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**‘Tosspots’ and ‘Quaffers’:
Characterizations of Drinking and Drunkenness
in Hamilton City, 1945-1989**

A thesis

submitted in fulfilment

of the requirements for the degree

of

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ALEXANDER P. H. BROWN



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Abstract

This thesis investigates how drinking and drunkenness behaviours were characterized and viewed in Hamilton city and how they were influenced by a number of factors between the release of the 1945-46 Royal Commission on Licensing's findings and the passing of the 1989 Sale of Liquor Act. In doing so this study seeks to examine drinking and drunkenness in an historical context that acknowledges these things as existing in more than simply a pathological light.

Through the themes of legislative change, cultural difference and characterizations of youth drinking and drunkenness this study answers a call to examine people's understandings of drinking and drunkenness and the meanings they give to drinking and drunkenness in order to create a broader understanding of Hamilton's and New Zealand's history.

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Introduction

‘Binge drinking is a challenge around New Zealand for the brewing industry as it’s not acceptable to behave like some individuals are behaving.’¹ This statement opened a 2008 liquor sales industry publication article concerning binge drinking in New Zealand at an International Brewers and Distillers Conference. The article noted that Peter Kean, Managing Director of Lion Breweries believed that: ‘individuals must bear some responsibility for their binge drinking. [Mr. Kean] thought it should be illegal to be drunk in a public place.’² These quotations expressed particular attitudes towards drinking behaviours which were deemed unacceptable by liquor industry speakers at the Brewers and Distillers conference. However, the speakers neglected to clearly define and specifically identify the behaviours which were apparently unacceptable and by the same token they did not specify *why* it was necessary for these behaviours to be highlighted and deemed inappropriate.

This thesis examines how characterizations and views concerning drinking and drunkenness such as those mentioned in the *BWS* article manifested themselves in the past using Hamilton city between the years 1945 and 1989 as the main area of focus. It investigates whether incarnations of such views existed in Hamilton’s past and looks at the ways in which certain elements of drinking and drunkenness were characterized as acceptable while other elements were characterized as abnormal and deviant. It examines drinking and drunkenness behaviours in an historical context that recognizes that these behaviours are more than simply pathological aspects of social

¹ ‘Binge Drinking: It’s a Challenge for the Brewing Industry, the Country’s Big Brewers Tell Conference Delegates’, *BWS: The Business of Liquor Reselling*, May 2008, p. 20.

² ‘Binge Drinking’, p. 20.

life. This study attempts to answer questions such as: How were drinking and drunkenness behaviours exhibited by some Hamiltonians viewed and characterized by others during the period in question? How were characterizations of drinking and drunkenness influenced by factors such as legislative change, cultural difference and youth-related perceptions?

The parameters of this study have been chosen for a number of reasons. The mid-1940s was a time of transition in New Zealand society. In 1945 a Royal Commission on Licensing was set up to investigate the state of drinking in New Zealand and to suggest how New Zealand's liquor legislation and the behaviours of some drinkers could be ameliorated.³ In 1989 the Sale of Liquor Act was passed 'to establish a reasonable system of control over the sale and supply of liquor to the public with the aim of contributing to the reduction of liquor abuse, so far as that can be achieved by legislative means.'⁴

The title of this project – “Tosspots’ and ‘Quaffers’” – may seem at face value to be somewhat anachronistic. A ‘tosspot’ is an archaic term defined by the Concise Oxford English Dictionary as ‘a habitual drinker (also used as a general term of abuse).’⁵ However, the term was also in use during the period covered by this thesis. For instance, in his brilliantly titled book *The Froth-Blowers’ Manual*, journalist Pat Lawlor noted in 1965 that ‘tosspot’ was: ‘a disparaging word which has renewed

³ 1945 also saw the invention of the iconic Waikato Draught beer mascot Willie the Waiter by the then Hamilton-based Waikato Breweries. See Bruce Holloway, ‘Peculiar but Worthy’, October 11 2003, <http://www.realbeer.co.nz/alefiles/beer_holloway/article_2004_03_1_5225.php> [accessed 10 January 2012].

⁴ *Statutes of New Zealand (Statutes)*, 1989, No. 63, Sale of Liquor Act, Section 5.

⁵ *Concise Oxford English Dictionary*, ed. by Judy Pearsall, 10th edn (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 1514.

currency in light of the New Zealand beer-swill of today'.⁶ Similarly, in H.W. Orsman's 1979 *New Zealand Dictionary* the expression 'toss down' was defined as 'to drink quickly' and a 'pot' could be rendered as 'a large glass of beer.'⁷

'Quaffer' is a term stemming from the Sixteenth Century and is defined as the noun derived from the verb 'quaff' meaning 'drink (something) heartily.'⁸ The term was frequently used in a publication entitled the *Quaffers' Gazette*, a newsletter produced by Hamilton's Waikato Breweries between 1962 and 1966. One volume of the series provided an excellent contemporary definition of what a 'quaffer' was in the eyes of a 'Mrs Joy Hammon'. In her letter to the *Gazette* Hammon wrote of quaffers: 'they can be found anywhere, in bars, in racecourse circles, in TAB, in debt, and inebriated. Hotel proprietors love them, girlfriends tolerate them and their wives and friends support them (after 6pm).' Hammon added: 'some of [a quaffer's] pet likes are beer, racehorses, ale, Rugby, lager, XXXX and stout. He dislikes 6 p.m., national prohibition, empty glasses, dirty flagons and bludgers. He likes to spend money – either on beer, girls, horses, poker, or foolishly.'⁹ In addition the *New Zealand Dictionary* defined 'quaff' as: 'to drink at one go, or in large gulps.'¹⁰

As noted earlier this thesis investigates the characterizations of drinking comportment in Hamilton city, and examines the views concerning issues such as acceptability and appropriateness surrounding such behaviour over time. The study uses a wide range

⁶ Pat Lawlor, *The Froth-blowers' Manual: Some Confessions, Some Beer Ballads, a Dash of History, Froth of Personalities and an Encyclopedia* (Wellington, N.Z.: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1965), p. 125.

⁷ *Heinemann New Zealand Dictionary*, ed. by H.W. Orsman, (Auckland: Heinemann Educational Books, 1979), p. 843.

⁸ *Concise Oxford English Dictionary*, p. 1169.

⁹ Joy Hammon, 'What is a Quaffer?', *Quaffers' Gazette*, No. 11, 1964, p. 2.

¹⁰ *Heinemann New Zealand Dictionary*, p. 882.

of primary sources such as the *Waikato Times* newspaper, the *Quaffers' Gazette*, cartoons, and official government sources such as Royal Commissions of Inquiry and the *Statutes of New Zealand* to investigate the topic. It combines analysis of these sources with relevant secondary material to discover if certain trends are observable in the construction of drinking and drunken behaviours during the period in question; or if, in fact, a number of constructions existed between 1945 and 1989. Overall this study adopts a qualitative approach regarding drinking and drunkenness in order to address a gap in historical literature concerning drinking and drunkenness behaviours.

For some time, historians and other researchers within the social sciences have been calling for a more holistic approach to the way people's relationships with alcohol are conceptualized and studied over time. In 1974, historian Michael Marrus identified what he considered to be a weakness in histories regarding this point. He noted: 'traditionally, it would appear, historians have discussed the subject of drink from the perspective of social pathology. More often than not, this is where they have begun and ended their consideration of the matter.'¹¹ By 'social pathology' Marrus seems to mean that alcohol had been thought of merely as a substance that caused harm to those who consumed it and to society in general. Marrus concluded his article by asserting: 'enough has been said [about drinking] to justify the shift away from social pathology and towards a different set of questions.'¹²

¹¹ Michael R. Marrus, 'Social Drinking in the "Belle Epoque"', *Journal of Social History*, 7, 2 (Winter 1974), pp. 115-16.

¹² Marrus, p. 134. Anthropologists have long bemoaned the emphasis placed by social science researchers on the pathological aspects of drinking and drunkenness. Thomas M. Wilson noted in 2005 that: 'while most other social sciences have concentrated on alcohol and drunkenness as social, psychological and health concerns, if not outright problems, anthropology has just as often looked at drinking in its cultural contexts, as part of often acceptable, predictable, encouraged, mainstream, majority behaviour.' See Thomas M. Wilson, 'Drinking Cultures: Sites and Practices in the Production

Historian Thomas Brennan, writing about alcohol and history more than a decade after Marrus, sought to address the shift away from social pathology and to answer ‘a different set of questions’. In 1989, Brennan wrote in ‘Towards the Cultural History of Alcohol in France’ that: ‘a new sensitivity to culture in social history has led to growing acceptance of alcohol as a culturally mediated experience.’¹³ He noted that: ‘it is only very recently that alcohol and public drinking have become legitimate subjects for social historians to analyze seriously, more or less in conjunction with the growing interest in popular culture.’¹⁴ Brennan noted further:

A growing number of scholars are saying that alcohol cannot be understood simply in terms of quantity. Its social, psychological, economic, perhaps even its physiological, effects are culturally mediated. This model emphasizes the *meaning* of alcohol; the examination of what alcohol *means* to people is competing with older models that emphasized the quantities consumed and asked what alcohol did to people.¹⁵

This present study examines Hamiltonians and their historical characterizations of drinking and drunkenness in a context that encompasses more than just quantification. Although it does deal with pathological constructions of drinking and drunkenness this study does not seek to cast drinking and drunkenness in a solely pathological light. This thesis is *not* a study of alcoholism or the history of the treatment of alcohol related illness or disorders in Hamilton city. This thesis therefore

and Expression of Identity’, in *Drinking Cultures: Alcohol and Identity*, ed. by Thomas M. Wilson (Oxford; New York: Berg, 2005), p. 9.

¹³ Thomas Brennan, ‘Towards the Cultural History of Alcohol in France’, *Journal of Social History*, 23, 1 (Autumn 1989), p. 71.

¹⁴ Brennan, p. 72.

¹⁵ Brennan, p. 83. (Emphasis added). The Anthropologist Dwight Heath has also written concerning these points: ‘the far more prevalent way of focusing on drinking – that is, by simply paying attention to numerical counts of quantity of alcohol ingested and frequency of drinking occasions – omits much that is important in shaping the outcomes of drinking, as well as much that is needed for understanding the drinking in the first place.’ See Dwight B. Heath, *Drinking Occasions: Comparative Perspectives on Alcohol and Culture* (Philadelphia: Brunner/Mazel, 2000), p. 132.

answers the challenge of Brennan and Marrus by investigating what drinking and drunkenness meant to Hamiltonians through the ways in which drinking and drunkenness were characterized and viewed in various historical sources focused on Hamilton. It seeks to broaden an understanding of Hamilton's history by including drinking and drunkenness as legitimate subjects of study that can be used to shed light on the city's social history.

Several anthropological works help to explain why examining behaviour is important when studying drinking and drunkenness behaviours. Craig MacAndrew and Robert Edgerton put forward important ideas in their often-cited 1969 work *Drunken Comportment*.¹⁶ They made the point that: 'while changes in comportment of the sort that we customarily construe as disinhibited are certainly a sometime corollary of drunkenness, they are anything but an *inevitable* corollary.' They continued on this point: 'while the sheer occurrence between one's "sober" and one's "drunken" comportment is beyond question, it is an equally incontestable fact that these changes are of a most incredible diversity.'¹⁷ This quotation is important in the context of this thesis because it emphasizes the fact that drinking and drunkenness behaviours exist in many forms and are not predictable or necessarily fixed – they are subjective in nature.

¹⁶ Craig MacAndrew and Robert B. Edgerton, *Drunken Comportment: A Social Explanation* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1969).

¹⁷ MacAndrew and Edgerton, p. 172. Griffith Edwards, a medical doctor, has also written at length about this particular point. He notes that: 'what is experienced [by a drinker] psychologically will be modified by personality, previous experience with alcohol, expectations of what alcohol can do for the person concerned, the company and setting, and cultural beliefs.' He notes further that: 'intoxication [produced by alcohol] is not [...], a fixed and monolithic state; on the contrary, it is an astonishingly *plastic* condition. [...] Drunkenness behaviour can be moulded by influences which include the immediate context, the way people react to the drunkenness, the drinker's personality, and the expectations given by culture and society.' See Griffith Edwards, *Alcohol: The World's Favorite Drug* (New York: Thomas Dunne, 2000), pp. 8, 56.

Anthropological research has also noted the way in which drinking and drunkenness behaviours have been characterized as being either acceptable or unacceptable depending on a number of factors. In her introductory comments for *Constructive Drinking*, Mary Douglas noted that: ‘drinks act as markers of personal identity and of boundaries of inclusion and exclusion.’¹⁸ Dwight B. Heath argued in his chapter in *Constructive Drinking* that: ‘in most societies drinking is essentially a social act and, as such, it is embedded in a context of values, attitudes and other norms.’ He continued: ‘these values, attitudes and other norms constitute important socio-cultural factors that influence the effects of drinking, regardless of how important biochemical, physiological, and pharmacokinetic factors may also be in that respect.’¹⁹ Heath summarized his points by saying:

The drinking of alcoholic beverages tends to be hedged about with rules concerning who may and may not drink how much of what, in what contexts, in the company of whom, and so forth. Often such rules are the focus of exceptionally strong emotions and sanctions.²⁰

This thesis draws on the points above to investigate the ways in which people and their drinking behaviours were characterized in subjective ways in Hamilton’s past. It examines why some drinking and drunkenness behaviours were characterized as unacceptable or inappropriate in particular contexts while other behaviours exhibited

¹⁸ Mary Douglas, ‘A Distinctive Anthropological Perspective’, in *Constructive Drinking: Perspectives on Drink from Anthropology*, ed. by Mary Douglas (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 8-9.

¹⁹ Dwight B. Heath, ‘A Decade of Development in the Anthropological Study of Alcohol Use: 1970-1980’, in *Constructive Drinking: Perspectives on Drink from Anthropology*, ed. by Mary Douglas (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 46. Heath has also written concerning this point: ‘[a] focus on drinking as behaviour has the advantage of treating actions in the context of motives, meanings, and values, allowing us to identify and interpret patterns and irregularities.’ See Heath, *Drinking Occasions*, p. 132.

²⁰ Heath, ‘A Decade of Development in the Anthropological Study of Alcohol Use: 1970-1980’, p. 46.

by different people in different contexts were characterized as being acceptable or appropriate.

Some histories concerning drinking in New Zealand contexts inform views concerning characterizations of drinking and drunkenness examined in this thesis. Conrad Bollinger's second edition of *Grog's Own Country* (1967) is very well written and deals with many themes relating to drink in New Zealand, including legislative reform. Bollinger believed that, regarding drinking, little had changed between the release of the 1945-46 Royal Commission on Liquor's findings and 1967 (the year in which six o'clock closing in New Zealand bars was abolished). He argued that:

We can point to the innovations of the past few years – a few posh restaurants that serve wine, the carpets in the public bars, and the extended facilities for drink with hotel meals and entertainment in tourist hotels. But we still look a bit sheepish at the mention of the “six o'clock swill”.²¹

Bollinger noted that six o'clock closing involved patrons being ‘packed into the central area [of the bar] at the rate of about one person per square foot, and standing shoulder to shoulder, elbowing past one another, reaching over one another's clothes, they absorb glass after glass of the amber fluid [beer].’²² This thesis explores whether ideas and behaviours like these were discussed and characterized in particular ways with regard to Hamilton city's past.

²¹ Conrad Bollinger, *Grog's Own Country: The Story of Liquor Licensing in New Zealand*, 2nd edn (Auckland: Minerva, 1967), p. 2.

²² Bollinger, *Grog's Own Country*, 2nd edn, p. 4.

Historian Paul Christoffel's 2006 doctoral thesis 'Removing Temptation' examines the legal restrictions placed on alcohol in New Zealand from an historical perspective.²³ The aim of Christoffel's thesis was to evaluate whether or not historical evidence from New Zealand supported the availability theory of alcohol – the idea that the consumption of alcohol can be reduced through restrictions placed on its availability.²⁴ Christoffel found that New Zealand businesses and individuals changed their behaviours in order to comply with or simply bypass whatever restrictions were imposed on them and that New Zealanders reacted favourably to the removal of restrictions over time.²⁵ This thesis examines elements of New Zealand's alcohol legislative framework and how these things were expressed and viewed in Hamilton during the period in question.

Grant Simpson's 1991 study, 'Constructing a Social History of the Meaning of Alcohol to European New Zealanders', made many useful points concerning the need for placing an emphasis on *interpretations* of drinking behaviour.²⁶ The study looked at drinking from a sociological perspective and argued that: 'the interpretations made by people of drinking, intoxication, and intoxicated behaviour play an important role in shaping and channeling drinking behaviour.' Simpson continued: 'it is argued that these [interpretations] should be examined historically for a number of reasons, most importantly because contemporary interpretations are simply the current point in a

²³ Paul Christoffel, 'Removing Temptation: New Zealand's Alcohol Restrictions, 1881-2005' (PhD thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 2006).

²⁴ Christoffel, p. 235.

²⁵ Christoffel, pp. 239-40.

²⁶ Grant R. Simpson, 'Constructing a Social History of the Meaning of Alcohol to European New Zealanders: An Exploratory Study into the Creation of a Symbolic Interactionist History of Alcohol in Pakeha New Zealand based on the "Qualitative Content Analysis" of Prepared Cultural Products' (MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1991).

process of historical change.²⁷ Simpson also mentioned that a starting point for examining characterizations of drinking behaviour:

Must be that how people interpret the drinking of themselves or of others depends to a large extent on their definition of the situation in which the drinking takes place – or their definition of the who, what, when, where and why of the general situation.²⁸

These points are particularly instructive for this study.

Few studies specifically examining Hamilton's drinking and drunkenness behaviours exist. None of the studies completed examines drinking and drunkenness in Hamilton from an avowedly historical perspective. However, the studies are useful in providing insights for the topic of this thesis. A. A. Gilligan's 1983 study 'An Environmental Analysis of the Patronage Habits and Preferences of Hamilton's Licensed Premises Patrons' was an answer to Hamilton City Council's call for: 'a survey of the city's drinking habits and preferences.'²⁹ The study sought to investigate the types of premises Hamiltonians were drinking in; if the city's drinkers were content with the number, type and location of available drinking facilities; and what the preferences were for change if dissatisfaction was shown with the contemporary facilities.³⁰

A study released by a team based in the University of Waikato Department of Psychology examined the drinking habits of University of Waikato undergraduate

²⁷ Simpson, p. v.

²⁸ Simpson, p. 24.

²⁹ A. A. Gilligan, 'An Environmental Analysis of the Patronage Habits and Preferences of Hamilton's Licensed Premises Patrons' (Hons dissertation, University of Waikato, 1983), p. iii.

³⁰ Gilligan, p. iii.

students in 2000.³¹ The study found that: ‘it can be concluded that the majority of university students misperceive alcohol norms. A significant majority of students overestimate both the drinking practices of their peers, and what their peers perceive the norms to be.’³² Although *A Culture of Consumption* looks at drinking outside the study period of this thesis, its highlighting of differing perceptions concerning drinking and its focus on youth drinking habits informs this thesis.

This thesis draws on many articles and letters-to-the-editor published in the *Waikato Times* - Hamilton’s main newspaper during the period in question. Newspapers are not unproblematic sources of information about (and from) the past. They are not sources that contain (to paraphrase cultural historian Jacob Burckhardt) ‘‘material conveyed in an unintentional, disinterested or even involuntary way’’.³³ Researchers Jenifer Curnow, Ngapare Hopa and Jane McRae mention that: ‘newspapers are a strange mix of the ordinary and the extraordinary and of the ephemeral and long-lasting. [...] preserved as artefact they become remarkable as multifaceted memory of the quotidian, witness to all kinds of lives and chronicle of history.’³⁴ Newspapers are certainly useful in this regard, but the information they contain is shaped and coloured by those who compile and edit them. Bruce Martin, who joined the *Waikato Times* as news editor in 1967 and became editor in 1972, was credited in a 1985 work by journalist Leslie Verry as believing that at the time, ‘the news industry is so vast and busy and complex that no one person could keep close tabs on the policy of one

³¹ Dean Adam and others, *A Culture of Consumption: An Investigation into Alcohol Drinking Patterns Amongst University Students* (Hamilton, N.Z.: Dept. of Psychology, University of Waikato, 2000).

³² Adam and others, p. 25.

³³ Jacob Burckhardt cited in Peter Burke, *What is Cultural History?* (Cambridge; Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2004), p. 21.

³⁴ Jenifer Curnow, Ngapare Hopa and Jane McRae, ‘Introduction’, in *Rere Atu, Taku Manu: Discovering History, Language and Politics in the Maori-Language Newspapers*, ed. by Jenifer Curnow, Ngapare Hopa and Jane McRae (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2002), p. ix.

paper, on its day to day running, let alone attempt to do that for a number of papers.³⁵ Martin also noted that: ‘the *Waikato Times* tries to be impartial and fair and balanced. It may not always succeed 100%’.³⁶

Other studies have made much less ambiguous points about the state of New Zealand’s print media during the period covered by this thesis. A 1970 doctoral study conducted by media researcher L. Cleveland of Victoria University, Wellington, noted that: ‘the lack of diversity of news sources and the conservative attitudes of most New Zealand newspapers towards news gathering and presentation may make them uncharacteristic in comparison with the press of other democracies.’³⁷ S.W. Bradley’s *Newspapers* (1973) noted that:

We must [...] keep in mind the power of the newspaper to instruct, as well as to entertain and inform. Even in the process of news selection, an opportunity exists for certain points of view about society or individual situations to be emphasized or ignored.³⁸

The points outlined above inform the approach of this thesis. This study does not involve an attempt to objectively analyze the veracity of claims made in letters-to-the-editor or general articles that were relevant to drinking and drunkenness and appeared in the *Waikato Times* between 1945 and 1989. What this study *does* involve is an examination of the characterizations or perceptions of drinking and drunkenness conveyed in sources such as the *Waikato Times* during the period in question. It does

³⁵ Bruce Martin cited in Leslie Verry, *Seven Days a Week: The Story of Independent Newspapers Limited* (Wellington, N.Z.: INL Print, 1985), p. 342.

³⁶ Bruce Martin cited in Verry, p. 343.

³⁷ L. Cleveland, ‘The Structure and Functions of the Press in New Zealand’ (PhD thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1970), p. i.

³⁸ S. W. Bradley, *Newspapers: An Analysis of the Press in New Zealand* (Auckland: Heinemann, 1973), p. 2. (Original emphasis has not been used).

not deny that some reality did exist in Hamilton's drinking past. However it does not attempt to critique this 'reality'. It views sources such as the *Waikato Times* on their own terms and uses these things to develop a broader understanding of drinking and drunkenness in Hamilton's past.

This thesis explores drinking and drunkenness in Hamilton city's past through three distinct chapter themes. It does this in order to give drinking and drunkenness a legitimate place in Hamilton's history and to shed more light on Hamilton's history as a whole by viewing it from a perspective that differs from those traditionally used. Chapter One examines changes to New Zealand's liquor legislation during the period in question. It also examines characterizations of this evolving legislation that were constructed by Hamiltonians. Chapter Two explores the influence that cultural difference had on views of drinking and drunkenness in Hamilton between 1945 and 1989. The chapter focuses largely on differences between perceptions of Māori and Pākehā drinking and drunkenness behaviours during the period in question. Chapter Three discusses youth-related issues concerning drinking and drunkenness in Hamilton. It focuses largely on characterizations of youth drinking habits because Hamilton's younger generations have often had to deal with conflicting messages about the acceptability and appropriateness of drinking behaviours.

Chapter One: Legislative Change

This chapter investigates how liquor legislation in New Zealand evolved between 1945 and 1989 and how this affected characterizations of drinking and drunkenness during the period.

The Report of the Royal Commission on Licensing (1945-46) found that there were many ‘mischiefs’ associated with the sale of alcoholic liquor in New Zealand. It noted that:

During the busy hours of the day many of the public bars and of the principal private bars are overcrowded. Men stand four or five deep. Glasses are passed to and fro from front to rear. Supervision by the barmen must be difficult and often ineffective. Dregs may be served. Glasses may be washed in dirty water or cold water or dried with dirty towels.³⁹

The report concluded its statement on ‘mischiefs’ by noting: ‘there is little in the conditions in many bars that suggests they are places for the consumption of alcoholic liquor by persons who value their sense of self respect.’⁴⁰ How had the state of drinking and the laws concerning it sunk to such a nadir by the mid-1940s in the eyes of the Royal Commission?

According to the Department of Justice’s submission presented to the 1974 Royal Commission on the Sale of Liquor in New Zealand, liquor legislation in New Zealand

³⁹ Report of the Royal Commission to Inquire into and Report upon Licensing Matters in New Zealand (Royal Commission on Licensing), *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives (AJHR)*, 1946, H-38, p. 278, statement 1535.

⁴⁰ *AJHR*, 1946, H-38, p. 278, statement 1535.

in the mid-1940s represented the end of ‘a long stalemate’ that had existed since 1918.⁴¹ The Department of Justice’s submission noted that the history of liquor legislation in New Zealand could be divided 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’.⁴² From 1918 to 1948, and even earlier the Justice Department’s submission noted that the state of the country’s liquor legislation and the drinking conditions that it produced had deteriorated. The Sale of Liquor Restriction Act (1917) had introduced six o’clock closing ostensibly to ‘assist the war effort’⁴³. Six o’clock closing was made permanent in 1918 and endured until 1967, or in the words of Mr J. F Jeffries, Counsel for the New Zealand Liquor Industry Council: ‘in 1917 the malevolent 6 o’clock closing was introduced, and it remained to haunt us until 1967.’⁴⁴

The Justice Department’s submission to the 1974 Royal Commission noted that: ‘there was no significant legislation touching on liquor between 1918 and 1939. The law was frozen in the form it had then assumed as a [result] of the pressure of trade and temperance.’⁴⁵ Dancing and entertainment on licensed premises came to be prohibited which, in the opinion of the Justice Department, meant that: ‘the divorce between the drinking of liquor and other forms of lawful social activities could not have been more complete [by the 1940s].’⁴⁶ Criminologist Michael Stace noted that:

⁴¹ Report of the Royal Commission to Inquire into and Report upon the Sale of Liquor in New Zealand (Royal Commission on the Sale of Liquor in New Zealand), *AJHR*, 1975, H-5, p. 21, statement 9.

⁴² *AJHR*, 1975, H-5, p. 21, statement 9.

⁴³ *AJHR*, 1975, H-5, p. 24, statement 9.

⁴⁴ *AJHR*, 1975, H-5, p. 30, statement 10.

⁴⁵ *AJHR*, 1975, H-5, p. 24, statement 9.

⁴⁶ *AJHR*, 1975, H-5, p. 24, statement 9.

‘the isolation of drinking from other leisure pursuits’ lasted until the 1960s.⁴⁷ He mentioned that up until the 1960s ‘when people participated in some form of public entertainment, only in exceptional circumstances was the consumption of alcohol permitted to be part of this social activity.’⁴⁸

Christoffel believed that liquor restrictions were maintained because of ‘political inertia’ generated by: an unwillingness of political parties to address liquor issues that may have threatened party unity; a sense of apprehension given the strength of the temperance lobby in New Zealand during the time in question; and ‘because the restrictions advantaged vested interests within the liquor industry, the controls were commonly believed to reduce alcohol consumption, and the isolation of New Zealand contributed to a lack of exposure to alternatives.’⁴⁹ Christoffel noted that from the 1890s to the 1950s it was difficult to open new liquor outlets despite significant changes in the size and distribution of New Zealand’s population. This meant that some areas had many drinking facilities while others had few or none at all.⁵⁰ He also noted that: ‘some considered that the [legislative] restrictions contributed to overcrowded and unpleasant conditions in bars.’⁵¹

These ‘overcrowded and unpleasant conditions’ were not only highlighted by the 1945-46 Royal Commission but by such sources as Nevile Lodge’s “‘What D’you Mean ‘Let’s Go to One of the Luxury Hotels’ - this IS a Luxury Hotel!’”

⁴⁷ Michael Stace, *A History of the Liquor Legislation in New Zealand* (Wellington: Institute of Criminology, Victoria University of Wellington, 1988), p. 213.

⁴⁸ Stace, p. 213.

⁴⁹ Christoffel, p. iii.

⁵⁰ Christoffel, p. 97.

⁵¹ Christoffel, p. 97.

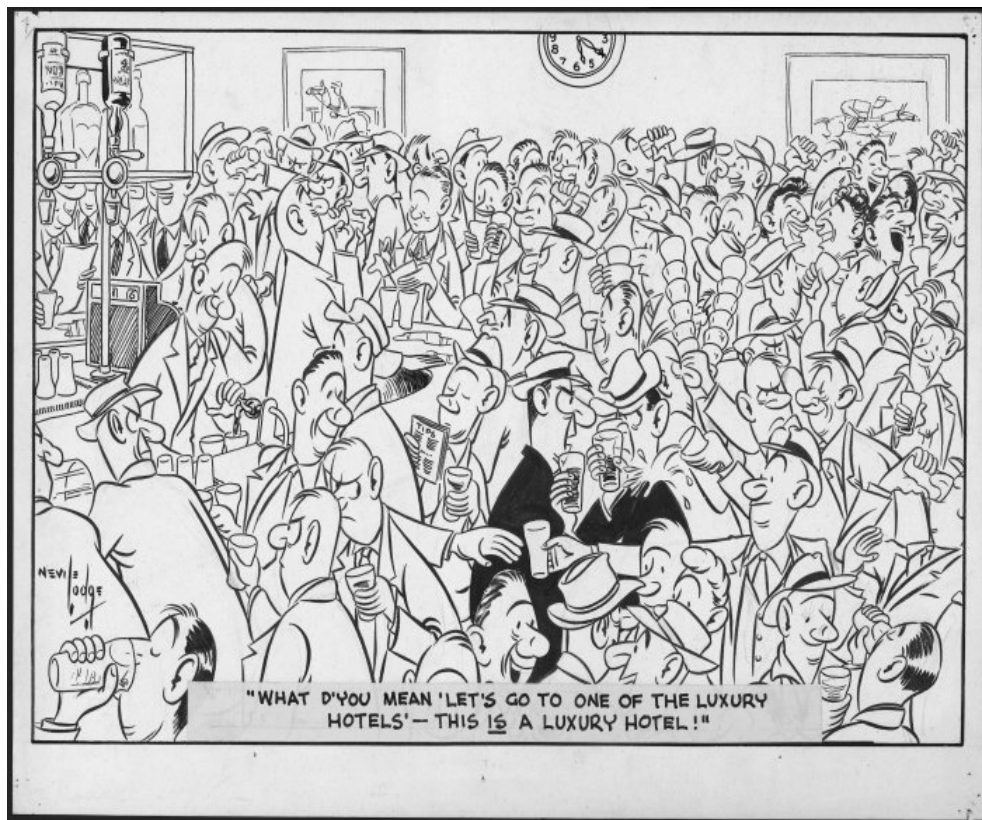


Figure 1: Neville Lodge's cartoon illustrating his views concerning 'vertical' drinking.

Source: "“What D’you Mean ‘Let’s Go to One of the Luxury Hotels’ – this IS a Luxury Hotel!”", Neville Sidney Lodge, [Five Early Cartoons circa 1945-1950], B-154-127, Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand/Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa.

cartoon. The cartoon appeared between 1945 and 1950 and depicts two black suited men standing in a crowded bar packed with patrons drinking ‘vertically’ and jostling each other. One patron is shown nonchalantly spilling the contents of his glass onto the shoulder of one of the suited men (see Figure 1).

The 1945-46 Commission stated that in order to redress deficiencies in the law regarding ‘the manufacture, sale and consumption of liquor’, legislation needed to be passed that addressed several points. These were:

The prevention of abuses, but, if they do arise, the check and cure of them; [...] The provision for those who drink, of conditions which are consistent with the standard or standards of self-respect which may reasonably be expected in the community; and [...] The provision of conditions which will secure that the main feature of all hotels will be the provision of good accommodation not the sale of liquor.⁵²

In spite of these recommendations many commentators believed that little effective reform was achieved from the mid-1940s up until the early 1960s. The Justice Department’s submission to the 1974 Royal Commission noted regarding the matter: ‘public dissatisfaction with the slow pace of improvement and with the comparative lack of substantive reform prompted Parliament in 1959 to set up a select committee on licensing.’⁵³ Stace noted regarding trading hours that: ‘despite widespread dissatisfaction with 6pm closing and widespread knowledge that the law was frequently breached, there were no changes to the hotel trading hours in the early

⁵² *AJHR*, 1946, H-38, p. 276, statement 1526.

⁵³ *AJHR*, 1975, H-5, p. 27, statement 9.

1960s.⁵⁴ Stace also mentioned that although New Zealand MPs were concerned about the problem of six o'clock closing, none was prepared to challenge the status quo.⁵⁵

An article that appeared in the *Waikato Times* in 1956 expressed the view that the Government was unwilling to act to alter the hours that liquor was available. The article mentioned that:

In spite of the numerous events and occasions recently which have served to bring the questions of extended or staggered hotel hours and liquor in restaurants before the public eye, the Government is convinced that there is no need for any upset of the status quo.⁵⁶

The article went on to state that:

On the wider question of liquor sale hours the Government is not prepared to take the advice of its own advisers. The Licensing Control Commission in its annual report threw the whole problem into the Government's lap with the words "there is a growing feeling in many sections of the community that the existing hours for the sale of liquor are unsuitable."⁵⁷

This situation was compounded by substantial increases in the excise duty paid on beer, brought in as part of the then Labour Government's infamous 'black budget' of 1958. In response to discrepancies in New Zealand's balance of payments the Government decided to increase excise duties on beer, tobacco and petrol. Bollinger

⁵⁴ Stace, p. 22.

⁵⁵ Stace, p. 22.

⁵⁶ 'No Intention to Review Liquor Selling Hours: In Hotels, Restaurants', *Waikato Times (WT)*, 29 December 1956, p. 6.

⁵⁷ 'No Intention to Review Liquor Selling Hours: In Hotels, Restaurants', *WT*, 29 December 1956, p. 6.

noted in 1967 that the duty on beer increased from 3s to 6s a gallon.⁵⁸ The Minister of Customs at the time (according to Bollinger): ‘pointed out this increase would not be reflected in an increased price to the consumer until the Price Tribunal had considered its effects, since beer was one of the few items still subject to price control.’⁵⁹

Bollinger noted that the tribunal met in the week after the budget’s release and decided that a new price order would come into effect 13 days after the budget’s release. This was noted by the *Waikato Times* on 28 June 1958. An article in the paper remarked: ‘beer prices will be increased in about a week or 10 days as a result of the new excise duty announced in the budget.’⁶⁰ The article continued, noting that the minister thought the price of beer would go up by just under 30%: ‘from 7d to 9d a glass over the bar.’

In the early 1960s the New Zealand Government introduced the Licensing Amendment Act (1961) and the revamped Sale of Liquor Act (1962). According to the Justice Department’s submission to the 1974 Royal Commission, the 1962 Act ‘inaugurated the most sweeping and radical review of licenses and standards that [had] occurred in New Zealand.’⁶¹ Other changes added to a time of great upheaval in New Zealand’s drink laws. In 1960 the restaurant license was introduced. This was an experimental step taken towards including meals and other activities with drinking and it was noted as such by one astute reader of the *Waikato Times*. ‘Watcher’, of Hamilton, wrote: ‘Having passed the Licensing Amendment Bill, which includes the right to issue licenses to 10 restaurants, the government has placed the responsibility

⁵⁸ Bollinger, *Grog’s Own Country*, 2nd edn, p. 134.

⁵⁹ Bollinger, 2nd edn, p. 134.

⁶⁰ ‘New Beer Prices ‘In About Week or Ten Days’’, *WT*, 28 June 1958, p. 8.

⁶¹ *AJHR*, 1975, H-5, p. 27, statement 9.

on someone of choosing 10 restaurants from many hundreds for the honour. There will be much heartburning over this.’ ‘Watcher’ continued to discuss the difficulty between choosing 10 restaurants to be licensed or simply granting every restaurant in the country a license. He or she considered both options to be very hard to implement. ‘Watcher’ concluded his or her letter with: ‘how is a restaurant to qualify for the issue of a license at some time in the future? What a tangle! One wonders whether the Government would not have been wise to forget about the licensing of any restaurants.’⁶² In this instance ‘Watcher’ noted the difficulties that the government would have to contend with when introducing legislation of an experimental nature concerning alcohol.

Stace noted that the licensing of restaurants indicated that combining the consumption of alcohol with other social activities was becoming increasingly tolerated in New Zealand by the 1960s. He stressed that: ‘it showed that the attitudes to the consumption of alcohol were changing. [...] Restaurant owners had lobbied actively in the preceding years and had received much sympathetic media coverage.’⁶³

Changes to liquor legislation were also noted in Hamilton City concerning the sale of wine. A 1962 *Waikato Times* article entitled ‘Wine-Selling Revolutionised’ praised the changes to liquor retailing. The article began: ‘the old days, when wines for the table, and cooking uses, could be purchased in not less than one dozen lots, are now gone, and wine may now be purchased in single bottles.’ The article continued: ‘Not

⁶² Watcher, ‘Liquor in Restaurants’, *WT*, 29 Oct 1960, p. 7.

⁶³ Stace, p. 34.

only that, but, at the Supermarket at Hillcrest, you can select a bottle that you want, and buy it 'Self-Service' style, along with the week-end groceries, meat and vegetables.' The article was also impressed with the range of wines that were on offer in 1962:

Apart from the straight wines, like port, madeira, muscatel (a lovely wine this), sherry, etc., a wide range of liqueurs is also available. Some of these are Creme de Cacao, Creme de Menthe, Apricot Brandy, Sherry Brandy, Cherry Brandy, and many more exciting names. The Supermarket wine section also has catered for the 'long drink' with such lines as Horses Neck, which is mixed with lemonade or Ginger Ale, and ice, Dainty lady, ready to serve cocktails, Happy Mac, and many others.⁶⁴

In this regard the article showed how the range of wines and liqueurs available to Hamilton consumers in the early 1960s had broadened and the amount of wine that had to be purchased was now an unrestricted single bottle.

The New Zealand government had to overcome much political apathy early in the 1960s in order to achieve any sort of significant liquor reform. In 1960 the *Waikato Times* noted that New Zealand's drinking conditions were unlikely to be significantly altered or liberalized by any legislation that the government was about to pass. The paper then honed in on the crux of the matter:

A traditional political taboo surrounds any suggestion to liberalise New Zealand's drinking laws. Political experts in both parties differ about the validity of this point of view. Some argue that conditions have changed so much in the past 50 years that the public is prepared – even anxious for better drinking conditions. Others point to the fact that an

⁶⁴ 'Wine-Selling Revolutionised', *WT*, 25 August 1962, p. 7.

average of 3000 people in each of the 80 electorates vote against liquor. In any case there is bound to be a great deal of political tight-rope walking before any legislation comes before parliament.⁶⁵

Christoffel noted this phenomenon in his thesis. He mentioned that: ‘the regular repetition of referendums on liquor had the effect of reinforcing entrenched attitudes and made politicians wary of provoking the temperance lobby by liberalizing the drinking laws.’⁶⁶ He also noted how the government had been slow to act on the release of the 1945-46 Commission’s report. He mentioned that: ‘Parliament did not discuss the Royal Commission’s report until a year after its release, mainly because a general election intervened. The government procrastinated a further year before legislating to put into effect some of the Commission’s recommendations.’⁶⁷

A syndicated article that appeared in the *Waikato Times* in 1960 summed up the resistance to change in liquor opening hours with its title: ‘Extended Hours still Opposed by Many.’ But the article also hinted that change in the New Zealand way of thinking – and drinking – was afoot. The article noted in its opening: ‘in its report the select committee said it was very clear that six o’clock closing gave rise to widespread mischief and was responsible in large measure for the serious difficulties experienced by the police in enforcing licensing laws.’ The article noted that, regarding proposals to extend opening hours from 6pm to 10pm:

It is clear there has been a trend in this direction in overseas countries. It would appear, too, that public opinion is moving in this direction in New Zealand. The evidence placed before us, however, induced us to think

⁶⁵ ‘Major Changes Unlikely in Liquor Laws’, *WT*, 18 July 1960, p. 2.

⁶⁶ Christoffel, p. 222.

⁶⁷ Christoffel, p. 153.

that a substantial number of our people are not yet prepared to assent to so sweeping a change. If 10 o'clock is to become the law, it will work smoothly only if a number of other problems can first be solved in a satisfactory way.⁶⁸

A little under a year later in 1961, the *Waikato Times* predicted that: 'taverns, with sit-down drinking facilities' would be replacing the common "beerhouse" by the end of that year. The article went on to note that: 'it was explained to caucus that a tavern would be a well-equipped, modern and carpeted bar. Sit-down facilities would be insisted upon. The tavern would have to be air-conditioned with modern facilities for glass-washing. The idea would also envisage an extensive car park alongside.' The article elaborated further:

The politicians are convinced that taverns would improve the drinking habits of New Zealanders. They claim that much of the excessive drinking is brought about by "schools" and "shouting," where the pace is set by the fastest drinker. They say the sit-down drinking in pleasant surroundings would eliminate much of the present beer "swill".

However, the article also noted that this situation was not desired by everyone in New Zealand concerned with the liquor trade. It mentioned that according to some familiar with New Zealand drinking habits, many patrons might favour 'drink[ing] vertically' amidst 'a school of their friends.' The article continued: '[These people] are not happy sitting with their knees under their chins, flicking their cigarette ash on the carpet. This section of drinkers would be happier in a clean bar with a barmaid to serve them.'⁶⁹

⁶⁸ 'Extended Hours Still Opposed by Many', *WT*, 14 July 1960, p. 10.

⁶⁹ 'Tavern Licenses and other Reforms under Discussion', *WT*, 5 June 1961, p. 2.

Some of the drinkers who supported the status quo regarding the facilities and décor of pubs and hotels complained to the editor of the *Quaffers' Gazette*, a newsletter published by Hamilton's Waikato Breweries between 1962 and 1966. 'Pro Bono Pub' complained in 1963 that the 'old order' he was used to had been unceremoniously replaced by novel drinking practices. He wrote that: 'Like the rest, I thought there was nothing to beat what I call "familiar drinking." Favourite pub. "Jim" and "Charlie" the barmen, private worn patch on the lino – you know the sort of thing.'⁷⁰ The author's lament continued:

First of all we got a carpet on the floor; fancy light fittings; [...] boxes of plants; and then it was all finished off with those new type automatic doors that you can't trust even going in let alone going out. Now I'm a reasonable man and I can see as well as the next one that carpet saves a lot of slop-mopping for instance, and cigarette butts look better hidden under a palm tree.

The author finished his point with: 'I'm not even going to argue about whether a light shade's proper place is dangling in your drink or whether a table should look like a footstool. No. I leave that sort of thing to the experts. Of course.'⁷¹ In 1964, 'Old Timer' had much to say to the *Gazette* regarding 'Modern Bars.' He wrote:

Sir – When I go into a bar these days its like taking to the Waitomo Caves without a boat. Dark, dark, dark, amid the encircling gloom. And there's no bar at all – only a lot of little islands into which I blunder in silent blasphemy (all these barmaids!) and then have to blunder off to a turnstile to get a drink.

⁷⁰ Pro Bono Pub, 'Mister Cheerman, May I Make a Pint ...', *Quaffers' Gazette*, No. 9, 1963, p. 2.

⁷¹ Pro Bono Pub, 'Mister Cheerman, May I Make a Pint ...', *Quaffers' Gazette*, No. 9, 1963, p. 2.

‘Old Timer’ finished his polemic with: ‘wall to wall carpet! Hell, there’s nowhere to spit now, and I’m too old to do it on the ceiling.’⁷² In 1966, ‘John Barleycorn’ entitled a letter to the *Quaffers’ Gazette*: ‘Back to the Sawdust.’ He wrote:

Sir – I understand that a letter has appeared in a rival newspaper, the Boozers’ Bulletin, praising the advent of carpets in public bars. I have not read this iniquitous publication myself – there is such a thing as loyalty. If true this is insidious, not to mention downright dangerous. Once drinking becomes civilised in this country we shall have our womenfolk coming in – and so far mine haven’t met each other yet.⁷³

Although the examples from the *Quaffers’ Gazette* used above were rather lighthearted in their gestures of ‘protest’ concerning the modernizing of bars, they still hint at legitimate views held by some New Zealanders with regard to drinking during (and prior to) the 1960s. They also acknowledge the fact that change was occurring in the spaces where drinking was taking place and that this change would have an influence on drinking behaviours.

The conditions under which entertainment was to be provided for bar patrons as part of the reforms introduced in the early 1960s were also lampooned in the New Zealand media. Lodge’s 1964 cartoon: “‘That’s the Last Time We do a Show in a Public Bar between Five and Six’” showed the cartoonist’s view of the situation clearly. The top left of the cartoon read: ‘Approval for Bands and Orchestras to provide music in bars is given by a Sale of Liquor Amendment Bill.’ The main body of the cartoon showed four musicians exiting a public bar carrying instruments that had been squashed nearly flat. Underneath the scene were the words “‘That’s the Last Time We do a

⁷² Old Timer, ‘Modern Bars’, *Quaffers’ Gazette*, No. 13, 1964, p. 1.

⁷³ John Barleycorn, ‘Back to the Sawdust’, *Quaffers’ Gazette*, No. 20, 1966, p. 1.

Show in a Public Bar between Five and Six!” The cartoon was a comment on the fact that although entertainments were allowed in bars, the “six o’clock swill” was still in force which meant that bars were still extremely crowded between five and six in the evening and as such they were in reality not places conducive to live entertainment acts (see Figure 2).

In spite of some of the nostalgic views expressed by its readers, the *Quaffers’ Gazette* came to support an end to the six o’clock swill, as did many members of the New Zealand public. In 1966 the *Gazette* ran a large article on its front page entitled:

‘Quaffers’ Poll.’ The piece began:

There are vague hints that next year may see a referendum on drinking hours. This will include votes by those who do not drink at all, those who are too old to totter any more to the local and don’t really care, and those who can’t be relied on to delete two lines out of three on any voting paper.

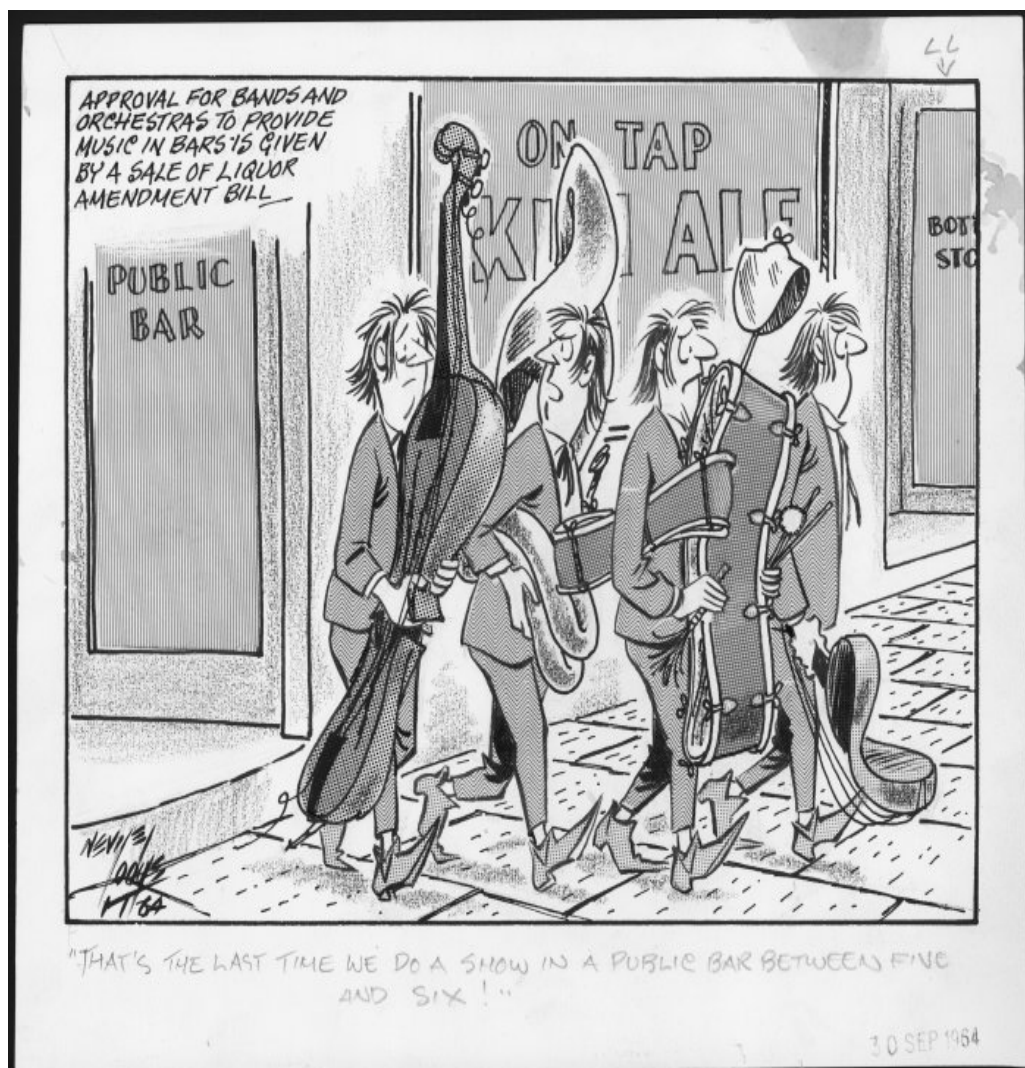


Figure 2: Lodge's cartoon illustrating shortcomings in liquor legislation.

Source: "That's the Last Time We do a Show in a Public Bar between Five and Six!", Lodge, [Archive of Original Cartoons for the Evening Post and Sports Post, 1941-1988], B-133-304, Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand/Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa.

The *Gazette* continued:

Let's have a Quaffers' Referendum of our own, all the thousands of us, a sort of dummy run to see which way the froth blows. Give it a go! Think while you drink. It looks as if any national poll will be along these lines: (a) Retain the present hours of 9 a.m. to 6 p.m. (b) Extend the present hours from 9 a.m. to 10 p.m. (c) Stagger the hours 10 a.m. to 2 p.m., 4 p.m. to 6 p.m., 7 p.m. to 10 p.m. Strike out the two you do NOT favour.

The editor then concluded the segment amusingly: 'with every intention of influencing the poll, the Editor points out that (c) will do nothing to obviate what is known as the six o'clock swill. If you are a decent democratic-minded Quaffer you should see that Mum gets her say-so too.'⁷⁴ In this instance, the editor of the *Gazette* clearly sought to emphasize the need for his publication's readers to vote for extended drinking hours in order to put an end to the now undesirable 'swill'.

Christoffel observed that the swing towards support for the abolition of six o'clock closing (after it had survived in New Zealand for 50 years) was brought about by a number of factors. He mentioned that the attitude of MPs had changed since the poll of 1949 which had expressed strong support for the maintenance of six o'clock closing.⁷⁵ He pointed out that: 'the collapse of the prohibition vote by 1966 and the split between temperance and prohibition supporters meant MPs were no longer afraid to speak out.'⁷⁶ Public opinion in New Zealand had also changed according to Lodge. His 1965 cartoon: 'The Will of the People' expressed this shift in thinking.

⁷⁴ The Editor, 'Quaffers' Poll', *Quaffers' Gazette*, No. 22, 1966, p. 1.

⁷⁵ Christoffel, p. 162.

⁷⁶ Christoffel, p. 162.

The cartoon showed a lawyer seated in a book-lined office reading a document marked 'The Will of the People' taken from an open ballot box on his desk. The Lawyer reads: "'To the drinkers, the hotel owners and the tourist industry, I, the referendum, hereby bequeath 'more liberalized drinking...'" In front of the lawyer sit pleased-looking representatives of the tourist industry and the public, an expressionless Hotel Associations man, and an irate representative from the New Zealand Alliance for the Abolition of the Liquor Trade with his arms crossed, among other frowning individuals (see Figure 3). This shows that Lodge thought that the New Zealand public was ready to accept change with regard to drinking.

By 1967 Australia's states had changed their attitudes to six o'clock closing. According to Christoffel this may have had some influence on the New Zealand public.⁷⁷ Historian Diane Kirkby noted that restricted hours of trade brought in during WWII meant that most Australian states had to deal with six o'clock closing.⁷⁸ However, Tasmania had 10 o'clock closing as early as 1937.⁷⁹ Western Australia extended trading to 7 o'clock before 1945 and Queensland had later closing before the end of the war.⁸⁰ Kirkby noted that: 'under the impact of immigration from Europe and the United Kingdom, Australian drinking practices in the 1950s were being assailed by expectations of more sophisticated behaviour.'⁸¹ At the beginning of 1955 New South Wales passed legislation extending closing hours.⁸² By the end of 1965 Victoria too had extended its closing hours and South Australia ended six

⁷⁷ Christoffel, p. 166.

⁷⁸ Diane Kirkby, *Barmaids: A History of Women's Work in Pubs* (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 163.

⁷⁹ Kirkby, p. 176; *AJHR*, 1946, H-38, p. 93, statement 428.

⁸⁰ Kirkby, p. 176.

⁸¹ Kirkby, p. 179.

⁸² Kirkby, p. 182.

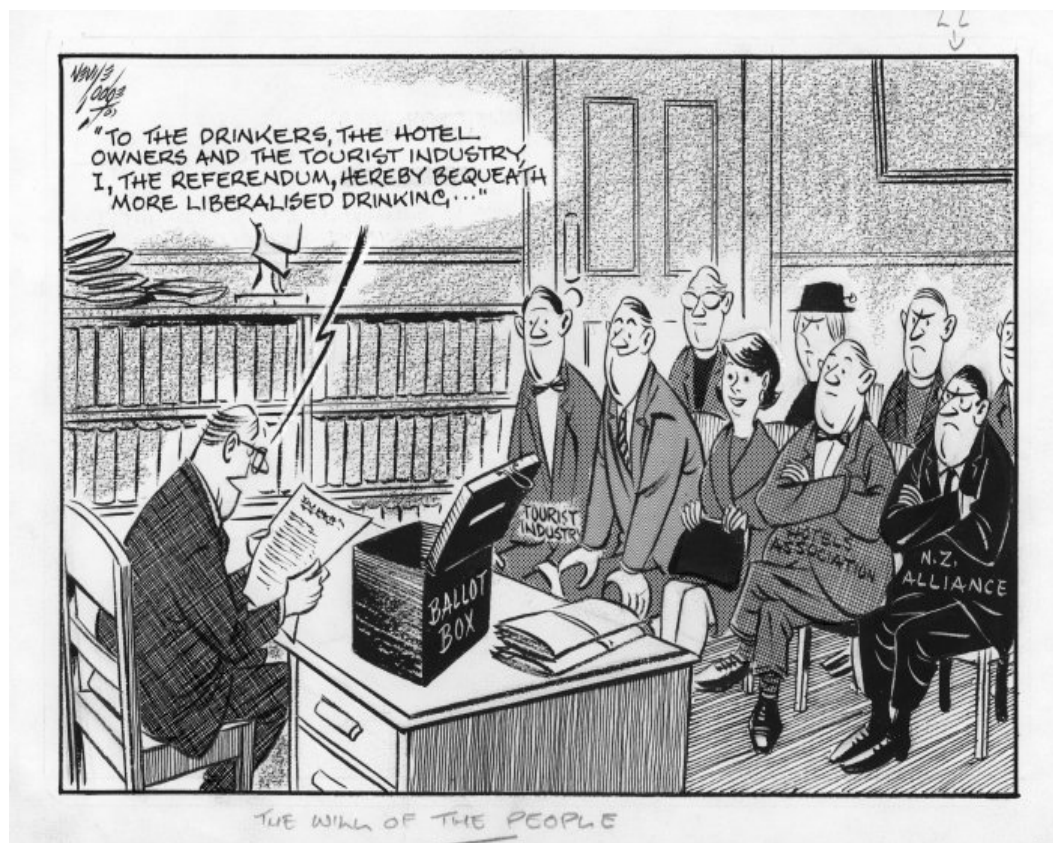


Figure 3: Lodge's cartoon depicting his view of the shift in New Zealand thinking with regard to drinking.

Source: 'The Will of the People', Lodge, [Archive of Original Cartoons for the Evening Post and Sports Post, 1941-1988], B-133-308, Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand/Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa.

o'clock closing in 1967.⁸³ A referendum held on the issue on 23 September 1967 indicated to the government that enough New Zealanders supported an extension to liquor trading hours, and on 9 October 1967 six o'clock closing came to an end.⁸⁴

Christoffel mentioned that the end of six o'clock closing did not lead to any *general* increase in drinking and drunkenness, but that: 'circumstantial evidence suggests that it may have lead to an increase in traffic accidents involving alcohol. However this apparent increase was only temporary due to better enforcement of the laws against drink driving after 1970.'⁸⁵ Christoffel also noted that: 'Even the Alliance [New Zealand Alliance for the Abolition of the Liquor Trade] noted in 1964 that the real problems arising from alcohol consumption were alcoholism and drink driving rather than drunkenness.'⁸⁶ In 1974 the Royal Commission mentioned regarding this point:

We think it would be fair to say that, in general, we do not detect within the community at large a deep concern with drunkenness *per se*; but that the community's concern is largely with the consequences of drunkenness, its effects on family life, road safety, incidents of violence and other forms of crime.⁸⁷

In 1974 the Commission was still using definitions of 'intoxication' and 'drunkenness' with relation to the 1927 Police Offences Act. The Act itself did not include definitions of 'intoxication' and 'drunkenness' so the definitions understood to be appropriate by the Commission must have been reified before 1927.⁸⁸ The

⁸³ Kirkby, p. 184.

⁸⁴ Christoffel, p. 165.

⁸⁵ Christoffel, p. 194-95.

⁸⁶ Christoffel, p. 192.

⁸⁷ *AJHR*, 1975, H-5, p. 68, statement 154.

⁸⁸ *Statutes*, 1927, No. 35, Police Offences Act, Sections 41-46. No definitions are given in Sections 41-46 dealing with 'Drunkenness and Riot' and no definitions are provided in the Act's 'Interpretation' section.

Commission noted that the definitions ‘as given in the Police Offences Act’ were: that an individual was in a state of intoxication when ‘control of his mental and bodily faculties [had] become impaired’ due to ‘the recent consumption of alcoholic liquor’; that an individual was in a state of drunkenness when ‘he [had] become incapable of controlling his normal mental and bodily faculties’ due to ‘the recent consumption of intoxicating liquor’; and that an individual was in a state of helpless drunkenness when ‘he had become incapable of exercising any of his mental or physical faculties.’⁸⁹ These definitions were not at all clear and do not appear to have been examined at any length by the 1974 Royal Commission. The 1927 Act did not in fact include or refer to the term ‘intoxication’ in any of its sections covering ‘Drunkenness and Riot’, nor did any of the subsequent amended versions that appeared between 1927 and 1974.

The 1927 Police Offences Act also held that a criminal offence was committed by ‘every person found drunk in any public place.’⁹⁰ The Act stated at length that a public place ‘include[d] and applie[d] to every road, street, footpath, footway, court, alley and thoroughfare of a public nature, or open to or used by the public as of right, and to every place of public resort so open or used.’⁹¹ This definition of a ‘public place’ was still being used at the time of the 1974 Commission.⁹² In the context of unacceptable drunkenness or unacceptable drinking behaviour as defined by legislation – that is to say public drunkenness – this meant that the space in which the

⁸⁹ *AJHR*, 1975, H-5, p. 67, statement 144.

⁹⁰ *Statutes*, 1927, No. 35, Section 41.

⁹¹ *Statutes*, 1927, No. 35, Section 41.

⁹² *AJHR*, 1975, H-5, pp. 280-81, statement 954.

unacceptable behaviour took place was adequately defined but the behaviour itself certainly was not.

The problem of alcohol and driving was noted by the 1945-46 Royal Commission but was not explained or analyzed. The Commission mentioned, at the end of a paragraph discussing the effects of various doses of alcohol on humans, that: 'The harmful effect of alcohol upon the driver of a motor-car is well known and, in the light of the facts stated, need not be elaborated.'⁹³ The 1945-46 Commission also noted that in 1938 a Dunedin brewery had advertised 'Drinking and driving do not mix.'⁹⁴

Although the Commission's cursory mention of 'drinking and driving' reflects a broader lack of concern for the problem at the time, it is clear that some facets of New Zealand's society were aware that 'a problem' concerning drinking and driving did in fact exist.

A 1970 letter to the *Waikato Times* outlined some of the ways in which legislation had yet to come to grips with the intricacies of policing drink driving. 'Motorist' from Hamilton wrote: 'Sir – why should motorists submit to blood tests when asked by traffic officers?' He continued:

It is noticeable that the practice of the Courts, says the New Zealand Mercantile Gazette, is to treat the driver who refuses to give a blood sample when suspected of driving while intoxicated by disqualifying him from driving for 18 months but to treat the driver who gives a blood test, which proves excessive blood alcohol content by disqualifying him for three years. Why?⁹⁵

⁹³ *AJHR*, 1946, H-38, p. 20, statement 10.

⁹⁴ *AJHR*, 1946, H-38, p. 143, statement 704.

⁹⁵ Motorist, 'Motorists' Blood Tests', *WT*, 29 June 1970, p. 4.

In 1974 the Report of the Royal Commission noted the difficulty in policing and monitoring drinking and driving as well as in attempting to change public attitudes surrounding the phenomenon. It noted that:

The frequency with which it [drinking and driving] was mentioned at our hearings is an indication of the widespread concern and disquiet which exists in this regard. It was only to be expected that, because of prevailing anxiety, many witnesses would refer to the road toll of deaths and injuries and to the extent to which the consumption of liquor was a contributing factor.⁹⁶

The Royal Commission's report noted further:

We are inclined to agree with the New Zealand Liquor Industry Council's view that "there is a need [...] for better co-ordination and co-operation among all the agencies involved. Such elements as urban planning, zoning, roading, the location of community amenities, enforcement, road traffic law, driver behaviour, as well as alcohol usage, all need separate and collective study if an effective policy is to be adopted."⁹⁷

The examples above showed that the Commission was of the opinion that in 1974 drinking and driving was of great concern to many in the country based on anecdotal evidence. The Royal Commission also noted that the problem of drinking and driving needed more study and to be combated with a more uniform approach from relevant agencies. This would allow the problem to be better understood and managed more effectively from a legislative and social point of view. The Commission also noted that despite the efforts of many agencies in New Zealand the problem of community attitudes towards drinking and driving was still grave. The Commission quoted the Parliamentary Road Safety Committee as stating in its 'recent' report that: 'it seems

⁹⁶ *AJHR*, 1975, H-5, p. 261, statement 893.

⁹⁷ *AJHR*, 1975, H-5, p. 261, statement 895.

that people who support charities, abhor social violence, uphold the law and try to live as good citizens are prepared to accept totally anti-social behaviour on the road without social criticism or stigma.’⁹⁸ In 1974 the Royal Commission felt that the New Zealand community was concerned with drinking and driving but also that attitudes towards drinking and driving were lax and that the public should have been accepting of the fact that drunk driving was ‘anti-social’ behaviour.

In contrast with this attitude the Commission referred to posters supplied to New Zealand’s National Society on Alcoholism and Drug Dependence by the French Ministry of Health. The first poster was a simple but effective pictogram showing that a car ‘+’ alcohol ‘=’ a car with a ‘+’ on its door, i.e. an ambulance or a representation of a hearse, meaning that drinking and driving lead to serious consequences such as hospitalization and/or death (See Figure 4). The second poster displayed an upturned palm holding a pair of keys clearly refusing a tray of several alcoholic drinks accompanied by the words: ‘NO thanks I’m driving’ and ‘SAFETY: A NEW STATE OF MIND’ (See Figure 5). These posters promoted the message that drinking and driving were to be considered unsafe and undesirable in France. The Commission believed that these posters were an effective and simple tool in the promotion of moderate alcohol use which could include abstention. The Commission also believed the problem of drink driving to be so complex that it felt itself unable to suggest any solutions to it until further study had been undertaken. The Royal Commission stated unequivocally: ‘we refrain from drawing any conclusions or making any recommendation on this topic.’⁹⁹

⁹⁸ *AJHR*, 1975, H-5, p. 262, statement 896.

⁹⁹ *AJHR*, 1975, H-5, p. 262, statement 898.



Figure 4: French Ministry of Health poster showing that drinking ‘+’ driving had serious consequences.

Source: *AJHR*, 1975, H-5, pp. 80-81, statement 196. (Poster appears reproduced and unlabelled between pages 80-81).

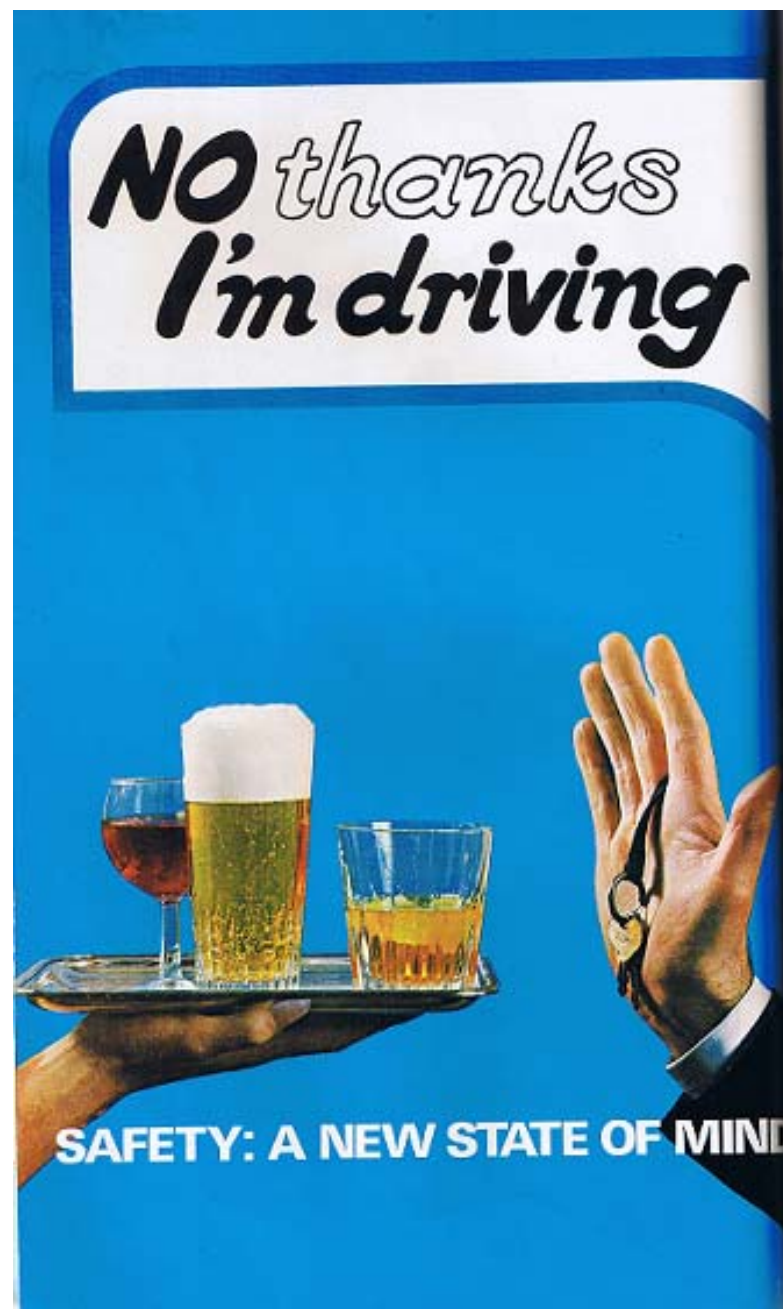


Figure 5: French Ministry of Health poster showing that abstaining from drink while driving was the safe way to behave.

Source: *AJHR*, 1975, H-5, pp. 80-81, statement 196. (Poster appears reproduced and unlabelled between pages 80-81).

A 1978 *Waikato Times* article concerning drinking and driving as an unacceptable behaviour appeared under the title ‘DRINKING DRIVERS LIKENED TO MURDERERS.’ Ken Wardbill, a Waikato Hospital senior casualty officer, was quoted as saying: “there is no stigma attached to drinking and driving, but people should look on it as being akin to attempted murder.”¹⁰⁰ The author of the article also noted that: ‘hospital medical superintendent Nick Harry said if a person chose to drink that was his business. “But if he drinks and decides to drive ... that’s everybody’s business.”’¹⁰¹

The 1974 Royal Commission noted that from the evidence it examined the concept of neighbourhood taverns received ‘general approbation and widespread support.’¹⁰² The neighbourhood taverns envisaged by the Commission would be smaller, more intimate affairs than their larger cousins ‘booze-barns’. They would be within walking distance of most homes and the smaller bars they contained would be easily monitored and managed.¹⁰³ However, the Commission noted that establishing neighbourhood taverns was made difficult by a number of factors. These included: finding a suitable site; complying with town planning schemes; making such establishments economically viable; and dealing with the rights of local residents to object to proposed taverns.¹⁰⁴ The difficulties outlined by the Commission were to play out several years later when the Licensing Control Commission examined the viability of setting up neighbourhood taverns in Hamilton.

¹⁰⁰ Alison Prior, ‘Drinking Drivers Likened to Murderers’, *WT*, 16 June 1978, p. 1.

¹⁰¹ Prior, ‘Drinking Drivers Likened to Murderers’, *WT*, 16 June 1978, p. 1.

¹⁰² *AJHR*, 1975, H-5, p. 247, statement 821.

¹⁰³ *AJHR*, 1975, H-5, p. 247, statement 821.

¹⁰⁴ *AJHR*, 1975, H-5, pp. 247-48, statement 822.

In 1977 Hamilton residents in the areas of Hukanui, Nawton, St. Andrews and Silverdale (Hillcrest), voted in liquor polls run to coincide with local council elections. The residents were asked to vote on whether tavern licenses should be issued for the respective areas of Hamilton city.¹⁰⁵ The Licensing Control Commission chose to recognize the fact that Hillcrest residents voted ‘overwhelmingly’ against having a tavern in their area. It also decided that ‘special circumstances’ made it desirable to issue licenses for Hukanui, St. Andrews and Nawton.¹⁰⁶ The Licensing Control Commission was of the opinion that poor voter turnout had adversely influenced the results of the polls in Hukanui, St. Andrews and Nawton.¹⁰⁷

‘Kay Jay’ of Hamilton wrote to the *Waikato Times* in 1978 arguing that taverns could be linked with drink driving. ‘Kay Jay’ noted that: ‘speed causes some accidents but we do know that most accidents are caused by people driving under the influence of liquor.’ ‘Kay Jay’ continued: ‘There are some people who disregard these horrible things which happen and still want three more taverns in Hamilton. I hope they do not get them.’¹⁰⁸ In this instance ‘Kay Jay’ thought that drinking and driving was unacceptable and that having more taverns in Hamilton would do nothing to improve such behaviour.

¹⁰⁵ ‘Polling Areas Defined’, *WT*, 26 August 1977, p. 2.

¹⁰⁶ John Shattock, ‘Three Authorized Tavern Licences ‘Desirable in the Public Interest,’ *WT*, 26 April 1978, p. 1. Under Section 85 (1) of the Sale of Liquor Act 1962 proposed tavern licences were to be abandoned if a majority of valid poll votes cast were opposed unless ‘there [were] special circumstances which [made] it desirable in the public interest that a licence should be granted.’ See *Statutes*, 1962, No. 139, Section 85 (1).

¹⁰⁷ Shattock, ‘Three Authorized Tavern Licences ‘Desirable in the Public Interest,’ *WT*, 26 April 1978, p. 1.

¹⁰⁸ Kay Jay, ‘Road Toll and Drink’, *WT*, 16 June 1978, p. 4.

Sandwich Rd residents living within the boundaries of the tavern-approved St. Andrews area believed that a tavern would lead to a raft of problems and unacceptable behaviours related to drinking. At a public meeting residents of Sandwich Rd and the surrounding area voiced their concerns. *Waikato Times* reporter Colin Lundy noted that Sandwich Rd resident Michael Ormsby thought: ‘there would be problems with litter – broken bottles, people urinating on lawns and vomiting “all over the place.”’¹⁰⁹ Don Arcus, a Bryant Park Trust Board representative, thought that ‘elderly people from Bryant Park home would have their security and comfort interfered with’. This was because in Arcus’ opinion behaviours such as ‘fighting, obscene language, offensive behaviour, resisting arrest, theft, car conversion and petrol theft’ were often ‘fuelled by drink.’¹¹⁰ Jocelyn Dickey, another Sandwich Rd resident wished to know if it would be ‘safe for women to be on their own at night’ and she also thought that noise emanating from the proposed tavern at night would be a problem.¹¹¹ In the examples above some St. Andrews Hamiltonians believed that a tavern in their area would lead to residents being exposed to unacceptable behaviours linked to drinking. These included obvious illegal actions such as theft and resisting arrest as well as more subjective concepts such as general ‘offensive behaviour’ and obscene language.

In 1979 University of Waikato Community Psychology students released a report which examined the views of residents in three of the Hamilton suburbs involved in

¹⁰⁹ Colin Lundy, ‘Tavern Plan Scares Residents’, *WT*, 3 May 1979, p. 1.

¹¹⁰ Lundy, ‘Tavern Plan Scares Residents’, *WT*, 3 May 1979, p. 1.

¹¹¹ Lundy, ‘Tavern Plan Scares Residents’, *WT*, 3 May 1979, p. 1.

the tavern licensing polls.¹¹² These were Hillcrest (the area in which the Licensing Control Commission recognized a majority vote against a tavern license), Hukanui and Nawton. The Community Psychology study interviewed 90 randomly selected people from each of the three areas. The authors outlined the preferences of survey participants in the 'Discussion' section of their report. They noted that the residents of Hillcrest, Nawton and Hukanui had preferences: 'towards smaller taverns, and the provision of food, non-alcoholic drinks and recreational facilities.'¹¹³ When residents were asked if they would like to see the taverns they had described in various answers to survey questions in Hamilton City 90% of Hillcrest survey respondents, 82% of Nawton survey respondents and 85% of Hukanui survey respondents answered 'yes'.¹¹⁴ However when survey respondents were asked if they would object to the type of tavern they had described being established in their area 46% of Hillcrest respondents, 34% of Nawton respondents and 50% of Hukanui respondents said 'yes'.¹¹⁵ Clearly the respondents still had some misgivings about neighbourhood taverns. Although the vast majority of respondents were eager to see their idealized tavern in Hamilton city, the respondents were noticeably less enthusiastic about seeing their idealized tavern in their *own* neighbourhood.

The offence of being 'drunk in any public place' mentioned earlier under the 1927 Police Offences Act was repealed with the introduction of the Summary Offences Act 1981.¹¹⁶ The 'Amendments and Repeals' portion of the Summary Offences Act noted

¹¹² David R. Thomas and others, 'Attitudes towards Taverns in Three Hamilton Suburbs', in *Community Psychology: Research Record 2*, ed. by David R. Thomas (Hamilton, NZ: University of Waikato, 1979), pp. 104-19.

¹¹³ David R. Thomas and others, p. 113.

¹¹⁴ David R. Thomas and others, p. 113.

¹¹⁵ David R. Thomas and others, p. 113.

¹¹⁶ *Statutes*, 1981, No. 113, Summary Offences Act.

that the 1966 Alcoholism and Drug Addiction Act was to be amended with the insertion of an additional section entitled ‘Persons found intoxicated in a public place’.¹¹⁷ The amendment made provisions for individuals found intoxicated in any public place to be tended to by a police constable. The constable could decide to return an intoxicated person to their place of residence or to take them to a shelter or detoxification centre or to detain them for a sufficient period not exceeding 12 hours.¹¹⁸ Under the Amendment a person was deemed to be intoxicated if: ‘he [was] under the influence of intoxicating liquor, drug or other substance to such an extent as to be incapable of properly looking after himself.’¹¹⁹ In this instance intoxication was seen to be a condition that was not limited to the effects of liquor – it could also be caused by drugs or ‘other substances’. The term was still open to interpretation as its effects constituted an individual being unable to ‘properly’ look after ‘himself’.

The 1989 Sale of Liquor Act (which bookends the period examined in this thesis) was introduced with a specific focus in mind. This was stated explicitly – ‘the object of this Act is to establish a reasonable system of control over the sale and supply of liquor to the public with the aim of contributing to the reduction of liquor abuse, so far as that can be achieved by legislative means.’¹²⁰ Alcohol researcher Linda Hill’s 1997 project noted that the inclusion of such an ‘object’ became a feature of liquor legislation created in the late 1980s and beyond in the jurisdictions she studied.¹²¹

¹¹⁷ *Statutes*, 1981, No. 113, Section 49 (1).

¹¹⁸ *Statutes*, 1966, No. 97, Alcoholism and Drug Addiction Act, Section 37 A. (Section 37A was added to the Act by Section 49 (1) of the Summary Offences Act, 1981).

¹¹⁹ *Statutes*, 1966, No. 97, Section 37A.

¹²⁰ *Statutes*, 1989, No. 63, Section 4.

¹²¹ Linda Hill, *Regulating the Sale of Liquor: International Perspectives* (Auckland: Alcohol and Public Health Research Unit, University of Auckland, 1997), p. 10. Hill’s comparative study examined the following pieces of legislation: Alcoholic Beverage Control Act, Business and Professions Code, continually amended since 1934 (California); Licensing Act 1964 (England and Wales); Licensing Act

The 1989 Sale of Liquor Act made a number of references to ‘intoxication.’

The Act made it an offence for a licensee to supply liquor to an ‘already intoxicated’ person on licensed premises.¹²² The Act made it an offence for a licensee to allow any person to become intoxicated on licensed premises.¹²³ The Act also made it an offence for a licensee to allow ‘any intoxicated person to be or to remain on [...] licensed premises’ and to allow ‘any violent, quarrelsome, insulting, or disorderly conduct to take place on [...] licensed premises.’¹²⁴ However, the authors of the 1989 Act neglected to define the term ‘intoxicated’ and did not include the word in the Act’s ‘Interpretation’ section.¹²⁵ Clearly ‘intoxication’ as it related to drunkenness was a behaviour still deemed to be unacceptable at the end of the period covered by this study. But the behaviour was still not clearly defined or explained in liquor legislation or other criminal legislation and as such it was still open to interpretation by licensees and indeed others in the community.¹²⁶

This chapter has outlined the legislative framework under which views and characterizations of drinking and drunkenness behaviours were understood and shaped during the period between the report of the 1945-46 Royal Commission on Licensing and the 1989 Sale of Liquor Act. It has highlighted the legislative interpretations and constructions of some drinking and drunkenness behaviours. It has

1976 (Scotland); Liquor Act 1982 (New South Wales); Liquor Licensing Act 1985 (South Australia); Liquor Control Act 1987 (Victoria); Liquor Licensing Act 1988 (Western Australia); Liquor Control Act 1988 (Manitoba); Act No. 27 on the Sale of Alcoholic Beverages 1989 (Norway); Liquor and Accommodation Act 1990 (Tasmania); Liquor Licensing Act 1990 (Ontario); Liquor Act 1992 (Queensland).

¹²² *Statutes*, 1989, No. 63, Section 166.

¹²³ *Statutes*, 1989, No. 63, Section 167.

¹²⁴ *Statutes*, 1989, No. 63, Section 168.

¹²⁵ *Statutes*, 1989, No. 63, Section 2.

¹²⁶ Hill noted in her research that: ‘none of the other Acts considered included a definition of intoxication, although all [made] it an offence for licensees to serve intoxicated patrons and gave licensees the right to refuse service, entry or to evict them from the premises.’ See Hill, p. 53.

also shown how some of these legislative interpretations and constructions were themselves modified and adapted to fit views and characterizations of drinking and drunkenness in Hamilton city during the period in question.

This chapter has also drawn attention to the fact that throughout the period in question, key behaviours deemed to be unacceptable and/or ‘anti-social’ in and by legislation – namely ‘intoxication’, ‘drunkenness’ and ‘public drunkenness’ – were in fact never adequately defined or investigated in any depth. As such these behaviours, though explicitly unacceptable, remained open to interpretation throughout the period under investigation.

The following chapters build on the views expressed in this chapter. They do this by examining how drinking and drunkenness behaviours in Hamilton city were characterized and viewed in the contexts of cultural difference and youth drinking and drunkenness.

Chapter Two: Cultural Difference and Drinking and Drunkenness

This chapter examines how cultural difference influenced characterizations of drinking and drunkenness in Hamilton between 1945 and 1989. Investigating cultural difference is important because different cultural groups have different experiences of ‘New Zealand/Aotearoa’ and ‘Hamilton’ compared with how these entities were experienced by the dominant cultural group, Pākehā. In this country cultural groups that are not Pākehā have been ‘othered’ or marginalized in the past and in some cases have been left out of historical narratives altogether. These groups have had their individual stories and identities subsumed under the rubric of ‘New Zealanders’, a title which tends to treat the many peoples of this country as one largely homogeneous group.

The following example from Vandenberg, McCreary and Chapman’s *A Social Survey of Hamilton* highlights the ‘othering’ of Māori in the past. The survey noted that some prejudice appeared to exist among survey respondents in relation to Maori housing availability in Hamilton during the 1960s. The authors of the survey stated that: ‘with a reasonable degree of confidence it can be asserted that Maoris, non-British migrants and young people on probation are less favourably regarded as potential boarders than others; while pakehas (*presumably as the converse of Maori*) and Training College students are the most highly favoured.’¹²⁷ The survey noted that ‘pakeha’ may have been conceptualized ‘as the converse of Maori’. Such a notion

¹²⁷ Marjorie Vandenberg, John McCreary and Murray Chapman, *A Social Survey of Hamilton* (Wellington, School of Social Science, Victoria University of Wellington, 1965), p. 27. Emphasis added. The survey results were based on the responses of 807 interviewees.

does not recognize different cultural groups on their own terms or as being constituted by their own individual definitions but instead constructs them as opposites or ‘others’ of each other. This ‘binary opposition’ has been viewed by some historical theorists as a form of subjugation used by dominant cultural groups to construct views of other cultural groups in opposition to themselves.

Historians Anna Green and Kathleen Troup discussed ‘othering’ in relation to Edward Said’s work on ‘Orientalism.’ They believed that in his work Said suggested: ‘European scholars constructed an essentialist representation of non-Europeans’ for whom he used the term ‘other’.¹²⁸ Green and Troup noted further on this point: ‘by the term essentialist, Said mean[t] that a set of indispensable characteristics were ascribed to the Orient [...] A binary opposition was [thus] established between East and West, in which inferior and antagonistic characteristics were enshrined in the concept of the Orient.’¹²⁹ Said himself wrote concerning the matter: ‘Orientals were rarely seen or looked at; they were seen through, analyzed not as citizens, or even people, but as problems to be solved or confined or – as the colonial powers openly coveted their territory – taken over.’¹³⁰ He mentioned further that: ‘human societies, at least the more advanced cultures, have rarely offered the individual anything but imperialism, racism, and ethnocentrism for dealing with “other” cultures.’¹³¹

Historian Nēpia Mahuika has noted that in the context of a ‘binary’ where ‘what is

¹²⁸ Anna Green and Kathleen Troup, *The Houses of History: A Critical Reader in Twentieth-Century History and Theory* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), p. 280.

¹²⁹ Green and Troup, p. 280.

¹³⁰ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Pantheon Books, 1978), p. 207.

¹³¹ Said, p. 204.

the ‘norm’ is representative in an oppositional sense to what is the ‘other’, “‘Māori’ is, and has been, characterised in various ways as a binary construct to Pākehā.”¹³²

On top of the fact that ‘Māori’ have been constructed as ‘others’ they have also had to contend with difficulties arising from trying to define who they are *themselves*.

Mahuika noted that: “‘Māori’ is itself a term born out of the collisions between tangata whenua and tauwiwi, the ‘colonised’ and the ‘coloniser’, the ‘norm’ and the ‘other’. It is a highly charged and intensely political construction contested by both sides, yet fiercely protected by those on the ‘inside’.”¹³³ It is therefore difficult to define exactly who ‘Māori’ are and what their understanding of ‘New Zealand’s’ past is. Indeed many ‘Māori’ identify themselves as members of iwi groups as opposed to being members of a single New Zealand-wide expression of a culture. However this fact was not often embraced by the source material dealt with in this chapter.

These points concerning Māori identity are illustrated here. Peter J. Mataira, in his research on alcohol consumption on marae in the East Coast settlement of Ruatoria in the mid-1980s, commented on the fact that for many local Māori, their iwi identification was stronger than any view or concept the people had of themselves as belonging to the ‘Māori’ people.¹³⁴ Mataira noted:

We must acknowledge that the retention of Ngati Porou
[the major local iwi group populating Ruatoria]
idiosyncrasies is the basis of Ngati Porou “iwi” centricism.
If they are not continued the integrity of Ngati Porou
would be undermined and ultimately the understanding

¹³² Nēpia Mahuika, ‘Being Māori Tūturu?: Māori Life Narratives and Contemporary Identities’ (MA thesis, University of Waikato, 2006), pp. 6-7, n. 25.

¹³³ Mahuika, p. 1. In this instance Mahuika notes that: ‘tauwiwi can be translated as ‘foreigner’, and tangata whenua as ‘people of the land’.

¹³⁴ Peter J. Mataira, ‘A Study of Alcohol Consumption on Maraes and of Contemporary Drinking Patterns in Ruatoria’ (MA thesis, Massey University, 1987).

[of] how its people live, relate and behave in the world would not be properly appreciated.¹³⁵

Mataira summarized his views effectively in his next paragraph. He wrote:

Ngati Porou customs and traditions make [the Ngati Porou iwi] distinct from all other tribes. [...] For the people of Ruatoria being Maori is “what they are” and it had no meaning for them to acknowledge this within the community, as they see themselves as nothing else.¹³⁶

John Rangihau, writing in 1992, believed that his iwi affiliations strongly affected his world view. He wrote: ‘my being Maori is absolutely dependent on my history as a Tuhoe person against being a Maori person.’ Rangihau continued:

Each tribe has its own history. And it’s not a history that can be shared among others. How can I share with the history of Ngati Porou, of Te Arawa, of Waikato? Because I am not of those people. I am a Tuhoe person and all I can share in is Tuhoe history.¹³⁷

In this instance Rangihau explained that he firmly believed himself to be a Tuhoe person as opposed to being simply a Māori person. He believed that iwi identities led to differences between people from different iwi groups.

The points above have been mentioned because in this chapter it is difficult to give ‘Māori’, as they are characterized by source material, proper identities that reflect individual iwi ties and histories. It is unclear whether any ‘Māori’, if they were

¹³⁵ Mataira, p. 12. In this instance iwi means ‘nation or people.’ See H.W. Williams, *A Dictionary of the Maori Language*, 7th edn (Wellington: GP Books, 1988) p. 80.

¹³⁶ Mataira, p. 12.

¹³⁷ John Rangihau, ‘Being Maori’, in *Te Ao Hurihuri: Aspects of Maoritanga*, ed. by Michael King (Auckland: Reed Books, 1992), p. 190.

indeed actually present in source material, agreed with the sentiments expressed above. Some Māori may not have had strong iwi affiliations especially considering many migrating to Hamilton ended up living in a place that was not their traditional iwi area. 'Māori' have been included as a major cultural group in this study of Hamilton's drinking past because 'their' voices (however 'they' may be defined) deserve to be included as they *are* a part of Hamilton's history.

Aspects of cultural difference in relation to drinking and drunkenness in Hamilton city may have also been influenced by the migration of Māori into the city during the period in question. Health researcher Marten Hutt noted that: 'opportunities for drinking were heightened by massive Maori migration to [...] cities. At the end of 1945, three quarters of Maori lived in rural areas, away from large Pakeha populations. By the mid 1970s, this same proportion of Maori was urban.'¹³⁸ Peter Gibbons, one of Hamilton's foremost historical researchers, noted this migration and its effect on Hamilton in a work released in 1977. Gibbons wrote: 'in 1951 there were 594 Maoris in Hamilton. This figure almost doubled by 1956. The rate of increase in Hamilton's Maori population between 1961 and 1966 was 103 per cent.'¹³⁹ Gibbons continued on this point: 'in 1975 there were only three or possibly four places in New Zealand with more Maori people – Auckland, Wellington and Rotorua, with Gisborne probably roughly the same as Hamilton.'¹⁴⁰

¹³⁸ Marten Hutt, *Te Iwi me te Inu Waipiro: He Tuhituhinga Hitori: Maori & Alcohol: A History* (Wellington: Health Services Research Centre for Kaunihera Whakatupato Waipiro o Aotearoa/Alcohol Advisory Council of New Zealand (ALAC), 1999), p. 76.

¹³⁹ Peter Gibbons, *Astride the River: A History of Hamilton* (Hamilton, N.Z.: Hamilton City Council, 1977), p. 274.

¹⁴⁰ Gibbons, p. 274. Census figures confirm that in 1976 Auckland, Wellington and Rotorua were the only urban areas with Māori populations larger than Hamilton's. Gisborne's Māori population was just over two thousand less than Hamilton's. See *New Zealand Census*, 1976, Table 3, p. 10.

Gibbons' work highlighted the mixed nature of Māori iwi groups whose people relocated to Hamilton. Gibbons noted that: 'many of the economic reasons that made European people move to Hamilton also brought Maori people; the city was growing, it had land to build upon, it had educational facilities, plenty of jobs, much prosperity.'¹⁴¹ He noted that: 'Hamilton drew Maori migrants not only from the adjacent Waikato and King Country areas but also from Ngapuhi in the North and from the Bay of Plenty.'¹⁴²

Māori have experienced a different drinking history from other groups in New Zealand in the context of legislation. The Licensing Amendment Act 1910 made it an offence to supply liquor to 'an intoxicated male Native' or to 'any female Native unless that Native [was] the wife of a person other than a Native.'¹⁴³ Alcohol researcher Julie Park noted that:

North Island Maori men could legally drink only on licensed premises (and, by custom, were permitted only in certain bars); even after the laws were lifted in 1948, informal bans remained in some areas. South Island Maori men and women and all Pacific Islanders in New Zealand suffered no such legislative discrimination.¹⁴⁴

Bollinger believed that liquor restrictions placed on Māori 'hindered the development of a real racial equality in this country, by removing the responsibility for the behaviour of the Maoris, solely because they were Maoris, from the people themselves to the cold impersonality of laws and regulations.'¹⁴⁵ He noted in 1959

¹⁴¹ Gibbons, p. 275.

¹⁴² Gibbons, p. 275.

¹⁴³ *Statutes*, 1910, No. 46, Licensing Amendment Act, Section 44.

¹⁴⁴ Julie Park, 'New Zealand', in *International Handbook on Alcohol and Culture*, ed. by Dwight B. Heath (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1995), p. 205.

¹⁴⁵ Bollinger, p. 28.

that Māori were still being discriminated against in New Zealand. Bollinger wrote on the subject: ‘the way to help a people whose more primitive social pattern we have shattered by invasion and main force, is not by the negative imposition of restrictions and prohibitions, but by positive and understanding policies based on a recognition of fundamental equality.’¹⁴⁶

Hutt also noted that discrimination in legislation towards Māori drinking continued well into the Twentieth Century. He wrote that: ‘The 1948 Licensing Amendment Act repealed earlier statutes and eliminated distinctions based on race. The post-WWII mood was for equality of legislation between Maori and Pakeha.’¹⁴⁷ But he also noted that: ‘though such a position might have appealed to many Pakeha, the only group of Maori who advocated for change was the returned servicemen. Indeed, the 1946 Royal Commission on Licensing recommended that legislation aimed at Maori should be relaxed only for this group of Maori.’¹⁴⁸

In 1945, the Maori Social and Economic Advancement Act made provisions for the appointment of Māori Wardens who had jurisdiction over drinking and drunkenness within tribal districts.¹⁴⁹ Donna Awatere, writing in 1985, believed that many viewed the wardens as agents complicit in discrimination concerning Māori and drink. She wrote: ‘the role of the Wardens in intervening in what is seen by the participants as an enjoyable and socially rewarding activity puts them in an invidious position in the

¹⁴⁶ Bollinger, p. 28.

¹⁴⁷ Hutt, p. 72.

¹⁴⁸ Hutt, p. 72. The Royal Commission on Licensing wrote regarding this point: ‘apart from Europeanization, special provision should be made to enable Maori returned servicemen to have the same right as European servicemen to consume liquor at social gatherings organized by returned servicemen’s clubs off licensed premises.’ See *AJHR*, 1946, H-38, p. 217, statement 1143.

¹⁴⁹ See *Statutes*, 1945, No. 43, Maori Social and Economic Advancement Act.

community.’¹⁵⁰ She continued: ‘[the Wardens] are statutorily defined as agents for the good interests of Maori people and yet their activities are seen by many as not dissimilar to those of the Police [...] and therefore to be regarded by some as agents of repression.’¹⁵¹ The wide-ranging powers of the Māori Wardens were outlined in the Maori Community Development Act 1962. Under the section ‘Prevention of Drunkenness’ a Warden was able to:

Enter any licensed premises in any area where he is authorised to carry out his duties and warn the licensee or any servant of the licensee to abstain from selling or supplying liquor to any Maori who in the opinion of the Warden is in a state of intoxication.¹⁵²

In this regard Māori Wardens were granted pre-emptive authoritative powers – they could legally instruct liquor sellers not to serve Māori on the basis that Māori had the potential to become drunk and unruly.

Under Section 32 of the Act a Warden could also: ‘enter any area where he is authorized to carry out his duties and order any Maori who appears to be intoxicated or partly intoxicated, or who is violent, quarrelsome, or disorderly, whether intoxicated or not, to leave the premises.’¹⁵³ Under Section 35 of the Act if a Warden was:

Of the opinion that any Maori who is for the time being in charge of any motor vehicle is, by reason of physical or mental condition, however arising, incapable of having and exercising proper control of the motor vehicle, he may –
(a) Forbid that Maori to drive the motor vehicle; or (b)

¹⁵⁰ Donna Awatere and others, *Alcohol and the Maori People – A History* (Auckland: Alcohol Research Unit, School of Medicine, University of Auckland, 1985), p. 17.

¹⁵¹ Awatere and others, p. 17.

¹⁵² *Statutes*, 1962, No. 133, Maori Community Development Act, Section 31.

¹⁵³ *Statutes*, 1962, No. 133, Section 32 (1).

Require him to deliver up forthwith all ignition or other keys of the motor vehicle in his possession; or (c) Take such steps as may be necessary to render the motor vehicle immobile or to remove it to a place of safety.¹⁵⁴

The Māori Wardens were permitted to use their powers to prevent non-Māori from breaching conditions outlined in the Act but only if breaches took place within the vicinity of a Māori meeting place or ‘a gathering of Maoris’. Under these conditions Māori drinking behaviours were treated differently from the drinking behaviours of other New Zealand cultural groups.

In many of the historical materials available concerning drinking and drunkenness in Hamilton and New Zealand, Māori and cultural groups other than Pākehā are largely absent. However, the information that is available dealing with Māori and other cultural groups is revealing in terms of characterizations concerning Māori drinking behaviours that existed in New Zealand’s and Hamilton’s past.

Hutt believed that: ‘in the mid-1960s, Pakeha views on Maori drinking habits were typified by the success of the comic sketches of “Hori”’.¹⁵⁵ ‘Hori’ narrated collections such as *The Half-Gallon Jar* where he was described as a ‘well-fed, happily married, easy-going Maori who [...] asks only to be allowed to tinker with his old V8 [...] and to drain his half-gallon jar at the weekends.’¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁴ *Statutes*, 1962, No. 133, Section 35 (1).

¹⁵⁵ Hutt, p. 78.

¹⁵⁶ Frank Bruno, *The Half-Gallon Jar* (Auckland: Sporting Life Publications, 1962), p. i.

These constructions of ‘Māori’ were present in various issues of *The Quaffers’ Gazette*. In 1963, the *Quaffers’ Gazette* issue No. 10 included a joke concerning ‘a Maori’ submitted by ‘H. Caird’. The joke went:

At a certain hotel in Napier a Maori was making a nuisance of himself cadging for drinks. The barman told him he would have to get out. The Maori said he would smash the hotel down if he didn’t get another drink. The barman jumped over the bar and grabbed the Maori and threw him out the door. Just then the earthquake happened. When the Maori picked himself up and saw what happened to the hotel he said, “Py korry. I’ll get twelve plurry months for this.”¹⁵⁷

The joke was supposed to be a reference to the 1931 Napier Earthquake.¹⁵⁸ The joke indicated that the Māori in question was supposedly slow-witted and troublesome when drinking. He had made a ‘nuisance’ of himself in a bar and had his own take on New Zealand English properly. This was evident in his rendering of “by golly” as “py korry” (mirroring the ‘Hori’ comic character) and saying “plurry” which was a rendering of “bloody”.¹⁵⁹

In the *Quaffers’ Gazette* issue No. 14, the ‘Hori’ characterization was used as a visual clue in a crossword. The clue was: ‘Hori’s favourite kai’, which went with a picture of a pig’s head on a plate.¹⁶⁰ In the Hori sketches the eponymous character often speaks of his love for pig trotters. In issue No. 16 of the *Gazette* in Ted Wildey’s piece ‘The Expert Identifies a Pub’, the character Geordie was ““cobbers”” with ‘a big Maori chap who had had drinks in the lot of them [apparently “every Public

¹⁵⁷ H. Caird, *Quaffers’ Gazette*, 1963, No. 10, p. 2.

¹⁵⁸ The earthquake badly damaged Napier, Hastings and the Hawke’s Bay region causing £10 million worth of damage and killing 256 people. See Michael King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand* (Auckland, N.Z.: Penguin Books, 2003), pp. 352-53.

¹⁵⁹ Bruno, p. 98.

¹⁶⁰ ‘Picture-Word Puzzle’, *Quaffers’ Gazette*, 1964, No. 14, p. 2.

House”].’ The narrator then commented: ‘Some Hori, this boy, eh?’¹⁶¹ In the same *Quaffers’ Gazette* issue the poem ‘Going, Going, Gone!’ which dealt with 12 bottles of beer that slowly ‘disappeared’ included the line: ‘2 lovely bottles shielded from the sun. Hori came without his jar – then there was one.’¹⁶² In this instance ‘Hori’ was presented as a happy-go-lucky opportunist, turning up without his usually omnipresent half-gallon jar and helping himself to a beer.

In issue No. 19 of the *Quaffers’ Gazette* the QIC (Quaffer-in-Chief) ventured forth on a quest to canvas opinion regarding the formation of New Zealand beer week. The article ‘the Quaffers’ Crusade’ mentioned that: ‘the QIC was again on the road, selling boot laces to barefoot Maoris. Added to spaghetti, bootlaces make a meal go that much further. The QIC went that much further.’¹⁶³ In this instance Māori were used as an example in a crude figure of speech and allusions were made to their alleged ‘primitiveness’ when compared presumably with the rest of (Pākehā) New Zealand.

In issue No. 20 of *The Quaffers’ Gazette* W. Jamieson’s short story ‘Bee Encounter’ again referred to the ‘Hori’ construction. The author mentioned in the story that: ‘Mrs Martin [the owner of a drinking establishment] honoured me with [a] glimpse of her dentures, shriveled sixteen stone of Maori barman with a glance and went. “Cheese,” said the barman. “wharra a woman! C’mon.”’¹⁶⁴ Later in a conversation Jamieson evidently had with an Apiarist named ‘Chas Adams’ and the barman, Chas said of an

¹⁶¹ Ted Wildey, ‘The Expert Identifies a Pub’, *Quaffers’ Gazette*, 1964, No. 16, p. 2.

¹⁶² ‘Going, Going, Gone!’, *Quaffers’ Gazette*, 1964, No. 16, p. 2.

¹⁶³ Quaffer-in-Chief, ‘National Beer Week – A Quaffers’ Crusade’, *Quaffers’ Gazette*, 1966, No. 19, p. 1.

¹⁶⁴ W. Jamieson, ‘Bee Encounter’, *Quaffers’ Gazette*, 1966, No. 20, p. 2.

incident: “‘before your time, Hori, that was.’” In this example, the Māori barman was referred to directly as “Hori” and his speaking style was constructed in the ‘Hori’ character’s fashion. He supposedly said “cheese” instead of “jeez” and “wharra” instead of “what a.” For the most part in the Waikato Breweries *Quaffers’ Gazette* ‘Māori’ were constructed as ‘Hori’ caricatures compared with Pākehā who apparently behaved and spoke in ways different from ‘Horis’.

In 1958 a *Waikato Times* article appeared with the title: ‘Samoan Sent to Prison for Unlawfully Converting Car.’ The article mentioned that:

A decision to recommend to the Minister of Justice that [the] accused be deported in pursuance of the Aliens Act was made by Mr Stewart Hardy [...] in the Hamilton Magistrate’s Court with respect to a Samoan, Filo, aged 25, workman, Mangakino who was charged with converting a car [...] to his own use and with driving a motor car while disqualified.¹⁶⁵

The article mentioned that Filo also had ‘an unfortunate list of previous convictions’ including ‘being intoxicated while in charge of a motor car’¹⁶⁶. The article made a point of explicitly identifying Filo as a ‘Samoan’. This use of language gave a cultural identity to Filo but at the same time constructed him as an ‘other’ – a ‘Samoan’ as opposed to a New Zealander or a Pākehā New Zealander who would have been referred to as ‘caucasian’ or left as culturally anonymous. In a syndicated article that appeared 20 years later in the *Waikato Times* a ‘Samoan’ in Wellington was judged not as an individual but as a representative of his ethnic group. Alcohol

¹⁶⁵ ‘Samoan Sent to Prison for Unlawfully Converting Car’, *WT*, 30 August 1958, p. 10.

¹⁶⁶ ‘Samoan Sent to Prison for Unlawfully Converting Car’, *WT*, 30 August 1958, p. 10.

was involved in the accused's unintentional killing of another man during a brawl that involved 'members of the Maori race against members of the Samoan race'. Justice Quilliam evidently said to the defendant, Mark Godinet: "'This was typical of your countrymen who came to New Zealand to live'" and "'most of the time you lead exemplary lives devoted to family and Church but when you over-indulge in alcohol you are transformed into entirely different people.'" ¹⁶⁷ The article also mentioned that Godinet: 'had made no attempt to integrate with the Europeans but had worked with his own people' and that 'as a leader Godinet was expected to set a good example and on many occasions he had done so. This time he had let his people down, said his Honour.' ¹⁶⁸ In this example Godinet was chastised for 'letting his people down' through his unacceptable drinking behaviour because, as a 'leader' of the Samoan community, he was evidently expected to set a good example for his people. Godinet was expected to behave in a way that would be an example for others. For some reason he was not permitted to behave in a manner which he himself saw fit. 'His people' also were not given responsibility for their own behaviour but were presumably expected to emulate cultural leaders in their communities who were forced to shoulder responsibilities related to drinking and drunkenness that were also 'New Zealand's' responsibilities.

Also in 1978 'Weekend Restless' of Hamilton complained about 'Maoris and Polynesians' at local dances. 'Weekend Restless' lamented: 'many dances in local halls are full of young teenagers, the largest proportion being Maoris and Polynesians

¹⁶⁷ 'Alcohol led to Killing', *WT*, 18 July 1978, p. 3.

¹⁶⁸ 'Alcohol led to Killing', *WT*, 18 July 1978, p. 3.

who plainly display their hostility to a white skin.’¹⁶⁹ At this time in Hamilton Māori and Polynesians would have still been minority groups compared with Pākehā.

‘Weekend Restless’ referred to himself as a European male. He believed that ‘Maoris and Polynesians’ took exception to the colour of his skin and that tensions between cultural groups in Hamilton existed at the time.

More Letters to the Editor of the *Waikato Times* in 1978 expressed views concerning Māori and prejudice shown towards them as an undifferentiated cultural group. ‘Mia Taipare’ of Te Poi wrote: ‘the Maori is like the kiwi, slow of movement and is mostly lazy. But that attitude has got to change. For too long the Maori has been made to think that he is a second grade citizen.’¹⁷⁰ ‘Taipare’ went on to write that problems were less likely to be experienced: ‘with mixed bloods, [problems] seem to arise when the parents are both under half. This is not meant as an insult to any Maori, as there are many who are as good as the next.’¹⁷¹ In this instance ‘Taipare’ expressed particular views relating to the way in which ‘white’ genetic material was seen to be more desirable than Māori genetic material. ‘Taipare’ believed that problems seemed to be less prevalent amongst Māori whose parents were more than ‘half’ Pākehā ‘by blood’, or less than ‘half’ Māori ‘by blood’. ‘Taipare’ continued:

Many Maori parents hang about in pubs or use their homes as drinking dens. [...] It is the Maori parent who is to blame. [...] How do I know this [?] Because I was brought up in the same way and had many knock backs before I learnt.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁹ Weekend Restless, ‘Teenagers at Risk?’, *WT*, 19 June 1978, p. 9.

¹⁷⁰ Mia Taipare, ‘Maori ‘like the Kiwi’’, *WT*, 24 August 1978, p. 4.

¹⁷¹ Mia Taipare, ‘Maori ‘like the Kiwi’’, *WT*, 24 August 1978, p. 4.

¹⁷² Mia Taipare, ‘Maori ‘like the Kiwi’’, *WT*, 24 August 1978, p. 4.

‘Mia Taipare’ believed that his or her Māori people were not treated as proper New Zealand citizens because of prevailing societal attitudes and because factors such as drink affected the ability of Māori to be good parents.

On 24 May 1979 ‘Black Power/Black Russians’ of Te Awamutu wrote to the times under the heading ‘Drinking surveys and Kiwi habits’. He or she wrote:

Sir – I would be interested to hear comments from barmen about the recent survey results, that Maoris tend to drink more because they drink in larger groups. Is this because of the N.Z. habit of “shouting?” I imagine the raised eyebrows if a man went along to a hotel and asked for 10 jugs of beer! Yet go with nine mates and that’s what you will drink – and it will only cost you your “shout” [...] for the privilege.¹⁷³

‘Black Power/Black Russians’ went on to note: ‘it is to be hoped that people like Howard Morrison and Eva Rickard will make the most of this survey material in their campaign to ensure Maori education does not suffer.’¹⁷⁴ In the comments above ‘Black Power/Black Russians’ believed that a New Zealand-wide drinking practice – “shouting” – may have influenced Maori drinking behaviour or may have lead to thinking which held that Māori exhibited certain types of drinking behaviour. ‘Black Power/Black Russians’ also noted that Māori leaders or those who possessed great mana within the Māori community at the time in question – such as Howard Morrison and Eva Rickard – needed to take note of the survey results in order to help them take charge of Māori education. ‘Black Power/Black Russians’ did not call upon the rest

¹⁷³ Black Power/Black Russians, ‘Drinking Surveys and Kiwi Habits’, *WT*, 24 May 1979, p. 4.

¹⁷⁴ Black Power/Black Russians, ‘Drinking Surveys and Kiwi Habits’, *WT*, 24 May 1979, p. 4.

of New Zealand to take responsibility for or have a hand in the welfare of its Māori citizens.

An article that appeared in the *Waikato Times* a few days after the letter from ‘Black Power’ showed that the Māori Affairs Department felt the need to ‘sell’ itself to New Zealand presumably as opposed to being embraced by the country. The article noted that: ‘the Maori Affairs Department in Hamilton is prepared to go public with a “showbusiness” promotion at the Waikato Winter Show which begins at the end of the week.’ The article finished with:

Howard Morrison said the purpose of going public by getting into “show business” was not just to highlight the youth development policies of new Maori Affairs secretary Kara Puketapu. The project was to “sell” the department in all aspects, that was, housing, court, and legal aid as well as social services.¹⁷⁵

As in the example above of the Samoan community leader, Māori cultural leaders were called upon to deal with perceived Māori drinking problems when the problems (if they in fact existed) affected New Zealand society and were the responsibility of all New Zealand cultural groups. The fact that the Māori Affairs Department (in conjunction with Howard Morrison) felt the need to aggressively market itself showed that the institution did not get the support from New Zealand that it wanted or needed.

By the end of the period in question, many commentators believed that Māori and other cultural groups were still discriminated against in many aspects of New Zealand

¹⁷⁵ ‘Dept. Goes Public’, *WT*, 28 May 1979, p. 3.

society including drinking. Social researchers Warren, Griffiths and Huygens writing in 1989, identified characterizations of Māori and Polynesian women drinkers as being one of nine commonly held myths concerning alcohol in New Zealand. They believed that the myth could be summed up by the quotation: “it is Maoris and Pacific Islanders who can’t handle their booze.” They noted that:

There are noticeable differences in styles of drinking between different class and racial groups in New Zealand. For instance, the Maori women who do drink are more likely to drink more on one occasion than Pakeha do. As with women in general, they are more likely to be noticed if they are drunk because of people’s stereotypes.¹⁷⁶

Rangihau noted that in 1992, just after the close of the period in question, drinking establishments were one of the few places where Māori could feel equal with Pākehā counterparts. He wrote that: ‘unfortunately the areas where Maori congregate are places like the local pubs or the racecourses. That, to me, is an indictment of our total society; these are the only places where Maori feel they are on the eyeball-to-eyeball level with the rest of New Zealand society.’¹⁷⁷

This chapter has shown that characterizations of Māori drinking and drunkenness contributed to the ‘othering’ of Māori in Hamilton’s and New Zealand’s past. It has shown that Māori were treated differently from other ethnic or cultural groups by New Zealand law. It has also shown that Māori characterizations of their own drinking were often lacking in materials dealing with New Zealand’s past.

¹⁷⁶ Helen Warren, Chris Griffiths and Ingrid Huygens, *Our Shout: Women and Alcohol* (Auckland: Heinemann Reed, 1989), p. 10.

¹⁷⁷ Rangihau, p. 184.

The following chapter (Chapter Three) investigates how young people's drinking behaviours were characterized during the period under study.

Chapter Three: Characterizations of Youth Drinking and Drunkenness

An early indication of the ways in which Hamilton's youth was given mixed messages concerning drinking and drunkenness behaviours occurred in 1946. A *Waikato Times* article read, "I will treat the matter as an alcoholic escapade and dismiss the charge under the Offenders' Probation Act, without penalty", said Mr S. L. Paterson, in the Magistrate's Court, Hamilton'.¹⁷⁸ This was regarding an ex-serviceman who was charged with: 'being found by night on enclosed premises, the grounds of a residence in Bridge St. the previous night without intention to commit any other offence.' The article continued, 'Sergeant J. Sutherland, prosecuting, told the Court that the man had been celebrating his acceptance as a volunteer in the J Force for the occupation of Japan, and had served in the World War. He had admitted the offence.'¹⁷⁹

The drunken behaviour mentioned in the article seems innocuous enough – a World War Two veteran using alcohol to celebrate his enlistment for a new campaign simply ended up where he ought not to have been. But the article shows that some drunken behaviour was tolerated by Hamilton's judicial system in 1946 as simply a bit of high jinks. This chapter deals with conflicting messages such as this concerning drinking and drunkenness which various aspects of Hamilton's and New Zealand's society directed at the youth population of Hamilton between 1945 and 1989. It also

¹⁷⁸ 'Ex-Serviceman Charged over Drink', *WT*, 23 February 1946, p. 4.

¹⁷⁹ 'Ex-Serviceman Charged over Drink', *WT*, 23 February 1946, p. 4.

examines characterizations of youth drinking and drunkenness behaviours during the period in question.

Throughout the period between 1945 and 1989, voices from within Hamilton city and wider New Zealand society expressed opinions about perceived delinquency among Hamilton's and New Zealand's young people. These were often linked with attitudes towards young people's drinking and drunken behaviours. In 1946 the *Waikato Times* printed comments from the superintendent of a borstal in Invercargill who believed that: 'there [was] little doubt that the sudden acquisition of comparative wealth and a great increase in leisure time found thousands of young people morally unprepared [for life in society], and any looseness in character was quickly exposed.'¹⁸⁰ The article concluded: 'increased leisure, where no adequate steps have been taken to provide for it, has undoubtedly led many young people into mischief.'¹⁸¹

In 1954 the Mazengarb inquiry into 'moral delinquency in children and adolescents' blamed the perceived sexual deviancy of Hutt Valley's youth specifically – and New Zealand's youth in general – on many influences. One of the influences listed under the category of 'Community' was described as follows:

The Committee realizes that drinking and gambling to excess may well be symptomatic of the type of home where there is child neglect. [...] But the matter does not end there. Much danger is inherent in the view that no social occasion is complete without liquor. It has come to the notice of the Committee that many parents are conniving at the practice of having liquor at adolescent parties. Such parents are being unfair to young people, and the Committee considers that if right-thinking parents took

¹⁸⁰ Editorial, 'Incidence of Crime', *WT*, 30 August 1946, p. 6.

¹⁸¹ Editorial, 'Incidence of Crime', *WT*, 30 August 1946, p. 6.

a firm stand in this matter a sound lead would be given to the community as a whole.¹⁸²

This analysis is interesting in that it does not consider the fact that parents teaching their children about liquor use within the home environment could be seen as a constructive way of educating them about drinking and its effects. Mr. G. S. Russell, president of the National Council of New Zealand Home and School and Parent-Teacher Federations, in an article on delinquency which appeared in the *Waikato Times* just under two years after the Mazengarb report was released, had this to say about delinquency: “Although delinquency in young people is and always has been a problem, the greater problem is parental irresponsibility, the causes of which are also complex and indeed go back to grandparents and perhaps to the generations of parents before them.”¹⁸³ In this instance it was admitted that parents and the home environment, or more specifically the behaviour of parents, had a marked influence on children’s perceived delinquency.

Shaun Devoy, in his 1986 report on delinquency in New Zealand, noted that: ‘[a] contributor to the “conventional wisdom” [concerning delinquency] is selective media coverage of offences, which tends to pick out and highlight extreme or atypical criminal acts which fit popular stereotypes’.¹⁸⁴ Devoy noted that this in turn generated ‘a picture of “typical” criminal activity which is in sharp contrast to the picture emerging from surveys of the victims of crime.’¹⁸⁵ An astute reader of the *Waikato Times* made this point 20 years prior to Devoy in 1966 when he or she wrote to the

¹⁸² Report of the Special Committee on Moral Delinquency in Children and Adolescents, *AJHR*, 1954, H-47, p. 36.

¹⁸³ ‘Positive Attitude to Delinquency is Held Necessary’, *WT*, 25 August 1956, p. 8.

¹⁸⁴ Shaun Devoy, *Delinquency: Care, Control and Prevention: A Literature Review for Policy Makers* (Wellington: Office of Child Care Studies, Dept. of Social Welfare, 1986), p. 255.

¹⁸⁵ Devoy, p. 255.

paper's editor under the pseudonym 'Happy Abstainer'. 'Abstainer', who claimed to be from the Hamilton East suburb of Fairfield, wrote: 'your paper has [...] given prominence to car crashes associated with youthful drinking – not necessarily drunk, ju[s]t a little stimulated and "happy."' ¹⁸⁶

Many articles in the *Waikato Times* dealt with this phenomenon concerning young people and drinking and drunkenness. In 1948, the *Waikato Times* reported that, in a 'sequel' to a charge the previous day where a young Hamiltonian had crashed his car: 'Michael Henry McRae Lethbridge, aged 19, of Te Awamutu [just south of Hamilton], [...] was charged [...] with being intoxicated in charge of a motor-car.' ¹⁸⁷ In 1956, the *Waikato Times* reported that a young Hamilton man had been fined £40 for 'driving while under the influence of drink.' Evidently, Richard Housiaux:

Drove his car off the [Fairfield] bridge on to the wrong side of the road. When the police arrived he was unsteady on his feet and his breath smelt strongly of liquor. He was later certified by a doctor as unfit to drive. Asked by the magistrate if he had anything to say, Housiaux explained that it was very foggy at the time of the accident. Mr Inglis [the magistrate]: "Yes, but of course that would not have made you intoxicated." ¹⁸⁸

In a 1960 letter to the editor, a *Waikato Times* reader from Hamilton calling him or herself 'Driver' wrote that: '[my] complaint is against the smashing of bottles on the highway.' 'Driver' believed that: 'We all know what happens. Parties in cars speed along the roads drinking beer as they go. As soon as a bottle is empty it is thrown through the window with an astonishing disregard of the consequences.' ¹⁸⁹ A statement that appeared in a social commentary and current events segment titled

¹⁸⁶ Happy Abstainer, 'Youth does not need Liquor', *WT*, 27 August 1966, section 2, p. 23.

¹⁸⁷ 'Youth Injured when Car Capsizes', *WT*, 28 February 1948, p. 4.

¹⁸⁸ 'Young Motorist Fined £40 for Drunken Driving', *WT*, 28 April 1956, p. 17.

¹⁸⁹ Driver, 'Bottles on Highway', *WT*, 31 December 1960, p. 6.

‘The Passing Show’ on the very next page of the paper would have left readers in no doubt as to which members of society ‘Driver’ was referring to. The sentence read: ‘Police remove beer from express. I wish they could make those irresponsible youths remove the glass they have left on the highways.’¹⁹⁰ In 1966, a segment called ‘They Said It ...’ listed quotations from many Hamiltonians including two relating to drinking. The first quotation attributed to ‘Husband, York Road, Hamilton, on flat-dwellers’ read: ‘I tried to explain to one drunken fellow what we family men are up against when they stage their night-long parties.’ The quotation in reply from ‘York Road flat-dweller’ read: ‘Our parties are well conducted and in good spirit.’¹⁹¹

Vandenberg, McCreary and Chapman’s study provides a glimpse into some of the prevailing perceptions among survey participants. When asked to give an opinion on Hamilton’s most pressing social problem, the most frequent answer given by those surveyed, with 29% of the sample adopting the viewpoint, was that Hamilton’s main problem was a ‘lack of entertainment for adolescents.’¹⁹² The next most pressing of Hamilton’s problems according to those surveyed was ‘unconstructive behaviour of adolescents.’ The survey compilers noted that: ‘Twenty-two per cent [of those surveyed] refer to delinquent, irresponsible or aimless activities of adolescents as being Hamilton’s most pressing social problem.’ These undesirable or ‘delinquent’ behaviours were listed by respondents as ranging from “‘too many idle ‘bods’ getting into trouble, leaving school and earning big money too soon”” to “‘young larrikins who disturb the peace of others”” to “‘young adolescents cluttering up the pavements

¹⁹⁰ ‘The Passing Show ...’, *WT*, 31 December 1960, p. 7.

¹⁹¹ ‘They Said It ...’, *WT*, 30 June 1966, section 1, p. 4.

¹⁹² Vandenberg, McCreary and Chapman, p. 57.

on Friday nights.”¹⁹³ Eight per cent of those surveyed believed that Hamilton’s most important concern was adolescents who were unqualified. Many of those surveyed believed that drinking and hotel facilities in Hamilton were also a major problem. The survey’s authors noted that responses concerning drinking: ‘most[ly] relate to concern expressed over the alcohol problem as such, some people being particularly concerned over the fact that young people can so readily obtain liquor. This situation, they feel, is often the cause of *delinquent behaviour*.’¹⁹⁴ In this instance, Hamiltonian survey respondents believed, according to the survey’s compilers, that young people’s having access to alcohol was explicitly linked to ‘delinquent’ behaviour. Moreover, access to liquor was seen as being the *cause* of such behaviour. The survey and articles mentioned above never defined explicitly what constituted ‘delinquency’ and why such a term applied only to ‘young people’ and exactly *how* and *why* drinking and drunkenness were linked to perceived delinquency.

The subjective nature of ‘juvenile delinquency’ was highlighted in a 1967 work, *Juvenile Delinquency in New Zealand*. D. F. Mackenzie, Justice Department Director of Research, noted the slippery nature of the concept of ‘delinquency’ and hinted at what he believed to be the real ‘problem’. Mackenzie wrote: ‘I feel strongly that in defining juvenile delinquency we ought also to define adult attitudes to young people who happen not to wear the clothes we wear or cut their hair as we do, or behave as adults do.’¹⁹⁵ He continued:

¹⁹³ Vandenberg, McCreary and Chapman, p. 57.

¹⁹⁴ Vandenberg, McCreary and Chapman, p. 58. Emphasis added.

¹⁹⁵ D. F. Mackenzie, “‘What do we mean by Juvenile Delinquency?’: An Introduction to the Field of Enquiry’, in *Juvenile Delinquency in New Zealand*, ed. by Peter J. Blizard (Wellington: Social Science Section of the Royal Society of New Zealand, 1967), p. 16.

We may be harbouring resentment at being superceded by them, we may be asking of them too much or too little and most important of all we may be giving them none of the essentials of healthy development – understanding, tolerance and status, as well as discipline and constructive criticism.¹⁹⁶

A 1978 letter to the editor of the *Waikato Times* encompassed all of the problems with delinquency that Mackenzie highlighted and linked them with drinking too.

‘Whiskers and Mo’ of Hamilton sent in a commentary on contemporary young men under the title ‘Selection Putrid?’. He wrote: ‘Sir – I always feel sorry for the young women of today, when I look around at the putrid selection of eligible males this generation has bred.’ ‘Whiskers and Mo’ continued:

Just walk around town during the day or sit in Garden Place on Friday nights and see for yourselves. There are long, unwashed hair, and smelly, scabby, cigarette-sucking specimens everywhere. They reek of booze, dirt and tobacco. And every time one opens his mouth, out comes a stream of bad language, filtered by brown, furry teeth. Yes, modern youth has certainly progressed from the short-back-and-sides youths of my era.¹⁹⁷

Although this letter adopted a somewhat facetious tone, it still expressed the view that ways of dress and behaviour that were different from those the author agreed with were undesirable. The author also associated alcohol use with a litany of other ‘negative’ aspects that he felt the contemporary male Hamiltonian youth exhibited.

Right throughout the period this study encompasses, some Hamiltonians complained not only of a lack of entertainment but also about youths who found themselves

¹⁹⁶ D. F. Mackenzie, “‘What do we mean by Juvenile Delinquency?’: An Introduction to the Field of Enquiry’, in *Juvenile Delinquency in New Zealand*, ed. by Peter J. Blizard (Wellington: Social Science Section of the Royal Society of New Zealand, 1967), p. 16.

¹⁹⁷ Whiskers and Mo, ‘Selection Putrid?’, *WT*, 8 June 1978, p. 4.

entertainment which was deemed to be inappropriate. In 1952 'Organise' believed that:

The sepulchral calm of Hamilton during the Christmas holidays should cause someone to realize the need to provide for public entertainment. The irony of the situation is that because there is nothing in the way of public entertainment to attract or hold people in Hamilton, other towns are pocketing good Hamilton money.¹⁹⁸

'Rotoroa' of Hamilton wrote in 1962 regarding the 'misuse' of playground facilities at the Hamilton Lake (Lake Rotoroa): 'the complaint is that young men of various ages and sizes have been using the swings and other playthings, to the danger and deprivation of younger children.'¹⁹⁹ 'Rotoroa' called for the setting up of a committee of young people to supervise the playground facilities. It is unclear why 'Rotoroa' thought that young people's use of the facilities in the first place was in fact a problem.

In 1978 'Weekend Restless' wrote to the times concerning the lack of entertainment and issues concerning the drinking behaviours of his age group. He wrote:

I would like to say a few words for bored 18 and 19-year-olds. I am a European male. My friends and I like to find a disco, and have a good time on Friday and Saturday nights. Night club dances are often restricted to members only, and anyway we run the risk of being ignominiously kicked out for being under age on licensed premises.²⁰⁰

He finished his letter with: 'When the cinema pumps us full of Saturday night fevers, are we to spend our time counting the moths around the street lamp? [O]r vandalizing public property? Or drinking underage on licensed premises? Is there anybody with

¹⁹⁸ Organise, 'Lack of Entertainment', *WT*, 27 December 1952, p. 4.

¹⁹⁹ Rotoroa, 'Make Youth Responsible', *WT*, 27 October 1962, p. 4.

²⁰⁰ Weekend Restless, 'Teenagers at Risk?', *WT*, 19 June 1978, p. 9.

the resources to satisfy this market?’²⁰¹ These views on entertainment show that throughout the period in question up until 1978 some Hamiltonians believed that there was a lack of entertainment in the city which led to the city’s youth becoming involved in ‘undesirable’ behaviour, some of it linked with alcohol. It is interesting to note that ‘Weekend Restless’ did not explicitly associate antisocial behaviour such as ‘vandalizing public property’ with consuming alcohol. He believed vandalism and loitering were caused by ennui and listlessness as was the urge to drink underage on licensed premises.

An example from later in the period under scrutiny also confirmed views relating to a perceived lack of entertainment in the form of drinking facilities for young people. In 1983 A. A. Gilligan, a University of Waikato Management Studies student, published a survey of the drinking preferences of Hamilton’s licensed premises patrons. The study was conducted in response to Hamilton City Council’s call for a survey of the city’s drinking habits and preferences.²⁰² In regard to the habits of the city’s young drinkers (those in the age group 20-29) the survey found a marked difference in responses regarding night clubs and cabarets compared to other, older age groups. Gilligan’s survey noted that: ‘although the opinion regarding night clubs and cabarets indicates there is also overall satisfaction with the number of these facilities, [...] the respondents between 20-29 years of age, who make up 31% of the city’s drinking population, are 54% in favour of more of these facilities.’²⁰³ The survey continued: ‘As 54% of the city’s alcohol drinkers, aged 20-29 years, who desire more nightclub/cabarets represents approximately 8,500 citizens, there is a real need

²⁰¹ Weekend Restless, ‘Teenagers at Risk?’, *WT*, 19 June 1978, p. 9.

²⁰² The survey results were based on the responses of 1071 Hamiltonian interviewees.

²⁰³ Gilligan, p. 33.

shown, by a significantly large group, for additional nightclub/cabaret type premises in Hamilton.’²⁰⁴ Gilligan also noted that the report: ‘has included only the city’s drinkers who are over 20 years of age, and while these are legally the only people who may visit licensed premises (with exceptions), there is undisputedly a large number of under-age patrons who are affecting the city’s liquor outlet requirements.’²⁰⁵ Gilligan continued on this point: ‘it would seem that so far a blind eye has been turned to this situation, so this report recommends that research should be conducted to determine what alternative types of facilities Hamilton’s elderly teenagers would find desirable.’²⁰⁶ These survey results are instructive because they show that young survey participants believed that the number of places to accommodate their drinking was inadequate compared with other age groups who drank in Hamilton. Gilligan also noted that in his opinion an understanding of Hamilton’s under-age drinking behaviours and preferences was under-developed and in need of investigation.

Earlier, this thesis mentioned points made by the 1974 Royal Commission on the Sale of Liquor in New Zealand, and the work of the anthropologists MacAndrew and Edgerton, regarding the subjective nature of drinking behaviours and interpretations and characterizations of these behaviours. A selection of *Waikato Times* articles from late in the period shows that contradictory and confusing information regarding drinking behaviours was present towards the end of the period under study. Much of this information was explicitly linked to New Zealand’s and Hamilton’s youth at the time.

²⁰⁴ Gilligan, p. 33.

²⁰⁵ Gilligan, p. 43.

²⁰⁶ Gilligan, p. 43.

In 1982 the article ‘Liquor ‘May Help Cut Heart Risk’’ mentioned a Dunedin study that found that: ““Although there is evidence that alcohol consumption decreases the risk of coronary heart disease and mortality, the emphasis must be on moderation. Heavier drinking is associated with various forms of serious heart disease.””²⁰⁷ In this instance, moderation in drinking was mentioned by the paper as being an acceptable and even healthy drinking behaviour according to a contemporary New Zealand medical study.

In 1984, an article entitled ‘Alcohol Good for You?’ mentioned that Massey University’s professor Dick Batt believed: ‘two to four alcoholic drinks a day helps prevent heart disease.’²⁰⁸ Professor Batt, according to the *Waikato Times*, also noted that: ‘in the past alcohol had always been regarded negatively – as a drug with inbuilt health risks and bringing only negative returns to the drinker and to society.’²⁰⁹ In this instance, moderation in alcohol use was again seen as an appropriate and healthy form of drinking behaviour. Professor Batt also emphasized the fact that viewing alcohol and its consumption ‘negatively’, in a purely pathological sense, had been an acceptable view in the past but he suggested that in 1984 this view was no longer appropriate.

However, a 1984 letter from the Salvation Army’s Public Relations officer highlighted the contradictory nature concerning messages about drinking. Although the Salvation Army had its views on alcohol consumption well-documented at the time, the letter still made relevant points. Captain I. A. T. Preston argued that:

²⁰⁷ ‘Liquor ‘May Help Cut Heart Risk’’, *WT*, 18 August 1982, p. 21.

²⁰⁸ ‘Alcohol Good for You?’, *WT*, 10 April 1984, p. 1.

²⁰⁹ ‘Alcohol Good for You?’, *WT*, 10 April 1984, p. 1.

‘Moderation is a fallacy. We are bombarding our youth with the dangers of drugs but telling them alcohol is socially acceptable.’²¹⁰ In this instance, Preston believed that providing young people with information conveying a sense that moderate use of alcohol was socially acceptable was in itself unacceptable. Preston’s views and those of Professor Batt in 1984 were contradictory and when juxtaposed illustrate the nature of information available to Hamilton’s youth through the pages of the *Waikato Times* regarding drinking behaviour at the time in question.

The very next year a *Waikato Times* article quoted ALAC coordinator Neil Thornton as saying: “‘young people are the target of persuasive and demanding advertising which has forced many to believe that it is now socially acceptable to drink alcohol and smoke dope.’”²¹¹ Again the focus was on the fact that it was apparently wrong for New Zealand’s and Hamilton’s young people to think that drinking alcohol was socially acceptable.

In 1986, the *Waikato Times* mentioned that a Hamilton-based spokesperson for the entity GOAL – Group Opposed to the Advertising of Liquor – believed that: “‘sponsorship of sporting events by the liquor trade also helped to foster a belief that alcohol was a normal, even desirable, part of everyday life.’”²¹² It should be noted that this was the viewpoint of a specific pressure group, but this view was still expressed in a mainstream media publication.

²¹⁰ Captain I. A. T. Preston, ‘Effects of Alcohol’, *WT*, 3 May 1984, p. 6.

²¹¹ ‘More Teenage Addicts Noted’, *WT*, 28 May 1985, p. 1.

²¹² ‘Alcohol Linked with Trouble’, *WT*, 24 September 1986, section 1, p. 5.

A 1988 essay competition run by a group calling themselves the ‘Growth Thru Moderation Society’ further illustrated the conflicting messages available to young Hamiltonians regarding drinking behaviours. The *Waikato Times* mentioned that the society had sent information to 247 schools throughout the Waikato on the theme ‘My Life, My Decision’, the competition having been set up for school children to ‘encourage moderation in alcohol use.’²¹³

In the *Waikato Times* articles just mentioned, many views about the nature of the appropriateness of drinking in New Zealand and Hamilton and in the context of young people were expressed. Moderation in all drinking was advocated but was also criticized in the context of youth drinking. Some voices argued that it was unacceptable to tell young people that drinking was socially acceptable and a normal part of everyday life. Other voices argued that school children of the Waikato should be given the opportunity to explore the idea that drinking in moderation was acceptable and to be encouraged. The information above showed that ideas presented in the *Waikato Times* towards the end of the period under study in relation to general drinking behaviours and drinking behaviours relevant to young people were at times contradictory and inconsistent.

In the latter part of the period under study, characterizations of drinking behaviours encompassed conflicting views about Hamilton society’s younger members in general. For example, a 1978 *Waikato Times* article noted how two young Hamiltonians had been apparently led astray in their drinking by an older female companion. The article began: ‘two youths who pleaded guilty to assault charges

²¹³ ‘Alcohol is Theme for Competition’, *WT*, 13 February 1988, section 2, p. 3.

were under the influence of liquor supplied by a woman, the court heard.’²¹⁴ Timothy McKissack and Robert Spraggs were passengers in a car traveling down Victoria Street on Christmas Eve when a pedestrian: ‘made a rude gesture and the youths got out of the car and hit the complainant who was standing on the footpath.’²¹⁵ Mr D. Wilson, counsel for McKissack, said that his client had little recollection of what happened. Evidently McKissack: “‘had been at a party in a flat owned by a 27-year-old woman and drank eight bottles of beer’”. Wilson finished with: “I think he [McKissack] was allowed to drink far too much by someone who should know better.”²¹⁶ It is clear in this instance that it was in Wilson’s best interests as a lawyer to argue that his client had been given too much alcohol by someone ‘who should know better’. But the attitude expressed was still one which implies that the youths involved were unable to take responsibility for their actions and that the older woman (who was still only 27) should have shouldered that responsibility for them.

Another article from 1978 expressed similar views to those above but also acknowledged the agency possessed by many Hamilton and Waikato youngsters in their dealings with alcohol. The article, ‘Alcoholism in Young Increasing’ mentioned that: ‘up to three youngsters a week are contacting Hamilton’s alcohol drug dependence centre for advice and some of them are already alcoholics. Youngsters of 16, still going to school have appealed for help. Boys outnumber girls three to one.’²¹⁷ The article also noted that Noel Grant, the drug clinic’s director thought that: ‘teenage unemployment – hands and minds not occupied was a key factor in many

²¹⁴ ‘Court News in Brief’, *WT*, 29 December 1978, p. 3.

²¹⁵ ‘Court News in Brief’, *WT*, 29 December 1978, p. 3.

²¹⁶ ‘Court News in Brief’, *WT*, 29 December 1978, p. 3.

²¹⁷ ‘Alcoholism in Young Increasing’, *WT*, 30 October 1979, p. 1.

cases' and 'teenage peer pressure was another powerful element which took a particular type of courage to resist.'²¹⁸ Grant went on to say: "the old alcoholic has been with us a long time but the younger ones are just starting to surface. They're the sensible ones who are aware of the dangers of alcohol and have decided they should have a look and see if they've got a problem.'" In this instance Grant noted the fact that many young drinkers were aware of the possible outcomes of unhealthy drinking levels and were taking it upon themselves to investigate whether or not they had a problem with their drinking levels. The article continued:

Grant said many [poor] people were using the telephone to make initial contact or to check their own instincts about whether a problem exists. There seemed to be an increasing awareness in the community about the hazards of alcoholism and people seemed less prepared today than in the past to ignore the problem. Commonly parents contacted the centre about their teenager, occasionally a teenager contacted the centre about his parents.²¹⁹

In this example Grant noted how many young drinkers and the wider community were aware of the problems that alcoholism could cause and were willing to take responsibility for their own health and to question their own drinking by reaching out and making contact with the drug dependence centre.

Also in 1979 the *Waikato Times* reported on a survey of 3000 secondary school pupils carried out by the New Zealand Council for Education Research for the Alcoholic Liquor Advisory Council. The paper reported that the survey found: 'the most common place for drinking, among all age groups, was the home, with relatives' homes and friends' places following.' The *Waikato Times* noted that the report on the

²¹⁸ 'Alcoholism in Young Increasing', *WT*, 30 October 1979, p. 1.

²¹⁹ 'Alcoholism in Young Increasing', *WT*, 30 October 1979, p. 1.

survey believed that: “the results indicate that the majority of young people learn about alcohol and are initiated into drinking at home, and that this remains an important setting throughout school life.”²²⁰ The article noted that although many of the second, fourth and sixth formers interviewed said they drank because it eased social tension and reduced anxiety in general, the most popular reason given for drinking was “because I like the taste.” These examples show that young people in the survey learned about drinking habits from older persons generally in their own home environment and that they drank because they enjoyed the taste of alcoholic drinks. The *Waikato Times* also included quotations from the survey submitted by the participants themselves. These included [from a Form VI Boy]: “Alcohol should be available to young people so long as they don’t have too much too often, i.e. they shouldn’t get drunk more than once every two weeks” and [from a Form IV Girl]:

I don’t think that all that many [students] have alcohol problems. I recognize that some do but people seem to think that all of us drink and get drunk regularly. You only hear about the ones who drink more than they should, not the ones who drink just a bit.²²¹

These quotations reveal some of the views held by the children actually surveyed. They displayed an awareness that some degree of moderation in drinking was desirable (for whatever reason) and that drinking beyond this level was undesirable. The quotation from the Form IV girl also echoes information noted earlier in this chapter concerning the fact that often extreme drinking events are reported by the media and judged by society when such things do not necessarily reflect widespread behaviours.

²²⁰ ‘Students No Strangers to Drink’, *WT*, 16 May 1979, p. 1.

²²¹ ‘Students No Strangers to Drink’, *WT*, 16 May 1979, p. 1.

It is interesting to note that the survey reported on in the *Waikato Times* was conducted with particular focuses in mind, and not simply to find out what young people thought about drinking. The survey, which was released in full in 1981, noted that many developments in the liberalization of liquor laws: 'point to the much wider availability of alcohol, and, in conjunction with increasing levels of consumption, give cause for concern, especially with respect to their effects on young people.'²²²

The survey continued: 'young people's drinking attracts wide attention, in part because of the illegal aspects, such as underage drinking, and also because of the vulnerability of young people.'²²³ In this regard the survey's creators expressed preconceived attitudes toward youth drinking and noted that the contemporary societal climate meant that young people needed to be protected from the apparent dangers of alcohol. It left little scope for an understanding of how youth drinkers characterized their own behaviours.

This attitude was also expressed in a study conducted outside the period in question but which still has relevance to this thesis. A study of University of Waikato student drinking conducted in 2000 still reflected somewhat preconceived attitudes to the drinking of a largely young university survey sample. The study noted:

It can be concluded that the majority of university students misperceive alcohol norms. A significant majority of students overestimate both the drinking practices of their peers, and what their peers perceive the norms to be. Many students hold unrealistic expectations of the outcomes that they will experience from drinking alcohol. They often associate drinking with positive experiences only. Many students would be considered problem drinkers by health

²²² Mary Routledge and Alan Taylor, *Young People and Alcohol: A National Survey of 3,000 School Students* (Wellington: New Zealand Council for Educational Research, 1981), p. 2.

²²³ Routledge and Taylor, p. 2.

professionals, although the students themselves believe that their drinking practices are not problematic.²²⁴

This chapter has examined the ways in which youth drinking and drunkenness were characterized between 1945 and 1989. It has shown that youth drinking and drunkenness behaviours were often linked with a subjective notion of 'delinquency'. This chapter has highlighted the fact that conflicting and often confusing information concerning the appropriateness of drinking behaviours was directed towards young people in Hamilton and New Zealand in general during the period in question. It has shown that preconceived ideas about youth drinking and drunkenness were prevalent. It has also shown that developing an understanding of how young people characterized their own drinking and drunkenness behaviours or viewing these behaviors on their own terms were never major priorities during the period covered by this thesis.

²²⁴ Adam and others, p. 25.

Conclusion

This study has investigated how drinking and drunkenness behaviours were characterized and viewed in Hamilton's past and how they were influenced by a number of factors between the release of the 1945-46 Royal Commission on Licensing's findings and the passing of the 1989 Sale of Liquor Act. This study has recognized that drinking and drunkenness are more than simply pathological aspects of history and of human existence. It has answered the call of historians and anthropologists who have asked researchers to deal with alcohol in a proper historical context – a context that moves beyond quantification and narrow analysis and looks at how people's understandings of drinking and drunkenness and the meanings they give to drinking and drunkenness can be used to enrich historical scholarship and broaden conceptualizations of the past.

Chapter One examined how liquor legislation changed during the period under study. It showed that later in the period driving drunk became increasingly characterized as an unacceptable drinking behaviour. It also showed how Hamiltonians characterized particular drinking and drunkenness behaviours that legislative change and development in the form of neighbourhood taverns brought them increasingly into contact with. Chapter one also highlighted the fact that throughout the period under examination many drinking and drunkenness behaviours deemed inappropriate or unacceptable were never adequately defined and as such they remained highly subjective.

Chapter Two explored how cultural difference affected characterizations of drinking and drunkenness between 1945 and 1989. It noted that Māori drinking and drunkenness behaviours in particular were often characterized in certain ways in contrast with Pākehā drinking and drunkenness behaviours. It drew attention to the fact that Māori drinking and drunkenness behaviours had been treated differently from the behaviours of other ethnic or cultural groups under New Zealand law prior to the period under study and extending into it. Chapter two also showed how cultural difference led to particular characterizations of drinking and drunkenness behaviours being presented in the *Waikato Times* during the period under examination.

Chapter Three considered the ways in which youth drinking and drunkenness behaviours were characterized during the period under scrutiny. It noted that the subjective concept of ‘delinquency’ was often associated with characterizations of these behaviours. It discussed how often contradictory and confusing information concerning drinking and drunkenness behaviours was directed towards young people in the pages of the *Waikato Times* between 1945 and 1989. It also showed that Hamiltonians and New Zealanders in general did not seriously attempt to prioritize young people’s characterizations of their own drinking and drunkenness during the years covered by this study.

In the exciting and dynamic field of New Zealand history many opportunities exist for future scholarship concerning drinking and drunkenness and what these things meant to the diverse people of this country in the past. It is to be hoped that researchers will continue to explore Marrus’ ‘different set of questions’ regarding

alcohol and its consumption and that this exploration will continue to foster a richer understanding and appreciation of history well into the future.

List of Sources

This list of sources is set out under the following headings:

Primary Sources:

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