance at almost any time. The others will come in after the daily work is completed, at any time between 4.30 P.M. and 9.30 P.M. Local belief is that fewer shearsers now come to the pub after work compared to ten years ago when shearsers were generally younger and unmarried. Nevertheless, a significant group will still make daily appearances.
Farmers also can be seen among the daily drinkers, especially younger, unmarried farmers or retired farmers. Difficulty in making it to daily drinking sessions means that generally those local farmers who do appear tend to live close to the town but this is not always the case. Further, there is a distinct age gap in attendance and there are few younger-married farmers. Farmers at the pub tend to be either unmarried or older, and this pattern occurs to a lesser degree among the blue-collar workers.

Among the men who are still of working age the drinking always involves consumption of beer which is universally distributed by the jug. Among the retired men, beer is drunk by most, although a significant number also drink whisky.

Figure 10

Photograph of Part of the Public Bar of the Mt. Somers Pub
Figure 11

Plan of the Mt. Somers Pub

Source: Marion Campbell.
The spatial distribution of drinkers is quite distinct. There are three main seating locations in the public bar. First, there is the bar itself which covers three quarters of one side of the room. In the rest of the room a dividing wall comes out to a point about three metres from the centre of the bar. This wall effectively divides the rest of the bar into two distinct areas. In one area are the dartboards, the pool table, and the standing tables (tables where you stand or sit on high stools to drink). This will be referred to as the 'pool table' area. In the other area is the log fire and half a dozen tables with seats. This will be referred to as the 'log-fire' area. People in the pool table area have no way of seeing those in the log fire area and vice versa. The patrons at the bar can see both, but only by turning right around. Above the bar is a television set which can be seen clearly from all areas in the bar. The lounge bar is virtually never frequented on a daily basis. It will only be entered if one wanted to take a girlfriend there or listen to the juke box, and this does not happen very often.

Different groups of drinkers tend to sit in distinct parts of the bar. At the bar itself the regular locals gather. This core group includes the younger farmers, shearsers, and labourers who are the younger (i.e., not retired) clientele who attend the pub on a daily basis. Separate groups may form at either end of the bar leaving a clear gap in the middle. Some retired men will drink up at the bar, but the retired men generally tend to sit in the log fire area. They will occupy the tables, with the same groups usually occupying the same table. If women come into the bar it is usually as partners of the old men during the post-work session of drinking. If retired folk come as couples they will always sit in the log-fire area. Younger men who are not regulars will sit behind the pool table. A great number of shearing gangs come into Mt. Somers to fulfill closed contracts. These out-of-town gangs will always sit in the pool table section. If the younger locals sit anywhere other than the bar itself, they will always sit in the pool table area.

The three seating locations of bar, log fire area, and pool table area, remain fairly distinct. There is some cross-over of people between each area and the bar itself, but there is no cross-over between the pool table area and the log fire area. The clearest distinction between the two areas can be seen in terms of age, with the retired men sitting in the log-fire area and the younger men sitting in the pool table area. However, this geographical distinction also can break down to an industry distinction as most extraction industry workers are older and most shearsers are younger.

8.3.3 After-Dinner Drinking

In Mt. Somers there is not as clear a distinction between post-work and after-dinner drinking as is seen in Methven. The age and marital status of workers in Methven make for a general exodus home after a few hours at the pub, with less than half the post-work drinkers staying for much longer. In Mt. Somers the retired men do not fixedly maintain a work-drink-home routine
like the younger men, so the result is a more gradual progression of drinking from post-work to after-dinner sessions. Some married working men do leave for dinner, and it is not unusual for wives to ring up the pub and demand that their husbands come home, as witnessed several times during fieldwork. This did not happen to the same extent at Methven, a dissimilarity which could be explained by the relative sizes of each town rather than any significant differences between the attitudes of the drinkers in each town. A number of men do depart for home between 6.00 P.M. and 7.00 P.M.

It seems to be characteristic of shearers that they do not leave the pub for dinner. Those shearers who come to the pub on a daily basis are often the ones who are not married and they live in all-male groups. In this circumstance, there is little incentive to go home for dinner and leaving is considered totally weak and un-masculine. These shearers are supposed to have dinner after the evening's drinking is done, and this is usually at closing time. Many shearers bemoan the fact that a lot of the local shearers are now married and no longer come down to the pub and drink after work. Thus pub drinking after shearing is not as compulsory for shearers as is the daily drinking at the workplace itself. It requires a good 'cut-out' shout to entice some of the married shearers into the pub itself and therefore they do not feature strongly in the pattern of daily drinking.

In general, those shearers that do come to the pub after work tend to stay for a long period of time. The extraction industry workers stay late but they are often older and retired, and more likely to allow their wives to come to the pub with them. Even though they are a numerically less at Mt. Somers than in Methven, the younger, married blue-collar workers do exhibit the same tension between work and home. The struggle between husbands who wish to stay at the pub, and wives who want them home for dinner occurs in Mt. Somers too.

During the evening men seem to drink mainly beer. Some older men drink whisky but all the younger men drink beer for the whole evening. Women do not drink beer to the same extent. Often women in shearing gangs will come to the pub after work and in this situation they will usually drink beer. After dinner they will often switch to gin. Sometimes women even have cocktails which is generally unusual in a country pub. As has already been stated, the closing time is fairly strictly adhered to. Most drinkers will make their last orders at 10.00 P.M. and by 10.30 P.M. most people will be ready to leave.

8.3.4 Workplace Drinking

The main use of land around Mt. Somers is sheep farming, and shearing is a regular and significant activity in which gangs of workers work on the farm. It is in these contexts that a great deal of daily drinking takes place on a regular basis. In shearing there are the three standard contracts: open contracts, closed contracts, and non-contract arrangements. In closed contracts the contractor is responsible for everything other than
the provision of the sheep. In this situation he is responsible for providing daily beer for the shearmen after work. The cost of the beer is still written into the contract, but the contractor stipulates the amount. It is unheard of for a day's shearing to be completed and some beer not provided. The quantity depends on the stage the shearing is at. Many farms have small enough flocks so that all shearing will be completed in one day. This leads to a standard shout at the end of proceedings. In the after-work shout, all the assembled company, male and female, shearer and rousie, will join with the farmer in the drinking of beer.

When larger flocks are involved, at the larger stations, several days or even a week will be needed to finish the job. In this situation daily beer drinking is relatively restrained, with only a dozen or so bottles for six people. If the shearing gang is staying on the property, it is very common for drinking to continue in the shearmen's quarters. In this situation the beer is not part of the after-work shout but is bought and drunk by the shearmen themselves. If the shearing gang is local then the married shearmen often go home, while the unmarried ones head for the pub. It is impossible for shearmen to avoid this workplace shout (if they want to at all) as all the shearmen come in one car which is organised by the contractor or 'ganger'. All the shearmen must return to town in the same car so that the dispersal of the married shearmen away from the drinking only occurs back in Mt. Somers.

At the end of the entire job there is what is known as the 'cut-out' shout. This is a much more expansive shout with a large amount of beer provided. Often the 'cut-out' will develop into a large-scale party and proceedings will be transferred to the pub for the remainder of the night.

In an open contract it is the farmer who has to provide the beer. Farmers usually are expected to be generous in their shouts with some even erring on the side of excess. In one situation at Mt. Somers the farmer not only provided a dozen of beer after work each day, he also brought out beer at lunch and smoke. The shearmen thought this was amusing but not a good habit, as beer should not be drunk while the work is still being done.

The non-contracted shearing jobs done by local shearmen also require a good level of shouting. As non-contract jobs are often done for acquaintances or mates, and utilise the local networks, it is important that peers in the community do not appear to be entering into a wage relationship. If the job is small then a beer shout is all that is needed as recompense for labour. If the job is larger, then copious beer will be shouted and drunk together, mildly obscuring any actual monetary transaction.

In all these shearing situations it is unheard of for anything other than beer to be the shouted beverage. Some men at the bar explained why beer was the only thing that seemed to be exchanged. One man said that "When we were boys at Scout camps, we used to swap pieces of chocolate in return for things. Now
that we are men we exchange beer". In this way some men in the community recognise that beer has special exchange significance.

Workplace drinking involves the daily drinking of beer regardless of the type of contract. While we have not examined the details of workplace drinking and do not present data on interactions at this location, it is a significant activity in this area and this makes daily drinking in Mt. Somers different to that in Methven. However, the difference is not great because most drinking occurs at the pub and shearmen also drink at the pub.

The general pattern of daily drinking in the pub differs slightly from that observed in Methven mainly due to the presence in Mt. Somers of retired workers and also the large numbers of relatively transient shearing workers. Lunchtime sessions are more important at Mt. Somers and there is not the same distinction between post-work and after-dinner drinking. The classic blue-collar tension, between work and home, that characterises Methven daily drinking is present in Mt. Somers, but not to the same degree because the number of workers in this category is proportionately smaller than in Methven.

8.4 Weekly and Non-regular Drinking

Daily drinking takes its characteristic form on Monday to Thursday. Friday and Saturday nights produce a change in drinking patterns.

8.4.1 Friday and Saturday Nights

Friday night sees increased patronage of the public bar due to the increased number of after-work drinkers, even though the lunchtime session on Friday proceeds much as normal. After work a much larger number of workers than usual arrive at the pub and begin to drink beer. The Friday night activity is not distinctive in comparison to a normal post-work drinking session, it is just that the volume and number of participants is increased.

As time passes some variance does set in. First, girlfriends now make an appearance. On a normal drinking night, girlfriends do not arrive at the pub, and single females will usually drink in the lounge bar to avoid being harassed by the men present. On Friday night it is permissible for girlfriends to be present at the public bar even though most prefer the lounge bar. A second variation is that some family groups might appear. It has been the policy of the Ashburton Licensing Trust to promote the tavern as a family bar. This policy has been mildly successful as some younger wives come down to the pub and leave their children in the lounge while they drink with their husbands in the public bar. This is not usually the case, and it is common for the young wives to gather in the lounge bar where, as one woman put it "we can mix with the 'real' children!"

Despite these tensions the presence of women is nonetheless
significantly different to the Methven pubs. In Methven, on a Friday night, one can occasionally see harassed-looking women struggling to control a car full of bored children while their husbands are drinking with their mates in the bar.

On Saturday night different drinking patterns occur and this session has less significance to the locals. When H.C. invited a local to attend the pub on a Saturday night, the local was quite adamant that on Saturdays the pub would be full of strangers and that there would be no locals there. Such exclusiveness is not the case, as unmarried shearers can still be seen at the pub on a Saturday night, but the numbers are not significant. Locals consider Saturday night to be a night to stay home and watch videos or television, have people around for dinner or a barbecue, and generally avoid the pub. Saturday night is also a night when parties at private homes can be held. One celebrated local event that was fast-approaching at the end of the field work period, was a hangi being held by a popular local shearer. It was scheduled to start early on Saturday with the party being planned to finish late Sunday night. Each local showed every intention of being there.

Generally, the pattern of weekly drinking shows that locals do not tend to engage in public drinking on Saturday nights. At the pub one can find a few locals as well as a number of day trippers who come out from Christchurch, Geraldine, and Ashburton, as well as a number of young folk who drive in from the surrounding area. Occasionally there are more Methven youths in the Mt. Somers pub than at the Methven pub. It all depends on what the youth grapevine declares to be the 'safest bet' as a pub. In addition, a number of youths will travel out from Ashburton to the Mt. Somers pub for the evening.

Weekly drinking in Mt. Somers is slightly different to that in Methven. Friday drinking by locals is important in both locations but Mt. Somers has greater participation by women. Saturday night drinking is similar in both places with locals avoiding the pub. In Methven locals still occupy the pubs on Saturday and this suggests that they are more willing to take their place among other groups, albeit in ways that maintain exclusion.

8.4.2 Celebratory Drinking

The most common form of local celebration that occurs at the pub is the irregular occasion such as a 21st birthday or an engagement. For the 21st birthday a private party may sometimes repair to the pub, and for engagements the spouse-to-be is penalised by his mates at the pub with demands for a large shout. When shearers have completed a big 'cut-out', a celebration at the pub is in order. When staff leave one of the major sheep stations in the area it is customary for the management to come down to the pub and have a shout in recognition of services. All these events are usually unplanned and emerge in the course of a normal drinking day at work or in the pub, and all feature celebratory shouting.
The celebration in the pub of significant events like Christmas or New Year are popular with many people attending. In addition, the pub is the centre of special events like the playing of a band on a Saturday night. In these situations there tends to be a large out-of-town contingent present. Typically, the local folk do not dominate proceedings. In the lounge bar, where all the special events take place, up to 150 people might be present of whom only 50 are locals. Quite often the pattern is for the younger locals, like shearers, to join the crowd in the lounge bar, while older locals stay in the public bar. If a band is playing, older couples will sometimes come down to the hotel to see what is happening, but will rarely venture out of the public bar to see the 'action' for themselves.

As special events at the pub are primarily to boost beer sales, it is desirable for the management that as many out-of-towners as possible should attend. To the locals this means that while bands and such are quite an event, they nonetheless do not appear the same as real 'local' celebrations. The distinction that is drawn is that with local celebrations, the rugby clubrooms or the community hall are more appropriate venues. In these settings it is more likely that no outsiders will turn up and the event can be labelled as genuinely local. In consequence the local celebratory drinking sessions take place in settings outside the pub itself. As far as celebratory drinking in the pub at Christmas or New Year is concerned, there has not been the available time to examine these events.

In general, the pub can be seen as a setting where some informal local celebrations take place. But as the events get more formal and of more relevance to locals they tend to utilise the rugby clubrooms or community hall. These patterns could not be observed in Methven where a wider range of choices of localities to hold formal functions makes the picture more complicated.

8.4.3 Clubs and Associations

The main club in the town is the Rugby Club. The Club has amalgamated with the Mayfield Rugby Club to form a combined club and draws members from an arc stretching just south of Methven to the Rangitata River (see Figure 2). The current membership of the Club is 90 full members of whom about 60 are players. The general trend over the last decade has been for a decline in membership. The club leaders clearly identify the departure of a large number of labourers from farms in the area as being a significant factor in the decline in club numbers.

Like other rural clubs with this problem, the Rugby Club offsets membership losses by raising funds and it earns some revenue from renting the clubrooms. The clubrooms are the most popular facility in the area for holding parties of various kinds with only the hall and the pub as alternative venues. The main source of club revenue is haycarting. The club owns its own trucks and bale elevators, and hires itself out to local farmers in summer when the club is in recess from games. Unlike Methven, the Mt. Somers Rugby Club does not run its own bar as a fundraising
venture because there is no demand for an alternative to the lounge bar at the pub. The Rugby Club has organised social functions, e.g., Christmas and New Year events in order to raise funds and to this end they encouraged the attendance of wives and girlfriends. Women do support the Rugby Club by attending on Saturdays to watch their husbands or boyfriends play. There is apparently a regular group of women who support home rugby matches. On one occasion, the weather was so cold that most of the women present retired to the lounge bar at half time. This was one occasion where women drank together in the context of a club event.

An alternative to the Rugby Club is the Mt. Somers Squash Club. The word alternative is appropriate as the membership of each club does not overlap. The paid-up membership of the Squash Club is only about 30 persons, and the regular playing members number less than 12. Most members are farmers. What is remarkable about the Squash Club is that its facilities are debt free and the club has invested funds to cover yearly costs. Perhaps farmers have more money to support the Squash Club and have sought to sustain a distinctive sporting activity. Commentators from outside the club said that "The rich farmers have to do something to make themselves feel different". Similar patterns occur with the Methven Squash Club (although information about the Methven Squash Club is less reliable).

There are no bar facilities at the Squash Club and on occasions the men go to the pub after their matches. Most men play in the evening making a trip to the pub convenient. The female members generally play during the day making a pub visit less feasible. However, the Squash Club does not incorporate drinking as an essential aspect of club behaviour, in this way the Squash Club is distinctly different to other men's clubs in Methven or Mt. Somers.

The other prominent sports club in the town is the Women's Netball Club. The netballers meet on Wednesday night for practices and play on Saturdays. On Wednesday night it is common for the farming husbands of netballers to come down to the pub while their wives are at practice. Any children involved usually go with the mothers. After practice the women arrive at the pub. On some occasions the women will drink in the public bar for a while, and on some occasions the netballers gather in the lounge bar while the men remain in the public bar. The difference revolved around which women had come along. Some women were happy to enter the public bar while others certainly were not. There is no regular pattern of drinking associated with the netball club itself and apart from the social gatherings the women netballers generally just play the game. This is similar to Methven where a number of clubs exist (like netball and hockey) where playing the sport itself takes up the clubs' energies, unlike the Golf or Rugby clubs where social activities are seen as an integral part of the clubs' activities.

Another venue for women is the Plunket Society which has emerged over the last few years as an important group. Mt. Somers is
experiencing a baby boom at the present time, and many local women are now involved with the coffee mornings and social events organised by Plunket. One woman commented that prior to the rural downturn women were not really getting together as a community, and that most belonged to clubs in Ashburton. With the downturn, people could no longer afford to travel to Ashburton on a regular basis and so the Plunket Society had a sudden upturn in popularity.

In general, there is not the profusion of clubs and associations in Mt. Somers that populates Methven. The labouring men, including musterers and shearers, all attend the Rugby Club if they attend any sporting club at all. The wealthy farmers tend to congregate more informally at the Squash Club, and women meet at the Netball Club. The pub otherwise serves as the prime forum for social interaction, to a degree which is not quite seen at Methven. In Methven the pubs provide an interactional arena for a certain sector of the male population. In Mt. Somers the smaller size of the town and the corresponding non-abundance of clubs and associations, means that the pub becomes a place for a much wider group of people to meet. It is in this important setting that the interactions within and between groups occur.

8.5 Group Interactions at the Pub

While Mt. Somers provides some intriguing variations on the general patterns of pub behaviour seen in Methven, there are nonetheless striking similarities in the in-group behaviour of men at the pub. The significant variations come in the role of women (discussed in the next section), the treatment of outside shearsers and other visitors in the pub, and the spatial alignment of seating by occupation. Occupation is an important factor in intergroup interactions. Some groups, such as large-scale farmers and women do not play a significant part in daily pub interactions.

Masculine drinking behaviour occurs on a daily basis. Like Methven, many Mt. Somers men drink every day after work. Because most labourers work a fair distance from the pub, the lunchtime session does emerge as a significant variation from Methven. It is only at the lunchtime session that one social grouping manages to totally dominate pub behaviour and this group is the retired labourers. The predominance of retired labourers at lunch means that interaction at lunchtime can be run strictly along the lines to which they give priority. As none are still working, work history replaces current employment as a chief indicator of social status and acceptability. The second criterion is local knowledge, to which all retired men keenly aspire. The first criterion ensures that group interaction takes place mainly between men who have previously been blue-collar workers. The second criterion effectively excludes those who may have settled in Mt. Somers after retirement. The overall effect is the solid entrenchment at the centre of lunchtime interaction of men who worked primarily in the local extractive industries.

The retired men, numbering up to 36 regular drinkers, maintain
their close interactional groups in the after-work drinking sessions as well. The spatial dimensions of the pub allows the retired workers a special part which they have claimed as their own: the log-fire area. In this social territory, about three smaller groups form. At one table the same three men drink each night and they each drink the same amount of whisky. Early in the evening a number of the men's partners come down to the bar and drink with their husbands while their favourite television show is on. They will usually leave by about 8.30 P.M. Throughout the night the retired men remain in their positions in the log fire area, and there is some movement within their chosen area.

Occasionally the retired men will venture out into other parts of the pub, but this is usually only when they have a specific purpose in mind, or a specific person they wish to talk to. For the remainder of their time in the pub, which is spent in minimal conversation and measured drinking, they will inhabit their niche. One variation is that the only retired Maori man in the community, Pop, who is the father and uncle of two men in the local shearing gang known as the 'Maori gang' by the locals, sits at his own table nearer the bar than the other retired men. His proximity to the bar means that he is in the retired men's section, while the shearers in his family can sit with him and still be close to the other shearers at the bar. None of the other retired men will sit with Pop. The nearest they come to sociability is to greet him when he arrives. Similarly, the 'Maori gang' always inhabits the end of the bar nearest Pop or sit at his table. There is no intimate interaction between any other groups and the 'Maori gang'. Sometimes racist comments are overtly given by others in the bar, and if the atmosphere hots up at all, the 'Maori gang' will go and drink in the lounge bar.

The presence of an identifiable division based on ethnicity is interesting. In Methven there is no identifiable activity associated with non-Pakeha ethnicity. A few Maori do live in Methven (well under one percent of local population in the 1986 census) but they do not mobilise along the lines of Maori ethnicity. In Mt Somers, the presence of a Maori shearing gang makes for a clearly identifiable ethnic division.

Both the two social groupings described thus far, the retired labourers and the Maori shearers, are easily distinguishable in terms of certain social criteria. The retired men are noticeable not only in terms of age but also in work history. Similarly, the Maori shearers not only have differing ethnicity but also a distinct niche in the local shearing industry. One striking difference between the two groups is the kinship composition of drinking groups. The retired Pakeha men drink with each other and occasionally their wives come to the pub and watch television. In distinction to this, the 'Maori gang' are mostly related, and drink as a family group. There are always women as well as men drinking in the Maori group.

Once the segregation along the lines of ethnicity has been recognised, the rest of the shearers fall into two general
categories. The first category is the visiting shearers. Due to the large number of closed contracts organised with gangs from outside Mt. Somers, there are often a number of shearers who are in Mt. Somers for a few days fulfilling a contract. These transient shearers are a regular feature at the pub during the height of the shearing season between October and February. Shearers all travel to some extent to ensure a constant flow of work, so that all shearing gangs will at some stage congregate at pubs in other localities. In this way a network of shearing pubs has become established around Canterbury. Most shearing gangs have a fair idea of who else is in the trade and socialise with them at the pub. In fact, local shearers will often socialise more with outside shearing gangs at their pub than they would with locals employed in another industry in Mt. Somers.

Shearers from out-of-town have established a set pattern when drinking at the Mt. Somers pub. They congregate away from the main bar, at the far side of the pool table. In this position they can see the local shearers and farmers (see Figure 11) who may be at the bar, but avoid any contact with the 'diehard' locals (the retired men) who are not very friendly to them. The pattern of seating has become so established that even some locals have become reluctant to take those particular seats in case out-of-town shearers arrive. On one night when no shearers attended, one local musterer commented to H.C. and his spouse that it was the first time he had ever sat behind the pool table as he did not like to poach on the shearers' patch.

It is likely that similar patches exist in other pubs. This intra-industry sociability between shearers from different localities stands in contrast to the Methven pubs which are the guarded preserve of the local male enclave.

The other main category of shearers is the local shearers who live permanently in Mt. Somers. By all accounts association between shearers now is somewhat different to the pattern ten years ago. In the past it was a matter of loyalty that shearing gang members did not socialise outside the gang itself. This loyalty is apparently the case still in other localities. Now in Mt. Somers, apart from the 'Maori gang', the other gangs seem to fraternise among themselves quite happily. They all form part of the young local group who are a recognisable social entity at the pub. At the main bar, the young farmers and labourers gather. If there are few shearers in the bar the local shearers will also gather at the bar, but often the local shearers will stay in the shearers patch behind the pool table. Sometimes all the locals talk together, especially if less than ten locals are in the bar. At the most they tend to split up into three groups: one at each end of the bar and one near the pool table. It is not uncommon for locals to move into the 'visiting' shearers area behind the pool table, especially if people they know are visiting the pub.

The fact that the pub is patronised by shearers can be seen in some of the cartoons that adorn the pub's noticeboard. Unlike the Methven pubs, the Mt. Somers variants are almost all to do
with shearing (and along the same general sexual themes) and have local shearers' names inserted into the captions of the cartoons. None of the cartoons are of a racist nature. This does not reflect the general humour of the pub which often includes racist comments. In one incident a female Maori shed-hand was verbally abused by a Pakeha drinker. His final comment was "It's not Waitangi day now eh!". This was found very amusing by several of the assembled Pakeha drinkers.

In addition to the retired men and the shearers are the other locals who stand at the bar itself and command the best view of the pub in all directions. Often groups will form at the bar, including local shearers or local farmers and farm employees. Farmers and musterers often like to talk together and the shearers do likewise. The apparent class division between farmer or farm labourer is not always so obvious, especially, in the case of young farmers. Often young farmers have worked their way into owning land through labouring, mustering, and often shearing. Of the local farmers who often attended the pub, two earned their capital in a shearing gang before purchasing land. In this way the interests of shearers and younger farmers are often very close and can explain the obvious sociability between these groups.

In the case of the older farmers, especially the large-scale land owners, they are almost never in attendance at the pub, and when they do it is usually in the context of a celebratory shout. The rural elite inherit land and generally have a number of workers to run the farm. These farmers appear to be more like managers rather than labourers, and generally never publicly socialise in the town of Mt. Somers itself. One local observer commented that there are two social poles in the local community: one centred at the pub which is the centre of social life for blue-collar workers, and one centred in Christchurch where the local elite spend their leisure time. The few young farmers who have inherited rather than worked their way into land do not socialise at Mt. Somers itself. Only one wealthy young farmer is an exception to this rule. The 'rural elite', as some describe them, socialise out-of-town, typically in Christchurch, and tend to associate with networks that were formed through family or school rather than with any local network. In this way, the pub, despite the presence of some young farmers, still has the general characteristics of blue-collar labour. Those young farmers that join the shearers and labourers at the pub, tend to be those with a labouring background who are working their way onto land. This accounts for a majority of the farmers in the area, even if it does not account for a majority of the land.

The dynamics of group formation in the Mt. Somers pub are similar to those in Methven with only some differences in the type of groups that are formed. The status interactions of the men within and between their groups appear to proceed as they do in Methven. The main factor at variance is that in Mt. Somers, being a much smaller locality, most men will know each other to some degree. For those coming from distinctly different groups, like the retired miners or the shearers, each will come in to the
pub and head for their established area. The most complex sorting comes when there is a variety of local groups in the bar area. The safest bet seems to be to head for the greatest concentration of one's own occupational group. Before reaching this point the protocols of establishing localness are displayed. This involves talking to the bar staff in familiar terms, and above all demanding, in stoic silence, that the barstaff should remember their required brand and quantity of beer. A Mt. Somers local with only moderate attendance at the pub should nonetheless be able to greet every local person they walk past (providing they do not venture past the pool table into the visiting shearer's zone).

For the visitor to the Mt. Somers pub unfamiliar with any group, the segregation of groups into particular areas leaves one with little option as to where to sit. The solution is usually to sit at or near the bar, as the formation of locals there is usually standing, leaving a definite space at points around the bar. One is then in full scrutiny from all corners of the pub. It is also the exact opposite of the Methven pub's priority given by locals to bar seating.

In general, the most obvious interactional divisions within the bar itself is a sorting into industry divisions. This sifting into retired mine workers, visiting shearers, and local farm industry workers occurs visually within the environs of the pub. These separations occur along spatial lines with each group holding its own territory. There is some division of groups according to age or ethnicity and this was not observed in Methven. Further, the smaller numbers make for a greater degree of familiarity with other pub patrons. However, like Methven, in Mt. Somers the wider social divisions usually are exhibited by exclusion or avoidance of the pub altogether. These main divisions are along the lines of class and gender. Nearly all those who attend the pub have some relationship to blue-collar work. The young farmers in attendance usually have a labouring work history. In this way, the social life in the Mt. Somers pub reflects only the main class in the area. This is similar to Methven, where the pub reflects the blue-collar sector of Methven's socio-economic structure. Farmers may attend Methven drinking sessions, but the daily structure of drinking practice eliminates the chances of farmers ever being very successful status seekers at daily drinking sessions. While the pub has only one side of the class structure represented in its patrons the same is true with respect to the gender division.

8.6 Gender and Group Behaviour

Local commentators say that 20 to 30 years ago there were no females working in shearing gangs, and no women involved in pub social life. Women workers were usually single. It is hard to know exactly when the changes took place. However, a couple of decades has made some difference, and while some rural communities still reflect the gender distinctions of a generation ago, Mt. Somers sees itself as more enlightened. There is evidence to show that women are an important part of the paid
workforce. At the current point in time, many married women now do full-time or casual work in shearing gangs. The local service industry jobs at the store, the restaurant, the pub, etc., now are filled by local women many of who are married. Some women travel to Ashburton to work. Many of the women now in paid work are the wives of blue-collar workers.

In the past it was acceptable for single women to seek paid work if they so desired. After marriage, it was typical for women to leave wage work and start a family relatively quickly. The pattern in Mt. Somers has been ruptured recently by economic necessity and many of the above working women are young wives who have delayed having children. There has been a distinct lull in the number of births in the area over the last five years. Now, with some improvement in the rural economy, there has been a spate of births as women move out of the paid workforce. The local Plunket Society reports that in 1989 there have been 18 births, with 12 more due in 1990. In 1988 there were so few births that the Plunket Society hardly operated. This slump and then increase in birthrate clearly reflects the only temporary incorporation of many women into the labour force and away from their traditional roles. Many of these women are now returning to the role of mother rather than wage-earner. Some are mixing the two and taking up casual work.

The movement of women into the workforce has been a major phenomenon over the last five years, and the same has happened in Methven. The similarity ends with the general re-incorporation of women back into the mothering role in Mt. Somers while Methven women are staying in the workforce. Perhaps the traditional role is more attractive to Mt. Somers women because it is a smaller, close-knit community that sees its future in traditional patterns. Perhaps also Methven women are able to keep working in a distinctive, non-traditional activity like tourism. Despite these variations the change in women’s economic status, among other factors, has affected the status of women in community social life. Women are now more involved in public drinking, and this change at Mt. Somers shows up in the Rugby Club and in the Pub.

Over the last few years the Rugby Club has suffered from the departure of a number of labourers from the area. Whereas this has led to an inevitable decrease in the number of actual players, the Rugby Club has deliberately offset its subscription losses with an increase in the number of participators in social events. There has been no sign of tactics to increase male drinking, as seen at the Methven Golf Club. Recently, however, for the first time ever a large number of partners have been encouraged to come along to special social nights. One club official commented that the social nights have been the real growth area in the club. In this way the traditional male-only nature of rugby events has been modified by economic necessity.

The second arena of increased female participation is in the pub. The A.L.T. encourages women to attend the pub and local women have commented that they now feel more welcome at the pub than
they have ever before. But, despite the attendance of proportionately more women than the numbers observed in Methven, the women are not accepted into the mainstream of male pub activity. Usually they have to have a special reason for attending like a euchre or housie evening. With the exception of the barstaff, no woman has been observed contributing to the general flow and definition of pub interaction. Women are always spectators when they are in the public bar. An exception to the spectator role, and the reaction that followed, in the following example shows that men seek to dominate the bar interactions. A women in the 'Maori gang' attempted to rib a shearer in a different gang who was standing with his mates. His response was to turn around and forcibly kick the 'offending' women back to the other end of the bar. He kicked her very hard and even though a fight did not start (others said that she had been in the wrong for hassling the men anyway) the members of the 'Maori gang' retreated into the lounge bar for the rest of the night. The undeniable meaning of the incident was that women do not have the right to impose upon or control local males. Usually the women are present in the public bar with the expressed intention of watching television. This is the rationale behind the attendance of a number of retired men's wives in the public bar as opposed to the lounge bar.

If a few young wives attend the pub to drink together, then they will invariably go into the lounge bar to drink with each other. In the lounge bar there is a family licence so that a number of children may be present. There is a tense relationship between the lounge bar and the public bar. Husbands will only drink in the lounge bar on rare occasions and prefer to stay in the public bar. If more than one women is present in the pub, then they will usually go to the lounge bar. In this way, even though women have gained some access to the pub, the segregation is still maintained through the process of social interaction and the use of distinct parts of the pub.

Back in the public bar, the treatment of the marital state is similar to that displayed back in Methven. One barmaid commented that she had never seen a 'married' man in the pub yet. Of course a number of drinkers are actually married, they just do not behave that way. It is a major element of the interaction between barmaid and clients that men behave in a sexually provocative fashion. One barmaid commented that she had more sexual advances in the bar from married men than from single ones. Other forms of sexual banter involve strong elements of male control of women in the bar. Men seem to have the right to comment openly on the physiques of other women who are present. The general themes of male control of their own sexuality, and control over women, constantly emerge. This is even more pronounced in Mt. Somers, where women might be on the periphery of male interaction, than in Methven where women associated with the key young married men are not present at all.

In general, women in Mt. Somers as in Methven are a part of the paid workforce although, recently, more Mt. Somers women have returned to mothering roles. At first appearance women have a
stronger presence in the Mt. Somers pub compared to Methven. However, gender interactions show that in Mt. Somers, as in Methven, men dominate pub interactions. Men in the pub behave as if they were single and engage in sexual banter.

8.7 Conclusion

In this conclusion we provide a summary of the main points about this Mt. Somers chapter and then describe the similarities and differences in drinking patterns between Mt. Somers and Methven. From Chapter 5 we learned that Methven and Mt. Somers originated and grew in response to similar economic and geographic factors. They developed as service towns with facilities for blue-collar workers, farmers, and other businessmen. However, Mt. Somers, with one pub, is smaller than Methven. There is no rival industry such as skiing so the community is more homogeneous than Methven and has a more settled drinking pattern.

In Mt. Somers, lunchtime drinking is an important activity for retired men, typically miners, and this regular pattern is distinctive to Mt. Somers. Post-work drinking includes retired men, blue-collar workers, farmers, and shearers. The retired men, shearers, and the other regulars have their preferred place at which to drink, and there is little inter-group interaction. The Mt. Somers pub has relatively few married patrons. In Mt. Somers the presence of retired men makes for a gradual progression from the post-work session to after-dinner session when compared to Methven. The classic blue-collar tension between work and home that characterises Methven daily drinking is present in Mt. Somers, but not to the same degree because there are relatively fewer blue-collar workers. In a similar vein, because the Mt. Somers area has many sheep farms on which contract shearers work, there is a regular pattern of daily beer drinking at the workplace.

As in Methven, Friday night drinking is similar to other week nights but there is increased activity, and women attend the public bar. Similarly, Saturday night is not so popular with locals. Mt. Somers is distinctive in that relatively more women attend the pub on Friday nights, in part because the A.L.T. promotes the pub as a family bar and in part because the pub is an important social centre. Celebratory drinking occurs in Mt. Somers as in Methven, but it includes celebrations for the completion of shearing jobs. Informal celebrations occur in the pub but formal events occur in the rugby clubrooms or the community hall where locals see the event as having increased significance to them.

Mt. Somers has fewer clubs and associations than does Methven, and the pub at Mt. Somers forms the primary location for social interaction. Thus, pub interactions include a wider range of people and they have a distinct geography. Within and between these groups there are dynamics similar to those in the Methven pub. Blue-collar workers and farmers, typically young farmers, see themselves as members of the same class and they interact on regular and easy terms. Thus the pub patrons represent only the
blue-collar class since the elite farmers socialise elsewhere. Also similar, the pub represents only male social activity and while women have increased their attendance at the pub it is only on terms acceptable to the men. As in Methven, the number of women in the workforce has increased in recent years.

In general terms the similarities between Mt. Somers and Methven include the following. There is a similar history of extractive and agriculture activity which generated the need for services for local workers. These services included the pub, which has become, in both towns, the main forum for male social interaction and the key location for the practice of daily drinking. These interactions preserve the male status quo and perpetuate the values of masculinity in opposition to the values of femininity. Married men behave in the pub as if they were unmarried. Women do go to the pub but it remains a male domain. The prevailing ethos in the pub is a blue-collar one in which manual and practical work have the highest values. All patrons identify themselves in terms of blue-collar work. The interactions in the pub maintain status and emphasise local knowledge. At the broader level of recent history, both Methven and Mt. Somers have had an increase in the number of women in paid work.

Mt. Somers still retains some distinctive characteristics within the similarity of the overall structure as described above. First, there are many retired miners who form a distinct group and make for different patterns in the daily routine of the pub. The different occupational structure makes for a greater emphasis on the geography of seating within the bar itself. However, a geography of seating aligning with occupation does occur in Methven, on a less regular basis, with skiers who occupy specific parts of the Blue Pub. In Mt. Somers, the retired men are well placed to achieve some status because they have been in the area for a long time. Second, to a small extent ethnic divisions occur, and third, smaller numbers of patrons make for a greater degree of familiarity with other pub patrons.

The fourth difference relates to the current role of women in Mt. Somers. It seems that women are leaving paid work to take on child-raising roles more so than in Methven. A fifth difference relates to the inclusive behaviour of the men at the Mt. Somers pub. Since there is no obvious and regular threat to men (such as the ski-industry workers in Methven) the Mt. Somers men exhibit less-obvious inclusive behaviour. The distinctive features of Mt. Somers relate to its smaller size, which permits a great degree of familiarity with all other locals, and to the lack of a threatening tourist industry.

The main point of the findings from both Methven and Mt. Somers is that there are some fundamental similarities in public drinking. Foundational to public drinking are the roles of occupation and gender respectively, and in the final two chapters we provide an overall explanation that includes these elements of public drinking.
CHAPTER 9

THE PRACTICE OF PUBLIC DRINKING IN METHVEN AND MT SOMERS

9.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a review of the foregoing chapters and a summary of the ethnographic data, before discussing the implications of the findings. The emphasis of the following chapter will be on explaining public drinking in terms of inclusion, exclusion, and control of work and identity.

9.2 General Summary

Chapter 2 provides a selective review of the literature on pubs and develops the argument that full explanation of public drinking requires integrated ethnography. Four selected case studies are presented to develop an ideal type model of the working class pub in rural or small communities. This model provides a base to which our findings can be compared, a topic we will discuss in the next chapter.

Chapter 3 focuses on the ethnographic method and has two major components. The first introduces practice theory as an appropriate approach to the study of public drinking, in which history, class, and gender can be linked to interaction and daily drinking practice. The second component of Chapter 3 provides an account of the field work process and describes how the location was selected, entry was obtained, participation was pursued, and field notes prepared and analyzed. Arguments are presented to show that the presence of a ski-field and a tourist industry in Methven are not a contamination but a positive feature in helping us to understand rural public drinking.

Chapters 4 and 5 provide an account of the history and social structure of Methven and Mt. Somers respectively. Both towns developed under similar political, economic, and geographic influences to provide services for blue-collar workers occupied in the surrounding extractive and agricultural industries. These workers used the public drinking venues, and from the time of earliest settlement each town had one or more pubs. Both towns have mostly farmers and blue-collar workers, although Mt. Somers has a group of retired miners. While Methven is a large town with two pubs, many clubs and associations, and a significant tourist industry, Mt. Somers is smaller, has one pub, and has a more cohesive community.

Chapter 6 presents the first ethnographic data but focuses on the main drinking locations and patterns in Methven. There is a regular daily drinking pattern in the pubs with some variation on Friday and Saturday nights. Clubs and associations form the venue for weekly drinking and, finally, there is non-regular workplace drinking and celebratory drinking.

Chapter 7 focuses on the patterns of interactions that occur in
Methven noting first how the physical environment of the pub has adornments that reflect male values. Pub interactions feature conversation in which the objective is to gain status and exclude lower-status contenders from the high-status group. This conversational practice relies on local knowledge so that regular attendance and familiarity with local people and events are the requirements for success in gaining status. The groups in the pub correspond in part to occupational groups. There is also a clear division between male and female worlds, and the conversation in the pub reflects this difference in both symbolic and practical terms as men seek to portray control of women. Young men spend a number of years studiously learning to become fully adult men by gaining experience in drinking beer. They also defend masculinity with stag parties because they see marriage as symbolising a loss from their group.

Chapter 8 provides an account of drinking in Mt. Somers and then compares it to Methven. Similar patterns of daily, weekly, and non-regular drinking occur in Mt. Somers. Generally, the status-seeking interactions, attitudes to women, identity of interest between farmers and blue-collar workers, and recent participation by women in the work force are identical features in both towns. Mt. Somers is distinctive in that the presence of retired miners and a greater number of shearmers introduces additional groups into the pub dynamics, and there is an accentuated geographic location within the pub, largely determined by occupation. The greater number of shearmers in the Mt. Somers area means that workplace drinking occurs on a regular basis. Further, some women have recently left paid work and resumed child-raising roles more so than in Methven. Finally, without a prominent tourist industry, Mt. Somers drinkers exhibit less-obvious inclusive behaviour, and the one pub in Mt. Somers is the main focus of social life.

The above review of Chapters 2 to 8 provides an overview of the report. However, before considering the implications of the findings it is appropriate to provide a more detailed summary of the ethnographic data and our approach to the study.

9.3 Public Drinking as Interaction and Exclusion

In this current work, an examination of the daily practice of public drinking in two small rural towns has indicated that public drinking is an integral part of the symbols, meanings, and values of people within these communities. However, the symbolic value of alcohol is just one part of the interactions that occur in public drinking situations. Further, to focus on alcohol itself or on public drinking alone as significant phenomena would badly obscure the significance of these factors in the social and historical structures of these communities. By taking an integrated ethnographic approach to drinking behaviour it is possible to locate public drinking within its relevant social context, and link symbols to history and social structure. In this way action and structure can be examined together in an integrated ethnographical account that is based on daily practice.
The practice approach to ethnography has resurrected the micro-sociological framework known as interactionism as an adequate way of describing the daily generation of social norms and patterns of behaviour. Interactionism tends to focus on the social power of situations where individuals meet and interact on a daily basis. It is in these daily interactions that the prevailing norms, sentiments, values, and power of particular social groupings are negotiated, nullified, sustained, or re-affirmed. Those who are influential in the patterns of daily interaction will influence how social groupings define themselves and accordingly, will maintain control over the means of legitimation present in a community. As such, those persons who influence daily interaction will influence the dominant ideas or ideologies in the community.

The significance of ideological powerbroking can only be fully comprehended in the light of those real economic and material factors that underpin ideological power groupings. These factors are what make up political economy. But before examining this context it is important to recapitulate the forms of interaction that characterise the practice of public drinking in these communities.

The daily practice of drinking takes on a characteristic pattern. Whether it is at the pub, workplace, or sporting club, men meet regularly to drink together. Nearly every man who resides in the community will drink with his 'mates' at least once a week. The importance of this practice for the apportioning of social status and power amongst men cannot be overemphasised. If a man is to succeed socially, the arena of his success will be in the context of male drinking. Those men who succeed interactionally, and can lay claim to the social, legitimatory, and definitive resources being negotiated in drinking sessions will then have access to a large amount of social power. These men also tend to be the ones who not only drink on a weekly basis, but also drink on a daily basis. If the pub is the vital arena for male interaction, then the successful players practice social interaction on a daily basis. While other power networks do occur in and around Methven, especially among transient professionals, it is our view that this group does not play a significant part in Methven's social and economic development. Transient professionals do supply the services that blue-collar workers require but they play a subsidiary role in the community.

Daily drinking has three distinct sessions in Methven. There is a lunchtime session, when certain key men dominate the whole lunchtime proceedings at the pub. While these men are dominant at lunchtime, their success there does not necessarily transfer into the post-work drinking session. After work the number of men at the pub increases so dramatically that any one group cannot dominate proceedings. It is in the post-work session that men engage in the full flurry of social interaction and transaction. Drinking groups of about three to six men form at strategic points around the bar. Some locations have a definitely higher status than others, and in addition to location, men will attempt to surround themselves with high-
status individuals or enter a high-status group. Inside the
drinking groups a great deal of hierarchical behaviour occurs as
men attempt to dominate proceedings. At the high-status end of
the scale men do not have to work hard to negotiate their
position: the interactional indicators are enough to make
obvious their high-status positions. It is in the middle range
that most negotiation and transaction of status occurs. In
these groups, men will barter using their job status, family
connections, local acquaintances, and local knowledge in order
to claim who is the most genuinely 'local' person. Low status
individuals, like unconnected visitors and men who are only
occasional pub visitors or unpopular locally, will be excluded
from the important in-group interactions as a matter of course.
Outsiders must be content to remain permanently on the periphery
of the male status games. Similar dynamics occur in Mt. Somers.

A second and simultaneous dynamic is the image maintenance of the
drinking group itself. Not only are men bartering within a
group, they are also concerned with the impression being given
by the group to the rest of the pub. These interactional
dynamics, which are sometimes more important than in-group
dynamics, promote ones drinking group so that it appears popular
and contented. There were numerous examples observed of drinking
groups behaving in a way that could only be aimed at an audience
external to the group itself.

In addition to being the location for the above interactional
dynamics, the pub stands at the interface between the working
life and the domestic life of men. Thus, the men's post-work
drinking session is an important third sphere of daily existence.
The link between workplace and drinking is unavoidable. Men
drink after they have finished work and before they enter the
domestic sphere. As such, drinking is a strong component of male
control over leisure time. Following this pattern, other male
leisure activities, usually in the form of attendance at a
sporting club, take on the appearance of post-work drinking
sessions.

Pub interactions show up the practice of exclusion, and exclusion
is manifested in a number of ways. Interacting drinking groups
are together a social unit and there is a clear boundary between
them and other drinking groups. One of the most important
ingredients of male drinking sessions is that certain individuals
and groups are being excluded from the internal hierarchy of the
dominant male social network. The patterns of exclusion
accurately reflect the social divisions in the community as a
whole, and there are two main types of exclusion.

The first type of exclusion is along the lines of occupation.
Farmers are welcome at drinking sessions and can participate to
a certain degree. Possible class antagonism between farmers and
blue-collar workers in the farming industry are obscured by the
egalitarian ethos that pervades the community. More importantly,
the fact that many farmers have a blue-collar background and
worked their way onto land, and that many labourers aspire to
eventual land ownership, means that both groups share similar
values. However, farmers can never succeed totally in drinking sessions due to the fact that they cannot practice drinking on a daily basis. Farmers' attendance at the pub can only be sporadic and this renders them unable to penetrate fully the world of blue-collar drinking. They are excluded in a de facto sense because of lack of participation and because their occupation does not have a clear distinction between work and home. However, those blue-collar workers (especially shearsers) who now own farms and are unmarried still participated strongly in local drinking. Some even travelled many miles nightly to drink. Married farmers were much less likely to drink regularly.

Other industry groups come in for more blatant exclusion. The members of the ski industry, and its ancillary tourist servicing operations, are not acceptable in the men's daily drinking session. When the ski industry personnel do enter the pub, which they occasionally do on Friday night, they do not mingle with the drinking men, and sit in the low-status portion of the bar. There is a total interactional boundary separating the two groups which occupy distinct locations in the pub.

These interactions, exclusions, and spatial divisions are reflected in the Mt. Somers pub and are all related to either local origin or occupation grouping. The division between the local mining men and the visiting shearsers is total. The local shearsers do fraternise with both groups by benefit of either their localness or their occupation. In this way, occupational groupings are reinforced by the pattern of interaction and non-interaction within all the bars.

A second type of exclusion is along the lines of gender. The transition from the drinking sphere to the domestic sphere is not as easy as the work-to-drinking transition. In both the workplace and post-work drinking locations men are surrounded by an environment rich in symbols that relies on masculinity as its central legitimation and shuns any form of female control. The domestic sphere is identified by the men as the sphere of female control. Even if men can actually control domestic events, they do not wish to be publicly associated with things like childrearing and housework which are identified as feminine activities. The definitions of masculinity that are extolled in the bar and re-enforced in male interaction delineate work and drinking as masculine activities and homelife as feminine. The practice of daily interaction in the pub continually reinforces these distinctions. Social interaction in the pub is exclusive of women. Women do not drink on a daily basis and those who do are considered to be pathological or alcoholic. Men's behaviour in the pubs does not encourage female participation, and men bring women into the bar on terms that are expressly masculine. It is generally accepted that at the bar, successful males behave in a manner befitting singleness rather than marriage. In conversation, women are talked about as sexual partners, potential sexual partners, or as despised moral guardians. Female barstaff find that men as a matter of course 'chat them up'. Thus, in the pub, men create a world in which in
conversation, symbols, and in practice they control women and treat them as they wish.

The presence of a definite gender exclusion means that there is a daily clash between female control and male control at dinner time. The real locals, who are seeking maximum interational status, will almost never go home without some display of reluctance. This reluctance will take a variety of forms. In the final analysis, those men who display open signs of marriage and co-operation with their spouses will never climb far up the barroom hierarchy. Such cooperative attitudes are anathema to the prevailing masculine norms.

These gender interactions operate in both Methven and Mt. Somers. However, when men retire from work the traditional division between work and home is undermined and even though the older men attempt to replicate the daily pattern of working men, the effect is somewhat diminished. Once retirement is reached, and children leave home, the interactional division of gender is relaxed to a degree. If woman are ever seen in the pub in Methven it is almost certain that their husbands are retired. In these situations women will arrive at the pub with their husbands even if they do not drink together for the whole pub visit.

The presence of gender exclusion does not mean that no recent changes have occurred. In Mt. Somers, economic necessity has forced the pub and the Rugby Club to include women as participants in their social events. While this increases the number of women present in these situations, it also increases the interactional boundaries used by men to preserve their domain. Economic change has not yet resulted in significant social change.

The interactional segregation of men and women is acute for the one institution, marriage, which highlights the tension between work and drinking, and the domestic sphere. When men get married they are seen to be moving under female control. Therefore social interaction between a soon-to-be married man and his drinking fraternity is striking. At a man's stag party the need for male control over their sexuality, and general attempts to prevent marriage, are all blatantly obvious in the crude rituals that take place.

This completes a summary of the research findings into the micro-level daily practice of public drinking. What emerges is a number of interesting hierarchies and social divisions all of which require some form of explanation that relates them to the wider social level. It is at this wider level that the daily practice of drinking becomes significant as a part of the general historical and social trends in the community and region.

9.4 Patterns of Inclusion or Exclusion and Political Economy

Up until this point the summary of ethnographic work has been centred on basic description of the phenomena in question. How then can one explain the central question of any ethnography:
why is this situation as it is? How can one best explain this present cluster of social forms which make up the descriptive content of an ethnography? Throughout this study it has been made clear that the best current framework for explanation of ethnographic data is that provided by a theory of practice. According to practice theory, social phenomena are created by the historical process of a community's existence. Certain social forms are ephemeral and will last only a short time in the community's history. Others are extremely durable and require close examination.

In the current study we have focused upon public drinking as a fundamental aspect of the socio-cultural life of rural communities. Because the patterns are so deeply ingrained it is likely that they have existed for a long time. The current forms of male public drinking are likely to have been present in Methven for over a century, and in Mt. Somers for as long as it was 'wet'. Why then is this phenomenon so durable? Explanation must ride on two factors. First, male public drinking has developed into a concrete daily practice that is very important as an element of the everyday life of Methven males. Everyday practice has insured that public drinking is significant. Whatever its origin, drinking has become an integral part of daily life and as a daily custom thus reinforces and perpetuates important norms, values, and symbols. Around this daily practice has emerged a complex network of male interaction which influences much of male behaviour in the workplace, in leisure, at home, and dictates much of male social success. This daily practice of drinking by men creates a forum for the complex male networks to form, and these have formed around male control of drinking situations probably for the entire existence of the community.

This leads to our second explanatory factor. The community has changed throughout the last 100 years, but the pub has remained as an important social centre. This indicates that the pub is directly related to some unchanging feature of a gradually-changing community: that of a labour servicing centre. For the entirety of their histories, Methven and Mt. Somers have served as servicing centres for the labour demands of the surrounding rural industry. Even though the actual nature of the farming itself has changed, and the social structure also changed, the labour servicing function of small rural communities has remained constant. There has always been a demand for rural labour in mid-Canterbury and the presence of blue-collar workers has provided steady custom for the surviving pubs, while those pubs servicing extraction industries like gold or coal mining have suffered varying fortunes. Rural pubs are thus sustained by an economy which has always needed blue-collar workers.

The pub is therefore not an entity that can be explained in its own terms: it is an economic and social unit that has existed as a part of rural capitalism in New Zealand. The following account reviews economic development and shows what part pubs played.
As the rural economy has developed it has provided employment for labour, something that has remained from last century to the present day. Industries servicing the needs of workers have flourished. Initially, the classic labour servicing industries involved accommodation, and entertainment such as pubs, billiard halls, and brothels. Fairburn (1989) has noted that transient labour found pubs to be an obvious venue for entertainment and companionship because there were no other clubs or associations. Neither did transient labour have the option of family entertainment. Hence Fairburn links drunkenness to the loneliness and isolation that characterised nineteenth-century New Zealand society. Phillips (1980) concurs in seeing the frontier pub provide warmth, entertainment, a cure for loneliness, and for the development of the tradition of mateship. The 1920s ushered in significant improvements in transport routes and farms became more accessible to workers in the towns. Similarly, some elements of the rural labouring class began to set up solo contracting businesses in small towns like Methven. The result was a decline in demand for accommodation and entertainment. Small towns could now be visited by blue-collar workers more regularly, and were no longer centres where workers 'blew' their earnings in between jobs. Of the labour-servicing industries, only the pubs retained a niche in the changing labouring lifestyle. Blue-collar workers remained to sustain pub life and would do so until the present day. The current ethnography reflects the way in which the values of rural labour today are manifest, and it is likely that blue-collar values today are similar to blue-collar values earlier this century. What we have been observing is the practice of male drinking which is probably very similar to how it has been expressed for most of this century.

The explanation of public drinking thus far has shown how it is a regular and durable social form linked to the nature of the rural economy. However, this account does not explain precisely how and why public drinking occurs, and for further explanation we focus initially on exclusion and status. These factors help explain the specific dynamics that occur in pubs. Drinking practice forms an important dynamic in the daily lives of rural workers. What is interesting is that this daily practice involves such a strong degree of social closure or group exclusion. The legitimations expressed by men in their drinking practice presumably resemble the exclusive practices of the bourgeoisie in other drinking situations. Daily drinking in Methven or Mt. Somers does not in any way look like the collection of disenfranchised and exploited rural labour. Instead, drinking practice serves the opposite purpose. It creates a labour elitism that both obscures class relations between blue-collar workers and bourgeoisie farmers, and also excludes newcomer working groups from the centre of proletarian networking.

Inclusive and exclusive roles of drinking can be related directly to the location of drinking. In the first instance, drinking can serve as an inclusive act between class groups. In this case the two groups are landowners and workers. When rural labour drinks
In the farm setting there is a general sense of economic distinctions being overridden by the act of drinking together. This completely ignores the fact that farmers are actually 'shouting' workers. The transaction that takes place is overlaid by a ideological veneer of egalitarianism. The focus of farm relations between workers and farmers is fraternal drinking rather than the obvious material reality of the employer-employee relationship. Farmers and workers drink together after jobs on farms, and in these situations drinking serves to obscure any class relations between participants in the work relationship.

In contrast is drinking that occurs in public locations. Whereas workplace drinking on farms obscures possible group distinctions along the lines of class, public drinking tends to sharpen distinctions between some, but not all, participants. Already in the main chapters it has been made abundantly clear that drinking interactions have a direct relationship to occupation. Men drink in the post-work situation where drinking relationships are formed along work lines. What needs to made clear is that, from a wider perspective, post-work drinking is inclusive only in regards to blue-collar working males and in particular, groups that have historical legitimacy. Most other social groups are interactionally excluded from the male drinking networks, despite their blue-collar character. Further, among all blue-collar groups, women are routinely excluded from daily interaction in the pub.

There is a distinct logic to the inclusive and exclusive roles of drinking in terms of the political economy of the region, and our explanation of these roles will be framed in this perspective and emphasise the politics of status and controlling work and identity.

The nature of capitalism in rural New Zealand was such that stable intergenerational forms of class did not form. Instead, New Zealand has experienced a transient labour pool of marginal labour that has been included and excluded from the economy as it has expanded and contracted, and changed in character. Prior to the 1920s, transient labour served the needs of the estate-based capitalism in Canterbury. Then as family farming became more significant and rural labour became more sedentary, the new-familiar pattern of some labour working its way into land ownership emerged. In this emerging system the nature of the migrant labour changed. In this pattern of labour incorporation, the rural male proletarian is not in a conflicting class position with the landowners as the rural labourer is working towards land ownership himself and shares the value system of the farmer.

Among these values is the importance of owning land. In a rural economy there are few ways of achieving economic or social success other than by landownership. Ancillary services all relate to agriculture so it is natural to give emphasis to land. Because of the key role of land and the aspirations of blue-collar workers to own land, there is a strong tendency to overlook social or economic differences deriving from
landownership, and both farmer and worker are keen to obscure these differences by constructing an image of equality in drinking beer together. Thus, the common acceptance of the class values associated with land lead to inclusive drinking practices.

There are other important implications from recognising the key role of land in the rural community. For men who do not own land, status has to be achieved somewhere and this occurs in the pub. For these men, the pub becomes a means to achieve standing among one's peers, even if they are only blue-collar workers and exclude large-scale farmers, transient professionals, or workers from other industries. Thus, there are few options for achieving standing in the community other than by owning land or successfully maintaining social position in the pub. These men do not have the opportunity of pursuing educational, artistic, or even high-level sporting activities in a small rural town.

However, the quest for status does not fully explain exclusive drinking practices. The distinctions made between different occupational groups and genders can be further explained in terms of control over work and identity. Among the values of the blue-collar workers is the linking of masculinity and manual work. The pub values reinforce work values and define what it means to be a real man. In part, this set of values is functional in preserving their claim to work at the same time as defining their identity. Hence, blue-collar workers tend to defend their work from other groups, especially newcomer industries and women, and pub life reflects these distinctions. The men are consciously or unconsciously defending their identity as workers. Because they emphasise the links between work, masculinity, and identity any challenge to who does work is a challenge to personal identity. New industries, about which the men have little knowledge or which might ultimately overshadow the existing industry, are treated with contempt and seen as the enemy. Thus, under these conditions, different groups of blue-collar workers can have an antagonistic relationship or, in practice, maintain exclusive boundaries and not interact.

This defence of work shows up in such practical benefits as operating a labour market within male networks at the pub. The interactions in the pub include a screening process as to who qualifies for a particular job. Thus, blue-collar leisure in the pub is linked to the pursuit of blue-collar work.

The importance of control over work and the link between work, masculinity, and identity also explains exclusion of women. Women in the pub not as visitors or not under control of men are a threat to the mens' hegemony over blue-collar work. Traditionally, domestic labour has filled the margins of the rural labour market and does not overlap with blue-collar work. By excluding women from the daily practice of blue-collar leisure time, men can ensure that women cannot establish themselves permanently in the local labour force. The key components of this male-constructed boundary are the symbolic differences in male and female biology. Men's manual skills and masculinity are upheld, while women's sexuality is degraded. Alongside this, the
importance of women's role in marriage is juxtaposed with men's preferred freedom from marital obligations. Implicitly, women's unsuitability for work is expressed. The apparently obvious distinctions between men and women are emphasised in a way that allows men to control their space and maintain their distinctive claim to work.

Control over work and exclusion of women is illustrated in the recent dynamics of women returning to work at times of recession. Economic survival takes precedence over preferred working arrangements so that when the pressure is on women do work in the paid economy. In Methven many women obtained work in the 'foreign' tourist industry with which most blue-collar workers have little association or familiarity, while in Mt. Somers women worked in mainstream rural industries. With the improvement in the rural economy, Methven women are tending to remain employed while Mt. Somers women are tending to return to mothering roles. Perhaps this different response is due to the influence of the male network in Mt. Somers in fostering traditional roles, and the lack of influence of the Methven male network. Methven men are losing influence over their wives employment status because the women work in a different industry, one in which they have little influence, interaction, or interest. Other economic pressures for change can be seen in the inclusion of women in the Mt. Somers Rugby Club social events in order to increase club revenue.

Our explanation of rural public drinking can be summarised as follows. The pub provides a service for blue collar workers and this role has been constant since earliest settlement. Both Methven and Mt. Somers were centres of extraction industries which had a constant requirement for workers even though the nature of the economy changed. Historical presence combined with regular daily practice to make public drinking a durable social phenomenon. Close inspection of the dynamic interactions associated with public drinking shows that drinking serves both inclusive and exclusive roles and is the basis for male identity and status. Drinking is linked with power in the local labour market, in which blue-collar workers can be seen to be defending their claim to work. Inclusiveness in drinking occurs between different classes because they share similar values, especially the value of land in giving status. Without land, status is achieved via interactions in the pub and by doing blue-collar work. But work in itself does not forge unity and there is exclusion of blue-collar workers in newcomer industries. This exclusion occurs because workers are protecting their jobs, and this becomes necessary because work, masculinity, and identity are linked together. Any threat to these values evokes a strong defence. The ultimate threat comes from those women who are perceived to want to enter the male world of work and masculine values. Hence, these blue-collar men react sharply to such invasions and maintain the values of traditional roles for women. Any challenge to the monopoly of work is a personal challenge and cannot be left undefended.

The conclusion of this chapter is that the practice of men's
public drinking is directly related to the historical nature of the local labour market. The dynamics of work, class, and gender coincide in the local labour market, and the actions of the blue-collar workers at the pubs clearly displays behaviour consistent with the socio-economic interests of the blue-collar group. The pub scene serves to reinforce traditional work groups in their traditional industries and also reinforces women in the domestic roles of wife and mother. In Methven, the tourist industry has opened up avenues of opportunity not previously available to rural women in a new industry not historically associated with rural blue-collar workers. Entry into the workforce of the new industry has been made mainly by local women who have developed their own labour networks not centred on the pub. Mt. Somers women have not had the same opportunities and have consequently experienced more marginalisation in the traditional rural labour market. This distinctive development supports our view that socio-economic interests, and therefore political economy, are important factors in explaining the character of daily drinking practice. It is the presence of a rival industry to which most Methven men do not identify, that allows some women to seek permanent work. In contrast, in Mt. Somers the men have tended to maintain control of all the work networks.

Within this long-term dynamic, a world of male drinking has developed which promotes the values of blue-collar labour, masculinity, and total rejection of femininity. Most blue-collar workers spend their lives immersed in this social world of public drinking. It is a world that both sustains their interests and is sustained by the advertising strategies and symbolism of the major breweries. The campaigns of the breweries serve to reinforce male blue-collar values and play their own part in reproducing the ideological world of the male drinker. Young men in rural communities grow up in an environment where, if they wish to remain in their home town, they must strive to be incorporated into adult male institutions. Thus the young men actively adopt the values of their seniors and as they grow up are naturally incorporated into the adult institutions. Any impetus for change from individuals within the communities is minimal, as young persons who do not like their options in their home town leave the area. The two main forces for change are the arrival of an alternative industry, not dominated by the local blue-collar male group, and the contraction of the local rural labour market forcing a large number of local male youths to seek work in Australia. The long-term effects of these two factors will continue to make for interesting research.

These are the specific conclusions of the study arising from the ethnographic research. The general conclusions of the study, emerging from the comparison of these results with findings in other studies, forms the content of the final chapter.
CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSION

10.1 Introduction

In this brief concluding chapter we relate our findings to the literature reviewed in Chapter 2, and argue that the general similarities support the view that the working class pub is a common response to a conjuncture of work, home, and leisure. We briefly review another New Zealand study in which the findings complement our own. Then we discuss, again very briefly, the issue of future social change, some limitations of this study, and the implications for future research.

10.2 Public Drinking in Methven and Mt. Somers in Comparison to Other Studies

There is a striking similarity in the general findings in this study and what we have already learnt about the pub from overseas studies as selectively reviewed in Chapter 2. In that chapter we concluded that the culture and interactions in the pub in Western capitalist societies was a particular response to the conjuncture of home, work, and leisure. Typically, there is a clear division of labour in which men earn a wage and women have childcare roles. Pubs are the venues of particular cultural solutions to a prevailing social structure and have four distinctive characteristics including: meanings, behaviours, conversation, and exclusion of women. First, the pub is a male club in which men escape the constraints of work and home, and in which there is an egalitarian ethos and mutual obligations fostered by shouting or round buying of alcohol, typically beer. Alcohol is a symbol of the male groups. The findings here fit this pattern and confirm that the pub is a male club. Egalitarianism was an important attribute of pub and workplace interactions in Methven and Mt. Somers. The pub was attended regularly and was an integral part of rural social life. Men visited the pub after work and before going home to dinner. Round buying and shouting during pub drinking were present but was not common in this study, although shouting was very common in workplace drinking. Round buying seemed to be precluded because the enthusiasm for drinking necessitated using jugs as the common unit of purchase, yet buying jugs in rounds would have entailed excessively large amounts of beer. The character of public drinking and the adornments in the pub reflected the male values and were a constant reinforcement to masculinity.

The second characteristics of pubs shows up in behaviours. For men, the pub is an arena for leisure. Men assume diminished responsibility for their actions because they believe they have inalienable rights to behave in a playful way, uncontrolled by women, and their wives in particular. They thus rebel from constraints on action which do occur in their place of work and their home. Because women attempt to influence men by judging
actions the men see the women as moral guardians, and there is a perpetual tension between men and women fostered by the pattern of interaction and conversation in the pub. Again the findings in this study clearly fit this pattern. The characteristic antagonistic relationship between men and women did occur, and the men visited the pub, or stayed on at the pub, to challenge female constraints. The playful element of pub behaviours did occur and it was expressed in joking interaction. However, we have found a more serious pursuit of status seeking beneath the cover of egalitarian good nature.

The third characteristic of the pub is that it features conversation which reflects the character of the male club and the structural elements that underlie it. There is a masculine ethos and emphasis on male activities such as sports. Men show a need to reinforce constantly their masculinity and women are objectified as targets for control. Conversation features teasing, joking, and competition as men compete against each other to win over an audience. Pub conversation also supports practical outcomes like finding work. All these aspects of pub conversation have been found in our study. The masculine ethos is obvious in the three pubs studied and the men clearly contrasted male and female values, and in doing so, objectified the existence of women. Pub conversations did include teasing, joking, and competition. However, our findings show that in addition to these, the men practised a constant and careful competitive game of status seeking which involved defining groups within a hierarchy of status levels. We found exclusion between male groups, as well as exclusion of women. As in the other studies, the pub in Methven and Mt. Somers did operate as labour networks.

Fourth, men control the activities of women in the pub under the guise of levity so that they are present only as quests of men, not in their own right. Conversation is used to maintain this exclusion. This was characteristic of our findings. All the pubs studied clearly illustrated gender exclusion. The male symbols sustained this exclusion and facilitated male control of women. At times, overt physical control occurred, especially in situations when there was a challenge to male control in front of other men.

Our research shows up some differences to the literature in Chapter 2. We have found that within the blue-collar group there were distinct groups and these either drank regularly at the pub, but in specific areas, or else were not a part of the regular drinking group. Exclusion cut across blue-collar workers as well as between genders. Further, our results included detailed historical background which added to our explanation of public drinking and forced us to acknowledge historical, political, and economic factors in the character of daily drinking practice.

In general, the comparison of the findings here with other studies show many similarities. There are similar structures, patterns, and interactions in Methven and Mt. Somers and in four locations in Europe. Thus, the findings in New Zealand are an
example of a common response to social and economic history, and
the development a cultural solution in response to the
conjunctures of work, home, and leisure. This overall similarity
suggests strongly that the location, patterns, and interactions
of public drinking described here would occur in other rural
locations in New Zealand. No complete uniformity can be expected
as each particular locality will have unique features that
influence the behaviours in that locality. Variations of the
general theme have occurred in Mt. Somers in response to the
presence of a different balance of occupational groups. However,
similar basic process occurred. These we would expect to occur
in all rural pubs in New Zealand.

Further support for this argument for the generality of our
findings can be found in the results of recent New Zealand
research on rural women and alcohol which also show up the
importance of control (Smith, 1988). In general the women
perceive that men lack social and communication skills, and drink
to overcome these deficiencies. Men are seen as not knowing when
to stop drinking and they are influenced by peer pressure. They
observe that when their husbands are with younger, unmarried men
they drink more. Women see that for men drinking is serious,
asertive of masculinity, involving competitive challenge to
others to prove themselves, and is a continual struggle to
maintain credentials (Smith, 1989?; 185). Despite this prescient
view they also see that men drink for the sake of drinking, that
is, they see no credible rationale for drinking, and to them the
above four facets of male drinking are an inadequate explanation.
For the women, men's drinking is senseless. This view is held
perhaps because women do not fully appreciate why men's drinking
is so serious.

The women in the studies say that they take responsibility for
men's drinking, especially those men close to them. The women
can have to set standards of behaviour, and they observe that
their presence moderates drinking behaviour. They try to insure
that sober drivers are available and they try to prevent
embarrassing behaviour in a spouse. Women take responsibility
because they perceive that men when drinking are not responsible,
and they are less able to fulfil their obligations to other
people. Thus, the men are unpredictable and there is no
certainty as to when they will return home. They may indulge in
drunk driving, which is a major cause of fear for rural women,
but they refuse to recognise women's fear and are thus
irresponsible. Homelife is thus disrupted and women are made
powerless.

In these dynamics we can see that conflict over power and control
built upon the contrast between leisure and home life. Men seek
to pursue their drinking activities and to escape domestic
responsibilities in an effort to forge their independent
masculine identity. The inevitable result is a major impact on
wives who have little control over their destiny. Men are thus
able to control women. Any attempts by women to do the same are
strenuously resisted. For example, when wives telephone the pub
to enquire as to their husband, the men hate it and the barstaff
are not sympathetic. Alternatively, men resent staying home and letting their wives go out. The findings from the study of women and from our own results show definite parallels and support our contention that public drinking is best understood in terms of its context of the labour market and gender, and in terms of work, status, and identity.

The generality described above probably does not extend as far as the urban pub. In this study we have explicitly focused on rural and small town public drinking because it is likely that the greater degree of familiarity of pub patrons engenders distinctive patterns and interactions. Notwithstanding this however, in any urban pub in which there was regular use by blue-collar workers between work and home we expect similar patterns of behaviour to occur. There may also be similarities between the blue-collar workers identity with work and the urban businessman or professional workaholic who similarly identifies him or herself with work.

10.3 Division of Labour and Social Change

Our explanation of rural public drinking links a durable social phenomenon to the rural economy. Regular daily practice sustained the pub and its attendant behaviours in an economic setting which has featured a constant need for male workers. Within these structural factors, public drinking is explained in terms of exclusiveness within a political economy in which men practised drinking to maintain status groups that correspond with occupation. Status is earned within the male drinking group and access to work controlled. The work/masculinity/identity linkages are strong such that challenges from new industries or from women are fiercely contested. The pub is thus in location between the worlds of work and home in which men achieve status and sustain their identity through work.

Our emphasis on the work, leisure, and home is based on seeing the pub as a cultural solution to the division of labour. If we focus on this topic we are able to gain some understanding of likely future developments in public drinking.

In general, there appears to be in modern society a change away from the sharp division of labour between men and women. Women now take paid work and men may take childcare roles. The traditional pub with its male values is a cultural response to a conjuncture of work, home, and leisure which was based on distinct gender roles. Now that gender roles are no longer distinct we expect that the pub in future will reflect these changes. If female blue-collar workers become in future an integral part of the pub scene then the current symbolic world and ideologies will have to change. Possibly, some distinct, non-sexist blue-collar values will be emphasised to demarcate the blue-collar group from all others. It would not be possible in this scenario for current gender symbols to be emphasised in the same way. In as much as the role of women in our society changes in future then it follows that the character of the pub will change too. Traditional pub interactions will be preserved where
male enclaves with traditional role divisions are able to successfully persist.

10.4 Limitations of the Study and Implications for Future Research

This study of public drinking in Methven and Mt. Somers is a product of the methods of research. As we have argued, the integrated ethnography is the most suitable method for developing a thorough interpretation of public drinking, and our chosen method yielded an appropriate account. Not addressed was the history of drinking in Methven and we have been forced to assume that, in general form only, public drinking has had some important and unchanging features since 1879.

Also not given much attention are the personal meanings of drinking, in which the subjective perceptions of the drinker are given emphasis. Instead, we have focused on meanings that may not be recognised by the participants themselves. More detailed attention to subjects' meanings could be examined in future work, especially if time were available to develop the fieldwork role. A final area not emphasised in our ethnography is the economic aspects of public drinking in which the connection of public drinking to the alcohol industry is examined. Such an approach would draw the focus away from the Methven locality itself.

Another group of limitations derive from the fact that both researchers are men. The focus has been on men in the pub and at other drinking locations, and while women are an integral part of this phenomenon (although not always an active part) we have not examined women's perceptions of the drinking phenomenon. It would be valuable to explore this dimension to learn in more detail precisely how the male-to-female antagonism is balanced and to learn how women cope, if not occasionally master, their particular role in the relationship. Such research could find out whether women are able to interact amongst themselves in ways similar to the men. This direction of research would be best pursued by women. Those few times when women could contribute to our research always turned up interesting data. An ideal research approach would be to include men and women in a team approach.

Future research should examine the following issues. First, there is the question of generality, and similar ethnographic studies in other rural regions would yield data valuable for comparison and for generating an improved general model of public drinking. Of particular value would be the study of a rural community in which public drinking was not such a key element. Such comparison would be valuable for ascertaining whether it is possible for male networks to form without the connection to drinking beer at the pub. Our results suggest that the connection is a necessary one but without further comparative study, we cannot make a definite conclusion. Second, there is the issue of the comparison to urban pubs. Obviously, urban pubs are diverse and serve many different functions and may not seem to be comparable to the rural pub. However, at least some urban
pubs may be quite similar, especially those with regular blue-collar clientele, and comparative studies could yield a range of models of public drinking. Third, attention could be given to historical issues in order to develop an understanding of earlier forms of public drinking to see whether its character has changed much over time. One obvious focus would be the role that the transient labour force played in developing the blue-collar drinking style. There appears to be a strong similarity between the itinerant lifestyle of the swagger and the free and unrestrained ethos of masculinity associated with contemporary public drinking. Is it possible that transient labour and its associated imbalances of population (more men than women) formed the basis of accentuated male drinking patterns that are manifest today. Third, there is the issue of monitoring the Methven and Mt. Somers pubs for changes in the medium-term future. It is possible that interesting developments may occur as women persist in the workforce of Methven. This research could be relatively easy to do by way of follow-up studies of short duration every few years.
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APPENDIX ONE

DRINKING PROBLEMS

This study has primarily been directed towards an observation of daily drinking practice as it manifests in Methven and Mt. Somers. At the initial stages of the fieldwork we avoided aiming directly at drinking problems, as they are an effect rather than a cause of daily drinking patterns. However, it would be naive to suggest that signs of drinking problems were absent from our data. We provide this appendix so that those interested in the social problems associated with public drinking have some material relevant to them. In addition, we do not wish to imply, by not focusing on problem drinking in the foregoing chapters, that everyday public drinking is free of social problems. These findings are not the result of detailed survey work or data collection. They are the (informed) opinions of a researcher who has been living within the drinking scene for 12 months. The figures are estimates from memory and represent a rounding off of annual trends (accounting for a degree of seasonality) rather than an estimate for drinkers at one particular time of the year. All these statements are consistent with (or contained in) the findings of the main chapters in this study.

1. Drinking Quantities

At least one half of workers in the pubs would drink in excess of three jugs (3000 mls) of beer every working day. Usually there are at least 12 drinkers in each pub.

In discussion with regularly drinking men, a great majority confessed to 'needing' a beer every day. They felt better after drinking it and felt a sense of loss if they could not drink.

Of the 350 (approx.) adult men in Methven, up to 30 could be considered alcoholic by the criterion of physical drink dependence. If one was to accept a notion of 'social dependence' then up to 100 men would fall into this category.

Within the community, only six to twelve men would be recognised by other drinkers as 'alcoholic'.

Interview work around Canterbury pubs revealed the fact that many publicans were concerned at the number of other publicans who were mild to severe alcoholics. Some publicans actively pursued a policy of not drinking at all in their workplace.

2. Drinking and Driving

Many men in the Methven area, both young and old, continually drink and drive.

Local law enforcement only has the time and resources to keep track of a few recognised dangerous drinking drivers.
There have been drink driving fatalities in this area, principally among young people. Roads around Canterbury are straight and uncrowded and this appears to minimise the risk of drunk driving.

Drinking conversations include accounts of how drunk men escaped from traffic officers. These accounts are applauded. Drunk driving is never condemned in pub conversation.

In some drinking events over one half of the men present will have a blood alcohol level in excess of legal limits for driving. Less than ten percent of men will arrange for 'safe' transport home.

3. Drinking and Marriage

Daily drinking is not an activity that is usually participated in by both husband and wife.

Those men who drink three jugs (3000mls) or more of beer each night after work are spending a minimum of $70.00 per week on beer alone. This takes no account of weekend drinking. Most of these men are blue-collar workers and for some this would represent about 20 percent of their take home pay. These consumption rates have been observed during the peak of the rural recession, at a time when bar staff consider that men are generally spending less on beer than in the past.

A large proportion of men's leisure time is spent in drinking. This proportionately cuts down the amount of time men can contribute to the domestic sphere, e.g., spending time with children.

The values of the men's daily drinking set are consistently in opposition to marriage, childrearing, and the rights of spouses.

Men's drinking groups exist in a symbolic atmosphere of total rejection of female control over men. When a woman tries to influence the behaviour of her husband or partner in a drinking setting these attempts are strongly rebuffed.

In public drinking sessions, sometimes the general symbolic control of women by men has spilled over into actual physical domination.

The opinions of social workers and other health professionals that domestic violence is relatively widespread amongst drinking men, is supported by our findings. The symbolic world of the pub creates an atmosphere that rejects female control of men and promotes values in opposition to marital co-operation. Once these values have been carried from the public realm into the private realm (by alcohol-influenced men) this may result in actual domestic violence. Men do not actively support or applaud domestic violence against women. It is unlikely that reports of wife bashing are exaggerated, so that the local accounts of 'wife-bashing' are likely to be representative of a real social
phenomenon. Accounts of 'wife-bashing' invariably include men who have been drinking.

4. Drinking and Work

There is a strong ethic of workers not drinking before the day's work is done. This is usually observed and there are few problems of drunkenness in the workplace.

There is evidence to suggest that the local pubs work as a blue-collar labour market. As such, it is difficult for blue-collar workers to gain employment without becoming a functioning member of the post-work drinking group, thus reinforcing the association between drinking and blue-collar work.

Because of this labour market function, it is difficult for non-drinking groups, like women, to penetrate male hegemony over traditional local jobs. This explains the disproportionately large number of women entering the tourist industry in Methven, an option that is not available in most other rural towns.

5. Drinking and Health

There is a common association between drinking and smoking cigarettes. In some cases smoking is seen as a blue-collar masculine symbol which is permissible in the workplace whereas drinking is not.

Despite the fact that most blue-collar workers engage in physical activity every day, there is nevertheless a general problem with slight (and not so slight) obesity.

Many men drink enough alcohol daily to cause health problems in later life.


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