TOWARDS AN ETHNOGRAPHY
OF ALCOHOL IN NEW ZEALAND
Julie Park  March 1985

UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
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TOWARDS AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF ALCOHOL IN NEW ZEALAND:
A REVIEW AND ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF LOCAL AND OVERSEAS
LITERATURE

by

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A REPORT TO THE ALCOHOLIC LIQUOR ADVISORY COUNCIL

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY, AUCKLAND UNIVERSITY

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This annotated bibliography and literature review is an indirect result of a workshop "Describing Drinking and its Context", conducted by Phil Harrington on behalf of the Alcoholic Liquor Advisory Council, in Auckland in March 1983. At that workshop qualitative research into alcohol in New Zealand was discussed from many angles as participants shared their knowledge and opinions. There was a general belief that little had been done so far, but that the research area was full of promise – and pitfalls. Although little direct qualitative research on alcohol has been carried out, my feeling was that there is a lot of useful background information scattered through the sociological and anthropological literature on New Zealand, and that in historical and biographical studies, in works of fiction and popular social comment, New Zealand drinking practices and values are captured and reflected back to us, becoming part of our drinking culture. As a preliminary step to ethnographic fieldwork a reading of this literature seemed useful.

Here in New Zealand we are at the beginning of qualitative studies of alcohol use and there is much to learn both substantively and methodologically from overseas research. The overseas literature is vast as Heath's (1981) bibliography makes clear. However there are some classic studies and more recent important contributions which have relevance to issues in New Zealand research.

The bibliography can only be described as preliminary. My intention is to periodically update it. It has been prepared on an IBM personal computer using p.f.s. FILE and REPORT. The diskettes will shortly be able to be transferred on to magnetic tape for use on "mainframe" computers and copies of diskettes or tapes will be available on request. Persons with access to p.f.s. FILE and REPORT may of course update their own diskettes or tapes if they purchase copies of those used to prepare this bibliography. Persons without such access may request printed updates. These services will be available at cost.
Part One contains the results of research into overseas literature. I have concentrated on those publications which can help lay the groundwork for an ethnographic study of alcohol use in New Zealand. Chapter Two deals with the substantive contributions that the discipline of anthropology has made to alcohol studies, while Chapters Three and Four discuss theoretical and methodological issues respectively. Chapter Five concerns overseas research which has particularly direct relevance to New Zealand alcohol studies. This body of work includes anthropological and sociological studies and discussions of social philosophy such as those involved in definitions of alcoholism. Some cases of planned and unplanned change in alcohol consumption are examined and aspects of drinking patterns and drinking behaviour are reviewed in relation to drinkers, drinking contexts and drinking styles.

Part Two presents the results of research into the New Zealand literature. The focus of my local bibliographic search has been on normative drinking patterns and on the meaning and use of alcohol in different sections of our society, rather than, for example, on the drinking and treatment of alcoholics, or on alcohol distribution or control policy. However, where such issues relate to normative drinking patterns they are included. I have not attempted to replicate work already done e.g., Orchard (1983), Scotney (1983), but include in this compilation and review, works of primary relevance whether or not they are listed elsewhere. Where this bibliography differs from the above is that it includes many works which make only passing reference to alcohol but which contribute by describing particular social milieux or sets of values which contribute to an understanding of alcohol use. The Beagleholes' (1946) early monograph Some Modern Maoris, where drinking is shown in the context of a particular community at one historical point, and the recent book resulting from interviews with 100 New Zealand men, The Jones Men, (Gray 1983), are two good cases in point. In works of fiction there is an enormous field to chose from and the images of drinking that novelists, poets and playwrights create or reflect are diverse. I have selected works which cover several decades of New Zealand writing by both male and female writers and which contain a variety of social settings e.g., rural and urban, working and middle class. Images of
drinking in New Zealand fiction is however a topic which could well repay serious study in its own right. There appears to be only one study on the topic and this is ongoing. The imagery of alcohol in the work of about 65 New Zealand poets and a handful of novelists is being explored (D. MacLaurin pers. comm). I have been able to scratch merely the surface.

Historically grounded studies of specific communities have a great deal to offer alcohol research. Pearson's (1980) study of Johnsonville and Binney, Chaplin and Wallace's (1979) research on Rua Kenana and the community he led, are excellent examples. There are large numbers of popular works of social comment which present New Zealand to New Zealanders and outsiders or present the views and experiences of overseas visitors. While some of these e.g., Ausubel (1960) deal in stereotypes even these are of interest, and many of the writers e.g., Fairburn (1949) deal with the liquor question in depth and with passion.

Part Two is organised according to the type of literature reviewed, namely historical works, social comment, fiction and social studies which includes both general works and ones specifically concerned with alcohol.

Part Three also concerns the local situation. An attempt is made, on the basis of the overseas and local literature and the small amount of field investigation I have conducted so far, to outline some of the possibilities of an anthropology of alcohol in New Zealand. Several foci for further research are isolated and briefly discussed.

The bibliography of overseas and local literature is presented in Part Four along with descriptive indexes for type of study, area, culture, topic, context and identity of subject. As an aid to cross reference between the bibliography and the research review an author index for Chapters One to Eleven is supplied.
PART I

OVERSEAS LITERATURE: AN OVERVIEW
Chapter 2
THE SUBSTANTIVE CONTRIBUTION OF ANTHROPOLOGY

Socio-cultural factors must be taken into account if we are to understand fully how alcohol affects human behaviour (Heath et al., 1981:9).

A primary contribution of anthropology has been the demonstration, beyond reasonable doubt, that whatever the biological processes involved, variation in alcohol use is a social and cultural fact and is best explained in social and cultural terms. Many of the classic studies which deal with alcohol in one society or draw comparisons between two or three cultural groups are models of holistic interpretation, which attempt to explain drinking patterns in terms of values and structures of the wider society, (e.g., Bunzel 1976).

Although there is great variation, a number of themes are shared by several societies. Drink plays a role in the creation and expression of community solidarity by providing perhaps the only form of communal expression, as with the Camba (Heath 1962) and by marking boundaries between one community and other, for example between Indians and Mestizos in Mexico (Madsen 1979) or between subsections of a community, e.g., Christians and non-Christians in the Tiriki, a Bantu tribe (Sangree 1962). Strong drink is also associated with the masculine role and image in many cultures, e.g., Micronesian (Nason 1979), Mexican (Heath 1962), Peruvian (Simmons 1962), Yugoslavian (Simic 1962) and sometimes with highly specific roles such as in spirit possession cults (Leacock 1979), or anti-roles as described by Dennis (1979) for Oaxacan drunks who perform the function of the jester, uttering "many a true word" without the usual retaliation.

Running through the ethnographic literature for non-western societies is the observation that drinking is a social activity (Doughty 1979) and alcohol addiction is extremely uncommon even where drinking is heavy or almost continual. The Camba for example, drink 89% ethyl alcohol distilled from cane syrup. They drink in rounds of toasts, perhaps all weekend, going through cycles of euphoria and sociability, muddledness and sleep. There is no violence, no
addiction and drinking occurs only during social occasions (Heath 1962). Social occasions, too, are the only time the West African Kofyar drink, but their style is very different. They do not drink to get drunk to the point of oblivion, but value slow drinking with ample time for talking, laughing, dancing and singing. Verbal arguments and sexual approaches are tolerated as long as they do not lead to violence. Beer permeates nearly every aspect of their lives, one way or another, but again addiction is virtually unknown (Netting 1979).

Alcohol has frequently played a most important economic and social role in colonial situations. The patterns of its use are a result of the prior values and practices of the indigenous society, the conditions of colonization and the patterns of alcohol use in the colonizing society. Frequently alcohol problems including health problems and violence occur in ex-colonial situations - see for example, Marshall (1979), Nason (1979) for Micronesia, Lemert (1979) for Polynesia and several contributions in Marshall (1982) for Melanesia.

Marshall (1979:451-56) in summing up a series of papers on alcohol, produced as a set of hypotheses the following sixteen generalisations. These are a useful "state of the art" summary.

1. Solitary, addictive, pathological drinking behaviour does not occur to any significant extent in small-scale, traditional preindustrial societies; such behaviour appears to be a concomitant of complex, modern, industrialized societies.

2. Beverage alcohol usually is not a problem in society unless and until it is defined as such.

3. When members of a society have had sufficient time to develop a widely shared set of beliefs and values pertaining to drinking and drunkenness, the consequences of alcohol consumption are not usually disruptive for most persons in that society. On the other hand, where beverage alcohol has been introduced within the past century and such a set of beliefs and values has not developed completely social and sometimes physiological problems with ethanol commonly result.

4. The amount of pure ethanol in the beverage consumed bears little or no direct relationship to the kind of drunken comportment that results; i.e., one cannot assert that the stronger the beverage the more disruptive the comportment.

5. All societies recognize permissible alterations in behaviour from normal, sober comportment when alcoholic beverages are consumed, but these alterations are always "within limits". The limits for drunken comportment usually are more lax than those prescribed for sober persons in the same situations.
6. Beverage alcohol usually is defined as a social facilitator (i.e., as a substance that promotes friendship, camaraderie, social solidarity, etc.), and this belief may persist despite considerable evidence to the contrary.

7. Socially disruptive drinking occurs only in secular settings. When alcoholic beverages are used in sacred or religious contexts they seldom produce socially disruptive drunken comportment, unless such comportment is considered an appropriate part of the religious worship.

8. Beverage alcohol is used for festive, ceremonial, or ritual celebrations the world over.

9. Where opportunities for group or community recreation are few and alcoholic beverages are available, alcohol consumption will become a major form of recreational activity in a community ("the boredom rule").

10. Typically, alcoholic beverages are used more by males than by females and more by young adults than by preadolescents or older persons. Hence in any society the major consumers of beverage alcohol are most likely to be young men between their mid-teens and their mid-thirties.

11. Not only do males usually drink more and more frequently than females, but males' drunken comportment usually is more exaggerated and potentially more explosive than that of females, regardless of relative ethanol consumption.

12. The drinking of alcoholic beverages occurs usually with friends or relatives and not among strangers. Where drinking among strangers does take place, violence is much more likely to erupt.

13. Peoples who lacked alcoholic beverages aboriginally borrowed styles of drunken comportment along with the beverages from those who introduced them to "demon rum".

14. When alcoholic beverages are defined culturally as a food and/or a medicine, drunkenness seldom is disruptive or antisocial.

15. Alcoholic beverages are the drug of choice for a majority of persons in any society, even if alternative drug substances are available.

16. Once alcoholic beverages have become available in a society, attempts to establish legal prohibition have never proven completely successful.
Chapter 3
THEORETICAL ISSUES

"Why do people drink the way they do?", is a question which needs to be answered on many levels, as does the related question "Why do people drink the way they do and then behave the way they do?"

There are a number of well researched reviews of anthropological theories of drinking and drunken behaviour namely, Heath (1975 and 1976) and Marshall (1979). These plus some of the original works on which they comment and many others, form the basis of this section.

Why do people drink at all? Heath (1976:41) suggests it is because alcohol is the most widely available and versatile consciousness expanding drug. This is echoed in a slightly different way by Gaines and McLaughlin (1981:235-7) who stress the importance of the drinkers' beliefs about themselves and their drinking in the determination of drinking. The self, they say, is the prime instrument of interaction between the drinker and his environment, and the experiential change that the self seeks through intoxication is the key. This has methodological consequences which are discussed below.

Most theoretical attention has been paid not to why people drink, but to why they drink in particular ways and with particular results. Most of the theories, or hypotheses have been constructed on cross-cultural data. Marshall (1979:99-110) conveniently summarized four of the most prevalent theories of cross-cultural variation. They are "anxiety", "social organization", "dependency theory" and "personal power" theories. To these I have added "identity" and "ambivalence" theories. All of them have something to offer, but like all complex phenomena, drinking requires complex, not unicausal explanations.
3.1 THEORIES OF DRINKING

3.1.1 Anxiety theory.
This derives from Horton’s (1943) paper "The Functions of Alcohol in Primitive Societies: a cross-cultural survey", in which he proposed that the primary function of alcohol is to cause drunkenness which reduces anxiety brought on by subsistence and/or acculturation difficulties. Underlying this theory is the assumption that alcohol is a disinhibitor, which by reducing inhibitions allows aggressive and sexual impulses out into the open. Horton tested his specific hypotheses on a sample of 56 societies which he had classified on the basis of level of sobriety and degree of anxiety and found that drunkenness went hand in hand with anxiety. His study was an interesting and pioneering one which set the stage for alcohol research for years after, but it contained some basic weaknesses, some of which it shares with most cross-cultural studies, i.e., definitional differences, the quality and availability of data, the way societies were selected; and some which were specific to this study, namely the presumption that the simpler the food-getting techniques the greater the degree of subsistence anxiety, and the oversimplified present or absent rating for acculturation.

3.1.2 Social Organisation.
In many ways social organisation theory is a footnote to Horton’s work. Using the same basic techniques as Horton, Field (1962) substituted the variable of social organization for that of anxiety. Acculturation, he argued, disorganizes and loosens social structure, and this is the underlying reason for the association of some instances of acculturation with drunkenness. With regard to subsistence levels, hunters and gatherers tend to have more egalitarian social organizations than for example, pastoralists and it is egalitarian social organisation that is associated with drunkenness. Conversely, sober societies are those with authoritarian, hierarchical socio-political systems. Field’s theory founders on societies not included in his sample, as Marshall (1979:105) demonstrates, but nevertheless it does have some appeal, and turns up in popular explanations which see drunkenness as the result of the "breakdown of society".
3.1.3 Dependency.
In 1965 Bacon, Barry and Child, using a bigger and better cross-cultural sample with a complex coding system, set out to study the relationship between drinking, infant nurturance, demands for self-reliance and achievement in childhood, and tolerance of the expression of dependency needs in adulthood. According to their theory, patterns of drinking relate to conflict and anxiety over dependency needs, which in their turn relate to socialisation practices and expectations of adult behaviour. Again there were problems with quality and quantity of data from the sample societies, but dependency theory does appear to be a partial explanation for some of the cross-cultural variation in degrees of drinking.

3.1.4 Power Theory.
In the early 1970's a new explanation gained some support. It derived from the contention of McClelland and his associates, published in The Drinking Man (1972) that people drink alcoholic beverages to attain feelings of personal strength and power, and that where there are high levels of power concern there will also be high levels of drinking. This work was not based on statistical cross-cultural samples but on a varied body of materials, which included folklore and psychological tests. To some extent it is the other side of the dependency theory but it has a more positive "entrepreneurial" flavour. It too is a useful partial explanation, but as Boyatzis (1976) has noted "power concerns" need careful definition.

3.1.5 Identity Theory.
Identity theory relates quite closely to power theory, but concerns the maintenance of particular patterns of drinking and drunkenness by particular cultural groups and in subsections of a society. According to this theory a particular style of drinking becomes a symbol or badge of a particular group. All-weekend partying by Beaver Indians in a white community (Brody 1981), Naskapi drinking described by Robbins (1979), and the interpretation of middle and lower-class styles as signals of status in a white community (Stone 1967) are cases in point. Lurie (1979) referred to native American drinking as "the world's largest on-going protest demonstration". Obviously
explanations in terms of identity theory can be only partial explanations as they explain only why two or more groups have different drinking styles, not why the groups drink in particular ways. Identity theory has an important role to play as a source of hypotheses which concern the persistence of drinking styles, and the positive effects of drinking.

3.1.6 Ambivalence Theory.
This is primarily based on large scale sociological and historical studies of drinking such as Jewish and Irish drinking: Snyder (1958), Walsh (1979), Greeley (1980), or American drinking: Fallding (1974). Some studies of small ethnic groups also used this framework: e.g., Simmons (1962) in his study of a Peruvian community where he found despite a positive attitude to drinking and being drunk, shame was attached to incorrect behaviour while drunk. The Barry, Bacon and Child study with its integrated drinking factor (Bacon, M 1976) also contributes here. Ambivalence towards alcohol, e.g., private approval and public disapproval and intra-society conflict over its value with a high degree of emotionality, is explained in terms of conflicting values in the wider society such that in learning about drinking young people are also learning about conflict, hypocrisy and so on. This is believed to result in a greater degree of problem drinking. Conversely where drinking is learned in a ceremonial and conflict-free atmosphere, problem drinking is reduced. Room (1976) has commented on this theory:

By the time the researcher has made the specifications and conditions we would argue are necessary before ambivalence is useful as an explanatory concept, the theory will be sufficiently well articulated to dispense with the concept of ambivalence altogether.

Ambivalence theory, I believe has a value as an orienting device, but as Room suggests, once the values, subcultures and contexts that give rise to the "ambivalence", are specified one has a much better explanation. However, the concept of young people being socialized to double (at least) standards is important.
3.2 THEORIES OF DRUNKEN COMPORTMENT

Cross-cultural variation in drinking patterns refers most immediately to quantity, frequency and type of drink consumed, though many of the theories outlined above have implications for drunken comportment, i.e., behaviour which accompanies or follows drinking. Theories of drunken comportment are of two basic types, biological and social. Biological theories suggest that the primary cause of behaviour which can be seen as a result of drinking is due to the action of alcohol on the human organism. Social theories explain the behaviour in terms of socially learned patterns and cultural values.

3.2.1 Biological Explanations.

Biological theories are best known because of the racist implications of early crude genetic theories which resulted in prohibition amongst, for example, Native Americans (see Westermeyer 1979). Such groups were believed to be congenitally "unable to hold their liquor". The question of ethnic differences in metabolism is extremely sensitive and little satisfactory work has been done. A study of rates of ethanol metabolism in three groups: White, Eskimo and Indian carried out by Fenna et al (1976) showed that Whites metabolised ethanol considerably more quickly than did the Eskimos, who metabolised it more quickly than did the Indians. However, the samples of subjects were not satisfactorily comparable and the generalisability of the study is very much in doubt. The authors suggest that metabolic differences probably related to dietary differences over many generations. A rather more useful approach which allows for the possibility of direct genetic differences in thresholds of response due to physiology, concentrates on morphology e.g., body size and mass, fat versus muscle and the architecture of internal digestive organs, which all contribute to the rate of absorption of alcohol and therefore, possibly have some relationship to drunken comportment. However, from many other studies, it does seem that the amount of ethanol ingested has little to do with "drunken" behaviour. A good summary of an anthropologist's view of the relation between alcohol and disinhibition can be found in Marshall's (1971) paper entitled "Four hundred rabbits...".

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3.2.2 Social explanations

What people believe alcohol to be (e.g., a disinhibitor, a food, a medicine, a social facilitator, a sacred or a secular substance) greatly influences the ways they behave once they ingest it (Marshall 1979:456).

This is the basis of the myth breaking book, Drunken Comportment: a social explanation by MacAndrew and Edgerton (1969). After reviewing a massive amount of research on alcohol related behaviour, these authors conclude that alcohol consumption provides a socially created "time out, within limits". Rather like certain festivals and rituals which put brackets around time, allowing for roles to be reversed and rules to be broken to a socially agreed on extent, the consumption of alcohol allows for the relaxation of rules, by creating a time when the drinker is allowed to be less responsible than usual - up to a point. Cultures differ in the way the limits are defined.

When they consider evidence on the introduction of alcohol to alcohol free societies, MacAndrew and Edgerton show that initially, many groups and individuals spurned this new substance, but after observing Europeans drinking it, often for decades, they finally acquired a taste for it. Their drunken comportment was a result of learning from the Europeans in combination with indigenous values and practices with similar substances, if any. Dailey (1979), provides a careful historical account of American Indian drunken comportment; Lithman (1979) a contemporary study of a Canadian Indian community. An excellent case study for Eastern Micronesia which shows the processes at work and underlines the powerful symbolism of alcohol is Marshall and Marshall (1979). Schwartz and Romanucci-Ross (1979) provide an eye-witness account of the first public drinking on Manus, a small island in the Admiralty group, Melanesia. They analyse drunken comportment in terms of both the indigenous culture and the observed expatriate drinking behaviour. This is true too of a fascinating study by Poole (1982) of a New Guinea group who, until the point of writing, had avoided the introduction of alcohol, despite knowledge of it. All these papers demonstrate the importance of the knowledge of indigenous values and colonial history to an understanding of contemporary patterns.

Social explanations take into account values and beliefs but they do not neglect other aspects of a truly social explanation such as
economics and politics. These aspects are perhaps particularly obvious in colonial and ex-colonial situations where alcohol has been a means of tying the indigenous group to a monetary economy or some other form of dependence, but they are also important in explanations of the role of alcohol in intra-society relations, e.g., relationships between men and women, or young men and their elders.

3.2.2.1 Alcohol and exchange.
Alcohol is many things to many people but one role it commonly fulfils is that of a vehicle of exchange or conspicuous giving. In Manus, for example, where alcohol figured in conspicuous giving, the donors' idea was to lay waste the assembled men - to give so much that it could not be matched; as well as to give them so much to drink that along with eating and dancing, there would also be much lying down (Schwartz and Romanucci-Ross 1979). In a group already mentioned, the West African Kofyar (Netting 1979), beer which is regarded as a great good, is important in exchanges, in offerings to spirits, in bride price and indeed in almost any transaction one can think of - including payment of fines. A most interesting study from Australia (Collman 1979), demonstrates the importance to Aboriginal women of the acquisition of alcohol in their attempts to control children and men. The relevance of the exchange of drinks to interpersonal politics is described by Blehr (1974) for the Faroe Islands. But perhaps the most outstanding example of the relevance of alcohol to interpersonal exchange comes from the Eastern Highlands of New Guinea where men's expenditure of large amounts of their cash income from coffee on alcohol for use in exchanges was the stimulus to a women's social movement which established savings groups and in the process reaffirmed women's identity as the source of wealth (Sexton 1981 and 1982).

3.3 CONCLUSION
Theories of drinking and drunken comportment are many and varied. Most of them contain at least a few elements which have explanatory power in some situations, but no one explanation is the answer. If there is one thing which the holistic approach of anthropology has to contribute it is that unicausal explanations for complex phenomena are less than useful. The point of reviewing theories of drinking and
drunken behaviour is to provide an array of possible explanations with some ideas about their limitations and some evidence of their useful application. There is no point in repeating the mistakes of the past, and there is a great deal to be gained from building onto the best from the past and the contemporary research scene. Research undertaken in New Zealand should be part of an on-going (but not unilinear) international process.
Chapter 4

METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

In this chapter the contribution of anthropological methodology will be assessed and some particularly productive methods outlined. However, many methodological issues will also be discussed in the next section of this report. The methodological contribution of anthropology can be discussed under two headings: ethnography and comparison.

4.1 ETHNOGRAPHY

There are many descriptions and definitions of ethnography. One summation by Heath (1980) for an audience of policy makers concerned with alcohol delineated the following characteristics:

1. the use of an observer as principal instrument of measurement and documentation in a normal setting,
2. a detailed description of what appears to be happening,
3. the collection of open-ended responses which provide information from the point of view of the subjects' involved and often bring out unanticipated data or concepts.

To this, I would add that the process of ethnography is not quite as passive as Heath's summation suggests: it is not merely observation, description and collection. It is an experience of interaction, participation, translation and further interaction as the ethnographer seeks to make sense of this experience both in his informants' terms and in anthropological terms. Cohen (1978:15-6) provides a clear example.

The Whalsay "spree" is a travelling party, a group of visitors which arrives at a house, stays for a while drinking and talking, possibly dancing and singing, and then moves on to another house, generally accompanied by the occupants of the previous one. Each person on the spree will have brought a bottle of whisky. When the spree arrives at a house, one glass is procured from the host. One of the spreers will rise, fill the glass to the brim and offer it to one of the company - generally to the host or hostess first. He or she will take a sip, having first offered a toast to the donor, "Good luck, Willie" or "All the best" and hand the glass back. The glass will then be refilled to the brim (if hardly any whisky has been taken, the gesture is still made) and offered to the next person, sipped - one sip only - handed back, refilled to the brim, offered again, and so on until everyone has drunk. Then the
donor will fill it, take his sip, and return the rest to the bottle. He sits down, the conversation proceeds, and a while later, somebody else will rise with his bottle and go through the entire rigamarole all over again, and so it will proceed right through the evening, or until the spree moves on elsewhere.

This would appear to be a fairly simple procedure, as, indeed it is once the various conventions have been identified. But before these have been assimilated by the observer it is fraught with pitfalls. Firstly, one may think that as the "host" he should perhaps recognise a greater obligation to offer drink than his visitors. So he takes his turn at passing his drink around, but then repeats it out of order. He may, on the initial round, have been fourth to offer the bottle, but next time he jumps the queue and does it second. A terrible blunder; first, he is imposing himself upon the company, being assertive, and claiming a greater right than the next man to have his whisky drunk. Secondly, he is implicitly expressing doubt about the next man's readiness to offer his drink. Why should the mistake have been made, since in retrospect it seems so obvious an error? Because he interprets a lengthy break in the procession of the glass as an indication to him by the company that he should offer his own drink again. That is, he has simply misunderstood what is going on. In our own culture, a pause signifies a lapse of communication; in Whalsay, it does not, it is an integral feature of interaction....

I would misunderstand the proceedings of the spree if I regarded it as, say, drinking behaviour, for then the meaning of its rituals and practices would have to be sought in its own highly specific terms. But given the overarching cultural umbrella, one is enabled to make sense of the process almost without making reference to the fact of drinking at all. The drinking practice is here symptomatic of wider cultural conventions. It is not, in itself, a discrete sociological issue that can be explained entirely in its own terms. That is the reality of community, that it is irreducible.

The general methodological problem is that one can only approach the whole - the irreducible community - through the parts. The way in is through what Cohen calls the "indigenous cognitive construction of the milieu", or by taking the participants seriously, and learning from them how to participate. It may be very misleading to isolate a behavioural phenomenon such as drinking and treat it as understandable in its own terms. The corollary of this is that what the participant (drinker or non-drinker) has to say must not be dismissed as rationalisation, unimportant folk model, or hypocrisy, but it must be taken into account to provide clues about the domain one is studying and its relationship to other domains, as well as for its own sake: part of that which is to be incorporated in any explanation.

Heath (1975:60) has remarked that much of the anthropological research on alcohol has been of an incidental nature and has expressed a wish for more systematic work. I could only agree if such systematic work was part of a second stage of research, informed by a
knowledge of the community in which alcohol is being used and not merely based on an a priori research design which conforms to ideals of scientific elegance.

Methodological and theoretical issues are closely related. Research methods and techniques provide the link between them and the world to be understood. In this review I do not wish to cover the whole ground of ethnographic method, covered in great detail in Agar (1980), Spradley (1979) or Hammersley and Atkinson (1983,) among others, or the advantages and disadvantages of cross-cultural comparision, but I do want to highlight some methods which seem to be particularly relevant to the ethnography of alcohol in New Zealand.

It is commonplace in sociological surveys to take self reports of drinkers and non-drinkers more or less at face value. In quantitative terms drinkers tend to under estimate, sometimes considerably. However as a rough and ready rule of thumb it is assumed that the underestimation is fairly constant. Quite recently this rule of thumb has been under attack. Cooke and Allan (1983) suggest on the basis of their work on a Scottish sample that under-reporting is far from uniform and is linked to sex, age and employment status. Unemployed young men who probably drink the most also under-report the most. This study indicates the care that must be taken when informants' statements are used to measure quantity. But informants statements on quantities consumed are interesting because they give some indication of norms and verbal, if not behavioural, conformity to them.

But ethnographic studies of alcohol can go much further than this cautious use of self-report. It is a first principle of anthropological research to take seriously what one's informants have to say. In alcohol research this is terribly important because, as numerous researchers have pointed out (Gaines and McLaughlin 1981:235, Mandelbaum 1979), much drinking is determined by drinkers' beliefs about themselves and their drinking. Through the methodology of participant-observation, contexts of drinking and non-drinking, behaviour of drinkers, drunk and sober, and of non-drinkers, and the talk of drinkers and non-drinkers about themselves and drinking can all be studied in detail, in the context of the wider culture. Once this has been done one has the necessary information to ask culturally

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appropriate questions, such as those required to elicit the drinker's story, a key to the meaning of alcohol use.

Topper (1981) suggests an approach based on ethnoscience, which is a systematic means of arriving at the informant's linguistic construction of aspects of his life. It has been used with some success by anthropologists working in non-Western societies, as well as some working with minority groups in Western society (Frake 1964, Topper 1976, Spradley 1970, Agar 1973). With this approach it is possible to describe intra-cultural variation in drinking patterns (often called styles) and to reach a very comprehensive understanding of drinking behaviour. Topper sees this approach as providing information which is of great relevance to modification of both individual and cultural drinking patterns.

An ethnoscientific approach is by no means the only way of arriving at a comprehensive understanding of drinking based on drinkers or non-drinkers stories. Life histories and other narrative accounts are just as informative, and in fact by reducing the focus on drink may provide even richer material. Langness and Frank (1981) provide an in-depth discussion of the use of life stories in anthropological research, and examine problems and issues which life story analysis raises. The volume Biography and Society (Bertaux 1981) contains useful accounts of a variety of approaches to life history by practitioners in several countries. Leland (1981) in an interesting study of drinking in an American Indian setting asked her informants to sort the names of adult residents into sets who "handled liquor" in much the same way. She had earlier discovered that "handling liquor" was an appropriate way to phrase her request. Men and women were sorted separately and there was quite high agreement on five sets of drinkers for each sex, based mainly on frequency of drinking. This method could be used in other contexts and to sort other categories. It is interesting because it is another way of using drinkers' stories to arrive at indigenous categories. In getting informants to explain their decisions and discuss them together it generated a wealth of new information. It was used here in a relatively homogeneous group, as was the next technique to be discussed which was used in an urban Canadian study.
Here a series of homogeneous groups were established, led by a group member. The group was required to try and reach a consensus of opinion in responding to a standardised questionnaire. The authors believed that in responding in terms of "people like us", the individuals in the group would be less threatened by sensitive questions and therefore answers would be more accurate than traditional self-report surveys. In addition, of course, in the process of reaching consensus on the answers, very rich material on beliefs and values and the relation of drinking to other aspects of life was generated (Liban and Smart n.d.). A combination of the last two methods outlined would make a powerful research tool. Homogeneous groups are required, but a series of such groups could span the social spectrum.

In a very recent paper Room (1984) has suggested that because until recently anthropologists have been members of a "wet" generation, have been at pains to differentiate themselves from missionaries, and have been equipped with a rather ethnocentric view of alcoholism or alcohol problems, they have tended to under-report alcohol problems and very heavy use in their ethnographies. Room's suggestion has sparked a debate which can lead only to better ethnography.

4.1.1 Alcohol systems.
Ethnographic studies employing the traditional methods of participant-observation, interview, life histories etc., such as those described by Cohen (1978) and many of the studies mentioned in earlier sections, are not limited by the bounds of the community or group on which they concentrate. No group is so isolated today that it escapes the effects of the market, of technological society and of a myriad of political influences. The relationships of small cultural groups to larger political entities, of minority groups to the nation as a whole, and the effects of rapid technological changes cannot be ignored when looking at alcohol-related issues. Where alcohol production is a capitalist enterprise, a state monopoly or part of any relatively centralized political-economic system, the groups involved and the economics of the situation need to be understood before the situation as a whole can be comprehended. In Western and other
societies where alcohol is defined as a problem the groups and agencies concerned with the problems also form part of the total picture.

4.2 COMPARISON

Anthropology is a comparative discipline. In Chapter 3:1 a number of statistical cross-cultural studies of alcohol were mentioned. Over the years cross-cultural comparative methodologies have undergone much refinement and improvement, but they are still only as good as the ethnographic records on which they are based. However, as one tool among many this methodology has its uses. Cross cultural approaches to alcohol are collected and reviewed in Everett et al (1976).

Comparison does not imply only correlations between vast arrays of statistical data. Many useful insights can be gained from much more limited qualitative comparisons where there is some control over some of the variables. Lemert's (1979) work on three culturally related societies is a pioneering case in point for Polynesia, while Kunitz et al.,(1979) fulfills a similar function for North American Indians. A rather more sweeping approach, dealing with Western societies which compares spatial aspects of drinking and drinking styles is provocative rather than definitive, but nonetheless is worthy of attention. The author, Csikszentmihalyi, (1968 quoted in Heath 1975:22-3) contrasted the conviviality of the German Beer Hall, with the fluidity of the circa - Mediterranean open-air cafes, the peer-oriented and mobile drinkers in British pubs, and the stealthy privacy of North American cocktail bars.

4.3 SUMMARY

Ethnography according to Walters(1980) is the systematic description and analysis of particular cultural groups. The ethnographer through participant observation learns from the group members how to live life according to that particular culture and in doing so learns the connections between different aspects of the culture. This process is never complete but after a period the ethnographer is in a position to focus his attention on particular aspects and to employ a range of methods which can generate further
information. Cross cultural comparison can be qualitative as well as quantitative. Both types of methodology have been used to answer questions about why different peoples drink in different ways, and what this means to them. Such comparative studies are only as good as the ethnographies on which they are based.
5.1 DEFINITIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

In this review of drink related literature I have so far passed over definitional problems. Obviously, there are cultural differences in what is regarded as "drinking alcohol". Some people classify only spirits as alcohol, wine and beer being more in the nature of soft drinks. Something of this is enshrined in our phrase "a drop of the hard stuff" which refers to spirits and in the response to the constable "This isn't liquor, sir, it's only beer" (Beaglehole 1946). A child or adult being given 10 mls of cough mixture is not "drinking alcohol", nor is a person having "communion wine", even though in both cases ethanol is in fact being imbibed. Such cultural definitions will be described in any ethnographic study of alcohol use, and while they may cause problems in defining "drinkers" when it comes to cross cultural comparison, any careful study will allow for them.

More serious definitional problems arise when attention turns into alcohol problems, and particularly alcoholism. Definitions stem from theories of alcoholism and alcohol use and have implications not just for treatment but for alcohol control policy and regulation of the liquor industry.

Jellinek (1966) pointed out that the statement "alcoholism is a disease" is a viewpoint whose wide acceptance does not guarantee its validity. It is a viewpoint which implies among other things that alcoholism is appropriately treated by the medical profession and like other diseases, it is not a sign of moral weakness, but is an involuntary illness. It also has the consequence that the alcohol problems subsumed under the concept alcoholism (and these are varied, see de Lint 1976) are defined not so much as a function of drink, but of personal attributes, such as genetic predisposition or some other biological or psychological factor, thus absolving manufacturers of alcohol from implication in the problem. It also implies that there
is some kind of qualitative difference between those who do not have the disease and those who do (alcoholics) which suggests that access to alcohol should really be restricted only for those with the disease or predisposition to it. Seeley (1962) suggests that calling alcoholism a disease is a social policy which has more good effects than bad, and he is supported in this by Kissin (1983) who maintains that his disease concept of alcoholism has no negative effects.

It is my view however that this is extremely short sighted. Certainly, treating an alcoholic as sick is preferable in most cases to treating him as a criminal and in this sense the disease concept has been useful in improving conditions and removing the stigma of alcoholism. But the disease concept of alcoholism is not the only possible viewpoint. Fingarette (1983) subjected the disease concept of alcoholism to a stringent analysis. He agreed that long term heavy drinking, (LTH) which is a basic element of definitions of alcoholism, does result in somatic and mental pathology and in this sense alcoholism is a causal factor in disease. But when he reviewed causal factors for LTH drinking he could find very little evidence to suggest that such drinking was caused by any disease. Nor was there any evidence that medical approaches to LTH drinking were more successful than others. Fingarette discussed the legal implications, both civil and criminal, for accepting the disease status of alcoholism. Such acceptance rests on the concept of "loss of control of drinking" yet "loss of control" as a causal factor in LTH drinking has no scientific consensus to support it. Rather the evidence suggests that changing conditions greatly influence drinking patterns of LTH drinkers. He concluded that the disease concept of alcoholism in the legal field had disturbing implications.

Support for a continuum of drinkers comes from alcohol consumption studies which show that national consumption figures can be described by a unimodal curve. Although a minority of drinkers consume most of the alcohol drunk, the degree of problem drinking relates to the amount of per capita consumption. The distribution of consumption which has come to be known as the Ledermann curve, after Ledermann's research on French drinking, was the subject of a symposium in 1977. The Ledermann curve is not to be understood as a predictive
mathematical formula, but as a statistical description which appears to have wide, but not universal applicability. In the symposium proceedings and in subsequent papers, Sulkunen (1977, 1983) and others (e.g., Cartwright 1977) have analysed the processes which underly the curve, under the conditions of rising consumption.

One of the findings is that new ways of drinking do not replace old ones but are cumulative. A local example is that as a result of many factors e.g., increased local production of wine, increased tourism and overseas experience of drinking, new patterns of drinking such as wine with the meal on a regular basis, have been introduced. But wine with a meal does not replace a sherry or scotch after work, or beer on Saturday afternoon, it is taken as well as those other beverages and those who have been heavy drinkers will tend to drink more wine with their meals than others. Thus the distribution of consumption stays much the same even as new groups of drinkers e.g., women or young people drinking wine with the meal, are added to the population. With increasing consumption some groups of drinkers who originally drank moderate amounts will increase their drinking and end up in the high risk area of LTH drinking.

The implications of this model of alcohol consumption for alcohol control policy and the liquor industry is plain. Increasing production and consumption of alcohol by those facts create the conditions for an increase in alcohol problems. This is, of course, directly opposed to the disease model of alcoholism which attributes alcohol problems to the personal susceptibility of alcoholics.

In this situation of opposing viewpoints and interests, laws and other methods aimed at affecting the consumption of alcohol, such as pricing and distribution, need very clear thought. Von Dadelszen (1979) prepared a review of liquor control policy for use in New Zealand which provides the background necessary for an informed approach. Room (1978) suggests that the goal of liquor legislation (which is usually moderate consumption), needs to be analysed in terms of what style of drinking is aimed at, who is to drink, where and at what cost (in the widest sense). Sulkunen (1983) warns against neglecting the political and economic aspects of alcohol production, distribution and consumption.
In the hands of some theorists of alcohol and alcoholism increasing alcohol consumption as an explanation of rising drinking problems can take on a rather mechanistic force with the result that the restriction of access to liquor through distribution, or pricing or legislation seems to be the logical solution to the problem. However, a very important contribution of the alcohol consumption model is that it points the way to an examination of the social and cultural causes and effects of increasing or decreasing consumption, or restricting or freeing access, thereby creating the circumstances under which a rather more fine grained approach to liquor control policy can obtain.

5.1.1 Summary.
Arguments over definitions in the field of alcohol and alcoholism cannot be dismissed as mere semantics. They are certainly arguments over meanings, but the outcomes of the arguments have very real social, political and legal effects.

5.2 Changing Alcohol Consumption

A non-specific but nevertheless vital outcome of social research on alcohol is that alcohol consumption is multi determined. Changes in consumption are similarly multi determined. In this section I will first look at one unplanned change in consumption and a couple of planned attempts to reduce consumption. Of course there are also many planned attempts to increase consumption: as many as there are advertising agencies with the accounts of brewers, vintners and distillers.

The example of unplanned change (increase) in consumption was analysed by du Toit (1964) for a group of North American Indians. From the late nineteenth century through to the 1930's, this group lived in a kind of golden age. The Methodist church provided a centre for social organization and activities, economic needs were provided for by per capita payments for timber, and timber and the railroad were a source of employment. A resident Indian Agent provided a direct link to the bureaucracy. Liquor was prohibited but was bootlegged into the reservation. Solitary and excessive drinking styles were frowned on and practised by only a few. In the 1940s
great changes occurred. There was a reduction in official personnel so that the group no longer had "their" minister or "their" agent, with the consequence that there was no local leadership and social activities ground to a halt. Employment opportunities were greatly reduced, per capita payments ceased in 1954 with the termination of the reservation and Whites moved in. At the same time, (1953), restrictions on liquor were lifted. The local tavern became the only centre for social interaction. Young people began to have drinking parties lasting from one to several days. Expenditure on drink, drinking and drunkenness all increased. Parties were accompanied by violence. Children of the young adult drinkers were neglected, the crime rate rose and the drinkers lost the few jobs that were available. This style of heavy party drinking which became the predominant style for a time, had existed for many years, but it had been the style of only a few. Solitary drinking remained a minority and disapproved style.

Du Toit suggested that the reason for the upsurge in this heavy party drinking style was that it provided a means of producing a feeling of unity and group confidence as well as providing a venue for social interaction. Drinking together reduced the anxiety and frustration at a time when rapid change and the withdrawal of what appeared to be paternalistic leadership had left a social and cultural vacuum. It is notable that freely available liquor was introduced precisely at the time when the established social institutions were withdrawn.

It is unfortunate that du Toit's study stops there as it is likely that if a genuinely local leadership were established and other changes ensued other styles would predominate. The complex linkage of drinking with social economic and cultural factors is very apparent here. An historical approach like that of du Toit and of Levy (1973) for the Tahitian situation explicates the relationships involved.

They also become apparent when planned change seems likely to affect vested interests. In 1978 Wallack reported on a research, education and evaluation programme which was conducted in three northern Californian communities. The plan was to conduct baseline research to establish patterns of drinking and alcohol problems,
knowledge of and attitudes to alcohol. Following this, the intention was to conduct a multi media advertising campaign to promote moderate drinking and finally to evaluate the success of this campaign. A key to the media campaign was a series of television advertisements which linked moderation with success and with sex. An early showing of the advertisements resulted in what was possibly an orchestrated outcry. The State Governor intervened and the commercials were withdrawn. As they were a key to the campaign, the whole programme lost much of its impact. This appeared to be one more instance where liquor interests worked arm in arm with moral guardians to defeat the proponents of moderate drinking.

The second instance of an attempt to moderate drinking where the sociocultural context is of immense importance, comes from France. It is in fact concerned with the prevention of alcoholism rather than the promotion of moderation, but it is aimed at persons who have only just started to drink excessively. For years, the French have been told that wine is good for the health, is a good food, that it promotes vigour and that even for children of four years of age wine in the form of reddened water is better than milk (Anderson 1979). The facts were however, that France led the world in the production and consumption of alcoholic beverages and in most indicators of alcohol related problems e.g., cirrhosis mortality rates.

The programme described by Babor and Treffardier (1983) for the first stage in excessive drinking is based firmly in the French view of alcohol as a food but seeks to demythologize its status. Excessive drinking, the drinker is told at the Nutritional Hygiene Clinic to which he has been referred, is a problem to be viewed as a poor dietary habit which can be rectified. The drinker will be able to drink moderately again once he/she recognises what damage too much drink does. Each drinker is monitored, counselled, supported and confronted with the facts on alcohol in France and in his/her personal life. While the programme has its critics, it is particularly interesting because of the account it takes of the cultural values surrounding alcohol.

These highly specific examples can be placed in the context of two overview papers which look at social controls over drinking (Lemert
Lemert finds that four formal control models predominate - prohibition, education, regulation (control policy) and functional substitution. He makes the point that naturally some combination of the last three types of control is often found to be beneficial though none is particularly effective. Social control cannot create new behaviour, but can only strengthen tendencies which already exist. He also makes a distinction between the alcoholic and other drinkers, saying that models suited to the population as a whole will not apply to alcoholics. This rather crude distinction between alcoholics and others is unnecessary, given the much finer distinctions drawn between the different styles of drinking and different types of drinker. Social controls need to be tuned according to these finer distinctions. Du Toit's work suggests strongly that drink focussed controls are only one aspect of the total drinking situation.

Cisin's (1978) more recent paper deals with formal and informal controls. It is based largely on his and his colleagues large study of American drinking practices (Cahalan, Cisin and Crossley 1969). These researchers found that norms governing drinking related to age, sex, social status, place of residence, religion and ethnicity. They discovered that while husbands knew all there was to know about wives drinking, wives knew less than "the lot" about husbands drinking. The role of drinking in socialisation they compared to sex.

There are a number of risky activities in which parents try to guide and teach their children, or arrange to have them taught. Driving is one. But there are other activities which parents themselves take part in but about which they are likely to keep their children in relative ignorance. Drinking and sex are such activities. Parents therefore inadvertently teach their children shame, guilt and lack of trust about drinking and sex.

5.2.1 Summary.
The force of informal social controls can hardly be overestimated. Their relationship to formal controls is always complex and sometimes the two may be at cross purposes (Cisin 1978:158), reflecting a lack of consensus in the society, or perhaps conflict may result in a compromise law which reflects the norms of no one group.
Intentional efforts to change the level of consumption of alcohol and changes in consumption of levels or styles of use which are not a result of social policy have a common value for the anthropology of alcohol: they help to highlight what features of the socio-cultural environment are involved in the continuation of the status quo. In the Northern Californian example it appears the liquor industry masquerading as, or in cooperation with, conservative moral groups, feared that the campaign would be effective. In the American Indian example, the links between leadership and economic self-sufficiency and drinking patterns are apparent. In these and other examples of change, values, informal controls and formal controls which during times of stability are difficult to untangle, become a little more accessible to the researcher.

5.3 DRINKERS

Many of the studies mentioned in earlier sections have a great deal of relevance to the study of the meaning and use of alcohol in New Zealand. In this section I will highlight studies based on aspects of the identity of drinkers, or non drinkers, which have not been examined earlier.

These studies are nearly all based on social surveys carried out for the most part by sociologists, and in the Western cultures. They are included here because they ask and answer questions which can be repeated usefully in New Zealand. These questions and answers form the background for more intensive research.

5.3.1 The Aged.
Alcohol problems are not a major problem of the elderly, mostly because LTH drinkers are less likely to reach old age. However, old age is a time when a number of life crises occur, e.g., retirement, illness, decrease in income, loss of spouse through death, moving to a different dwelling which can be stressful and also cause dislocation of social relationships. An American study carried out under the auspices of the National Council on the Aging (NCA) on the subject of the effects of retirement on drinking behaviour is one of the few which concentrates on this subject. Other pieces of information occur
in general population studies, or studies of aspects of old age, e.g., Blythe (1979).

The NCA study was conducted using interviews and questionnaires on a sample of persons aged 45 and over in New York city. These 187 men and women were mostly members of the United Storeworkers Union, and 73 of them were retired. Frequency of drinking of alcohol was related to sex and age (younger men drank more often), and to friendships with other frequent users. Half of the older respondents reported their drinking level had not altered since age 50, and only two said they now drank more. An activity level index was constructed. Those with higher scores tended to be in good health, retired and alcohol users.

It seems likely that alcohol use is associated with sociability which in turn is related to work status and health. However the study is rather too inconclusive to do anything except to suggest that some local work on drinking amongst the aged, particularly regarding its role in social relations and interactions, could be valuable. Certainly any studies of the life styles of older people should not neglect the meaning and use of alcohol in their lives.

5.3.2 The Young.

College students, captive guinea pigs for university researchers, have come in for their share of drinking studies. In 1978 a paper by Rouse and Ewing summed up a number of American studies of college drinking. They reported a national survey which showed fewer students drank than did their non college civilian age mates, and fewer civilians drank than did their military peers. A regional survey based in mid-atlantic coast campuses showed that while drinking was almost universal, only 23% of drinkers drank three or more times a week. There was an association between heavy drinking and a range of problems. The factors affecting student drinking rates were mostly social e.g., place of residence, time in college, and light drinkers (not abstainers or heavy drinkers) showed the highest self evaluation.

As a rather horrific cautionary tale some research by Globetti (1978) on the drinking of high school students in a small Mississippi community deserves a mention. Prohibition was in force and the nearest liquor supply was a lengthy car trip away. At the time of the
study the state was receiving $7 million in tax on bootleg liquor. The prevailing religious values censured liquor and drinking was not a custom integrated into family or church life. Under these conditions the teenage respondents reported a somewhat lower rate of alcohol use (40% were users), than other studies of similar groups, but most of these were drinking surreptitiously without the normal proprieties, and suffering problems as a result. In addition, on trips to buy bootleg liquor, the young people tended to drink a great deal "to make the trip worthwhile" and were at risk from car accidents. It was a situation where the law was in disrepute, and where the instruction given on alcohol was inaccurate and based on fear. The hidden agenda was that adults and society are hypocritical.

The drinking patterns of young men in four northern European states was studied by Bruun and Hauge (1962). Although Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden have a relatively homogeneous cultural background, they have varied liquor legislation and differences in consumption and type of liquor consumed. Although the young men, 14-18 years old, consumed small quantities of alcohol, by 18 nearly everyone had had a drink. It was interesting in the light of the Mississippi study that in Finland where the formal control was most rigorous, and where arrests for drunkenness were more frequent despite the fact that reported consumption was lowest and drinking occasions less frequent, the boys drank more often in out of door "uncontrolled" places than in the other countries. But these differences aside, there were many similarities in alcohol use and attitudes in these four countries despite the variation in legislation. These similarities can be attributed to the shared cultural background.

As well as cross national studies of younger people's drinking, there have been some longitudinal ones, notably by Fillmore and his associates who reported on a 27 year two-phase study of drinking of students in college in 1949. This study was an enormous undertaking. The first sample comprised 15747 people, 2519 of these formed the second sample of which 66% replied. The instrument was a self-administered questionnaire. This study confirmed the importance of socio-economic status, sex, ethnicity and income, in relation to drinking problems, but disconfirmed some widely held beliefs about the
unilinearity of drinking expressed in phrases such as "once a problem drinker, always a problem drinker" (Fillmore et al 1979:523). Similar findings which described spontaneous recovery from problem drinking had been reported from Britain a decade earlier (Davies 1962) and were a feature of the controversial Rand Report (Johnson et al 1973). Heath and Robertson (1981:1-77) present a clear account of the history and complications of this controversy in which the disease model of alcoholism was criticised and defended.

Fillmore and his associates noted that there were increases and decreases in problems relating to a wide variety of factors in any one drinker's career, rather than an inevitable progression from minor to major drinking problems.

One of the most interesting suggestions from this study is that young people who experience overt problems relating to drink tended to age out of these problems, whereas men with incipient problems or women with no problems but a strong identification with alcohol were more likely than any other category of college student to experience alcohol problems in middle age. The authors infer that the learning experience of those with overt problems has been powerful enough for many of them to modify their behaviour. This study of normative drinking also has much to offer as to why persons remain non-drinkers and why people adopt new forms of drinking. It also suggests that young adult drinkers are properly viewed as "beginners", people learning a new task who are likely to make mistakes. And while there is some relationship between the individual as a beginner and as an expert drinker the relationship is complex and certainly not unilinear.

Davies and Barry (1972) report on an extensive study of young Glaswegians between the ages of 14 and 17 who were still engaged in formal education. Their study provides useful comparative material, especially as a somewhat similar study was carried out in New Zealand a few years later (Routledge and Taylor 1981).

A rather more ethnographic account of young peoples' drinking comes from the pen of Dorn (1981) and concerns mid-teenagers working in shops and offices in an English town. The prevailing pattern is round
drinking and Dorn suggests that the sex equality and sociability of the work place is reproduced in the drinking culture. If the young people do not have enough money to buy a round either the pub is foregone, or a "whip-round"is carried out before entering the pub. The economic independence of the individual is proclaimed by this behaviour. Dorn notes that while "the authorities" often have a negative attitude to peer pressure, assuming that individuals bow to group pressure, this section of youth culture provides the setting for the construction of social identities.

These studies suggest that the conditions under which young people learn to drink are effective influences in their drinking behaviour both while learning and in later life but the influence works in complex ways. The symbolic value of alcohol to young people in relation to one another and society cannot be overlooked. Young people learn to drink and in doing so learn the values, the ambivalence and the patterns of use prevalent in their section of society.

5.3.3 Women
The subject of women and alcohol is receiving increasing attention. A most useful discussion of theories of women's drinking in Western society is contained in Johnson et al (1977:74-82), part of the Rand Report. An excellent overview of the etiology of women's drinking problems and incidentally, women's drinking is to be found in Shaw (1980), and the whole of Volume 5 of Research Advances in Alcohol and Drug Problems is devoted to the topic.

These works are concerned with women in Western society, particularly North America and Britain, but the relationship of women to alcohol in non-western societies is also complex and interesting, though understudied. Generally speaking, alcohol is associated with the male, public spheres and in societies in which alcohol has been recently introduced, e.g., Papua New Guinea, with the modern rather than the traditional way. But changes in women's roles in the developing societies affect women's relationship with alcohol as they do in western countries. The roles and statuses of women drinkers and non-drinkers in relation to men are complex and have political and economic significance (Sexton 1981, Collman 1979).
Surveys of problem drinkers in North America and Britain usually find fewer women problem drinkers than men, but they also find that men drink considerably more than women, i.e., the suggestion is that the differences in problem levels relate to the differences in levels of consumption. If women's consumption approaches that of men's, women are likely to experience as many or even more alcohol related problems. Differences in alcohol metabolism between men and women are now relatively well established, and it does appear that at the same consumption level, women are more at risk than men on some indices, e.g., serious liver damage. There is also the complex effects of social norms and expectation to take into account which may make women more susceptible to behavioural problems as well (Shaw 1980).

It is important to recognise the political and economic context of women's problem drinking. At a time where full employment will probably never be experienced again women have been re-entering the work force after having a small number of children in a limited number of years. Women are claiming other rights too and seeking to restructure relationships with men and institutions in a way which is revolutionary and threatening to those wedded to traditional roles, relationships and structures. Some of the concern with the increasing number of problems associated with women's drinking can probably be explained as part of the backlash which seeks to return women to the domestic sphere. In this context alcohol becomes, among other things, a political symbol, standing for the patriarchal capitalist system, from which women need to be protected and which needs to be protected from women.

It certainly appears to be true that more women are drinking (Cahalan, Cisin and Crossley 169:199); that total consumption of alcohol by women is rising and that some individual women and groups of women are drinking more (Shaw 1980:10-2). Given these trends it seems important to ask and answer the following questions:

1. Which groups of women are the "new drinkers", and why?
2. Which groups of women are drinking more, and why?

The research in North America and the United Kingdom suggests that higher socio economic status women are becoming more likely to drink and to drink more, and that within this broad category employed
mothers intensify the trend (Shaw 1980:14). Johnson et al (1977) found that married women who were employed have significantly higher rates of both problem and heavier drinking than either single working women or housewives. There was no similar relationship for men, and the relationship was even stronger for women at higher socio-economic levels. This category of women is therefore contributing to the rising consumption trend, but there are probably several others. Younger female drinkers is another possible category which contributes to the spread of drinking among women and to increased consumption. Obviously there is a great need for detailed research in these areas, even to answer the "which" questions. The "why" questions are more complex and involve the questions of increased availability through both outlet and price and a whole range of social factors which relate to nothing less than "the whole experience of being a women in modern society" (Shaw 1980:35).

In 1984 a second National Research Conference on Women and Alcohol was held under the auspices of the NIAAA. The proceedings will be available in due course but summaries of the papers presented indicate a number of interesting trends. First, the interest in women's drinking per se, that is, in women not only as mothers or potential mothers, is a welcome departure, as is the recognition and the analysis of the reasons for gender bias in much alcohol research. Second, the papers treat several substantive issues, namely, that there is no evidence for a dramatic increase in women's drinking or in associated problems; that there is no clear relationship between women's employment and heavier drinking; that significant others play a vital role in women's drinking; that alcoholic women have a higher mortality rate than alcoholic men, but that women are no more difficult to treat than are men (Worden 1984:1 & 21). Some of this new research evidence contradicts that of earlier studies. While further studies are obviously required it is important that these are carefully executed and are theoretically informed so that some sense can be made of the arrays of data produced. Women's drinking studies should ideally be part of a broader, theoretically-based study of gender.
This is where Buckley's (1983:383-95) study is invaluable. The model which Buckley uses is based on a theoretically simple parent-child model of social control and involves a sophisticated understanding of the role of play in culture and communication (see Bateson 1973). In the Ulster community in which Buckley worked, women tended towards a "parent" strategy of social control in relation to men, and drinking was a prime area in which this was expressed. "Going to the pub" bore many similarities to "going out to play" and the presence or absence of women had important but complicated effects on male drinking behaviour. Sometimes men would "act drunk", playfully breaking their wives' rules and everyone knew it was "just play". Other times the drinking and drunkenness was more straightforward. Buckley's paper with its detailed analysis of social situations is a model of its type and reveals the importance of an understanding of gender relations in the study of either men's or women's drinking.

5.3.4 Minority Groups.
Native Americans/American Indians, have been studied in relation to alcohol probably more than any other group. There are many similarities between stereotypes of Indian drinking and Maori drinking. For this reason I summarise a paper by Westermeyer (1969) which sets out some of the misconceptions then adduces new material on Indian drinking, gleaned from the extensive literature, which describes more accurately the state of affairs. The implications for research and treatment are plain. Westermeyer cites three areas of misconception:

1. That "Indians cannot hold their liquor", which is often buttressed by arguments of metabolic differences.
2. That Indians have very high alcoholism rates.
3. That alcoholism is the major problem among Indian people, an assertion which ignores political, economic and social problems.

Against these misconceptions, Westermeyer marshalls evidence that alcohol usage patterns and rates of health problems vary widely between Indian groups, and individual Indians drink in several different styles; that drinking has positive social and individual
functions, as well as negative aspects and that the relation between alcohol use and certain problems e.g., violence, may be fortuitous. He notes that contrary to popular belief, some Indians do manifest physiological dependency and can benefit from alcoholism treatment as long as they are involved in planning and staffing the programme.

A more recent paper by Heath (1983) brings knowledge of alcohol use among North American Indians even more up to date and underlines the diversity of drinking styles and their relative independence from laws. Any research which touches on Maori drinking would benefit from a consideration of the extensive literature on Native American drinking. There are differences of scale and circumstance but sufficient similarity to provide for controlled comparison. Some of the studies (e.g., Westermeyer 1969; Brody 1980) include good discussions of the politics, and ethics of research of this nature.

5.3.5 National studies.

From the several, mainly American, national studies (e.g., Johnson 1977; Cahalan, Cisin and Crossley 1969; and Rouse and Ewing 1978), there is a great deal of data on quantity and frequency and variability of drinking. Such self report material always underestimates consumption figures estimated from other sources, but these studies demonstrate regularities which are probably not affected by this, e.g., the gross differences in consumption between males and females and different age groups, the predominance of light and moderate drinking over abstaining or heavy drinking and the trend of rising consumption over the last few decades. But besides these statistics, there are interesting suggestions for further research. Cahalan, Cisin and Crossley (1969:206) discuss different styles of coping with stress: self reliant, other reliant and substance or thing reliant, which obviously have a lot to do with variations in alcohol use in situations of stress and they call for more descriptive studies using multi disciplinary approaches to such things as life adjustment process, early experiences, development of life styles and values and the operation of various kinds of stress in the evolution of patterns of alcohol use.
The increase over time in drinking was also a feature of the findings of a British study carried out in Camberwell in 1965 and 1974 (Cartwright 1977). The increased consumption was not attributable to increased frequency of drinking but to an increase in quantity drunk per occasion. Those subgroups which showed an increase in their consumption also increased their problem score, but some subgroups with the same consumption had different problem scores. The explanation suggested by Cartwright is that the higher problem scores are correlated with heavy consumption per occasion which is a type of drinking normally associated with a high level of problems and that younger and lower status drinkers carry a higher risk of trouble.

The British scene cannot be left without mention of the famous Mass Observation (1938 and 1943) study of drinking in a great industrial town "Worktown" which produced a unique picture of a day in the life of the public English drinking culture. This study confirmed that working class male beer drinkers were the mainstay of the pub. Women were a controlled minority and upper and middle classes were also a minority. The Mass Observation studies are also interesting from the point of view of methods used, namely large numbers of natives observing themselves, sometimes on one particular day, sometimes on a specific topic. A more recent study of English pub drinking suggests considerable continuity. Though women now buy and consume more alcohol than they did in the 1940s, the basic features of public drinking remain much the same (Edwards et al, 1972).

Social surveys are not the only studies of drinking cultures of nations. Historical studies make their contribution e.g., Lender and Martin (1982) on the history of drinking, and research on drinking, in America. An essay in social history by Robin Room (1982) where he discusses the "Lost Generation" of American writers who exiled themselves in Paris, is a novel approach to the drinking culture and one which has relevance to the stance of many New Zealand writers (e.g., Fairburn). Fallding (1974) with his New Jersey community study in which drinking was a focus, placed his work in the historical and wider social context. He derived a four-fold typology of drinking, each type having a specific relationship to community. Ornamental drinking e.g., toasting, celebrated community; facilitative drinking,
where drink is a social lubricant, represented a search for community; assuagement drinking - drowning one's sorrows, indicated a lack of community while retaliatory drinking - drinking to the point of becoming a passenger on society - suggested a rejection of community. One of the questions he posed was "How in a multi cultural society which wishes to maintain cultural diversity can we develop agreed on social controls and customs for drinking?"

5.4 CONTEXTS AND STYLES

The public drinking context is by far the best studied (e.g., Cavan. 1966, Osenburg 1969) and bar drinking has received more attention than any other in that category. Skid-row drinking (Spradley 1970) is not too far behind. Private drinking has not come in for very much ethnographic attention. Part of the reason may be the difficulties of participant observation in such a context. These are expounded at length by Riesman and Watson (1964), but many of these difficulties were of the researcher's own making and involved poor communication in the research team as well as attempting to cover too much ground. (Participant observation of private settings as part of more general ethnographic enterprises do not attract the same problems.)

For public drinking contexts there is an excellent summary and review paper by Clark published with the proceedings of a workshop on social drinking contexts (Harford and Gaines 1981). The enormous variation in drinking behaviour in public places, is immediately obvious from a study of work on public drinking practices, but what is not so obvious is exactly how the specifics of the context interact with the characteristics of drinkers (Clark 1981:29). Jessor (1981) in the same volume, in a theoretical paper, cautions against a simple-minded approach to drinking contexts. By taking heed of his strictures it is possible to ask systematic questions about Clark's problem, namely, what is it about specific contexts and specific drinkers that leads to specific styles of drinking? Jessor suggests that in conceptualising drinking contexts we should be aware of five different dimensions:

1. The environment as the physico-geographical space or location.
2. A socially descriptive dimension - i.e., the demographic composition, location in social space e.g., rural, urban fringe, suburban, inner city etc.

3. The shared meanings e.g., a party, a meeting with drinks afterwards. etc.

4. The theoretical level, e.g., a focus on social controls, or norms

5. The personal perceptions of the actors, e.g., if a party, does drinker see the party as a place for gaining affection, or perhaps as a venue for "outdoing the Jones".

Different research problems will require a focus on different dimensions, but recognition of a context as both multi dimensional and dynamic is an important methodological step, as relevant in private as in public drinking contexts.

A number of bar studies have been mentioned in other sections and are listed in the bibliography, here I will refer to just two, which I believe have something extra to offer. The first draws on the notion of "performance" central to the work of Irving Goffman (1956), which itself belongs to the reflexive tradition of sociological and anthropological analysis; a tradition which is based on the idea that the self is an object about which humans can think and feel. Gusfield (1981) working in this tradition turns his attention to drinking - driving in the context of bars. His study is based on three months of observation and interaction in four Californian bars.

Both drinking and driving are risky procedures at which a certain level of competence is expected. A competent drinker is one who can drink in accordance with the standards of his group. In the bars studied, driving after drinking was part of the test of competence. As long as the drinker recognised himself that he was too drunk to drive, or drank less because he was going to drive, his drinking performance was competent. But if someone else intervened they were by that fact suggesting he was an incompetent drinker. For a drinker to need a machine to tell him he had had too much was similarly a threat to his competence.

The author found that the excuses offered for performances that would usually not be regarded as competent were an important source of
information about norms of competence. The role of management in the bar, e.g., whether the barman is a friend or a "non-person", and whether drinkers are strangers or acquaintances greatly influence the degree of social control over drinking driving. This study is of both theoretical and practical importance. The concept of competent performance is applicable in many other situations and brings precision to the analysis of norms. In terms of Gusfield's analysis the public placement of breathalyzers or similar machines in that context could only be regarded as a joke - as indeed they were.

A rather different study by Prus (1983) takes off from the observation that there have been many studies of the culture of bars but there has been little recognition of the significance of interpersonal exchanges in the social activity of drinking. On the basis of his participant observation in bars Prus postulates some ground rules for social interaction between and among the groups of people who frequent them: patrons, staff, entertainers. While he does not focus entirely on social interaction he notes the importance of certain types of social relations both inside and outside the bar in promoting more extensive drinking.

While contexts refer to the environment, styles usually refer to aspects of the drinkers' behaviour. The concept of drinking styles is important in efforts to moderate drinking, because despite the evidence for styles being cumulative, often what is aimed at is a change in drinking style, e.g., from "binge" drinking at weekends, to a "little but often" style. Drinking style has to do with quantity drunk, the frequency of drinking, the rate of drinking, type of drink and the intention of the drinker, e.g., drinking to get drunk, drinking to reach a plateau. In the studies of drinking styles not all these attributes of style may be used. Kilty (1983) questioned a sample of 197 adult urban residents in Pennsylvania in 1976, about their drinking in various situations and also about the use of alcoholic and non-alcoholic beverages consumed in a typical week. The responses were factor analysed and a four factor structure accounted for 66.5% of the variance. These factors were:

1. Convivial drinking i.e., celebratory.
2. Thirst quenching.
3. Alcohol and lifestyle i.e., wine at meals, in cooking,
4. Mood changing i.e., drinking to help oneself in different situations.

There are some grounds to argue with Kilty's interpretation of his factors, (e.g., why should drinking after work or while watching television be "thirst quenching", rather than a mere pastime?) but the most important point is that from the response of his sample there did appear to be four clusters, each of which could be termed a style.

Drinker types were also subjected to factor analysis. Here, apart from non-drinkers, six or perhaps seven drinker-types were isolated. They were:

1. Drinkers who use alcohol to alter their moods.
2. Light drinkers who dislike alcohol.
3. Light drinkers who use alcohol as an occasional thirst-quencher.
4. New middle-class men beer drinkers.
5. New sophisticated middle-class women drinkers.
6. Moderate social drinkers.
7. A small group who though light drinkers, rejected alcohol use.

One of the most interesting findings is that although there were obvious socioeconomic groupings in the sample, black-white, male-female, student-non student, these groups were less important in the analysis than assumptions about ethnic and class patterns of drinking would lead one to believe. While this fact cannot be dismissed, the focus on normative drinking and the "moderate" implications of the questions posed by the researcher, plus the usual tendency of respondents to underestimate their drinking, has quite severely truncated the range of this study.

A much more satisfactory study, this time of native American drinking styles was described by Leland (1981) and has been referred to above (Chapter 4). Here resident informants sorted residents into drinking styles and verbalised their criteria for doing so. All types of drinking were included and while the details of the styles themselves need not concern us, one or two features e.g., the spontaneous separation of the sexes and the inclusion of abstainers and light drinkers in one category is of interest. So too is the
importance of context to style, suggesting that while the two are separate analytical concepts, they are closely related in the real world. This paper also makes the very important point that a concentration on public drinking contexts for Native Americans, and I would add, for many other groups, tends to reinforce stereotypes about heavy drinking and disruptive behaviour, a point reinforced by Brody's (1980) work with Beaver Indians.

The whole issue of alcohol may be handled in a particular style by a community. This is true of the Western Isles, described by Ennew (1980) for the years 1974 to 1977. Ennew found any number of people who told her, in confidence, that there was a drink problem in the Hebrides, but there was no public recognition of this problem, and even a drunk person in the street would be ignored. Ennew notes there was a lack of recognition of depressive illness too. She found that the women's fear of alcohol use by men was more noticeable than the males' use of alcohol. Opposition to alcohol use in the community was very strong, and reinforced by the teaching of the Free Church which had been established in the area 150 years before. The Free Church displaced the more mystical Gaelic tradition, but other aspects of the Gaelic heritage still lived on at least in some form and in ideology. The ceilidh, the cosy evening of story-telling, drinking and discussion, was one example. Ennew suggests that rather than Presbyterianism being the cause of opposition to alcohol, the Churches might be expressing deeply felt fear and revulsion against a pressing social problem. A further example of a community style of handling alcohol is described by Buckley (1974) (See 5.3.3.).

The ethnographic analysis of an American urban neighbourhood also demonstrated that there were drinking practices, concepts and patterns which were considered normal within a small blue-collar neighbourhood in Rock Island. The concept of "normalcy" in drinking involved a range of acceptable limits rather than precise rules and the researcher suggested that there were associations between patterns of social growth and development and patterns of normal and abnormal drinking which would repay careful study(Griffin 1983). In an heterogeneous community, one will probably find a series of styles and if the different groups interact much, there is a possibility of some
borrowing of drinking concepts and practices, or at least the possibility that individuals from one group may drink in the style of another group from time to time.

Style of drinking is not an immutable characteristic of a person, something a person has. It is something a person enacts or performs. One person may have a repertoire of many styles which he or she performs at different times and places and in the company of different others. An upwardly mobile person, for example, may spend Saturday afternoon and evening drinking beer at home while visiting "the folks", drink a lot and perform boisterously, or perhaps just indulge in desultory conversation - whatever is the prevailing style, but on Sunday at 11am he may be sipping white wine and nibbling canapes, with his immediate boss and a few colleagues. Stone (1962:131) notes for Vansburg residents that "the two predominant axes of status...were apprehended by some residents of the community in greater or lesser extent as manifested in drinking styles".

5.5 CONCLUSION

The purpose of this survey of overseas work on "drinkers, styles and contexts" was the gleaning from the vast field some grains of wisdom which might be productive if suitably adapted to the New Zealand environment. The sources have not been reviewed therefore in their own right but only in so far as they might contribute to an anthropology of alcohol in this country. Much of the material is useful for comparison especially for throwing into relief our own taken for granted assumptions about drinking and our drinking patterns. But some is of greater specificity and one cannot help but be struck by the parallels between, for example, the group described by du Toit (1964) and Hohepa's description of the Hokianga referred to in 6:4:1, or between Wallack's (1978) account of the northern Californian pro-moderation television campaign and the local howls of rage nearly every time ALAC or ARU have a similar advertisement screened.

Age and gender related studies carried out elsewhere have given rise to many interesting questions which can be asked in New Zealand also. "What conditions the mostly moderate consumption of the
elderly?'", for example, or "Is it true here that working mothers have higher alcohol problem levels than other women, and if so why?", or "What effect does the prohibition on young people's drinking in licensed premises and public places have on their style of drinking?".

Students of alcohol in New Zealand need not be humble followers of international trends, nor are we to regard overseas studies as positive models, by definition. However, it is important to try and take into account what is happening elsewhere to try to make local work speak to as many issues as possible. For this reason, it is well worthwhile to consider a reasonably broad range of literature.
The New Zealand literature which is relevant to the anthropology of alcohol is vast. It includes not just books and papers on alcohol, but a great deal else which helps to put drink and drinking in its appropriate context. The bibliography and literature review are not comprehensive; that would require the inclusion of thousands of works. My aim is to include the major alcohol-related works and sufficient other material to provide the necessary background.
There are several good sources which deal with the history of alcohol in this country. They are Bollinger's (1959 and 1970) historical essays "Grogs Own Country" and "In Grog we Trust", which cover the period from the first introduction of alcohol till 1970, and two summaries in the Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Sale of Liquor in New Zealand (1974:21-36). In addition a Television New Zealand programme "The Boozers" by Antony Noonan is an entertaining account which deals with social conditions and legislation. The picture presented can in bare outline be characterised as a triptych, savagery from first contact to 1873, barbarism from 1873-1960, and from 1960 onwards, civilisation.

It is possible to divide the history of liquor legislation of New Zealand into five phases - a laissez-faire approach from 1840 to 1873, early efforts at regulation from 1873 to 1893, the rising tide of prohibition and restriction from 1893 to 1918, a long stalemate between 1918 and 1948, and a gradual trend towards liberalisation since 1948, extremely cautious at first but much more marked since 1960. To essay contemporary history is rash, but it is tempting to suggest that we may be seeing the beginning of a new and a more mature phase (Royal Commission of Inquiry 1974:21).

In the early, "savage" years of settlement, whalers, traders, escaped convicts and the like were hard-drinking, hard-living men. The reputation for a tough, male-dominated society was gained in these years, and, reinforced during the gold rushes of the South, the reputation stuck. Public drunkenness was a visible and major problem. From 1873 on successive attempts were made to tame some of the worst features of the alcohol scene and for various reasons public drunkenness did decrease.

Efforts of the temperance movement to make drinking less attractive and to remove it from everyday pursuits led to what were often referred to as "barbaric" drinking conditions and habits (Bollinger:1959). Brewers and hoteliers gained financially by having to provide only the most basic conditions and by opening hotels for shorter hours. In the long run liquor interests and temperance advocates combined against the would-be drinker. However, from 1948
there did begin a very cautious liberalising trend which had gained enough strength by 1960 to give birth to a new era. In the 1960's many more types of new licences were introduced. Evening opening gave to the pubs a role in night-time entertainment; more restaurants gained licences, BYO or full; entertainment and food began appearing in pubs, and under the watchful eye of the Licensing Commission, their facilities were systematically upgraded or licences were removed.

The "savagery, barbarism, civilisation" model ignores one aspect of the history of drinking in New Zealand. Almost as soon as the missionaries were established they planted vineyards and began making wine. Marsden had about 100 grape vines in Kerikeri by 1819, and there were grapes at Waimate by 1835. At Waitangi Busby was selling wine to the Imperial troops by 1848 (Cooper 1977-9). Dumont d'Urville visited Waitangi on April 28, 1840. He was shown over the Busby Residency and estate by a Mr Flint and had a glass of wine from Busby's vineyard.

I was given a light white wine, very sparkling, and delicious to taste, which I enjoyed very much (Wright 1955:80).

Busby was a viticultural enthusiast, and also an advocate of temperance, being the first president of the Temperance Society in the Bay of Islands in 1836.

His ideal was to see a population, as in Europe, of moderate wine drinkers, rather than that Australians should retain the love of their British ancestors for malt and spirituous liquors (Ramsden 1940:26).

French Marist missionaries planted grapes around their stations in Northland and the East Coast / Hawkes Bay districts for communion wine and it seems likely, for table wine too. There is a delightful story from Taranaki, from a later period (1879) concerning a settler who thought he was under fire one night only to find next morning that 70 of his 100 bottles of homemade gooseberry wine had exploded (Scott 1975:57). He was obviously not an expert vintner, but was home wine making on a large scale. Gilkison (1936:41) describes a Christmas dinner at Kilgour's hotel on the Dunstan (Central Otago) during the gold rush days. As well as an excellent meal there was champagne which was being shouted by the case. From the earliest days it appears that some people most of the time and some people on special occasions drank in what could be regarded as a "civilised" style:
wine with a meal, a glass of wine when a visitor called and so on. Eldred-Grigg's (1980) study of the southern gentry supports this view. Many of the wealthy southerners kept extensive cellars. His more recent volume, based on New Zealand-wide research (EldredGrigg 1984) describes a variety of styles of alcohol use as one of a variety of "pleasures of the flesh". As well as the "savage" drunken comportment at Kororareka we can add to the picture d'Urville and Mr Flint taking a glass of fine white wine across the water at Waitangi. The phases do not replace one another but rather they summarise the main style of the time.

Having proposed this rather simple-minded historical outline of drinking in New Zealand which ignores the political wrangling and the complex causes and effects of legislative changes, I will examine in somewhat greater detail some aspects of the historical process.

6.1 TEMPERANCE, PROHIBITION AND WOMEN

Temperance and prohibition eventually became synonymous, but in 1836 Busby could be both President of the local Temperance Society and make and drink wine. The Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) formed in 1885, supported prohibition.

Public drunkenness and drink-related offences were a serious concern in the latter half of the 19th century. It was a social problem that the courts could not adequately deal with (Grigg 1981). Many pressure groups took up the challenge.

The WCTU, at the time, was the only national organisation for women and there were few women in public life then who had not belonged to it. WCTU women were drawn from the urban middle class and responded eagerly to the message brought to them by Mrs Leavitt from the World WCTU that alcohol was the natural enemy of the home, the domain of women (Bunkle 1980). Grigg (1983) suggests that the involvement of women in the prohibition movement and in voting for prohibition was not greater than that of men. But the ideal of woman, the guardian of the home and its moral values, was an important symbol.

Most of the historical work that relates to women and alcohol also concerns prohibition. An outstanding exception is the analysis by
Anderson (1981) of female offending in Auckland between the years 1845 to 1870. Although women’s appearances for summary offenses never rose above one-fifth of the male rate, and women’s convictions for drunkenness were also around one-fifth of the male rate, drunkenness accounted for almost two-third of females’ summary offenses. In Auckland, in the latter part of Anderson’s study period, slum conditions were hard to ignore, work was by no means universally available, especially to married women with children, or those without a “good character” and the female proportion of crimes rose and fell in accordance with economic conditions.

Drunkenness was a great social evil and the recognised “cause” of many social and personal problems. With 92 pubs in the town in 1868 (p.68 note 9), there was no difficulty with supply. Drunken women were regarded as more reprehensible than men, Maori women were treated more severely than Pakeha women and drunkenness was punished by fines or brief imprisonment. A few highly defiant offenders were recorded, and it is obvious from the records that a number of offenders would today be treated as alcoholics. But then, there was no understanding of problem drinking and reoffenders were just given longer sentences and higher fines.

Anderson quotes a number of discussions in which current beliefs about the nature of women are used to explain or condemn the female behaviour which had come to the attention of the court. In some ways the presence of a few “hardened frail ones”, as Anderson calls them in her title, only strengthened the prevailing association of women with temperance.

Certainly, the brewers and publicans took the association of women with prohibition so seriously that they organised a petition against women’s franchise. (This petition was found to have duplicated signatures and persons collecting the signatures were paid for batches of one hundred.) In Parliament a group of six politicians connected with the brewers and licensed victuallers formed a determined opposition to women’s franchise (Sutch 1969:134-5: Grimshaw 1972).

Many of those in support of temperance were not in support of national prohibition. Although local no licence polls and even
national prohibition received a great deal of public support it appears that the labour movement and the unreformed churches favoured control of liquor sales and consumption rather than total prohibition. Behind prohibition was the middle class and the reformed churches, some radicals and some members of the working class (Bollinger 1959; Grigg 1981).

With "popular support" and an enormous amount of effort and energy the prohibition movement was very nearly successful. At every licensing poll from 1902 until 1914 they had a majority, but because a three-fifths majority was required, national prohibition was never carried. Local no licence areas started coming into force with Clutha in 1894 and perhaps might have covered much of the country had not the National Prohibition poll been introduced in 1911 (Bollinger 1959:58). It is one thing to refuse the pub a place in one's own residential area, but to contemplate no pubs at all is quite another matter!

By the 1920's the prohibition vote had declined to about one-fifth, and the shorter drinking hours (6pm) brought in in the guise of greater efficiency in 1917 as part of the war effort, was seen by the temperance movement as a victory. The trade welcomed it too as the faster drink is consumed, as in the 6 o'clock swill, the higher the profit (Bollinger 1959:67-8). This temperance measure lasted the best part of half a century.

6.2 CHANGES IN CONDITIONS

A referendum on drinking hours in 1949 resulted in continued six o'clock closing. Fairburn explained the move in terms of a vote for two intolerable alternatives i.e., the prevailing sty-like conditions which ended at 6pm, or the same, but till 10pm. He suggested that many people who would like to enjoy decent conditions were unable to bring themselves to vote for an extension of piggishness until ten o'clock (Fairburn 1949:9).

The reintroduction of evening opening in 1967 was one of a number of important factors which promoted "civilised" drinking. Biggs (1970) examined both the referendum on later closing and the effects which can be attributed to the decision for later closing. He noted
that the style of debate surrounding the referendum was politically extreme - as indeed debate over most issues involving liquor usually is: moral righteousness versus the despoliation of home and family.

His conclusions on the effects of later closing are interesting. He saw later closing as an accelerant but not an originator of certain trends which were the result mainly of the upgrading of drinking facilities consequent on the Licensing Control Commission’s review of all outlets. These trends were the increase in the numbers of female and younger drinkers, and increases in drinkers in non-public bars. But the availability of food, entertainment and pleasant surroundings were the major attraction to the new clientele.

Later closing made little difference to spending on liquor in the years immediately following the change, but it did favour suburban outlets and the evening hours were used by both men and women for drinking. On the basis of his survey of 263 outlets, supplemented by interviews and observation, Biggs suggested that the role of the country pub in the social life of the surrounding district was more important than for urban outlets. Without commenting on the issue of relative importance, I suggest that the possibility of the different functions of rural and urban pubs be recognised and be the subject of research. It is certainly the subject of much folk lore and accords with my observations of the organisation of social life.

6.3 TRUST CONTROL

One aspect of licensing legislation discussed in detail in the Bollinger books is that of Trust Control. It is unnecessary to repeat the arguments. Some additional information comes from Robb and Somerset (1957) and Robb and Carr (1963). These are social surveys of Masterton and Porirua respectively. Both surveys show support for the Trust control which operated in these areas with more support coming from the higher socio-economic groups.

As a case study of the transition from a "dry" area to an area under Trust control, Pearson’s (1980) study of Johnsonville is unparalleled. The conflicts between the wishes of urban and rural residents, between the interests of the developers of the local
shopping centre and the local residents in favour of a tavern, and between the Trust versus the brewery are all examined. Eventually the locals became united in anger against outside controls and interference (demonstrating one more time that there is no better agent of community development than an external enemy) and a Trust controlled tavern was established in 1972.

A "behind the scenes" analysis of competing interests in the wine industry is presented in Cooper (1977). This thesis presents historical background and contemporary relationships among the main groups of wine growers and between wine growers and proponents of prohibition, the licensed trade and licensing trusts. A significant feature of Cooper's analysis is the importance of personal networks in liquor politics. Scott's (1977) history of the Corban family provides a detailed account a single family firm and reinforces the personalised nature of the industry. Winemakers of NZ records the history of the struggles of New Zealand wine growers in their fight for recognition.

Cooper found that the larger wine companies had massive financial links with breweries and that liquor wholesalers had bought up existing wine resellers licenses. There is room for much more detailed analysis of companies, Associations, Trusts and Councils involved in the Liquor Industry.

6.4 ALCOHOL AND THE MAORI

The history of Maori drinking is rather different from that of Pakeha drinking due to the different experiences of the two groups with alcohol and to different legislation for each group. The two main sources for Maori drinking are both unpublished theses of the University of Auckland. Benjamin (1976) concerns alcohol and the Maori in general, while Skerman (1972) concerns the King Country which was "dry" for half a century. Because this material is less accessible than sources for European drinking I will consider it in more detail, along with other manuscripts and published sources. A further readily available published source is Cullen's paper in the Alcohol Research Unit volume (Awatere et al 1984). This paper, though brief, condenses a great deal of information and takes one up to the present day with a discussion of Maori wardens.
In New Zealand it seems that Maori drunken comportment was learned from the Europeans they observed. A heavy drinking style prevailed, but only after considerable exposure to Europeans and alcohol. The earliest European visitors reported that Maoris were averse to liquor. This type of comment is reported from Marion du Fresne in 1772 and Nicolas in 1814-15. In the 1820's Earle noted very few Maoris were addicted to drinking and even fewer were drunk (Benjamin 1976:14). But by the 1830s in areas which had extensive European contact, missionary observers began to remark on drinking and drunkenness. This is hardly surprising if the story told by Chapman in 1837 is true: that traders purchased 200 tons of potatoes with rum (Chapman, MS 56 Vol 1:164). Yet, as late as 1842 James Hamlin observed of the greater Auckland area, that even though many Maoris spent about half their time in Auckland "few have fallen" (Chapman MS 56 1:213). And even later Taylor, in the Wanganui district, describes in his Journal (MS 302:262) for 1847 and 1848 that one of his Maori friends was given rum "which got into his head and rendered him quite frantic". It was the man's first offence and Taylor believed that Maoris were naturally averse to liquor.

The intemperate use of liquor by Maoris became a pressing concern of Maoris, European missionaries and administrators, and some settlers. Such people were behind the formation of the first temperance society, in the Bay of Islands in 1835. As the use of liquor spread, so did the concern, and various groups petitioned Parliament and Local Boards over the next few decades to prohibit liquor in their area.

One such petition was from Hone Mohi Tawhai to Henry Williams and the Local Board, dated at Waima (Hokianga) May 12, 1870 (C.K. Williams collection, MS 335). Mr Tawhai requested that licences be not granted to Pakehas residing near Maori districts, but only be allowed in towns where there were policemen to look after the licensed places. His reasons were that drinking of spirits was a great evil, and he listed three men who fell off horses and were killed riding when drunk and a further 20 who died from diseases which he believed alcohol had caused. A few months earlier he requested the removal of the licence at the Haruru Store (on the Waitangi River). He wanted only "things
which do not cause confusion" sold there and in support referred to cases of liquor-induced adultery and fighting.

A document (GNZ MSS 245), dated 9/2/91 and described as a "Temperance Pledge on Tawhiao's visit to England" (which it cannot be as Tawhiao was in England in 1884), is an agreement which bound Sir George Grey, by then a Member of the House only, and certain Chiefs and People of New Zealand to abstain from spirituous liquor for a year, is rather curious. It is signed by Grey, Te Herewini Amohau and thirteen others and also prays that visitors to New Zealand will be merciful and not give the undersigned spirits or intoxicating drinks.

When one tries to decide what were most likely to have been the wishes of the Maori in this matter of licence or no licence, one has on the one hand the irrefutable evidence of these petitions that no-licence areas (under the various Acts of Parliament which made this possible from 1847 on) were desired by some Maori people. But on the other hand, observers noted that laws prohibiting sale and supply were consistently broken as a form of defiance (Benjamin 1976 citing G. Clarke and Williams) and that less drinking would result if the prohibitions were removed. It seems that among Maoris as among Europeans, opinions were divided over alcohol. Was legal prohibition a paternalistic effort to look after "weak, childlike" Maoris, or was it genuinely desired by Maoris and an aspect of self-determination? The best answer it seems is that it was a bit of both but more the former than the latter.

With the wars and disillusionment and the operation of the land courts, which brought Maoris into the vicinity of pubs and gave them money, indulgence increased and alcohol was often pointed to as a main factor in the population decrease at the time. It was also used as a bribe paid to demoralised chiefs to betray their people into selling land (Scott 1975:45).

Every year or two a new Act was created or amended or an old one repealed but despite these legislative efforts and attempts to involve Maoris by appointing them to Licensing Benches, Benjamin concluded that the reduction of drunkenness had more to do with the actions of the chiefs than with legislation.
Not until 1948 were all the remaining discriminatory practices removed in law from Maori drinking and in practice many instances of discrimination existed quite openly in public houses. Until this time, Pacific Islanders and South Island Maori men, had the same rights as Europeans, while North Island Maori men could drink only in licensed premises and all Maori women (unless married to a European) could drink only on doctors' orders. It seems hardly credible now, indeed barbaric, but before it is dismissed as the bad old days, remember that there are plenty of Maori people around to whom those conditions applied. John Rangihau, a Maori Battalion member, specifically cites the indignity he felt from this legislation when he returned home from World War 2 (Rangihau 1977:288).

Ward (1973:250) concludes that a study of the operation of the Outlying District Sale of Spirits Acts reveals that Maoris were resentful of legal disability (even when protective) but at the same time wished to share the opportunities and institutions of settlers, particularly if these were modified to take into account specific Maori needs and values and included Maori leaders in responsible roles. The recent introduction of marae licences is perhaps an example of the latter.

6.4.1 Alcohol and Maori religious and political movements.
The role of alcohol in Maori religious and political movements is striking. The use or non-use of alcohol was a striking symbol of cultural differentiation. In Taranaki adulterated alcohol, unruly drink shops and trade and exchange of large amounts of grog and beer were typical in the 1870's according to Hammond (Scott 1975 App B). Yet at Parihaka under Te Whiti's guidance grog sellers had their rum confiscated. If any drink came into the village it had to be distributed free with food on the marae. A visitor in 1881 contrasted the orderly plantings and good husbandry of Parihaka with the surrounding areas where people were poisoning themselves with vile spirits (Scott 1975:92). Te Whiti apparently favoured moderate drinking rather than prohibition. A description of a large meeting in 1884 at which he entertained hundreds of visitors to a sumptuous meal accompanied by light wines and ales sounds as if on this occasion a "civilised" style were in operation.
The prophet Rua and his followers at Maungapohatu had a complex relationship to alcohol (Binney, Chaplin and Wallace 1979: Webster 1979). By 1907 some of Rua’s followers had given up smoking and drinking, abstinence being a sign of dedication to God, and a law in force at Maungapohatu imposed a five pound fine for selling liquor. But in 1911 a police raid found plenty of evidence for the consumption of whisky. At this stage drinking in the community was not a problem, but later on heavy drinking did become characteristic. Although Rua did not sell liquor himself, he was charged as head of the community and spent three months in jail. He used alcohol personally to extend his visionary and prophetic powers.

What brought the change from a community imposed ban to use and sale? The introduction of alcohol into Maungapohatu can be seen as part of the end of the community’s separation from the outside world. Alcohol could not be kept out of the area. Rua viewed it as an evil but accepted it in order to control its sale. At this stage Maoris were prohibited the use of alcohol in their own settlements, and Rua attempted to introduce it under community control in an effort to gain legal equality. The prohibition and use of alcohol can both be seen as statements about the relationship of Rua and his community to Pakeha society.

In the Hokianga alcohol was used to make a similar symbolic statement. Hohepa (1964:27) reports on a movement which incorporated Maori and some Christian elements but also included drinking and gambling in defiance of Methodist teaching. It was at its peak in 1897 and 1898 when the encroachment of Pakehas and their laws were particularly acute.

There is no doubt that liquor was a powerful and many-faceted symbol. It spoke of inequality, but when incorporated by Maoris into their own rituals and social customs it spoke of defiance or self determination. Where it was not incorporated and used to promote oblivion it must have appeared to stand for all that was destructive in European society, and hence, perhaps, the passionate pleas contained in some of the petitions.
6.4.2 Prohibition and Maori communities.
Prohibition societies were important among the Maori too, and it appears that some Maori petitions for no licence were a direct result of visitation from temperance workers. It is possible too that Pakeha land owners were desirous of having a mostly sober work force. In the King Country the petition which eventually resulted in a no licence area was definitely inspired by Temperance workers (Skerman 1972:20). No licence meant no licence to sell - Europeans could bring in quantities of liquor over 2 gallons. In the King Country drinking clubs developed. Initially they were illegal but they were socially controlled dispensaries for liquor and some of them eventually received charters.

The King Country was something of a special case of prohibition. A no licence was granted in a trade-off between Stout and Tawhiao: a guarantee of no licence in return for permission to take land for a railway. This "sacred pact" which may or may not have been regarded as such in 1884 when Stout turned the first sod for the railway, complicated the granting of a licence in later years. In 1948 separate polls were held for Maoris and Europeans. A license would require 60% in favour. The vote was small and no licence continued. In 1953 the matter was put to a joint poll. 80% of Europeans and about 25% of Maoris were in favour of a licence, the required 60% was reached and licences were granted. The very low Maori vote favouring a license should not be overlooked.

Music was an important part of the crusade for temperance groups. If a selection of songs from "Te Ulnae" is anything to go by, singers in the Maori tongue had to be content with Maori words, but English rhythms, rhymes and tunes. One example which was reprinted in Te Ao Hou (1965:25) in Maori and translated for this review by Margaret Mutu-Grigg is reproduced below:

He Manaaki mo te Wai

Air: 'Home Sweet Home'
Ka haere i uta, ka haere i tai,
Kaore he taonga e tae ki te wai,
Te Pia, te Waina, te Waipiro noa.
He mata i roto, he panoahoa.
Me! wai, wai, he wai,
Kaore he taonga e tae ki te wai.

- 60 -
Te roa ko te tau, i te ao, i te po. 
Te rerenga kai, i te wa o te ko; 
Te Kahanga hoki, te ngohenwa ai; 
Kaore he taonga e tae ki te wai; 
Re! wai, wai, he wai; 
Kaore he taonga e tae ki te wai.

A respect for water

(It) comes inland, (it) comes ashore,
Nothing can reach water
Beer, Wine and liquor
An illness inside, a stupor
Water! Water! Water!
Nothing can compare with water.

The passing of food, at planting time
The strength as well, activeness
Nothing can compare with water
Water! water! water!
Nothing can compare with water.

6.5 CONCLUSION

The history of alcohol drinking in New Zealand is not a simple unilinear evolution of stages leading towards “civilised drinking”. While scenes of public drunkenness are no longer a public nuisance “savage” or “barbaric” drinking practices persist in certain times and places and sections of the community. Similarly “civilised” drinking practices, namely drinking moderately in celebration or facilitation of sociability have been present since the early nineteenth century. And the results even of “civilized” drinking today are not too dissimilar from those of Honi Mohi Tawhai’s observations. People still drink and drive and find in drunkenness an excuse or reason for violence and adultery.

The conditions under which drink is available depend not just on supply and demand but on a complex interplay of forces within the liquor industry: brewers, wine makers, hoteliers, wholesalers, Trusts and the bodies which seek to control them; these interests and the Temperance advocates; all these and would-be drinkers. The relationship of Maoris and women to liquor and liquor control is not the same as that of Pakeha men. Protective paternalism has been at play with the former groups, creating historical differences in the meanings of alcohol for them. Many of the present day meanings of alcohol and some patterns of use can be understood only in terms of the history of drinking in New Zealand.
Most of the social comment on drinking in New Zealand is negative. "Immature or adolescent drinkers" and "barbaric conditions" are phrases which recur in the work of writers as diverse as Brasch (1980:386), Ausubel (1960:51), Sutch (1959) and Fairburn (1949:9). These comments all refer to the period before 1960, but concern both public and private drinking. And similar comments can be found about the period I have dubbed "civilisation". Donnelly (1978:179ff) cites as an example of the contemporary immature attitude of males to drink, the experience of a friend who was taking medication incompatible with alcohol. The first jug of orange drink was given to him by the barman after protest, and when he asked for a second jug the barman said, "Look mate, we aren't here to serve sissies".

McLauchlan (1976) and Mitchell (1972) both link drinking patterns with the pleasant, shallow and passionless Kiwi. Drink promotes boozy camaraderie without intimacy. Booze and especially pub drinking is seen as an escape for the male from the home. The pub as part of male culture is ranged against the home as part of female culture (Phillips 1980:239). Pearson in his essay "Fretful Sleepers" published in Landfall Country, describes the male New Zealander.

He is manly - that is he is tough and not too talkative. He seldom shows emotion except anger and resentment; he drinks his beer fast but prides himself that, even full of beer, his reserve won't change. He can spend a rewarding evening drinking after hours, talking football and race horses; he can't tell you why he drinks - for the company he'll say; but why does he drink so fast? For fear of being thought slow to pay his round. Why then does he show no pleasure in drinking? Because his principle is moderation, not in the amount he drinks, but in his reaction to it. Before the 1948 referendum on drinking hours a Dominion Breweries advertisement neatly expressed it: 'A good citizen is moderate in his thinking and in his actions,...Be moderate.' Why have I settled on his drinking habits and stuck there? Because it is in the pub - and in his football club and on the racecourse - that an important part of his life is lived. His private life, at home, is in the vegetable garden or workshop....He has to go to the public house to have privacy. It is the one place where his doings don't become the property of his wife's women friends. It isn't only wowsersm that keeps women out of the bars: when a woman enters a bar (except on the West Coast at Christmas) the men stop in their talk like surprised culprits. The bar is their stronghold and they want a place where they can swear loudly and boast without being held to their word (Pearson 1962:349-50).
Fairburn takes New Zealanders to task in *We New Zealanders* (1944) for our lack of our own initiatives. He uses the state of the prevailing liquor laws as his proof. He argued that we tended to accept liquor as a social lubricant from the English tradition while at the same time we were influenced by American business efficiency which would enforce prohibition if it could. But we made no attempt to absorb these influences and make them our own. The "flabby mass of the public" was caught between the militant prohibitionists and the wealthy and powerful Trade (Fairburn 1944:8).

More positive comments about the role of the pub come from Maori writers. Rangihau (1977:223) lists local pubs and racecourses as the only places where Maoris can feel they are on the "eyeball to eyeball" level with the rest of New Zealand society. When young Maoris come into the cities they do not feel welcomed; though they are used to warmth. They also need cultural and kin security for themselves and later, for their children. This they find through Maori committees and leagues, but also through beer parties, attendance at Maori churches, Maori clubs etc. (Hohepa 1978:105). The pubs can provide common ground for interaction with Pakehas and others, and drinking together can promote a sense of unity.

Something of this sense is captured in the entertaining volume by Gebbie and McGregor (1979), entitled *The Incredible 8-oz Dream*. The senior author bases his sketch of Kiwi drinking on years of experience as a barman, manager and observer of drinking. His opinion is that drinking environments must be responsible to the wishes and requirements of the drinkers while discouraging the negative consequences of drinking.

A further positive aspect of drink is that of home brew - not the unscientific and unpalatable brew produced in a copper in the back yard which burns the throats of those on whom it is forced, but beer or wine produced according to good recipes from fine ingredients under clean controlled conditions, such as are described by "Bacchus" (1972). Home brewing is presented by Bacchus as an interesting and money saving hobby which produces a superior product while striking a blow against capitalism, monopoly and conformity.
It is notable that in none of the works cited is drink itself the object of criticism, though Fairburn and Bacchus have some words to say about the watery brew produced by the breweries, it is the drinker himself, or the conditions under which it is consumed which are the target.

7.1 CONCLUSIONS

Social commentaries vary greatly in quality. Some reveal more about the author's psyche than about the society, but whether they merely perpetuate widely held stereotypes or present an incisive critique they are a source of cultural information.

Some of the more interesting themes alluded to in social commentaries also recur in other types of New Zealand literature forming the type of repetitive patterns with which anthropologists like to work. The nature of male friendship and the role drink plays in it is one, but there are several others such as the role of drink in Maori-Pakeha relations, and in male-female relations, and the symbolic meanings of of the different kinds of liquor.
Chapter 8

FICTION

In fiction, styles of drinking and drinking contexts are acutely observed and many of the characters express the meaning of drink for them, and make general observations on drinking, drinking contexts and drinking environments.

The boisterous early gold mining days on the West Coast are evoked by Shadbolt in *The Lovelock Version* (1980). At a time when the Buller Licensing District had one licensed house to every 297 people (1881) Shadbolt imagines the boisterous carousing of men who came into the townships only infrequently to sell their gold, stock up on provisions and indulge in booze and women. The spree drinking pattern is typical of seamen, and of the bushmen who are the heroes of Crump’s stories and all those would-be drinkers whose contact with the source of supply is intermittent. Devanny’s *The Butcher’s Shop* first published in 1926 and set mainly on a station in the King Country, tells the story which also turns up as an anecdote in other "yarns". It concerns two old rabbiters who have been spree drinkers all their harsh and comfortless lives. As age catches up with them one of the pair takes to drinking all the week too, till at last he cannot stand the tumult in his head and his drunken imaginings. He asks his mate who is also drunk, to cut off his head. His mate obliges.

Mateship of a less traumatic sort is often linked with alcohol. "You’ll probably find that all the decency in life you can find is in a bar, drinking with a few friends, real friends" said the "God boy’s" father walking home with his son after a few drinks and bracing himself to meet his disapproving wife (Cross 1958:12). The scene inside such a bar and the general context is described by Davin in *Roads from Home* (1976) for a pub near Invercargill in the early 1930’s. Invercargill at the time was "dry". The drinkers are descendants of Irish Catholics from Galway and those of them who have jobs and therefore money, hire a taxi after their Saturday rugby to go to a pub. Relief workers cannot afford either taxi or drink so do not
The men have one hour’s drinking before closing time. As Davin describes it, the big circular bar is packed. 20 barmen work full time and jugs are passed over the heads of the standing drinkers. The beer is bought in rounds, men pressing one another to drink quickly and keep up, and one old-timer reminisces that in his day he used to call for drinks for the house and he meant spirits: "Men we were then".

The womenfolk in this novel are opposed to both rugby and drink, but not to the point of taking action. One woman, the wife of a drunkard, would not have a prohibition order placed on her husband not just because it would not be effective - his mates would buy beer for him - but because she thought it was not fair to put the law on your husband. It was his life.

One character who had been overseas and was evil incarnate drinks neat whisky with his lover at the races, and later kills them both by driving into a train. The drinking of spirits often marks sexual relations, especially illicit ones. Men sometimes slip gin or vodka into the non alcoholic drinks of women to get them to "relax". (Pearson 1976).

More leisurely drinking - because closing times were ignored - is described by Bill Pearson (1976) for the West Coast town of Blackball in the late 1940’s. The bar talk is about both personalities and principles and it is direct, not merely superficial pleasantries as some of the critics would have it. Part of the tension in Coal Flat derives from a beer boycott over raising the price by a penny and the book itself is a mine of acute observation. The theme of men and beer is woven into the texture of the book as in the scene where Paul goes to see a solicitor, Cassidy. Cassidy asks Paul if he’d like a cup of tea but then asks him to go and get a couple of bottles of beer and "we’ll have a man’s drink" (Pearson 1976:325). In many novels women offer tea and coffee, men beer. Tea is the unmarked drink, coffee is often offered in a crisis, e.g., in Hooper’s short story, The Hut (1981). In the context of alcohol drinking, wine is often a "woman’s drink". (Shadbolt 1980:477) even though both men and women drink it. This is true too for sherry and for spirits which are mixed with cordials and juices, though cheap sherry drinking is a mark of
alcoholism e.g., Gigglejuice Saunders in Pallet on the Floor (Morrieson 1979).

Morrieson's books about life and death in small Taranaki towns all have an atmosphere filled with booze and tobacco smoke. He was reputedly a hard drinker (Shadbolt 1974:9) and the drinking and drunken comportment he describes amongst his working class characters is a very heavy style indeed. In Pallet on the Floor (1976) which from internal evidence must be set in the late 60's, after the pubs began to be examined by the Licensing Control Commission, he described the "back bar" of the local hotel. This bar had been modernised, the horseshoe bar replaced, the ceiling reduced and the fireplace walled up. Infrared heaters were installed instead. On the floor was body carpet and back from the bar were the jug tables known as leaners. There were stools up at the bar. With each innovation which displeased the freezing workers who drank there, the supply of stolen meat was reduced. Men ground out their cigarettes on the carpet to register their disapproval of all this modernisation. The regular drinkers who formed schools of four or five drank to staggering point. Before 1967 drinking had gone on till midnight and the cop had been paid to turn a blind eye, but now with 10 o'clock closing there was no after hours trading. This pub also had a front bar, with juke box where the younger set congregated, and a ladies and escorts bar, where the women might drink sherry or beer and lemonade.

The companionship of men drinking together, especially drinking beer, and the opposition to women is a theme which surfaces again and again. Drinking between five and six pre-1967 was another body contact sport; on Saturdays an extension of the rugby field and changing shed, and still sustained and reflected to us by Greg McGee's play Foreskin's Lament (1981).

But even under "barbarism" there were places where men and women drank together, the home, parties and dances. Drink at public dances was prohibited but nevertheless was very much a feature of these occasions. The furtiveness was part of the style. Kidman (1979:123) describes a rugby ball attended by her main character, Harriet, in the late 1950s. When the two couples arrived at the ball they secreted bottles of beer, a bottle of whisky, and a bottle of Pimms for the
girls, about their persons, the girls taking full advantage of the full skirts of the day. Inside the hall, however, the drinking was quite open. This contrasts with descriptions of other dances where the booze was kept outside and relays of men or couples repaired outside for a surreptitious drink. Drinking on such occasions was a risky business and very attractive to adolescents escaping from parental control.

Drink consumed at home was usually bought rather than home made. Flagons of beer predominate, but home brewed beer and fruit and vegetable wines also feature, e.g., in Morrieson's books where the brew is savage and in Davin's where the quality seems better.

A daytime party in a Maori home is described by Hilliard (1978:109-17). The family and visitors sing, talk, sleep, and laugh and at 3pm send out a boy to bring back a feed of fish and chips. The scene is observed by the pakeha husband who feels out of place.

The style of drinking is sometimes used as an index of true values. In The Gusla, the elderly father though proud of his New Zealand born children and their modern Kiwi ways feels out of place. He prefers to visit a Dalmatian boyhood friend and his wife and to sit in their kitchen drinking coffee and good wine and talking (Batistich, 1963). Much the same feeling is expressed in Sargeson's bitter story, The Hangover (1967), where Lennie discoursing at length to young Alan on the watery chemical sold as beer, a substitute for "titty" for the "urban baby", contrasts this counterfeit booze with the real thing: the boss's home made wine, brought out after a hard day's work in a market garden. Between satisfying work and a good meal was a time for real relaxation with song, dance and wine.

In the work of more recent women writers e.g., McCauley and Kidman, suburban women resort to alcohol during personal crises at least occasionally. Liz in Other Halves reflects:

Hers had been a drinking generation, coming to marijuana later - and then only, she suspected, because Ken considered it fashionable. She was a drinker preferring the blurring of her reality to the distortion and exploration of it (McCauley 1982:131).

Liz drinks sherry. And of Harriet in A Breed of Women, Kidman writes:

She has been aware for a long time now that she relied on alcohol when she was under stress (1979:310).
Sherry or wine was her drink. Men are shown as using drink as this kind of crutch also. Sam, of Pallet on the Floor mixes his vast quantities of beer with Mogodon and sodium amytal to help himself get by.

8.1 CONCLUSIONS

While works of fiction differ in a number of ways from ethnographies the differences are not always easy to define. Fiction is not a temporary fill-in for missing ethnographic description but is a type of representation in its own right. Fiction also alters the perceptions of its readers and is incorporated into their social reality. Coal Flat is Blackball, except to irate residents. If ethnographies are to take advantage of the richness of complex societies they must pay some attention to the reading matter of the people with whom they work (and what is seen and heard in plays, movies, television or radio). In this review I have completely ignored the fictions of liquor advertising, for example. It is a study in its own right, as indeed is the study of representations of liquor in television drama (but see Casswell, Mortimer and Smythe (1983) for an analysis of Close to Home). All these images (accepted or rejected) become part of the drinking culture(s) which the anthropologist seeks to understand.
Chapter 9
SOCIAL RESEARCH

9.1 INTRODUCTION

New Zealand anthropological and sociological research which is alcohol related and studies of alcohol which are socially oriented or have a social or cultural component are dealt with in this section.

In the past five years a number of review articles, bibliographies and research registers have appeared in New Zealand which have greatly assisted alcohol research, by summarising controversial or conflicting approaches in international literature, and by bringing together information and research on the New Zealand scene. A discussion paper on the social characteristics of alcohol impaired drivers, is one such volume (Scotney, 1983). Readers are referred to this paper directly as its contents will not be discussed here. The alcohol-related research register (Orchard 1983) is another useful working tool which summarises recent and on-going research from all disciplines in the alcohol field. Only work of immediate relevance to this review annotated in Orchard (1983) will be discussed here, but the reader is referred to the Register. A series of publications on alcohol control policy (Von Dadelszen 1979, Von Dadelszen and Casswell n.d., Valentine 1982) review international and local policies and the motivating concepts behind them. Some of the important points are: "addition" versus "substitution" when new drinking practices are introduced, arguments for maximising the attractions of outlets versus arguments for minimising attractions of outlets, the realisation that the effects of advertising and public education campaigns on consumption are not well understood, the price responsiveness or otherwise of alcohol consumption, and the effects of new outlets in partially served areas, or new types of outlets anywhere, in increasing consumption.

In 1978 and 1979 a national survey was undertaken of New Zealanders aged 14 to 65 on the subject of drinking patterns and behaviour and
attitudes to alcohol. It was carried out under the auspices of ALAC. Many publications have resulted e.g., Casswell (1980) and Stacey and Absalom (1980). The New Zealand Liquor Industry Council carried out a random sample survey on a similar topic, (Duncan 1983) and, also in 1983, Batt presented a summary paper, drawn from a variety of sources, on alcohol consumption in New Zealand.

The picture of social research into alcohol in New Zealand is one of increasing activity over recent years. I do not wish to reiterate these readily available studies but there are a few features of alcohol consumption and attitudes which are necessary background information.

Alcohol consumption (determined by figures of production and import and therefore ignoring home brew) has not always been rising. From the 1880's to the 1900's, from 1925 to 1932 and at other periods for one or two years, consumption dropped. However, 1962 until 1980 was a period of fairly steady increase which appears to have stabilised somewhat now, at what internationally is one of the middle positions in the drinking stakes with in 1979, 8.4 litres of alcohol per capita, compared with 15.8 litres for France which tops the list and 2.0 for Israel at the bottom (Batt 1983:2-5). Self-report figures obtained in the ALAC national survey on alcohol consumption underestimated by about one third the amounts estimated from production and import but the findings show that there are highly significant differences in alcohol consumption between the sexes, different age groups and many other social categories. However the predictive value of these social variables, apart from sex, is slight, indicating both variation within the categories and the importance of factors outside the social category in the determination of drinking (Stacey and Absalom 1980).

In New Zealand as in most other countries a small proportion of drinkers (10%) consume more than half the alcohol that is sold. 12% of males and 3% of females consume 10 or more mls per day. The distribution of alcohol consumption of each sex is most unlikely to be log normal, there being too many heavy drinkers among the men and too few among women. However there is a unimodal curve and the great majority of people are light to moderate drinkers though as elsewhere young men as a category drink more than any other.
The New Zealand Liquor Industry survey in 1983, again based on self-report, suggested the frequency of drinking was increasing and more drinking was occurring in private homes. But except for higher income groups, most people disagreed with alcohol being merely a part of the daily routine (Duncan 1983). Drinking is still something special.

A survey of 356 Christchurch households in 1976 showed (Brodie and Mellon 1977) that wine (including sherry) was used by 76% of households, while 74% used beer and 63% used spirits. Half of the sherry drinkers drank it once a week, but only a third of the still wine drinkers drank still wine as frequently as once a week. Sparkling wine was served by only 8% of its drinkers once a week. It appears that it is the households where the main income earners are young professionals which served the still wine and this was consumed mostly with the evening meal or later in the evening. This still wine drinking group appears to be the one which in the Duncan survey (1983) agreed that alcohol should be part of the daily routine. Interestingly enough, the decision to serve still wine was one shared by both spouses, whereas serving sparkling wine is more a man's decision and serving sherry is more often a woman's decision. The Brodie and Mellon survey was quite successful in reaching a high degree of estimated consumption (7.4 l/capita cf. 8.8 l/capita for the nation).

High income households consume more alcohol than low income households, they spend on alcohol a lower proportions of their total expenditure, and they consume relatively more wine and spirits. As income has increased so has wine and spirits consumption, but the upward increase in wine has been sharp (Easton 1982).

The cost of alcohol to the nation is difficult to estimate. A figure from 1978 puts the cost of tobacco and alcohol together at $500 million if medical services, social security benefits and loss of production are taken into account (Easton 1980). A more recent and comprehensive study carried out at the Christchurch Clinical school (Rayner and Chetwynd 1984) has put the annual cost at $900, with the great bulk being contributed by loss of production. Misuse of alcohol has a direct cost in human lives: the mortality rate of patients
attending a drug and alcohol clinic in Wellington was four times the expected rate over 1.5 years (Lambie et al 1983).

Alcohol problems and alcoholism are sometimes selected by respondents to surveys and interviews carried out as part of more general studies, when respondents are asked to discuss any problems which they feel are important within their community. This was certainly true of the interviews with caregivers carried out in the Pakuranga area of Auckland in 1980 (Park 1982) and in the interviews conducted in the rural district of Dannevirke (Herman n.d.) at roughly the same time. These kind of responses though extremely difficult to cost in any precise way, seem to indicate a widespread unease with the way alcohol is used and the consequences of abuse.

Another cost to the country as a whole is the amount of time the police and the courts and the individuals involved are forced to devote to charges in which alcohol figures. Duncan (1970) analysed the charges laid against persons arrested in 1966 in terms of the type of charge, ethnicity and a variety of other factors, for example, age, employment, the numbers involved in the incident, day of the week and so on. Alcohol is implicated in a variety of offenses, but even if only those offenses which directly concern drinking are considered, we find for male Europeans, Cook Islanders and Niueans that drink-related charges was the most common category, and for Maori and Samoan men it was the second largest category. The charge rate for women was only one-tenth of the male rate, and for them drink-related charges were the third most common type.

9.1.1 Conclusion.
Survey results speak of increases in frequency and amounts of alcohol consumed with particular increases in wine drinking. It seems clear that there are major differences in the drinking practices of men and women and that different kinds of drinks are gender related. Consumption in private contexts may be increasing at a faster rate than consumption in public contexts. All these trends, facts or suggestions need following up with some detailed research, which looks not just at consumption but at the identities of drinkers and drinking styles and contexts.
9.2 DRINKERS

9.2.1 Problem drinkers and others.

While we are often told that anyone can become an alcoholic, man or woman, executive or manual worker, the process by which a person gets labelled "alcoholic" is not quite so democratic. Simpson (1979:139) found when looking at hospital classifications that derelicts tended to get labelled "alcoholics" while executives had a whole range of labels including "severe indigestion" for the same range of physical symptoms. A doctor will often use a circumlocution to spare a person or his family from embarrassment. In trying to discover who is an alcoholic, then the purpose and circumstances of the labelling must be taken into account.

From the results of a survey carried out in the 1960's in which subjects responded to personality profiles it seems that most members of the public (66%) believed that a person who has the characteristics of alcoholism has an illness, but a slightly odd type of illness. 33% of respondents thought that moral character had something to do with it and a person with such an illness was rejected by a large majority of respondents (Blizard 1969). It seems that there is some resistance to the disease model of alcohol. The man in the street believes that alcoholism has features in common with an illness, but is not identical with an illness. Here they share with experts. Simpson (1969) notes that some New Zealand doctors feel alcoholism is a moral or social problem with medical consequences, others e.g., Aicken (1978) stress the reassurance value of the medical definition of disease to the alcoholic and his family. The majority of a self-selected group of General Practitioners who responded to Casswell and McPherson (1983) rejected a unitary definition of alcoholism but were firmly in favour of the disease concept. However, there was a range of opinion including some agreement with the concept of a continuum of drinkers and with a belief in the moral weakness of alcohol-dependent persons.

Simpson's study carried out in Wellington hospital in 1968 has the disadvantage of dealing with an abnormal sample - that of hospital patients. He asked his respondents about their lives both inside and outside the hospital, but it is important to remember that the results
concern hospitalised persons and cannot be generalised to the non-hospitalised population of New Zealand.

Among Simpson's respondents, alcoholics and non-alcoholics alike began drinking at the average age of 15 and became regular drinkers at 17. But alcoholics said they drank a wider range of alcoholic beverages and at any time of the day or night and on any day. This contrasted with the more patterned drinking of non-alcoholics. The alcohol consumption of alcoholics tended to be increasing and they tended to spend all their available money on booze. When talking about amounts they used terms like "flagon" and "bottle", rather than "bottle" and "glass" and they reported drinking in places like parks and alleyways. Alcoholics tended to describe their drinking as harmful and heavy or average rather than average or light. They tended to accept their disorder and to believe that the cure would be worse than the disease.

There are so many complex assumptions built into describing what is an alcoholic i.e., assumptions about who is an alcoholic and what is alcoholism, that in describing what is an alcoholic one is in fact describing definitional assumptions rather than any other aspects of reality. Because of these difficulties Simpson (1969:139) suggests that a good question to ask is "Why do some drinkers engage in deviant behaviour and not others?" This provides, he says, for investigation of both acceptable and unacceptable social drinking, normative drinking standards and attitudes towards drinking. It does not presuppose that there is any one standard of normal drinking and it also indicates a social rather than a medical mode of discourse.

9.2.2 Gender.

More men drink, drink more heavily and more beer, than do women. But apart from the statistics what else do we know from social science literature?

Two recent interview studies of 100 New Zealand women and 100 New Zealand men (Barrington and Gray 1981, Gray 1983) are a good place to start. Half of the working class men relaxed at a pub or club, but only one woman, a 46 year old Maori with 11 children, said she went to the pub. She said she went there to see her old friends and to get
away from "this mad house" i.e., her home. In The Smith Women a number of women refer to drunken husbands and parents. There are a few references by them to celebratory drinks and one woman described how she and her husband used to go to the pub, but now her husband brought a half dozen home and they watched television. The pub cost them too much money, they could spend $50.00 a night on shouting. Compared with these few remarks, the companion volume, The Jones Men, fairly bristles with comment on alcohol. There are references to family backgrounds troubled by drink. Some men who did not drink or only drank lightly felt that they were "out of it". A couple used drink to drown their sorrows or build up courage. A third of the men mentioned the rugby, racing and beer stereotype, some of them to criticise it. One man remarked that the conversation and friendship to be found in the pub was superficial - that far from being a positive institution the pub was merely the place where men felt least threatened. Only four of the fifty middle class men used a pub or club as a recreational base. These men saw it as a male bastion.

The author summed up:

> Drink was central to a whole range of criticisms - it indicated immaturity, it cost money, it affected employment and qualifications and it revealed men's inability to handle their emotions or their problems (Gray 1983:148).

Women's drinking and especially whether more women are drinking more is a current concern. Are women turning more to alcohol and is this especially true of married women as Alcoholics Anonymous suggests? (Aitken 1980:19). It seems the answer is a qualified "Yes".

Chetwynd and Pearson (1983 and 1983a) interviewed 755 Christchurch women between the ages of 18 and 60 who were not employed outside the home for more than 20 hours a week. Their study suggests that more women are drinking alcohol, that there is no preferred type of alcoholic drink and that there is a trend towards an increase in alcohol related problems amongst young women. At the time of the study 14.7 of the women interviewed were classified as problem drinkers on the basis of their own responses.

There is also some research backing for the idea that women "turn to alcohol". Driscoll (1982) found that those pregnant women in her sample who felt a lack of emotional support from the spouse/partner
during pregnancy, were more likely to increase their wine and sherry consumption during this time.

However this type of use of alcohol, as a substitute for emotional support, is not confined to women. Calvert, Dalziel and Phillips (1978:161) cite the opinion of an experienced marriage guidance counsellor: "Alcohol is a primary coping mechanism for family changes which are seen as threatening". However, Casswell and Smythe (1983) report that indicators of drinking problems such as mortality and morbidity statistics for cirrhosis, alcoholism and alcoholic psychosis show little or no convergence between male and female rates apart from drink/driving ratios which have converged markedly since 1969. The authors suggest that possibly women's drinking is now more visible, but is not increasing faster than men's or alternatively it may be that gross indicators take some years to catch up with a real increase relative to men. It is likely that both factors are at work and that women's drinking is increasing, but whether it is increasing any faster than men's drinking remains a moot point.

9.2.3 Age.
We know something about young drinkers and young people's attitude to drink, but very little about the elderly. Young people are the target for educational programmes e.g., Alcohol and You (1979) and much ongoing work in programme development and evaluation such as the HERP evaluation (see Orchard 1983 E/82/14) and Casswell's evaluation of a high school drug education programme (see Orchard 1983 E/79). Youth are an at risk population and therefore a focus of research.

A useful bibliography and research review was produced by Stacey in 1981. This summarises work on alcohol and youth and stresses continuities between adult and youthful attitudes to drink.

For various reasons, older people, partly because of the high mortality of heavy drinkers, partly because older people probably do moderate their drinking, do not figure highly in problem statistics and have been relatively neglected even in survey studies in New Zealand. However as a category of people with a high degree of leisure time and at a time of life when a number of severe crises occur, e.g., death of spouse, retirement, or redundancy and
diminishing and changing social networks, illness, travel and changes in place of residence, it would be useful to understand the role of alcohol in the lives of the elderly. A thesis on the elderly in Auckland which discusses everyday activities gives no indication of the role of alcohol in their lives (Tan 1976).

A study such as that carried out by the Wellington branch of SRow (1982) could easily include some probes on drinking. This was an interview study of fifty-seven 70-92 year old Wellington women about their lives, their relationships and their current circumstances. I see the paucity of research in this area as a gap which it is important to fill especially considering the increasing aging of the population over the next few decades.

Some of the work on young people is disappointing with regard to drinking. For example, a study of leisure behaviour patterns of working class youth (13 to 17 year olds) in Christchurch could only come up with the finding that most of the young people thought drinking was all right and few were strongly for or against it! (Seager 1974). Another study of the meaning of adolescence, set in Auckland, has a good analytical discussion of the role of drink in relations with authority but there is no significant data on drinking at all (Goldson 1978).

School students are the young people about whom most is known. A national survey of 3000 school children in 1978 revealed that one half of these children had tried alcohol before they turned 9 years old and most were given their first taste by their parents. At the 6th Form level i.e., age 16-17, 60% of the students drank beer at least once a month and half of these drank once a week or more frequently. Half the 6th Formers drank spirits once a month or more and a third drank wine once a month or more. 6th Form girls tended to drink spirits.

Those young people who drank alcohol in relatively unsupervised contexts were the heavier drinkers. Heavy drinking was not correlated with a low self concept or low evaluation of school work ability, but it was correlated especially for 6th Form boys who played rugby, with playing sport for the school. Beer was the drink of these school boy sportsmen (Routledge and Taylor 1981).
From this one might surmise that for older boys at least, heavy beer drinking would be associated with a positive self concept i.e., it is part of being a competent young man. There is some support for this, though it is rather tangential, from Mitchell's (1983) study in Gisborne of 5th Form students. Among the Maori students there was a tendency to drink more for those who identified most strongly with their cultural identity. Mitchell's study was in two parts: the first group of 5th Formers was surveyed in 1968, the second in 1981. There were over 500 students responding each time. Over the 13 years females' alcohol consumption increased, but males' did not. Europeans reported higher levels of consumption than did Maoris.

5th Formers were also the subject of an earlier study in Palmerston North (Hancock 1966). The majority drank occasionally and as in the national survey most had taken their first drink with their parents or other approved adult. Beer was the drink most often taken, followed by wine. Many young people appeared to know how to get drink illegally and after hours (this was at the time of 6pm closing) and many in fact did so - for the pleasure of breaking the law. Hancock suggests that these teenagers borrowed and adapted adult values, rather than rejecting them. The value placed on liquor by teenage boys was similar to that of adult men.

Surveys frequently ask about first drinking occasions and then jump to current practices. But the period in between could be most revealing. Routledge and Taylor (1981) found that young people who are just beginning to drink are unwilling to define their alcohol use as drinking, or to see themselves as drinkers. The authors suggest (p.19) that the time from this first stage until the commencement of more regular drinking may be a fruitful period of investigation. For these young people what is the nature of parental instruction, example and supervision; what other influences are in action; what are the contexts; what are the styles?

Some questions on alcohol and its use were included in the Dunedin multidisciplinary study when 9 year olds and their mothers were questioned. Over 90% of these children had had a sip of alcohol. Most children said their information about alcohol came from their own experience or within the family, but one third said television was a
source (Casswell and Silva 1983). As the children in this multidisciplinary study grow older, there will be an increasing amount of valuable information. However, some of the important questions will not be able to be answered by interviews alone.

An excellent example of what can be done using participant-observation is presented in Hatton (1933). It concerns underage drinking in New Zealand pubs. Underage drinkers, to pass, have to look about 20 years old, and to appear to be "at home" in the pub. To do this female drinkers manage their dress, their entrance into the pub, their buying of drinks and their consumption of them to create an impression of competent drinking. They drink in rounds, they drink selected spirits i.e., the drinks of seasoned drinkers, they may smoke in order to look "cool". By these means they internalise a fairly heavy drinking style merely in order to be able to drink in the pub at all. Were this kind of ethnographic approach applied to the years between say 9 and 18 our understanding of young peoples' drinking would be greatly increased.

9.2.3.1 Employment and Residential Location.

Employment and residential location cross-cut other aspects of identity such as sex, age and ethnicity, but here they are isolated for discussion. There is very little descriptive material on alcohol use by members of various occupations. Housewives are one exception as are workers in single industry towns as we will see shortly. The Graves' (1977) work on New Zealand's multicultural workforce includes an alcohol component (N. Graves pers comm.) but this is still ongoing. The role of alcohol in business is the subject of a recent study (Pringle and Houghton 1984) and there are a number of alcohol education programmes and programmes on alcoholism aimed at industrial and business concerns. To my knowledge, however, these are only two qualitative studies of occupational drinking. One concerns airline cabin crew (Anon 1981). The author explores the contextual and historical factors which lead to a heavy drinking style. The other concerned the role of alcohol in a group of six managers at Kinleith (Forbes 1980 see Orchard 1983 p/80/*).
The role of alcohol amongst the unemployed and retired has not been the subject of any detailed research.

Occupation is one of the determinants of class and status, but there is no systematic study of class, status and drinking in New Zealand. Vellekoop (1969) discussing Havigurst’s five social strata notes his assertion that members of the lowest social strata do not belong to any social organisation, except the informal group which meets in the pub and this is repeated in a number of guises e.g., Pitt (1973:160): “Many hours are spent in a number of informal contexts, particularly the hotel or pub...”. It does seem to be the case that a recreational life centred on pub or club drinking is more typical of working class than middle class, but many other factors intervene.

In Roxburgh during the dam construction there were three clubs that need concern us here, the RSA, the 2nd New Zealand Expeditionary Force Club and the International Club. The construction history at Roxburgh was anything but happy as New Zealanders aired their dislike of other groups of workers who themselves did not get along very well. When a large number of contract workers joined the RSA, the New Zealanders transferred to the 2nd New Zealand Expeditionary Force Club to which only they could belong. They declined to join the International Club which eventually had to close (Burch 1969:94). The work and residence based patterns of social relationships were carried over into recreational drinking and nationality was more important than common membership of the work force in determining who drank with whom.

In Tokoroa a North Island timber town

"a man of means" ... is likely to be a member of a civic service club and to drink at the Tokoroa Club or at a private bar in the Timberlands Hotel; ... A man with little occupational status (even though he might be earning a handsome wage) is likely to be living in a modest company house ... and will drink his beer in the public bar ... and maybe at the Pulp and Paper Workers Club.

But in between these two strata is a broad middle category which cannot be typed (Chappie 1976:xiv). That "broad middle category" requires much further research on the relationship between occupation, alcohol consumption and drinking style.

The interaction of drinking and occupation is nowhere more obvious than in the small rural or single industry towns. Chappie (1976:18)
describes the Kinleith Mill as New Zealand Forest Products' most productive son and Tokoroa the town, as Kinleith's "domestic appendage - the young wife so to speak - the helpmate, delight and refuge from Kinleith's drudge and toil". The pub and club established in 1969 (with 1500 members by 1971) are an important part of this domestic appendage. In 1969, 41% of residents surveyed said they went to the pub regularly. Only 18.3% said they went to church regularly.

The freezing workers' and until recently, the dairy factory workers' town of Moerewa in Northland with its high Maori population was studied in 1962-3 by an Indian anthropologist (Bhagabati 1967). He describes that after work some men headed straight to the pub for a few "quick ones" before closing time, others called in to buy beer to take home and share with three or four workmates. Work limited drinking: a worker's leisurely sipping of beer while off on compensation is contrasted with the rapid downing of beer by those fitting in a drink before 6 o'clock closing: and drinking limited work in the form of "Thursday flu" - absenteeism on Thursday following beer parties on Wednesday (payday) evening.

Significantly, women were excluded both from the pub and the works, but not from other spheres of public and social life. In the early 1960's at Moerewa the works and the pub were intimately connected. Much the same is true today, but now women have certain jobs in the works and on PEP schemes and are also to be found in the pub.

The pub and the works or the mill can be seen as acting in symbiosis. Money earned at the works keeps the pub profitable and the drinking and relaxation at the pub enables the workers to repeat the daily grind. It is difficult to imagine any major processing plant without its nearby pub or club. It would be most interesting to know how the closing of such a plant in a town where it is a main industry e.g., Patea, affected the pub and the social relationships of the drinkers within them.

Ten o'clock closing and neighbourhood taverns have made a difference to the relationship between work and pub. Pitt (1973:160) claims. He suggests that with later closing and pubs near residential areas drinking is no longer just an extension of man's working role.
and men and women now go out drinking together. If it is true, as he implies, that some public drinking has become domesticated then it has acquired an additional meaning, perhaps not a completely new meaning, but certainly a new balance in the patterns of meaning.

9.2.4 **Ethnicity.**

The cultural group to which one belongs has some bearing on attitudes to and values of alcohol, as it does on attitudes and values in general. Drinking occasions are also ones where members of various ethnic groups meet.

9.2.4.1 **Social relations between ethnic groups.**

Kernot (1972) observed that in Pukekohe, sport and RSA functions - which frequently included drinking, were one type of occasion which brought Maori and Pakeha together. But even in the pub, Maoris tended to congregate in the public bar, Europeans in the saloon bar, though there was some intermingling. The same kind of *de facto* segregation was observed by E and P Beaglehole (1946:204) for the Kowhai district (near Wellington). Mixed groups of Maoris and Pakehas amusing themselves were exceptionial, though both Maoris and Pakehas attended the same recreational venues. Bhagabati (1967:331) noted "free conviviality" between Maori and Pakeha in the Moerewa public bar following sports functions. The differences in drinking interactions between Maori and Pakeha in these towns could be a key to the different type of relationship which obtain in the three places.

In his study of Maori and Pakeha intermarriage, Harre (1967) noted that beer parties, sports clubs' social activitites and the like are places for men and women of both ethnic groups to meet. Harre suggested that Europeans may accept Maoris as "drinking cobbers" but not as people to invite home. This is probably more generally true i.e., that drinking cobbers of whatever culture may not necessarily be intimates of one's home.

One of Harre's observations about the courtship process goes against the conventional wisdom about girls limiting drinking by boys. Whether a boy was a good provider of liquor at parties was a factor in his appeal to his potential dates. However, once married, several
pakeha women were not so happy with their Maori husbands liberality - his throwing the house open to all and sundry. Their husbands consequently spent a lot of time away from home at pubs and parties. One wife said "I'm not turning my house into a boarding house or a pub bar" (Harre 1966:93).

J and J Ritchie (1978:123) assert that the greatest arena for ethnic conflict in New Zealand is the pub, but on the other hand, they say that it is also the place where people can meet and mingle and enjoy one another's company and hospitality. They suggest that the pub and the consumption of alcohol can make a contribution to our multi-cultural society through, for example, ethnic taverns under group control.

9.2.4.2 Alcohol and ethnic groups.
When one looks for studies, or even passing references to drinking by members of ethnic groups in New Zealand, Maori drinking studies are the most frequent. Pakeha drinking is rather more of an assumed background. Aspects of drinking by other Polynesian and recent immigrant groups do receive some attention but apart from the Graves work, it is rather cursory.

In 1941 the Beagleholes conducted a community study in the district of "Kowhai", a rural and beach district near Wellington. Nearby there was a military camp, with overseas servicemen. Many of the local men were in the army while other young people were employed outside the district. During this period, Maori women were not permitted in the pub and Maori men were not permitted to buy take-home supplies. There were 6 pubs in the district, one for every 300 people, and drinking was also a feature of the weekly "patriotic dances" which were a social focus at the time. A couple of homes had the reputation of "beer party joints" and a small beer party was a typical type of celebration for a holiday, to entertain visiting servicemen and suchlike. Small amounts of beer and wine were drunk in the meeting houses on the occasion of a farewell and larger amounts on the Marae during the social evening of a tangi.

Although half of the Maori men drank heavily either continuously or episodically, the Beagleholes did not observe any violence between
Maoris, drunk or sober. For a few, they thought, drinking was compulsive and for many drinkers a method of relieving intolerable personal tensions and the frustrations produced by impoverished living conditions. For only a few is drinking a pleasant social activity that helps add to the enjoyment and art of life (1946:200).

While the Beagleholes compare both the pattern of drinking and the level of consumption of Kowhai Maoris with that of lower class pakeha, they lay the problem of drinking firmly at the door of the wider society. "Unwise liquor drinking" they believe, "is a symptom of society's sickness, not a cause" (p.203). A contributing factor to the heavy drinking at the time of the study was the generosity of the visiting servicemen who tended to turn up at dances and homes with cases of liquor.

A little over a decade later J and J Ritchie were working in Rakau, a central North Island timber town. The most favoured leisure time pursuit was "having a yarn", usually in single sex groups. On weekends the men's yarn sessions turned into drinking sessions or parties. Ritchie uses "session" to refer to the slow, steady consumption of beer on a Saturday afternoon, accompanied by sitting in the sun, talking, sleeping and listening to the races. Sessions were rather drowsy affairs and contrasted with parties which were noisy all-night gatherings of men and women. At parties some spirits would be drunk and the drinking accompanied by singing and horseplay would go on till the booze ran out. Violence was common and parties had sexual undertones (Ritchie 1963:79-80).

Most social occasions in Rakau were accompanied by liquor. Ritchie calculated that the average weekly consumption of each male over 16 years in Rakau was about two and a half gallons i.e., about 11 litres, representing 12% of the average wage. However liquor was not consumed on the Marae or at film showings. Ritchie thought that the Rakau pattern of leisure use was similar to that of Kowhai but in Rakau the home consumption of liquor in contrast to hotel drinking, was higher. By this time Maoris had the same rights as Pakehas to buy liquor to take away.

Ritchie's explanation (p.87) of drinking in Rakau focuses on the relationship between the Maori community and the environing Pakeha
culture. The drinking group provides a sense of community and support for the individuals who in everyday life are subject to rules and regulations not of their own making and who in terms of employment and material possessions are daily confronted with the higher status of Pakehas. It is a new form of social organisation, but part of the Pakeha world and not part of the then crumbling traditional social organization of Rakau.

The account by Hohepa (1970) of a rural Maori community in the Hokianga, which he studied in the late 1950's, describes alcohol use as part of the community, especially during community gatherings and life cycle events - betrothals, weddings and the night after the funeral, after cemetery cleaning and community discussion. Unlike the Ritchies' and Beagleholes' studies, in this work alcohol use does not feature as a problem of excessive consumption. A few years later, but not far away in Moerewa, Bhagabati (1967) made the interesting observation that formal meetings rather than private conversations were the occasions when Maoris talked about liquor problems, the lack of care of children and other behaviour which exposed them to the criticism of outsiders. Similarly in formal contexts e.g., a tribal committee meeting, the local hotel (established in 1961) was criticised, but in day to day life there was little criticism of it, in fact it was welcomed. Maori wardens kept an eye on pub drinking in a low key manner.

Drinking was almost an essential component of the social life of men in Moerewa. Men who did not drink did not visit much. Attendance at a beer party was a sign of social intimacy. As in Rakau, fighting usually of a non serious nature, often broke out at a beer party, but it must be remembered that given that sociability and beer drinking are so closely connected, drinking is not necessarily causally related to fighting. Rather the social occasion may provide an appropriate setting for a fight.

The patterns of expenditure on drink by some was one of extreme liberality and here, as in Rakau, some families got into financial difficulties as a result of spending more than they could afford on drink and gambling. Kawharu (1975:102) refers to this pattern when he says of Orakei (Auckland) in the 1960's that the supposed bane of
Maori community life; liquor and gambling, was simply not evident in Orakei at this time. Orakei community had at this stage been moved from the beach front area, up to Kitemoana Street and had had some years to get accustomed to this new location. Kawharu says that drinking was more the accompaniment of a gathering of close friends than an escape mechanism.

The control of drinking on marae is a feature of Maori community life. Some marae do exist or have existed where there have been no restrictions regarding liquor, but these are viewed with derision. Generally liquor is either strictly prohibited or is restricted e.g., to toasts in the dining hall, to the cooking area which is noa anyway for the cooks to refresh themselves, or for special occasions such as 21sts or weddings. On the strict marae people drink on such occasions but they do so outside the marae entrance or at the pub (Salmond 1975:43). Kernot (1972:37) described a wedding where liquor for toasting was permitted in the Maori Hall at Pukekohe for the wedding feast, but the dance at which liquor flowed freely was held in another hall. 21st celebrations followed the same pattern.

In 1969 a survey study of rural Tikitiki and urban Rotorua Maori drinkers was conducted by Simpson (1970). The study included pre-coded questionnaires and some observation. It seems most unlikely that such a study would get very accurate results. That only about half of the drinkers had begun drinking regularly at age 20 seems most unlikely, for example, as does the large numbers who professed to be drinking less at a time when national consumption was rising quite sharply. But starting and stopping drinking for financial or health reasons does seem to be a feature of Maori drinking from my own observation. Nevertheless both the Tikitiki and Rotorua samples downed very large quantities of beer, respectively approximately 3 and 5 times the per capita national consumption of 1966.

One of Simpson’s conclusions is that Maori drinking is an important adjunct to social life in an urban setting but less so in the rural one. In the city other social events are organised around the pub. in the country this is less true, but he thought that there was a trend in this direction in Tikitiki. This conflicts with Biggs (1970) remarks on urban and rural hotels in general, noted in Chapter 6:2
Simpson compared his Maori samples with that drawn from Wellington hospital and found that the Pakeha hospital sample drank less beer, tended to drink in the evenings rather than immediately after work and on Saturdays and that they got drunk less often than either Maori samples. There is little in this paper from which one can infer anything about the meaning of alcohol but, as Simpson pointed out, the rural Maoris were more likely to use alcohol for medicinal purposes, which suggests that it played a slightly different role in their lives.

Even though ethnicity has not been found to be a predictor of much variability in alcohol consumption in the larger studies (Stacey and Absalom 1981) there seems to be from the literature and from observation, good grounds to suppose that ethnicity is a very important factor when it comes to explaining variation in the role of alcohol in social relations and in the meaning and use of alcohol in New Zealand.

The study by the Alcohol Research Unit (Awatere et al 1984) which employed a Maori woman researcher to study drinking patterns and meanings among young urban Maori makes an important contribution. As well as the interview study, the volume contains an historical and statistical overview for the Maori population as a whole. Group and individual interviews were conducted with people between the ages of 14 and 25 who lived in the South Auckland area. Most participants were of lower socio-economic status and most were drinkers. The style of drinking of the majority was relatively heavy, and drinking was not associated with meals. Nor was it usual for alcohol to be kept in the home. Reasons for drinking included sociability and forgetting one’s troubles. A sizeable minority did not drink or had given up and two-thirds of respondents had experienced drink-related problems in their family. In general, drinking was perceived as a problem for the Maori people. Some saw it as a main problem, others as a symptom or result of other problems. Changes in drinking, it was thought, would come about as a consequence of change in the position of Maori people.

Information on alcohol consumption was an important part of the study carried out by the Maori Women's Welfare League (Murchie 1984).
This study was concerned with the health, in the Maori sense of the term, of Maori women. Drinking and associated attitudes and values were analysed in terms of the seven categories of Maori women used as analytical units in the study, as well as in terms of the respondents as a whole. With increasing age, the proportion of non-drinkers increased dramatically from about one-third in the 20-30 age group, to two-thirds of those in their seventies. It is important to note that older women were those most likely to have given up drinking so that the increase in non-drinkers with age is not merely a function of the aging of a cohort of non-drinkers. There are some rather enigmatic associations in the data, for example, the woman in poor health is more likely to be a non-drinker, but there is also a significant positive relationship between non-drinking and employment satisfaction. Again, mature women with strong cultural links have in their numbers more drinkers than similar women with less strong cultural links, but in this latter category there are fewer drinkers, but more are moderate and heavy drinkers. These and other aspects obviously require closer study in order for the linkages to be understood more fully. In this regard the League Report makes some important recommendations, especially concerning the conduct of further research and the application of research findings.

However, studies of a rural region, including service town(s) and further urban studies are urgently required in this sensitive and difficult area. Such studies will only be successful if they are directed by or have significant local participation by Maori researchers and they take sufficient time to work through the multi-layered political structures.

9.2.5 Alcohol and immigrants.

There are scattered references in the literature to relationships between different immigrant groups and alcohol, often because of some pattern of offending which differs from patterns of New Zealand born citizens. For example, in 1973 Trlin noted that Polish immigrants have high rates of vagrancy and drunkenness and that Western Samoan immigrants are more often convicted for sexual offences, assault, vagrancy and drunkenness than their New Zealand born counterparts. The Polish rates he accounts for in terms of past stress and present
pressures and the Samoan rates he attributes to their relative freedom in New Zealand from the restrictive liquor laws of Western Samoa. Even the Dalmatian immigrants, whose contribution in terms of wine production is usually welcomed, were criticized earlier on for corrupting with wine the Maoris that they mingled with on the gum fields (Cooper 1977) and the early Chinese gold diggers were associated not only with opium but gin drinking and a whole range of iniquitous practices. It seems however, that the Chinese drank several types of alcohol not just gin and they also used gin in cooking (Ritchie 1984). The point is that different drinking practices of an immigrant group are often seized upon as a point of criticism by the majority culture. By the same token, a distinctive pattern of alcohol use may be used as a badge of identity by a minority or immigrant culture.

Any study of the drinking practices of an immigrant group in New Zealand needs to take a careful look at the practices current in the homeland and the wider cultural context. The Ritchies' book *Growing up in Polynesia* (1979) provides a little information on several Pacific Island groups. The many monographs by anthropologists on the islands of Polynesia are relevant here too and easily accessible, but are too numerous to be included in this review. However reference can be made to a bibliography on culture and mental health in the Pacific Island (Rubinstein and White 1983), to the Pacific Research Register (Crowe 1982) and to bibliographies already mentioned. The early study by Lemert (1979, 1st published 1962) on Tahiti, the Cooks and Western Samoa in which he compares the integration of alcohol in the three societies is something of a classic study and one which unfortunately has not been followed up sufficiently. Marshall writing in 1976, says the purpose of his review of the literature on alcohol use in the Pacific is to demonstrate how much is NOT known (1976:103). He does exclude general ethnographies from his survey however. Yet some of these ethnographies e.g., Levy's *Tahitians* (1973) contain sophisticated accounts of drinking.

Our knowledge of drinking patterns of immigrants in New Zealand is confined to observational studies of public drinking in Auckland (Semu 1976, Kirkwood 1979, Graves, Graves, Semu and Sam 1982). I will
discuss the 1982 paper here as the others more properly belong to a
discussion of drinking and violence (see below). No distinction is
made between New Zealand born and Island born "immigrants".

The researchers conducted their study in the public bars of
Auckland hotels which had ethnically mixed clientele. Their
observations showed there was great variability within each group, but
that on average Maoris and Islanders spent two hours in the pub and
Pakehas about one and a quarter hours, that Maoris consumed most,
followed by Islanders and that Maoris drank the fastest followed by
Pakehas. Maoris mostly drank in the largest groups (5), Pacific
Islanders in groups of 3 or 4 and Pakehas either alone or in pairs.
About 40% of observed drinkers drank in ethnically mixed groups and
while most Maoris drank in groups with at least one woman present, 75%
of Pacific Islanders and Pakehas drank in men-only groups. For all
drinking, round drinking was the norm either by buying in rounds or
pouring in rounds. The authors statistical calculations led them to
conclude that the heavier consumption by Polynesians can be explained
by two variables, group size and time spent in the pub. However, they
then need to explain these variables in cultural terms.

To do this they resort to other studies they have conducted among
Auckland's ethnic groups (e.g., Graves and Graves 1977). These
studies lead them to believe that Polynesians operate with an
inclusive style of social relations in contrast to the Pakeha
exclusive style. They tend to have a group-reliant orientation and
operate most comfortably in larger groups. The authors also invoke
Polynesian generosity as an explanation for why length of time in the
pub increases as group size expands. They suggest that a Polynesian
will be quicker to initiate the buying of a round. However this
conflicts with their own data which show that Pacific Islanders
actually drink more slowly than others. The idea that the
availability of ready cash limits Pakeha but not Polynesian drinking
which they also offer is an assertion which though not unlikely in
some circumstances, requires verification. The same is true for the
explanation that the flexible mealtimes of Polynesian families account
for the longer time the men spend in the pub. The problem with these
likely explanations really lies in the research methodology. Being
observers and not interactors, the researchers can only guess at the reasons why. However despite the limits of the observational method the study is a valuable one. One of the authors' concluding remarks is that there is the need to shift our attention from the secondary function of the public bar as a dispenser of alcohol to its primary function as a social recreational centre (Graves et al., 1982:1007).

9.3 DRINKING CONTEXTS

Public and private drinking contexts are points on a continuum rather than exclusive categories. At one extreme there is the public bar of a hotel and at the other, the family dining room or lounge with only family members present. But in between is a whole range of contexts: various kinds of bars, restaurants and clubs, outdoor venues, large parties in private homes or public halls, neighbourhood barbecues, company social functions and so on. Research has tended to concentrate on the public end of the continuum, even though more alcohol is consumed in the more private contexts.

9.3.1 Public Drinking.
The work published in New Zealand on public drinking has been more interested in drinking patterns related to ethnicity and violence than in looking at the social interactions of drinkers and others present in these contexts or in the attitudes, values and expectations of the participants. The unpublished research on public drinking is much more interesting in this regard. The essay by Hatton described above in the section on age of drinkers (9:2:3) is one such. Another though much slighter contribution, concerns the behaviour of a drinking group of four men and examines round drinking in some detail. The author distinguishes between "buying a round" which is buying a set of drinks with the expectation that each member of the group will later do the same and "shouting" which is when drinks are bought without the expectation of a return (Anon 1982).

A rather more ambitious attempt to assess attitudes towards some aspects of public drinking (specifically beer and women), was made by Williams (n.d.). His essay is presented as a research design rather than research findings. There is enough information in it however to
be able to conclude that among his respondents beer is still quite strongly associated with masculine meanings, that attendance at public drinking places is something women "should" do only when escorted by men and that different types of beer have class associations. The paper is interesting because its author observes and interacts with drinkers and draws on other information e.g., marketing strategy, in the course of his argument.

A very different perspective is presented by Miller (1983) who takes a look at the role of the Salvation Army in relation to public drinking, but it underlines a fact, often neglected in public drinking studies, that the pub exists in a particular social context and does not constitute an entire world on its own.

The most substantial work on public drinking is Hawkeswood's (1982) study of the gay bar as a cultural scene. Here the context, the drinkers and the interactions between them are described and analysed.

9.3.2 Private drinking.

What we know of private drinking comes from scattered references in accounts of other things. Some of this has been dealt with above, e.g., Saturday afternoon sessions in Rakau. The role of drinks in neighbourly relationships is mentioned in James (1979) for Kawerau where an example of a man offering alcohol and a woman tea and cookies to a new neighbour is probably the usual pattern. It is certainly true of Pakuranga that if two new females met, tea or coffee would be offered but if a neighbouring couple were invited over by a couple, alcoholic drinks were more likely to be offered. On one occasion two women who were already friends spent an afternoon after one of them had had a crisis "sipping sherry and exchanging confidences", but even sherry was not normally offered by women to women. Beer and wine featured at neighbourhood barbeques and progressive dinners. The pre-dinner drinks, sherry or spirits, were a relaxation ritual in some households and wine was a feature of meals in some homes particularly at weekends and when there were guests. As an interviewer I was often offered tea or coffee or cold drinks, but never alcohol (Park 1982). In his study of the Rasta movement in Auckland, Hawkeswood (1983) notes a recreational use of alcohol among the ethnically mixed but
mainly young people who are part of the movement. Some of their drinking is of course in public. Such a study which follows a group or loose network of people in a variety of contexts is more satisfactory from the point of view of understanding the role of alcohol in social relations, and its meaning and use, than a study which tries to deal with all comers in one context. Wylie's (1980) study which used extended intensive interviews with a cross-section of New Zealanders also provides insights into the role of alcohol in peoples' lives.

9.4 DRINKING STYLES

With little specific research done on drinkers or context we are not really at the stage where too much can be said about styles. However from a couple of works which do not deal with alcohol specifically there is the suggestion of the possibility of regional styles of drinking. Houghton (1979) says that the characteristics of the West Coast singled out in popular and academic sources are its frontier origins, the Irish Roman Catholic ancestry, a tradition of hospitality and independence, the legendary drinking habits, and the rain. During her study she found that hotel visits were frequent and hotels were centres of community activity. There was little excessive drinking or public drunkenness and she thought that there was probably quite strong informal control over aspects of public drinking.

Much the same kind of pattern was observed by Somerset in the 1930s on the other side of the Southern Alps in the centre of Oxford where the Workingmen's Club was the venue (Somerset 1974). Again the Club was a social centre and drunkenness was rare. Sheep farmers came to the weekly market most weeks of the year, though they only sold once or twice a year, then adjourned to the Club to talk shop.

The pub or Club (and nearby Store or Post Office) as a social centre in rural New Zealand is a widespread phenomenon. Kaplan (1979) reports of the Mangamahu Valley farmers in the lower North Island, that the closing of the store and pub at one little settlement was a real blow to the social life of the area. When the pub was open, people would come in to collect their mail, go over the road to read it at the pub and have a yarn with friends doing the same thing.
There was still one pub within reasonable distance and that had recently been upgraded. Some of the locals hoped that it would become the venue for a regular meeting of farmers which could combine farmer education with a social occasion. In the Chatham Islands, according to Telford (1978) the pub at Waitangi is similarly important to social life. Telford describes it as the focus of informal social life. On days when the boat arrived from New Zealand and on sports days it groaned at the seams, but any day during the year men and women could be found having a yarn, and on any evening the pub would be quite full with people drinking, talking and playing darts and later on, singing round the piano. Telford describes an informal spatial structuring in the bar which corresponded to the island social structure based on "old families" and others.

These studies which touch on the role of the pub in rural New Zealand lend some support to Biggs' (1970) suggestion (see 6.2) that rural pubs play a particularly important part in rural social life.

Specific drinking styles are also associated with the various features of drinkers discussed above: age, sex, occupation, ethnicity, but only the most broad outlines have at this point been sketched. One exception is a highly specific aspect of male drinking reported by Hodges (1984) in a preliminary paper. He was concerned with drinking styles in all-male drinking situations in Dunedin. Two of these situations were after-match drinking sessions at a soccer club, one a stag party, and another an after-stag-party party. Drinking games or more less ritualised usages of alcohol were part of most of these drinking sessions. In his analysis and interpretation of these elements of male popular culture, Hodges uses a concept of play which can be compared with that used by Buckley in his description of drinking in an Ulster community (see 5.3.3.). Hodges suggests that competition for dominance between males is a vital part of the drinking situation which he describes.

One drinking style which has received attention is that which includes violence in drunken comportment. The main public drinking studies have been concerned with the relationship between drinking, ethnicity and violence partly as response to public concern about this issue. Semu (1976) contains a collection of newspaper clippings which
present some aspects of this public concern. The 1981 paper by Graves, Graves, Semu and Sam on drinking and violence sums up most of the Auckland public drinking and violence studies conducted by them and their associates. I would quarrel with use of "New Zealand" in their title as they are observing a specific phenomenon found only in a few places in New Zealand. Part of this study has already been discussed in the section on public drinking. That specifically concerning violence focussed on critical incidents in 12 pubs over a period of 3 weeks.

Most of the incidents started as an argument between two or more patrons. For about one quarter of the incidents no cause could be found and about one in ten appeared to start because patrons felt pugilistic. The most common cause was disputes over fair play in the games area, next were rivalries over females, minor bumps or accidents, or taking another's chair, drink or cigarettes. But 45% of incidents started because of an argument between a patron and a manager or security officer, either over behaviour or dress. Conflicts of this type were common with Pakeha patrons. The authors note that most security officers are Polynesians and Pakehas resent their authority. Incidents involving Polynesians were likely to include many more protagonists than those involving Pakehas and were likely to be more serious. In half the Polynesian and one third of the Pakeha incidents, the security officer or the manager had to call in the police to control the situation. It seems then that there are real differences in seriousness of drinking and violence incidents when Polynesians and Europeans are involved and this is not just due to discrimination in terms of the police or courts or media.

What contributed to the violent style? The physical drinking context had no significant contribution. The degree of intoxication had a small contribution to make and Polynesian ethnicity made a somewhat larger contribution, but the major factor was the number of people involved. And the number involved is strongly related to the size of the initiator's drinking group.

This is an important study because it goes against the conventional wisdom that "Polynesians cannot handle liquor". The degree of observed intoxication had very little to do with the seriousness of
the incident. Rather it adds support to the concept of drink defining a special kind of time during which certain types of activities are expected to take place, in this case fighting in defense of one's self image. This understanding of drink is shared across the ethnic groups represented in these Auckland pubs but the styles of defense - verbal, physical and who should get involved, differ between the groups.

The relationship between violence as a style of drunken comportment and the consumption of alcohol is not particularly simple. Bradbury (1982) concludes for a sample of violent offenders which she studied using both official records and interviews, that the pub was of great importance to the respondents for the drinking, the camaraderie, the games and the excitement which was an accompaniment of the ever present possibility of violence. One is reminded of Marshall’s "weekend warriors" on Moen Island, Micronesia, who indulge in the risk taking behaviour which behoves young men by embracing with enthusiasm a violent style of drunken comportment.

In Bradbury’s sample nearly half drank to drunkenness once a week and many of them spent all the money they could afford on booze. They took pride in the amount of their drinking and the competence of their comportment i.e., drinking others under the table, or at least keeping up with their companions.

Few of them thought that their drinking was a problem to them and interestingly they did not use drink as an excuse for their offending behaviour, even though they viewed offending as a likelihood or even an inevitable consequence of drinking. This is in contrast to the criminal justice system. Bradbury observed in Court alcohol consumption was invoked to diminish responsibility for the offence.

Violent offences were strongly linked with drinking (84% of incidents of interpersonal violence involved drink), but violence was by no means an inevitable consequence of drinking. Violence is part of the life style and so is drinking and therefore Bradbury (p.191) argues, for any one moment there is a high probability that a person has been drinking beforehand. An example of this correlation occurs with gang members, especially when in conflict with the police - who are often in or near hotels.
The concept of a subculture of violence is also used in a study of serious motoring offenders (Parsons 1977). Parsons found a strong, positive relationship between serious motoring offending and other offending of a violent and anti-social nature. A person who because of his socialisation subscribes to a subculture of violence and accepts violence as normal, will carry this over to driving with a resulting high probability of involvement in "accidents". Parsons found that 66% of his sample were re-offenders and the drunken offender was the most intransigent. Because of the difficulties of proof at the time Parsons conducted his study (1965-69), there were a small number of offenders convicted for drunken driving, but many (perhaps one third) of those convicted of other offences had been drinking.

Again drink is not necessarily the causal factor, but as with other violence, drinking may act as a signal for risk taking behaviour of this type.

This violent style of drunken comportment contrasts starkly with the kinds of preferences expressed by the majority. A survey of three Hamilton suburbs discovered that there people preferred smaller taverns, with food, non alcoholic and alcoholic drinks plus recreational facilities. The style suggested here is one where alcohol consumption is integrated in such a way that it does not signal a break with a family recreation style.

Although the content of different styles can be but sketched in at present, it is clear that there is great variation in drinking styles and that some of them contrast starkly one with the other, reflecting and remaking the divisions of our society.

9.5 CONCLUSION

Despite the paucity of ethnographic research specifically on alcohol in New Zealand, a reading of a broad range of literature lends depth as well as breadth to the growing knowledge of the meaning and use of alcohol. There are variations and contradictions between some of the sources which are a source of research questions. For example: What is the role of alcohol in male friendships? Does it
promote a shallow camaraderie, or does it mark occasions of intimacy, Kiwi style, and not necessarily accessible to the observer? But even more striking are the common themes from a wide variety of sources, themes such as the use of alcohol as a symbol of identity, of the importance of the learning-to-drink period, and of the social roles of drinking places. The literature on alcohol in New Zealand points the way to some interesting future research.
PART III
TOWARDS AN ANTHROPOLOGY OF ALCOHOL IN NEW ZEALAND
Chapter 10
STATEMENT OF POSITION

An anthropology of alcohol in New Zealand is the description and analysis of the role alcohol plays in the lives of individuals, groups, cultures and the society itself. It must take into account all possible aspects of alcohol: linguistic, symbolic, economic, political, legal, religious, health-related, historical, social and cultural, and be informed by research on alcohol in the biological sciences.

The special quality of an anthropology of alcohol is that it is based on ethnography, a study of social and cultural entities which is grounded in the attempt to present an analysis from the "insiders'" perception and to translate between this perception and that of the audience. Ethnographic method relies on intensive first hand research during which the ethnographer is taught the concerns and behaviours of the members of the cultural group of which he or she is a student, but it also incorporates information from other sources.

An anthropology of alcohol would encompass the analysis of all the social and cultural groups which make up New Zealand society, it would relate these analyses one to the other and to other sources of information such as society-wide statistical information, legal prescriptions, control policy and economic information.

Bacon (1979) argued that alcohol research should be a separate field of study, a separate discipline which examined alcohol, man and society. In my view such a move would cause a shift in perspective from which it would take years to recover. It also appears to negate Bacon's lifelong approach to alcohol which saw the connectedness of alcohol and other things. Other contributors to the conference at which Bacon made his plea disagreed strongly with his position (Lemert. Cisin in Research Advances in Drug and Alcohol Problems 1979). One of the dangers that I see if the focus is placed too firmly on alcohol is that other things will get out of focus. Alcohol is a more or less important aspect of people's lives, an
interesting subject in itself, and a way in to many even more
interesting things. It has certain risks attached, and has well-
documented deleterious effects socially, medically and, for some,
economically. As such, it is a social problem for which it is
appropriate that remedies be sought. But it is by no means the social
problem. Alcohol researchers need to be able to ask questions about
why there is an interest in alcohol studies at all (Rouse and Ewing
1973), and what is the function of such studies. Most researchers
probably hope that through their research some of the social and
medical problems of alcohol will be ameliorated, but perhaps it may be
that liquor manufacturers will be in a better position to brief their
advertising agencies, or the government will see a way to collect more
tax, or perhaps the funding of research itself is the end—something
is seen to be done.

In a most useful review article, Rouse and Ewing (1978) pose a
series of questions, some of which they answer, about alcohol in the
United States. They are also highly relevant to the New Zealand
context. They ask why there is an interest in drinking and alcohol
studies, why adults and young people drink, where and under what
circumstances people drink and drink excessively, how excessive
drinking is encouraged, and a series of questions about the genesis
and modification of problem drinking, including both formal and
informal controls. The answers to these problems are sought or are to
be sought not just from the drinking context itself but by looking at
the connectedness of drinking with other aspects of life. Models can
be found in the literature. Marshall's Weekend Warriors (1979),
Warry's "Bia and Bisnis" (1982) and Poole's (1982) discussion of why
the Bimin-Kuskusmin do not drink, and Levy's (1973) analysis of
Tahitian drinking all address these questions from a broad cultural
perspective.

To sum up: my position is that an anthropology of alcohol in New
Zealand may start and/or end with alcohol but along the way it must be
prepared to take into account a great deal else besides. This is
another way of saying that anthropology is an holistic discipline—it
discovers, analyses and sometimes makes connections.
10.1 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Alcohol is often a sensitive issue and research is a political enterprise. Excessive or disapproved drinking habits are often used as a means of criticising minority groups, especially the dispossessed. The reality of excessive drinking in certain contexts is not in dispute, the problem is that the analysis often stops there. This is sensitively brought out in Maps and Dreams (Brody 1980), for example, and is an issue in New Zealand. Researching drinking in such groups may be, or may be seen to be, part of the stigmatising process. There are several solutions: no research in such groups; refocussing of research within these groups, and there are enormous possibilities here, working in consultation with the members; or the selection of other research groups, for example, the study of "majority" groups of various kinds so that as well as breaking new ground, the political statement that drinking is a society wide issue is made; or refocussing research onto systems which for example, promote inequality, and ultimately affect the use and meaning of alcohol. Cahalan's (1976) plea that anthropologists should also turn their attention to alcohol systems should not go unheeded.
Chapter 11
RESEARCH FOCI

At this stage of research into the anthropology of alcohol in New Zealand, it is not really possible to point to a few gaps and to say that they need further investigation. The whole field needs further investigation. However, an anthropology of alcohol cannot be produced overnight. It is something that many workers will work towards over a long period. Some interesting and fruitful research topics present themselves, and these I will discuss. They arise from a consideration of the overseas literature and especially from my reading of local sources and my discussions and observations which constituted the field-oriented phase of this research project. They are not considered in order of priority and it should be noted that an anthropological approach to these foci is just one approach. Several could benefit from a variety of approaches and for some this is essential.

11.1 WOMEN AND ALCOHOL

It is almost universally true that men and women use alcohol differently and that alcohol belongs more in the men’s sphere than in the women’s. The history of drinking in this country shows that this is true here too. There are good reasons to suspect that along with different use patterns, there are different patterns of meaning and value. There are certainly different social roles for alcohol. But the contrast between men and women is only one aspect of women and alcohol. The differences between women drinkers and women abstainers, and the circumstances which maintain these differences are just as worthy of study. Particularly interesting and important is the relationship of alcohol to the changing roles of women.

It might be argued that an anthropology of women’s drinking is not possible without an anthropology of men’s drinking. Indeed the relationship of alcohol to gender is an important topic. But at the present state of our knowledge we do have more information about men’s
drinking. and certainly the historical sources are almost entirely concerned with this. A study of women’s drinking in its wider social context, would not ignore men’s drinking. Men and women share the same drinking occasions, and share some of the meanings associated with drink. And many of the meanings of drink for women obtain because of the male meanings of drink. However, it appears that women’s drinking is different in quality and quantity from men’s drinking and the topic deserves attention in its own right, but not in isolation.

11.2 YOUNG PEOPLE AND ALCOHOL

By the age of nine young people are no strangers to alcohol (Casswell and Silva 1983). From other studies we know that heavier alcohol drinking is associated with membership of sports teams, especially Rugby teams, and that proscriptions on drinking have definite effects on the drinking habits of young New Zealanders. But almost all the information that we have about young people and alcohol comes from interviews or questionnaires. We do not know how alcohol figures in the daily lives and conversations of pre-adolescents and adolescents in the 1980s.

Janet Frame (1983:107) tells us that in her youth in Oamaru "drink" or "the drink" was a marked category, a concept of fear and wonder, not at all on a par with beverages that one drank when thirsty. Through an ethnography of young people and alcohol it would be possible to discover what loadings “the drink” has for the social groups which make up the category "young people", from where and by what means these loadings have come, and what patterns of alcohol use are in existence.

11.3 OLDER PEOPLE AND ALCOHOL

As a nation we are growing older: a greater proportion than ever before is becoming "aged". Statistically, excessive drinking is not a great problem of the aged, but quality of life is.

In the latter quarter of life many life-crisis events are concentrated which result in social disengagement which is usually far
Loneliness is a major problem of the old. Some may seek solace in the bottle, but the large proportion we know from survey studies, are light to moderate drinkers. What are the conditions that encourage moderation? Is there a positive role for contexts or occasions which include alcohol in promoting companionship among the elderly? An ethnography of alcohol amongst older people, perhaps from age 50 on could provide useful information on these topics and would promote an understanding of older people's lifestyles, but it could also provide many pointers towards the promotion of moderation in younger folk.

11.4 WORK AND ALCOHOL

The role of alcohol (hospitality) in business is one area where work has recently been undertaken (Pringle and Houghton 1984). The role of alcohol in all levels of the workforce from Boards of Directors through executives to factory operatives would seem a useful area of study. However, such a study, or series of studies should also include the role of alcohol in the informal economy (Pahl 1983), for example in neighbourhood-based work groups which exchange goods and services outside the cash economy. In addition it would be most important to look at the role of alcohol in the industrial capitalist mode of production including that section of the potential workforce for whom there is no work.

11.5 THE ALCOHOL SYSTEM

This area of study would require a multidisciplinary approach to the system of production, distribution and consumption of alcohol from the level of individuals and households through the various arms of the liquor industry. It would include an examination of alcohol in relation to the public sector including taxation and its effects on different sections of the community, health related costs and so on. Such a study should include different attitudes to the accumulation of wealth and savings, and expenditure on alcohol held by different sections of the community as well as an analysis of where the consumers' drink dollars go and at what cost to the nation. The economics of alcohol touches on political issues at all levels: the
who makes the alcohol-related decisions?; to the nation: who makes the decisions that maintain or change the status quo?

11.6 THE ROLE OF ALCOHOL IN OUR PLURAL SOCIETY.

Indications in studies so far are of major differences in the role of alcohol in public and private drinking in rural and urban contexts, and among the ethnic and class groupings which cross-cut our society. There are differences in patterns of use, in attitudes and values. Alcohol is just one aspect, but it is often an important one in differences in attitudes to and use of leisure time, hospitality, friendship and personal relationships. By studying these differences and what generates, maintains or alters them our understanding of the meanings of alcohol will be enhanced, and so will our understanding of New Zealand society.

In conducting research into ethnic or class sub groups, as well as those based on age and gender the members of the groups must be involved in the research from the planning stages through to the end so that the research can respond to the needs of the participants in it. This much is obvious from local and overseas research: the time for research "on" groups has long since passed.

11.7 PRIVATE DRINKING

Most of the observational and even survey research on alcohol in New Zealand has looked at public drinking. There is no hard and fast boundary between public and private drinking, but it seems important that the middle ground, i.e, clubs, and the more private end of the spectrum, drinking in homes, also be part of alcohol studies. It may be quite misleading, as Brody (1980) showed for the Beaver Indians to focus on drinking in the more public places, and it may also be quite misleading as Graves and Graves (1983) suggest, to focus on only drinking, which though certainly visible, may be an incidental activity in either public or private contexts.

In general it is advantageous, and in the study of more private drinking in particular it is probably essential, for any work to get done at all, for the research to be people- or group- or club- or
community-oriented, rather than to be setting-oriented. In such contexts the researcher needs to be a known and trusted person. In addition recent research has shown that drinking styles vary between settings and in order to understand what features of settings promote which styles of drinking, it is necessary to study the same or similar groups of drinkers in different settings.

11.8 CONCLUSIONS

One of the very likely findings of any study of alcohol is that the results will be complex. Individuals are likely to hold contradictory attitudes and values, they are likely to drink in more than one style and they are likely to drink in more than one context. The reasons why people drink the way they do may be unable to be articulated by them, but any given reasons have to be taken into account as part of the data to be explained. There are likely to be considerable differences between attitudes and behaviour, between ideal norms, personal norms, and norms held by members of different groups, categories and cultures. And between norms and action one would also expect to find great variation. An ethnographic approach is designed to cope with just such ordinary everyday human complexity.
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PART IV

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Agar, Michael, H. 1980
The professional stranger: an informal introduction to ethnography.
New York, Academic
Methodology Ethnography
An excellent introduction to ethnography by an anthropologist with
extensive experience in the drug and alcohol field.

Ahlstrom-Laakso, S. 1976
European drinking habits: a review of research and some suggestions for
costnptual integration of findings:119-60.
Cross-cultural approaches to the study of alcohol. M Everett (ed.).
The Hague, Mouton.
Drinking patterns-European Review
National consumption statistics may underestimate consumption by as
much as a third (Norway) because of unregistered consumption. In addition
percapita figures can be misleading because of the enormous differences from
country to country in the numbers of abstainers and very light drinkers. As
indices of patterns, average consumption per capita figures are less than
useful. The author urges the study of the cultural differences in the
integration of alcohol, in the interplay between formal and informal sources of
control, and in norms and behaviour, and of cultural diffusion and its effects
on national drinking styles.

Akins, Carl; Beschner, George. (eds). 1980
Ethnography: a research tool for policy-makers in the drug and alcohol
field.
Methodology Collection
A collection of papers given at a workshop attended by ethnographers,
policy makers, and planners. Individual papers of relevance are noted under
author's names. Most of the collection concerns drugs other than alcohol.
Anderson, Barbara G. 1979
How French children learn to drink:429-32.
Beliefs, behaviours and alcoholic beverages. M Marshall (ed.).
Ann Arbor, University of Michigan.
Drinking patterns-European Ethnographic
1st published 1968. Children in the village of Wissous began drinking
"reddened water" at an early age. Childcare books discouraged mothers from
providing milk at mealtimes from the age of 4. Wine was advertised on school
blotters and elsewhere as having nutritive value. Families and men especially
could not socialise without wine, which was associated with hard work and
thought to be purer than other drinks, including water.

Babor, F.; Treffardier, M. (et al.). 1983
The early detection and secondary prevention of alcoholism in France.
Alcohol theory Methodological
France leads the world in alcohol consumption and most indicators of
alcohol-related problems. The programme described is for people in the first
stages of heavy drinking problems when it is assumed that most can return to
normal drinking. The programme is one of nutritional hygiene: excessive
drinking is regarded as a poor dietary habit. Clients are monitored,
counselling, supported and confronted with their drinking and its likely effects
in an attempt to demythologise drink.

Bacon, M.; Barry, H.; Child, I. 1965
A cross-cultural study of drinking: 2. Relations to other features of
culture.
Quart J Stud Alc, Supplement No 3.
Alcohol theory Dependency
An important study in which levels of drinking are related to the
socialisation of children and the cultural expectations about dependency in later
life. Conflicts are advanced as an explanation for heavy drinking.
Bacon, Margaret. 1976
Cross-cultural studies of drinking: integrated drinking and sex
differences in the use of alcoholic beverages: 23-3.
Cross-cultural approaches to the study of alcohol. M Everett (ed.).
The Hague, Mouton.
Alcohol theory Review
This paper draws out some of the rather neglected findings of the
Bacon, Barry and Child study, and notes that the academics have concentrated
largely on the dependency-conflict hypothesis.

Bacon, Seldon. 1979
Research Priorities on Alcohol: J Stud Alc Supplement 8.
Alcohol studies Methodological
Bacon argues that a separate, phnomenologically based field of alcohol
studies is desirable. It should focus on the relationships between alcohol, man
and society. He cites environmental studies as an analogy.

Bacon, Seldon. 1962
Alcohol and complex society: 78-93.
Society, culture and drinking patterns. D Pittman and C Snyder (eds).
New York, John Wiley.
Alcohol theory Sociological
The nature of complex society is such that alcohol takes on roles and
functions, positive and negative, which, Bacon suggests, are qualitatively
different from its roles and functions in traditional societies. Social
complexity is the key factor in his analysis.
Barry, H. 1976
Cross-cultural evidence that dependency conflict motivates drunkenness:
247-63.
Cross-cultural approaches to the study of alcohol. M Everett (ed.).
The Hague, Mouton.
Alcohol theory Dependency
Normal experiences of human development give rise to opposing
motivations of dependency and self-reliance. Reward and punishment for
dependency and self-reliance varies between cultures, and may be contradictory
within a culture. Drinking allows both assertiveness and dependence to be
expressed. Barry discusses the theoretical relationship between smoking,
drinking and gambling.

Alcohol and Drug Use; the Geelong Area.
Barwon, Barwon Regional Association.
Drinking patterns-Australia Survey
A consumption survey of youthful beach-goers carried out under the
auspices of the local community, namely, the Barwon Regional Association for
Alcohol and Drug Dependence.

Bateson, G. 1973
The Cybernetics of 'self': a theory of alcoholism: 280-308.
Steps to an Ecology of Mind.
St Albans, Paladin,
Alcoholism-theory Theoretical
Bateson discusses complementary and symmetrical relationships, and
argues that the alcoholic battling with the bottle is in a symmetrical
relationship, while when he is in the drunken state complementarity is possible.
He analyses the success of AA in these terms and notes its transcendence over
the dualistic concept of the alcoholic fighting drink.
Bateson, G. 1973
Steps to an Ecology of Mind.
St Albans, Paladin.
Social Theory—metacommunication Theoretical
Bateson discusses ritual, play etc as metacommunicative frames. His theoretical insights add an important dimension to the notion of drinking as "time out" (see MacAndrew and Edgerton).

Bertaux, Daniel. 1981
From the life-history approach to the transformation of sociological practice: 29-45.
Biography and Society. D Bertaux (ed.).
Beverly Hills, Sage.
Life-history Methodological
Bertaux argues that if the life story approach is used well it can help the understanding of social relations in a way which more positivist approaches can never hope to match. In this paper Bertaux makes a strong argument for life history as a way towards understanding socio-political relationships, as well as an approach which works towards presenting an insider's perspective. The paper serves an an introduction to the whole volume, most of the papers in which present the analysis of particular social situations using life history methods.

Bissonette, R. 1977
Bartender as a mental health service gatekeeper: a role analysis.
Barstaff and social support Sociological
The bartender as a possible support person in social networks is analysed on 4 dimensions: personality component, functional centrality, role distance, and nonperson status. It is concluded that in case-finding, referral and crisis interventions there is some value in the use of this role in social support networks.

Blehr, O. 1974
Social drinking in the Faroe Islands: the ritual aspect of token prestation.
Drinking patterns—European Ethnographic
The exchange of drinks is analysed using Barths's concept of token prestation, where the dominant aspect is to communicate a non-verbal symbolic statement, namely that participants recognise their rights and obligations. Liquor is a prime token prestation on the Faroes. Ritualized drinking is described and analysed in terms of interpersonal relationships.
Blythe, Ronald. 1979
The view in winter: reflections on old age.
Drinking patterns—elderly Sociological
This study of older people in an English village is based on their own accounts of their lives. The accounts of the role of the pub and of alcohol are memorable.

Boyatzis, R.E. 1976
Drinking as a manifestation of power concerns: 265-86.
Cross-cultural approaches to the study of alcohol. M Everett (ed.).
The Hague, Mouton.
Alcohol theory Power concerns
A theory of drinking should articulate values and structural characteristics which contribute to cultural drinking behaviour, and must account for different levels of drinking, while also accounting for the situations and individual dispositions which lead to individual drinking behaviour. The drinking of alcoholic beverages is only one manifestation of power concern, but alcohol may make a person feel more powerful while marking a situation where a person can release more aggressive behaviour.

Brody, Hugh. 1981
Maps and dreams: Indians and the British Columbia Frontier.
London, Jill Norman and Hobhouse.
Drinking patterns—Beaver Indian Ethnographic
This ethnography of a group of Beaver Indians in north-east British Columbia is an account of European encroachment and Indian dispossession. Despite the Indian's flexibility in adaptation, the situation is desperate, environmentally and socially. The stereotype of the drunken Indian has been created by the way in which alcohol was historically and is currently used as an inducement to trade and dependency, and by the very partial knowledge which Whites have of Indians. All White dealings with Indians are in away-from-home contexts which include reserves. In these situations heavy drinking is common. But in the bush, the true home, drinking hardly occurs. This is why environmental effects, removing the bush, feed frighteningly into all the adverse social disruptions of Indian life.
Bruun, Kettil. 1962
The significance of roles and norms in the small group for individual
behavioural changes while drinking:293-303.
New York, Wiley.
Drinking patterns Sociological
The author hypothesises that conflict between drinking norms and
behaviour can be explained by identification with small groups. He studied the
individual's position in the group, e.g., central or peripheral, and group norms
about aggression while under the influence of alcohol in relation to negative
reactions after drinking.

Bruun, Kettil; Hauge, Ragnar. 1962
Drinking habits among northern youth: a cross-national study of male
teenage drinking in the northern capitals.
Alcohol control Sociological
The drinking habits of male youths and formal social controls in
Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden were investigated. Boys of 14, 16 and 18
years were interviewed in the four capitals. Random samples of respondents
included at least 100 abstainers in each group. The investigators found
that drinking was sporadic and the quantities consumed were small, but about
half the 14 year olds and most of the eighteen year olds had consumed alcohol.
The main difference between capitals was in frequency of drinking and in the
beverage of choice, but it was found that in Helsinki where formal control is
most rigorous, boys drink more often in unsupervised situations.

Buckley, A.D. 1983
Playful rebellion: social control and the framing of experience in an
Ulster community.
Drinking patterns-Irish ethnographic
Buckley argues that a parent-child model can be used to analyse
complementary relationships in Listymore. He uses this model to distinguish
between play and serious activities. Women here tend to use a parent
strategem of control and drinking is an important context of its expression.
There is also an interesting discussion of honest and paradoxical play which is
of relevance to drinking.
Bunzel, Ruth. 1976
Cross-cultural approaches to the study of alcohol. M Everett (ed.).
The Hague, Mouton.
Drinking patterns—Sth American Review
A reflection by Bunzel on her studies published in 1940 of two types of drinking. The main point of these studies was that drinking is not the same thing in different cultures. In Chichicastenanga it provided a release from the extreme pressures of the surrounding cultures, while in Chamula it was a social lubricant. Bunzel emphasises that she studied human behaviour in its cultural context, not alcohol.

Cahalan, Don. 1976
Cross-cultural approaches to the study of alcohol. M Everett (ed.).
The Hague, Mouton.
Alcohol studies Methodological
The sociologist, Cahalan, suggests that anthropologists would find in quantitative surveys of drinking practices a rich source of research data. Specifically he urges that anthropologists study in detail sex variations in drinking, age variation, ethnocultural variation. He calls for a better definition of terms, and for environmentally-oriented approaches, rather than approaches based on medical or pathological models. He suggests that an anthropologist would be well equipped to study the alcohol 'system'.

Cahalan, D.; Cisin, I.H.; Crossley, H.M. 1969
American drinking practices.
New Brunswick, Rutgers Centre of Alcohol Studies.
Drinking patterns—Nth American Sociological
This survey attempts to describe the range of drinking practices, including behaviour and attitudes, across the whole society, and to study the correlates of drinking behaviour. It was conducted in 1964-5 and contains a wealth of data.
Camberwell Council on Alcoholism. 1980
Women and Alcohol.
London, Tavistock.
Women and alcohol Review
The book is an attempt to draw together ideas and information about
alcohol use among women. It deals with social, psychological, physiological
and treatment issues. Relevant papers are listed under their author's name.

Cartwright, Alan. 1977
Population surveys and the Curve.
The Ledermann Curve.
London, Alcohol Education Centre.
Drinking patterns—change Sociological
Drinking practices in Camberwell were surveyed in 1965 and 74. There
was a trend towards heavier drinking, a result of respondents consuming more
alcohol on the occasions when they drank. Where alcohol consumption was
influenced by price or other factors, new patterns were superimposed on the old.
Increased consumption was related to increased problem scores, but some
subgroups with similar total consumption had different problem scores and vice
versa.

Cavan, S. 1966
Liquor license: an ethnography of bar behaviour.
Chicago, Aldine.
Drinking patterns Ethnographic
Cavan used the method of participant—observation to study drinkers and
drinking in 100 San Francisco bars. She divided them into four types: the
convenience bar such as the station or bus stop bar, the home ground bar, e.g.,
a local, the nightspot which featured entertainment, and the marketplace bar
where mainly illegal merchandise was available, such as drugs, sex and stolen
property. Each type of bar had a characteristic range of social interactions.
Formal and informal controls are effective if the society wants them to be, but they are ineffective when the society is ambivalent. Drinking has been a prime target for control and laws usually define who is entitled to drink, under what circumstances, how much and with what consequences. The paper contains a summary of major questions and answers contained in the American drinking practices survey. Important findings were that alcohol is associated with sex norms, with male-female relationships, with age norms. It helps differentiate social status, it is associated with rural-urban differences, it helps emphasise religious and ethnic differences, and it plays a part in how we teach children to handle dangerous situations.

This review is a useful summary of studies of taverns carried out mainly in the United States. The author notes that for North American drinkers, the most frequent place of drinking for nearly all types of drinker is the home, and most drinkers list parties as the site of their heaviest drinking. Despite this, tavern studies are the most frequent. He comments that the term "community studies is beginning to be heard in the field of alcohol research, and that it a hopeful sign"(467).

The history and contemporary situation of public drinking places in contemporary society testifies to their role not just as drinking places but as social and recreational facilities. Proposals to substitute other facilities such as community centres for taverns fail to recognise the tavern's historical role. The author notes that problems which occur in the operation of taverns generally relate to problems in the wider social context.
Cohen, A.P. 1978
Ethnographic method in the real community.

Cohen argues for grounded methodological devices. He discusses concepts of community and makes the point that different communities mean different things to their members, with important implications for analysis. As an example of his approach he discusses the "spree", a ritualized form of drinking found on Whalsay, which can be understood only as part of the total cultural and social context.

Collmann, J. 1979
Social order and the exchange of liquor: a theory of drinking among the Australian Aborigines.

Liquor and the exchange of liquor are key elements in aboriginal social life. The sharing of liquor is a means of establishing credit and marking an individual's personal productivity, affluence and independence. The type of liquor shared is a sign of prestige. With the advent of welfare benefits women are now among the heaviest drinkers. By manipulating liquor the women are trying to get access to resources previously available only to men.

Connor, Walter D. 1979
Alcohol and Soviet society: 433-49.
Beliefs, behaviours and alcoholic beverages. M Marshall (ed.).
Ann Arbor, University of Michigan.

The article is concerned with the Russian, i.e., European, drinking culture. Alcohol is an indispensable part of many events. To attend such events and not drink is insulting. Drinking is mainly a male activity: the "real" man drinks. There is growing concern with alcohol problems and recently compulsory treatment (with labour) has been extended to alcoholics who violate labour discipline, public order and the socialist community. The feeling is that such a punitive system is more suited to persons who are basically to blame for their affliction. Despite attention from an interventionist state, the drinking patterns are resistant to change.
Cooke, D.J.; Allan, C.A. 1983
Self-reported alcohol consumption and dissimulation in a Scottish urban sample.
Methodology Sociological
This study of self-reported alcohol consumption in a sample of 408 men and women over 18 years discovered that underreporting is not uniform but is linked to sex, age and employment status. Young, employed men underreported the most—this may reflect other findings that underreporting is highest when alcohol intake is highest.

Csikszentmihalyi, M. 1968
A cross-cultural comparison of some structural characteristics of group drinking.
Human Development 11:201-16.
Drinking patterns Cross-cultural
The spatial characteristics of drinking are discussed as expressions of national character for Germany, the Mediterranean area, Britain and North America.

Dailey, R.G. 1979
The role of alcohol among North American Indian tribes as reported in The Jesuit Relations:116-27.
Beliefs, behaviours and alcoholic beverages. M Marshall (ed.).
Ann Arbor, Michigan University Press.
Drinking patterns-Native American Historical
Dailey uses historical evidence to question the stereotype of Native American drinking. Historically, alcohol was consumed in much the same way as food which was eaten all at one sitting, i.e., the pattern of consumption was indigenous. Dailey asks how much of the violence and disorder associated with alcohol was new, and suggests in answer that alcohol intensified some tendencies, it did not create new ones. Trade and liquor and other White business practices caused much social and economic disruption, however.
Davies, D.L. 1962
Normal drinking in recovered alcohol addicts.
Quart J Stud Alc 23: 94-104.
Alcoholism-theory Clinical
This paper reports on a follow-up study of 93 ex-patients of Maudsley Hospital, London. But because seven of the ex-patients were discovered to be drinking normally, it became a paradigm-shattering work which directly contradicted the disease model of alcoholism with its concept of a unilinear drinking career.

Davies, J.; Stacey, B. 1972
Teenagers and alcohol: a developmental study in Glasgow.
London, HMSO.
Drinking patterns-youth Sociological
1321 boys and girls between the ages of 14 to 17 years, who were still in formal education were questioned during this survey study. The questions were based on group discussions and modified after a pilot survey. The researchers found a high degree of familiarity with alcohol, with moderate drinking being the norm. In their discussion they refer to the meaning of alcohol for different groups of young people, and particularly the association with "toughness".

de Lint, Jan. 1976
The epidemiology of alcoholism with specific reference to sociocultural factors: 323-39.
Alcoholism theory Sociological
In this review of sociocultural factors which have a bearing on alcoholism, de Lint maintains that the magnitude of alcoholism is largely determined by the extent to which a wide variety of alcohol-use patterns have become integrated into everyday social life. The sociocultural factors he considers are drinking customs, accessibility to alcohol, urbanism, stress and sex. He notes the implications for prevention of his model of the epidemiology of alcoholism.
Dennis, Philip A. 1979

Drinking patterns Ethnographic

Drunks take on an anti-role, like that of the jester. They are regarded as not responsible, and to be avoided or ignored. They provide "unspeakable" information.

Denzin, N.K. 1981

Methodology life history

The author presents for examination his field techniques, especially the collection of life histories from people involved at all levels, for a study of the American liquor industry. His ethnographic techniques are most successful in analysing the connections between different sections of the industry and the people who work within them.

Dorn, Nicholas. 1981

Drinking patterns-European Sociological

The typical drinking of the mid-teensagers studied is that of round drinking. These young people have recently left school and are employed in shops and offices. The sociability and sex-equality of the work place carries over to the pub, and the participants take turns to buy rounds, signalling their economic independence and equality. If they do not have sufficient money they avoid the pub or do a whip round before entering. Dorn suggests that this drinking culture rather than demonstrating dependency provides an occasion for the construction of a social self.
Dorn, Nicholas. 1981
The politics of dependency problems: labour market failure, youth and "dependency problems" in the United Kingdom.
Alcohol control Sociological
Dorn argues that the state finds it easier to explain drug problems as social problems resulting from bad influences than to acknowledge that they are the result of structural problems arising from economic policies and resulting unemployment.

Doughty, Paul A. 1979
The social uses of alcoholic beverages in a Peruvian community: 64-81.
Beliefs, behaviours and alcoholic beverages, M Marshall (ed.).
Ann Arbor, University of Michigan.
Drinking patterns-Sth American Ethnographic
In the mestizo community of Huaylas in the Peruvian Highlands drinking is a social act and part of nearly every social gathering. Solitary drinkers are spurned and it is virtually impossible for a man to refuse an offer of a drink. There is an incipient class structure which is marked by the type of drink consumed but the ritual of drinking allows people on all social levels to act on a basis of mutual respect and equality. Drunkenness per se is tolerated, but obnoxious drunks are jailed for 24 hours.

du Toit, Brian M. 1964
Substitution: a process in culture change.
Human organization 23:16-23.
Drinking patterns-Native American Ethnographic
This article describes how under a situation of economic stress and lack of leadership a heavy drinking style became the normal style of drinking for young people, in contrast to light drinking and a range of recreational pursuits which had been typical of the easier times before. Du Toit analyses the positive and negative effects of this style of drinking.
Drinking patterns-English Sociological
This survey of drinking takes on extra significance because of the preceding surveys which enable the establishment of some trends, such as the greater degree and acceptance of women's drinking.

Ennew, J. 1980
The Western Isles Today.
Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
Drinking patterns-Scottish Ethnographic
This study was carried out mainly on Lewis between 1974 and 1977. Alcohol use is described in the context of a community study. There is quite a full discussion of the role of alcohol in the community, and especially, attitudes towards alcohol. There is a concept of "having a drink problem" in the Hebrides, and though this problem is locally known and was expressed "in confidence" by individuals to the ethnographer, there is no public recognition of the problem. Along with fanatical opposition to alcohol consumption is the practice of turning a blind eye to a drunk person. Ennew writes that the women's fear of alcohol use by men is more noticeable that the male use of alcohol. The relation between the Church and alcohol is negative but possibly complex.

European Communities, Commission of the: 1977
Seminar on the medico-social risks of alcohol consumption.
Luxembourg, Commission of the European Communities.
Drinking patterns-European Collection
This volume is a convenient summary of alcohol consumption in several European states. It contains the proceedings of a 3-day seminar on the risks of alcohol consumption.
Everett, M.W. et al. (eds). 1976
Cross-cultural approaches to the study of alcohol: an interdisciplinary perspective.
The Hague, Mouton.
Alcohol studies Collection
This collection is a result of a conference on Alcohol studies and Anthropology, held in 1973. It deals with the ways in which drinking behaviour can be observed, described, analysed and interpreted, what the cross-cultural perspective of anthropology has contributed to alcohol studies and what alcohol studies in other disciplines have contributed to this cross-cultural perspective. Individual papers of relevance are entered under author’s names. Co-edited by J Wardell and D Heath.

Fallding, Harold; Miles, C. 1974
Drinking, community and civilization: an account of a New Jersey community study.
New Brunswick, Rutgers Centre of Alcohol Studies
Drinking patterns-Nth American Sociological
Fallding places his study of drinking in the context of history and society and establishes a four-fold typology of drinking which he relates to community. He approves only one type, that of ornamental drinking, which celebrates community, and attributes the three disapproved types to the complexity of modern civilization. They are facilitative drinking, assuagement drinking and retaliatory drinking—drinking to become a passenger on society. One question he poses is, "How, in a multicultural society which wishes to maintain cultural differences, can we develop agreed on social controls and customs for drinking?".

Fenna, D. et al. 1976
Ethanol metabolism in various racial groups: 227-34.
Cross-cultural approaches to the study of alcohol. M Everett (ed.).
The Hague, Mouton.
Alcohol theory Metabolism study
The total amounts of ethanol required for the induction and the maintenance of the target blood alcohol level was virtually the same for all groups, but White levels declined considerably faster than did Eskimo, which declined a little faster than Indian levels. The study suffers from inadequate sampling and the results are only suggestive. Co-authored by L Mix, O Schaefer, J Gilbert.
Field, P.B. 1962
Society, Culture and Drinking Patterns. D G Pittman & C R Snyder (eds).
New York, John Wiley.
Alcohol theory Social organisation
An important study which followed Horton's pioneering work but argued for the importance of social structural variables as determining factors in the degree of drunkenness experienced in a society.

Fillmore, K.M.; Bacon, S.D.; Hyman, M. 1979
The 27 year longitudinal panel study of drinking by students in college 1949-76.
NTIS
Rockville, Maryland. NIAAA
Drinking patterns-Nth American Sociological
This study presents an enormous body of data based on a self-administered questionnaire administered first in 1949, and last in 1976. At t1 there were 15,747 respondents, and at t2, less than two thousand.
The approach is sociological and it emphasizes the customary nature of drinking and the fact that "drinkings" vary greatly through time and space.

Fingarette, Herbert. 1983
Philosophical and legal aspects of the disease concept of alcoholism.
Alcoholism-theory Review
Fingarette rejects the disease concept of alcoholism, except insofar as long term heavy drinking causes bodily and mental pathology. His conclusion is based on a close examination of the literature and the subjecting of various plausible hypotheses about the causes of alcoholism to analysis in terms of what might constitute a disease. The implications for the use of a disease model in legal spheres are examined. In the legal sphere the disease model rests on the "loss of control" hypothesis which he finds wanting,
Yet acceptance of it in the courts is frequent with very real consequences for the individuals involved and the law in general.
The aim of this paper is to present the set of cultural understandings that one needs before one can correctly ask for a drink in Subanum.

Gaines, L.; McLaughlin, C. 1981
Drinkers' experience in alcohol studies 234-7.
Social drinking contexts. Research Monograph 7. NIAAA.
Rockville, Maryland, US Dept of Health and Human Services.
Alcohol theory ethnographic
The authors argue that drinkers' beliefs about themselves and their experiences are crucial both to their experience of drinking and to our understanding of drinking. They say "the prime instrument of interaction between the drinker and the environment is the self—and the experiential change that the self seeks through intoxication" (235).

Ghodse, A.H.; Tregenza, G.S. 1980
The physical effects and metabolism of alcohol:41-52
London, Tavistock.
Women and alcohol Metabolism review
There is a dearth of information on the physical effects and metabolism of alcohol in women, but as women are increasingly figuring in alcohol problem statistics it is important to know if there are any particular susceptibilities. There do appear to be many differences in the metabolism of alcohol between men and women and there is some evidence that women are more susceptible to some of the ill-effects of alcohol, e.g., liver damage.
Globetti, Gerald. 1978
Prohibition norms and teenage drinking: 159-70.
Chicago, Nelson-Hall.
Alcohol control Sociological
Globetti points out that the testing of the efficacy of a set of laws
requires the study of drinking habits of homogeneous sub-populations residing in
similar communities with varying legal restriction. Globetti's point of
departure for the study of Mississippi high school students is that "the common
fabric of values, symbols, and meanings shared by a group governs the drinkers
and drinking styles". Under prohibition conditions, fewer young people drank
than elsewhere in the US, but those that did mostly drank surreptitiously without
the control of the "normal proprieties", thereby becoming at risk for the types
of problems prohibition was designed to prevent. The style of drinking also
placed them at risk from car accidents, and brought the law into disrepute.

Goffman, Irving. 1956
The presentation of self in everyday life.
Social theory-interactionist Theoretical
Goffman's work in sociology and anthropology provided the framework
for the development of theories of the reflexive self, and of interpersonal
politics which are highly relevant in studies of drinking.

Alcohol, science and society revisited.
Michigan, University of Michigan Press.
Collection
This collection contains a number of review articles on aspects of
alcohol and alcoholism.
Greeley, A.M.; McCready, W.G.; Theisen, G. 1980
Ethnic drinking subcultures.
New York, Praeger.
Drinking patterns-European Sociological
This comparative study of drinking cultures is concerned particularly
with four ethnic groups, namely Irish Catholics, Italian Catholics, Swedish
Protestants and Jews and uses a "control" group of English American Protestants.

Griffin, T.A. 1983
Avoiding One Two Many: an ethnographic analysis of drinking in an
American urban neighbourhood.
Phd dissertation,
Madison, Wi., University of Wisconsin.
Drinking patterns-American Ethnographic
The study concerns 76 households in a blue collar area of Rock Island
II. The study describes drinking patterns and associated beliefs for adult
members of these households, and is particularly concerned with the social
management of drinking as it occurs within a particular socio-cultural
environment. The author concludes that there are drinking practices, concepts,
and patterns which are considered normal within blue collar households, and the
family is the primary, but not the only, locus of management of drinking.
This abstract is extracted from Dissertation Abstracts International 44/07a
p2189. Order no DA8319515.

Gusfield, Joseph R. 1981
The culture of public problems: drinking-driving and the symbolic order.
Chicago, University of Chicago Press.
Alcohol control Ethnographic
Public policy regarding drinking and driving is used as an example of
attempts to use rhetoric and ritual to create a sense of order and authority
when defining and dealing with public problems.
Gusfield, Joseph R. 1981
Managing competence: an ethnographic study of drinking driving and the
context of bars: 155-72.
Social Drinking Contexts. T Harford and L Gaines (eds).
Rockville, NIAAA.
Drinking patterns Ethnographic
This ethnographic study of four types of bar involved discussions with
patrons and staff, observation and the recording of talk. Gusfield assumes
that the human self is reflexive. In the process of drinking a consumer is
concerned with the management of an impression of competence. His approach to
drinking driving is an expression of his competence as a drinker and as a
driver. Gusfield found that the recognition by the drinker himself that he was
incompetent to drive was an aspect of competence as a drinker. The excuses
proffered by drinkers in this regard were an illuminating source of information
about drinking and driving.

Hammersley, M.; Atkinson, P. 1983
Ethnography; principles in practice.
London, Tavistock.
Ethnography Review
This book is a reasonable introduction to ethnographic method and has
a good bibliography of books on ethnographic methodology.

Hanna, Joel M. 1976
Ethnic groups, human variation & alcohol use: 235-42.
Cross-cultural approaches to the study of alcohol. M Everett (ed.).
The Hague, Mouton.
Alcohol theory Biological
The author urges anthropologists not to neglect the possibility of
biological explanations for inter-cultural variability in alcohol related
behaviour. There may be direct genetic differences in thresholds of response
due to physiology, but morphology, anatomical structure, body size and mass,
fatness or thinness, muscle development, and the architecture of digestive
organs make differences to the absorption of alcohol and therefore the amount
that is in the brain.
Harford, T.C.; Gaines, L.S. 1981
Social drinking contexts.
Research Monograph 7. NIAAA.
Drinking patterns Collection
This is a collection of papers which focus on the context of drinking.
Relevant papers are noted under their authors' names.

Cultural factors in alcohol research and treatment of drinking problems.
New Brunswick, Rutgers University.
Alcohol studies Collection
The papers in this volume - the result of a workshop held in 1978 on
"Cultural Research and Treatment for Problem Drinkers" - are informed by the
premise that "socio-cultural factors must be taken into account if we are to
understand fully how alcohol affects human behaviour". Most of the papers
concern special populations, especially Native American groups, but are of
general interest. The emphasis is on treatment of drinking problems in a
series of different cultural populations. Relevant papers are noted under the
individual author's names.

Heath, D.B.; Cooper, A.M. 1981
Alcohol use and world cultures: a comprehensive bibliography of
anthropological sources.
Bibliographic Series No 15.
Toronto, Addiction Research Foundation.
Alcohol studies Bibliography
The most recent bibliography of anthropological sources on alcohol.
Heath, Dwight B. 1975
A critical review of ethnographic studies of alcohol use. 1-92.
Research advances in alcohol and drug problems 2. R J Gibbons (ed.).
New York, Wiley.
Alcohol studies Review
This paper is one in a series of reviews of ethnographic literature on alcohol. It shows the historical development of anthropological studies of alcohol in western and non-western society.

Honigmann, John J. 1979
Beliefs, behaviours and alcoholic beverages. M Marshall (ed.).
Ann Arbor, University of Michigan.
Drinking patterns-Europe Ethnographic
Honigmann observed drinking practices in a small Austrian village, mainly in two taverns. He contrasts the casual attitudes of Europeans to alcohol, compared with Americans. Alcohol in moderation is considered healthful. The villagers practise an inclusive style of drinking behaviour in their taverns, but the details of style are affected by the tavern keeper and his wife. People drink at home too, but formal visiting does not often occur. Alcohol is part of most community occasions. Young people learn that alcohol is a special class of thing. By age 15 they are given a small glass of their own. The paper was first published in 1963.

Honigmann, John J. 1979
Alcohol in its cultural context:30-5.
Beliefs, behaviours and alcoholic beverages. M Marshall (ed.).
Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press.
Alcohol studies Review
This paper gives an overview of research into drinking patterns and culture. The author points out that serious research on the cultural determinism of drinking behaviour has led to the method of controlled cross-cultural comparison and to the implication of stress in heavy alcohol use, especially stress from cultural contact. But moderate or non-drinking patterns have been relatively neglected by anthropologists. Honigmann cites the work of Wardell as an example of analysis which has demonstrated the function of a style of drinking in conveying social identity.
Horton, Donald J. 1943
The functions of alcohol in primitive societies: a cross-cultural study.
Alcohol theory Anxiety
This is the classic study which introduced alcohol studies to cross-cultural methodology. The function of alcohol in primitive societies was examined in relation to anxiety, particularly subsistence and acculturation anxiety.

Jellinek, E.M. 1960
_The disease concept of alcoholism._
New Haven, Hillhouse.
Alcoholism-theory Disease concept
Jellinek writes that both alcoholism and disease are concepts, but "that alcoholism is a disease" is a viewpoint. The wide acceptance of this viewpoint does not guarantee its validity. The political and other effects of the disease concept are discussed. The work then presents Jellinek's model of the five types of alcoholism which has been an important orienting device in alcoholism studies.

Jellinek, E.M. 1965
_The symbolism of drinking: a cultural historical approach._
Toronto, Addiction Research Foundation Substudy.
Some problematic aspects of research on drinking contexts: 228-33.
Social drinking contexts. T Harford and L Gaines (eds).
Rockville, Maryland, NIAAA.
Alcohol studies Methodological
The paper concerns the conceptualization and measurement of the
environment of action. Jessor suggest that there are 5 levels: the environment
as the physiogeographic space or location, descriptive dimensions, shared
meanings, the theoretical level and the level of personal perceptions of actors.
The task in hand will determine which level is chosen as the primary focus but
he suggests that more attention should be paid to the problematic nature of the
environment of action.

Johnson, Paula et al. 1977
US Adult drinking practices: time trends, social correlates and sex roles.
The Rand Report.
Rockville, Maryland, NIAAA.
Drinking patterns- Nth American Sociological
The surveys were conducted from 1971-6 on samples ranging from 874 to
2205. They were based on self report and accounted for only half of the
estimated consumption. There was no change in drinking rates for women but men
showed a slight increase in the proportion of drinkers, peaking at age 21-34
with 86% drinkers. The comparable figure for women was 68%. On average men
did not drink more per body-weight than women but they drank more frequently
than women. The researchers found a trend towards increasing knowledge
about alcohol. It was notable that 66% of women believed that alcoholism is a
moral weakness. Drunkenness was increasingly disapproved of. The analysis
takes into account many socio-economic factors and is a mine of information.
Co-authored by D Armor, S Polich, H Stambul.

Kalant, D.J. (ed.). 1980
Alcohol and Drug Problems in Women.
Research Advances in Alcohol and Drug Problems. Vol 5.
New York, Plenum Press.
Women and alcohol Review
This collection contains papers on sex differences in alcohol and drug
use, on women and temperance in the US and on the effects on the fetus of
alcohol and other drugs.
Kilty, Keith M. 1983
Styles of drinking and types of drinkers.
J Stud Alc 44:797-816.
Drinking patterns-Nth American Sociological
The sample for this study was drawn from a city in Pennsylvania, and
comprised "normal drinkers". The author derived four drinking styles
and six types of drinker by employing a factor analysis. He suggested
that this variation illustrates the multifaceted nature of drinking and
is contrary to assertions that each culture has one predominant drinking
style.

Kissin, Benjamin. 1983
The disease concept of alcoholism.
Research advances in alcohol & drug problems;(7)93-126.
Alcoholism theory Disease concept
The author concludes that the disease concept of alcoholism has
heuristic and therapeutic value with no negative consequences. He bases his
"disease concept" on the revised disease concept of Pattison's et al. (1977),
Emerging Concepts of Alcohol Dependence, which he criticises but which
really amplifies the traditional disease concept.

Kunitz, S.R. et al. 1979
The epidemiology of alcoholic cirrhosis in two southwestern Indian
Beliefs, behaviours and alcoholic beverages; M Marshall (ed.).
Ann Arbor, University of Michigan.
Drinking patterns-Native American Cross-cultural
This is a preliminary paper which throws up more questions than
answers. Three tribes are involved, Hopi, Navaho and the White Mountain Apache.
The death rate from cirrhosis among the Navaho is close to the national
average, while with the Hopi and Apache it is 2 to 4 time greater. The
authors indicate that Navaho tend to drink excessively when they do drink, but
they give it up without problems. Drinking is in the context of peer groups
and it is regarded as a normal pursuit. The Hopi have traditionally avoided
"acting out" and value their way of harmony and self control. Many Hopi drink
alone to avoid censure, and in the theocratically organized villages a heavy
drinker may be turned out.
Co-authored by J Levy, C Odoroff and J Bollinger.
Langness, L.L.; Frank, G. 1981
Lives; an Anthropological Approach to Biography.
Novato, Ca., Chandler and Sharp.
Life-history Methodological
This book is an excellent presentation of the theory, methodology and ethics of the life history approach as used in anthropological research. It also makes many suggestions about possible uses.

Leacock, Seth. 1979
Ceremonial drinking in an Afro-Brazilian cult:81-93.
Beliefs, behaviours and alcoholic beverages. M Marshall (ed.).
Ann Arbor, University of Michigan.
Drinking patterns-Sth American Ethnographic
This paper, first published in 1964, concerns the use of alcohol after participants enter trance states in the public performance of the cult. The author suggests that the role of alcohol is relatively minor in the cult but the person who is happily slightly high on alcohol fits in perfectly with the spirit of the cult. He notes the apparent use of the cult in coping with drinking problems. People who need to cut down on their drinking sometimes become possessed with a deity who does not drink or who punishes them for drinking.

Leland, Joy. 1981
The context of native American drinking: what we know so far: 173-205.
Social Drinking Contexts. T Harford and L Gaines (eds).
Rockville, Maryland, NIAAA.
Drinking patterns-Native American Ethnographic
In the context of a general ethnography residents were asked to sort the names of adult residents into sets who "handled liquor" in the same way. Fairly high agreement was achieved resulting in five sets for each sex, based mainly on frequency of drunkenness. Despite popular stereotypes about Indian drinking, a great variety of ways of handling liquor was recognised, and differences in context, whether public or private, contributed to this variety. Individuals did not "have" a drinking style but enacted different styles on different occasions. Leland's approach was productive in terms of alcohol talk and could be used to sort things other than drinkers.

LeMasters, E.E. 1975
Blue-Collar aristoocrats:lifestyles at a working class tavern.
Madison, University of Wisconsin Press.
Drinking patterns-Nth American Ethnographic
The author carried out 5 years of participant-observation in a tavern with a large number of regular drinkers from the local construction industry and truckdrivers. It contains a great deal of information about attitudes, values and the relationships of the drinkers, and several discussions of their drinking, of tavern behaviour and the place of the tavern in their life. The great importance of the relationship between work and drinking is made clear. For example, as people go down in the employment scale and become unemployed they disappear from this tavern and turn up in lower class bars. Extremely stable patterns of heavy drinking were noted and different patterns of drinking between men and women.
Lemert, Edwin. 1962
Alcohol, values and social control:553-71.
Society, culture and drinking patterns. D J Pittman and C R Snyder (eds)
New York, John Wiley.
Alcohol control Theoretical
Lemert lists the values which are ascribed to alcohol and which are
crucial factors in the control of its use. These are its association with
relief and relaxation, its value in sociability, its role as a revenue producer
and as part of the economy, and the value of induced dependence on it as a means
of social control. He discusses the costs of these values for different
sections of society and for different cultures. Four models of social control
are proposed: prohibition, education, legal controls and functional
equivalents. The marginal contributions which they make to change
in drinking habits are emphasised.

Lemert, Edwin. 1979
Forms and pathology of drinking in three Polynesian societies:192-208.
Beliefs, behaviours and alcoholic beverages. M Marshall (ed.).
Ann Arbor, University of Michigan.
Drinking patterns-Oceania Cross-cultural
Lemert's paper was first published in 1964. It compares drinking in
Tahiti, the Cook Islands and Western Samoa.
Lemert uses the terms "festive", "ritual-disciplined" and "secular" to describe
drinking. He notes that kava was in some ways the prototype of alcohol. In
Tahiti the earliest drinking was festive consumption of orange beer by married
adults. Drinking was accompanied by singing and dancing and lasted as long as
the supply. In the Cooks, though festive drinking also occurred, highly
ritualized drinking was the rule. Samoan drinking emerged under conditions
of continuous prohibitions. Drinking took place in the bush or in disused
fales, and though some etiquette was observed drinking was without ritual.
Lemert's paper is a valuable contribution to both theory and ethnography.

Lender, M.E.; Martin, J.K. 1982
Drinking in America: a history.
Drinking patterns Historical
A social history of drink, drinkers, law and also research on drink
which is a model of its type. It is written for a general audience but draws
on the scientific literature as well as historical and other sources.
There are some useful comments on the effects of reduced funding.
On p.192 the authors note that when the Rand report found that some alcoholics
could go back to social drinking after recovery the National Council on
Alcoholism reacted sharply and the NIAAA virtually repudiated the report as well
as a follow up study. They thought that the report would induce alcoholics to
relapse. However there was no evidence for this negative effect in follow-up
studies.
Levy, Robert I. 1973
Tahitians: mind and experience in the Society Islands.
Chicago, University of Chicago Press.
Drinking patterns—Tahitian Ethnographic
Levy's general ethnography of Tahiti contains an historical account of
drinking patterns and a contemporary analysis of the place of alcohol in the
personality, society and culture of Tahitians. Drinking is mostly a man's
affair. It has highly theatrical elements. Generally plateau drinking is the
rule and there is more talking, laughing and joking and homoerotic play during
drinking sessions. Levy suggests that the social facilitation motives for
drinking require light to moderate drinking and that psychologically, dependency
and therefore heavy drinking is dangerous. These factors promote the notable
moderation of Tahitian drinking.

Liban, C.B; Smart, R.G. n.d.
The value of the informant method for studying drinking habits.
Toronto, Addiction Research Foundation.
Alcohol studies Methodological
This study reveals much substantive information about drinking in
Durham, Ont, but is cited here for its methodological value. The informant
method, which is characterised by small group consensual discussion, uses an
homogeneous group or a series of homogeneous groups—in the Canadian case the
people shared the same occupation and lived within a defined geographical area—
who with a group leader try to reach consensus in giving answers to a series of
questions. This method was favourably contrasted with a household survey in
terms of costs, amounts of consumption accounted for (80%), the amount of
interesting data, and regional and class differentiation. If the discussions
are recorded and the questions are posed after some ethnographic fieldwork has
taken place the method should be most productive.

Lithman, Yngve Georg. 1979
Feeling good and getting smashed: on the symbolism of alcohol and
drunkenness among Canadian Indians.
Ethnos 44:119-33.
Alcohol theory Ethnographic
Lithman takes off from MacAndrew and Edgerton, but emphasizes that
time out provides an opportunity to say and do otherwise proscribed things.
His study is based in a community with a reputation for hard and incessant
drinking. He divides drinking occasions into those where drinking is incident­
tal and those where it is essential. A hunting trip or formally organized
wedding reception are times when drink is present but incidental and drunken
behaviour is not appropriate. However when alcohol is significant, drunken
behaviour is likely to be exhibited, namely in the peer drinking group, at the
drinking party and during the "ethnic brawl" when Indians engage in scraps with
Whites. Lithman suggests that there is also a female peer drinking group but he
has no information on it.
Lomnitz, Larissa. 1976
Alcohol and culture: the historical evolution of drinking patterns among the Mapuche: 177-98.
Cross-cultural approaches to the study of alcohol. M Everett (ed.).
Mouton, The Hague.
Drinking patterns-Native American Ethnohistorical
This is an ethnohistorical account of the place of alcohol amongst a group of fiercely independent people who became colonized and decimated by disease, migration and warfare, and who were eventually forced to live on reservations. At the present time, many Mapuche migrate to the city where they form a close subculture. In this situation a new male-only drinking circle has become a significant structure. Drinking has long been associated with the institutionalized ritual of male friendship, but traditionally both men and women drank.

Lurie, Nancy Oestreich. 1979
Beliefs, Behaviours & Alcoholic Beverages. M Marshall (ed.).
Ann Arbor, University of Michigan.
Alcohol theory Ethnographic
The drinking patterns of North American Indians are interpreted as a means of marking off Indians from Whites, and as a symbolic rejection by Indians of White mores.

Luxton, Meg. 1980
More than a labour of love: three generations of women's work in the home.
Toronto, The Women's Press.
Methodology Life history
The content of this book is concerned with women's work at home, but the method used is relevant to alcohol studies. It is based on participant observation and interviews with women members of families. Grandmothers, mothers, daughters and granddaughters are all interviewed about their lives and from this material the author can make many statements about the kinds of changes which women have experienced over several generations.
MacAndrew, C.; Edgerton, R.B. 1969
Drunken comportment: a social explanation.
Chicago, Aldine.
Alcohol theory-anthropological Review
This book uses a cross-cultural framework to examine the disinhibition
time of why behaviour changes for the worse with alcohol consumption. The
authors find the disinhibition theory wanting and suggest that alcohol
consumption provides a socially created "time out, within limits". This book
played a major role in the creation of a truly cultural explanation of drinking
and drunken comportment and although some details of its wide-ranging
ethnographic cases have not stood the test of time, the subsequent ethnographic
work on alcohol has in many respects been a footnote to this book.

Madge, C; Harrisson, T.(eds). 1938
Mass Observation: First Year's Work.
London, Lindsay Drummond.
Drinking patterns-English Sociological
This preliminary report contains one chapter on the pub study which is
more fully reported in the 1943 volume, by Summerfield and Watkin.
It contains an essay by B Malinowski.

Madsen, W.; Madsen, C. 1979
The cultural structure of Mexican drinking behaviour:38-53.
Beliefs, Behaviours and Alcoholic Beverages. M Marshall (ed.).
Ann Arbor, University of Michigan.
Drinking patterns-Mexican Ethnographic
The drinking patterns of Indians and Mestizos of lower, middle and
upper classes are described. Indian drinking behaviour is a structured form of
corporate communion among men and between men and gods. Women and children do
not become drunk, and drunken men behave with dignity. The sharing of the
drink, pulque, is a badge of Indianness, asserted against the mestizo culture.
Mestizo drinking reflects the hostility and anxiety of the proletarian Mestizo
cought between competing cultural systems. Drinking takes place in situations
where role relationships are not prescribed. The defense of machismo in
drinking situations often leads to violence. In the urban situation, drinking
also becomes a financial drain. In the middle and upper classes, drinking is a
social skill with strictly structured rules.
Makela, R. et al. 1981
Alcohol, society and the state: a comparative study of alcohol control.
Toronto, Addiction Research Foundation.
Alcohol control Sociological
This is a seven nation comparative study. Poland, Finland,
Switzerland, Ireland, the Netherlands, Canada and the United States are
included. The control policy in operation in each country is described and the
relevant details of consumption are discussed.
Co-authored by R Room, E Single, P Sulkunen, B Walsh et al.

Mandelbaum, D.G. 1979
Alcohol and culture: 14-30.
Beliefs, behaviour and alcoholic beverages. M Marshall (ed.).
Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press.
Alcohol theory-anthropological Review
The main point of Mandelbaum's paper, which was first published in
1965, is that alcohol is a cultural artefact whose form and meanings are
culturally defined. But these become clear only when drinking is studied in
relation to its context. Only at the extremes are the meanings relatively
clear. The chemical and physical properties of alcohol provide a necessary
base for drinking behaviour, but peoples' ideas of the functions of alcohol are
equally important in the outcome of drinking. Drunkenness cannot be understood
apart from drinking, and drinking cannot be understood apart from the
characteristic features of the social relations of which it is a part.

Marshall, Mac. 1981
"Four hundred rabbits": an anthropological view of ethanol as a
disinhibitor.
Alcohol and disinhibition. R Room and G Collins (eds).
Rockville, Maryland, NIAAA.
Alcohol theory Review
This paper is a good summary statement of the post-MacAndrew and
Edgerton anthropological approach to alcohol. It is enhanced by a transcript
of the discussion which it provoked from the multidisciplinary audience.
Marshall, Mac (ed.). 1982
Through a glass darkly; beer and modernization in Papua New Guinea.
Drinking patterns—Oceania Collection
This volume is a large collection of papers on alcohol and culture by many students of Melanesian society, some of whom have spent decades in research on the area. The editor provides some policy-oriented analysis and so do several of the authors, but in the main the papers are ethnographic analyses of drinking in relation to the other aspects of the culture concerned. These analyses serve to demonstrate the connectedness of drinking with social, economic and political life. With the publication of this volume Papua New Guinea becomes one of the better known areas from the viewpoint of alcohol studies. Individual papers are noted under the author's name.

Marshall, Mac; Marshall, Leslie. 1979
Beliefs, behaviours and alcoholic beverages. M Marshall (ed.).
Ann Arbor, University of Michigan.
Drinking patterns—Micronesian Historical
In the struggle between Congregationalist missionaries and the beach communities of Eastern Micronesia alcohol was the symbol. The struggle was over a fundamental clash in lifestyle and values and political control.

Marshall, Mac. 1979
Weekend warriors: alcohol in a Micronesian culture.
Palo Alto, Mayfield.
Drinking patterns—Micronesian Ethnographic
Marshall develops the idea that contemporary drunkenness is a substitute for warfare. The book is an ethnography of drunken comportment and an ethnography of ethos on Truk. The historical contact of Truk with Europeans and Japanese and their drinking habits together with aspects of the traditional culture has led to a pattern of violent excusable drunken behaviour. Trukese refer to drunks as crazy, like animals. They believe that any amount of alcohol means a person is drunk and therefore not entirely responsible for his words and deeds. Marshall suggests that the introduction of alcohol helped to solve a vital cultural difficulty—the legitimate expression of aggression. This an important book and it makes many contributions to alcohol studies and ethnography.
Marshall, Mac. 1976
A review and appraisal of alcohol and kava studies in Oceania: 103-18.
_Cross-cultural approaches to the study of alcohol_. M Everett et al (eds)
The Hague, Mouton.
Drinking patterns–Oceania Review
A review article which examines the small amount that is known and the
much larger amount that is not known about drinking in Oceania.

Marshall, Mac (ed.). 1979
_Beliefs, behaviours and alcoholic beverages: a cross cultural survey._
Ann Arbor, University of Michigan.
Drinking patterns Collection
This is a key collection containing papers published since 1965.
After an overview section, the book is regionally organised and has a good
bibliography. Individual papers are noted under their author's name.

Marshall, Mac. 1979
Conclusions: 451-57.
_Beliefs, behaviours and alcoholic beverages_. M Marshall (ed.).
Ann Arbor, University of Michigan.
Alcohol theory Review
In his conclusions Marshall draws out a large number of
generalizations about alcohol and man which derive from the articles in the
collection. He notes that what people believe alcohol to be has a great effect
on their behaviour once they ingest it.
This survey study indicates that the relationships between attitudes toward alcohol and actual drinking behaviour are closest when specific aspects of attitudes and behaviour correspond. For example, beer drinking correlated most strongly with attitudes about beer drinking, not with global attitudes to alcohol. In addition attitudes to moderate or heavy beer drinking correlated strongly with the total consumption of the individuals holding these attitudes. Heavy drinkers believed that heavy drinking produced positive outcomes.
The effects of retirement on drinking behavior.

This study of older people who were still working or were retired was carried out using a self-report questionnaire and some brief interviews. The report presents the results and contains a good discussion of retirement per se in the US and of several models of the retirement process. The intention was to study normal drinking in an older population.

A publication of the Research Evaluation Dept, of the NIAA on the Aging.


In this community, beer is a focus of cultural concern. It is important in individual gift giving, in community-wide festivals and to mark social events. Fines and tributes are exacted in beer, and payments for voluntary labour, brideprice, rent and offerings to the spirits are all made in beer. Talk to pass the time of day is beer talk. Kofyar beer is made from millet, is tasty and nutritious. Slow drinking over ample time is desirable, and happy relaxation is valued. Drinking is a social act, associated with talking, singing and dancing. Verbal arguments and sexual approaches are tolerated as long as they do not lead to violence.

Alcoholism and Alcohol Abuse among Women: Research Issues.

This volume contains the papers from the first conference on Women and Alcohol sponsored by the NIAAA.
Ossenberg, R.J. 1969
Social class and bar behaviour during an urban festival.
Human Organization 28:29-34.
Drinking patterns-Nth American Ethnographic
This is a participant-observation study of bar behaviour before and
during the Calgary "stampede". The authors visited nine beer parlors and
cocktail lounges which attracted clientele from a range of socio-economic
groups. The middle class customers indulged in more expressive behaviour than
did the other groups, who treated the festival with disdain.

Pahl, R.E. 1981
Employment, work and the domestic division of labour: 143-63.
Class, city and capital. M Harloe and E Lebas (eds).
London, Edward Arnold.
Social theory-economic Theoretical
Pahl distinguishes between the household economy, the communal
economy, which is neighbourhood based and without cash, and the informal economy
proper, which is more or less legal with cash-based transactions. However all
these are subsumed under the term "informal" economy in other contexts.

Pittman, D.J.; Snyder, C.R.(eds). 1962
Society, culture and drinking patterns.
New York, John Wiley.
Drinking patterns Collection
This book brings together significant papers on alcohol in small scale
society and complex society written from anthropological and sociological
perspectives. The editors provide introductory comments for each section.
Individual papers are noted under their author's names.
Prus, Robert. 1983
Drinking as activity: an interactionist analysis.
J Stud Alc 44:460-75.
Methodology Ethnographic
The author maintains that there has been little recognition of the significance of interpersonal exchanges in the social activity of drinking. He discusses the ground rules of bars from the point of view of patrons, staff and entertainers. He also examines the conditions under which people are likely to find themselves drinking more extensively.

Ramsden, Eric. 1940
James Busby: the prophet of Australian viticulture.
Wine Historical
An account of Busby's influence on Australian wine growing with some reference to his vineyard and the wine it produced at Waitangi, Bay of Islands.

Riesman, D.; Watson, J. 1964
Sociologists at work. P E Hammond (ed.).
New York, Basic Books.
Drinking patterns Sociological
This paper concerns the difficulties of observing private drinking, and of setting up a research programme for the study of sociability. The topic was social interaction in a social setting. The researchers broke on-going sociability into episodes which they analysed in terms of participants' stance to one another, the topic used as the basis of conversation, what aspects of the external environment were discussed and what relationships were expressed to that environment. They found that the type of acquaintanceship—familiar or casual—was vital to the type of interaction. They observed in party settings and at a summer camp, and in a group of regular lunchtime diners.
Ritchie, J.; Ritchie, J. 1979
Growing up in Polynesia.
Sydney, George Allen and Unwin.
Drinking patterns—Oceania Social study
This book is a survey of child-rearing and its context in Polynesia.
It contains a number of references to the meaning and use of alcohol.

Robbins, Richard H. 1979
Alcohol and the identity struggle: some effects of economic change on interpersonal relations: 158–90.
Beliefs, behaviours and alcoholic beverages. Mac Marshall (ed.).
Ann Arbor, University of Michigan.
Drinking patterns—Naskapi Ethnographic
The paper concerns a group of Naskapi Indians living in a community outside a mining town in Quebec. The author's thesis is that Naskapi drinking interactions serve as identity resolving forums—when drinking a person is permitted to defend an identity that has been challenged, claim an identity he believes he's entitled to and right a spoiled identity. Drinking interactions also demarcate identity struggles within the community. Nearly all Naskapi males and some females drink, but drinking except to the point of just getting happy is considered no good. Identity struggles have been on the increase among the Naskapi due to severe changes in individuals' access to prestige and economic rewards. The author suggests that in other similar societies the same processes may obtain.

Roman, Paul M. 1982
Encyclopedic Handbook of Alcoholism. Edited by E. Kaufman.
New York, Gardner Press.
Room, Robin. 1982
A reverence for strong drink: the lost generation and the elevation of alcohol in American culture.
American Sociological Association conference paper.

Drinking patterns-Nth American Sociological

In this paper, Room looks at the "Paris exile" generation of American writers and their contemporaries back home. Heavy drinkers at that time were bucking a "dry" trend, and as members of cafe society were pursing a liberal lifestyle. This was reflected in their writing and in their drinking styles.

Room, Robin. 1976
Ambivalence as a sociological explanation: the case of cultural explanations of alcohol problems.

Alcohol theory—ambivalence Review

The presumed high rate of drinking problems in the US is often ascribed to ambivalence over alcohol. But Room argues that the concept of ambivalence is so vague that by the time the researcher has entered all the specifications the theory will be sufficiently well articulated to dispense with the concept of ambivalence altogether.

Room, Robin. 1978
Evaluating the effect of drinking laws on drinking: 267-89.
Chicago, Nelson-Hall.

Alcohol control Sociological

Room is unhappy with most studies which look at the relationship between laws and drinking. He urges more precision to studies which should look at who is to drink, where, at what costs and in what style.

Three "fat" theories of the relationship between laws and drinking are:
1) The null hypothesis—that liquor legislation has nothing to do with drink and drunkenness. This is espoused by the liquor industry.
2) The constant proportion hypothesis. Drinkers form a continuum but a large proportion of alcohol consumption is attributable to a small number of drinkers.
3) The inoculation theory. Teaching at risk people to drink in moderate ways will lower consumption.

Room notes that price rises probably lead to poor drinkers buying potent drink.
Room, Robin. 1983
Sociological aspects of the disease concept of alcoholism.
Research Advances in Alcohol and Drug Problems 7:47-91.
Alcoholism theory Sociological
Room's paper is a sociology of ideas review of the history, adherents and opponents of the disease concept of alcoholism in North America. Room points out the political implications, the conflicts between liquor interests, the alcoholism movement and social scientists working in the alcohol field.

Room, Robin. 1984
Alcohol and ethnography: a case of problem deflation?
Alcohol studies-ethnography Methodological
Room suggests that the ethnographic literature on alcohol in tribal societies tends to deflate problems due to drinking. Ethnographers were committed to ideas of moderate drinking, were concerned to differentiate themselves from missionaries and tended to accept the Western-culture bound concept of alcoholism which did not match the realities of drinking in many cultures, and therefore suggested that drinking problems were rare. Now a new generation of ethnographers working in their own societies may amplify drink-related problems.
This article and its replies from many researchers makes a most important contribution to alcohol studies.

Room, Robin. 1979
Priorities in social science research on alcohol.
Alcohol studies Sociological
The paper concerns the situation in the US and the institutional structure of alcohol research. Room lists as priorities: studies of the normative and ecological structure of drinking behaviours and problems, studies of drinking careers and the natural history of drinking problems, studies of community response to alcohol problems and of formal and informal treatment processes, studies of the formation and effects of alcohol controls and alcohol policies.
Rouse, B.; Ewing, J. 1978
Chicago, Nelson-Hall
Drinking patterns-Nth American Sociological
This paper reports on a number of surveys of college drinking and on
case studies of young peoples' drinking. It also contains information on
control policies of different states and some analysis of young peoples'
drinking in relation to social factors.

Rouse, B.; Ewing, J. 1978
An overview of drinking behaviours and social policies:339-82.
Chicago, Nelson-Hall.
Drinking patterns-Nth American Review
This article is a review of drinking and studies of drinking in the
US.

Sangree, Walter H. 1962
The social functions of beer drinking in Bantu Tiriki:6-21
Society, culture and drinking patterns. D Pittman and C Snyder (eds).
New York, Wiley.
Drinking patterns-Bantu Ethnographic
Beer is drunk by men in informal beer drinks and in major ceremonies.
It is held in reverence by the elders as it is connected with the ancestral
spirits. Though the younger drinkers are probably little concerned about the
power of the ancestral spirits they do fear displeasing the elders and their
conduct at beer parties is usually correct. But with the growing popularity of
European beer and of locally distilled liquor, drunkeness sometimes results.
Violence or destructiveness does not accompany drinking. The drinking of home
made beer is associated with being a good Tiriki; abstinence, with Christianity.
Women however, have joined the church and no longer make beer for their
husbands who now make it for themselves. There is a complex relationship
between beer drinking, a mission education and the holding of government posts.
Sargent, Margaret. 1976
_Cross-cultural approaches to the study of alcohol._ M Everett (ed.).
The Hague, Mouton.
Alcoholism theory Cross-cultural
Sargent focuses on alcoholism as a social problem and seeks the
distinguishing features, found in all societies, of people known as alcoholics.
She does not allow for the possibility that alcoholics are not known in all
societies. In her description of alcoholics she would include the following:
people who consume high amounts of alcohol, whose behaviour lies outside the
socially acceptable, and who are labelled social problems for whom some type of
control is needed.
She formulates a number of factor combinations which lead to alcoholism, and
separates solitary from group drinkers. These formulations are not very
useful cross-culturally, solitary drinking being a particularly western form of
behaviour, and their abstract nature make them less than useful.

Schaefer, James M. 1976
_Cross-cultural approaches to the study of alcohol._ M Everett (ed.).
The Hague, Mouton.
Alcohol theory Methodological
The study is greatly concerned with methodological refinement of cross-
cultural testing of hypotheses on culture stress and drunkenness, but some of
the theoretical assumptions, e.g., the stress on the importance of particular
dyads rather than a focus on the whole configuration of a family, are tenuous.

Schwartz, T.; Romanucci-Ross, L. 1979
Drinking and inebriate behaviour in the Admiralty Islands, Melanesia:252-67.
_Beliefs, behaviours and alcoholic beverages._ M Marshall (ed.).
Ann Arbor, University of Michigan.
Drinking patterns-Admiralties Ethnographic
Public drinking by Melanesians became legal on Manus in 1963 but by
then the islanders had had many opportunities to observe Europeans drinking and
to absorb many of the values which Europeans associate with alcohol. In the two
villages observed by the authors just after drinking was legalised, different
patterns were noted. In one the idea was to give so much alcohol that the
assembled men were laid waste, in the other eating and dancing was associated
with alcohol. A pattern of "big mouth" behaviour was also observed in which
one person drunkenly berated another. People were expected to show a consis­
tent style of drunken comportment. This paper is a fine analysis in which
background knowledge of the culture is immensely important.
Seeley, John R. 1962
Alcoholism is a disease: implications for social policy: 586—93.
Society, culture & drinking patterns. D Pittman & R Snyder (eds).
New York, John Wiley.
Alcoholism theory Sociological
Seeley suggests that definitions of alcoholism are a matter of social policy. It is best to look on alcoholism as a disease because the behaviour sequence is relatively well marked, it is generally regarded as undesirable, it is within the realm of environmental transactions and the consequence of calling it a disease are preferable to those of calling it something else.

Sexton, L.D. 1982
Wok Meri: a woman's savings and exchange system in Highland Papua New Guinea.
Oceania 52:167-98.
Women and alcohol Ethnographic
Women's money comes from selling vegetables, coffee or their labour. As a response to its alienation by men for beer and cards women initiated a saving club which is organised along kinship lines and has some resemblance to men's political organizations. Women wanted to set an example to men of how to manage money and to demonstrate that they could manage their own money. The investments are usually made in trucking or in drinking clubs. Men approve of the women's scheme as they agree too much is spent on drink. Sexton suggests that wok meri reaffirms women's status as sources of wealth and through the creation of "daughter" groups women create and produce society by themselves in all female genealogies. Study of the wok meri movement reveals women's analysis of their own importance.

Sexton, L.D. 1982
New beer in old bottles: an innovative community club and politics as usual in the Eastern Highlands: 105-18.
Through a glass darkly. M Marshall (ed.).
Drinking patterns-Oceanic Ethnographic
This is an account of the integration of alcohol into the political, economic and domestic spheres in the rural areas of the Eastern Highlands of Papua New Guinea. Cartons of beer and bottles of liquor have been incorporated into the ceremonial exchanges. Smaller amounts of alcohol are consumed casually, almost always by men. Women have responded to men's expenditure on alcohol with a new social movement concerned with savings and investment.
Shaw, Stan. 1980
The causes of increasing drinking problems amongst women: a general etiological theory.1-40.
London, Tavistock.
Women and alcohol Review
The etiology of drinking problems in women is discussed in terms of a model proposed by Cartwright and Shaw (1978). This model includes social economic, psychological and physiological factors which in interaction with cultural drinking patterns and vulnerability and protection factors give a particular prevalence of problems.
That women's drinking problems are increasing is established by reference to the following indicators: drunkenness offence rates, the numbers receiving treatment for drinking problems, liver cirrhosis mortality, alcoholic mortality. Over recent years in Britain the rate of increase for women has been greater than that for men, and some of this is due to a real, rather than merely a reported, increase.

Simic, A. 1969
Management of the male image in Yugoslavia.
Drinking patterns-Yugoslavia Ethnographic
The author draws a comparison between male role performance in Yugoslavia south of the Sava river and in Mexico. In his public behaviour in cafes a man displays his manliness by liberality which includes great feats of drinking by all concerned. Wine and beer are considered soft drinks. Only old women and men drink spirits—they are not considered suitable for the delicate constitution of women.

Simmons, Ozzie G. 1962
Ambivalence and the learning of drinking behaviour in a Peruvian community:37-47.
Drinking patterns-Peru Ethnographic
Drinking and drunkenness is almost universal among males in Lunahuana, but alcohol addiction only minimal. Drinking is limited to social contexts and is defined as an integral part of culture, not as a response to individual needs. But because drinking is identified with significant others and important situations, apprehension about "incorrect behaviour" is learned along with drinking.
Women occasionally have a few drinks, but only exceptionally do they take part in male drinking patterns.
Skog, Ole-Jorgen. 1981
Drinking behaviour in small groups: the relationship between group size and consumption level: 121-37.
Social Drinking Contexts. T Harford and L Gaines (ed.).
Rockville, Maryland. NIAAA
Drinking patterns Sociological
Earlier studies have shown that group drinkers are more influenced by high rate companions than by low rate ones, and that people drinking in large groups tend to drink more than those in small groups. Skog surveys the possible explanations for relationships between the size of social groups and the consumption level. For example, the relationship may be spurious, small groups may move to another context; the social circumstances may be different, or heavy drinkers may prefer large groups. Group size itself may determine drinking behaviour.

Snyder, C.R. 1958
Alcohol and the Jews.
Glencoe, The Free Press.
Drinking patterns-Jewish Sociological
The integration of alcohol into Jewish religious and ceremonial life and the relative lack of alcohol problems experienced by Jewish people are explored in this major study of Jewish drinking.
Spradley, James P. 1970
You owe yourself a drunk: an ethnography of urban nomads.
Boston, Little Brown.
Drinking patterns Ethnographic
An account based on participant-observation of the highly mobile occupants of skid row.

Spradley, James P. 1979
Participant Observation.
Methodology Ethnographic
A step by step guide to participant observation by an American anthropologist who has worked in the drug and alcohol field.

Spradley, J.P.; Mann, F.J. 1975
The cocktail waitress: woman's work in a man's world.
New York, Wiley.
Drinking patterns-Nth American Ethnographic
An ethnographic study by male and female researchers of "Brady's Bar".
Stivers, Richard. 1976
A hair of the dog: Irish drinking and American stereotypes.
Drinking patterns—stereotypes Historical
This is a major study of ethnic drinking, prejudice and
discrimination. Until the nineteenth century Irish drinking was not dissimilar
from drinking in Britain, but at that time all-male drinking started to
predominate and drinking patterns started to diverge, creating the stereotypes
that are still current today.

Stone, Gregory P. 1962
Society, culture and drinking patterns. D Pittman and C Snyder (eds).
New York, John Wiley.
Drinking patterns—Nth American Sociological
Some residents of the town of Vansburg saw status as manifested in
drinking styles. Drinking and status were conceived as signals of one another.
Expressive drinking where the affective behaviour offended community norms, esp­
ecially lower middle class norms, was the most disapproved. Drinking together
with its suggestion of status parity was avoided by some in high achieved ranks
because of its ramifications.

Sulkunen, Pekka. 1983
Alcohol consumption and the transformation of living conditions: a
comparative study:
Drinking patterns—European Sociological
This paper is a synopsis of a research project started in 1983 which
aimed at describing how consumption and availability of alcoholic beverages have
changed since 1945, and at analysing the causes underlying alcohol consumption.
It is an important document which uses economic data and analysis along with
social and cultural data to provide explanations for increasing consumption.
New living conditions have changed the need structure of populations in
highly industrialised nations and have provided a basis for qualitatively new,
largely symbolic instrumental use values. Increased availability is a
precondition for an increase in consumption but cultural, social and economic
factors intervene.
Sulkunen, Pekka. 1977
Behind the curves: on the dynamics of rising consumption level: 44–55.
The Ledermann Curve; report of a symposium held in London 6–7 Jan 1977.
London, Alcohol Education Centre.
Drinking patterns—change Review
Sulkunen in this paper investigates the dynamics of rising consumption. Differences in alcohol cultures between countries have been diminishing over the last three decades as new beverages have been added to the traditional beverage type of each culture—wine, beer or spirits. New beverages not only are added to old ones but the new drinking styles stimulate consumption of the traditional beverages. He examines the "contagion effect" and suggests that more specific concepts are more fruitful in research. He distinguishes 3 aspects of "new" consumption: new consumer groups, new drinking situations and new ways of drinking, and examines their interaction with reference to a case study of British drinking. This is a key paper.

Summerfield, J.; Watkin, B. 1943
The pub and the people: a worktown study.
London, Victor Gollancz Ltd.
Drinking patterns—European Sociological
This Mass Observation study which used amateur observers to describe the pattern of English pub drinking is now a classic. It provides information which has been useful as comparative material for later studies as well as giving a "slice of life" of public drinking for the time.

Thompson, Paul. 1981
Life histories and the analysis of social change: 298–306.
Biography and Society. D Bertaux (ed.)
Beverly Hills, Sage.
Methodology Life history
The use of life-history by historians has not only brought into the open new bits of information, but whole new perspectives from "the previously ill-represented standpoints of ordinary men, women and children about what they believed had mattered most in their lives" (p. 290). Thompson's use of life history in his study of the Edwardians suggests that similar approaches to the history of alcohol use and meanings would be fruitful.
Topper, Martin D. 1981
The drinker's story: an important but often forgotten source of data.
Methodology Ethnographic
Topper is concerned to demonstrate that the rigorous application of cognitive anthropology can produce results which are useful in the development of culturally oriented treatment programmes for minority groups. The first step involves getting the participants' story—listening to what drinkers say and observing what they do while drunk and sober and relating this to other aspects of their lives. Following this, systematic eliciting techniques can be used. Topper illustrates his argument with reference to North American Indian drinkers. An understanding of the cultural patterns of drinking provides a framework to interpret what the drinker says as a statement of fact, it enables the service provider to see the drinking style of a specific person in relation to a cultural pattern, and it promotes service delivery.

Drinking behaviour among the Southwestern Indians.
Tucson, University of Arizona Press.
Drinking patterns—Native American Ethnographic
In this volume the emphasis of the analysis is on meaning rather than the form of drinking, and attention is paid to the consumption milieu. Drinking and its meanings are related to the aboriginal culture and the varying tribal traditions.

Wallack, Lawrence M. 1978
An assessment of drinking patterns, problems, knowledge and attitudes in three northern Californian communities.
Social Research Group, School of Public Health.
Berkeley, University of California Press.
Alcohol studies Sociological
This study involves baseline research, media campaigns and evaluation. It is notable for the fact that some of the TV ads linking moderation with success and sex were disallowed by the Governor.
Wallman, S. et al. 1980
Ethnography by proxy: strategies for research in the inner city.
Ethnos 45:5-38.
Methodology Ethnographic
A discussion of the use of an anthropological approach to the densely populated inner city area of Battersea. The research team used local people as interviewers and informants in an effort to improve on understandings arrived at by traditional survey methods. They were interested in understanding social life in the round, in context and meaning, and in people in relationships rather than people as units of population. Several publications have resulted from this study.

Walsh, Dermot. 1979
Beliefs, behaviours and alcoholic beverages. M Marshall (ed.).
Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press.
Drinking patterns-Irish Sociological
The author notes the heroic tradition of Irish drinking, the use of alcohol divorced from food, in hospitality, and the understanding that unless a person drank himself immobile, his host would think that he felt unwelcomed. Although there are high figures for alcoholism, community surveys suggest that a large proportion of drinking problems is untreated. In 1970 in the Irish Republic spending on alcohol as a proportion of spending on goods and services was 11% higher than any other nation.

West, L.J. 1972
A cross-cultural approach to alcoholism.
Drinking patterns Ethnographic
A brief account of the drinking style of the Taragumara Indians of Mexico who get drunk often but exhibit no alcoholism. This group is exceptionally fit and healthy. Its members have a great respect for one another and for the property of others. The author notes that they have been spared much contact with the outside world and suggests that their culture may not survive intense contact.
Westermeyer, Joseph. 1979
The drunken Indian: Myths and realities: 110-5.
Beliefs, behaviour and alcoholic beverages. M Marshall (ed.).
Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press.
Drinking patterns—Native American Review
The article looks at several popular misconceptions about Indian drinking. These are discussed in the light of recent research. The conclusions are that alcohol patterns vary widely among Indians, and Indian drinking styles are similar to non-Indian drinking styles; that drinking has positive social and individual functions as well as negative ones; that the relationships between alcohol use and certain problems may be fortuitous; that problem rates differ among groups of Indians; that alcoholism does occur in some Indians; and that Indian people with alcohol problems can benefit from treatment for alcoholism if they are involved in planning and staffing of programmes.

Worden, M. 1984
Women alcoholism: guesswork replaces research:1 & 21.
Drinking patterns—women Collection
This short article contains summaries of some of the papers given at the NIAAA sponsored conference on Women and Alcohol, held in Seattle in 1984. The proceedings of the conference will be obtainable from the sponsors in due course.

Yawney, Carole. 1979
Drinking patterns and alcoholism in Trinidad:94-107.
Beliefs, behaviours and alcoholic beverages. M Marshall (ed.).
Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press.
Drinking patterns—Carribean Ethnographic
There is evidence from this study that Trinidad is a plural society as there are distinct drinking patterns in each cultural group, even within classes. Rum shops, a combination of store and neighbourhood tavern, are the outlets mostly used by the drinkers, who were males. Rum is a national product and symbol, and generally there is a permissive attitude to alcohol use, reinforced by advertising. In the rural East Indian village studied, the local religions proscribed alcohol use, in opposition to social customs and history. Young men never drank with their fathers—they were never symbolic equals of their fathers. Peer group drinking was virtually the only form, and the norm was "to drink like a man". Amongst the urban negroes drinking is pervasive and integrated with other behaviour patterns. Children learn to drink at home.
## INDEX TO OVERSEAS LITERATURE BY AREA AND CULTURE

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<td>Edwards, G.; Chandler, J.; Hensman, C.</td>
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Aicken, J.C. 1978
Alcoholism as a family disease: 54-6.
Proo of inaugural meeting of the N.Z. Med Soc on Alcohol & Alcoholism.
Alcoholism—treatment Alcohol study
Aicken suggests that G.P.s need specific training in alcoholism and its implication for the family. He stresses the reassurance value of the disease concept.

Aitken, Judith. 1980
Women in the political life of New Zealand: 11-33.
Women in New Zealand Society. P Bunkle and B Hughes (eds).
Auckland, George Allen and Unwin.
Drinking practices—female Social study
On p.19 Aitken notes that AA (NZ) reports that alcohol is being used increasingly by women, especially married women, to "dull the pain" in the privacy of their own homes.

ALAC 1979
Alcohol and you.
Wellington, ALAC.
Education Alcohol education
A booklet aimed at teenagers which urges them to discuss alcohol in their lives and in society generally.
Anderson, R.J. 1981
The hardened frail ones: women and crime in Auckland, 1845-70.
MA Thesis in History,
Auckland, University of Auckland.

Crime Historical
During the study period at no time did women account for more than one
fifth of the appearances for summary offences. They were even less represented
in more serious crimes. The concepts and explanations of female offending are
closely related to concepts of "femaleness" (pp47-53). A small group of
recidivists kept alive the image of the "evil woman" (53). In the 1850s in
Auckland, it was hard to ignore the slum conditions, and though there was work
for those with good character and health who had few children, for other women
employment was hard to obtain. The female crime rate rose and fell with
economic conditions. Drunkenness accounted for almost 2/3 of female summary
offences, and among those convicted were a group of unrepentant recidivists.
Female drunkenness was deplored and associated with other crimes (87).

Anon. 1982
Through a Glass Darkly,
Student essay, 03.100
Auckland, Dept of Anthropology, Auckland University.

Drinking practices—male Alcohol study
This essay reports observations on a regular group of four male
drinkers who refer to themselves as "the quorum". The group has met in a bar
for many years. The oldest member is deferred to and he may invite others to
join for an evening. In this group, round buying is the norm and no one may
leave before the round is complete. It may circulate two or more times. On
particular occasions "shouting" may occur, e.g., to celebrate a birthday, and
special drinks may be bought with no obligation to reciprocate during that
drinking session. Toasting, tipping, and buying the barmaid a drink, are also
part of the drinking behaviour.

Anon. n.d.
Occupational alcohol consumption study: cabin crew.
Student essay.

Drinking practices—cabin crew Alcohol study
This analysis of on- and off-duty work-time drinking, emphasises the
importance of alcohol in the social lives and traditions of cabin crew.
Alcohol is very available and the unusual work times, the isolation and the
tiredness from travel combine to create conditions which promote heavy alcohol
use in sociability between crew members.
Ausubel, David P. 1960
The fern and the tiki: an American view of New Zealand: National character, social attitudes and race relations.
Wellington, Angus and Robertson.

Drinking patterns Social comment
Ausubel makes several comments about drinking. He says that the superficial good manners of New Zealanders are readily soluble in alcohol, and that the effects of a few drinks on deportment are more noticeable than in England or in the US—the tone of conversation tends to become belligerant, uncouth and offensive. Here drunkenness and alcoholism are more common than in the US, and there are more drunken parties "even among University circles". Much of the excessive drinking, he says, is a desperate way of escaping from oppressive boredom and the emptiness of social life.

Awatere, D. et al. 1984
Alcohol and the Maori People.
Auckland, Alcohol Research Unit, School of Medicine, Auckland University.

Drinking practices—Maori Collection
This publication is co-authored by S Casswell, H Cullen, L Gilmore and D Kupenga. It consists of an historical overview of alcohol and the Maori people in terms of legislation, social effects and the social context in general; a statistical section which compares aspects of alcohol in the Maori and European populations; and an ethnographic section which reports on an interview study of young South Aucklanders carried out in 1982-3 by D Kupenga.

Bacchus. 1972
Get lushed on your own grog: an underground brewer's bible.
Dunedin, Kropotkin Press.

Meaning of alcohol Alcohol study
This is a guide to brewing, but the author expresses his opinion that home brewing is not just an interesting and money saving hobby, but strikes a blow against capitalism, monopoly and conformity.
Barrington, R.; Gray, A. 1981
The Smith Women.
Wellington, Reed.
Drinking patterns Social study
This interview study of 100 women contains little information on drink
and drinking, but this appears to be a reflection of the relative unimportance
of drink in the lives of the women interviewed than a fault of the study.
Drink was a factor in the break up of several marriages, and some women had come
from homes where parents drank heavily. Few women talked about their own
drinking habits, however.

Batistich, A.E. 1963
The Gusla: 60-6.
An Olive Tree in Dalmatia. A E Batistich.
Hamilton, Paul's Book Arcade.
Drinking practices Fiction
The father of the family is proud of his NZ born children, and his
wealth, but he yearned for the old days. He feels more at home in the kitchen
of his lifelong Dalmatian friend, talking and drinking his good wine, than he
does in his own home with all its modern conveniences.

Batt, R.D. 1981
Alcohol consumption in New Zealand:1-12.
Wellington, Royal Society.
Drinking patterns Alcohol study
This paper is a useful summary account of recent trends in alcohol
consumption in NZ.
Beaglehole, Ernest; Beaglehole, Pearl. 1946
Some modern Maoris.
Christchurch, Nzcer.
Drinking practices—rural Social study
This community study was carried out in 1941 in "Kowhai" a small
beach and farming community with a population of 1820 including 330 Maoris,
Thoughout the book there are references to drink, and there is a section
(p.200ff) devoted specifically to it. The community was somewhat altered by the
war which had brought large numbers of overseas service men to the camp nearby.
Drinking was generally episodic but about 1/3 of the men drank heavily. Women
drank too, but less than the men. There were no instances of violence when
drunk.
People drank at the hotel, but the hotel was also a source of supply for the
round of small beer parties, and the parties which accompanied the various life
危机 ceremonies.

Benjamin, Ronald K. 1976
Alcohol and the Maori.
M.A. thesis in Sociology.
Auckland, University of Auckland.
Drinking patterns—Maori Historical
The period covered is from first contact until 1974.
Benjamin divides the history of alcohol among the Maori into five periods:
colonization, war and withdrawal, rapprochement, reorganization and emergence,
and discusses the legislation, the prevailing attitudes and the styles of
drinking characteristic of the period.
He also analyses the political and symbolic meaning of alcohol and alcohol
control, and the meaning and extent of alcohol problems.

Bhagabati, Annada Charan. 1967
Social relations in a Northland Maori community.
Ph.D. in Anthropology.
Auckland, University of Auckland.
Drinking practices—rural Social study
The fieldwork for this thesis was carried out in 1962-3 when Moerewa
was still a relatively new town, built to service the freezing works and dairy
factory. There are good descriptions of the role of alcohol in the community's
life in relation to hospitality and sociability. Alcohol also figures in the
relationships between the Pakeha and Maori communities in the town.
Biggs, Geoffrey D. 1970
Some Political and Social Implications of Later Closing.
Thesis in Political Science
Wellington, Victoria University.
Alcohol control Social study
An exercise in policy analysis which concerns both the referendum on later closing and the effects of later closing, commissioned by National Council of the Licensed Trade and Licensing Control Commission. The survey of 263 outlets was supplemented by interviews and observation and indicated that later closing had accelerated some already present trends in patterns of public drinking, namely, increased numbers of women and young people and of drinking in non-public bars, which resulted from the review of all outlets by the Licensing Control Commission.

Binney, J.; Chaplin, G.; Wallace, C. 1979
Mihaia: the prophet Rua Kenana and his community at Maungapohatu.
London, Oxford University Press.
Drinking practices-rural Historical
In this excellent biography there are a number of references to alcohol and alcohol use by the members of the community at Maungapohatu. After a period when alcohol was banned by Rua, he took over the control of the supply and in 1915 was jailed for 3 months for the sale of whisky. Rua's seizing control of alcohol was a political statement about equality, as his initial ban on it had been a statement on separateness.

Rua used alcohol to extend his visionary powers, but some of the community members practiced a very heavy style of drinking by 1916.

Blizard, Peter J. 1968
The public image and the social rejection of the alcoholic in New Zealand: 77-90.
Paper presented to the Third School of Alcohol Studies.
Massey, NSA of NZ.
Alcoholics, beliefs about Alcohol study
400 individuals were interviewed by the author who used a standardised questionnaire as well as an open-ended interview. Case histories representing various types of psychopathology were presented and the respondents were asked what was wrong with the person and their attitudes towards the illness. Alcoholics were only grudgingly accorded the status of a sick person and the alcoholic as a person was rejected. In short, the disease model of alcoholism did not greatly influence the feelings and attitudes of the respondents.
Bollinger, Conrad. 1959
Grog's own country: history of liquor licensing in New Zealand.
Wellington, Price Milburn.
Alcohol control historical
This is a key work, which surveys the long and often bitter history of licensing control in this country and the resultant drinking patterns. Bollinger's perspective is that in the long run Temperance and Prohibition interests combine with the trade against the man in the bar, and produce the barbaric drinking habits and only the most basic drinking facilities which characterized the first 6 decades of this century.

Bollinger, Conrad. 1970
In grog we trust: private monopoly in the New Zealand licensed trade.
Perspective 9 of the Farm Rd Branch, N.Z. Labour Party.
Wellington, Farm Rd Branch, N.Z. Labour Party.
Alcohol control Alcohol study
After a resume of liquor as a "social problem" in New Zealand, Bollinger examines the history of ownership and control in the liquor industry. It is a significant addition to his other volume and examines in some detail the complex history of the various types of Trust control.

Bradbury, Jane. ongo
Development, implementation & enforcement of liquor control policies in New Zealand.
Institute of Criminology.
Victoria University.
Alcohol control Alcohol study
Part of this ongoing study involves the observation of liquor enforcement practices in hotels (see Orchard 1983 P/83/29).
Bradbury, Jane. 1982
Violent offending and drinking patterns.
Institute of Criminology.
Wellington, Victoria University.
Crime Alcohol study
This study used official records and some interviews to study the
violent behaviour and drinking patterns, including attitudes, of those convicted
of a violent offence in a mixed urban area with a population of 98,000.
Although violent offences are strongly linked to drinking (84% of those involved
in interpersonal violence had been drinking) violence was by no means an
inevitable consequence of drinking. Indeed amongst these heavy and frequent
drinkers it was a relatively rare event.
Bradbury notes the inconsistent attitude of the criminal justice system to
drinking and offending.
To this group of people, the pub was a very important part of their lives.

Bradwell, Cyril R. 1982
Fight the good fight: the story of the Salvation Army in New Zealand 1883-
1983.
Wellington, Reed.
Alcohol control Historical
A contributory factor to the growth of the Army was its teetotal
stance at a time when acute problems of public drunkenness fostered the growth
of the temperance movement. The Army's policy of equality for women was also
attractive as was its working class appeal.
On a visit in 1905, although General Booth affirmed the total abstinence stance
of the Army, he refused to become involved in the political wrangling over the
3/5 majority for voting for "dry" areas.

Brasch, Charles. 1980
Indirections: a memoir 1909-47.
Wellington, Oxford University Press.
Drinking practices Biography
On page 386, Brasch muses on the drinking habits of New Zealand men—
"New Zealanders still think it manly to drink a lot. Why this adolescent
attitude persists, I do not know, but relatively few New Zealanders drink
naturally and moderately, out of simple thirst and for pleasure and relaxation".
Brodie, R.J; Mellon, M.J. 1977
Wine: a consumer survey of Christchurch households.
Agricultural Economics Research Unit RR 79.
Christchurch, Lincoln College.
Drinking patterns-urban Alcohol study
Information on wine, sherry, beer and spirit drinking was collected from 356 randomly selected Christchurch households during August 1976. 76% of households used wine, 74% used beer and 63% used spirits. The analysis breaks down the figures for each category of drink, and also gives the decision-maker for each type, and when the type is most often used.

Brown, R.A. 1974
A comparison of the control of alcoholic and non-alcoholic drinking.
Ph.D. Thesis in Psychology.
Auckland, University of Auckland.
Drinking practices Alcohol study
This experimental study of what controls the drinking of non-alcoholic beverages by alcoholics and non-alcoholics demonstrates the relevance of environmental variables to the treatment of alcoholics. One interesting observation was that while the non-alcoholics' drinking of lemon drink was influenced by social variables, the alcoholics' drinking was not.

Bunkle, Phillida; Hughes, Beryl. 1980
Women in New Zealand Society.
Auckland, George Allen and Unwin.
Collection
Individual papers relating to alcohol are noted under their author's name.
Bunkle, Phillida. 1980
The origins of the women's temperance movement in New Zealand: 1885-95: 52-76.
Women in New Zealand Society. Bunkle, P; Hughes, B. (eds).
Auckland, George Allen and Unwin.
Alcohol control Social study.
This paper discusses the meaning of alcohol in relation to the women's temperance movement. The contemporary metaphor was warfare against the natural enemy of women and home. The pub was the antithesis of the home, male sexual energy was seen as the greatest threat to women, and to be drunk was to abandon control.

Burch, W.R. 1969
Social Process in New Zealand. J Forster (ed.).
Auckland, Longman Paul.
Community study Ethnographic
This study of the construction town of Roxburgh shows that the pattern of recreational drinking was an artefact of work and national groupings.

Canning, Chris. 1984
ALAC is dangerous - unless taken in moderation.
The N.Z. Wineglass 36:16.
Alcohol control Social comment
The author states that ALAC is reacting to alcohol problems with total prohibition. He refers to the Australian prohibition on Aboriginal drinking and asks if people in New Zealand want similar rules to apply here: but to everyone. He interprets moves to keep wine out of supermarkets as suggestions had New Zealanders are inferior and cannot handle liquor.

The way to solve alcohol problems, he says, it to raise everyone to the middle class. ALAC does not have an image of a civilised and moderate society that it would like to promote for all to enjoy, and it cannot persuade legislators to deal forcefully and imaginatively with breweries and local bodies.
Cardwell, John. 1976
Social reactions to drug taking in New Zealand.
M.A. in Sociology.
Auckland, University of Auckland.
Drinking practices Social study
This thesis is based on an examination of selections from the NZ Press
and of the Board of Health Committee of Enquiry into Drug Dependency and Abuse
in NZ.
This committee in its second report (1973) noted that problems arising from
alcohol and tobacco are greater than those arising from other drugs.
Cardwell suggests that drug use which is linked to productivity, e.g., social
drinking, is approved, but that which is disruptive is frowned on. He argues
against the dichotomising of work and leisure as they are both contained within
the same social and economic system.

Casswell, S.; Smythe, M. 1983
Alcohol consumption by women.
Drinking patterns—female Alcohol study
Despite the popular mythology that women's drinking is increasing
relative to men's and is becoming increasingly problematic, statistics on
mortality and morbidity from cirrhosis, alcoholism and alcoholic psychosis show
no or only slight convergence between male and female ratios. But drink-
driving convictions for men and women have converged markedly since 1969
legislation which increased the number of charges and convictions. The authors
suggest that women's greater visibility in the workforce explains some of the
focus on women's drinking, but they acknowledge the problem of time lag in some
of the gross indicators used.

Casswell, S.; Mortimer, D.; Smythe, M. 1983
Alcohol portrayal in a NZ soap opera.
Drinking patterns—TV Media study
92% of the 1981 episodes of the NZ soap opera "Close to Home" were
viewed and analysed according to alcohol incidents over time. There were 3.8
incidents per half hour session which is slightly higher than for Coronation St.
Tea and coffee were also drunk frequently.
The portrayal of alcohol use was probably toward the heavier end of the
spectrum. Alcohol use was incidental in 61% of instances, and most drinking
was moderate.
Casswell, S.; McPherson, M. 1983
Attitudes of New Zealand general practitioners to alcohol-related problems.
Alcohol, attitudes to Alcohol study
General practitioners surveyed in this study were a self selected group. Most supported a traditional disease concept of alcoholism embodying abstinence as the goal of treatment. However, there was also some support for a modified disease concept, a moralistic attitude and a belief in a drinking-problem continuum.

Casswell, S; Gilmore, L.; et al. 1983
Early experiences with alcohol; a survey of an eight and nine year old sample.
Drinking patterns—youth Alcohol study
This interview study of 743 children and their mothers discovered that by the age of nine nearly all children have had some personal experience of alcohol. Sources of information about alcohol were first hand experience, parents and the television.
Co-authors: P Silva and P Brasch.

Casswell, S.; Gordon, A. 1983
Drinking and occupational status of New Zealand men.
ARU
Auckland.
Drinking patterns Alcohol study
On the basis of consumption statistics types of occupation have been isolated as placing the worker at risk. They are the liquor industry, fishing, forestry, managerial, writing and journalism. The characteristics of these jobs which make them at risk situations are discussed. (This abstract is based on Pringle and Houghton 1984:7-8).
The results of the nationwide survey of alcohol consumption are presented in this report.

This project is based in two provincial cities, one in the North Island and one in the South. It is targeted at young males and females in paid employment. Particularly interesting is the involvement of key individuals and groups in the planning of research, education and feedback of results.

Chapman relates the hearsay story that traders purchased 200 tons of potatoes with rum at Puriri. In 1842 he reports that though many of the natives around the Auckland area, including Thames, spend 3 out of 6 months in Auckland itself, with all the vices they are exposed too, few have fallen (p.213).

Chapman himself used wine—a little each day—to treat a sick young man (p.129). He was opposed to the introduction of ardent spirits, as at Whakatane it had had sad effects, but the next year, 1856, he was able to say of the Maketu district that there were few instances of drinking. Chapman remarks that natives in Auckland practise drinking but he himself has seen few instances of it—they know how to act covertly when so inclined (2:586 & 598).
Chapple, D.L. 1976
Tokoroa: creating a community.
Auckland, Longman Paul.
Drinking patterns Social study
This study of a timber town was begun in 1969 with a survey, and
continued over three years with participant observation, resident reports, a
youth survey, and a newspaper study. The drinking contexts are related to
occupational status, and accounts are given of the Pulp and Paper Workers Social
Association to which a fair cross-section of the working population belong.
There are also many sports clubs. Nearly half the survey sample said they went
to the pub regularly.
40% of young people chose "a lack of interesting activities" as a major problem,
and underage drinking and violence by young people were also frequently chosen.

Chetwynd, S.J.; Pearson, V. 1983
Alcohol problems among women working in the home: prevalence and
predictors.
A & NZ J Psychiatry 17:259-64.
Drinking patterns-female Alcohol study
749 Christchurch women who were not employed outside the home more
than 20 hrs/week, and were aged 18-60, were interviewed. A year later 655
were followed up. Women in the high risk group—reporting 5 or more adverse
factors—had 40% chance of developing problem drinking. Adverse factors were
a family history of heavy drinking, high or medium levels of
depression and stress, increasing alcohol consumption, alcohol associated
leisure activities and the abuse of dependent substances, e.g., tea, coffee,
tobacco.
The study also contains some data on alcohol consumption. Of interest is the
increasing incidence of consumption, and the fact that all types of beverage had
fairly similar appeal.

Collette, John. 1973
Social stratification Social study
The paper describes the concepts of life style and life chance and the
relationship between the two. Life style refers to the subcultural variations
in preferences and values which develop within different social strata and which
are exhibited in behaviour, which in its turn has some effect on life chances
which refer to demographic variations relative to social status.
Cooper, Michael. 1977
The wine lobby.
Thesis, Political Studies,
Auckland, Auckland University.
Wine Industry Historical
An historical account of the growth of the wine industry especially
the mainly small family firms of West Auckland which are of Yugoslav origin.
The thesis describes the interactions of the wine growers and their
representatives with local and national politicians and politics, and stresses
the interpersonal nature of lobbying. Wine lobbiers capitalise on wine's
traditional role in hospitality and entertainment, epitomised in the Henderson
field days. Relationships within the wine growers groups are explored as well
as conflicts with pro-and anti-liquor groups.

Cross, Ian. 1958
The God Boy.
London, Andre Deutsch.
Drinking practices Fiction
The god boy's father tells his son that drinking with a few friends in
the bar is probably all the decency he will find in life. They are on their
way home, where the wife/mother will start nagging her husband as soon as he
walks in the door. It is a Catholic household.

Crowe, Peter. 1982
New Zealand Research Register: Pacific Islands.
Auckland, Dept of Anthropology, University of Auckland.
Research Bibliography
The research register is organised by author, rather than by
publication, but there are topic indexes. It includes only NZ based
researchers.
Crump, Barry 1960
A good keen man,
Wellington, Reed.
Drinking practices Fiction
This novel is about the life and times of a deer culler. There is much information on male companionship and some on binge drinking (162-64).

Cullen, Helen. 1984
Alcohol and the Maori People - a history:1-22.
Alcohol and the Maori People, D Awatere et al (eds)
Auckland, Alcohol Research Unit, School of Medicine, Auckland University.
Drinking practices - Maori Historical
Cullen presents an historical overview, based on published sources, of the role of alcohol in Maori society. She deals with the impact of liquor on land alienation, and with the various liquor laws and their effects, as well as with the role of Maori wardens. She compares the pattern of alcohol use in New Zealand colonial society with that of North America and elsewhere.

Culpan, R. 1983
Alcohol and violent offending.
Paper presented to Australian and N.Z. College of Psychiatrists.
Auckland.
Crime Alcohol study
The author has been called on several times to testify as a psychiatrist in court cases involving alcohol and violent offending. In this paper he presents some of his experiences in this role, and concludes that though alcohol is by no means the only causal factor it is implicated in a number of the cases which he describes.
Davin, Dan. 1976
Roads from home.
Auckland, Auckland University Press.
Drinking practices Fiction
In the process of telling his story, Davin successfully evokes the drinking conditions and the atmosphere of public and private drinking in Invercargill in the '40s. The main characters are Irish Catholics. Invercargill was "dry" at this time but some of the closed pubs still served liquor privately. There were also pubs legally open in the surrounding villages. There are excellent descriptions of problem drinkers and their effects on their family and friends, private drinking, and the 6 o'clock swill.

Davis, Peter. 1981
Health and health care in New Zealand.
Auckland, Longman Paul.
Drinking patterns-costs Social study
Alcohol is one of the factors implicated in major causes of death, specifically in heart disease, some cancers, accidents and pneumonia (p.30). The rate of consumption of alcohol has increased by about 20% in the last decade.

Davis notes that ideas about problem drinking and alcoholism change over time, and with changing circumstances some problem drinkers become normal drinkers.

Many people who are addicted to alcohol or other drugs are not interested in cures.

Devanny, Jean. 1981
The butcher shop.
Auckland, Auckland University Press.
Drinking practices-rural Fiction
This book was first published in 1926, but was banned in NZ for political and moral reasons for 2 decades. It is a work of social criticism. Much of the story is set on a station in the King Country and the daily lives of the owners, managers and farm hands is described. The barren life of single male farm workers, such as the two old rabbiters, is sympathetically evoked. It is in this book that the story occurs of one drunken rabbiter cutting off his mate's head to cure his delusions and headache.
Dominy, Michele D. 1983
Gender conceptions and political strategies in New Zealand women's networks.
Cornell University. Graduate School, Cornell.
Women's organisations Ethnographic
Politically active Christchurch women involved in all women groups or groups concerned with women's affairs were included in the study. Dominy uses a triangular model, with traditionalists, reformists and separatists at the apexes, to analyse her universe and discusses the actions and positions of each group in relation to varying conceptions of gender.
While there is nothing directly relevant to alcohol studies, the analysis of women's groups provides a useful framework for the study of other aspects of women lives.

Donnelly, Felix. 1978
Big boys don't cry.
Auckland, Cassel.
Drinking practices Social comment
Donnelly, a priest and counsellor, devotes a section of his book to alcohol and drugs (pp179ff). He says that alcohol touches too many of our lives for us to be comfortable in criticising its abuse. He criticises the connection of alcohol with entertainment and sports and the consequences of the licensing laws which reinforce drinking with adulthood and masculinity. Male attitudes to drink he finds are often immature.

Driscoll, S.L. 1982
Ante- and post-natal experiences.
Hamilton, University of Waikato.
Drinking practices-female Social study
An increase in sherry and wine drinking in pregnancy was associated with a perceived lack of emotional support from the husband or partner.
There is self-report data on the consumption of wine, beer, fortified wines and spirits.
Duncan, Leith. 1970
Crime by Polynesians in Auckland; an analysis of charges laid against persons arrested in 1966.
M A Thesis
Auckland, Anthropology Dept, University of Auckland.
Crime social study
Duncan analyses the charges in terms of type of offenses, and ethnic group, as well as aspects of the individuals' socio-economic status and aspects of the situation in which the alleged crime was committed. Most of the analysis concerns male offenders. Drunk charges constitute the highest proportion of all charges for Pakeha, Cook Islanders and Niueans, and the second highest for Maori and Samoans. The charge rate for females was only 1/10 that of the males and drunk charges rated third most common for women. Duncan provides a discussion of cultural explanations for drunkenness and for other types of offending behaviour, such as fighting.

Duncan, Stephanie. 1983
Figuratively speaking.
Paper presented to a N.Z. Liquor Industry Council news media forum. Wellington, NZLIC.
Drinking patterns Alcohol study
This paper is based on a survey carried out in March '83 on a random sample of New Zealanders. It contains information on frequency, location and type of drink as well as on attitudes. The analysis is in terms of socio-economic variables and it also compares the 1983 data with earlier surveys. This shows that drinking is increasing in frequency and drinking in private homes is increasing. A quarter of the sample drank at a regular tavern or hotel. Apart from the higher income groups most people strongly disagreed with alcohol being merely part of the daily routine.

Easton, B.H; Kay, L.B. 1982
The impact of taxation on alcohol consumption.
Wellington, ALAC.
Alcohol control Alcohol study
High income households consume more alcohol than low, but expend on alcohol a lower proportion of total expenditure. Lower income households consume relatively more beer and less spirits and wine.

Over time, the consumption of spirits and wine increases with increasing income, and there is a sharp upward shift in the demand for wine over time.
Drinking patterns Social study
Tobacco and alcohol generate a demand for substantial welfare services. The estimate for the cost of medical services, social security benefits and loss of production as a result of alcohol use and abuse is around $500 million. Using the user pay principle, liquor could be levied and the levy paid to the institution which carries the cost, i.e., the hospital or the ACC, and perhaps income tax could be reduced in consequence (p.173).

Eldred-Grigg, S. 1984
Pleasures of the Flesh: Sex and Drugs in New Zealand,
Wellington, Methuen.
Leisure Historical
An account of the leisure activities of New Zealanders which concentrates on their pursuit of pleasure.

Eldred-Grigg, S. 1980
A southern gentry; New Zealanders who inherited the earth.
Wellington, Reed.
Drinking patterns Historical
The book concerns the lives of the landed gentry and wealthy town dwellers of the South Island. There is little detail on drinking patterns but we are assured that the well-to-do kept extensive cellars and their household accounts show that good quality liquor and wines were imported in large quantities. The social life was conducted on a scale and in a style as to make one believe "that one was in Herefordshire, not in New Zealand" (p.93).
Fairburn, A.R.D. 1944
We New Zealanders.
Wellington, Progressive Publishing Society.
Drinking practices Social comment
Fairburn cites the liquor laws as an example of our inability to use our own initiative to design drinking practices which can express a common set of values.

Fairburn, A.R.D. 1949
Mr Fraser's way of doing things.
Here and now 1:8-10.
Alcohol control Social comment
Fairburn rails against the then current liquor legislation and drinking conditions.

Fleras, Augie, J. 1980
A descriptive analysis of Maori Wardens in the context of New Zealand society.
PhD thesis in Maori Studies,
Wellington, Victoria University.
Alcohol control, drinking practices Social study
In 1962 the Maori Welfare Act commissioned wardens to prevent drunkenness and unruly behaviour at hotels, marae, and public places. Fleras discusses the background and analyses the wardens' duties and actions, basing his study on participant-observation. One of his conclusions is that the wardens make the conspicuous behaviour of youth in distress less conspicuous.
Forster, John (ed.). 1969
Social process in New Zealand: readings in sociology.
Auckland, Longman Paul.
Collection
Relevant papers are listed under author's name.

Frame, Janet 1983
To the Is-Land: an autobiography.
Meaning of alcohol Biography
As a child growing up, Janet Frame remembers that alcohol was a marked category called "drink" or "the drink", and not at all the same as other drinks.

Gebbie, Fred; McGregor, Judy. 1979
The incredible 8-ounce dream.
Auckland, Collins.
Drinking patterns Social comment
This book is a mine of information and opinion on drink, drinkers and drinking. The senior author was a barman and manager for many years. Some of the points he makes is that drinking environments should be responsible to the wishes and requirements of the drinkers while discouraging the negative consequences of drinking, that there is a need for practical guidelines on safe drinking, that some regulations are only sensible where there is a stable clientele, and that barmen are people close to public opinion.

The book contains recipes for cooking with alcohol and for home brew.
Gilkison, Robert. 1936
Early days in Central Otago (New Zealand).
Auckland, Whitcombe & Tombs.
Drinking practices—rural
The author describes the dancing saloons and the sly grog shanties as well as the legitimate hotels in the Dunstan area during the second half of the 19th century.

Gluckman, L.K. 1974
Alcohol and the Maori in historical perspective.
Drinking patterns—Maori
Gluckman argues that the Maori could not make alcohol because their only suitable container, the gourd, will not allow fermentation to proceed. Using the accounts of early doctors he shows that Maoris were at first averse to alcohol and were taught to like it at the same time as the conditions were created which led to deterioration in their way of life.

Goldson, Jill. 1978
The problem of meaning at adolescence.
M.A. thesis in Sociology.
Auckland, University of Auckland.
Drinking practices—Social study
There is no significant data on drinking in this study, but the author discusses the symbolic significance to parents and teenagers of drink and drinking. By allowing their children to drink at home with them the parents invest in their children an awareness of their increased independence.

The role of underage drinking, the author suggests is as part of "the delinquent tradition" of teenage culture—the celebration of prowess and the search for kicks.
Graves, N.B; Graves T.D. 1977
Preferred adaptive strategies: an approach to understanding New Zealand's multicultural workforce.
N.Z. Journal of Industrial Relations. 2(3):81-90.

Social study
The authors isolate three types of adaptation in dealing with life; kin reliant, peer reliant and self reliant. Though individuals used all three in different situations, there was a tendency for one to predominate. Within the ethnic groups also there was variability but there was a predominance of self reliance for Pakehas, and kin reliance for Polynesians. But Maoris and NZ educated Polynesians also relied on peers. Over the years, migrants also tended to become more self reliant.

This study contains no information on drinking, but the Graves use it to help interpret the drinking behaviour they observe in hotels.

The social context of drinking and violence in New Zealand's multi-ethnic pub settings: 103-20.
Rockville, NIAAA.

Drinking practices-ethnic Alcohol study
This is an observational study set in a number of Auckland hotels, together with a study of critical incidents: Co-authored by V Semu and I Ah Sam. Maoris and Islanders spent half as long again in the pubs as did Pakeha, but all three groups consumed at similar rates, though Islanders drank most slowly. Maoris and Islanders drank more and drank in bigger groups. The major determinant of how long individuals remained in pubs was the groups' size, and was not directly related to round drinking. Rather, the bars are used as workingmen's clubs and the more compelling the social ties the longer a person will stay.
In the study of critical incidents, the number of persons involved accounted most for the seriousness. Police interventions depended on seriousness.

Graves, T.D.; Graves, N.B.; et al. 1982
Patterns of public drinking in a multiethnic society.
J Stud Alc. 43(9):990-1009.

Drinking practices-male Alcohol study
This is a systematic observational study of 216 NZ men in 12 Auckland public bars, part of the study reported by the same authors (1981). It is co-authored by Vineta M Semu and Iulai Ah Sam.
Gray, Alison. 1983
The Jones Men.
Wellington, Reed.
Drinking patterns—male Social study
This is an interview study of 100 New Zealand men. There are many
references to drinking patterns and to the meaning of alcohol to the men
interviewed. Gray sums up: "Drink was central to a whole range of criticism — it
indicated immaturity, it cost money, it affected employment and qualifications
and it revealed men's inability to handle their emotions or their problems".

Grey, Sir George. 1891
An agreement between Sir George Grey and chiefs on refraining from
drinking spirituous liquors.
GNZ MSS 254.
Auckland Public Library.
Alcohol control Manuscript
The signatories agree to refrain from liquor for a year.

Grigg, A.R. 1981
Prohibition, the Church and Labour: a programme for social reform, 1890—
1914.
Alcohol control Historical
Public drunkeness was an obvious social problem in the early part of
the period. The legal system could not cope with it, hence the urge for social
reform. The reformed churches and the middle classes tended to support
prohibition, while the unreformed churches and the labour movement supported the
moves for reform of laws and licences while generally avoiding complete
prohibition.
Grigg, A.R. 1983  
Prohibition and women: the preservation of an ideal and a myth.  

Drinking practices Historical  
Grigg suggests that the involvement of women in the prohibition movement and in voting was no more than that of men. But the prohibition movement used the ideal of women in the home, the guardians of moral virtues in its propaganda. The bar, alcohol and licentiousness were diametrically opposed to "the home".

Grimshaw, Patricia. 1972  
Women’s Suffrage in New Zealand.  
Auckland, Auckland and Oxford University Press.

Alcohol control Historical  
The drink trade opposed the suffragists on an organised scale. They interpreted suffrage agitation as a sly move on the part of their temperance opponents. Grimshaw’s analysis shows that while the excesses of the Drink Trade opposition probably helped the suffrage cause, in combination with some secretly opposed Cabinet ministers and the Upper House it managed to delay the passing of the Bill which gave women the vote.

Hancock, M.W. 1966  
Teenagers and Alcohol.  
A paper presented to the Second School of Alcohol Studies.  
Massey University, NSA of NZ.

Drinking practices-youth Alcohol study  
This study of 200 5th Formers showed that the majority were occasional drinkers. Most had had their first drink with a parent or other approved adult. Beer then wine were the most favoured drinks. Many young people knew how to get drink illegally and many did so. Hancock suggests that these teenagers were borrowing rather than rejecting adult values when it came to drink.
There are a number of references to the role of drink and drinking occasions in courtship and marriage and to differing ideas of hospitality held by men and women and Maori and Pakeha.

One clue to the meaning of alcohol comes from a Maori who told Harre that when he went home for Christmas there was "plenty of shell-fish, plenty of beer, and a good time had by all (p.108)."

This paper summarises some of the topics discussed at the workshop. It outlines some of the methods and issues involved and suggests possibilities for future research.

A participant-observation study of young people trying to "pass" as legitimate drinkers. Hatton describes the means by which they create the impression and the consequences that this has for their drinking.
Hawkeswood, W.G. 1983
I'M'I Ras Tafari: identity and the Rasta movement in Auckland.
M.A. thesis in Anthropology.
Auckland, University of Auckland.
Drinking practices-urban Social study
This thesis concerns a loose network of Rastamen based in Auckland city. As it is based on participant-observation there are a number of descriptions of drinking occasions, both public and private.

Hawkeswood, W.G. 1981
The gay bar: aspects of a cultural scene.
Student assignment, 03.414
Auckland, Anthropology Department, Auckland University.
Drinking practices Social study
This is a detailed ethnographic account of one Auckland hotel which was frequented by members of the gay community. The author interacted with and observed drinkers in the bars and reports on the social communication, the ambiance and the drinking which took place. The study is not confined to bars and drinking but follows some of the informants in their lives outside the hotel.

Herman, W. Randolph. n.d.
How people support each other in a rural town and county: a preliminary report.
Palmerston North, Social Work Unit and Sociology Department, Massey University.
Community Study Social study
This is a survey carried out by interview and questionnaire of a rural area of the southern North Island, Dannevirke. It concerned the residents' perceptions of services and social support. Alcohol and alcoholism, along with marriage and relationship problems, delinquency and unemployment, were cited as one of the four most frequently identified problems (p 10). Next on the list were shifting, isolation and loneliness. 82% of respondents were drinkers, 7% were ex-drinkers and 11% had never drunk. Alcoholics Anonymous was the most readily cited social service. 9% said that their own drinking caused hardship, and 23% said that someone else's drinking was a hardship to them.
Hilliard, Noel. 1979
The Glory and the Dream.
Auckland, Heinemann.
Drinking practices Fiction
In this novel there are scattered references to drinking and one
description of a daytime family party with Maori visitors, as seen through the
eyes of the Pakeha husband (109-17).

Hodges, Ian. 1984
Make Mine a Large One: Competetive Styles in Two Male Beer Drinking
Situations.
Unpublished paper read to N Z Association of Social Anthropologists,
Wellington.
Drinking practices-male Ethnographic
The paper analyses after-match drinking at a soccer club and drinking
at two private parties. The situations all include drinking games or some
other fairly formalised elements. It is Hodges' contention that despite the
popular emphasis on camaraderie as a feature of male drinking, the situations he
describes portray a strong element of competition, and that this element also
figures in other social drinking contexts.
The drinkers he describes are all relatively young men, and in most of the
situations drinking is heavy.
Hodges uses concepts drawn from theories of play and from Barthes'
"Mythologies" in his analysis of the drinking situations.

Hodges, Ian. ongo
An ethnographic approach to beverages.
Phd research,
Anthropology Dept, University of Otago.
drinking practices Social study
This is an ethnographic approach to alcohol in the context of other
beverages, which looks at the use, the context of use and the meaning of a
variety of types of drink.
Hohepa, P.W. 1970
A Maori community in Northland.
Wellington, Reed.
Drinking practices—Maori Social study
This is an historical and ethnographic study of the community in and around Waima. Liquor was involved in the early days of European settlement until a local subtribal chief passed and enforced a ban on it. But with worsening economic conditions there were a variety of reactions including direct political action and cults. Liquor was involved in one of the cults.

Hohepa describes the use of liquor in contemporary life as a non-problematic part of community life, e.g., after the annual cemetery clean up and on the night following a funeral to help lighten the feeling.

Hohepa, P.W. 1978
Maori and Pakeha: the one-people myth: 98–111.
Tihi Mauri Ora. M King (ed.).
Wellington, Methuen.
Drinking practices—Maori Social study
Beer parties as well as other group activities fulfill a need for a cultural outlet for urban Maoris.

Hooper P. 1981
The hut: 95–143.
The goat paddock and other stories. P Hooper.
Dunedin, John McIndoe.
Drinking practices Fiction
In this story drink looms quite large. Beer is offered by the man to visitors, tea by the women. The man visits the pub by himself, gets into a fight and leaves. The woman drinks by herself to drown her sorrows.
Weddings ethnographic

This thesis is a description and analysis of Pakeha weddings as ritual occasions. Weddings celebrate the high ideals of marriage, but at the same time they provide an occasion for joking and revelry (114). At most of the weddings described, alcohol was an accepted part of the procedure, being served to guests after the church ceremony while waiting for the bridal couple, during the wedding reception itself and afterwards. At one wedding which Horrocks attended, where the families were non-drinkers because of religious convictions, sparkling grape juice was substituted for the customary table wine. Interestingly enough, at this wedding there were no formal toasts, though there were stories, prayers and jokes of a non-sexual nature (130). Usually the bride's family pays for the reception, but the groom's may help with the liquor.

Drinking patterns Social study

Despite West Coast legends, Houghton found that there was little excessive drinking or public drunkenness, although people visit hotels frequently and hotels are centres of community activity.

Drinking practices Collection

Talking of the late 19th century, Houston says, "the crude camaraderie of the binge at the bar was frequently substituted for the nostalgically-recalled forms of life left behind in the homeland"(p.33). He suggests that two characteristic of this period have affected the nature of contemporary society. They are sexual polarization and the dominance of male social institutions.
Inkson, J.H.K. 1982
Employers attitudes to alcohol abuse among employees: a preliminary study
Unpublished
Alcohol study
Managers of organizations with 100 or more employees were surveyed on
their attitudes to alcohol problems in the work place. Generally they favoured
a rehabilitory approach to employees whose drinking interfered with the
performance of their work. (This abstract was obtained from Pringle and Houghton
1984.)

Jackson, Keith; Harre', John. 1969
New Zealand.
London, Thames and Hudson.
Drinking patterns Social Comment
The authors note that with upward mobility beer does not become
champagne, but draught becomes "Export Strength".
James, Bev. 1979
A report to the Kawerau Community.
Dept of Sociology,
Hamilton, University of Waikato.
Drinking practices Social study
Kawerau is an ethnically-mixed timber town. It has two hotels which
cater to tourists too, and many sports clubs which have social and social
service roles. There is one example of drinks being offered as initial
hospitality to a new neighbour by a man, and tea being offered in the same
circumstances to a woman.

Kaplan, Paul F. 1979
Social Aspects of Productivity: Hill Country Sheep-Beef Farms in the
Mangamahu Valley.
Palmerston North Dept of Sociology, Massey University.
Community study social study
This is a survey of social conditions in a rural area where there was
pressure for farmers to increase their productivity. A crucial variable in
productivity was the age at which each farmer assumed responsibility for the
farm. The respondents, male and female, showed a relative lack of general
health problems and alcohol abuse did not figure at all in their reported
responses. The importance of the local hotel to rural social life was
apparent from the survey, however. It provided one of the few chances to talk
face to face with your neighbours (88). One of the Locals had been closed
recently, and the researchers remark on the impoverishment of rural social life
through closures of this type.

Kawharu, I.H. 1975
Orakei; a Ngati Whatua Community.
Wellington, NZCER.
Drinking practices-suburban Social study
In Orakei in the 1960s drinking was more the accompaniment of a
gathering of close friends than an escape from frustration or the newly
perceived stigma of lack of identity as was the case when the community was
first evicted from their marae on the waterfront.
Kernot, B. 1972
People of the Four Winds.
Wellington, Hicks, Smith & Sons.
Drinking practices Social study.
Pukekohe had a history of negative attitudes to Maoris many of whom lived in poor conditions. Sport and the RSA brought Maori and Pakeha together but in the hotel Maoris tended to congregate in the public bar and Pakehas in the lounge bar.

Kernot noted a more permissive attitude towards young people and drink among Maoris than among Pakeha.

At weddings and 21sts, only ceremonial drinking was allowed in the Maori Hall, but drink flowed freely at the accompanying dances held in another hall.

Kidman, Fiona. 1979
A breed of women.
Sydney, Harper & Row.
Drinking practices Fiction
Though there are a numbers of scenes involving drink, two of the most striking concern young people at a Rugby club ball, and an older woman drinking.

King, M. (ed.). 1978
Tihi Mauri Ora.
Wellington, Methuen.
Social study
A series of papers mostly by Maori authors which celebrate Maori identity and demonstrate the importance of Maori values and attitudes, Maori voices and Maori opinion in contemporary society.
Koopman-Boyden, Peggy G. 1978
Families in New Zealand Society.
Wellington, Methuen.
Social study
The relevant papers are listed under the author's names.

Lambie, D.G; Whiteside, E.A; Bell, J; Johnston, R.H. 1983
Mortality associated with alcoholism in New Zealand.
Alcoholism-mortality Alcohol study
The mortality rate in patients attending alcohol and drug assessment
clinic of Wellington hospital was four times the expected death rate over a
period of 1.5 years. The sample comprised 1068 persons.

MacLarin, Dave. ongo
Alcohol and imagery in New Zealand poetry.
MA Thesis in Anthropology,
Dunedin, Otago University.
Meaning of alcohol Alcohol study
This is a study of the work of 65 New Zealand poets and a few
novelists, which examines the use made of alcohol.
McCauley, Sue. 1982
Other Halves.
Auckland, Hodder and Stoughton.
Drinking practices Fiction
The story concerns a 30 year old Pakeha woman and a teenage Maori boy. Liz comes from a middle-class background and at one stage muses that her generation had been a drinking generation. She preferred the blurring of her reality to the distortion and exploration of it that one might get with marijuana. She drinks sherry to get through bad times, but disapproves of heavy drinking although she has drunk heavily on occasion. Other beverages are used in the story: coffee at the Women's Liberation meeting, tea before bad news, homemade wine and joints in a community atmosphere.

McFerran, Leonard Mack. 1971
Saved by the net: Alcoholics Anonymous - a social network for rehabilitation.
M.A. thesis in Anthropology.
Auckland, University of Auckland.
Alcoholism-treatment Alcohol study
Although this is a social study of social networks and Alcoholics Anonymous is it placed firmly within the disease model, e.g., "Alcoholics don't come in bottles they come in people", and "an alcoholic can never again become a social drinker". It is a study based on participant observation and contains much useful information on the operation of AA as a personal support network.

McGee, Greg. 1981
Foreskin's Lament.
Wellington, Price Milburn with Victoria University Press.
Drinking practices Fiction
McGee's play deals with rugby, beer and male friendship and male-female relationships.
McLauchlan, Gordon. 1976  
The Passionless People.  
Auckland, Cassel, New Zealand.  
Drinking patterns Social comment  
With reference to alcohol, McLauchlan's premise is that unhealthy  
drinking is a feature of the NZ lifestyle. It correlates with generalised  
passionlessness. He suggests we drink beer to tranquillise ourselves and  
compares our drinking to that of the Irish in its degree of ambivalence.  
He notes that "handling liquor" is an often occurring phrase.

Miller, Greg. 1982  
An Army at war in the hotels.  
Student essay, Anthropology,  
Auckland, Auckland University.  
Salvation Army Alcohol study  
An account based mainly on interviews with one man of the Salvation  
Army's work in hotels.

Mitchell, Austin. 1972  
The half-gallon, quarter-acre, pavlova paradise.  
Wellington, Whitcombe and Tombs.  
Drinking patterns Social comment  
Despite the title there are few references to drinking in this light­  
hearted account of New Zealanders. Mitchell maintains that Kiwi acquaintance  
is wide and not deep - pleasant and shallow. To go deeper might tap  
irreconcilable differences.  
The Kiwi male escapes from the home he can not dominate to the boosy camaraderie  
of the pub.
Mitchell, D.R. 1983
School health: alcohol consumption of high school students in relation to ethnicity, socio-economic status and sex.
Drinking patterns—youth Alcohol study
5th Form students in 3 Gisborne city high schools were surveyed in '68 and '81. There were statistically significant shifts to higher levels of consumption for Maori and Pakeha females but not for males. Pakehas of low and high socio-economic status and Maoris of low socio-economic status increased their levels of consumption. Pakehas reported higher levels of consumption than Maoris.
In a measure of cultural identity Mitchell found that there was a tendency for students with high Maori identity to drink more.

Morrieson, Ronald Hugh. 1976
Pallet on the Floor.
Palmerston North, Dunmore Press.
Drinking patterns Fiction
The action of this novel is set in the one pub town of "Kurikino". Its main characters are Sam, a freezing worker, and Sue, his wife who is a Maori. Sam drinks regularly in the pub with 3 or 4 friends. Sue is sometimes invited. The men drink beer from jugs, Sue drinks shandy squash.
The time is the late 1960s. The pub had been modernized: the ceiling had been lowered, the fireplace walled up and infra-red heaters installed, and the floor had been carpeted. With every innovation which displeased the freezing workers who drank there, the supply of stolen meat to the pub was reduced, and the men took to stubbing out their cigarettes on the carpet.
Sam makes home brew but it tastes so bad that his visitors always bring their own beer.

Murchie, E. 1984
Rapuora: Health and Maori Women.
Maori Women's Health Survey
The report is an account of and an analysis of data produced by a survey of the health perceptions and practices of 1177 Maori women. It includes a discussion of important findings, recommendations for action and a section in Maori of special interest to Maori readers. There is an extensive section of alcohol (62-66), but just as important are a discussion on a Maori view on Health(81), the conduct of research based on the League's survey results, and the typifications, based on survey results, of Maori women.
Drinking is analysed in terms of the population as a whole, as well as the seven sub-populations, namely young—single, urban and mother; middle years—lone and partnered; mature—whaea o te Marae, whaea o waho.
Orchard, Helen. 1983
New Zealand alcohol-related research register.
Wellington, ALAC.
Alcohol research Bibliography
This register is organised by author and includes on-going research as well as publications.

Park, Julie. 1982
Doing well: an ethnography of coping.
Auckland, University of Auckland.
Drinking patterns—suburban Social study
This ethnographic study contains some references to the use of alcohol in the home, in hospitality between neighbours and friends, between women sharing confidences, and in the family after work or at meal time.
Parsons, Kenneth Rundle. 1977
Violence on the road - a logical extension to the subculture of violence thesis?
M.A. in Sociology.
Wellington, Victoria University.
Crime Social study
This is a study of serious motoring offenders in NZ between 1965-9. The SMO is more likely to be young, male, of non-European ethnic origin, semi-skilled or an unskilled manual worker with a criminal non-motoroffering record of violent antisocial behaviour. There is a strong positive relationship between serious motoring offending and offending of a violent anti-social nature. It is argued that the kind of person who has internalized lower class subcultural norms, who additionally lives by values of the subculture of violence and who accepts violence as normal will carry this over into "accidents". The reoffending rate was high and the drunken reoffender was the most intransigent. Though small numbers were actually convicted of drunken driving, alcohol was involved in over one third of offenses.

Pearson, Bill. 1963
Coal Flat.
Auckland, Heinemann.
Drinking practices Fiction
Pearson's novel is set in the West Coast South Island town of Blackball in the late 1940s. It contains a number of bar scenes which are notable for the directness and depth of the conversation of the all-male drinkers. Much of the action centers on the pub. Some of the tension of the novel derives from a beer boycott carried out by miners and other residents over a price rise of 1d a glass. Beer as a man's drink is woven into the texture of the novel, but there are also several instances of women drinking, including one instance where a woman's lemonade is spiked with gin, prior to a sexual encounter. This novel is one of the "sociological" genre and it contains much of interest on regional drinking patterns and the link between politics and alcohol.

Pearson, Bill. 1974
Fretful sleepers and other essays.
Auckland, Heinemann Educational Books.
Drinking practices—male Social comment
Pearson's essay which deals with "the average chap" discusses his characteristic style. It is one of moderation: in emotion, and in his reaction to drink, but not in his consumption of it. The pub is cited along with the football club and racecourse as an important part of his life, where he can get away from his wife.
Pearson, David. 1980
Johnsonville: continuity and change in a New Zealand township.
Sydney, Allen and Unwin.
Community study Social study
In this community study of a small rural town which became a suburb of Wellington, Pearson describes the role of alcohol from the days when the coaching inn was the centre of village life, through the dry period which began in 1908, and during which many drinkers probably continued to imbibe in Wellington, a short rail journey away, through to the controversy over the establishment of Trust control in 1972. Pages 93-95 discuss the latter period. Pearson notes that in the 1890s temperance and respectability were linked, and nowadays heavy drinkers are regarded as no-hopers who use bad language and do not keep their sections tidy (127-129).

Petition. 1870
Petition against sale of spirituous liquors. June 5.
C K Williams Collection. MS 335
Auckland Institute and Museum Library.
Alcohol control Manuscript
A petition addressed to the JPs of the Bay of Islands praising them for their recent firmness in upholding the laws against the sale of spirituous liquors, and supporting no licence in the district. The petition was signed by both Maori and Pakeha. Also included is a letter from Wi Hongi and from some Kaikohi Maoris, which is addressed to Henry Williams.

Phillips, Jock. 1980
Women in New Zealand Society. P Bunkle and B Hughes (eds).
Auckland, George Allen and Unwin.
Drinking practices—male Social study
Phillips links the pub, beer, male culture and mateship and opposes them to the home, mother-son and husband-wife relations.
Phillips, Roderick. 1981
Divorce in New Zealand: a social history.
Auckland, Oxford University Press.
Drinking patterns Historical
In 1898 habitual drunkenness was made grounds for divorce under certain conditions, i.e., "cruelty, failure to support" for men, or "unfit for domestic duties", for women.
Throughout the book there is some discussion of the role of alcohol in marriage and some case histories are included.

Pitt, David, 1973
New Zealand Society. S Webb and J Collette (eds).
Sydney, John Wiley.
Drinking practices Social study
On p.160 Pitt writes: "Many hours are spent in a number of informal contexts, particularly the hotel or pub...". He is writing of working class males. He also notes that later closing and neighbourhood taverns have resulted in men and women drinking together.

The role of alcohol in business: a pilot study.
Dunedin, Business Development Centre, Otago University.
Drinking Patterns Alcohol study
This study of 30 managers was carried out using interviews and diaries. Although a pilot study, it reveals the personal drinking patterns of the managers and indicates that alcohol plays a role in the majority of businesses in which they are involved. The authors found the diary method to be fruitful and feasible, however there was quite a high non-contact rate. Of 53 businesses contacted, only 30 had managers who were able to be interviewed by the researchers. The main problem was contacting the managers. The report contains a useful bibliography.
Prior, Ian. 1968
Alcohol, the epidemiologist and research.
A paper presented to Third School of Alcohol Studies:62-69.
Massey, National Society on Alcohol and Drug Dependence.
Alcohol studies Alcohol studies
Prior stresses that multifactorial, multidisciplinary approaches
which stress community medicine, and health and prevention are the trend in
epidemiological research.

Quinn, V. 1980
Pregnancy and drugs: the views and knowledge of pregnant mothers.
Paper submitted for M.A.in Psychology,
Christchurch, University of Canterbury.
Drinking practices-female Alcohol study
30 mothers were interviewed as were 4 doctors. The conclusion was
that mothers have little knowledge of the effects of alcohol on the foetus, but
their intake of alcohol was small. There was a gap between the knowledge held
by the doctors and what the mothers knew.

Ramaden, Eric. 1940
James Busby: the prophet of Australian viticulture.
Wine Historical
An account of Busby's influence on Australian wine growing with some
reference to his vineyard and the wine it produced at Waitangi, Bay of Islands.
Rangihau, J. 1977
Being Maori:165-76.
Te Ao Hurihuri. The World Moves On. M King (ed.)
Wellington, Methuen.
Drinking practices—Maori Social study
Rangihau says that places like local pubs and racecourses are the only places where Maoris feel that they are on the "eye-ball to eye-ball" level with the rest of New Zealand society.
Rangihau was a member of the Maori Battalion yet after the war he was treated as a second class citizen, unable to purchase alcohol to take home.

Rayner, T.; Chetwynd, J.; Alexander, T. 1984
Costs of Alcohol Abuse in New Zealand: a Preliminary Investigation.
Report on Research Funded by the Alcoholic Liquor Advisory Council.
Alcohol, costs of Economic study
This report develops a taxonomy of costs associated with alcohol abuse, explores the feasibility of carrying out the costings and undertakes preliminary estimates for them. The authors stress that the costings must be regarded as preliminary, but it is unlikely that they are under-estimates.
Summary of costs (for the 1981-2 year):
Health care costs associated with alcohol abuse = $108.3m
About 86% of this cost falls on Hospital Boards.
Lost production associated with alcohol abuse = $582 to $769m
(The range depends on estimates of excess unemployment among alcohol abusers.)
Overall costs = 787.9 to 974.9 or around 3% GNP.

Ritchie, Jane; Ritchie, James. 1970
Child Rearing Patterns in New Zealand.
Wellington, Reed.
Social study
This volume contains nothing on alcohol.
Ritchie, Jane; Ritchie, James. 1978
Growing up in New Zealand.
Sydney, George, Allen and Unwin.
Drinking practices Social study
The Ritchies suggest that the greatest arena for ethnic conflict in NZ is the pub; but it is also the place where people meet and mingle and enjoy one another's hospitality and company.

Ritchie, James E. 1963
The Making of a Maori: a case study of a changing community.
Wellington, Reed.
Drinking practices—Maori Social study
Ritchie makes a distinction between drinking sessions and parties, goes to some lengths to try and estimate the amounts of liquor sold in the town, and analyses the use of alcohol in the community. His study of Rakau was conducted between 1953 and 1956 and was carried out using participant observation. The town is located in the central North Island.

Ritchie, Neville; Bedford, S. 1983
Analysis of the glass bottles and containers from Cromwell's Chinatown
Drinking patterns Archaeological
This archaeological report gives numbers and types of alcoholic beverage bottles found in the site and quotes contemporary accounts of alcohol use in local Chinese social life. Brandy was a popular drink and a funerary offering. Gin bottles were prominent though there is a suggestion it was used for cooking. Other bottles found were beer and schnapps.
Porirua: the results of a social survey.
Wellington, Dept of Social Administration and Sociology, Victoria University.
Alcohol control Survey
As part of a general survey, partly funded by the Porirua Licensing Trust, questions were asked to ascertain opinion on "dry" versus "wet" areas, Trust versus private control, closing times, special provision for women, and on frequency of public drinking. The survey took place shortly before 10 o'clock closing was introduced. Public drinking places in Porirua were under Trust Control. There was little support for a dry area, but more women favoured it than men. Most respondents were in favour of Trust control, but there were many who had no opinion. Both men and women wanted special bars for women, and most men wanted more drinking facilities though most women did not. A large majority of males favoured later closing, and a small majority of females opposed it.

Routledge, M.; Taylor, A. 1981
Young people and alcohol: a national survey of 3,000 school students.
Wellington, ALAC and NZCER.
Drinking patterns-youth Alcohol study
This is a cross-sectional study carried out in 1978 and it contains a great deal of interesting and useful data. Relevant to the ethnographic study of alcohol are the following findings: that one half of those sampled had tried alcohol before 9 years, and most were given their first taste by their parents, that by the 6th Form, 60% of students drank beer at least 1/month, and half of these drank 1/week or more frequently. Half of the 6th formers drank spirits 1/month, and one third drank wine this frequently.
Young people who drank in relatively unsupervised contexts drank most heavily, and heavy drinking was associated with playing sport for the school especially for 6th Form, Rugby playing boys, and especially for beer.
Peer pressure was not chosen by respondents as a significant influence.

Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Sale of Liquor in N Z. 1974
Inquiry into the Sale of Liquor in New Zealand.
Wellington, Government Printer.
Alcohol control Commission Report
This volume is a summary of evidence presented to the Royal Commission during its intensive inquiry into the sale of liquor and related matters in New Zealand. Transcripts are available. The commissioners present their opinions, & recommendations on a wide variety of matters ranging from the drinking age to the introduction of new types of licences and their effects. There are useful historical summaries of liquor legislation.
Rubinstein, D.; White, G. 1983
Working bibliography on culture and mental health in the Pacific Islands.
Honolulu, East-West Centre.
Research Bibliography
This tool includes NZ in its list of Pacific Islands.

Salmond, Anne. 1975
Hui: A study of Maori ceremonial gatherings.
Wellington, Reed.
Alcohol control Social study
Liquor is prohibited on most marae. Being noa is it out of keeping
with the dignity of marae rituals, but it may be allowed for weddings and 21st
birthdays. At strict marae people go out the gate or to the pub to drink.
Marae with no restrictions are regarded with derision.
A drunken person is tolerated on the marae unless his behaviour breaches
etiquette. In such a case a female relative may persuade him to sit down or
leave.
The cooks on a marae are permitted to drink liquor. The cooking area is noa.

Sargeson, Frank. 1966
The Undertaker's Story: 1-12
New Zealand Short Stories. C K Stead (ed.).
London, Oxford University Press.
Drinking practices Fiction
The scene is set inside and outside a pub on a Saturday. The bar is
described as crowded, noisy, hot and sticky. A man is thrown out of it.
Outside on the bench the narrator and another character have a leisurely yarn.
There is reference to solitary drinking. The story is evocative of elements of
male friendships and male-female relationships.
Sargeson, Frank. 1967
The Hangover.
London, MacGibbon & Kee.
Drinking practices Fiction
This is a story of adolescence. Those parts of it concerned directly with alcohol take place in a pub where Lennie, a middle aged man whom Alan afterwards kills, discourses to Alan on booze and its symbolic meanings.

Sargeson, Frank. 1973
Once is enough: 83-7.
Sargeson.
Drinking practices Autobiography
Sargeson discusses his attitudes to liquor in this essay. He came from a Prohibitionist family and frequently visited his uncle's farm in the King Country when that was a dry area.

Schwimmer, Erik. (ed.). 1968
The Maori People in the Nineteen-Sixties: a symposium.
Auckland, Blackwood & Janet Paul.
Drinking patterns-Maori Collection
There are only passing references to alcohol in this volume. Ian Prior quotes the 1962 statistics which show that alcoholism requiring mental hospital treatment is less common among Maoris. He notes that enthusiastic drinking is not uncommon but his impression that alcoholism is uncommon.
James Ritchie commenting on the dullness of rural life in Rakau cites weekend beer parties as something which breaks the routine.
Ernest Beaglehole suggests that crime statistics and alcohol problems among Maoris are symptoms of tremendous inner struggles brought about by cultural change. Schwimmer notes that the Welfare Division of Maori Affairs was ordered to campaign against alcoholism, but officers pointed to housing, work and education as the primary causes of social problems.
Scotney, R. 1983
Drinking and driving Alcohol study
This useful discussion paper on NZ research into alcohol-impaired drivers contains a summary of key findings and an outline of what is not known, an evaluation of research to date and an annotated bibliography. Readers interested in this field are urged to consult this volume as works annotated in it are not listed in the present work unless they are of particular relevance to the ethnography of alcohol.

Scott, D. 1975
Ask that Mountain; the story of Parihaka. Auckland, Heinemann/Southern Cross.
Drinking practices—Maori Historical
The moderate use of alcohol was one thing which marked off Te Whiti and his followers from people in the surrounding areas who according to a number of witnesses were sunk in debauchery and neglected their cultivations. The West Coast of the North Island was one area where alcohol was specially adulterated for Maoris and where grog sales went on right under the noses of the officials distributing money from land sales. Liquor was bought with bribe money paid in secret to demoralised chiefs to betray their people. Scott's book contains an appendix on the "Taranaki drink trade" from the papers Rev T G Hammond.

Scott, D. 1977
Winemaking Historical
A history of the Corban family—one of the main winegrowers of Lebanese extraction.
Winemaking Historical
The history of the introduction of vines into New Zealand, the early commercial history of winemaking, and the subsequent struggles against disease, prohibition sentiments, and the beer and spirits interests are all recorded in this illustrated history. One of the winegrowers platforms was the contribution of wine to social relationships.

Leisure Social Study
There is no information on drinking in this thesis but there is one reference to attitudes to drinking: most of the young people interviewed thought that drinking was O.K. but a few were strongly for or against it. As the study included 13 to 17 year olds it is a little surprising that drinking is not part of leisure behaviour.

Drinking practices Alcohol study
108 individuals from three ethnic groups, Maori, Pacific Island and Pakeha were observed in six pubs rated from the most to the least violent by security guards. The observers were a young Samoan woman and a male companion. Security guards were also given a questionnaire on sources of trouble in pubs. The thesis contains a collection of newspaper clippings on the topic of drinking and violence.
Shadbolt, Maurice. 1980
The Lovelock Version.
Drinking practices Fiction
This novel follows the fortunes of a family from the early pioneering
days up till the present. In the course of the narrative there are sketches of
booze, barmaids, pubs and entertainment alleys in Hokitika during the gold rush
days. Much later (1900) at a "new century" dinner, beer and wine are described
respectively as men's and women's drinks, and a reluctant drinker is urged to
drink more by his host who refers to the biblical notion of wine as an aid to
digestion.
Drink is used by the characters to drown their sorrows, to celebrate family
occasions, at sociable male occasions, when men and women come together
sexually, and to help get by in hard times.

Shadbolt, Maurice. 1974
Ronald Hugh Morrieson.
Foreword to Predicament:7-12.
Palmerston North, The Dunmore Press.
Drinking practices Biographical
In the course of his brief Foreward, Shadbolt mentions the hard-
drinking milieu in which Morrieson lived.

Shaw, Laura. 1984
Another little drink...won't do us any harm?
Drinking practices-female Social comment
This paper is one woman's account of her problems with alcohol and of
her life without it. It counters several stereotypes about female alcoholics.
Simpson, David. 1970
Three New Zealand studies of alcohol use: 58-72.
Papers from the Fourth School of Alcoholism Studies.
Massey University, MSADD.
Drinking patterns Alcohol study
This paper reports studies of two Maori groups, urban and rural, and
one group of hospital patients. The last group is also described in Simpson
(1969). Some differences were noted between rural and urban drinkers, and
between male and female drinkers. The heavy drinkers were predominately young
married males in the rural sample and married males of any age in the urban
sample. There were some differences in the patterning of drinking between the
two samples, also. None of the differences were statistically significant,
however.

Simpson, David. 1969
Alcohol and Sociology.
M.A. thesis in Sociology.
Wellington, Victoria University.
Drinking patterns Alcohol study
After a discussion of the difficulties and consequences of the use of
the term "alcoholism", Simpson presents the results of his questionnaire study
carried out in Wellington hospital on groups of alcoholic and non-alcoholic
patients. Respondents were asked about aspects of their drinking habits and
their attitudes to alcohol and alcoholism. Simpson found differences between
alcoholics and non-alcoholics in a number of the responses. Alcoholics' drinking
was less patterned, was increasing, and tended to absorb all the money
available. They were more passive towards alcoholism.
Simpson acknowledges that there are difficulties in generalising from data
collected from hospital patients.

Skerman, Peter. 1972
The Dry Era: a history of Prohibition in the King Country, 1884-1954.
M.A. thesis in History.
Auckland, University of Auckland.
Alcohol control Historical
The circumstances which brought half a century of prohibition to the
King Country are discussed in all their complexity by the author of this most
interesting thesis. Pakeha temperance movements, the King movement, the
Government, the Railways, and protective paternalism all played their roles.
The effects on Maori and Pakeha residents are analysed. These included binge
drinking and the rise of clubs which were initially illegal but which brought
an element of social control into drinking patterns. Many of these clubs
later received charters. The adulteration of alcohol with meths was another
consequence of prohibition. Attempts to revoke the no licence ran into great
political difficulties, and it was only when Maoris and Europeans were combined
in one poll that the status quo was overturned.
Drinking practices—rural Social study
This is a sociological study of a small town in Canterbury. It was carried out in 2 phases, the first in the 1930s. The Workingmen's club was at the centre of social life despite there being two pubs in the town. Its success was due to its supplying all the amenities of a hotel but in more agreeable surroundings. The club was well controlled and there was very little drunkenness. By the time of the restudy in 1955 the club was not so well patronised, but patronage picked up again after 10 o'clock closing was introduced.

In 1955 a Ladies Night every Saturday had been introduced, despite some disapproval. But women tended not to drink openly and preferred to go to hotels in other places.

Drinking practices—Maori Historical
There are a number of references between pp.188-92 to drinking and temperance in the Maori King movement at the time of King Tawhiao, and among the followers of Te Whiti, in the 1870s and 1880s.

Drinking practices—Collection, social study
There is no substantial reference to alcohol or drinking in this volume.
Stacey, Barrie G. 1981
Alcohol and youth in New Zealand.
Christchurch, Dept of Psychology, Research Report 37, University of Canterbury.
Drinking patterns-youth Bibliography
This useful work is a research review and bibliography of research on youth and alcohol in New Zealand, though it touches on more general youth issues also. It stresses continuities between adult and teenage drinking.

Stacey, Barrie G.; Absalom, Irene. 1979
Christchurch, Dept of Psychology, Canterbury University.
Drinking patterns Alcohol study
While this report shows highly significant differences in alcohol consumption between the sexes, different age groups and many other social categories, correlations associating social variables with consumption are negligible to slight, apart from the variable of sex.

Sutch, W.B. 1969
Poverty and progress in New Zealand.
Wellington, Reed.
Alcohol control Historical
Sutch sketches in the lack of control over the sale of alcohol in England at the time when the first settlers made their way to New Zealand, and discusses the role of alcohol in the early years of the colony. It was used to induce Maoris to sell their land and to create ongoing indebtedness. During the 1880s depression there was such an outcry at the degradation caused by alcohol traffic that many sections of the general public agitated for further controls.
Sutch, W.B. 1973
Women with a cause.
Wellington, N.Z. University Press.
Alcohol control Historical
In this work there is only a brief mention of the link between Women's Franchise, and the WCTU and the opposition to both by brewing interests.

Tan, Monica. 1976
Aging in New Zealand.
M.A. thesis in Sociology, Auckland, University of Auckland.
Social study
Though this is mostly a library thesis the author carried out discussions with old people in Auckland and interviewed 6th Formers on their attitudes to the aged. There is some discussion on the mental health and social life of the old people, but no mention of alcohol use.

Tarei, W. 1978
A church called Ringatu: 60-6.
Tihi Mauri Ora. M King (ed).
Wellington, Methuen.
Drinking practices-Maori Social Study
The author relates that his father used to swear and beat the children when he was drunk and seriously injured his brother. His father went to see the Ringatu prophet who reassured him that all would be well but never to touch beer nor lay hands on others again.
Tawhai, Hone Mohi. 1870
Petition to Henry Williams and Local Board.
C K Williams Collection MS 335.
Auckland Institute and Museum Library.
Alcohol control Manuscript
One petition requests that licences be not granted to Pakehas residing in Maori districts, another refers specifically to Jaffe's licence at Haruru, which the petitioners want revoked. In both petitions there is an outline of the evils wrought by alcohol.

Taylor, Rev Richard. 1848
Journal MS 302. March 12 1847-Dec 31 1848.
Auckland Institute and Museum Library.
Auckland.
Drinking practices-Maori Manuscript
In Vol 5:262 of his Journal, Taylor recounts an incident where a Maori, Heremaia, had been driven quite frantic by rum given him by an Irishman. Vol 3:108 refers to a dinner Taylor had at Mr Swainson's place at The Hutt where he was served good Kawakawa beer.

Telford, Helen R. 1978
"In" and "Out" on the Chatham Islands: a study of social relations and social categories.
M A Thesis
Auckland, Anthropology Department, University of Auckland.
Community study Ethnographic
The thesis is mainly concerned with an analysis of the social relations between the groups who constitute the population of the Chathams. The pub is the focus of social interaction and the spatial relations of people inside it reflect the social ordering of the island as a whole.
Thomas, D.R.; Byrne, C.; et al. 1979
Attitudes towards taverns in three Hamilton suburbs.
Hamilton, University of Waikato.
Drinking patterns—suburban Social study
This survey discovered that people reported that they preferred
smaller taverns which served food and non-alcoholic drinks and had recreational
facilities. It is listed in Orchard (1983). Co-authored by J Cumberworth, H
Murphy, M Quivoy.

Trlin, A.D. 1973
Immigrants and crime: some preliminary observations:397-406.
New Zealand Society. S Webb and J Collette (eds).
Sydney, John Wiley.
Crime Social study
Trlin notes different conviction rates for Western Samoans and Polish
immigrants where drink related offences are concerned. He explains them in
social and cultural terms.

Valentine, J.M. 1982
Alcohol and public policy.
Working paper for Prevention Review.
Wellington, ALAC.
Alcohol control Alcohol study
This paper reviews the history of the concepts of drinking and
drunkenness and examines ideas about per-capita consumption and systems of
controls. It is listed in Orchard (1983).
Eight percent of the respondents gave drinking and hotel facilities as the most pressing social problem. Some of these responses related to better drinking conditions, but most concerned alcohol problems especially in the young.
Ward, Alan. 1973
*A show of justice: racial 'amalgamation' in 19th Century New Zealand.*
Auckland, Auckland University Press.
Alcohol control Historical
In the course of this historical study the early liquor legislation which affected Maoris is discussed. As an alternative to legalising liquor for all, or prohibition for all, McLean in 1870 under the Outlying Districts Sale of Spirits Act, gave the choice to the local districts. The results were highly varied. Ward concludes (p.250) that the operation of this Act disclosed fundamental principles concerning the relation of Maoris to Pakehas and their laws, namely that Maoris were resentful of any legal disability even when protective, and but that they wished to share the opportunities and institutions of the settlers, particularly if these were modified to take into account special needs and values and if they included Maori leaders in responsible roles.

*New Zealand Society: contemporary perspectives.*
Sydney, John Wiley.
Collection, social study
Relevant papers are noted under the author's names.
Drinking practices-Maori Historical

The relationship between Rua and alcohol is discussed under the general title of "Rua's conflict with authority". Rua initially prohibited alcohol in his settlement but by 1911 alcohol was being consumed there. Webster suggests that with land sales and ready access to cash and the presence of Pakeha liquor distributors it would have been impossible to stop liquor flowing up the Waimana valley. Rua therefore tried to introduce liquor in a controlled way. As at this stage liquor was prohibited in Maori settlements, Rua defied the law and ultimately was arrested on this pretext.

Wellington Branch of Society for Research on Women in N Z. 1982
In those days: a study of older women in Wellington.
Wellington, Wellington Branch, Society for Research on Women.
Alcohol studies Social study
This work contains only a few references to drinking, but it provides a model for one type of approach to the role of alcohol in the lifestyle of older people, and also to the changing role of alcohol. The researchers interviewed 51 women aged between 70 and 92 on their past lives and present circumstances.

West, S. Rae; Harris, B.J. 1983
Everyday health, South Auckland, 1980-81.
Alcohol studies Health study
This study of everyday health is related only incidentally to alcohol but the methodology employed, namely the keeping of a diary of health related events, should be readily adaptable to alcohol studies. The authors found that diary keeping over a two week period was satisfactory, although there was a fall off over this time. The keeping of the diary led to increased reporting of events. In this study diary keeping was accompanied by interviews. It is a time-consuming method but one which produces good results especially if the diary is used as a focus for interviews.
Williams, Glyn. n.d.
The Beer we drink sitting down.
Wellington, Anthropology Dept, Victoria University.
Drinking patterns Student essay
The author questioned a few people in a variety of Wellington pubs on
their attitudes to women drinkers and beer. He found a tendency for people in
the "flasher" pubs to say that women drinking beer looked cheap and lower class,
and for women also to hold this opinion. Women drinking beer in pubs were more
acceptable to public bar patrons. Women who drank beer did so because of the
taste and cheapness. Women were acceptable in public bars if accompanied by a
man and Williams observed many women drinking in the pubs but they were mainly
accompanied by men.
This study is very preliminary and suffers some problems of interpretation of
the figures produced, but it does indicate some interesting associations between
type of liquor and identity of drinker.

Wilson, Phillip. 1960
It Was Easter.
New Zealand Short Stories. C K Stead (ed.).
London, Oxford University Press.
Fiction
The story concerns a man who at Easter time saw a corpse hanging in a
barn. He comes into a pub to tell someone and get a whisky, only to find that
no one believes him and that whisky is not sold until 5 o'clock. He has a
couple of beers instead.

Wright, Olive. 1955
The voyage of the Astrolabe: 1840.
Wellington, Reed.
Wine Historical
An account (pp. 79-80) of d'Urville's visit to the Busby estate,
Waitangi.
Wylie, Catherine R. 1980
Reflective surfaces: the individual as the key social relationship in
New Zealand society.
Ph.D thesis in Anthropology.
Victoria University, Anthropology.
Social research Ethnographic
This thesis is only incidentally concerned with alcohol but it employs
a methodology and theoretical framework and it concerns a topic which is of
relevance to alcohol studies. In a series of indepth and repeated interviews,
Wylie discussed with the participants their lives and understandings in the
context of a society which has a relative lack of common ordering systems. She
derived three styles of the individual mode, namely complementarity, autonomy
and participatory.
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