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"Pints or half-pints": Gender, functional democratization, and the consumption of drink in Ireland

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Abstract

This paper examines the relationship between the gender power balance, changes in the consumption of alcohol and changing social interdependences. The empirical setting is Ireland circa 1900 up to the present. Drawing from the works of Norbert Elias, I explain how a lessening of the power inequality between men and women was more moderate and limited up to the 1960s. The effect of this was that emancipatory changes around drinking were mainly confined to women from specific social cohorts. As the reduction in gender power inequality accelerated post 1960 it initially increased tensions between the genders, reflected in new power struggles over the social spaces in which drinking occurred and in the type of glass one should drink from. Despite the emergence of less unequal power relations, men continued to have a model setting function in relation to alcohol consumption. A central contention of the paper is the need to give greater consideration to the nature of social interdependences for they can generate a lessening of power inequalities for some social cohorts while failing to generate such a dynamic for other similar social groups.

KEYWORDS

alcohol, Elias, functional democratization, gender, power

1 | INTRODUCTION

In the past 10 years in Ireland[1] the drinks company Diageo have carried out two advertising campaigns for their brands Guinness and Hop House 13. In both campaigns, which included billboard advertising, the central character or characters was, or included, a woman holding a pint of beer or stout. Neither campaign aroused any social commentary of note and the image of women drinking from pint glasses passed without generating any controversy or comment. Drinking from pint glasses by women and men in pubs is relatively ubiquitous throughout present day Ireland so one may ask why such adverts are even noteworthy. Yet the use of these images, with women drinking from pint glasses, in advertising alcohol is relatively recent in Ireland and marks a significant change from previous decades. In 1977, the journalist and feminist activist Nell McCafferty recalled how a few years earlier she and a large group of women had entered a Dublin City center pub "to order a massive round of drinks, including brandies, whiskies, and pints of porter. Came the whiskey, the brandy, and the refusal of the pints" (*Irish Times*, 19 October 1977, p. 12). The refusal to serve women pints was not exceptional at the time. Nonetheless, the exchange marked yet another high point in the contest between men and women over different aspects of alcohol consumption.

In this paper, I draw from Elias's (2009, 2012a, 2012b) and Wouters (2007, 2019) work concerning the concept of functional democratization to consider changes in the gender power balance and simultaneously changes in the consumption of alcohol in relation to women in Ireland from the early twentieth century up to the present. Elias first used the phrase functional democratization in his book *What is Sociology?* wherein he defined the concept in the context of a reduction of power differentials between different strata:

> again and again in the course of social differentiation and corresponding integration, certain social groups have suffered reductions in the scope of their functions, and even total loss of function; the consequence has been loss of power potential. But the overall trend of the transformation was to reduce all power potentials between different groups, even down to those between men and women, parents and children.

> This trend is referred to by the concept of "functional democratization".

> (Elias, 2012a, p. 63)

This explanation of functional democratization gives a small hint at a couple of the principles that marks out a figurational approach from many other theoretical frames—all social phenomena are both processual and relational. People, the social units they form (families, organizations, nations etc.), as well as their emotions, identities and social dispositions are in continuous process as opposed to static states. Consequently, Elias (1987) argued for the need to examine change as a long-term historical process. Furthermore, all people, from the moment they are born, are interdependent with others at different levels of social integration—they form networks of interdependence or figurations. These interdependences, and related power relations, that bond people together are always a balance—not static polarities.

Coming from a figurational perspective also, Wouters (2019) work is interesting because of his emphasis on the possible twin effects of rising levels of social differentiation and integration (elements of expanding social interdependence), which he argues can have both functional democratization and disintegration/integration conflicts as their side effects. Elias (2009, p. 243) also recognized the complexity of such processes. Indeed, in his work on gender relations, he argued that the process of change toward less unequal relations, running from Greco-Roman antiquity to modern times, "did not have the character of a simple unilinear development." Instead, Elias maintained, "one discovers within the millennial development several spurts towards a lessening of the social inequalities between women and men—mostly within single social strata and, maybe, with simultaneous or subsequent counter-spurts." As I illustrate in this paper, both Elias' and Wouters' contentions prove fruitful in attempting to

understand and explain some of the developments that occurred in relation to alcohol consumption in Ireland and how these were connected to both gender power relations and changing social interdependences. Consequently, I argue that we need to give greater consideration to, and identify, where, how, and why a lessening of power inequalities for some social cohorts can run in tandem with prevailing power relations in others. This also requires us to explore in more detail the types of social interdependences that generate these conflicting contexts.

Various studies have noted several specific changes in relation to the consumption of alcohol in the Republic of Ireland, particularly since the second half of the twentieth century. They include an overall increase in consumption, with notable increases occurring between 1948 and 1970 when per capita consumption increased from 3.2 to 5.1 L (Daly, 2016, p. 141; Walsh, 1980). Much of this increase was attributed to women and younger generations—both in terms of a rise in the numbers drinking and quantity consumed (Walsh, 1980). Another feature according to Walsh (1980) was the growth in the consumption of spirits and wine relative to beer (including stout). In 1950, spirits and wine comprised 28% of the volume of alcohol consumed; by 1978, this had risen to almost 40%. This overall pattern appears to have continued with some slight moderations up to more recent times (Symth et al., 2011). Indeed, in attempting to account for the increase in alcohol consumption by women, Smyth et al have alluded to the emergence of more equal gender relations. In this paper, I also connect the development of less unequal gender relations to changes in alcohol consumption. However, I illustrate and explain how and why this has been a far more nuanced and complex process due to the extent and nature of functional democratization experienced by women from different social strata.

2 | GENDER RELATIONS, FIGURATIONAL THEORY, AND FUNCTIONAL DEMOCRATIZATION

In one of his few works on gender relations, Elias (2009) drew on the example of prohibitions imposed on women of the ancient Roman upper classes, which included drinking wine, and on later emancipations, to reveal and explain the changing structure of the gender power balance. Elias (2009, 2014), and some of those who later sought to apply and test his theoretical formulations on gender relations (see Dunning & Maguire, 1996; Dunning & Sheard, 1973), identify several processes which have facilitated, in an unplanned way, changes in the power balance between men and women—toward less unequal power relations. These include state formation and pacification processes, expanding social interdependences and a broader process of functional democratization. State formation both propelled and reflected greater state pacification as it involved greater control and regulation of violent behavior in an expanding array of more diverse settings. The increasing constraints on the use of violence by those other than agents of the state, in conjunction with expanding social interdependences, generates a social context in which the threshold of repugnance toward engaging and witnessing violent acts advances. It does not, to quote Dunning and Maguire (1996, p. 313) "imply a denial of the continuing occurrence of male violence towards females."

Elias (2012b) argued that advances in the threshold of repugnance toward violence was part of a broader movement, generated and sustained by expanding interdependences and a state monopoly for the control of violence, in which people experienced a greater social pressure to exercise greater self-control over their behavior and emotions. The expansion of interdependences involving greater functional differentiation and specialization also contributed to greater interdependence between different social strata including that between the men and women. As new social functions emerged, propelled by other social dynamics, it generated new occupational and income opportunities for women. This reduced their dependence on men, generating a reduction in the power differentials between them (Elias, 2014). This latter example of expanding social interdependences facilitating a movement in the direction of less unequal power relations, and an advance in processes of integration, was referred to earlier as a process of functional democratization. It is important to emphasize that these developments are neither linear nor teleological. Consequently, a lessening of power inequalities within a single social stratum

can occur with simultaneous counter spurts, or the status quo remaining, in other strata (Elias, 2009). In his more recent work, Wouters (2019) focuses on the extent to which rising levels of social differentiation, integration, and increasing complexity, essentially processes connected to expanding social interdependences, "have functional democratisation as well as disintegration and integration conflicts as their side effects" (p. 138), raising important questions as to the relationship between expanding social interdependences and processes of functional democratization. This relationship is also considered as part of this study.

3 | SOURCES OF DATA AND ANALYSIS

Data were partly sourced from an examination of Irish national newspapers covering the period from the beginning of the twentieth century up to the present. As these newspapers are digitalized, this enabled key-word searches. The focus here was to explore the nature of drinking by men and women, where it occurred, what was drank, the social contexts and locations, and, where possible, the social classes involved, across time. I was also interested in the discourse used in the newspaper articles. This was part of a broader effort to take into account the function of the newspaper articles, their source, and the wider social context in which they were written and presented. Newspaper data was supplemented by an examination of socio-historical and economic studies relating to alcohol consumption and/or related culture in Ireland. This included works such as Ferriter's (1999) study of the pioneer (temperance) movement and Kearn's (1996) oral history of public houses. These studies also provided a basis for identifying further empirical data, for considering the provenance of certain incidents, and the contentions of newspaper journalists by triangulating multiple sources of data (Baur & Ernst, 2011).

Given the focus of the study, I was also interested in empirical data relating to the structure of gender relations, and indeed broader social structures (social interdependences) in Ireland throughout each decade of the twentieth century. Of particular relevance, and help, was the work of Dolan (2005) who previously examined processes of integration and functional democratization in relation to consumer subjectivity in Ireland. He documented and explained the development of more advanced levels of social integration and functional democratization from the late 1800s up to and including the 1960s. In addition, I examined Daly's (1981, 2006, 2016) extensive work which covered social, political, and economic aspects of women's lives, and gender relations more generally, over the latter part of the nineteenth century and the twentieth century in Ireland.

Data selection and analysis formed part of a wider iterative process involving Elias and Wouters formulations. In that regard, analysis involved a process of empirical—theoretical interplay, including the on-going consideration and interrogation of both data and theory to a point where one was relatively confident of the reality-congruence of the developing explanation relative to other possible explanations.

4 | DRINKING, FUNCTIONAL DEMOCRATIZATION AND SOCIAL STRATA

Ferriter (1999, p. 5) refers to a seventeen century visitor to Ireland who "wrote of the curious mixture of over-indulgence and crudity which seemed to be associated with Irish drinking habits, practices which seemed to traverse class and gender boundaries." By the early 1900s, much greater social demarcation in terms of gender and class is evident. Certainly many working class women (like men) drank bottled stout during the day as a form of sustenance (Kearns, 1996). This type of drinking had little to do with "leisure time" (Elias & Dunning, 2008) but was part of a diet connected to a daily routine which involved long hours of physical domestic labor. The pub by then was somewhat of a "male preserve," to borrow Dunning and Sheard's (1973) phrase, with the entry of women into pubs frowned upon, and generally considered shameful (Kearns, 1996). The separation of men and women into separate social spheres runs in parallel with a pronounced inequality between the sexes (Elias, 2009). The barrister Lawson (1901/1902) in a paper to the Statistical and Social

Inquiry Society of Ireland in 1902, on the subject of licensing and related reforms and issues, referred to what he saw as the detrimental aspects of the drink culture in Ireland at the time. The preface for many of his reflections and suggestions for regulatory reforms were based on his belief that the lower classes and women had an inherent inability to resist the temptations of drink:

> In many cases the trade is not confined to groceries, but extends to draperies and such like goods. This leads to drinking and drunkenness, especially amongst women, who, as one witness says, have no sense of shame in entering a grocery and having a drink while waiting for their goods.
>
> (p. 110)

> The evidence from Belfast is that surreptitious dealing goes on in these establishments, especially by women, and that women take away drink with them, and it is put down with the husband's account as groceries.
>
> (p. 114)

This focus on women drinking, and drinking by "lower class" men too, would persist in the coming decades post the partition of Ireland. By the 1930s as Ferriter (1999) notes there was growing concern within the temperance movement about "the preponderance of women who were beginning to drink more openly" (p. 111) and "attacks on women drinking were frequent, sustained and virulent" (p. 112). The broader narrative with which these condemnations were framed suggest too that some women were adopting more liberated attitudes, for alongside this criticism ran references to smoking, cocktails, wine, and social parties (see Ferriter, 1999, p. 112). A 1937 editorial in the middle-class newspaper the *Irish Times* (29 November, p. 6), written clearly in the context of a recent meeting of the Pioneer (temperance) movement, claimed, "Drinking among women, especially young women and girls, is clearly increasing, and the increase mainly is due to the changing social habits of the younger generation." Interestingly, the journalist appears confident that this drinking is not taking place in pub settings:

> The appearance of a women in a public-house bar probably would be as unusual to-day as it was twenty or thirty years ago, and there is nothing to suggest that the increased drinking by women and girls is done in public bars in any part of the country. The drinking of intoxicating liquor by women merely is another manifestation of the "new freedom" which women achieved a short while ago, and which still is so much of a novelty that stability has not been reached yet.

As is suggested here, the pub at this point is considered a male preserve. However, the contention that more women were drinking, and/or drinking more, is interesting in context of the relationship between functional democratization and gender-power balances. The empirical data above would suggest that an increasing number of younger women were drinking more, and in general behaving differently, than previous generations. From an Eliasian perspective, it is suggestive of an emancipatory spurt and correlatively a shift toward less unequal power relations between men and women. Yet, the 1920s and 1930s in the Irish Free State are considered, by some, as a period when women's rights regressed or when power inequalities remained relatively stable. For instance, Daly (2006, p. 81) makes the argument, based on significant empirical evidence, that "There is no evidence of any significant progress for the overwhelming majority of Irish women between 1850 and 1950." Daly's analysis raises the question as to how we account for the empirical observations on the perceived changes in women's drinking, and behavior in general, in the 1930s. Can we trust the veracity of the observations? And, if so, can it be explained as an emancipatory spurt underpinned by an advance in functional democratization given that the period is seen as one of entrenched gender inequality? On the first point, there are several empirical accounts, in addition to those referred to above, which suggest that the behavior of women (and some men) had noticeably changed relative to earlier periods (short and longer-term), and particularly in respect of drinking. For instance, in a 1932 interview

with a 105-year-old Dublin woman, the journalist quoted the woman's observations on the behavior of men and women at the time:

> I don't think they are women at all, with their smoking and powdering and all the rest. God help the man that gets any of them. I am disgusted at their smoking and drinking–trying to turn themselves into men, and not realising how ridiculous they are making themselves, with their clothes to their knees and their shapeless figures … the men are just as bad. If you go down the town you see grey "ould fellahs," [old fellows] shaved and powedered, in their short breeches tied around their knees, trying to look young. And then there are others going about without hats. I can't make them out at all. The girls are turning into men and the men are behaving like girls.
>
> (*Irish Times*, 8 January 1932, p. 8)

Although Daly identifies this period in the Irish Free State as largely regressive in terms of women's rights a closer reading of her work actually contributes to explaining this change as an emancipatory spurt. Certainly, as Daly suggests, the progress in terms of the integration of women into the political centers of power and in broader legislative terms during this period was diminutive at best. Equally, in terms of economic structures and related opportunities there seems to have been little change. Women's share of industrial employment only rose from 20% in 1926 to 22.4% by 1936, with domestic service remaining the largest source of employment (Daly, 1981). In neither case are the structure of political or economic interdependences suggestive of a shift in the power chances of women. Yet, there were social developments which facilitated a movement in the direction of less unequal power relations between men and women. For instance, by the 1930s, state formation (the Irish Free State), and the perceived legitimacy of this state, had advanced to a significant degree, though it was still fragile. The new state's monopoly for the control of violence became stronger and, with that, a more pacified social space developed (Dolan, 2005). More broadly, there was an advance in the threshold of repugnance toward violence. It does not mean violence disappeared, but there is evidence that violence declined somewhat. O'Donnell (2005) shows that there was a gradual but considerable decline in homicide rates in Ireland from early 1900 through to the 1930s. He is explicitly supportive of Elias's theoretical formulations in accounting for this, arguing that the development of greater self-restraint in people, and the monopolization of violence by the state, lead to fewer impulsive killings and the gradual pacification of interpersonal interactions. The significance of these developments are that they generate a social context in which power based on strength and violence, which is generally a power resource for men, wanes somewhat. Another significant development, which suggests a tilting of the power balance in the direction of women concerns changes in family size and the reasons behind this. Daly (2006, p. 573) notes that between 1911 and 1946 Irish marital fertility fell by approximately 20%, regardless of the duration of the marriage, with the decline greatest in the more recent marriages and amongst professional couples. The latter indicates that middle and upper-middle class families were becoming smaller and in a planned way. Indeed Daly found that even by 1911 some Irish couples were limiting family size. By the 1930s and 1940s, according to Daly, knowledge concerning family planning in the form of the safe method was spreading amongst some members of the urban middle classes. As Daly acknowledges, fertility management achieved without the use of mechanical methods of contraception "depend on a degree of cooperation and consent between husbands and wives, and most specifically trust and consideration on the part of husbands for their wives" (p. 573). Such changes around family planning were both a source and a symptom of a power shift involving a reduction in the power inequality between men and women (Elias, 2014).

As such, both O'Donnell and Daly's empirical work would support my analysis that an advance in functional democratization did occur in respect of gender relations during this period but that it related mainly to a specific social stratum—women from the urban middle classes. Indeed, it is also possible to suggest that the emancipatory spurt experienced by this stratum ran in tandem with counter spurts experienced by many other groups of lower class women. It is also important to stress that the gender power balance was still decidedly uneven, laying

very much in favor of men. Women were still deemed subordinate and inferior to men within Irish society more generally.

In the 1940s over-indulgence in alcohol consumption and loose morals were again being linked, with woman often singled out in respect of this (Ferriter, 1999, p. 143). Sensationalist newspaper headlines, with undertones of moral panic, would occasionally allude to the excessive drinking of some young women (see *Irish Times*, 15 January 1943, p. 15). This targeting of women I suggest reflected male anxieties over some women's refusal to accept their position and a related or emerging power shift. For instance, although pubs were still, and perceived to be, a largely male preserve, women were coming to occupy this space to a greater degree than in the past. The development of lounges in bars reflected rather than generated a change in the power balance. The arrival of lounge bars and the greater inclusion of women is mainly associated with the 1960s (see Holohan, 2018). However, concerns about the emergence of the lounge bar and drinking by younger genera-tions, including women, began to surface in the 1940s (*Irish Times*, 10 October 1944, p. 3; 1945, 15 October 1945, p. 1). The disapproving focus of these articles reflected tensions between the genders. The sharing of space, however limited, amplified and embodied the challenge to the established position of men and perhaps too the tentative power shift, however small, that men were coming to experience and they began to stigma-tize women around this issue.

As with the 1930s, this exercise of their power chances by women was facilitated by a further, though small advance, in the social processes described earlier. It is likely also that these limited emancipatory gains were ex-perienced only by some cohorts rather than being a reflection of a collective rise. The broader social structure was still one in which the majority of women were held to be subordinate to men (Daly, 2006). Reflective of this was the social demarcation between the genders in terms of the social spaces in which drinking occurred. Women who entered pubs were mainly confined to lounges or "snugs" (a small-enclosed area), an example of what Bucholc (2011, p. 428) calls "proxemic, spatiotemporal aspects of inequality between men (the established) and women (the outsiders)."

5 | ACCELERATIONS IN EMANCIPATORY PROCESSES

Both historians and sociologists have identified the 1960s as time of significant change in the Republic of Ireland generally and specifically in respect of gender relations. The economic opportunities and resources available to many, and in particular women and younger generations, expanded dramatically in the 1960s and early 1970s. Between 1951 and 1971, the number of young women employed in commercial and public administration functions, as well as occupations such as teaching and nursing, increased while employment in personal services and agriculture declined (Holohan, 2018, p. 82). This is significant as Daly (2016, p. 130) sug-gests because it meant they "had much greater independence than those working in a family business." Much of this employment was also urban based. The significance of both these processes is that they enhanced the scope for more individualized behavior. Not only was familial and church supervision reduced so too was dependence on these social units. As Daly (2016, p. 141) notes, "It is more difficult to exercise control over a son or daughter who is earning a regular wage or salary and perhaps living away from home." The increasing use of birth control devices in the form of the contraceptive pill from this period also contributed to an en-hancement in the power chances of some women (Kelly, 2020).[2] Such developments, increased labor market opportunities and advances in birth control, as Elias (2014) argued, can contribute to a lessening in power inequalities between men and women. One illustration of this was the increasing inclusion of women in social spaces previously associated with, or the preserve of, men. While some women had frequented bars in the past, and the idea of the lounge bar had existed for several decades, the changes occurring were now more overt. Holohan (2018, p. 123) cites a quote from the novelist Ita Daly in 1967 describing her feelings at the time about women in pubs:

You could say we have brought civilisation to the whole affair. What is more, we have brought money to it—and that is why publicans like to woo us. Like it or not, women in pubs are now an established part of the contemporary scene.

The confining of women to the "snug" was also becoming somewhat rare by the mid-1960s (Daly, 2016) and experienced as such. For instance, one female journalist writing in 1964 reflecting on her own personal experience of pubs in the past wryly pondered if the snug had disappeared:

The experienced barman coped with us firmly—"the ladies would be more comfortable in the snug"— and in the snug we went. The snug, it may be necessary to explain—do they still exist, I wonder?— was a small corner of the bar proper, screened off from the vulgar gaze by a rough partition.

(*Irish Times*, 30 September 1964, p. 22)

Wouters (2019, p. 135) maintains that the expansion of state organizations in relation to welfare, education and healthcare "enabled women and young people to feel and act more independently of their husbands and fathers" and was "a clear example of functional democratisation." This was certainly the case in the Republic of Ireland in the 1960s as Dolan (2005) illustrates. Wouters also argues that as all citizens became more interdependent, with many becoming less subordinate to their former (male) superiors as part of this process, it also means that not only does the authority of the latter diminish but the volume of voices bemoaning and complaining about this loss increases (p. 135). This dynamic is also evident as social demarcation around pub spaces broke down. For instance, writing in the *Irish Times* in 1961 (28 February, p. 6) the journalist Maurice Gorham, in a lengthy article, warns against what he sees as the potential invasion by women of male only public house spaces. Later in the course of the article he writes,

The Bar is the place you expect to find men and pints, the Lounge the place where you may find women and probably won't find pints. That used to be the general plan. If you were a man, you had your choice. If you were a woman, you went to the Lounge... The key factor is very few women want pints. The pint of stout is not a feminine drink; even where it is obtainable you seldom see a woman drinking it.

Here we begin to see a new zone of demarcation and stigmatization that was emerging. The gendered labeling of types of drinking as unfeminine and feminine formed part of a stigmatization process (Elias & Scotson, 2008) by established male groups. Up to that period, it was not unusual for men to drink from half-pint glasses particularly given the popularity of bottled Guinness; this can be observed from photographs of the time. More significantly, although the drinking by men from pint glasses was also common, and cheaper, drinking from a half-pint glass (or simply "a glass" as it was known as) carried no social stigma or threat to masculine identity. The efforts to stigmatize the drinking of pints by women and simultaneously conflate half-pints with femininity would in time both de-masculinize and add a level of social risk to practice.

The article by Gorham also illustrates several related social processes at the time. As I stated, although the power ratio between men and women was less unequal than it was in the past the power differential remained significantly in favor of men. Gorham's article reflects a male habitus, which has not yet internalized the power ratio that was coming to prevail. That he feels comfortable in openly expressing a view that women are inferior is indicative of a relatively wide power ratio between the genders. At the same time, this extract also betrays changes coming about and the new demarcation around drinking that would ensue. In the years that followed it would find expression in the stigmatizing of women drinking from a pint glass, all of which reflected the felt threat experienced by some men as the power dynamic shifted. So while the more overt segregation of men and women through designated social spaces—the front bar (men), lounge bar (women), and the snug (women)—had dissipated,

evolving into shared spaces, more subtle means of expressing superiority were deployed. The conflation of women and half-pints with femininity was continually reinforced to the point of normalizing it. For instance, in 1966 when the politician Professor Patrick Michael Quinlan, complained in Seanad Éireann (the Republic of Ireland's Upper House of Parliament) about the scale of alcohol advertising on Irish television, he stated,

> to have this insidious encouragement, day in, day out, to our young sons of 17 and 18 years, this insidious effort to get the message across to them that they are not smart, not with the present age, if they are not able to take their drink as the men drink on Telefís Éireann [the national broadcaster] and if they are not able to take their lady friends into the bars as is shown on Telefís Éireann to be the smart thing to do, she for a glass and he for a pint?
>
> (cited in Holohan, 2018, p. 123)

But unlike earlier decades, women in the 1960s continued to challenge their subordinate status in more organized and overt ways. Feminist groups increasingly contested the status of women within various social contexts and spaces (Daly, 2016). In a broader social environment of increasing social interdependences and advances in functional democratization, the shift in the power balance toward less unequal gender relations tends to become more transparent to all. Maurice Gorham, the same journalist quoted earlier when he both decried and lamented the changing pub scene and the increasing integration of women in 1964, now wrote in 1969:

> Whether you like it or not, there is a lot to be said about the new style pub. It makes things easier for unescorted women who want to get a drink and snack without encountering the furtive zenana-type atmosphere of the snug.
>
> (*Irish Times*, 29 July 1969, p. 15)

As the networks of social interdependences bonding people in the Republic of Ireland expanded and became denser in the 1960s, it generated a greater social pressure for people to curb their emotions owing to the need to take others into greater consideration (Dolan, 2009). Even in situations where people disagreed, or were more hostile, to various changing situations there was now a greater need to exert greater restraint over what they said, and did, relative to times past. Thus, the changing power balance reshaped both male and female habitus' and the culture of drinking. There was a fall in female age of drinking during the 1960s and 1970s (Symth et al., 2011) which reflected the advance in functional democratization. There were other significant changes too which stemmed from this process. The framing of women drinkers changed from one associated with moral failings, weakness and the need for protection, toward that of empowerment and choosing consumers. This can be seen in the changing representations of women in alcohol advertising. They became more central characters in alcohol advertising, as well as the target of such advertising in their own right (see also Daly, 2016, p. 142).

The relatively wide (though slowly declining) power imbalance which had existed through the decades shaped how various social strata of women were perceived in relation to drinking—both by others and by women themselves. As illustrated, drinking by women, and the social spaces in which it occurred, had been largely stigmatized as shameful, and subject to moral and social censure by established groups (men in most cases). Although this had begun to change for some prior to the 1960s, and in a more collective sense thereafter, associations between women drinking and shame remained embedded in the habitus of many men and women from various generations. For instance, a survey by Fitzpatrick (1972) of 18 to 21 year-olds in 1972 found that four fifths of both sexes disapproved of girls their own age drinking. This continuity of shame-feelings toward women drinking also reflected broader ideals of women and men at the time and the gender power balances within which they were formed.

The increase in consumption that occurred in the 1970s was, again, partly attributed to a rise in the number of female drinkers, as well as to an increase in the quantity consumed by them. Part of the media reporting of this

was to frame women as independent consumers (*Irish Times* 3 May 1978, p. 13). The power balance between men and women and between older and younger generations had shifted again in the1970s and in the direction of less unequal relations. Labor market opportunities increased through the further expansion of state services and the removal of obstacles to employment. The latter enhanced by the removal of what was known as the marriage bar[3] in 1973 (Daly, 2016).

The accelerated pace of functional democratization also heighten tensions between men and women at various points in this dynamic. As Wouters (2019) argues, differentiation and integration processes can simultaneously trigger integration conflicts. In the case of alcohol consumption in 1970s, it found expression in a contest over the serving and drinking of pints as outlined in the introduction. The power struggle over serving pints persisted throughout the 1970s. The attempted erection of such social barriers by men reflected the growing threat to their status as the dominant group. In 1977, a female journalist writing under the heading, "A pint of beer may not be yours, [sic] girls if you try some pubs" went on to recount, "a taxi driver was telling me the other day about having to buy his wife two half pints all night in a pub in Ballyfermot [a suburb of Dublin] after the barman refused to serve her pints" (*Irish Times*, 11 April 1977, p. 11). This was indicative of the change that was coming about as many men no longer identified with such views and felt there was no stigma or shame in women drinking pints. One male writer in the *Irish Times* in 1974 (29 March, p. 14) denounced "the publican who refuses to serve women pints only half pints." Social interdependences in the form of increasing bonds and networks of competition and cooperation mean that for the people involved there is a strong compulsion to observe both themselves and those they are linked to through such networks. A further aspect of this is that social identification between those involved can increase (Elias, 2010).

By the early 1980s, the refusal to serve women in a specific part of a public bar or a pint was increasingly rare. In a 1983 book review by the journalist Mary Maher (*Irish Times* 29 October 1983, p. 12), which dealt with women and alcohol, she observed,

> [if you] have the impression that girls in jeans have been knocking back pints and housewives purchasing liquor routinely since the start of time, you are undoubtedly one of the younger generation and the significance of the fact that women's drinking has trebled in the past decade may be lost on you.

Although the habitus of many men and women had adjusted to this new power dynamic, the gender power balance remained unequal. Consequently, the habitus of many men, and as a result their related feelings toward women and drinking, still betrayed this unequal power ratio. In a 1985 article on dating etiquette with upper middle-class private schooled teenagers, and also university students, the journalist reported "Boys drink pints: "Drinking as many pints as you can without falling over proves you're a man"—girls drink shorts. Drinking beer is "unfeminine," say these boys." (*Irish Times*, 2 December 1985, p. 13). While those interviewed remained anonymous, it would have been clear to them that their views might appear in the newspaper. That they seem to have felt comfortable in making these open displays of distinction and superiority to a female journalist without any significant embarrassment are indicative of a habitus in which little shame was attached to such feelings. It also reflects an unequal power disparity (Wouters, 2007) and illustrates the ideals of masculinity then pervading, and the position and status of drinking within this ideal.

Over the following 30 years, the scale of interdependences in the Republic of Ireland became much denser and longer. This was facilitated by the country's entry (1973) and further integration into the European Economic Community (later European Union), on-going urbanization, and from the late 1990s expanded international networks of trade and commerce all of which contributed to enhanced labor market opportunities for women. Furthermore, and notwithstanding the contested nature of the process, birth control became more widely available to more women (see Kelly, 2020). Over the same period, an expansion of social protections by the state, in terms of welfare and from the threat of physical violence, also contributed to a further change

in the gender power ratio in the direction of less unequal relations. This enhanced state protection of women, and their income and property, should not be interpreted as complete or ideal—this was a relative change in relation to previous decades. Violence—physical, sexual, and psychological—perpetrated by men continued nonetheless and remains a continuing problem in Irish society. I emphasize this expansion of social inter-dependences and in the monopoly for the control of violence because it facilitated the change toward less unequal power relations. Another effect of increasing social interdependences of this nature, in conjunction with a lessening of power inequalities between different social groups, was to increase the opportunities for individualization. More people from diverse social strata felt more emboldened to make their own choices about how to live without the same constraints and pressures they might have experienced in the past from family and other we-groups such as the Catholic Church. A further aspect of this dynamic was simultaneously to increase the social pressure for greater self-regulation. Consequently, more people felt less comfortable or certain about telling others how they should live in terms of their choices and behaviors across a wide range of social contexts (see Dolan, 2009, pp. 131–312). These processes greatly shaped the changes in drinking culture that occurred over the past 25 years. By the mid-1990s the age at which young women first began to drink alcohol merged with that of young men for the first time (Symth et al., 2011) while overall consumption continued to increase, peaking in the early 2000s (Hope, 2007). The previous conflation between "unfeminine" and the "drinking of pints" largely disappeared, even from "behind the scenes" (Elias, 2012b). Indeed, by the 2000s the practice of women drinking from pint glasses was so accepted any reference to it now largely involved an element of self-mockery as illustrated by this comment from a female journalist on the declining consumption of Guinness at the time: "Women in particular are eschewing the big dirty pints" (*Irish Times*, 2 September 2006, p. B5).

Although, as I suggested, the emergence of less unequal gender relations and related individualization processes have permitting more diverse types of drinking contexts, and behaviors and attitudes toward drinking, men still retain what could be called a model setting function in relation to alcohol consumption. The following is an extract from an article on drinking by female university students in 2010 (*Irish Times*, 8 October, p. 17):

> Clíona is drinking Southern Comfort whiskey and red lemonade, Sophie's a pint of Guinness, and Alice a pint of Heineken ... I asked the three of them what they considered excessive drinking. "Drinking until you're sick," answers Clíona ... "drinking until you black out and pass out," says Alice... Do they consider girls drink as much as boys? They nod. Alice laughs. "I know boys who tried to keep up with me and couldn't."

This type of drinking and the attitudes toward it amongst women was shaped by several interrelated processes—the remaining power inequality and related subordinate position of women relative to men; the continuing association between masculinity and drinking; and the association between drink and Irishness[4] which is deeply sedimented in the Irish habitus—as I now explain. Despite the movement toward a less unequal power balance between men and women which developed over the course of the twentieth century and twenty-first, it was not a process that reached equilibrium in relation to gender relations; the power ratio still favored men overall. Furthermore, masculine identity and its expression remain closely associated with drinking, including the ability to drink significant quantities of alcohol. Drunkenness too is an accepted aspect of this ideal so long as it takes place alongside the consumption of significant quantities of alcohol. Embodying and expressing Irish identity too has come to be closely aligned with this type of drinking over the course of the twentieth century. In this established–outsider figuration, and the broader social context which it forms, men to a degree still occupy a model setting function around the consumption of alcohol, one in which the ability to drink a significant quantity of alcohol is often revered. The fusion of these processes has greatly shaped the contemporary drinking culture of women in the Republic of Ireland. The extent of this can be seen from the fact that a form of drinking involving very large quantities of alcohol and getting excessively drunk, which is associated with male values and identities (and

Irishness), has partly been internalized by many women—it is a popular form of drinking for women from across diverse social and age groups.

6 | CONCLUSION

Over the course of the twentieth century in Ireland, more women of increasingly broader social classes and strata experienced a process of functional democratization. Post the 1960s this process of functional democratization (a decline in the power imbalance between men and women) accelerated and became more dominant, notwithstanding de-accelerations in this dynamic at particular times. It is the velocity of the changes in the 1960s, and the fact that they emanated from a collective social rise for women, which tends to mask the emancipatory spurts experienced by groups of women from specific social groups, often from the higher social classes, prior to the 1960s. Attempts by established male groups over the decades to demarcate aspects of drinking have run in tandem with the changing power balance. One of the last of these being the contest concerning drinking from pint glasses.

The national habitus also shaped this process. The association between drinking and Irishness has overtime become part of the Irish national habitus—itself a long term social process (see van Krieken, 2011). It is partly reflected by a we-image that the Irish have of themselves and by a they-image much of the rest of the world has of the Irish in which drinking and Irishness are seen as closely intertwined. Neither can the development of this we-image be detached from the structure of power relations between men and women that has prevailed in Ireland over several centuries. To that extent, aspects of the national we-image and we-identity has been relatively (male) gendered. Of course, national habitus' are re-shaped by the greater integration of outsider groups (including women) over time (Wouters, 2007). But, given the longevity of a power balance in which the ratio strongly favored men the national habitus reflects male values and thinking to a much greater extent that women.

In conclusion, I return to the relationship between the structure of social interdependences and functional democratization which framed this study. Like Elias (2009), both van Krieken (1999) and Wouters (2019) have emphasized the need to consider emancipatory spurts running in parallel with counter spurts. That also demands a more focused and nuanced consideration of the types and nature of social interdependences that propel these contrasting directional movements. As Wouters (2019) argues, we need to move beyond a simplistic assumption that expanding social interdependences lead automatically to a lessening of power inequalities for all.

DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT
The data that support the findings of this study are available from the corresponding author upon reasonable request.

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ENDNOTES
[1] Given the period covered, Ireland refers to the territory of the whole island. I use the terms Irish Free State and Republic of Ireland, from 1949, to refer to the 26 county state that emerged after partition in 1921.

[2] As Kelly (2020) explains, although contraception was only legalized in 1979 the restrictions were circumvented for some in the 1960s through the prescribing of the contraceptive pill as a menstrual cycle regulator.

[3] A marriage bar was introduced in the Irish Free State in the mid 1920s in relation to civil service employment. It required women to leave paid state employment on marriage. It was extended to teachers in 1932. It was removed in 1958 for those in teaching (O'Leary, 1987).

[4] This is not to suggest that the Irish are unique or predisposed to alcohol. The point I am inferring is that drinking has become associated with Irish people—by themselves and others.

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