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Alcohol Production And Consumption Throughout U.S. History, And More Particularly In El Paso, Texas, As It Relates To Social Norms Theory

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ALCOHOL PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION THROUGHOUT U.S. HISTORY,
AND MORE PARTICULARLY IN EL PASO, TEXAS,
AS IT RELATES TO SOCIAL NORMS THEORY

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AND MORE PARTICULARLY IN EL PASO, TEXAS,
AS IT RELATES TO SOCIAL NORMS THEORY

by

JENNIFER HEIDI MATTHEWS, B.A. in Architecture

THESIS

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Preface

Deep in the mountains of Puebla, in a small public elementary school, in a village called Cuahtempan, my parents first laid eyes on each other. They were among a group of Mexicans and Americans providing free medical services to the local residents. My mother, a dentist from the capital, and my father, a recent pharmacy graduate from UT Austin, moved to Mexico for a time after my birth for this reason. They decided, however, to come back to the States when it was time for me to begin the first grade, so that I could receive an American education. It was then that we arrived in El Paso, the meeting point of two countries, the melding of two peoples. Throughout my formative years in the city, particularly during high school and my brief stint studying civil engineering at UTEP before leaving town, I became increasingly aware of the strong role of various drinking cultures, traditions, and rites of passage that seemed to proudly embody the city.

Many years later I returned to El Paso unemployed, and began to dutifully work in the family business. With nothing left to lose, I decided to pursue a culinary career. Finding that El Paso did not have a culinary school at that time, I took a job as a baker in a local cafe, and decided it was time for a permanent attitudinal shift. In lieu of always bemoaning the unattainable, I would learn to recognize and embrace the gifts around me. That being said, I started searching through available academic pursuits that I might be interested in as a hobby. In the following years, while chipping away at the requirements of a Masters of Arts in Sociology, I slowly made my way into what you could call “a good government job.” Having finally reached that seemingly elusive goal of self-sustenance, and for some time now, it just doesn’t seem to be enough. This thesis stems from a desire to tinker with the idea of a potential business opportunity, one that would build upon our drinking heritage and add to the list of great things this city has to offer.

The general topic of discussion for this thesis is drinking. Originally, the plan was to arrive at a good business idea, such as a new beer or book. However, I felt that, in order for such an idea to work, I needed a solid grasp of who we are as a city today, a grasp which would be

impossible without taking a long look back on our city's history. While this thesis continued to be about alcohol production and consumption, it ceased to be a search for a "get rich quick scheme." Chasing down the tracks of the intoxicated and their intoxicants, the need arose to understand what was happening from a theoretical framework. Hence, this thesis analyses alcohol production and consumption throughout US history, and more particularly in El Paso, Texas, as it relates to Social Norms Theory. In the end, the lens of Social Norms Theory serves as a solid explanation of how we came to be the drinking town we are today, providing a picture and describing a journey, which is perhaps more valuable than what other aspirations had hoped to gain.

Chapter 1: Introduction

The detailed choreography of drinking events can perhaps, in the beginning, be better appreciated from the outside looking in. Observe the elaborately scripted demonstrations of reciprocity in traditional Irish drinking “rounds,” to be distinguished from the Irish drinking rounds of Brooklyn. Observe the chronological seating of males at Japanese drinking ceremonies. Observe how the elder is served rice wine first, by a women who never joins them, before serving his neighbor on either side. Observe how the order of their topics of conversations shifts from formal to informal topics as the evening progresses, and what topics are seen as formal and which as informal. These are all telling examples of social norms, manifestations of who we are, at a certain time and place in history, and subject to a specific set of socio economic realities. Social norms in this light then, seem like the ideal point of departure to explore our drinking heritage as it has evolved throughout history. It is for this reason that this thesis chose Social Norms Theory as a stance from which produce the following social history.

Social norms can be understood as a relatively fixed set of beliefs, habits, and interactions that result in a standard pattern of social behavior, known by and expected of members of a group. In saying norms are “relatively fixed,” what is meant is that social norms sometimes serve a specific purpose, such as being a means to cope or respond to sudden events. In other words, abrupt shifts in socio economic situations can result in abrupt shifts in social norms. Thus, observe how the economic boom of the 1970’s established the serving of cognac at elaborate Hong Kong weddings as a status symbol. The association of marriage and an expensive foreign cognac, like Rémy Martin, continues. The rise of manufacturing facilities, restaurant chains, hotels and imported products, gave rise to the tradition of serving cognac, a tradition that has persisted even after the economic boom dwindled. This illustrates how a “relatively fixed” set of social norms can be held over a period of time, in what could be considered a state of equilibrium. It also illustrates how a set of social norms can suddenly change to adopt to new circumstances, like sudden economic prosperity, or a new open trade agreement. Social norms can also be observed on a very small scale. Consider who’s

responsibility it is to pay for the cognac at Hong Kong wedding (the parents of the bride). Social norms can also be observed on the very large scale. Consider how Honk Kong arrived at the conclusion that drinking a French liquor was the socially acceptable thing to do, when thirty years ago there “was a documented tradition of making rice *jiu* after the birth of a daughter to be used upon the daughter’s marriage at the banquet” (Wilson, 2005, p.115). In order to reach the objective of this thesis, to arrive at a better understanding of El Paso’s drinking culture by looking at our history, and to understand the influence that U.S. history has had on local events, a strategy must be implemented as to how social norms will be analyzed over a time frame that spans several centuries.

In order to develop this strategy, this thesis uses the historical periods which Gusfield and Tropman have articulated, as an organizational structure. Collectively, these four periods, which span from 1620 to the present, contain four different sets of social norms that each period adopted regarding the practice of drinking. These serve as a bird’s eye view of the most salient sets of social norms. In addition, we will see how and why each period naturally transitioned into the next. In essence, Gusfield established three periods: that of the Repentant Drinker (1620-1820), the Enemy Drinker (1820-1931), and the Sick Drinker (1930-1960), to which Tropman added a fourth, the Responsible Drinker (1960-Present). It is assumed that the boundaries defining the timeframes are ambiguous, as change doesn’t usually start and stop on a given date, but rather takes place fluidly over time. It is also to be understood that, in no way can this be an all encompassing analysis, that, not everyone held to these norms, that, there was dissent and that, upholding these norms at times implied a struggle. It is evident that alcohol has long since been infused with fluctuating standards of societal acceptance and public opinion. Organizing the socio-historical analysis into these periods serves merely to illustrate what were the most widely held, representative social norms of any given period.

Furthering the discussion of organization, the thesis continues in Chapter 2 with a thorough discussion of Social Norms Theory as proposed by Perkins and Berkowitz, and explains how this theory can be used to explain historical events. As Social Norms Theory is

relatively recent in the development of social theory, the majority of this part of the investigation is to be conducted via contemporary journals and publications. Next, the thesis turns to digging up the roots of our drinking heritage. Gusfield and Tropman's historical periods, together with Social Norms Theory, are used throughout Chapter 3 to discuss the history of alcohol production and consumption in U.S. history. Chapter 4 discusses the same in regards to the history of El Paso, a topic which has not been the focus of much research. Both of these chapters illustrate the symbiotic relationship between alcohol, drinking and course of history. In so far as the historical accounts are concerned, the research methods will consist of literature reviews, archival investigations and accompanying analytical study. Chapter 5 provides concluding observations.

Let us now turn our attention to the research problem, and how it is framed within the context of social norms theory. If social norms are beneficial strategies for survival, social order or mere coordination, it is necessary that enjoy widespread acceptance among a society. The following question then arises: How can social norms become so widespread that they are either adopted or internalized by an entire community, city, or nation? To help understand this, we must first understand that Social Norms Theory stems from a set of assumptions. First, it assumes that people strive to be accepted. It claims that we have an internal drive to work toward this acceptance, and to generate commonality between us and others by striving to be like them. Unfortunately, we are often mistaken in our perceptions of others, and adjust our behavior toward a false baseline. In essence, these micro-level adjustments that we make in our behavior as we observe others, form a continual process that circulates throughout a people group. The compound effect of all of these behavioral adjustments can collectively spiral into a trend in a certain direction. For example, Perkins and Berkowitz hypothesize that the more we believe others drink, the more we ourselves drink. This thesis proposes that throughout history, the more we believed others drank, the more we ourselves drank. This has led, on more than one occasion, to a gradual and steady increase in drinking. Social Norms Theory also helps to explain how the drinking habits of a given period can become exacerbated, inspiring the identity of entire eras and can ultimately be responsible for swinging the pendulum of public opinion.

Inversely, this thesis proposes, that throughout history, the less we believed others drank, the less we ourselves drank. This has helped further the historic lows of alcohol consumption, which, sustained nationally over a prolonged period of time, eventually culminated in Prohibition. From this perspective, the social norms that we perceive and act upon, as expounded in Social Norms Theory, are the very behaviors that distinguish a specific historical era, and explain the trends of alcohol consumption within them. As certain trends reached an extreme, in this case either very high or very low alcohol consumption, changes in social norms responded as a backlash. While volumes of history and discussions of social norms abound, Social Norms Theory, as proposed by Perkins and Berkowitz, has not been a venue through which the social history of alcohol has been explored.

As you read what follows, keep in mind that the thesis strives to get the reader to look again, more closely, at historical events with which they are already familiar, and to reassess them. It is plausible, that the accounts of our heritage, specifically as they relate to drinking, may be plagued by voids and misinterpretations. This thesis will discuss some of those aspects of our history which have treated alcohol in a much more negative light than perhaps it should have been remembered, and should help to fill some of those historical gaps by providing more insight. It will demonstrate that many of the evolving norms concerning alcohol, came about, not so much because of the consequences of alcohol itself, which have never really changed, but because of other factors.

In addition, the thesis hopes to share a consolidated historical account of how nation-wide shifts in perception, and events which led to sweeping changes to norms concerning alcohol, were uniquely manifested in El Paso. Our Spanish, Mexican and Indian heritage, climate, agricultural traditions, proximity to the border, etc., have enabled El Paso to experience a version of U.S. history that few others have known, the product of factors that few of us have considered.

Last of all, may this thesis serve as a reflection on our beliefs, values, traditions and norms that we inadvertently live out on a daily basis. Perhaps if nothing else, this thesis will have at a minimum left the reader with a few interesting tales to tell over their next drink.

Chapter 2: Theory

2.1 Introduction To Social Norms

Norms are the foundation of social order. They are one of the most efficient mechanisms used to address and triumph over the various and voluminous amounts of social interactions we encounter on any given day. They allow us not to over-think the trivial, and focus on the salient. They are the tangible prescriptive behaviors and attitudes we grab for in new situations. They are the first place we turn when we are unsure of what to do. “Norms help beneficiaries avoid or escape social dilemmas” (Hechter et al., 2001, p.110). Norms are neither habits or routine expectations, but rather are “the language a society speaks, the embodiment of its values and collective desires, the common practices that hold human groups together” (Bicchieri, 2006, p.ix). They are the logical place to observe the epicenter of the surrounding culture on any given issue.

In evaluating social norms for the historical development of a particular topic, as this thesis strives to do, it is necessary to part first from the very emergence of norms themselves before moving on to their evolution over time. On the outcropping of norms, many sociologists agree that “norms emerge spontaneously from the bottom up, as an aggregation of individual choices among a large number of people in a society” (Hechter et al., 2001, p.286). The first two most common assumptions are that: 1) From this consensus between a group of rational people; 2) must come a norm that results in the greater good of the group. The first assumption, that individuals are rational, stems from Rational Choice Theory. This theory “argues that social norms emerge because the norms’ content yields benefits for some agents” (Hechter et al., 2001, p.105). The second assumption, that norms are necessarily for the greater good of the group, may not always hold true in every situation, as we shall later see.

From this, norms tend to come from two places. “One type of explanation, called here the behavior-based approach, suggests that norms reflect and reinforce existing behavior (Homans 1950; Opp 1982; Sumner 1979). Individuals seek to do those things that bring them pleasure and spare them pain” (Sumner 1979; Weber 1978, 755; Hechter et al., 2001, p.305). “A

second kind of argument, called here the externality-based approach, holds that norms constrain self-interested action” (Coleman 1990; Ellickson 1991). Individuals prefer that others not engage in behaviors that have harmful social consequences, and instead do things that produce benefits for the group, or at least for them (Hechter et al., 2001, p.306). The behavior-based approach is used primarily to achieve personal gains, while the later, the externality-based approach, is used to achieve goals that behoove the group.

From these two origins, behavior-based and externality-based approaches, it is necessary to add another type of distinction, that between formal and informal norms. Norms themselves are reinforced through social interactions, implying vigilance and often sanctions. That being said, social norms tend to be strongest in the smallest, tightest knit communities. For U.S. history, this means that as we grew into a country of primarily large urban centers, at the expense of small rural communities, it has become impossible for us to operate as single communities monitoring the activities of our neighbors. As our reliance on others for survival is now open to many options, the threat of sanctioning by being shunned, or the norm of exclusion, is hardly a mechanism for cajoling individuals into conforming to a norm. Informal norms then can be understood to be “a social norm as a rule governing an individual’s behavior that is diffusely enforced by third parties other than state agents by means of social sanctions” (Hechter et al., 2001, p.35). In other words, as societies grew into large, dense cities, social norms often came ultimately to express themselves as enforceable formal norms, which we know as the law. It is the widely diffused opinion of Thomas Hobbes that “people are unable to coordinate with one another without significant assistance from a coercive central authority” (Hechter et al., 2001, p.36). Contrary to libertarian idealism, history shows that popular opinion coincided with that of Hobbes, and thus moved to formalize certain social norms in the legal system. This is seen in several important events in the macro-sociology of alcohol production and consumption in U.S. history.

2.2 Social Norms Theory

Originally conceptualized by Wesley Perkins and Adam Berkowitz in 1986, Social Norms Theory is fairly recent in the discourse of sociological thought. Given that both Perkins and Berkowitz are still alive, they are currently the most prolific authors continuing the development of their own theory. Social Norms Theory looks at what individuals perceive to be the norm, and how these, often exaggerated perceptions, affect their own behavior. In turn, how our behavior is interpreted, or misinterpreted, affects the behavior of others. In a way, it resembles the telephone game, as the message or the reality becomes more and more distorted and refracted as it is mimicked and passed on through others. Coincidentally, Social Norms Theory has been very effective in the intervention and prevention of substance abuse at the secondary education and collegiate level. The bulk of social norms research has resulted in practical applications to that end (Perkins, 1999, Perkins, Haines, & Rice, 2005, Perkins & Craig, 2006). Social norm campaigns have repeatedly been found to be successful in offsetting the negative effects of misperceived norms. Rectifying people's perceptions to better align them with reality, has been one of the main goals of social norm campaigns in practice. In doing so, the individuals in the populations that the campaigns target, change their behavior once they realize a certain level of consumption is not actually the normal. Social Norms Theory has been a springboard for proactive measures within educational institutions for many other social ills in addition to excessive alcohol consumption. With Perkins and Berkowitz's theory, it is plausible to believe that just as misperceptions have affected and created social norms in the modern day, the effects of Social Norms Theory can also apply to societal behavior at any specific time in history.

In essence, Perkins and Berkowitz propose that our perceptions of other people's behavior affect our own behavior. They claim that we adjust our actions to more closely align with what we perceive others to be doing. In other words, we tend to strive towards the norm. Bicchieri calls this *social* comparison (Bicchieri, 2006, p.180). After reading several studies, it is clear that by "perception" the research most often means "misperception." "The difference

between one's current behavior and what one believes about the behavior of others is considered a misperception" (Bertholet et al. 2011, p.83). Misperceptions can be classified into three types: *pluralistic ignorance*, "when a majority of individuals falsely assume that most of their peers behave or think differently from them, when in fact their attitudes and/or behavior are similar," *false consensus*, "the incorrect belief that others are like one's self when in fact they are not," and *false uniqueness*, "when individuals who are in the minority assume that the difference between themselves and others is greater than it actually is" (Berkowitz, 2004, p8). The questions that Social Norms Theory attempts to answer, are usually variations of: what is the actual norm, how accurate or to what degree are our perceptions aligned with reality, and how does this relate to our behavior. When looking at Perkins and Berkowitz's concepts, Bicchieri, calls this adjustment in our behavior, in regards to the norm, the *social pressure to conform*. She says that it "might be more imagined than real" (Bicchieri, 2006, p.180). To this, Perkins and Berkowitz would say that what Bicchieri calls "imagined" is really just misperceived.

2.3 Theoretical Conceptualization Of The Problem

As Perkins and Berkowitz's Social Norms Theory is applied to the social history of alcohol consumption, one begins to question it's ability to be relevant across time and space. If empirical data has been found to support Social Norms Theory in the 20th and 21st centuries, then should it not also be applicable in the 18th and 19th centuries? One should also be able to select other countries, time periods, and contexts to see if this theory holds up to more than contemporary American society. The original hypothesis proposed by Perkins and Berkowitz, "states that our behavior is influenced by incorrect perceptions of how other members of our social group think and act" (Berkowitz, 2004, p.5). Central to Social Norms Theory are three concepts. First, are *perceived norms*, which Berkowitz defines as, "what we think others believe and do" (Berkowitz, 2004, p.5). These will be referred to as and *perception* in this thesis. Next is the concept of *actual norms* or "real beliefs and actions" (Berkowitz, 2004, p.5). In the context of this paper, real beliefs and actions shall constitute alcohol consumption. The third key component is *misperception*, which can be described as the "gap between 'perceived' and

‘actual’” (Berkowitz, 2004, p.5). In addition, there are two types of perceptions: *perceptions of consumption* and *perceptions of acceptability*.

More specifically though, if “the more one thinks someone else drinks, the more they (themselves) drink” (Bertholet et al., 2011, p.83), then this thesis proposes that the reverse hypothesis can manifest itself in historical development as well. The less one thinks someone else drinks, the less they (themselves) drink. In other words, changes in public perception can aggravate tendencies in either direction. The variables for this bivariate hypothesis would be perception (or misperception) and behavior (consumption). This hypothesis is both reversible (the less people drink, the less they think others drink) and stochastic (if people think others drink less, then it is probable they will drink less).

Perception, however, can only be easily gauged amongst the living, and assessing the norms of times past is now primarily the speculation of historians. While either of these hypotheses can be operationalized via quantitative methods, such an analysis would have multiple limitations. This is the case even if it were possible to undertake the enormous task of compiling the necessary information for a given location across time. More valuable yet, would be to use Perkins and Berkowitz’s theory as a framework for a qualitative assessment of the events that transpired.

2.4 Statement Of The Problem, As It Relates To The Theory

The goal of this thesis is to better understand patterns and changes in the perception of alcohol consumption. The underlying idea in Social Norms Theory is that, as individuals, we strive toward what we perceive to be common, normal, or the norm. As a prerequisite to this process, one must internalize these norms. Internalization can be defined as “a condition of incorporation of norms and/or roles into one’s own personality, with a corresponding obligation to act accordingly or suffer guilt” (Campbell, 1964, p.392). Norms in general are a form of societal glue that keep us together. In doing so, they help a society to achieve the goals it needs to reach for continued self-preservation, as well as to achieve other positive communal aspirations. Better put, “the conceptual emphasis is on interpersonal reciprocity rather than on

normative commitment” (Campbell, 1964, p.392). Through research of normative perception, one can have the opportunity to better understand the symbiotic relationship between socio-economic factors, and norms and perceptions regarding alcohol consumption.

Throughout the historical accounts, social norms as a reflection of evolving contextual realities will be traced. History is used as a source for obtaining a snapshot of social, political, geographic and economic realities, that help explain why a society allows a particular social norm to hold such sway over them. It is through finding a societies’ most strongly held social norms, and the reasons behind them, that we can most fully understand the situation that surrounds the time during which they were manifested.

2.5 Weaknesses In The Theory

Across a given set of situations, it is wise to take into account the varying levels of control that social norms hold. It would be necessary then to take a closer look at the instances or situations in which norms were hypothesized to be weaker, less closely monitored by others, or failed to be internalized by the group in question. According to Neuman, a spurious relationship “occurs when two variables are associated but are not causally related because there is actually a third unseen factor that is the real cause” (Neuman, 2006, p.171). A thorough socio-historical analysis should take into consideration what factors enhance or subdue the influence of perception, thus of norms, on the drinking behavior in question. For example, in present times, one might hypothesize that regardless of the amount one perceives others to drink, the more religious a person is, the more they might be immune to drinking norms and less subject to adjusting their behavior based on what they perceive others to be doing. As religiosity will have a salient effect in many historical contexts, it would be noteworthy to take into consideration that, in historical contexts where religiosity is itself a norm, the concept of religiosity can not be considered a third factor. This would not present be a spurious relationship, as it would in present times. Throughout the socio-historical analysis, and as the backdrop changes, so will the parameters of what can or can not be considered potential sources of spurious relationships.

2.6 The Evolution Of Social Norms: Equilibrium

In essence norms could largely be considered as a set of widely held expectations, that in unison create a state of equilibrium necessitated by social interdependence. Both equilibrium and the coordination of expectations are concepts that permeate literature on social norms. “An *equilibrium* is a situation that involves several individuals or groups, in which each one’s action is a best reply to everyone else’s action. It is a situation of stable mutual adjustment” (Bicchieri, 2006, p.22). The “Nash Equilibrium” is cited frequently and is defined as, “regularities that are generally stabilized by threats of negative actions” (Hechter et.al., 2001, p.109). This is only one method through which an ongoing state of equilibrium is achieved. Norms can be sustained strictly in a desire to maintain coordination in daily life, or they may be so internalized that they, “take on the character of virtuous or right action (Hume [1739],1978), and departures from a norm can trigger emotions of shame or even guilt when third party enforcement is absent (Coleman, 1990; Elster, 1989, 1999)” (Durlauf et.al, 1998, p.3).

When a state of equilibrium presents a relatively uniform body of norms that are unique unto themselves and can be independently identified, this thesis considers that time period to be a distinguishable period in history, an era. A social history such as this one, can then target it’s focus on various particular situation that occurred over a span of time.

In discussing any given period in history, Perkins and Berkowitz’s Social Norms Theory then, in it’s ability to look analytically at any given situation, can usually come to a plausible assessment. Social Norms Theory is then a solid framework from which to analyze the static condition of a set of norms, within a given period of relative equilibrium. It falls short, however, once one becomes interested in understanding how, within a given society, norms take on a more dynamic nature and begin to morph into completely new paradigms. In order to conduct a social history of any given topic, in addition to understanding the social norms of a static moment, we must also consider a theory which can explain the link between equilibriums, what gives rise to the need for a society to altar it’s norms, or even abandon them for new ones.

2.7 In Conclusion

This thesis will endeavor to interpret the socio-historical account that follows, via the most relevant aspects of the theory presented. Social Norms Theory is a highly appropriate perspective from which to pursue the evolution of norms that embodied eras in the production and consumption of alcohol .

Chapter 3: Alcohol Production And Consumption In The U.S.

3.1 Early America: Letting Go Of The Past, And Embracing The Fruit Of A New Land

History of drinking in America has generally been overshadowed by Prohibition. However, the role of alcohol in the early colonies should not be underestimated. Conceiving of our Puritan and religious, reforming founding fathers as dry, is largely revisionist history. This view comes through the eyes of Americans born into a long national trajectory of temperance and ambivalent views on alcohol that persist today. As early as 1612, settlers in New Amsterdam began brewing efforts, eventually opening the first brewery in the New World in 1632. Our early American history is filled with much folklore around drink. Van Munching claims that the first paved road was built by, “a Dutch brewer near Wall Street who wanted to smooth the path from his brewery to local taverns,” and anecdotes such as, “the Mayflower cut its voyage short, landing on Plymouth Rock rather than the intended Virginia, because the beer supply was running low” (Van Munching, 1997: 9). Indulgence? Hardly. Water quality was often questionable, but liquor could cross an ocean and “be fortified with vitamins to fight scurvy” (Van Munching, 1997: 9). More than that, it aided colonists through cold winters, hard physical labor, and had health benefits which made it a particularly effective prescription for children and the elderly. A strong association of drinking with positive traits and wholesome morale was undisputed in America’s early days. For all these reasons, and because shipments of liquor were few and far between, accompanied by stories of Puritans on the shore begging for liquor as sailors pulled away heading back to the mother country, there was naturally nothing left to do but to homebrew.

Long before the last turn of the century and the transportation revolution, everything on the dinner table was a manifestation of the local countryside. Drink was no different. After the English arrived in Plymouth in 1621, the equivalent of porter and stout was quite popular. It reflected the “sentiment and tradition” of the old country, a “dark, hearty drink, about 6 percent alcohol, that was made from barley malt and flavored with stout” (Martin, 1987: 5). Highly impractical, but what happens when dramatic changes in surroundings take place? What

happens when families are transplanted to entirely different continents? The culinary practices, techniques or traditions must make a reassessments of their environments and start making quick reactionary attempts at adaptability. Such was the case in early colonial New England, and the resulting boon in creativity is clearly seen in the varied production of alcoholic beverages. Pears became “perry.” Mead, an alcoholic beverage made by distilling honey and yeast, comprising a category all it’s own, made it’s way from antiquity to Vermont. European apple seeds, which flourished in American orchards, were made into cider with a 7% alcohol content, and often culminated in “applejack,” a cider for the serious drinker. Peaches introduced in the South by the Spaniards became peach brandies. A whole variety of fruit brandies were made, a tradition that continues to this day. Grains like corn, rye and potatoes were not cast aside in this period of nascent creativity. The following verse puts the settler’s coping strategy of the time perfectly:

*If barley be wanting to make into malt,
We must be content and think it no fault,
For we can make liquor to sweeten our lips,
Of pumpkins, and parsnips, and walnut-tree chips* (Martin, 1987: 5).

Just to finish shattering some of our collective preconceived notions of our fore-fathers, we’ll name a few early American celebrities and their brews. George Washington had a molasses based home brew. Benjamin Franklin, made spruce beer. Thomas Jefferson had a brewery at the Monticello. (As the English were not steeped in a viticulture tradition, wine was primarily imported and an indulgence of the well-to-do. It posed no major competition to beer.)

It is not as if this boon of European immigration introduced drink to the North American continent. While Ogle believes that native Americans on the east coast had yet to discover the means, methods, and pleasures of imbibing, Van Munching disagrees. “The only brewing happening in Plymouth was Native American in origin and consisted of adding black birch sap to corn and water and letting natural fermentation do its thing” (Van Munching, 1997: 10). Inspired by their relationship with the locals, Connecticut governor and son of Massachusetts governor, John Winthrop Jr., began concocting beer in 1662. He used what was most readily available, the

staple food of the natives, which was none other than Indian corn. As the colonies became more established, the typical colonial dinner was accompanied with a form of local beer or cider, of which the entire family including women, children, and the elderly partook.

This is essentially the period which Gusfield would refer to as that of the “Repentant Drinker.” In 1967 Gusfield published an article in “Social Problems,” entitled “Moral Passage: The Symbolic Process in Public Designations of Deviance,” in which he classifies history into three periods. Each is based upon the social norms and attitudes surrounding alcohol consumption of their time. The period of the Repentant Drinker lasted from 1620-1820. He ranks each historical period on both controls and permissions, with the Repentant Drinker period scoring low on both. As a newly forming country, few controls, in the form of state controls, laws or regulations were in place. “For American society, especially at the beginning, external controls were few. The main problem was self-control, and fear that lack of self-control might lead to revelations about one’s inner character, and perhaps, that one was ‘damned’” (Tropman, 1986, p.17). It was natural then that permission should also be low. This indicates that low tolerance for those not adhering to well-defined social norms was sufficient to maintain healthy social order. Given the small size of communities during this time in the nation’s history, it was still feasible to achieve an ordered social structure through the vigilance of neighbors. The members of these communities had a vested interest in each other’s lives as their very survival depended upon it. Social norms were enforceable, merely because the social punishment of “shunning” in this context, meant potential disaster. It meant potentially being thrown into the great unknown, the cold, being cut off from the food supply, running into natives, and in all likelihood, dying. It suffice to say that being shunned by society was a sufficient motivation to comply with the local norms.

It would be unjust to leave this historical period on such a somber, authoritarian note, as it was not. “The image of restrictive ‘Puritan’ attitudes is unfounded” (Tropman, 1986, p.27). This period was one of the healthiest periods in coordinated attitudinal perspectives and normative expectations. Alcohol served a positive role in social function and was seen in a fully

positive light. Early American families lived in settlements with few edifices other than homes erected with only the the most arduous labor, in the most dire of conditions. In this context, the first communal structure to be erected was the tavern. Taverns served as meeting places useful in disseminating information prior to our modern communication technology. These gathering places doubled as locations for the convergence of political efforts, religious gatherings, and served as welcome rest stops for travelers. The agricultural side of life not forsaken, drink provided motivation during large community work parties during harvesting season. Much resemblance is found between the way early American social structure and patterns were intertwined with alcohol, and theses same patterns in the Tarahumaran Indians of Northern Mexico. The dispersed nature of settlements in both communities, and the pivotal role drink played in uniting social, political, religious, agricultural, and work related functions mirror each other with striking similarity. It's important to note that, despite the widespread availability of alcoholic beverages, alcoholism was virtually unknown. Strong societal norms tied these struggling individuals together. A powerful sense of community, shared expectations, the arduous pace of daily life and the will to survive, made it difficult for any single member of society to indulge too greatly. "It was intoxication, rather than drinking, that was disapproved. Furthermore, and perhaps most importantly, with respect to the word "Puritan" which has come to be used, there was no moral excitement about the matter. It seems to have been treated as a normal, natural part of life and that, within limits, was that" (Tropman, 1986, p.27).

The social equilibrium of the era of the Repentant Drinker was eroding and large shifts were occurring. The waning of the previous era began with the events that led to the American Revolution at the end of the 18th century. With the onset of the Revolution, drinking domestic beer became more than just a pragmatic decision. It became patriotic. The ideology of this period promoted independence, self-governance, and an increasing degree of democracy. These ideals tended to spilled over into other aspects of life, and began to affect the nature of respect and adherence to social norms upon which the colonies were built upon. All of these factors combined to make the first decades of the nineteenth century very heavy drinking years. As

more people began to drink, people slowly began to view this increased consumption as the norm, and slowly increasing their own drinking. This in turn led to higher alcohol intake amongst the whole community. “The high point was reached in the period of 1800-1830, with the amount of yearly consumption averaging 6.9 gallons of absolute alcohol per person of drinking age (15+). That proportion is 150 percent more than the alcohol consumption rate in 1975” (Tropman, 1986, p.27).

Taxation on British beer, among other goods, eliminated any remaining nostalgia towards ales and stouts from overseas. Local breweries from this point forward would shoulder the burden of the domestic need for alcohol. Given the great demand, the government quickly became concerned that if the quota was not met, the colonists would be tempted to turn to hard liquor. This idea greatly concerned them, because of the commonly held belief that, while beer was healthy, liquor would disrupt family life, community stability and thus prosperity. The creation of a national, government run brewery would briefly be created, giving the subtle impression that lack of beer was tantamount to a national crisis. The War of 1812 distracted these efforts until the idea later fell off the table.

The influence of the British and their presence in the Caribbean also served to bring rum to the colonies. “The exchange of foodstuffs has been a significant form of contact between civilizations for thousands of years” (Pilcher, 2006, p.2). As early as 1665, a rum distillery was in place in Staten Island, and for a time, rum from Rhode Island was considered a currency together with gold. Indeed, long before agricultural traditions of the South took root, the Puritans’ need for rum engendered a system of slavery abroad that would quickly make its way to the homeland. The Brits, unable to sustain the demand for molasses and rum began a triangle of trade between Africa for man power, the Caribbean for raw materials and the colonies for consumers. In addition, while the 1773 Boston Tea Party may have been the last straw that drew us into the American Revolution, many point to other reasons we were compelled. Some argue that we were motivated by the fact that tea was the only thing the colonists had left after the Sugar and Molasses Act of 1765. The British West Indies, struggling to competitively price their

product, asked the British government for assistance. In lieu of mandating that the colonies consume molasses from British colonies exclusively, they levied a revenue generating tax on competitors. With the end of the French and Indian War, the British anticipated stronger demand for molasses and rum in Canada. Given that they were in debt from the expenses incurred from managing the colonies, they were looking forward to this additional source of income. Far from concerns about taxation without representation, the colonists were primarily concerned about the economic impact of all of these taxes. This is especially true, given that at the time these taxes were introduced, the colonies were in the midst of a mild depression.

As the colonists began pushing West, exploring expeditions, composed mainly of men, pushed the national boundaries into the frontier. Being low on money, as well as placing a premium on transportability in the decision making process, they quickly switched to whiskey. With the arrival of the Northern Irish, who were already fond of whiskey, had the know-how to fabricate it or the connections to import whiskey distilling equipment, rum was on its way out. This made whiskey the drink of the West. At this time a strong distinction between beer/cider and strong liquor was already clearly established, with the wiles of hard liquor already the source of great concern. The first wave of westward immigration was composed of frontiersmen, cartographers, prospectors, miners, fur-traders and in general, a group of mostly men that were isolated from any type of established social structure. This being the case, they had no commitments to communal norms, and did nothing to improve the already questionable reputation of distilled beverages. These men lived out what their societies of origin would have deemed highly deviant behavior, and encountered the results associated with stronger drink. Given also the reality of long dry spells from wagon deliveries to remote locations, the West was also strongly associated with binge drinking. Should Tropman have analyzed this westward movement he would have found it to be low on controls and high on permissions. The pioneers, far from the vigilant eyes of the colonies, broke free from the need to adhere to any social norms, which they had previously held so dear. Survival was in their own hands, and they had, to a certain respect, chosen to become outcast themselves in an attempt to find something new.

Let us now turn our attention to the native American Indians of the West. Martin notes that the frontiersmen observed that once the Indians started, they did not end festivities until the liquor had been completely consumed. While from the white side this can be explained by long dry periods between sporadic wagon deliveries of liquor followed by binge drinking, Martin does not address the origins of this behavior for the native Americans. It is plausible to believe that the native American's social norms, when combined with a strong distilled liquor with which they were unfamiliar, produced a dangerous combination. Corn beer being was common among Southwest and Northern Mexican Indian tribes. It represented the culmination of a year long's agricultural efforts in a back breaking climate, not to mention the actual work entailed in grinding the corn and the "brewing" of the beer. Perishable within days, Indians were accustomed not to let any of the labor-intensive, nutritionally rich beer go to waste. More than that, given the low alcohol content, it did not pose a severe threat to social order. They sat down and drank the precious corn beer until it was finished. It usually consisted of a thirsty group of men who haven't had a drink in months, sitting down to finish a strong bottle of whiskey. Given then, this well known and widely practiced social norm of finishing off the drink, and the fact that the church or family wasn't there to keep watch, it is easy to see why native Americans soon became the West's biggest topplers. This is just one example of how the combination of one culture's existing norms, intended to preserve a person's best interests, when carried out of habit into a new cultural context, can have detrimental results.

With the establishment of the new nation, the era of the Repentant Drinker comes to an end. One can see how we began to outgrow this era as the population increased and Westward expansion continued. The informal social norms that our founding fathers brought with them that had up until this point adequately regulated drinking in communities, were becoming too difficult maintain within the new quotidian context. This was an epoch distinguished by people's societies ability to self-organize and maintain social order exclusively to through the use of social norms. We have never found ourselves in a similar situation since this time. One could almost romanticize the era by saying that it was a time when we kept an eye on each other. As

Hobbes predicts, the equilibrium slipped, and consequently, the next era is one in which certain sectors of society began to demand formal social norms. As a result, we see the beginning of laws establishing socially acceptable normative expectations of alcohol consumption.

3.2 Immigrant Waves In The City: Importing Customs And Creating New Traditions

The next major shift in drinking preferences involved the growing popularity of lager, a German brewing technique whose name is derived from the word “lagerne,” which means to store. To understand why America never looked back after it started drinking lager, it is necessary to look at challenges faced by manufacturing, storing and distributing a product like beer in a newfound country like the U.S. To begin, British ales and stouts were made with yeast that worked its way from the bottom up, giving it a dark, cloudy body. It was prone to bacteria and difficult to transport. “Beers made with sinking yeast were clearer and lighter and didn’t spoil as easily” (Van Munching, 1997: 13). Many of the changes in drinking habits, and beverage selection were due historically to changes in circumstance, and innovations in regards to the perishability of the beverage of choice. Louis Pasteur, who in my mind conjured only images of pasteurized milk, possibly played the single most significant role in supplying the nation with beer. In 1876 he published *Études Sur la Bière*. Every author mentions him. Taking their cue from his discoveries, breweries quickly caught on and began heating their bottles to kill the bacteria.

Bottles now meant labels. Some decided on ribbons tied around the necks of the bottles to differentiate themselves. Knock-offs were rampant. It is probably with thoughts of the thousands of ways of pickling, smoking and canning that various societies have developed over the centuries, that Pilcher says, “the use of refrigeration to keep food without spoiling may well reflect a modern failure of culinary imagination” (Pilchner, 2006, p.1). The era of industrial refrigeration made reproducing cold conditions, similar to those found at the feet of the Bavarian Alps, possible. The refrigerated railroad car began transporting beer as early as 1875 or 1875, and expanded the market and increased availability. This took place most noticeably Westward. As territories were established, market share was won by undercutting. All bets were off as beer

now attempted to conquer the frontier. Smaller breweries were finding it hard to compete with the establishment of larger productions. By the beginning of the twentieth century, there were virtually only three major brewers remaining in the ring: Anheuser-Busch, Pabst and Schlitz. Labeling and branding, combined with a refrigerated transportation network, and the nascent business of advertising, shattered geographical boundaries and did away with the concept of “freshness” as a highly sought after quality in beer, at least for a time.

This was, however, just a transitional, intermediary step to the establishment of what was to become our predominant, national beer of choice. In 1842, “what would eventually become the most common type of lager in America was unveiled in Bohemia (now the Czech Republic): pilsner. Named for it’s hometown of Pilsen, pilsner urquell was the lightest, clearest lager made. It is at this time that industry leaders like Busch, competing for the growing pilsner market share, stumbled upon the origins of our local El Paso classic, the “Bud.” “Recognizing the popularity of Pilsner, and dreaming of the first national brand of beer, Busch found the perfect recipe in České Budějovice, a town in Bohemia, better known for its German name of Budweis” (Van Munching, 1997: 16).

Lager, like any product who’s popularity reaches a tipping point, could point to multiple reasons why it was propelled into the spotlight, the most significant being unprecedented waves of German immigration. “With its harbor, freshwater supply and proximity to grain,” Milwaukee became the Mecca of German brewing in the U.S., with other places along the shores of Lake Michigan also being ideal. Milwaukee not only had production, but also the demand, which came from the Germans. The only other urban center on the shores of Lake Michigan which posed a rivalry was Chicago. The city’s fire of 1871, however, leveled the competition and left the city begging for more of Milwaukee’s brew.

Immigration was not restricted to Germans alone. The U.S. began to experience massive waves of immigration from Italy and Ireland as well. This new era, which Gusfield refers to as that of the “Enemy Drinker,” dates from approximately 1820-1931. It is within this timeframe that the U.S. began to urbanize. The population was booming, cities were developing, and

foreigners and strangers that no one knew abounded. It was impossible to enforce a common set of norms, much less to familiarize everyone with these norms, particularly when not everyone could even speak the same language. Gusfield, for example, suggests that, “the temperance movement became an abstinence movement largely to put the new 19th century immigrants (who were largely Catholic and wet) at a moral disadvantage with respect to the “native” WASP population” (Tropman, 1986, p.20). In other words, these urban centers, had no measures to control alcohol consumption, and were places where social norms were very difficult to enforce or non-existent altogether. This burgeoning influx of immigrants proved to be the last straw in disequilibrating the social equilibrium of the previous era of the Repentant Drinker. This new world necessitated a change, and a quick change, of the social norms surrounding alcohol consumption.

Amidst this upheaval, significant technological advancements transformed the US into a fully industrialized nation. This meant that, while our livelihood no longer depended on the family business or land, and while independence from conventional norms existed, we were now dependent on highly mechanized, dangerous, work environments. Job safety became an issue. Drinking at work was not only unsafe, but inefficient. One drunk employee, not only hurt himself, but could affect the livelihood and productivity of the entire assembly line. With the massive consumption of fuel used to run factories, the slowed production of imbibed workers meant greater overall loss for the company. So as production lines proliferated, so did the interdependence among workers. This newly industrialized work environment only furthered the need to establish certain controls for alcohol consumption.

Far from lucky, and in spite of being filled with hope and potential, the newly immigrated lived a difficult reality. Finding a city full of employment opportunities was not guaranteed. Poverty was rampant and it held true that “the association, especially in the 19th century, between alcohol and poverty, especially for males” (Tropman, 1986, p.20) was strong. The infrastructure of urban development had not grown with the speed with which people had arrived. Living conditions were dire. It was difficult to keep the city and its streets clean. The

systems were simply not in place. “If in an earlier time one defined poverty as a weakness in character, and alcohol use represented such a weakness, then its control would, in some sense, solve the problem” (Tropman, 1986, p.20). All of this, together with European drinking practices being widespread in immigrant enclaves, led to a very negative public perception which perceived immigrants as a threat to social order and good.

This new industrial world to a large degree, also excluded the formal employment of women, who previously played a valuable economic role within the agricultural setting. In this new urban context, women were primarily left to the “unprofitable” positions of child-rearing and home-making. Consequently then, this new world left women almost exclusively dependent on men. Given their precarious situation, and the danger arising from not only beer, but also taverns and the associated activities, drunkenness posed a large threat to their domestic and financial well-being, stability, and prosperity. It is no wonder that women were the first to begin efforts to shift public attitude towards temperance. Temperance, interestingly, makes a clear distinction between beer and hard liquor. At its root, it seems as though it cannot let go of the traditional belief in the goodness of beer, yet cannot deny the havoc that was wreaked on cities through liquor. Women would be the first to embrace a shift in ideology toward a more cautious approach to alcohol.

So then, if the era of the Repentant Drinker was characterized both by increases in consumption of alcohol and liberties regarding alcohol, which ended due to the American Revolution and its consequences, it is only natural that by the time the U.S. urbanized and moved into the period of the Enemy Drinker, the ill consequences of excessive imbibing would come to the forefront. The troubles during the end of the Repentant Drinker era, combined with the challenges posed by a transforming world in the Enemy Drinker era, produced a period that Gusfield characterized as being low on control and high permission. The high permission came from an influx of the immigrant population, the values and ideals of the “native” WASPs after the American Revolution, the larger size of urban centers that could no longer obtain social control via norms, and the lack of formal governmental agencies that could regulate public

behavior. The period of the Enemy Drinker would serve as the stepping stone for the U.S. to move from informal norms, to formal norms, also known as the law. It is due both to absence of laws and the effectiveness of social norms, that the Enemy Drinker era was not only high on permission, but low on controls.

Contrary to what one might think, this was actually an era of overall decline in alcohol consumption. As society braced itself for numerous changes, it began to take a much more conservative approach. As Tropman says, “each phase, to some extent, lays the groundwork for the next” (Tropman, 1986, p.31). The era of the Enemy Drinker was the beginning of the temperance movement, headed up by those who had paid the greatest price during this era: women and the church. Religious fanaticism also began to take root. “At least one place this release was found was in the many revivals and great awakenings which characterized this period. A sudden born-again experience (characteristic of many periods, including today’s) could provide a release from a prison of controls otherwise too confining. In a sense, perhaps there is an inverse relationship (at least in that period) between release through alcohol and release through religious experience” (Tropman, 1986, p.33). This period’s “repressive and controlling themes were added to the Puritan one’s, and transformed the more moderate (though not wildly joyous) Puritans into pillars of repression, an unfounded image” (Tropman, 1986, p. 33).

This is probably the most widely held misconception, that Prohibition was contained to a fourteen year period of history from 1919-1933. Actually, it was merely the zenith of the Enemy Drinker epoch. “As early as 1846, temperance forces in Maine had persuaded the legislature to outlaw the manufacture and sale of distilled liquors” (Lender and Martin, 1987, p.79). This implies that the ideas and attitudes leading to Prohibition were around at least to some extent for roughly 70 years prior to it actually becoming law. “By 1903, over a third of the nation lived under some type of prohibitory law - that is, thirty-five million people - a figure rising to forty-six million by 1913, or about half the populace” (Lender and Martin, 1987, p.129). This means that by 1919, Prohibition had already been a longstanding reality for many people. That is to

say, it was sufficient time for a new generation to grow up without being accustomed to drinking, and enough time for other habits, like soft drinks, to begin to claim a portion of the alcohol market share. This slow shift of social norms which culminated in Prohibition, was easily 80 to 100 years in the making, and quite logical if viewed as an extension of Perkins and Berkowitz's theory. During this period of history, many people chose a much more conservative stance toward drinking. Others Americans took note of this, and made micro adjustments to their behavior as well, leading to a marked national trend. Over time, as these perceptions, adjustments and perceptions ricocheted throughout society, the overall effect was a slow century-long downturn in alcohol consumption. Social Norms Theory on a micro level, over time, resulted in a national mindset which eventually went into law.

One last side note. What we also fail to remember is how prohibition coincided with the war. By 1917 the drain on resources caused by World War I resulted in a clause added to the Food Control Bill preventing food supplies from being directed toward the production of alcoholic beverages. Instead, they were to be rationed as food stuffs for the general population. Prohibition not only addressed concern for social ills expressed by certain segments of the population, but dovetailed with the real need to focus on sustenance and survival in a period where resources needed to be used wisely.

3.3 From Demons To Disease: Temperance, Prohibition, And Then Temperance Again

Having grown tired of the corruption and violence associated with Prohibition, the drawbacks quickly outpaced the benefits, and in 1933 it was repealed. As they say, "when the doctors of divinity became disinclined, the ministers of medicine moved in" (Tropman, 1986, p. 33). If the 1800's came to be known for the rise of industrialism, then the 1900's became known for the establishment of "professionals" and the birth of specialization. "In any event, white collar occupations grew from 17.62 percent in 1900, to 36.61 percent in 1950, to 48.3 percent in 1970" (Tropman, 1986, p.35). As the influence of social norms and religious authorities waned, there was a need for a new form of control to step in and regulate patterns in drinking behavior. The drinker then, began to be referred to psychologists, who in those times were called

“alienists,” because they dealt with alcoholics and others who were struggling in alienation from society. It was these psychologists who spearheaded the third phase of this history: The Sick Drinker, dating from approximately 1930-1960. We have now moved from approbation, to abolition, to alienation.

One of the events that served as a clear indicator of the transition in authority was in the 1900s, when, “under severe pressure from the temperance movement, the medical profession (or at least the part of it represented by the American Medical Association) finally adopted a dry posture.” From there the authority of medical professionals, and professionals in all fields in general, gained unprecedented deference from the general population. As the leaders of this movement saw drunkenness as a chronic disease, they proposed the establishment of asylums. In the beginning, drunks were kept together with patients that suffered from other ailments, but were being treated by the same psychologists. These mixed patient populations proved to be unbearable for drinkers, who proved to be very disruptive in such settings. Eventually “inebriate asylums” were established. “Support for special asylums gradually spread, and by 1900, over fifty public or private facilities had opened for the purpose of treating alcoholics” (Lender and Martin, 1987, p.120). Freud was certainly on the scene at this point, and with many other likeminded psychologists and therapists cropping up, it should be mentioned that many other social ills also came to be seen from the same perspective, that of sicknesses, diseases, or shortcoming in mental capacity. “It should be underscored...that the transcendence of the therapeutic and the suzerainty of the supportive was not uniquely focused on alcoholism. With the passage of the Social Security Act in the 1930’s, the poor were provided caseworkers to assist them in their functioning...and provided psychological interpretation of many of the cases” (Tropman, 1986, p.37).

The reconstruction of the drunkard into an alcoholic, and the new found confidence in professionals, inherently meant that as a society, we had transferred the scepter of authority to a third recipient in U.S. history. If the first figure of authority was the church, and the second the law, then the third was the doctor. In order for deference to work, as a group we must vouch for

the authority of the authority figure. In vouching for them, we agree to participate in the series of actions and norms that uphold them as moderators of our collective actions.

3.4 Recognizing Limitations: The Era Of “So Long As Its Done Responsibly”

This period of “medical imperialism,” as Tracy calls it, eventually waned. To Gusfield’s analysis, Tropman added a fourth and final category, that of the “Responsible Drinker.” This period began in the 1960’s and brought us all the way to contemporary times. This “enlightened hedonism” as Tropman describes it, brought with it many implications.

After World War II, veteran home loans and the deteriorating living conditions of inner cities led to the birth of a new concept in residential development, the suburbs. The first one that arrived on the scene was Levittown, Pennsylvania. Expansion of the suburbs meant the extension of highway and road systems. In terms of beer and liquor, a network of highways meant that by the mid-twentieth century, geography was no longer an issue hindering the logistics of distribution in any way. Grocery stores and televisions were also part of the daily lives of millions of suburbanites. It was no longer a question of whether your favorite beer was available, but which one you would pick as your favorite given all the choices. “The list of contestants was still a fluid thing, but now it was one list” (Van Munching, 1997: 28). Creating and maintaining this vast network and cracking open the U.S. market was a task filled with all kinds of logistical obstacles and distributor deals. This was a looming endeavor that most small breweries just could not climb. “Brewers were bowing down to the great god of Scale Economies” (Van Munching, 1997: 27). Suburbias and their highway networks only resulted in a net loss to the diversity of beer, to the gain of a select few brewing empires.

Better and wider roads resulted in higher speeds. As velocities increased so did the need for protection against drunk drivers. “The first Driving Under the Influence (DUI) laws were passed in 1910 in New York State. California followed the next year, reaffirming the dangers of drinking on the road” (Tracy, 2005, p.9). In addition, there was now M.A.D.D. (Mothers Against Drunk Drivers), and a renewed interest in beer with a low alcoholic content. As a society, the more interdependence that is built into the system, whether that be shared highways or factory

lines, the more we require functioning mechanisms to maintain a certain minimum standard of conduct by those around us on which we rely. The Sick Drinker was no longer enough, we needed a Responsible Drinker. We were in the frame of mind to make people responsible for their actions, especially if they failed to chose to do so themselves.

In this time of winding roads, high speed expressways, and tranquil looking suburbias, Tropman perhaps provides the most interesting insight of the era. “Thus the highest rates of problem drinking are to be found among those who live within highly permissive or indifferent social environments, who live in large cities, who are psychologically alienated from middle class values and who are economically insecure” (Tropman, 1986, p.40). The first of these, “permissive or indifferent environments,” is perhaps best description the life in contemporary, individualistic America. This is intertwined with third issue, that of alienation from middle class values. The combination of highways, cars, urban sprawl and alcohol, served to both uphold and avoid middle class values at the same time. It created an environment where where prying eyes do not see. Out of respect for each man’s castle, no one dared intrude. Neighbors become strangers that children dare not talk to. Deviant behavior could now be secretly committed for years, well-hidden in plain sight of suburban communities, while upholding one’s reputation. The suburbs were safe havens to escape middle class values, within middle class communities, where Americans were increasingly choosing to reside.

He also touches upon life in the city. Anonymity lessened the importance of and ability to create perceptions of those around us. We do not observe any given person enough to put together a rough notion of what their behavioral patterns are, and how we can approximate them. This is true even if we knew we would want to emulate them. Due to the rise of urban life, Social Norms Theory originated as an assessment of peer groups. Perkins and Berkowitz knew that only on such a micro level would people be able to attempt a recreation of the behavior which they observed in others. Thus, within the context of cities, social norms are still relevant as a part of the social groups individuals move and operate in.

Another strong factor which helped lead up to the era of the Responsible Drinker was that of shifting perceptions regarding the consumption of controlled, or not so controlled, substances. Having gained momentum in the 1940's, the reality was that Suburbanites of the 1950's had taken up the use of tranquilizing drugs. Their children, aligning their behavior with their perception of what adult behavior should be, began to indulge in their own recreational drugs. In this light, we are reminded of the era of the Repentant Drinker, where liquor and rum are bad, but beer is good. Only now, getting high and overdosing is bad, and drinking is not so bad. Perspective and perception realigned an entire generation of behavior.

Historically, because of alcohol's ability to loosen inhibitions, its consumption by women was highly controlled. Sexual activity and the resulting "complications" had been at the root of many of the norms and taboos surrounding women's alcohol consumption. As they say, "candy is dandy, but liquor is quicker" (Tropman, 1986, p.40). It was a blow to a woman's reputation and standing in society, if she came to be known as a toppler during the age of the Enemy Drinker, for example. Victorian women had a hard time recovering from such accusations. Because of this, they were often the last to find help in the age of the Sick Drinker, a fact which may also stem from women being of minimal economic significance at the time. In short, the social acceptance of alcohol and other controlled substances in the 1960's, led to the question of how to control behaviors that were not publicly observable. Take deviant sexual behavior for example. "How can society control sexual activity now that an important inhibitor - for persons and society - is of much less importance? New norms and values will need to be developed and instituted" (Tropman, 1986, p.41). Of course, in this case, the first answer was the more wide-spread introduction of birth control. On the whole, the reality of the new suburban model and the new era of the Responsible Drinker, meant that as a society we focused solely on those aspects of behavior that were visible to the public, and which directly affected us. The era of the Responsible Drinker saw itself forced to completely abandon its concern, even if feigned, for the overall well being of individual members of society. Social norms were forced to retreat, so to speak. Instead, they re-established themselves as a protocol for individuals pursuing

self-interests as they saw fit, so long as they neither endangered, or otherwise negatively impacted anyone else. The social norms common in the era of the Responsible Drinker, you could say, were driven by a selfish retreat into our own agenda.

Chapter 4: In El Paso

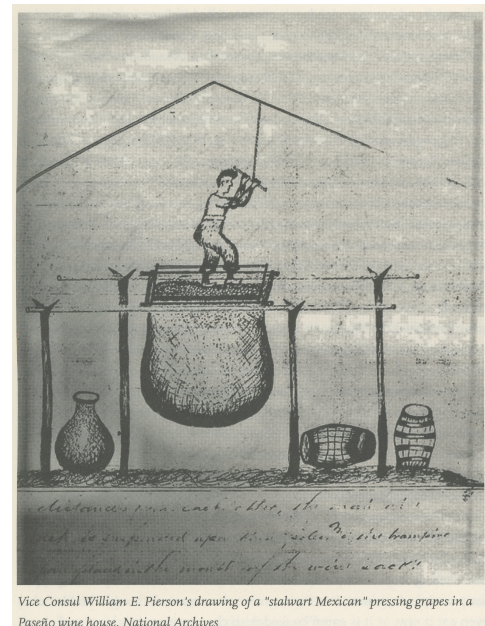
These large-scale trends manifested themselves in distinct ways in small towns all across the country. It is important to analyze alcohol production and consumption on a micro-historic level, because drinking culture “is socially constructed and produced differentially, based in part on the circumstances of place, space and social structural context...it is a manifestation of sameness and differentiation of culture and identity” (Wilson, 2005, p.3). National drinking practices then were reinterpreted through local identities, circumstances and the agricultural potential of the surrounding geography.

4.1 The Early Years: On The Blood Of Christ And Garden Paradise

El Paso had its humble, Catholic beginnings on December 6, 1659. On this day, Fray García de San Francisco y Zúñiga erected a small church made of branches and mud and a monastery thatched with straw. He dedicated his work to the Holy Virgin of Guadalupe. The Pueblo Revolt of 1680 also helped to further establish the city as a permanent settlement. This consisted of two thousand Spanish and Indian refugees fleeing south from Northern New Mexico and making their way to El Paso. Nearly 400 Spaniards were slain, including 21 missionaries. This became the greatest retreat from Indians in the history of North America. The native American population continued to swell, when in 1682 Otermín returned to El Paso del Norte after burning the Isleta Pueblo near modern Albuquerque. He brought 385 Indian hostages with him. The Tiguas settled at the Ysleta del Sur location, and erected a new mission, Sacramento de los Tiguas de Ysleta. Tantos and Jemez Indians settled in Socorro. El Paso was now a well established community and resting point. Many travelers testified to this end in their accounts and personal correspondences. As a response to the ongoing threat of attacks by Apaches and other nearby tribes, Brigadier Rivera wrote of the city in 1726: “there is a sizable town of Spaniards, mestizos, and mulattoes, with two pueblos or wards inhabited by the Mansos and the Piro, who are administered by the Franciscans. On the east bank opposite the town at a distance of four leagues are located the towns of Socorro, Ysleta, Senecú and San Lorenzo, small

settlements similar to those of El Paso. In this same direction there is a spacious valley dotted with farms where they plant wheat, corn, beans, and all kinds of vegetables, as well as a quantity of vineyards which yield fruit of a superior quality to that of Parras. The natural fertility of the land is improved by the number of irrigation ditches which carry water from the Río del Norte so that the farms are free from droughts. The pueblos of Socorro, Ysleta and San Lorenzo are inhabited by Indians of the following nations: Tiguas, Sumas, and Piros, and they are under the care of the Franciscan order” (Timmons, p.33). No longer a wandering people, settling meant orchards, gardens and crops, from whence beer, wine and liquor are always sure to follow. In 1827, “Ponce de León, a prominent El Paso figure, acquires 211 acres north of the Rio Grande and builds a shack near today’s northwest corner of Paisano and El Paso streets. Ponce began what we now call El Paso, Texas. He was a wealthy merchant who cultivated vineyards and wheat, and for a while was the *jefe político* of the El Paso district” (Metz, p.22). During this time the wine industry continued to grow in the form of familial viticulture practices. Local vinters benefitted from the expertise our founding fathers, Spanish priests, who were in need of wine for the sacrament of communion.

The wine process in early El Paso began with the fabrication of the vessels. Green hides were shaped around formwork to create sacks that reached readiness after drying in the sun. These were quite large and suspended from four poles strong enough to hold the weight of the person crushing the grapes. This structure was erected inside a barn or in the open. Atop the mouth of the sack, a square pan of raw hide was also attached, and perforated when dry. For ten days the juice was left to ferment in barrels, with the sediment sinking to the bottom of the barrel. After this, the juice was placed in a new barrel for another sixty days. Finally, after a third



Vice Consul William E. Pierson's drawing of a "stalwart Mexican" pressing grapes in a Pasoño wine house. National Archives

Illustration 4.1: “Stalwart Mexican” Pressing Grapes.

phase of fermentation lasting another sixty days, the wine was ready for consumption.

If one wonders what varieties were common in the area, the County Agriculture Office, in their publication “Suggested Fruit Varieties For The Home Orchard In El Paso County (Revised 1938),” under the category of “Grapes,” lists the following varieties: “Thompson seedless, Black Malvoise, Black Muscat, Muscat of Alexandria, Red Malaga, Mission, Black Hamburg, Black Cornichon, Alicante, Bouchet, and Mission are recommended for wine grapes,. Tokay and Flame Tokay may be added if desired” (EP Public Library, The Southwest Collection, South West Vertical File - Agriculture - EP County. County Agriculture Office. “Suggested Fruit Varieties For The Home Orchard In El Paso County (Revised 1938)”).

Irrigation, both natural and man-made, has played a culturally defining role in the El Paso area. Most prominently is the “acequia,” or community maintained irrigation canal. These were made mostly of local, compacted dirt, which hydrology studies have shown to suffer minimal evapotranspiration losses. Acequias then branch off into private properties lining the acequias, making natural corridors lined with cottonwood trees. In 1859, Mills completed a survey of the city, comprising what is now the area of downtown. He said of what he saw, “the main acequia, which ran in an easterly direction by the plaza, was lined with cottonwood trees, and most of the area South of San Antonio and San Francisco streets had vineyards, fruit trees, and fields of wheat and corn in cultivation” (Timmons, p.144). By the late 1800’s, EPaso had a very well



Illustration 4.2: Map Of
“The Route Of Paso Del Norte.”

developed network of acequias that sustained it's various agricultural pursuits.

The continuance of Catholic tradition assured the continuation of thriving viticultural practices. “Arising out of a need by the missions for a dependable supply of sacramental wine, El Paso’s vineyards quickly became the principal agricultural activity. They gave the area a monopoly on wine, vinegar, brandy, and raisin production, all of which was shipped in great volume during the eighteenth century over the Camino Real to Chihuahua and Santa Fe” (Timmons,p.27). Brandy here was also known as “aguardiente.” “From 1790 to 1830, caravans from the Pass showed up annually at Santa Fe to trade at the great fiesta in September and the reputation of Pass wine and Pass brandy spread farther than ever” (Sonnichsen, Vol I, p.88). Due to it’s location on the Camino Real and it’s reputation as a trading point, these served to disseminate the goods and fame of our local alcohol production. Being in 1848, with the striking of gold in California, “the quiet little adobe town of El Paso del Norte was transformed into a bustling, brawling frontier crossroads, described as ‘the last place to rest, purchase supplies, ask directions, secure passports,’ and refresh dehydrated bodies with generous allotments of ‘Pass Whiskey’” (Timmons,p.103). After hundreds of miles of dry land, travelers on their way to California found the place to be paradise. In 1849, one of them wrote, “the productions of this place are corn, wheat, beans, vegetables and fruits of every variety. Great care and attention is

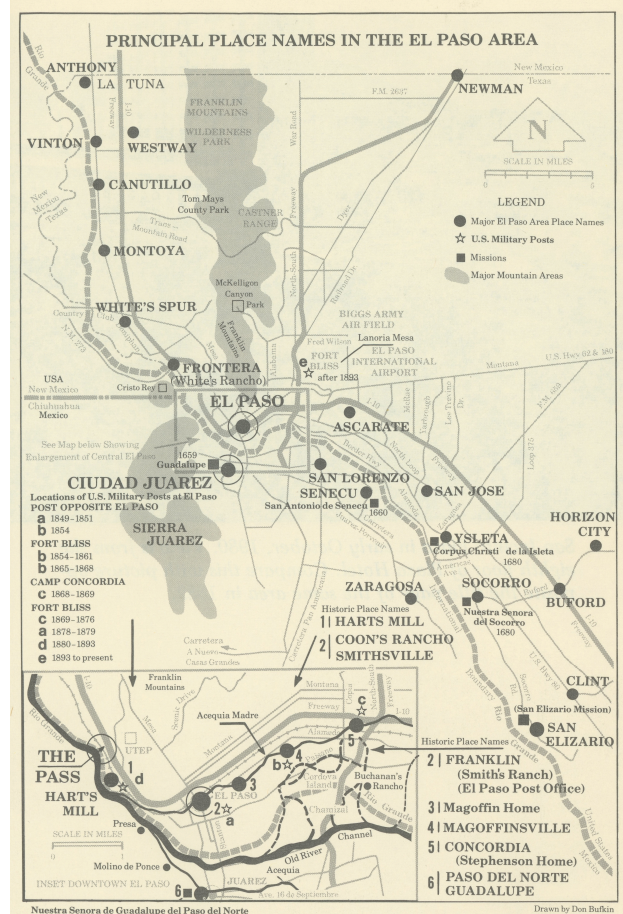


Illustration 4.3: Map Of
“Principal Place Names In The El Paso Area.”

transformed into a bustling, brawling frontier crossroads, described as ‘the last place to rest, purchase supplies, ask directions, secure passports,’ and refresh dehydrated bodies with generous allotments of ‘Pass Whiskey’” (Timmons,p.103). After hundreds of miles of dry land, travelers on their way to California found the place to be paradise. In 1849, one of them wrote, “the productions of this place are corn, wheat, beans, vegetables and fruits of every variety. Great care and attention is

paid to the culture of the grape and considerable wine is manufactured. The whole valley is irrigated by means of an aqueduct which leads from the falls of the river one mile above the town” (Timmons,p.104). El Paso became not only a pit stop for those moving north to south, but was now also a mile marker for those traveling east to west.

For El Paso, these time were very reflective of the Repentant Drinker period from 1620-1820. Although El Paso wasn’t founded until 1659, this is one of Gusfield’s periods that most resonated with the local experience, though in a slightly different way. We too were founded on religious premises, though Catholic, not Protestant. Our religious authorities promoted healthy relationship relationships with alcohol, and actively imbibed themselves. Here although primarily with wines and brandies, not beer. At neither our inception as a nation or as a city was drinking perceived in a negative light, except when the practice was lacking in self limitation. Similar to the situation of the colonists, we too were living in a tight knit community, governed by social norms, where shunning meant death, very likely in the hands of Native Americans.

4.2 The Dawn Of A New Era: It Was Like Vegas, Baby

By the late 19th century, the El Paso region appeared to be distinctly well-established. A distinguished New York tourist wrote of his visit in 1893, that, “the whole country around Juárez shows that it has been under cultivation for many years, yet the soil is as fruitful as ever. The waters of the Rio Grande, like the waters of the Nile in old Egypt, carry the topsoil of the mountains in which they had their source, and deposit it year after year upon the land, keeping it up to its full bearing power. The grapevines and gardens are generally surrounded by adobe walls connecting with the adobe houses of the inhabitants, and it is a singular sight to see a landscape where all there is, is but one color. Everything is the color of the soil” (Timmons, 184).

Previous centuries in the valley had seen the devastation brought on by the capricious swelling and subsiding of the Rio Grande, causing great harm to gardens, orchards, vineyards, crops, missions and homes alike. The shifting of its wayward path could mean a gain or loss of

approximately 400 acres, in an know as the “Chamizal,” so named after a weed that grew there named “chamiza.” This led to political problems between the U.S. and Mexico, and eventually led to the endorsement of the construction of Elephant Butte Dam by President Taft in 1910, creating the largest man made lake in the U.S. at the time. Almost as a accidental by-product of the international border dispute, was the excitement that this project generated for the agricultural industry. With it’s completion and dedication on October 20, 1916, “significant changes also occurred in valley agriculture as small farms, manual labor, and vineyard culture gave way to much larger holdings using powerful and expensive farm machinery in the cultivation of cotton and alfalfa” (Timmons, 201). The construction of the dam jump-started El Paso as an area known for commercial cash crops, such as cotton and alfalfa, which are still of note today. “The agricultural boom was due mostly to the development of the great Rio Grande Reclamation Project which provided water after the completion of Elephant Butte Dam in 1916” (Sonnichsen, Vol.II,p.71). The construction of Elephant Butte dam marked the end of the dominance of agriculturally diverse, self-sufficient homes in the valley, that often times had private vineyards. Unfortunately, the developing wine and brandy industry, never got the chance to taste real commercial success. This served to even further accentuate agriculture as a distinct sector of industry, a type of enterprise not every family belonged to. By the time Elephant Butte Dam was completed and these agricultural shifts were occurring, the shift towards employment in other industrialized businesses was already well on its way. Adding more sophistication to the agricultural endeavors only served to further the trend toward city employment. This movement towards urban centers is what characterized next historical period, that of the Enemy Drinker, which took place roughly between 1820 and 1931.

With the cumulative effects of the Camino Real, the gold rush, and the railroad, El Paso was increasing become an urban center. The graph to the right illustrates the steady growth of the population that was typical of what could now be called cities during the Enemy Drinker period across the nation. Around this time, El Paso was composed of Spaniards and those of Spanish descent; wealthy Mexicans fleeing their country due to the Mexican Revolution, there were also

poor revolutionaries, many Native American groups, Chinese and African-American workers. These individuals from varying backgrounds socialized together in bars, where segregation or other types of differentiation were not the norm. Animosity towards any particular racial group was not felt near as strongly as in communities on the East coast for three reasons. The first reason being that El Paso, as an urban center paled in comparison to the size of other cities. This

meant that the population of minorities did not reach a critical mass, in fact, most of El Paso was composed of what other emerging cities would have classified as minorities, or immigrants. The second reason is because, from the perspective of the

Enemy Drinker period, immigrants posed a threat to the long time

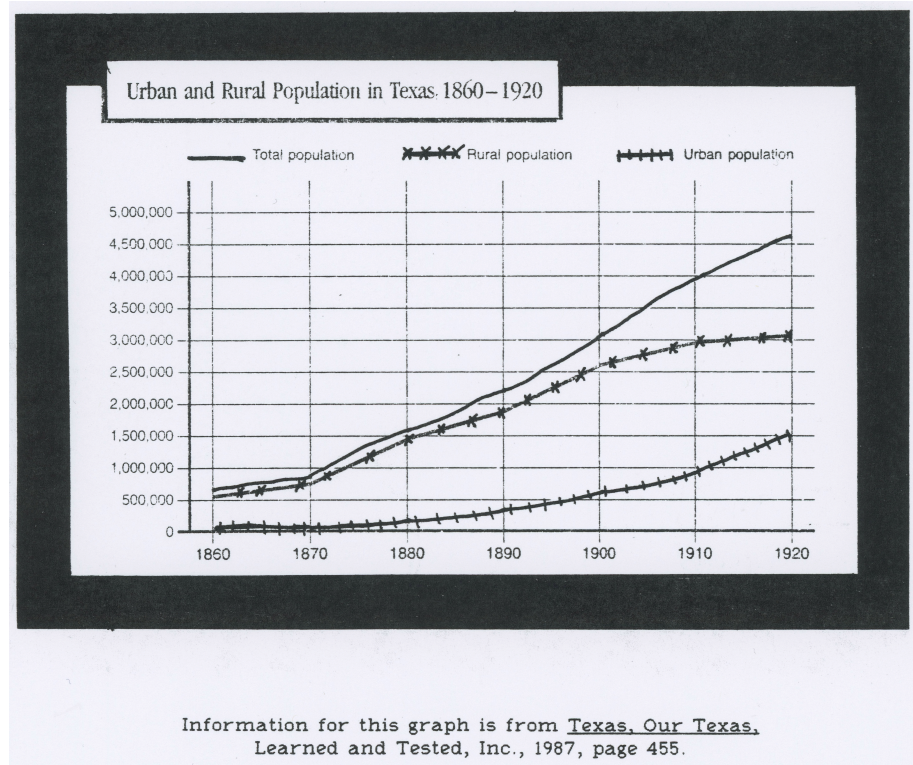


Illustration 4.4: “Urban And Rural Population In Texas 1860 - 1920.”

Protestant residents. They saw themselves as being of a place where recent immigrants posed a threat to their social order and way of life. Keep in mind immigrants were largely German, Italian and Irish drinkers, the later being Catholics. From this perspective, El Paso consisted primarily of the Enemy in the Enemy Drinker. Within this context, the Protestant reformers and keepers morals and values were the true minorities. This serves to explain why El Paso remained in the hands of the Wets, even when the rest of the country was falling to the Drys. Lastly, in

terms of other urban centers within our vicinity, El Paso existed in isolation, as can be seen by observing the transportation networks in Illustration 4.5. El Paso was largely cut off from communication with and influence not only from the East, but also from the activity and urban development as close as East Texas. This meant that El Paso, far from the vigilant eye of the East, experienced the loosening of social norms that was necessary to

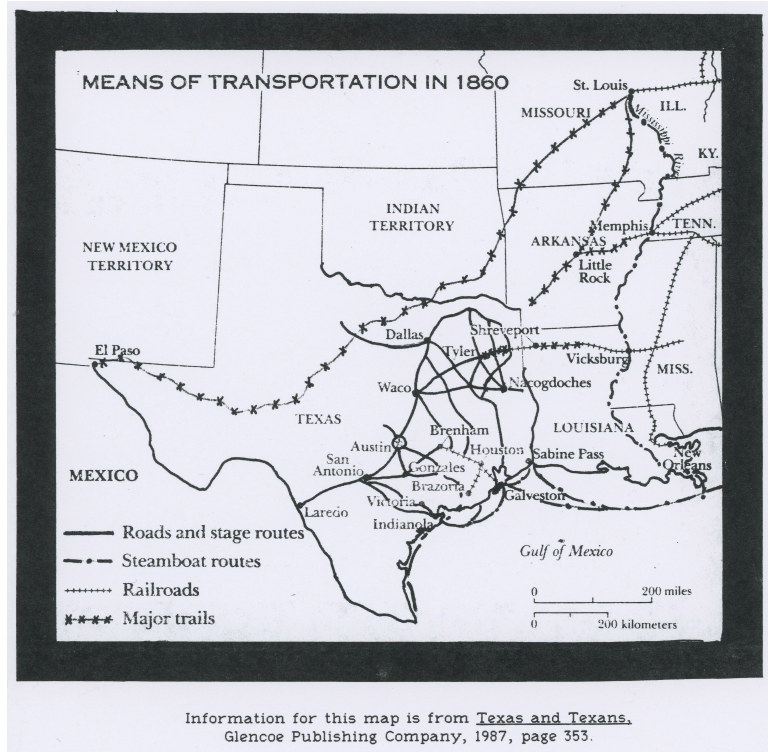


Illustration 4.5: “Means Of Transportation In 1860.”

adapt to new and challenging circumstances, in other words, situations that usually accompanied the efforts of settling the West. As the era of the Enemy Drinker was primarily spearheaded by a white anglo-saxon Protestant community which was very under represented locally, in general, its most salient implications were not particularly strong felt locally.

Drinking in Southwest, and specifically in El Paso, had certain distinct aspects which had no parallel in other parts of the country. El Paso played a critical role in the Mexican Revolution, and since 1910, bars like “The Gem” provided a local hang out for revolutionaries and counter-revolutionaries. The formalization of Prohibition caught the patrons off guard, and many, who were being pursued for more serious crimes, were picked up on charges of intoxication. Even though he was a teetotaler, Pancho Villa himself often met people at the Emporium Bar for business. It is reported that he nearly choked on the ceremonial brandy toasts that he occasionally had to participate in.

Bars in those days could be considered what one could call entertainment palaces. In addition to drinks, diverse venues for people to pass the time were provided for. Movies were shown in bars. Foxtrot, ragtime, swing and other jazz variations, popular throughout the country in the years leading up to prohibition, could be heard at bars in both the El Paso and Juárez. However, the influence of Mexico, and its revolution in particular, meant that the backdrop to drinking was also composed of bands, marching bands, and more often than not, military marching bands, playing ever faster paced tempos as the end of the war approached. Of course, music and “illegal “happy water” often went hand in hand at these joints” (Romo, 2005, p.148). Aside from movies and music, they often included casinos, dancing and ice cream parlors. They were the one stop shop for all off-hour pass times.



Illustration 4.6: “Gem Saloon”.

By 1917 however, El Paso became preoccupied with a different war. In 1917, the U.S. declared war on Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire, effectively entering World War I, and El Paso’s Fort Bliss assumed a key role in these efforts. Contrary to what one might think, the war effort never resulted in a boon to beer and liquor consumption. True to the times, the Secretary of War’s arrival proved to be a force to be reckoned with, as he actively used his position to “improve” Fort Bliss and the surrounding community in ways that were congruent with what the Temperance movement was doing in the rest of the country. Threatening to withhold the influx of troops unless certain stipulations had been met, a practice still used by Fort Bliss today, was employed to eradicate what the Secretary perceived to be dangerous to morale. “Citing illegal sales of alcohol to soldiers and unrestricted prostitution around army camps, Secretary Baker went on to warn that if conditions in El Paso did not improve, the city might find itself without any troops” (Timmons, p.224). As the city undertook efforts to clean up amid promises of growth and troops, much like recent years, there were accusations bootlegging and

bribery among the police force. This type of problem, common across the country, had manifested itself in El Paso as well. Despite the cracks in the facade, “a city ordinance forbade the sale of liquor to soldiers; the county launched an intensive drive against suspect roadhouses; and the city police formed two special ‘purity squads’ to search for prostitutes in hotels and rooming houses” (Timmons, p.224). Despite their best efforts, the additional troops failed to materialize by the end of the war in October of 1918, however, Secretary Baker’s efforts are worth mentioning as they went hand in hand with the work of local women and civic organizations that were actively struggling against EL Paso’s predominantly Wet culture.

Although El Paso did not precede Prohibition with a decades long history of being a DRY county, it should be noted that there was always a forcepushing for the values of the Temperance movement. As early as 1887 the El Paso Women’s Christian Temperance Society was hosting benefits and rallying support throughout the city. An account from January 27, 1918, observes that church leaders filled their sanctuaries in support for Prohibition. Other El Pasoans recommended the establishment of committees to fight prostitution and illegal liquor sales. In



As more families moved to El Paso, there were movements to clean up the town, which still had Wild West elements. Among the local organizations, the Woman's Club of El Paso was organized in 1894 and worked tirelessly to improve the city, while a local chapter of the Women's Christian Temperance Union was organized in 1896.

Illustration 4.7: “Women’s Club.”

fact, when a local saloon owner, “Asked permission...to project films and have live singing,...city officials made Palomar promise that both the movies and the music would be within the strict confines of public morality” (Romo, 2005, p.182). There was a counter resistance to the Wet climate that strongly believed in upholding specific morals and values that persisted throughout this era.

By 1918, Prohibition was about to reach it's zenith as a national movement. In El Paso, this prompted the county, by a three to two vote, to resort to a local option election on prohibition. On January 30, 1918, the Wets won. "the city voted down prohibition 2,421 to 2,207, and El Paso County ballots rendered the same verdict by 2,668 to 2,497" (Timmons, p. 225). This split the city along the same lines that it split the nation. The Dry's were led by moral authorities and patriots and were supported by churches and the press. The Wets, were a group of brewers, drinkers and saloon and restaurant owners.

On March 5, 1918, the 18th Amendment was ratified in Congress. On April 15th, 1918, due to the Texas governor's decree, "all saloons in Texas are closed due to the 18th Amendment ratification. As the closing hour of 10:30 P.M. approached, 250 saloons conducted enormous amounts of business as the Wets had their farewell libations. Meanwhile, requests for barrels of beer and casks of whiskey went unfilled. Zach White, for whom a local elementary school is named, is rumored to have bought out all the libations at the Paso del Norte Hotel bar for personal use. "Strangely, there were no reported deaths that day: John Barleycorn died alone" (Metz, p.192). It is said that The Gem had the largest, wildest crowd that night. El Paso would become doubly dry due to an incidental casualty to other state-wide changes that the Dry's put into effect. Uniquely, "by governor's decree a ten mile prohibition zone would be placed around all military training camps in Texas, in effect making El Paso a dry city" (Timmons, p. 225). On January 16, 1919, the 18th Amendment, became law. On January 16, 1920, the 18th Amendment was ratified.

As alcohol began to dry up, El Paso's proximity to Juarez and it's legal liquor, put it on the map. Cabarets and saloons opened for business in Juarez. We became "as a local chamber of commerce ad later called it: 'The Wettest Spot on the Rio Grande'" (Romo, 2005, p.145). Juarez boomed during Prohibition. "American musicians and tourists from all over the country were pouring into Juárez by the thousands in search of sex, booze and jazz" (Romo, 2005, p138). To begin with, a lot of businessmen in the liquor distribution industry closed up shop in the States and re-opened south of the border. They opened all manner of entertainment establishments to

welcome Americans looking for a legal libations. Tourists stopped by on their way to California for a good diner and a drink. Juarez became the small Southwestern version of Las Vegas today, with visits by celebrities and politicians included. “Between 1918 and 1919, about 14,000 tourists crossed the border into Mexico” (Romo, 2005, p.145). During Prohibition, the main drag was Avenida 16 de Septiembre, and included such famous establishments as “Big Kid’s,” “The Tivoli,” the original “Central Cafe” and “The Mint Bar,” which was owned and operated by Harry Mitchell. “There were about 200 bars and restaurants along Calle Comercio (today’s 16 de Septiembre) and Avenida Juárez where they could find gigs - one bar per 20 feet” (Romo, 2005, p.145).

Illustration 4.8: “Big Kid’s Bar.”



To paint a better picture:

“The Hole in the Wall was on Cordova Island west of where the foot of Piedras Street meets Paisano today. It’s clientele didn’t bother with such formalities as U.S. Customs inspections; they merely parked their cars, lifted the wire fence and lifted a plank which served as a foot bridge over an irrigation ditch. After a rain, people’s feet got a bit muddy, but they didn’t seem to mind. After all, here they were living it up in adobe splendor and having mixed drinks within a few feet of the dry old U.S.A” (Mangan,p.108).

Much as it is today, Juarez / El Paso was a trucking hub and a trafficking point. We were the origin of large quantities of liquor that were distributed to Chicago and the remainder of the Southwest. The profit margin was high and the border was much more porous. “Perkins recalls that a case of whisky delivered to a point near El Paso might bring as much as \$35 to the smuggler, but in Denver or Kansas City it was worth \$100” (Sonnichsen,Vol.II,p.8). “Bottle-bearing Mexicans could wade the river almost anywhere, and wade it they did in increasing numbers” (Sonnichsen,Vol.II,p.6). Smugglers were forever coming up with new strategies to cross bottles, and stories abound, many of them seeming quaint to the modern-day listener. Consider the man with a hog farm along the river, who used his storefront as a cover, or the woman who would take her baby for a stroll along the river in the afternoons, until they found two bottles of mezcal swaddled with the baby. As you can imagine, the situation engendered bootleggers, smugglers and hijackers, which made the border an increasingly dangerous place. Just about everyone was armed and ready for confrontation. Even Mexican immigrants simply crossing for work were well protected lest they be confused for smugglers.

One of the more interesting aspects of Prohibition on the border was the fact that our ready access to legitimately manufactured liquor, decreased our need for homebrew. There were a few recorded instances, including the following: “a woman known only as ‘Mrs.B.’ had a place in Sunset Heights where high-school-age youngsters bought home-made wine, served in fruit

jars” (Sonnichsen, Vol.II, p.26). In general however, El Paso escaped much of the serious illness, paralysis, blindness and death that often resulted from moonshine.

It’s difficult to ascertain how accurate of a picture these scenes of drinking represent. Certainly ,although the Prohibition has always conjured images of heavy drinking, this is truly not the case. If the era of the Repentant drinker was one of a steady increase in drinking, then the era of the Enemy Drinker was one of a steady decline in drinking as the country took on a more conservative approach in facing multiple adjustments to their immediate context. This means that during Prohibition we are in essence turning our attention what you could say were the remaining drinkers, after a century when drinking was in a constant decline and overshadowed by fears, stigmas, and negative associations.

In any case, by 1929, the onset of the Great Depression had taken it’s toll on the saloons in Juarez. As the years had wore on, and the situation in the U.S. continued to deteriorate, the economic downturn was mirrored on the south side of the border as well. To top it off, in 1931, the Mexican peso devaluated by 38%, reducing the income that their business represented to the American side of the border. Immigrants began returning to Mexico for lack of work in the States, adding further pressure on the unemployment situation South of the border. “The worst blow of all came in 1933 with the repeal of Prohibition. This meant complete ruin for the entertainment industry, and when a little later, the reform-minded Cardenas administration abolished gambling and closed ‘calle diablo’ (the street of sin just west of the main thoroughfare), Juárez reached the end of an era” (Sonnichsen, Vol.II, p.41). The final blow to business in Juarez came on April 12, 1933, when beer sales once again became legal in El Paso. By November 7th, ground was breaking for Harry Mitchell’s Brewery, and on January 1, 1934, liquor sales were again legalized.

In the end, for El Paso, the period of the Enemy Drinker proved to be much less significant than others, as we have always been a population of diverse cultural backgrounds and a natural refuge for migrants and immigrants. At the time that Prohibition, the culmination of the Enemy Drinker period, went into law, half the country had already been dry for decades due to

local laws. This was not the case in El Paso. The Wets remained in power throughout this national debate, which lasted approximately 80 years. Because we were primarily immigrants or “Enemies” in the Enemy Drinker period, because we were so far West and far from Protestant influences and because we were so close to a legal source of alcohol, El Paso never experienced a strong enough backlash to turn us into a dry county, until this reached a national consensus.

4.3 The Drinking Disease: Dipsomniacs In The Boozatorium

In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, cities were looking for a way to cope, not only with the drunk, but also with the disabled, defective, diseased, delinquent, impoverished, insane and mainly dependent. An expansive period in social welfare and healthcare placed many of these listed in institutional settings. Institutions became the catch-all solution for any social ill. State hospitals housed not only the insane, but inebriates as well. Tuberculosis sanatoriums and poorhouses were also in the works and well on their way. In the case of inebriety, it was judges who were tired of seeing the same faces over and over, that started the push for the institutionalization of drunks. It is from these institutions that the patient had to be “paroled”.

Some physicians of the time believed that the rise of the city had prompted, “the struggle for wealth, power, and social position; unhealthy rivalries for the sake of display; and all the commotion of city life depleted people’s nervous energy and prompted them to search for stimulants, Parrish claimed, and routinely they turned to alcohol” (Tracy, 2005, p.63). The rise of professionals serving as the social and cultural authority of this period generated a series of medical experts, healthcare policy professionals, and social workers that saw it as their duty to take on many of the social ills arising in the city. These same professionals also enjoyed the benefits of being well versed in a narrow field of study, and realized that specialization could be quite profitable. The shift from temperance leaders to medical professionals was the most notable characteristic of the Sick Drinker period, which dated from approximately 1931-1960. It had, by far, the most profound and lasting impact.

The period of the Sick Drinker saw a shift in public perception. This shift occurred as part of a process that began as seeing simply habitual drunkenness. Then, over time, with the

influence of medicalization, drunkenness eventually became a disease named alcoholism. Before alcoholism could become a full-fledged disease however, it was to undergo a process obfuscated by various trains of thought. Drawing from the Temperance movement and its popular literature, alcoholism still carried connotations of being a moral problem. The drinker's personal lack of character continued to be considered the root of the problem. Gradually however, science was being introduced into the assessment of social ills. Initially, inebriety was seen as a mental disease. Although science and medicine had now become respectable perspectives from which to address alcoholism, this identity crisis led to actual treatments which included a variety of approaches. Among these were medications, moral reform, psychiatric therapy, religious salvation, financial aid and prison discipline.

The introduction of the period of the Sick Drinker, was the fruit of the labor of previous decades. "Finally, in the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first two decades of the twentieth, cities and states began to construct the facilities they had contemplated for years" (Tracy, 2005, p.94). It was these facilities that aided in the realization of alcoholism as a disease. In the end though, only Massachusetts and Iowa successfully established inebriate hospitals for a prolonged period of time. Minnesota, Connecticut and New York City also managed to establish inebriate farms.

The influence of the paradigm shift to the Sick Drinker period inspired the establishment of several institutions in the El Paso area as well. In 1894, the "Sisters of Charity" opened an 80 bed hospital called "Hotel Dieu." In 1902, El Paso's first non-denominational hospital, Providence, opened to care for the employees of ASARCO. In the late 1800's and early 1900's the rise of tuberculosis was sweeping through many parts of the country. In 1907, "The Albert Baldwin Health Resort, a large (19,000 square foot) sanatorium is constructed in the Highland Park Addition at the foot of Mt. Franklin. The elevation of 3,764 feet was considered ideal for consumptives" (Metz, 1193, p.154). It was El Paso's first sanatorium. In 1910, it was renamed the "Homan Sanatorium." In 1909, our second sanatorium, the "Hendrick's Sanatorium," opened its doors. In 1910, the "El Paso Sanatorium" opened its doors; in 1915, both the "Convalescent

Home for Tuberculars” and the “Sunnycrest Sanatorium,” in 1918, the “Southern Baptist Sanatorium,” in 1921, “William Beaumont,” catering primarily to consumptives as well. Because of our mild winters, low humidity, dry spells and high elevation, El Paso began to promote itself as a destination for restitution of those suffering from TB. The period of the Sick Drinker was in all likelihood, not as strongly felt in El Paso as in other parts of the country because the city lacked population necessary to warrant the creation of many of these stand alone institutions that were reflective of the times. The Sick Period era, while it did engender the many institutions here in El Paso, they were primarily for tuberculosis and general health care.

4.4 The Responsible El Paso Drinker Of Today: Online Mugshots And More

As we have cycled through the first three primary periods of social norms in the history of drinking, and having now arrived at the last, we can observe how history has swung back and forth between stances of softness and hardness in their approach to dealing with drinking. The era of the Repentant Drinker employed the soft approach of informal social norms. The Enemy Drinker then saw itself obligated to harden its dealings with liquor and enforce harsh laws. Thus, the Sick Drinker, while maintaining the laws, tried to soften the blow by addressing alcoholics as patients, not criminals, and promising treatment and hope. That brings us to the present, the time of the Responsible Drinker. This is a period characterized by a society who must, once again, harden their stance for the safety and well being of their cities, amidst a myriad of dangers and obstacles. This has meant tougher laws, more civic organizations, warning requirements in advertising and police department websites and news cycles dedicated to the public shaming of the inebriated. In the wake of the rising crescendo in the age of the Responsible Drinker, which began in the 1960's, we've abandoned the hope that we are capable of caring for one another. We neither have the time nor the interest to develop an approach that does anything more than regulate people's behavior for our own interests. We have settled for an approach that lacks a genuine interest in the well-being of others.

The era of the Responsible Drinker began with the development of suburbs and highways after World War II. While the periods of the Enemy Drinker and Sick Drinker were not as

strongly felt here, the period of the Responsible Drinker really hit home in the Sun City. Because of the seemingly infinite amount of easily developable land, developers have continued to be able to chase the cheaper fringes of the city. Suburbanization is something El Paso knows a lot about. In this city, a car is a basic necessity. This has meant that in El Paso, DWIs are a frequent and harsh reality. We are surrounded by the evidence of their existence via billboards for cheap attorneys and advertisements for public service campaign. We have a certain fascination the issue. Local gossip is filled with stories of principals, politicians and local news anchors who got caught drinking. This is not limited to locals, but has become a national obsession. Recently, the head of the FAA was detained while driving drunk down the opposite side of the road. Even a former president of a defunct chapter of MADD (Mothers Against Drunk Drivers) was caught driving under the influence in Florida. These are only the most recent examples of public figures held high, serving as examples of gross irresponsibility. Back on a level that connects more with the average working citizen, Monday mornings prove to be a time of great entertainment and reveling in other's humiliation. Co-workers gather around someone's computer to look at the El Paso Police Department website, which often contains photographs of people they know in common, that have been arrested over the weekend. Practices of public humiliation such as this are the informal social norms that serve as a mechanism to reinforce more formal rules and regulations. These collectively embody the entire experience of the Responsible Drinker period. It is not merely a set of laws forced upon us, as it is a set of values that we have internalized. "Friends don't let friends drive drunk," is something we genuinely believe.

For over a century, El Paso has been engaged in efforts to control and minimize the dangers of locals crossing over the border to drink. Curfews and bridge closures (before carding existed) have been around since 1926, when an unsuccessful proposition was made to close the bridge at six in the evening. There was a time, not long ago, when the great moral panic was teenagers going over to Juarez to drink. In retrospect, these seem like innocent times. For those of us who grew up in El Paso, going to Juarez to drink was a rite of passage. It is a generational

experience, much like the violence of Juarez today will mark the experiences of a new generation. When meeting fellow native El Pasoans the conversation often turns to the wild times they had in Juarez and the common high school acquaintances who were a part of it. If a city or community is tied together by a collective memory of shared experiences, then certainly the Juarez drinking experiences belongs in that category.

From considering the DWIs, billboards, public service campaigns and our attempted curfews at the bridge, it is evident that we are a community committed to responsible drinking. This campaign toward protecting ourselves and others is manifested on all levels, from the nationally regulated warning labels on liquor bottles, to the Department of Health's signs in women's restrooms, to the "Drink Responsibly" slogans in commercials and magazine advertisements. We are fully committed. The concept of responsibility however, is one that can be open to many interpretations, even within the single subject of alcohol consumption. Like anything else, it's definition is subject to cultural interpretation. In order to understand how responsibility plays out practically in the city, we have to look at the cultural distinctions between several socio-economically and ethnically distinct groups. Only by observing these groups, and the normative behaviors of their most common drinking settings, can we begin to get an overview of what the concept of responsibility looks like on a border town such as this.

In defining the concept of responsibility on local terms, a good place to start looking at reasons why our concept might diverge from others is by looking at the backgrounds of our predecessors: primarily Catholic Mexican immigrants, or Catholicized native Americans, who have interwoven themselves into the Hispanic population. This extremely conservative, family-oriented heritage makes distinctions that are not congruent with traditional conservative Protestant values. While for both homosexuality is an aberration, for Catholics, drinking is not. Drinking is a familial activity, the basis for Mexico's more communal style of drinking. Unlike those of Protestant descent, Catholics need not drink alone, fearful of being thought of as unproductive or unambitious. Catholics also tend to have larger families, who value community and often turn down opportunities elsewhere to stay close to home. Extended families have

chosen to congregate in El Paso, and family members are often so numerous that they can call a family gathering and have an instant party of 50 to 100 people. Often times these gatherings revolve around sports, particularly the Dallas Cowboys, which is another one of the community's strongest ties. They inspire passion with religious fervor, and whether these gatherings involve 15 or 50, in El Paso, to root for another is heresy. This depiction, it is necessary to say, has been largely characterized by the blue collar worker. The fabrication of this "hard working man" however, was not just a local reality based on the traditional male headed household, but was a concept deliberately furthered and marketed to by national beer manufacturers. "Many brewers were following the mid-twentieth-century equivalent of a saloon-era game plan: sports-oriented sales pitches aimed at the "worker," a mythological creature believed to be (a) lower income; and (b) addicted to watching or listening to sports events" (Ogle, 2007, p.241).

Another interesting aspect of how El Pasoans interpret responsible drinking is how remarkably reminiscent our attitude is to that of the Repentant Drinker period, with which we also had a lot in common. Neither in the here and now, nor in colonial times of then, has the continual consumption of beer been seen as the sign of a problem. Today, against the common family backdrop of El Paso, beer drinking, even in large and frequent quantities is rarely seen as indicative of alcoholism. Heavy drinkers are not seen as alcoholics because they do not drink liquor. This is similar to the time of our beer drinking forefather's who would homebrew, but never dared to cross the line into "demon rum." Scenes of local El Paso families drinking in their backyards bring us to recollect a not so threatening snapshot of the Enemy Drinker period as well. To illustrate, it should be said that, drinking together in home settings is not seen as irresponsible in a Catholic family setting of Hispanic descent. This is so long as one does not take to the road in an inebriated condition. Comparable to this was the German beer garden concept that was brought to the U.S. at the last turn of the century, when beer manufacturing had it's more innocent beginnings. For example, breweries in Milwaukee near large German populations had gardens outside the city designed for family outings in the summer time. They were welcoming places for children and sold sausages and other delectable snacks. Together

with the heat, this was the ideal setting to spend hours enjoying time with the family drinking beer outdoors. Much like the Catholic immigrants of the last century, we, as Catholic immigrants of this century, continue these beliefs, traditions, and norms today.

4.5 Local Drinks Of Choice: Content In Context

The days of wine and brandy are long forgotten, and here in El Paso, for at least the last century, it has all been about beer. The beginnings of beer in El Paso started with local production, given that at the last turn of the century, preserving beer over long distances had not quite been perfected. Taste became an issue. As the local population grew, multiple business men saw the opportunity of a large unserved market and began opening breweries. Local brewing efforts would have mixed results, and there were as many failures as there were successes. Strangely, virtually all of El Paso's history of beer production follows the evolution and the changing of hands of the same facility, a facility which originated as the El Paso Brewing Association. In 1903, the El Paso Brewing Association established a corporation with the intent of building a brewery that could produce 300 barrels of porter and ale per year. They purchased land that same year and made an initial investment of \$300,000. By 1904, El Paso began producing its own beer. At the time, freshness was still a selling point. Wilhelm Griesser, president of the El Paso Brewing Association, believed in El Paso so much, that he moved from New York, invested \$100,000 of his own money and, even when offered investment capital, turned offers down. He decided to invest in east El Paso. The establishment of a brewery in such a developing area meant much more than the influx of beer. In order to operate the plant, Griesser made agreements with the utilities, extended the water piping network, built an electrical plant, started an ice factory and bottle importing business and built homes for engineers and employees. Providing housing for workers was the custom at the time, as evidenced by Smeltertown. In November of 1904, the El Paso Brewing Association hosted its grand-opening celebration, accompanied by a banquet, live music, local politicians and press. Griesser must have been unable to navigate cash flow projections, for by February of 1905, they were insolvent. A month later, J.P. Dieter purchased the entire complex for \$66,000, \$15,000 of which

was in cash, at a public auction at the courthouse presided over by Richard Caples. In 1908, Dieter died and a reorganization took place. In 1909, the brewery workers went on strike and the El Paso Brewing Association became union. Similar to breweries nationwide, as prohibition approached and the dry culture spread, factories were turning to other products to weather the storm and stay in business. In an attempt to survive, El Pasoans became familiar with advertisements that read, “El Paso Brewing Association, Manufacturers of Bravo, Bock and Other Non-Intoxicating Drinks.” These were essentially near beer and soda water. Despite best attempts, the El Paso Brewing Association only survived from 1904 to 1918.

A few other noble attempts were made to manufacture beer at this time. In 1900, yet another effort to establish beer manufacturing in El Paso began. With a Chicago capitalist as secretary and a general manager from Montana, an \$150,000 investment went into creating the El Paso Brewing and Ice Company. This was built adjacent to, and absorbed the El Paso Ice and Refrigerator Company. It could produce 20,000 bottles per year. In addition, there was also the Chihuahua Brewing Company, located in El Paso and owned by the Creel family. The plant, however, valued at \$150,000, was completely destroyed by fire in 1908. It was fully covered by insurance. Certainly it could see the signs of the coming formalization of Prohibition.

It is also worth mentioning that Juarez struck gold during Prohibition. This period significantly increased Mexican beer production and expanded the empires of their *cervecerias*. In addition, knowing a good business opportunity when they saw one, two whisky distilleries, formerly located in Kentucky, opened up shop in Juarez. These were named Straight American and Watermill & Frazier. One nation’s loss was another one’s gain.

During the 1920’s, Harry Mitchell, an English bartender in El Paso, had hidden out in Juárez and run the famous Mint Bar. He made grand plans for his return to El Paso, and as soon as prohibition was repealed, he bought the El Paso Brewery and over it, built the Harry Mitchell Brewing Co. It was a modernized facility that was capable of producing two million gallons of beer per year. Mitchell experienced success early on. The threats he faced from competitors and brewers in other cities, like Houston, and his opening of a canning facility to package the beer,

were events that directly mirrored larger national trends. Eventually he sold the facility to a couple investors in 1951. That was the end of Mitchell's Premium Beer. These same investors decided to go after the market in the rest of Texas, New Mexico and Arizona, and did so successfully. In retaliation, other brewers came in to claim a portion of the El Paso market. Price wars ensued. In 1956, the investors quickly turned around and sold the plant to Falstaff, a national brewing company, for \$1,500,000. Falstaff discontinued all Mitchell brands that had gained recognition in the Southwest, and established the facility as its smallest plant, producing only 200,000 barrels per year. However, its greatest shortcoming was that it was built for returnables and kegs, in a time when the industry would soon convert to disposables and cans. Unfortunately, this was also consistent with larger national trends. At the time, breweries were consolidating to achieve savings in economies of scale and to prove competitive in a business model that now required vast shipping and distribution networks. This was the beginning of the end of the era of local breweries, which promised fresh beer. That being said, even Falstaff was not a big enough fish in the pond to survive, and in 1968, it closed its doors. The abandoned building still stands in El Paso to this day. While the breweries ultimately failed, they did introduce beer to El Paso. By the time they had become defunct, transportation and preservation techniques evolved enough that El Paso's newly acquired taste for beer could be satisfied by shipments from bottling plants elsewhere.

The closing of Falstaff in the late sixties also proved to be unfortunate in timing, for had it survived just a few years longer, chances are it would have made it to see more prosperous times. Prior to the 1960's, a preference for liquor and mixed drinks had predominated, but during the 60's its waned, and for the first time in fifteen years, beer sales would actually experience an increase in sales. In addition, when it came to beer, "every year it became harder and harder to compete against the giants, and every year Americans, who had become accustomed to the still new but powerful sway of television advertising, turned their backs on "local" products in favor of ones with national name recognition.....Family owned businesses with mostly local markets found it hard to compete" (Ogle, 2007, p.244). The reason local

breweries declined was not because of poor or insufficient production, but because of the increased distribution capabilities or larger producers. In the 1950's and 60's, the most valuable asset a brewery could have was economical rates along large distribution networks, something that could only be gained by promising large volume. The 1960's and 70's also brought with it the rediscovery of wineries and a growth spurt in the wine industry along the Pacific coast. If in the 60's, there was travel abroad, for the 70's, this meant imported beer. This however, was also driven by rising cost of corn and a recession that demanded beer at lower price. As a result, large-scale breweries began replacing high quality ingredients with corn grits, enzymes and stabilizers. By the late 70's there were only 41 separately owned brewing companies. The majority of beer sold across the nation came from the top five: Anheuser -Busch, Miller, Schlitz, Pabst and Coors. By this time, mass-produced beer had become so ill-tasting, and foreign beer so expensive, and often times "skunky" tasting, that it was natural that the 70's also saw a revival in homebrewing. In fact, Carter legalized the practice in 1978. For El Paso, this has meant the establishment of a homebrewing association, the Borderline Brewers, and the a nearby supply store, Coyote Homebrew and Wine Supply, in Las Cruces, New Mexico.

From 1978 to 2000, the game changed. Within that time-frame, homebrewers had blossomed into entrepreneurs, and the five brewing giants and 41 existing breweries in 1978, had become over 1,500. In El Paso, many complained for decades that there was no good beer was available. Some falsely believed that it was because the city had small demand and sophisticated taste. The problem however, didn't lie on the local level, but national. In any part of the country, there simply was no variety. It would take time to build up to the renaissance that we are currently experiencing, approximately 30 formative years at the end of the twentieth century, before maturing and becoming mainstream in the last decade.

This brewing revival has materialized in El Paso, and in a manner that has reached almost every socio-economic sector. While Mesa Street has seen the opening of the Hoppy Monk, with a lengthy beer menu, other similar places have opened up in this area. This includes one recent bar that opened with "CRAFT BEER" written in large neon letters directly below it's name.

While Mesa Street may seem more “exclusive” in the sense that, what happens on Mesa is by no means an indicator of the larger El Paso population, there has been evidence to support this trend elsewhere. Take for example, Albertson’s grocery stores. They are clearly one of the city’s higher end grocery store chains, probably second only to Sun Harvest, a local grocer. Sun Harvest offers the highest quality products and the highest price, at its single store. Albertson’s has multiple locations across town, and of Sun Harvests unique selection, Albertson’s offers the most popular or commercial of those beers at their stores. The selection of micro-brews at these stores is to be expected given the clientele they serve. What is much more shocking, however, and a testament to how diffuse this movement has become, is the selection of beer at Big 8. Big 8 is a local chain with noticeably cheaper prices at locations all over El Paso. It is designed to serve the Hispanic population. It is a one-stop shop if you are buying for a household accustomed to the traditional Hispanic family menu. If you are making eggplant parmigiana, looking for rhubarb or a bottle of shampoo that costs more than \$4.00, this is not the place. In a grocery store with such a specific selection of produce and narrow selection of personal care products, the variety of beer is astounding. The beer section has micro-brews, Texas beers, stouts and ciders. You can see many of the logos of the new breweries that came from the post 1978 generation, like Dogfish Head, Anchor Brewing, etc. When one thinks of El Paso, one thinks of a group of older Mexican men, probably employed in manual labor, and their extended families at a family barbecue, drinking Bud Light, Miller Light and if on a tight budget, “Naty” Light. Recently, sitting around a cafeteria table here in El Paso talking about beer, with literally, blue collar employees, there was evidence of change. One of the younger workers of Hispanic origin, probably in his late 20’s professed his love for a cold Blue Moon, a hand-crafted beer from Golden, Colorado, with a fresh cut orange slice floating on top. He is evidence enough that tastes are changing in the Sun City, even in the the sectors of our population that have been stereotyped as being the most engrained in Bud Light culture.

A brief side note on the lightness of beer is in order. The new quest for lightness began as early as the diet craze of the 1920’s and 30’s. During World War II and with men abroad,

breweries needed to target a new audience, women. Beer was packed in smaller seven ounce sizes, with its lightness further accentuated. Eventually this led to a competition to achieve the best tasting low calorie beer. Today, as men have become more health conscious, these light, low calorie products ceased to be targeted strictly toward women. The desirability for lightness also spread to liquor. Vodka became popular in the 50's and other distilled beverages also lightened their look. Another factor contributing to the newfound popularity lightness was pure geography. Having originated in the short-summered countries of Europe, beer was never looked upon as a source of refreshment. However, with many regions experiencing long hot summers in the U.S., people were looking eagerly to beer as a means of cooling off on summer days.

Returning to the trajectory of the beer industry, let us not forget that Mexico was also headed along the same path toward industrialization. Mexican breweries, or *cervecerias*, were also evolving. Beer manufacturing began in Mexico City as early as 1845, under the watchful eye of a Swiss immigrant. The first large-scale commercial brewery in Mexico however, was started in 1891 much further North, in Monterrey, Nuevo Leon. Cervecería Cuauhtémoc bought out Tecate, which was the first Mexican beer to be sold in a can. Today, it is one of the beers most imported into the U.S. Prohibition was a godsend to the Mexican brewing industry. Although at the time Mexicans leaned toward drinking *pulque*, they continued to produce large volumes of beer for export. The Mexican beer industry has followed many international industry trends. For example, the significant narrowing of ownership has also been felt south of the border. In 1985, Cuauhtémoc and Moctezuma briefly merged into a corporation now known as FEMSA. They own Tecate, Sol, Dos Equis, Carta Blanca, Superior, Indio, Bohemia and Noche Buena. Grupo Modelo currently owns Corona, Negra Modelo, Modelo Especial and Pacifico. Corona was launched in 1925 to commemorate Modelo's tenth anniversary. It is one of the top five selling beers in the world. It suffices to say that presently, 49% of Grupo Modelo is owned by Anheuser-Busch. Mexico has also had a *cerveza casera* (home brewed) or *cerveza*

artesanal (artisanal beer) movement, though not as strong as in the U.S. Mexico is currently enjoying the opening of several micro breweries in various parts of the country.

With American and Mexican beers so readily available, the next question becomes: Who is drinking what? The answer is not always so clear. While I cannot speak for everyone, what follows are a few humble observations. El Paso's blue-collar drinking-town reputation does not address the many distinctions in ethnicity or socio-economic classes that tend to get overlooked by outsiders. To begin with, we have a small community of people who are white, anglo-saxon and not quite so Protestant anymore. They tend to be open-minded and well educated. They will tend to order Mexican, Thai or Chinese beers. They tend to explore. They seek the authentic. They are the types of people who created the "foodie" movement. They are the trend setters that will drive the direction of future interests, which will be discussed in more detail in the next section. Then we have the local Mexican culture, which to be frank, is simply not interested in Mexican beer. For the working class, domestic American beer, aside from being cheaper, is simply the norm after decades of living and working in the U.S. This group of people consists of Hispanics, Latinos or the self-designated *pochos*. Then there are Mexicans, who call themselves such, and who just happen to live on this side of the border. Some of them are Juareños, but many of them are from the deeper South. This first generation of immigrants represents a very distinct cultural background from those who have been mentioned previously. They consider themselves to be "real" Mexicans, and as such they need not consume Mexican beer to demonstrate their "Mexicaness." As they did when they lived in Mexico, they choose to drink a variety of beers. Occasionally Mexican when the situation calls for it, they are also in the frequent habit of ordering American and other, for them, foreign beers. As a demonstration of their affluence, they choose freely. They order whisky, which has always been a tradition among men in Mexico. They drink tequila, but not in shots. They sip it, sometimes together with tomato and lemon juice, as their grandfathers and aunts did. Sometimes this slow tequila sipping happened in the afternoons when nuns or sisters came to visit and have a drink as they collected charitable donations. Lastly there are what can be simply called Mexican-Americans,

as myself. We are cultural chameleons. We can move seamlessly in the white-bread world, and know how to properly greet and dress for family flying in from Mexico city. Mexican-Americans can relate to either world, and order drinks accordingly, but struggle to relate to many characteristics attributed to the Hispanic population. There is simply nothing stereotypically Latino, or more specifically “Latinita,” about us. That cultural group, as understood by mass media, is as foreign to Mexicans and Mexican-Americans, as it is to most Anglo-Americans. In the end, in El Paso, it is the foreigners, tourists and Anglos that partake most frequently of Mexican alcoholic beverages. The working class consumes the best beer they’ve been accustomed to, that can be bought at a reasonable price, which for all intents and purposes, is American beer. The newly immigrated “real” Mexicans, being more socio-economically aligned with the Anglos, are following their lead while maintaining their own drinking habits from a life past. It is not exactly what the people in Minneapolis think it is like down here.

Simply for being close to the Mexican border, El Paso is understood to possess a certain “Mexicaness” that comes with being a border town. It is necessary to state that drinking identities, especially from a symbolic perspective, exist on multiple levels. While tequila is irrelevant to the city from an agricultural or even regional perspective, to those outside of El Paso, it symbolizes the Mexican overtone in our identity. Being the product of two nations, in addition to tequila, American beer represents our rightful heritage from our colonial European forefathers. Beer is indicative of the American overtones in our local identity. The alcohol we consume is reflective of an intermingling of both our national and our local identities. Our drinking heritage is a collage of cultural reference points taken from different times and places.

4.6 From Foodies To The Future: Food For Thought On Things To Come

The word “foodie” was coined in 1981 by the authors of the book, *The Foodie Handbook*, published in 1984. A “foodie” is an amateur aficionado of anything related to the food and drink industry. In the following decades, the Food Network, the creation of celebrity chefs and the mass production of celebrity cookbooks came about as a response to these new waves of interest in various gastronomic pursuits. Their interests have jumpstarted entire sectors

of businesses and various movements. Consider the various television shows, magazines, gourmet food products, specialized kitchenware stores, many more culinary institutes than a decade ago and even culinary tourism destinations with instructional facilities. The success of the “Slow Food” movement around 1986, and the steady rise in local farmer’s markets across the nation, are a testament to the fact that these interests have solely benefitted the private business sector. From the Union Square farmer’s market in New York, to the Ardivino’s Desert Crossing farmer’s market in Sunland Park, New Mexico, the entire country has seen an epidemic emerge in this regard.

It is due to the *foodies*’ pursuit of knowledge, that these last three decades have been infused with a spirit of gastronomic exploration. They strive, if not to be bona fide gourmands, to at least become experts of a specific niche, such as sausage making or home brewing. Originally, this drive to explore culinary horizons led to education in exotic locations and cuisines from abroad. The emergence of the connoisseur led to a deeper search for foods and beverages that had not been introduced to the American market. In the case of our neighbor, Mexico, while tequila had lost its negative stigma and become tantamount to a national symbol, it was no longer enough. Knowledge about mescal, a liquor also made from maguey, but primarily in the Oaxaca region, came to be a sign that a drinker was in the know. As mescal gained popularity, sotol came on the scene. Sotol is made in state of Chihuahua, from a plant that goes by the same name, also known in English as Desert Spoon. The search for the endlessly different and obscure continues, and the shelves of local liquor stores struggle to choose and stock the ever widening varieties of options now available.

The beer industry has seen a similar effect. Think of any Thai or Japanese restaurant you enter. It is a given that more than one foreign beer option from the country of the food of choice will be provided. The same has happened at Mexican restaurants. The selection of Mexican beers has gone from literally just Corona, to Tecate, Dos Equis, Negra Modelo, etc. The search for variety, but even more so, for the genuinely authentic, continues. What is perhaps more fascinating, is the effect this has had on people from the countries where new beer is being

discovered. It is interesting to note that, a beverage that was once a non-descript national habit, has become that nation's symbol to foreigners. It has begun at times to feel artificial for a local to partake of it, having lost its once genuine authenticity. Take Corona, an international symbol of Mexico and Mexican beer. It is no longer the beer of Mexicans, but of tourists. This may explain why the beers, Victoria, León and Montejo, produced in Mexico by Grupo Modelo, are brewed only for national consumption. If not, Mexicans would be on an eternal quest to discover that which they can claim as theirs, a beer which has not sold out.

At this point in the conversation, it should be noted that foreign or not, all beers thus far discussed are the product of highly mechanized commercial mass production process. "If the dawn of the micro age caused some concern among importers, it created abject panic for the marketers of super premium domestic beers. Imports had spent the first half of the 80's pushing higher-priced domestic brews down toward a state of insignificance; micros and contract brews threatened them with extinction" (Van Munching, 1997, p.231). This meant that foreign competition had gradually decimated the quality of local brew, and with only high priced foreign beer available, micro and home brewing became the primary form of expression for the connoisseur. The amount of people home brewing, their ever growing local associations and the supply houses that have sprung up to keep them going, is all the rage at the moment. Micro brewing has by no means been limited to beer, but has expanded its influence into distilled beverages such as tequila, mezcal and sotol.

Eventually these discoveries abroad led to synergies and new approaches that gave rise to trends such as asian fusion cuisine or *chinois*, the combination of Chinese and French cooking. On some level, it appears as if mono-cultural Americans are impressed by their own imaginativeness, at supposedly inventing what has always been the by-product of any bi or multi-cultural household. This relatively new culinary trend has been a trait of cultural blending that has been part of the El Paso community for centuries. While the melding of two cultures has occurred through inter-familial relations, it has in no way needed such an intimate setting for this to take place. Second and third generation anglo families in El Paso have their own family

enchilada recipes, even if they're from Syrian descent. Tacos served with fries. Need we say more? Americans and Mexicans alike have an insatiable fixation with each other's cultural practices. This explains in part why *bolillos* order a Negra Modelo, *pochos* order Bud Light, and *Mexas* just ask for "un whiskey."

Having made these culinary quests to foreign lands, as Americans, we feel we now have a better grasp for the world of gastronomy beyond our own borders. Now, we are showing a tendency to turn a more discerning eye to the culinary world immediately around us. This runs deeper than merely the trend for the sustainable, the locally grown, the seasonal, the free-range and the pesticide free. This implies a return to the simple, as most local cuisines originally were. Meals and drinks were indeed all those things mentioned above, but they were also practical, economical, and delicious. Otherwise, they would not have survived. All of these journeys into culinary no-mans-lands have complicated what was once the simple act of preparing a dinner and drink. This was done, not by a knowledgeable showman, but by an everyday person coming home from work, tired, hungry and thirsty. We are already beginning to see that. This trend toward better familiarizing ourselves with what is truthfully the local, simple, practical, economical, but most of all familiar and deeply satisfying, will likely continue.

On that note, this closer examination of the world of tastes around us could possibly result in one of three of many directions for El Paso in the future. First, it is likely that this inward look will lead to an introduction of the genuine tastes of Mexico as experienced by our predecessors, and a genuine interest in pursuing the more obscure gastronomic traditions of all parts of the Mexican countryside. We will expand the sources of pride that we have in all things made by *abuelita*. The more recently immigrated, in an effort to replicate and preserve culinary traditions, will aide in educating and reviving this heritage for those more distantly acquainted with it. As we realize the value of this heritage, it will continue to rise in popularity, perhaps in the form of specialized culinary business ventures. The El Paso palette will only become richer with time. Our tongues will tell tales from the tables of the cities and *pueblitos* from which we have tasted. Tex-Mex will no longer be enough. For the foodies of El Paso, this inward look

will mean a look backward. In a city filled with history buffs, historical neighborhoods, historical societies and deep affection for all things Pancho Villa, it is plausible that the past might inspire one connoisseur to renew quince brandy, much like we have seen the revival of wineries and wine festivals in the valley. Lastly, though I believe that homebrewers will tire in time, and eventually just want to go out and buy a good beer, their efforts will not have been in vain. Together, homebrewers will have served the greater purpose of greatly improving the quality of alcoholic beverages. Contract and micro-brewing will likely remain strong, with many beers becoming more re-known and potentially evolving into a prominent symbolic status for their area of provenance.

Chapter 5: In Conclusion

The evolution of social norms throughout American history has largely been due to changes in circumstances, outlined in the previous historical account. Social norms are a mechanism for contending with socio-economic realities, adjusting precisely because they directly engage the novelties that each new historical period presents. Today, social norms provide the clues to ascertain how socially acceptable it is to drink, depending on who we are, where we are, and what we're doing. Beyond the volumetric statistics that national alcohol production and distribution companies follow, social norms as the quantitative indicators of what we do, are indicative of a decidedly inward contemplation. Our drinking culture of choice is merely an agreed upon set of norms that we have selected to follow. They reveal with whom we are more likely to commiserate and bring out the differences between the drinking culture sub-groups who diverge. They are the building blocks of an identity, and of a drinker in a particular time and place in history.

We could say that the settlers brought with them a shared set of beliefs and norms with respect to alcohol, that they established in the colonies. A need for survival made becoming an outcast a threat, with shunning possibly meaning death. Adherence to social norms was extremely strong, even if the norms were informal. As the nation grew, and breweries and rum distilleries established themselves, this tight control was more difficult to maintain. Norms began to loosen, and together with the onset of the American Revolution and Patriotism, we begin to see Perkins and Berkowitz's Theory begin to come into play for the first time in U.S. history on a macro-sociological level. This period began to see an upswing in alcohol production and consumption, to such an extent in fact, that it is attributed as one of the main driving forces of slavery in the Caribbean. Little need be said of the consequences of westward expansion. All know that whiskey and liquor traveled well and were consumed far from the vigilant eye of established society. The cultural clashes that people often speak of, essentially entail the clash of distinct norms held by distinct groups of people. This is because varying norms are incompatible with one another, or because the end goal of certain norms are unachievable in new settings.

When native American drinking norms combined with hard liquor from the East, a re-evaluation of practices of alcohol consumption was slowly made as people more clearly realized the new implications. This was the beginning of the end for informal social norms, which served as American society's sole mechanism for controlling alcohol consumption. The next period in history would be marked by the demand that norms be formalized into law, upsetting the equilibrium that the newfound nation had managed to maintain despite the upswing in drinking at the end of the Repentant Drinker period.

Drastic changes in circumstances meant that social norms needed to react accordingly. Science and technology brought about a new industrialized era, and the immigration wave essentially finished off any remaining common social equilibrium. These events brought to the immediate forefront, the need to establish new social norms surrounding alcohol consumption that would protect the average citizen. Protection was needed, not only from one's neighbor, but to ensure continued employment through an efficient, profitable and safe work environment. A central theme to Perkins and Berkowitz's Social Norms Theory is perception. Americans began to perceive the establishment of drinking patterns that were very distinctive from theirs within the immigrant communities of the city. In lieu of Americans gravitating to the new norms they were perceiving from the immigrant communities, as Social Norm Theory proposes, they chose to adopt drinking patterns which deliberately distinguished them from immigrants, or the "enemy" in the Enemy Drinker period. Americans chose then to adopt the new norm of abstinence from alcohol as a response meant to counter the drinking practices of the new waves of immigrants. It is here that Social Norms Theory comes into play again, but in the opposite direction than Perkins and Berkowitz normally employ it. It is at this point in history that people began to drink less and less. These micro adjustments in individual behavior, which are the units of analysis that Social Norms Theory normally analyses, began to be perceived, or misperceived, and others began to adjust their behavior to the perceived norm. Gradually, the cumulative effect of each person adjusting to the perceived norm of ever decreasing alcohol consumption, led to a general decline in drinking nationwide. In order for these micro-adjustments in behavior to be

amplified, reverberate throughout society and become national trends, ample time needs be given. Historical accounts prove that this was the case. Prohibition was in fact, the culmination of a gradual trend toward reduced drinking that was in the works for nearly a century. In other words, it was the zenith of a movement that occurred by way of millions of small changes in people's drinking habits, as predicted in Perkins and Berkowitz's Social Norms Theory. The pendulum has now swung toward an increase in consumption with a waning of norms, and then towards a decrease in normative alcohol consumption with the onset of formal norms, or law. In essence, we have witnessed the effects of Social Norms Theory on two occasions.

The tight hold that formal norms attempted to exert on alcohol consumption, goes to show that in order to guide the direction of our collective behavior, a harsh hand is often not the most effective. Informal social norms, which are primarily what we think of when we hear the word norms, are a gentler way of maneuvering behavior. Informal social norms are much more subtle and indirect. While people may deviate, informal norms also allow a way for people to join the club again, so to speak. This is, quite frankly, the goal of social norms: to provide cohesion for a group to operate harmoniously, in unison, for our own comfort and well being, if not for survival. The Sick Drinker then embraced a way of indirectly suggesting change in drinking patterns under the forgiving guise of disease. This is the, "you're just sick" or "maybe it is time to see a doctor approach." The rise of the medical professional in the treatment of what now came to be known as alcoholism, implied several things. In order for deference to work, as a group we must vouch for the authority figure. In vouching for them, we agree to participate in the series of actions and norms that uphold them as moderators of our collective actions. Accepting drinking as a disease was a shift in beliefs. Seeing a doctor became the new norm.

Then cities spread out. Suburbs separated us from one another. The new context of our physical environment allowed us to deviate from norms in private, meaning an unprecedented opportunity for the relaxing of social norms. Recreational drug use came onto the scene. Alcohol was no longer the sole root of all social malaise. Sex, drugs and alcohol forced us to address the issue of how to regulate private behaviors that were completely beyond the of reach social

norms. As a society we responded by casting aside the desire to control the private realm, and focused intensely on the public arena which directly affected us as a whole. Irresponsibility became taboo. It continues to be the single greatest stigma that we use to exert social pressure on others to curb their behavior. The aim is that they would assume responsibility for problems and situations, so that collectively, society need not assume those responsibilities on their behalf. In other words, assuming responsibility, in any situation, is considered normative. We have used the term “irresponsible” to redefine social roles, by deeming the failure to fill those roles as “irresponsible.” Irresponsibility is then a most flexible concept, because it can be used for anything from excessive alcohol consumption and driving while intoxicated, to failure to pay child support. The age of the Responsible Drinker is, in essence, a period when social norms had to adopt to a period of anomie, where there was no longer any authority to turn to. With the absence of God, imminent danger, social unrest and disbelief in professional authorities, social norms have created a harmonious new state of equilibrium where a “to each his own” philosophy can be courteously maintained.

Wines, beers, brandies, and other alcoholic beverages, can be seen in the same light as cuisines, “as products of seasons and soil, transmitted by sturdy oral traditions and tied to the countryside from which they arose” (Pilcher, 1998, p.5). The “historical nature of globalization” (Pilcher, 2006, p.6) has meant that we have moved away from more than just our agricultural roots. Our consumption of intoxicants is infused with symbolism and social significance. “Commensality, the sharing of food and drink, forges bonds of group identity” (Pilcher, 2006, p.2). These feelings of solidarity among group members translate into a communal identity. Through food and drink, the concept of nationality has been strengthened. Drinks, taken together with social standards of consumption, serve as symbols of who people are and where they are from. Drink distinguishes the “us” from the “them.” This may be in terms of different native social classes, or between natives and non-natives of a given area. This thesis strived to better understand the various angles of the social norms surrounding the production and consumption of alcohol in the U.S. more generally, and in El Paso, Texas more specifically.

This thesis has shown that El Paso contains a rich tale of agricultural, historical, social and cultural influences surrounding its alcohol production and consumption, and has spoken to the essence of drink in the city and the path it has taken to get there. This thesis seeks to be a means of rekindling the memory of a legacy, and to offer a fuller understanding of the events that transpired to bring us to this point, with our unique beliefs, habits, traditions and norms surrounding alcohol.

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