THE UNIVERSITY OF WINCHESTER

"Last Orders at The Bar:" The Loss and Transformation of British Heritage and Community Values Depicted Through the Decline in Public Houses' In Hampshire.

Gabriella Bowe-Peckham

MA Cultural Heritage and Resource Management

September 2019

This independent study has been completed as a requirement for a higher degree at the University of Winchester

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

"Last Orders at The Bar:" The Loss and Transformation of British Heritage and Community Values Depicted Through the Decline in Public Houses' In Hampshire.

ABSTRACT

The socio-political environment of the United Kingdom has evolved drastically over the last few years bringing into question the nature and construction of British heritage and culture. Central to this is an exploration of multiple heritage assets which invoke intangible values; such as the sociability associated with a public house. Thus, the aim of this thesis is to explore the correlation between the changing attitudes in the understanding of British heritage and culture and the increasing closures of public houses. Focusing on the impact within the historic and diverse county of Hampshire, the thesis will utilise a supplementary survey completed by volunteers and will explore the nature of these concepts. In addition to this, this thesis will investigate the nature of the pressures placed on public houses and the work of various organisations and social groups to combat this. Through this, the nature of this thesis aims to draw upon the importance of community groups and the centrality of the communities within the protection of heritage assets.

List of Illustrations

Acknowledgements

Gabriella Bowe-Peckham

Contents

Gabriella Bowe-Peckham

███

The Concept of British Heritage

Introduction

Introduction

The notion of cultural heritage does not just stem from discussions surrounding buildings and artefacts but extends into the wider sphere of intangible traditions. These localised elements are often individualised and are rarely replicated through other communities. However, this is not just the case with small communities as the notion extends to the wider understand of national heritage and identity. The Oxford English Dictionary defines *National Heritage* as a collection of items of historical and cultural significance, handed down through generations of a nation as a whole (*Oxford English Dictionary*, 2019). Yet, this definition is lacking, allowing for counter-theories to be developed within this study. This thesis aims to gain an understanding into how the change and evolution of a particular element of a nations heritage and how its demise can alter the understanding of that national heritage.

Aims

The political environment within Britain has led to an influx in calls and interest into what it means to be British. Through understanding the traditional concept of British identity and heritage this thesis aims to explore this. However, this has led to expressions of concern as elements deemed an essential part of the concept have been on the decline, transforming the understanding further. Whilst this is of national concern, as the decline can be replicated across various regions, the vast scale of the project requires focus on a single area. Thus, this thesis will narrow down this highlighted issue to focus solely on the decline of public houses within Hampshire to assess its impact on the understanding of British heritage, due to the variety of demographic spaces and communities within the county.

The closure of public houses over the last half-century has been rapidly increasing with the reason of which not being accredited to a singular cause. Focusing on Hampshire, this thesis aims to highlight the various issues affecting public houses as the causes for their closures and to assess how measures can be taken in order to prevent further closures and the loss of this heritage asset. The academics addressed in this thesis each highlight individual reasons for the decline.

However, this study aims to move the blame away from the development of major breweries as whilst this did result in the closure of public houses and will be mentioned within the study, there are separate issues which have also contributed which need to be addressed in full.

Alongside this, the thesis aims to delve into the position of public houses within the realm of British heritage and identity. Presented as a key setting and space within communities, the role and importance of the local public house within British culture as a whole differs between locations. This will allow for discussion and an understanding into the importance and role they play within communities. Through comparative arguments on the true definition of national heritage, in a focus on British heritage, this study will also look into the heritage surrounding British drinking culture. Through this, the study will aim to highlight further reasons for the decline in public houses and produce solutions for the future of their survival within British culture.

Methodology

In order to address these aims, the thesis will first consider the notions of British heritage and British drinking culture in order to form a background for the following chapters. This will allow for historiographical debates and arguments as well as showcasing the importance of public houses within the wider context. This first chapter will also discuss the social and gendered influences within the understanding of drinking culture to explore how the attitudes have changed. This will allow for the second chapter to fully investigate the reasons and issues facing public houses. By looking at the role public houses hold within communities, the chapter will be assessing the changing consumer attitudes and the economic and external factors increasing the pressures on public houses, forcing them to close. In order to assess the impact of these pressures, the third chapter within this thesis will be a comparative case study of two areas within Hampshire: Romsey and Portsmouth. Finally, the concluding chapter will investigate the efforts in place, put forward by organisations such as the Campaign for Real Ale (CAMRA) and localised social movement groups. Alongside this, this chapter will investigate the role of governmental bodies and local authorities within the regulated protection for public houses.

Throughout these chapters, the thesis will utilise various forms of source material in order to present a combination of different results. Due to the often-personal connections and history between communities and public houses, the effects of the closures resonate beyond the evidence and statistics that can be presented through academic reports. Therefore, this thesis will utilise a combination of primary recorded data reinforced with academic supportive material. The main survey used questions to assess the understanding of closures and to assess the relationship between patrons and their public house (Appendix 1). The survey also allows for personal testimonies into the relationship of a pub to a particular location within Hampshire, which may not exist within published works. However, the use of a survey is not without faults as they present issues concerning the different formats of questions. Through the use of closed-ended questions, respondents may not feel encouraged to provide accurate answers and they also prevent them from providing personal testimonies, which are highly important within this thesis. Alongside this, the length of questions can sometimes prevent respondents gathering a full understanding of the thesis. Therefore, to overcome these issues, the survey used within this research is compiled of a range of closed-ended and open-ended questions to allow respondents to expand on answers if required. Additionally, a full explanation of the aims of the thesis is provided alongside a consent form at the start of the survey to provide information. This is also accompanied by a contact email to allow respondents to ask questions about the survey (Appendix 1)

Alongside this, the study consists of research obtained through interviews and meetings with local residents; as well as local planning authorities in order to gain the personal and professional responses to the decline. This also allows a governmental insight into the responsibilities held by local authorities to prevent and assist with struggling businesses. Similarly, to the surveys, whilst interviews allowed for direct lines of enquiry, they presented further issues such as bias and ethical considerations. Due to the subject matter of the thesis, surrounding drinking culture, concerns arise over choosing interviewees who may be against drinking alcohol. Therefore, each interviewee will be provided with a thorough consent form and a detailed introduction concerning the aims of the thesis (Appendix 2). Alongside this, interviewees will be allowed to withdraw from the interview process at any point.

Historiography and Key Researchers

As seen through the definition provided by the Oxford English Dictionary aforementioned, standardised ideas of 'National Heritage' fail to fully state the full impact of the concept, thus resulting in an influx of wider academic studies addressing the issue. Central to this is the work of Laurajane Smith (2006), who heavily addresses the relationship between the public and heritage. Through the theory of 'Authorised Heritage Discourse' in the publication *Uses of Heritage*, Smith stipulates that as all heritage can be intangible as it can mean different things to different people which increases the risk of economic exploitation increasing the concern amongst heritage academics (Smith: 2006, 35). In addition to the arguments put forward by Smith and the emphasis on heritage theory, this thesis also utilises specialised academic texts on specific subjects. For instance, Christopher Hutt (1973) who presents a contemporary piece on the closures of pubs from the stance as a frequenter. Hutt presents a dedicated and strong piece enforcing the traditional belief that the closures of public houses was caused primarily through the development of breweries and the modernisation of pubs. However, this piece is often attacking in nature and fails to extend beyond the single cause of blame to consider the economic environment and the need to modernise in certain aspects.

Furthermore, the continuous emphasis on public drinking and the levels of alcohol consumption require numerous forms of statistical evidence to support and the works of social study academics. This includes the work of James Nicholls (2009a; 2009b; 2009c; 2012). Nicholls presents multiple publications on the exploration of the relationship between alcohol and the consumer. As will be discussed within this thesis, the attitudes of the consumer towards alcohol have continuously changed over time and has rapidly changed within the last few years. Nicholls explores this change and relates the change to the decline in public houses and the impact of political action. Additionally, due to the local nature of aspects, the thesis utilises the publications of local authors and archaeological and historical societies, for instance, The Lower Test Valley Archaeological Study Group (2006) who assess the historic exploration of public houses within Romsey.

Conclusion

Overall, this study aims to argue that the closures of public houses within Hampshire has transformed the understanding of British heritage through the change in relationships between communities. The closures of public houses have removed the central hub for community gatherings. Alongside this, the changes in the attitudes towards drinking cultures has also established itself as a major influence on the closure of public houses; as the decline in drinking has forced public houses to develop their position within communities. Despite the rate of closures, this thesis aims to highlight the works of organisations and social movement groups that are actively petitioning and aiding the decline public house trade, thoroughly showcases the importance pubs still hold. Overall, the chapters presented within this thesis aim to highlight the position of public houses within the wider concept of British cultural heritage.

Patrons and the Pub

<u>Social History of British Drinking Culture</u>

<u>Introduction</u>

Brian Lang (1988) evokes the maxim that we fail to realise how much we value assets until we are about to lose them, in regard to the closure of public houses within Britain (Lang: 1998, 20). These establishments have been a feature of the rural and urban landscapes across the country in various forms for centuries. Yet, through the rise in economic and political pressures, many have been forced to close. Key to this, is an understanding on the position public houses play within the concept of British heritage, identity and culture. As an establishment which is deemed uniquely 'British' in its culture and the failure of these businesses to expand outside the country, the correlation to some is clear. However, as the attitudes towards alcohol have adapted and the understanding of a British drinking culture is transformed, this pinnacle of British culture is seemingly further under threat. This thesis will explore this further in subsequent chapters. However, in order to form the understanding which will form the basis for the rest of the arguments to follow, this chapter will delve into this to investigate the nature of British heritage and culture. In addition to this, this chapter will also explore the current understand of this concept and the notion of British drinking culture.

<u>The Current Understanding of British Heritage and Culture</u>

Through the surveys completed alongside this thesis, it is able to conclude that the public interpretation of British heritage and identity stems from a colonial understanding. By this, the public understanding seems to present a focus surrounding the political implications. Through the survey, volunteers were asked the question "What do you understand about the terms 'British Heritage' or 'British Identity'?" (Appendix 1). The majority of those who answered, commented upon the need to uphold traditions and ways of life. In addition to this, many drew on the differences between the two categories. 'British Heritage' was interpreted by many as an established and recognised form that has been shaped through historical events and how they have influenced our current livelihoods. Whereas, 'British Identity' was perceived as ideas of what others have approached on the understanding of what it means to be British. In addition to this, the fluid nature of

these concepts was discussed within the surveys, as one noted that the growing multi-cultural nature of the country, has become incorporated into the concepts to enrich the culture overall. Whilst no one answer completed through the surveys was the same, the consensus centred around the idea of traditions and values which filter down through generations. Despite this, many academics from various backgrounds have attempted to investigate these terms to present a contemporary and conclusive definition.

From what has been explained above, it is clear there is no single answer to the question of what can be conceived to be 'British Heritage'. This is also the case in the academic arguments, as heritage academics and professionals fail to decide on a conclusive definition. Elisabeth Luard (1993) highlights that, heritage and identity can be traced back to the physical, tangible and characterful aspects of the country's landscapes and inhabitants. Luard also makes note of the intangible aspects (Luard: 1993, 347). Whilst Luard gives importance to the tangible traditions which allow British culture to differentiate itself from neighbouring countries; Luard states that it is the intangible aspects which accurately reflect the heritage of the country (Luard: 1993, 347). By taking pride and re-enacting the local traditions for each local area, Luard argues that each community is actively safeguarding the future of the aspects of their heritage that they value the most (Luard: 1993, 347).

In addition to this, through referring to the work of Michael Billig (1995), Laurajane Smith (2006) argues that an understanding of heritage does more than allow the construction and representation of a range of identities, but enables the provision of a material reality to the concept of identity (Smith: 2006, 48) (Smith: 2006, 49). Derek Gillman (2010) counters this slightly, to state that cultural narratives have a vital role to play in the construction of the notion of national heritage as it efficiently takes over the historically established narratives (Gillman: 2010, 73). However, Gillman does argue that heritage and history are rarely identical as the meanings and repercussions of both have different significance to different people (Gillman: 2010, 65). Therefore, Gillman argues that heritage cannot be understood as an objective truth but must be solely interpreted as a social construct to which religion, customs, historical events and laws have all played a role in shaping an individual's understanding of (Gillman: 2010, 66). Nonetheless, John Cornforth

(1988) argues to state that in order to develop a recognisable understanding of national heritage, it is essential to broaden the historical perspective (Cornforth: 1998, 13). In conjunction with this, Smith states that a sense of identity must indelibly draw on history and memories through the way individual and collective memories are commemorated and depicted (Smith: 2006, 36).

When discussing the concepts of 'National Heritage' and 'National Identity', these terms have been intentionally and unintentionally synonymised with the concepts of nationalism (Smith: 2006, 48). Through this, heritage has become a tool to facilitate and construct a sense of belonging and identity transitioning the representational understanding to enable it into providing a physical reality (Smith: 2006, 75). Whilst in certain circumstances and situations this can be negatively perceived, the application of a heritage understanding renews memories and encourages shared experiences to cement future social cohesion (Smith: 2006, 1). Through this, heritage becomes more than an understanding of the past material objects but becomes a process of engagement and communication in order to generate values and meanings to the present (Smith: 2006, 1).

Conversely, Smith (2006) does point to the implications of a political involvement within the understanding of national heritage. Smith argues that the current sense of national heritage has stemmed partially from the insecurities surrounding the political and economic stability during the post-war conservative government (Smith: 2006, 39). This diffidence of the state of national identity at the time became tied to the loss of imperial identity and the hesitation to recognise the growing multiculturalism of the nation (Smith: 2006, 39). This provides the basis for Smiths main theory of 'Authorised Heritage Discourse', which will be explored later in this section. Conversely, John Cornforth (1988) notes that the social pressures of the nineteenth century stemmed the first discussions into a heritage understanding through the growing nostalgia for the preservation of Britain's past (Cornforth: 1988, 12). However, this was primarily of a localised concern as governmental bodies did not react to demands or concerns (Cornforth: 1988, 12). Nevertheless, the mass displacements of populations as a result of the industrial revolution as many relocated in order to find work lead to a loss of social and geographical security. Through this, ideas of nationalism began to develop as a way to bind populations to

the shifting territorial identity (Smith: 2006, 18). This began to establish itself as a doctrine of 'blood and land' as the previous racial discourses transgressed into a naturalised link between the understanding of identity and territory leading to what Smith argues to be what we identify as heritage (Smith: 2006, 18). Nevertheless, key developments in this understanding can be linked highly to the events following 1945. Following the end of the Second World War, heritage was perceived as not only another avenue for historical enthusiasts to explore but an administrative tool to be used by governments in order to condense a range of issues (Cornforth: 1988, 14). Cornforth states that new determination flooded the government to generate a broadened admiration for heritage and national identity (Cornforth: 1988, 14).

Over the recent turn of the century, heritage has become a major feature in the contemporary understanding of multi-cultural landscapes (Gillman: 2010, 1). As Derek Gillman (2010) notes, many populations feel a sense of distinctiveness and pride in the heritage that makes up their cultural landscape, in some cases pushing them to capitalise on this which is evident in many forms of tourist literature (Gillman: 2010, 1). However, Gillman argues that this provides justification for governments to impose regulations and privatised rights on various aspects of the heritage landscape (Gillman: 2010, 1). Despite this, heritage remains a long-established concept allowing people to investigate its origins and the weight of the value imposed on it (Gillman: 2010, 1). Through this, it is evident that there is a growing interest surrounding the concept of national heritage. Yet, this raises additional questions into the conservation and preservation of each element that is regarded as integral to the build-up of British heritage (Lang: 1988, 20). As will be discussed in the final chapter of this thesis, the organisations and bodies in place to aid the preservation of public houses is vast. However, this section of this chapter will delve into the general understanding of who has the responsibility to protect heritage.

Harold Eidsvik (1993) argues that a nations heritage will not survive unless it is protected through an organised system (Eidsvik: 1993, 43). In order to fully benefit the future generations, Eidsvik states that a programme of long-term protection is essential; however, this does not occur by accident (Eidsvik: 1993, 44). Eidsvik states that long-term protection will only come about through the will of committed politicians which is reliant on vast numbers of committed members of the public to

spur them on and initiate change (Eidsvik: 1993, 44). This theory is highly similar to that put forward by Laurajane Smith. Whilst Eidsvik argues that the governing bodies of politicians can be spurred into action by mass rallies of members of the general public, Smith argues through the theory of 'Authorised Heritage Discourse' that heritage professions are only capable of enacting protection (Smith: 2006, 13). Smith's theory states that heritage experts became increasingly concerned by the economic exploitation of heritage assets in order to underpin the conservative social policies of advocating the notion of traditional family values. Through this, a consensus was established that heritage assets could only be protected by qualified heritage professionals leading the understanding that only experts can decide what is important to national heritage creating to a top-down approach (Smith: 2006, 35).

Nevertheless, Smith does state that through the growing amount of literature concerning heritage studies, there is a strong desire to encourage community engagement within heritage protection (Smith: 2006, 35). Whilst this drive for community outreach does offer potential involvement into the management and conservation of heritage assets, Smith notes that this is often retained to marginalised subfields and only occurs through agitation by the already established social groups to invoke higher levels of consideration and inclusion (Smith: 2006, 35). Many community groups continue to challenge this sense of professional domination discourse and advocate greater community participation (Smith: 2006, 28). This is seen through the growing number of community driven public houses; which will be explored in full in the final chapter of this thesis.

Alongside the challenges set out by community groups, many also wish to remove the geographical bindings that many practitioners have placed on areas to define communities and aim to demonstrate that many communities and sub-communities are often bound by social, cultural and common experiences instead (Smith: 2006, 28). Throughout this, heritage remains a minutely understood concept; yet, the importance and values that stem from it are becoming increasingly evident from a variety of different perspectives (Eidsvik: 1993, 43). Whilst heritage was previously conventionally perceived as buildings and structures that have survived through generations, the intangible nature is becoming more widely recognised (Eidsvik: 1993, 43) (Smith: 2006, 2). Through an understanding of collective

memories and interactions, heritage is becoming widely understood as embracing the values that amalgamate into individual well-being (Gillman: 2010, 198).

The Central Understanding of British Drinking Culture

Due to the various topics associated with this thesis, it is necessary to provide an understanding of them each in detail, including the concept of British drinking culture. Whilst this thesis does focus on the culture surrounding British public houses, academic research into the concept of British drinking culture as a whole directs it towards the sociability. Christopher Hutt (1973) is a strong advocator that of the notion that sociability is an integral aspect of British drinking culture by stating that establishments, such as public houses are very much a place of social gatherings and entertainment (Hutt: 1973, 10). Whilst the stance of Hutt's piece is highly traditional, Marian Barnes and Lizzie Ward (2015) highlights a similar viewpoint. Barnes and Ward note that the central aspect of the current understanding of British drinking culture is focused around sharing conversations and livelihoods (Barnes *et al*: 2015, 109). Alongside this, Barnes and Ward note that the element of enjoyment is central (Barnes *et al*: 2015, 109).

Through this, drinking culture becomes highly affiliated with increasing the quality of the consumers lives through increasing the sociability; without being detrimental to the consumer either financially or health wise (Barnes *et al*: 2015, 109). Through a study into the different styles of drinking culture within Britain, Barnes and Ward have established four different categories that define British drinking culture (Barnes *et al:* 2015, 105). These further highlight the social impact of drinking culture as Barnes and Ward note that two of the four categories listed were linked to social occasions but varied between a regular or occasional occurrence (Barnes *et al:* 2015, 105). Yet, Barnes and Ward do note through the counter stance of the concern of heavy drinking through the categories of regular lone drinking and heavy drinking within a drinking network (Barnes *et al*: 2015, 106). Whilst, Barnes and Ward do argue that within a drinking network, sociability is still achieved, these social contacts are confined to a drinking establishment (Barnes *et al:* 2015, 106). Alongside this, Barnes and Ward highlight the gendered differences between the four categories by stating that whilst women recognised themselves partaking within the regular and social drinking culture; only one women out of Barnes and Ward's

study identified themselves as a regular lone drinker (Barnes *et al*: 2015, 106). In conjunction with this, the gendered understanding towards the consumption of alcohol will be explored further later in this chapter.

Alongside this, the concern for excessive drinking continues to dominate the academic research into what constitutes British drinking culture. This has been highly evident as the tolerance for excessive drinking has been declining rapidly throughout many European countries (Blok: 2016, 227). Defined by the Nation Health Service (NHS) as a large consumption of alcohol over a short space of time, 'binge drinking' has been identified as a creation of British drinking culture (*NHS,* 2019). Whilst in many media outlets, it is described as a recent phenomenon, there is an extensive history involving excessive drinking within British drinking culture (Herring *et al*: 2008, 476). Despite the positive social impacts established through the concept of British drinking culture, the consumption of alcohol has remained a problematic concept and has continued to establish tension between those in favour of freedom of choice and those who aim to reduce anti-social behaviour associated through drinking (Nicholls: 2009b, 256).

The concern continues to dominate national and political agenda as the risk to health is routinely targeted through the introduction of recommended guidelines. The Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 2010 to 2016 David Cameron, has previously referred to the British drinking culture as a "scandal of our society" (Blok: 2016, 227). However, the involvement of governmental bodies in regard to control measures in place to address the levels of alcohol consumption raises further questions surrounding the freedom of choice for the general public which will be explored within the final chapter of this thesis. Nevertheless, James Nicholls (2009b) argues that the concern surrounding freedom of choice has only be exposed through the growing concern for the quality of public health (Nicholls: 2009b, 257) (Nicholls: 2009b, 258).

The Gendered Evolution of Drinking Culture

Alongside an understanding into the current drinking culture of Britain, it is necessary to delve into the topic further by exploring the differences in the gendered relations with alcohol to fully interpret the topic. Through this, this section aims to investigate the relationship between women as a societal group and alcohol through

the treatment they receive. Within the brewing market which dominated the 1950s and 1960s, women and the younger generation represented two major market groups that were often disregarded (Hutt: 1973, 127). A prominent author into the brewing and public house trade of the 1970s, Christopher Hutt (1973), stated that due to their new and expensive tastes, public houses were sometimes not able to accommodate the needs of this emerging clientele (Hutt: 1973: 127). Alongside this, the relationship between the brewers and the public houses through the tied house system often restricted publicans from stocking the products that consumers demanded; an issue that will be fully addressed in the succeeding chapter of this thesis. For a long period, public houses were highly male centred, and most products aimed to suit the working man; yet this was disrupted through the rise in women drinking socially.

Historically women were continuously scandalised and condemned for consuming alcohol (Beresford: 2015, 20). This is highly evident through the Gin Craze period of the eighteenth century. The consumption of gin rose due to collapse of the monopoly of gin production held by the London Guild of Distillers which coincided with the rise in household incomes. This period in particular resulted in the scandalisation of women who were believed to be neglecting their families in favour of drinking gin; which in turn became know as 'Mothers Ruin' (Beresford: 2015, 20). In recent years there has been an increase in research into the condemnation placed on women; yet, interest into women's consumption of alcohol has been the focus of many for centuries (Mackiewicz: 2015, 65). Most intrigue has stemmed around the relation between alcohol and women's mental health as many believed consumption led to hysteria. In addition to this, many historians note that the distain for women's drinking habits have often come through in 'waves' (Mackiewicz: 2015, 65).

David Gutzke (1994) draws attention to this through an investigation of the relationship between women and public drinking during the First World War. Gutzke states that during the Victorian period, women would not enter a public house as they were predominately reserved for the working-class members of society (Gutzke: 1994, 370). However, during the First World War, as husbands, brothers and sons were off fighting, public houses became a place of solitude of women and allowed them to convene together in order to commiserated and offer emotional support for

each other (Gutzke: 1994, 374). Yet, the overarching attitude stemmed from the argument that intoxication was permissible for man, but consumption violated the societal terms of being a 'good women' (Mackiewicz: 2015, 65). By referring to the work of Patsy Staddon (2015), Peter Beresford (2015) argues that the public displays of women drinking were perceived as a challenge to the restrictions that had been imposed on them. Thus, public drinking became a rebellious act against the societal norm (Beresford: 2015, 23).

Nevertheless, in order to understand the culture surrounding women's drinking culture, it is important to look beyond casual explanations for why but it is necessary to delve into the emphasis behind the diverse meanings (Barnes *et al*: 2015, 108). This allows for a greater understanding into the significance of the behaviour and how it interacts with other parts of people's lives (Barnes *et al*: 2015, 108). Research into alcohol consumption amongst the older generation is often a neglected field regardless of gender as focus is centralised on the consumption levels of the younger generation, meaning that there is currently a lack of viable sources in order to make any comparisons (Barnes *et al*: 2015, 103). This imbalance is often due to a focus surrounding the implications of the consumption of alcohol by young women and the relationship between it, anti-social behaviours and health consequences. Alison Mackiewicz (2015) states that alcohol plays a key role with the culture of the United Kingdom and that regardless of age, the consumption of alcohol by women has continued to increase significantly (Mackiewicz: 2015, 65).

Through this study, Mackiewicz aims to draw attention towards the social influences that lead young women towards drinking alcohol and to challenge the way these are perceived (Mackiewicz: 2015, 65). Mackiewicz notes that leading up to 2011, there was a noticeable rise in the number of young women consuming alcohol; yet, since this date, this figure has continued to decline and that the number of women participating in excessive drinking has decreased to 18 per cent (Mackiewicz: 2015, 66). Despite this decline, Mackiewicz refers to the work of Fiona Measham (2004) to introduce the concept of determined drunkenness (Mackiewicz: 2015, 66) (Measham: 2004, 344). This suggests that young women remain the highest levels of excessive or 'binge' drinkers over the course of the weekend due to

the end of the working week (Mackiewicz: 2015, 66). Establishing the theory of 'determined drinking' and further noting the shift in societal attitudes.

<u>Conclusion</u>

Overall, this chapter has provided an explanation into the major theories supported in this thesis and that will be referred back to at various stages. The understanding of what it means to be British or what British heritage can be defined as a complex and often inconclusive argument. The theories set out above highlight the subjective nature of the topic. Therefore, debates over cultural heritage do not provide answers and conclusive statements but instead force the researcher to engage closer with their own relationship with their individual well-being and the chance to assess the wider range of goods deemed as valuable to each culture (Gillman: 2010, 5). However, taking pride in the culture and identity of a nation must come at some cost as to place value on an element leads to demands of stewardship to ensure its place in society for the enjoyment of future generations (Fladmark: 1993, xiii). However; this in itself leads to further questions of who holds the responsibilities for this as mentioned above. The changing and inconclusive nature of the concept of British heritage can become interlinked with the changing nature of British drinking culture. As seen through the rise and fall of excessive drinking, known as 'binge drinking' and the attitudes towards the consumption of alcohol by women over the nation's history, further highlights the evolving attitudes towards the subject matter. Through this, it is possible to draw a connection between the falling public house trade and the understanding of British culture by the wider public. As both are interlinked to the traditional image of British history and society, as the former declines the nature of the latter is forced to respond and comply. However, whilst this section set out some element of an understanding into the changing relationship with alcohol and how in turn that would cause a decline in public houses, the subsequent chapter within this thesis will explore the pressures placed on public houses in greater detail.

The Death of the British Pub

The Demise of the Public House

Introduction

The traditional image of the British public house has undergone various changes and alterations over the course of their filtration into society. Yet, the theme of sociability has remained a constant. The public house has customarily been a favourite space for communities to gather, socialise, enjoy entertainment and consume alcohol (Hutt: 1973, 7). Christopher Hutt (1973), has stated that most people divide their time between their home life, working life and their local public house (Hutt: 1973, 10). In addition to this, British culture has continued to maintain a relationship with drinking establishments throughout various periods of history. Through multiple factors ranging from the control of breweries and the fluctuating consumer relationships with alcohol consumption, the public house has been put under threat. Investigation into this decline has amounted in various differing situations. However, no academic research has concluded on a specific cause behind the decline in sales and ultimate closure of public houses. Thus, in this chapter, this thesis will consider a vast array of reasons including changing consumer attitudes, the influences of the breweries and the economic pressures of taxation and changing legislation.

Role of Public Houses within Communities

Centrally, the notion of public houses is widely discussed within academic research; however, this primarily focuses on niche topics such as the traditional nature of sign writing (Hunt *et al*: 1986, 62). Nevertheless, throughout these, the peculiarity of this solely English regarded institution is celebrated and is highlighted through its role as an organic part of community life (Hunt *et al*: 1986, 62). Despite the importance and role public houses play within local communities, this is not addressed as an independent topic within academic texts by contemporary social science studies (Hunt *et al*: 1986, 63). Whilst they are predominantly perceived as a sole drinking establishment, public houses have been shown to have the potential to redevelop themselves as social institutes. In many cases in rural areas, a concept which is very popular amongst community run public houses. Public houses have the ability to provide a multitude of social service benefits (Walker: 2014, 2). Alongside the inclusion of social services such as doctors' surgeries and allotment spaces;

16

public houses also benefit the intangible aspects of social cohesion by increasing the sense of belonging and reducing the loneliness felt by isolated communities (Walker: 2014, 2).

Malcolm J. Moseley (2000) draws attention to this further by referring to an investigation conducted by the Department of Environment and the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food, which resulted in the 1995 Rural White Paper (Moseley: 2000, 415). This paper stated that, when communities were asked what the ideal village would have, six main establishments were listed (Moseley: 2000, 415). This included, a church hall, post office, regular transport and a public house (Moseley: 2000, 415). Out of the six services reported, over half are now in decline (Moseley: 2000, 430). Nevertheless, out of the 9,700 English rural parishes questioned within the survey in 1997, 71 per cent reported the availability of a public houses within their districts (Moseley: 2000, 417). Yet, this was still recorded as a declining figure; a theme which continued to dominate the rural parish studies into the latter half of the twentieth century (Moseley: 2000, 423). However, along with the noted closures, many referenced the changes public houses have made to adapt to the changing consumer market. By increasing their catering prospects, public houses can attract non-local clientele by promoting themselves as family friendly or catering establishment (Moseley: 2000, 423). Moseley argues that increasing their catering facilities can be vital for the survival of some public houses (Moseley: 2000, 426). Yet, Moseley argues that this can exclude other clientele and can result in establishments dividing their patrons into two categories to suit each demographic, reducing the social cohesion of an area as a whole (Moseley: 2000, 423).

Similarly, Geoff Hunt and S. Satterlee (1986) note that whilst public houses do create an open area of social interactions between various social and demographics; in some cases, public houses can become synonymous with particular social groups preventing the amalgamation of communities, echoing the argument put forward by Moseley (Hunt *et al*: 1986, 65). Whilst the general consensus argument states that public houses allow social divisions to be overcome, Hunt and Satterlee argue that they also reflect the wider social and cultural divisions by enhancing the differences between them (Hunt *et al*: 1986, 66). As social groups favour a particular establishment, other social groups within that community begin to feel excluded or

choose to avoid the establishment altogether. None the less, in addition to the expected services provided, public houses present communities with a warming hospitality from landlords; providing spaces for weekly activities. Furthermore, public houses offer communities the chance to reunite with friends and make new acquaintances establishing an atmosphere which is pre-requisite to any community service (Hutt: 1973, 13). This is further evident in the surveys completed in parallel with this thesis. Through the question: "What makes a pub stand out for you?" the overriding draw for many was the atmosphere public houses provide with around 34% of those asked placing it as high importance (Figure 1) (Appendix 1). Subsequently, the quality of products on offer to the consumer also rated highly as 11% of those asked placed this as the most important factor (Figure 1).
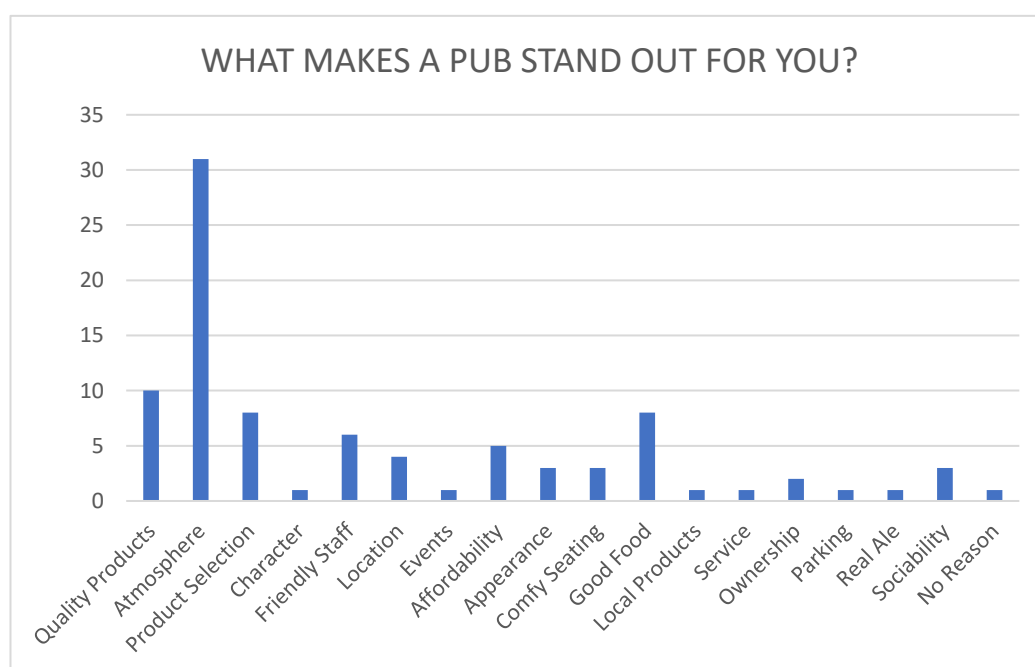
Figure 1: Graph depicting the results of the 'What makes a pub stand out for you?' questions within the supplementary survey found in Appendix 1.

Nevertheless, the previous traditional stereotypes of an English public house are slowly breaking down (Walker: 2014, 2). The traditional image of a working man's public house, that was frequented by the older male dominate generation, has changed to now act as a key establishment for the rite of passage of young people (Hunt *et al*: 1986, 67). Whilst Geoff Hunt and S. Satterlee (1986) previously criticised the social implications of public houses within communities, they advocate this

argument by stating that the improved age identification policies allow young people to distinguish themselves from their younger counterparts (Hunt *et al*: 1986, 67). For many, the local public house provides a safe and regulated environment for consuming alcohol than the other emerging establishments of the night-time economy (Walker: 2014, 2). Thus, the decline in the availability of public houses has a further detrimental effect on the local communities. Centrally, these establishments provide a social meeting house for communities to gather and interact. In addition to this, in rural areas, these establishments also provide employment for many people, increasing its importance in community livelihood (Moseley: 2000, 416).

Changing Consumer Attitudes and Rise of Teetotalism

As aforementioned, the public house has become a refuge and a staple of the image of British culture. Yet, due to economic pressures, such as the implications of high taxation and the changes to drinking consumption levels, adaptation is a necessity for their sustainability (Hutt: 1973, 11). As discussed through the changing understanding to the definition of British drinking culture in the previous chapter, the attitudes of the consumer are constantly changing. Contemporary society is now defined as a predominantly consumer focused society (Mackiewicz: 2015, 69). Alison Mackiewicz (2015) ties this market change into the development of identity by stating the new demands of consumption has increased the pressures on local manufacturers and directed the focus towards mass-production (Mackiewicz: 2015, 69). This in turn has reduced the locality of manufactures that could be purely recognised through their location. In addition to this, consumers could previously identify themselves as connected to a certain area through the products associated with that location. Alongside this growing consumer ideology, public houses are facing increasing competition through the rise in the availability of leisure activities, such as organised sporting activities and cinemas which present alternative social activities for the consumer (Nicholls: 2009c, 180). Whilst this cannot be identified as the sole reason behind the decline in public houses, the changing consumer attitudes towards drinking and public houses had a significant affect.

Claire Churchard (2018) states that between 2008 and 2012, the sales of beer within public houses has declined by almost a quarter (Churchard, 2018). This can partially be explained through the growing availability of alcoholic products outside

the public house environment. Malcolm J. Moseley (2000) draws attention to this by stating that there is a growing preference by consumers to take advantage of cheaper products that can be purchased from supermarkets (Moseley: 2000, 242). A report published by the Portman Group (2015) echoed this statistic by stating that the levels of alcohol consumption by the British public peaked in 2014 and have been in decline since (*Portman Group*, 2015). This report directs the reason for the decline to the growing availability of information surrounding guidelines and health implications (*Portman Group*, 2015). Through a poll of over two thousand adults in 2014, the report shows that 46 per cent of those surveyed had changed their drinking habits due to the desire to achieve a healthier lifestyle (*Portman Group*, 2015). Nevertheless, in a report released by the Office of National Statistics (2018), the complex relationship between social groups, the class system, age and expenditure were documented as influencing factors in the changes in consumer relations with alcohol (*Office for National Statistics*, 2018). The report states that those in professional and managerial occupations with higher flexible incomes are most likely to consume alcohol on a weekly basis (*Office for National Statistics*, 2018). Around 69.5 per cent of those in higher positions were recorded to consume alcohol compared to just 51.2 per cent of those in routine manual occupations (*Office for National Statistics*, 2018).

The report published by the Portman Group (2015) also highlighted the rise in demand of non-alcoholic and low-percentage products. The statistics developed through the report demonstrated that around 16 per cent of those surveyed had altered their consumption of alcohol due to the change in availability of these products (*Portman Group*, 2015). However, this does not solely suggest that the teetotal movement is part of the modern change in consumer attitudes. James Nicholls (2009b) notes that an early teetotal movement has occurred previously and has suffered waves of popularity (Nicholls: 2009b, 256). Nicholls states that the previous movements have been driven by many social welfares and working-class campaigners who state that excessive drinking was destructive and increased the levels of domestic and public violence (Nicholls: 2009b, 256). This ideology has been adapted by national health campaigners to protest in favour of the increase in alcohol taxation (Nicholls: 2009b, 259). Nevertheless, through the statistics published by the Office of National Statistics (2018), it is possible to note the

changes in attitudes through age demographics (*Office of National Statistics*, 2018). The report states that those between the ages of 16 and 44 had the highest levels of teetotalism since 2015, whilst the figures for those aged 65 and above have begun to decline (*Office of National Statistics*, 2018). This could be explained through the rise in social campaigns targeting teetotalism and a reduction in drinking habits; such as Dry January.

Established by the organisation Alcohol Change (2019), Dry January sets out a challenge to encourage people to go alcohol free for one month, to "reset their relationship with alcohol" (*Alcohol Change*, 2019). Alongside the health benefits, the charity promotes the economic benefits associated through the challenge by stating that on average 88 per cent of participants save money (*Alcohol Change*, 2019). In addition to this, there are further campaigns advocating a reduction in drinking habits, such as those run by Drinkaware (2019), who operate in conjunction with Public Health England to promote 'Drink Free Days' (*Drink Aware*, 2019). Similarly, Change4Life presents a more informative campaign by utilising the recommended guidelines to demonstrate the impacts on long term health through the use of an online calculator (*Department of Health and Social Care*, 2013). Through these campaigns, the decline in drinking has occurred; however, the report conducted by the Office of National Statistics (2018) noted that those whose consumption did decline, had the highest levels of consumption on days on which they did drink than any other age bracket (*Office for National Statistics*, 2018).

Despite this, through the surveys completed alongside this thesis, only 7% of those questioned stated that their drinking habits were impacted by the events aforementioned (Figure 2). Nevertheless, around 44% stated that they were intrigued by a greater option of low-percentage and non-alcoholic products (this result is an amalgamation of those who rated their response as between '6' and '10' when asked the question "How do you feel about the availability of low-percentage or non-alcoholic products on a scale of 0 (have no interest in them at all) to 10 (would like to see a wider range of options)) (Figure 3). When asked to expand, many of those who rated a higher interest in these products stated that they wished for a greater selection for those who wanted to enjoy the atmosphere of a public house and not feel different from the those drinking alcohol. In addition, many noted that a wider

range would encourage those who do not consume alcohol for, various reasons, to enjoy the social side of establishments such as public houses.

DO EVENTS SUCH AS 'DRY JANUARY,' OR SIMILAR, AFFECT YOUR DRINKING HABITS?

■ No Affect   ■ Affects

7%

93%
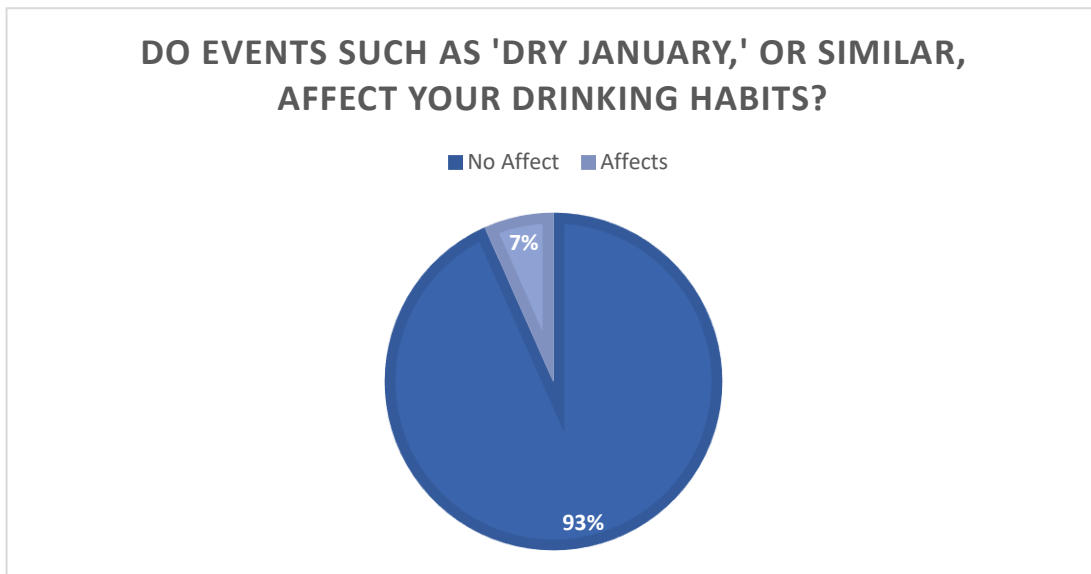
Figure 2: Graph depicting the results of the 'Do events such as 'Dry January,' or similar, affect your drinking habits?' questions within the supplementary survey in Appendix 1.

HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT THE AVAILABILITY OF LOW-PERCENTAGE OR NON-ALCOHOLIC PRODUCTS? (0 = HAVE NO INTEREST IN THEM AT ALL, 10 = WOULD LIKE TO SEE A WIDER RANGE OF OPTIONS)

Scored 0 Scored 1 Scored 2 Scored 3 Scored 4 Scored 5 Scored 6 Scored 7 Scored 8 Scored 9 Scored 10

Figure 3: Graph depicting the results of the 'How do you feel about the availability of low-percentage or non-alcoholic products?' questions within the supplementary survey found in Appendix 1.

Monopolisation of Breweries and Changing Legislation

The changes in consumer attitudes and consumption have increased the pressures for public houses forcing them to adapt to this change. Christopher Hutt (1973) argues this further, by stating that public houses are constricted through the shift in control by the breweries (Hutt: 1973, 12). Many of the factors associated with the decline in public house stem from the rising costs directed at landlords. The increase in property and land rent, in addition to the higher prices of alcohol in public houses compared to supermarkets which are attracting the 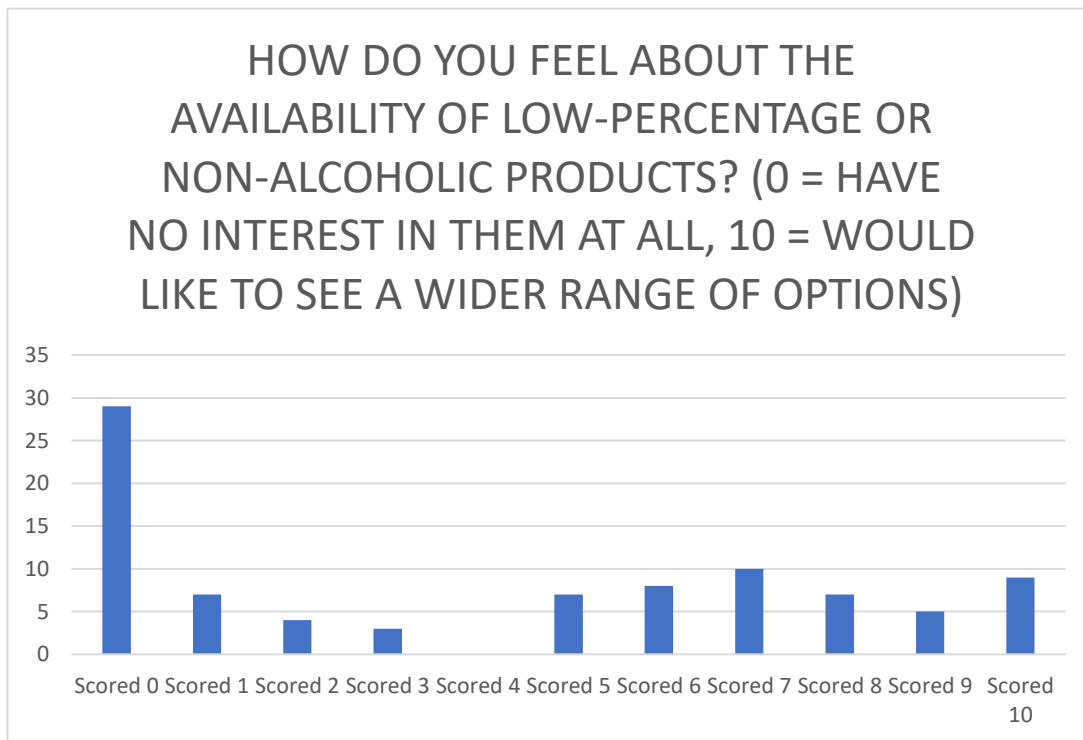consumer market, have amalgamated in an uncertain future of this British institute (Walker: 2014, 2). Nevertheless, Hutt places the blame for this decline predominantly on the spate of mergers and the monopolisation of the brewing industry. The British brewing industry has been dominated over the last half a century by six dominate companies known as the 'Big 6'; Bass Charrington, Watneys, Courage, Scottish and Newcastle, Allied Breweries and Whitbread (Hutt: 1973, 11). By 1972, these six organisations were recorded to be in control of producing around 70 per cent of the country's beer and alcohol products (Hutt: 1973, 32). In conjunction with this, these companies also controlled around 56 per cent of all public houses across the country, which had risen from 24 per cent since 1960 (Hutt: 1973, 61).

The extent of this monopolisation of the major breweries through the manufacturing and distribution process was not clear at the time of Hutt's writing as many of the companies acquired by the 'Big 6' were able to retain their original trading names (Hutt: 1973, 68). For instance, Watneys had control of a large share of the holding for the company Carlsberg (Hutt: 1973, 68). In correlation to this, the number of independent local breweries began to decrease which is evident through the number of permits released by the Customs and Exercise Department to allow premises to brew and sell alcoholic products (Hutt: 1973, 48). In 1920, the Department released around 2,900 permits resulting in an individual brewery for almost all towns within Britain; yet, by 1970, only around 176 were permitted (Hutt: 1973, 48). Hutt argues that a spate of primitive mergers and takeovers by the 'Big 6' breweries reshaped the traditional image of the British brewing industry (Hutt: 1973, 59). This expansion forced the closure of many local breweries as the larger companies began to expand and optimise production as seen through the map of Winchester produced by Phil Yates (2013). The map published by Yates

23

demonstrated the number of breweries within the city centre of Winchester. The number portrayed has diminished drastically as only around two remain out of the eight shown (Yates: 2013, 4) (Yates: 2013, 5) (Figure 4).

Figure 4: Map produced by Phil Yates (2013) depicting the locations of public houses and breweries within the city of Winchester.

Despite this, some independent breweries were able to continue trading by retaining the loyalty of their customers and traditions and through community projects (Hutt: 1973, 78). However, this still had a detrimental effect on the public houses as by the 1980s almost all public houses were tied houses (Nicholls: 2009a, 217). This system prevented brewery owned public houses from selling anything other than the products manufactured by the brewery to guarantee the loyalty of their customers (*Beer and Brewing*, 2019b). However, this brought concerns over the quality of products and the amount of choice available to the consumer (Nicholls: 2009a, 217). James Nicholls (2009a) states that the monopolisation of products has increased through the rise in mergers and has resulted in the new emerging image of the 'English Pub' (Nicholls: 2009a, 218). Through a report commissioned by the Monopolies and Mergers Commission in 1989 into the condition of the tied house system, the findings were concluded to be against the interest of the general public (Nicholls: 2009a, 218).

The report highlighted that the control of breweries had extended to control supposed 'free houses' by introducing loan ties (Nicholls: 2009a, 218). In addition to this, the tied house system allowed breweries to inflate the costs of beer artificially at the cost of the consumer and restricting the competition within public houses allowing them to restrict the development of independent breweries (Nicholls: 2009a, 218). Through a set of proposals, this report aimed to revitalise the system. This included abolishing loan ties, forcing brewers who owned in excessive of 2,000 public houses to sell on any remaining stock and to force landlords within tied houses to stock at least one 'guest' beer (Nicholls: 2009a, 218). This report was seen as a revolutionary bombshell and was adapted by the Department of Trade and Industry to form the underlying principles of the Supply of Beer Order, known informally as the Beer Orders (Nicholls: 2009a, 218). However, whilst it was intended to support the public house and brewing industry, it increased the decline of public houses as 11,000 were put onto the market as a result of the adapted policy (Nicholls: 2009a, 219). Nevertheless, in 2003 the Beer Orders were revoked as the issues were deemed to no longer be prominent in the crises facing public houses (Nicholls: 2009a, 220).

The attitude of the 'Big 6' breweries and the standardisation of the brewing industry has increased the number of people home brewing their own products and searching for alternative drinking establishments (Hutt: 1973, 71). Yet, the attitudes of the breweries are not the sole source of economic and political pressures placed on public houses. Taxation on beer has been a major source of pressure for public houses. The rise in the variety of taxations, including Beer Duty, increases the pressures further on publicans (*Long Live The Local*, 2019). In addition to this, The British Beer and Pub Association (2019b) argues that the rise in taxation on public houses and breweries increases the threats to employment and reduces the investment within the industry as a whole (*British Beer and Pub Association*, 2019b). In October 2018, around 116,000 public houses petitioned the government of the United Kingdom against the taxation this, resulted in a freeze; leading many to believe that the public houses position as a unique, social and cultural element and staple of British Heritage had been recognised (*Long Live The Local*, 2019). Yet, the campaign, Long Live The Local (2019), announced that the government has since planned to combine the Beer Duty tax with the Retail Price Index (RPI) which would

increase the level higher than before (*Long Live The Local*, 2019). At the time of writing, the current level of Beer Duty is far above the European average (*Long Live The Local,* 2019). Through a combination of the Beer Duty and the RPI, the level is likely to rise by 3 per cent year on year which has not occurred since the period of 2008 to 2015 (*Long Live The Local*, 2019). Long Live The Local notes that during this period, the sales of beer declined by around 24 per cent and resulted in the closure of around 5,000 public houses nationwide (*Long Live The Local*, 2019). The Campaign for Real Ale (2019a) has echoed the concerns of the organisations aforementioned but does present a element of hope; by stating that following the United Kingdoms departure from the European Union, the government would be in the position to reduce the amount of Beer Duty specifically in public houses; which would bring the cost to consumer in line with those sold in supermarkets (*Campaign for Real Ale*, 2019a).

In addition to the rise in taxation, public houses have faced various pressures as the result of governmental legislation; most noticeably the Smoking Ban. Introduced in 2007, the ban prevented all smoking within enclosed public and work spaces (Adda *et al*: 2012, 369) (Triggle, 2017). The ban was supported by many health professions as they argued smokers were putting surrounding people at risk through the exposure to second-hand smoke (Triggle, 2017). Previously introduced in Ireland, Wales and Scotland in 2006, the ban has had a variety of affects. Within Scotland, the ban resulted in a 10 per cent decline in the sales of beer in public houses. However, Jérôme Adda, Samuel Berlinski and Stephen Machin (2012) counter this to argue that the prices were unresponsive which may have influenced the figures (Adda *et al*: 2012, 369). Conversely, Claire Churchard and Georgina Townshend (2017) argue that as England had an advanced warning over the effect of the Smoking Ban, publicans and breweries were able to take advantage of this and prepare for the implementation such as through improving outdoor spaces and purchasing furniture and outbuildings (Churchard *et al*, 2017). Churchard and Townshend also note that as smokers were forced to move outside of the public houses, this increased the sociability between themselves (Churchard *et al*, 2017). However, the implications of the smoking ban did result in the decline of some public houses, specifically for wet pubs (Churchard *et al*, 2017). From the introduction of the ban in 2007 to 2015, around 7,000 public houses closed. Yet, Nick Triggle (2017)

noted that during this period the United Kingdom suffered a large economic crash which further increased the pressures (Triggle, 2017). Nevertheless, since the introduction of the ban, Churchard and Townshend argue that the ban has supported rapid growth amongst public houses as consumers have felt comfortable bringing families to these establishments (Churchard *et al*, 2017).

Conclusion

A multitude of factors have all culminated in the decline of beer sales and public house trade. However, it has not been possible to place the blame of the declining public house numbers on to one of the factors aforementioned. Whilst developments that have originally been depicted as problematic for the sustainability for public houses, such as the 2007 Smoking Ban, it can be interpreted as a way for public houses to redevelop and attract a wider audience. The pressures public houses and brewers face will continue to persist. Yet, whilst the restraints of the breweries and tied house systems have been relaxed through various reforms, the changing consumer attitudes towards alcohol consumption and the growing awareness for the health implications have changed the relationship many communities hold with their local. As seen through the implementation of the Smoking Ban, the changes in consumer attitudes can provide public houses with new markets and increase their target audience through stocking suitable products. In addition to this, the role of public houses with their surrounding communities have developed massively over the last few decades as various pressures on other community services have increased meaning many have now undertaken various additional provisions to become a staple community hub. As will be explored in the final chapter through discussions surrounding the protests against the Beer Tax, it is possible to argue that once each factor is addressed or public houses have adapted fully to address consumer attitudes, it will then be possible to demonstrate the main decline in public houses. Nevertheless, the reactions of outside bodies and support organisations highlight the worry and concern surrounding the decline in the sustainability of public houses for the future prospects of the concept of British heritage.

"So Drunk he must have been to Romsey"

Rural vs Urban: Comparison of the impact through the case studies of Romsey and Portsmouth

Introduction

Throughout this thesis, the focus on the national and general impact on the local communities has been established. However, in order to fully explore this topic further, this chapter aims to explore the impact on a local level through a comparative study of two areas within Hampshire. In addition to this thesis, a survey was completed by 90 volunteers in order to provide different stances and interpretation to the otherwise academic focus; these will also be utilised within this chapter (Appendix 1). Yet, as these surveys were open to volunteers across the county, not all will be suitable for this case study. In addition to the surveys, further questionnaires were given to residents of these two areas on a smaller scale, in order to fully gain and understanding of the impact (Appendix 3). Further to this, maps of both areas are used within this chapter in order to further compare the scale of the decline (Figure 5) (Figure 6). Due to the nature of the focus of this thesis and the choice of areas, there is limited research into this field, increasing the necessity of the primary data recorded.

Introduction of Areas

The main area of focus for this thesis has been the historic country of Hampshire due to its vast nature. The county incorporates a variety of different geographical and demographical areas ranging from small rural villages to major, international port urban spaces. As of this, it is necessary to compare the impacts fully through a comparative case study of two different areas. In the case of this chapter, the two areas chosen were Romsey and Portsmouth. These areas were chosen due to the differences in scale as well as the differences in demographic populace. Whilst both areas have vast differences in scale and nature, elements of both are highly similar through the royal connections and the importance of trading links. In addition to this, both areas have very localised and close communities. Thus, it is important to initially explore the nature of these two areas.

As a historic market town, Romsey has a vast royal and religious affiliation from the variety of buildings and connections it has held. Despite this, whilst its

position as a historic market town is significant for the context of the South of Hampshire, it remains on a smaller scale to those which surround it; including Salisbury and Bath (Hampshire County Planning Department: 1974, 17). Nevertheless, the town remains unique to the area not only as an example of an early settlement and the preservation of medieval street patterns; but also as it provides evidence for the prospect of continuous growth and redevelopment within a conservation area (Hampshire County Planning Department: 1974, 17). In addition to this, the area has been placed on the list of most important historic towns in Britain by the Council for British Archaeology (Hampshire County Planning Department: 1974, 17).

The construction of the Abbey in c. 907 was a fundamental development for the town as it began to mark the emergence of the towns industries (Hampshire County Planning Department: 1974, 19) (Lower Test Valley Archaeological Study Group: 2006, 8). The decline of the wool and textile industry within the South of England resulted in a major and lasting shift in economic focus for the town. As the wool and textile trades moved up to Yorkshire and to Ireland, Romsey's industry diminished allowing the brewing industry to take the forefront (Hampshire County Planning Department: 1974, 18). Whilst the industry can be dated back confidently to around c. 1770 as the towns primary source of economic growth; it is likely to have existed prior (Hampshire County Planning Department: 1974, 18). For instance, the construction of the Abbey most likely aided the industry further through its own in-house production (Lower Test Valley Archaeological Study Group: 2006, 8) (Hampshire County Planning Department: 1974, 22).

Nevertheless, brewing continued to emerge as the major industry within the town and was coupled with the prosperous town markets and travelling merchants further cementing it as the main economic base (Hampshire County Planning Department: 1974, 22). In conjunction with this, high footfalls were frequent through the town as it acted as a rest stop on the major trading routes between Winchester, Southampton and into the neighbouring county of Wiltshire (Lower Test Valley Archaeological Study Group: 2006, 8). As of this, coaching inns became a common sight throughout the town and provided the town with a historic reputation of possessing a high ratio of public houses (Lower Test Valley Archaeological Study

Group: 2006, 7). The work of the Lower Test Valley Archaeological Study Group (2006) aims to explore this further by investigating the history and development of these public houses (Lower Test Valley Archaeological Study Group: 2006, 7). The study put forward by the Lower Test Valley Archaeological Study Group has been able to conclude that whilst Romsey has always had a plentiful number of public houses, this is on the decline (Lower Test Valley Archaeological Study Group: 2006, 8). Through a map produced by group, this is evident further (Lower Test Valley Archaeological Study Group: 2006 26). The map (Figure 5) documented below highlights the locations of 90 public houses that have existed within the centre of the town; however, the group states that at the time of the publication of this map,
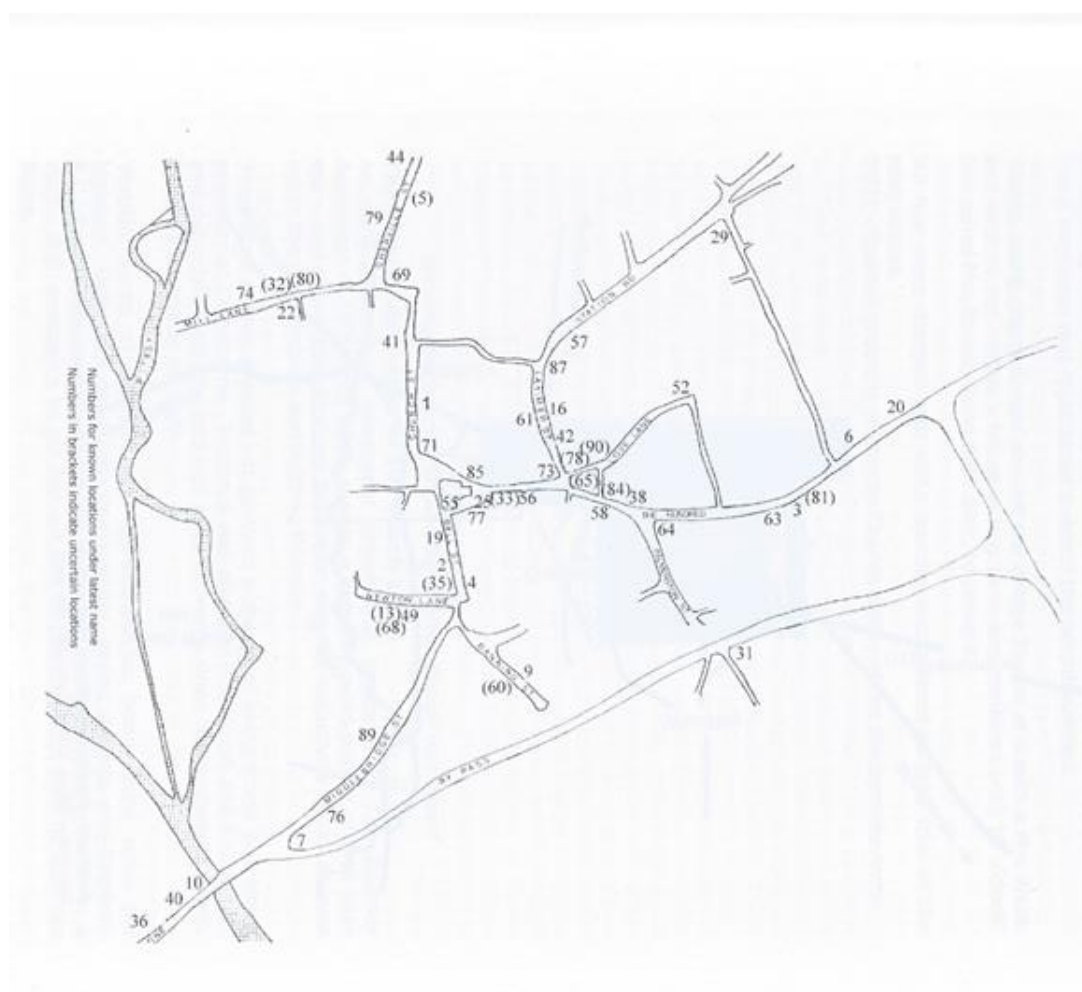
Figure 5: Map depicting the number of public houses within the town of Romsey.

around 66 have since have closed (Lower Test Valley Archaeological Study Group: 2006, 112).

In comparison to this, Portsmouth is a highly vibrant area (Lloyd: 2015, 1). As a port city with international connections, Gower Lloyd (2015) draws attention to the high incorporation of the naval industry within the city. Lloyd states that the passage and return of naval vessels have been a historic common sight in Portsmouth harbour (Lloyd: 2015, 9). For many centuries, as discussed previously, the main leisure activities for men was focused around the brewing industry and public house trade (Webb: 2001, 141). Through this, these areas became important for rotating sailors leading; to the need for leisure activities and entertainment (Haskell: 2001, 23). Thus, through the expanding naval prominence, the Point area on the harbour of Portsmouth became synonymous with rioting, prostitution and gambling (Lloyd: 2015, 51). Nevertheless, areas such as these became increasingly famed for the variety and number of public houses (Haskell: 2001, 23). The development of these public houses and alehouses were encouraged through the migration of inhabitants; the heavy flow of tourism; and traffic throughout the city and the port areas (Wallis: 2017, 10).

Steve Wallis (2017) also notes that this development had a historic undertone as through the 1495 construction of the royal dockyard under the orders of King Henry VII; brewhouses were an integral element of the construction (Wallis: 2017, 10). Henry VII's direction ordered the construction of brewhouses to be leased to private landlords on the agreement that the ownership would return to the control of the crown in the event of war (Wallis: 2017, 10). Alongside public houses and similarly to Romsey, Portsmouth has had a vibrant brewing industry. This industry was closely located near the Point with three additional breweries on the Point itself; further highlighting the importance of naval traffic (Lloyd: 2015, 63). The first public house was constructed in the area in the early seventeenth century, following the construction of the first buildings (Lloyd: 2015, 51). However, soon after this, the area established a negative and notorious reputation following the construction of the King James Gate which segregated the area from the rest of the city (Lloyd: 2015, 51). Nevertheless, the expansion of the road network resulted in a growth in the number of public houses as of the freedom of movement (Lloyd: 2015, 51). Similarly to above, Wallis utilises a map to demonstrate the decline in public houses (Wallis: 2017, 4). The map produced highlights 99 public houses within the city centre;

31

however, whilst this does not demonstrate the full number over the outer areas of the city, the number remains considerably high.
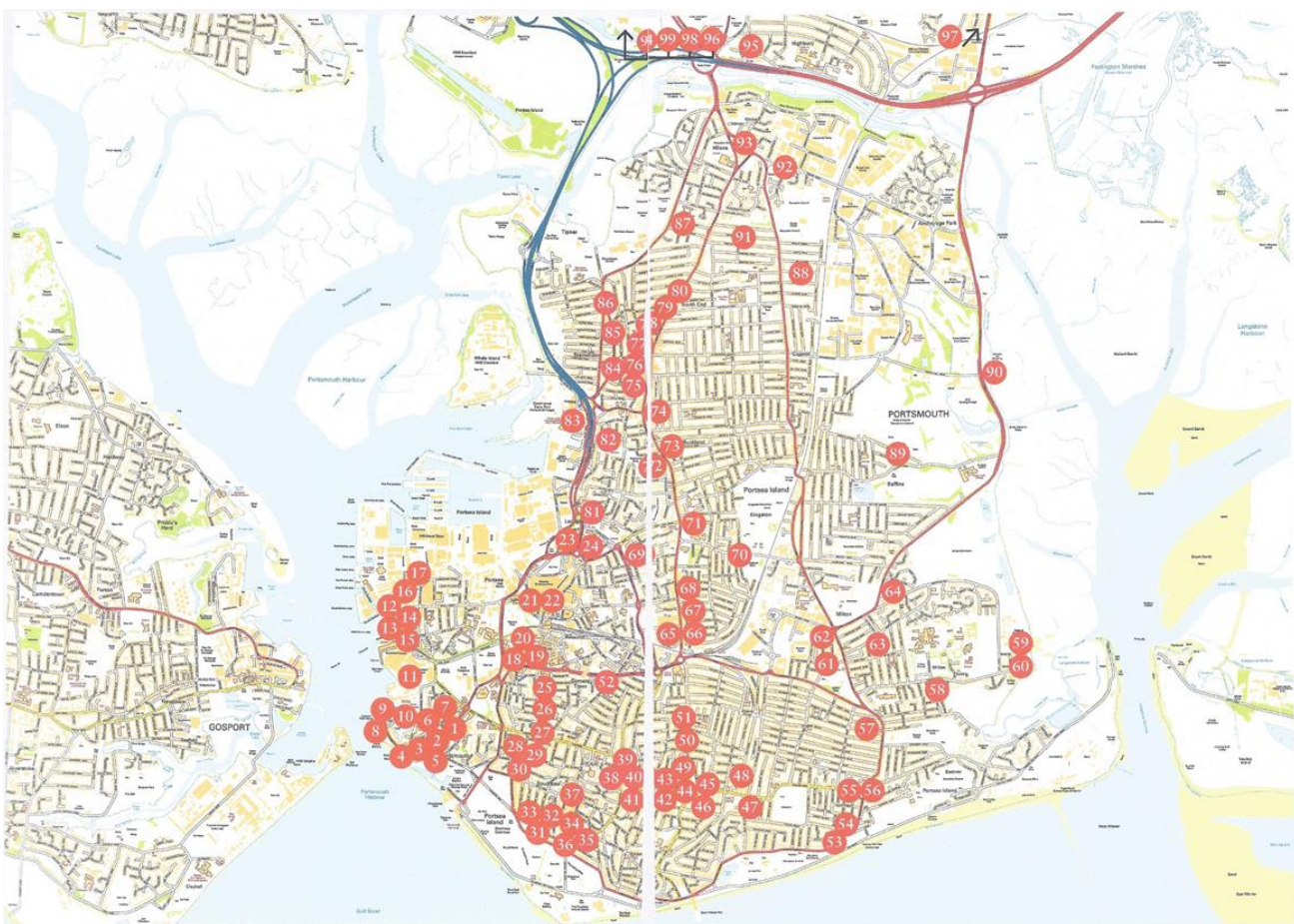
Figure 6: Map depicting the number of public houses within the city of Portsmouth.

Decline of Public Houses

As discussed heavily by Christopher Hutt (1973) in the second chapter of this thesis, a substantial factor behind the decline in public houses has been the attitudes of the major brewing industries. As a town which has had a major economic focus on brewing, the redevelopments and numerous large-scale mergers resulted in the significant decline of the brewing industry in Romsey. This decline has been highlighted further by the Lower Test Valley Archaeological Study Group (2006) who argue that the development of local breweries within Romsey was undermined through the mass development of the large-scale counterparts (Lower Test Valley Archaeological Study Group: 2006, 19). This resulted in a high volume of closures and only one local brewery remaining in the town: Strong and Co. LTD (Lower Test

Valley Archaeological Study Group: 2006, 19). In 1920, the Strong and Co. brewery owned around 20 public houses within the town (Lower Test Valley Archaeological Study Group: 2006, 21) Over the course of the twentieth century, the company was able to gain control of most the beer retail outlets within the town. However, during the latter half of the century, the company was forced to close some of these public houses in order to ensure the economic viability of the remaining establishments (Lower Test Valley Archaeological Study Group: 2006, 21). Further to this, in 1974, the company was bought by one of the 'Big 6' brewers as noted by Hutt in the previous chapter, Whitbread (Lower Test Valley Archaeological Study Group: 2006, 21).

Nevertheless, as noted previously, the nature of mergers such as these often resulted in the closures of local breweries; which became the case for Romsey's as Whitbread began withdrawing from the town (Lower Test Valley Archaeological Study Group: 2006, 22). Despite this and contrary to the prominent argument enforced by Hutt, the brewing industry within Romsey has regained prominence over the last few decades. For instance, in 1997 the Hampshire Brewery relocated the Romsey (Lower Test Valley Archaeological Study Group, 22). However, whilst this brewery has since stopped trading, the Flack Manor Brewery (2019) opened within the town in 2009 and continues to trade presently (*Flack Manor Brewery*, 2019). Flack Manor have drawn on the historic nature of the town for a local brewery and have become incredibly popular through the use of local ingredients and locally named products such as the Romsey Gold Ale (*Flack Manor Brewery*, 2019). In addition to this, there has been a rise in independent brewing within public houses; for instance, the Tipsy Pig public house which opened in 2016 and is establishing its own brewery (Rimell, 2017).

Nevertheless, the issues discussed in the previous chapter continue to plague the town as local pubs continue to be taken over by larger breweries; such as the Cromwell Arms which was sold to the Fullers brewery in 2015 (Unknown, 2015). As discussed above, the trade routes and number of coaching inns within the town have played a significant role in the historic nature of the quantity of public houses in the town. However, through the construction of the railway in 1847, many of these began to close due to a lack of sufficient trade, most notably was the Bell Inn (Hampshire

County Planning Department: 1974, 22). Due to the impact of the closure of this public house, the street was renamed from Mill Street to Bell Street in order to commemorate the importance and significance of this public house (Hampshire County Planning Department: 1974, 22).

As aforementioned, the areas surrounding the harbour and city of Portsmouth previously held a high density of public houses with as many as around 50 in a single area (Lloyd: 2015, vi). Yet, at the time of Gower Lloyd's (2015) piece, only three public houses remain; The Bridge Tavern, Spice Island Inn and the Still and West (Lloyd: 2015, 64). The decline in these public houses has stemmed from various reasons. As explored previously, the overarching decline in public houses has originated through the change in consumer attitudes and the heavy costs directed onto landlords and publicans. Yet, within the Portsmouth area, additional reasons have been credited for the decline. Through an investigation into the 'Spice Island' area, Gower directs the decline to a historical narrative. Gower argues that the construction and development of naval barracks along Broad Street lead to the demolition of several public houses within the area (Lloyd: 2015, 63). In addition to this, the 1872 expansion of the naval base drew the focus of construction and preservation away from public houses and resulted in a reduction of licenses being granted (Lloyd: 2015, 64).

As mentioned above, the antisocial behaviour has become synonymous with these areas. The rise of which has resulted in campaigns by local inhabitants to address these issues and curb the violent nature which have resulted in restrictions on open hours (Lloyd: 2015, 64). The changes in consumer attitudes and the reduction in the demand for public houses has further reduced the number of public houses and exacerbated the issues they face within Portsmouth (Lloyd: 2015, 64). Despite this decline, the nature of public houses within Portsmouth have continued to maintain the historical and naval links as the oldest running public houses have continued to operate around the dockyard areas (Wallis: 2017, 8). However, unlike the focus on brewing development, which was key to the decline in Romsey, Steve Wallis (2017) draws attention to the wartime effect on the number of public houses (Wallis: 2017, 8). Wallis argues that due to its role within the First and Second World War, Portsmouth suffered heavy bombing and whilst residential areas were

reconstructed following the end of the conflicts, public houses were not (Wallis: 2017, 8). Nevertheless, Wallis also notes that the lack of sufficient trade for public houses has continued to play a detrimental role in the current decline (Wallis: 2017, 8).

Testimonies and Impact of the Decline in Public Houses

In conjunction with the surveys completed for this thesis, testimonials were also gathered for the purpose of providing further insight into the impact of the decline. These testimonials focused around the two areas featured within this case study chapter of Romsey and Portsmouth, in order to investigate the impact on different rural and urban scales. Due to the altering consumer attitudes and the impacts on this through various factors, a wide range of people were questioned and whose answers were documented anonymously. Through the surveys completed in conjunction with this thesis, the volunteers were asked as to their preference for places to consumer alcohol 42 per cent of volunteers stated that they preferred the environment of a public house; with 29 per cent stating that they held no preference between public houses and homes (Figure 7).
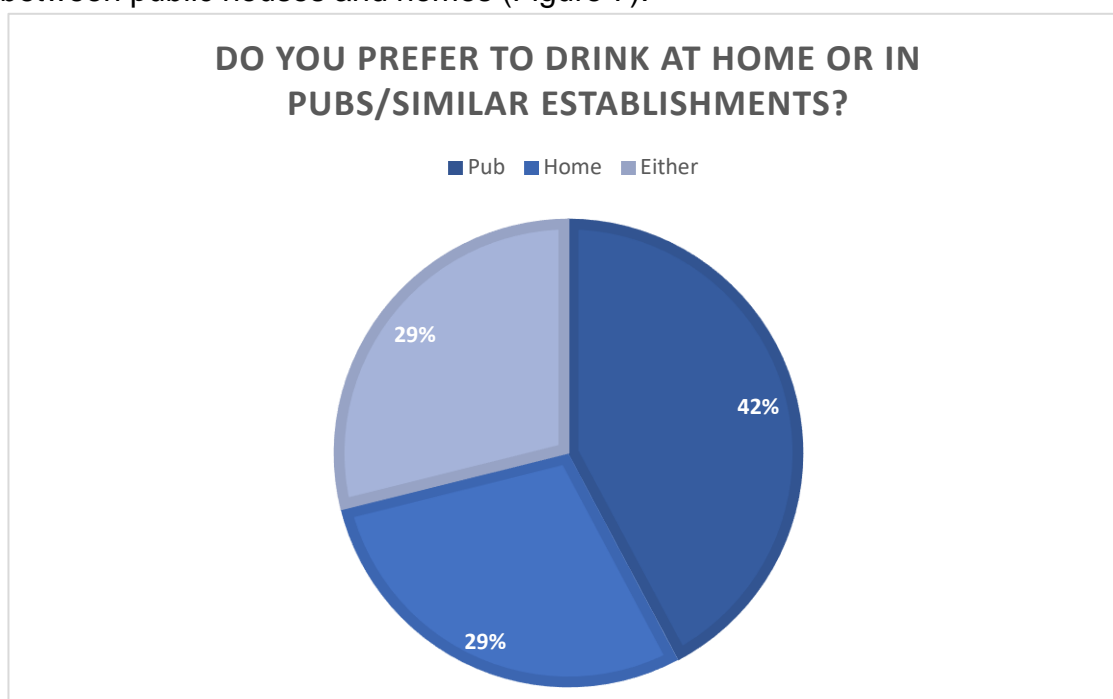

Figure 7: Graph depicting the results of the 'Do you prefer to drink at home or in pubs/similar establishments?' questions within the supplementary survey found in Appendix 1.

Whilst research such as this can provide positive support for the public house and brewing industry, as explored above and in the previous chapter, pressures still remain. In order to explore this attitude and the effect on a local level within these two areas; residents of each area were further questioned voluntarily (Appendix 3). Volunteers within this group were asked initially how they viewed the public houses within their areas with the majority highlighting their "traditional" nature and role as "part of the culture" as well as referring to them as a "landmark of familiarity" and "a centre-point of the community". This emphasises the aims behind this thesis further as showcases public houses as an intangible heritage asset. In conjunction, one of the volunteers noted the strong connection to the British culture associated with public houses by noting the differences in brewing techniques and products synonymous with British culture: "Ales have been a part of the culture, a tangible part of the culture; similarly to Pilsners and Weissebier in Germany and Austria." In addition to this, volunteers were questioned regarding the public houses within their areas. Whilst volunteers from Romsey highlighted those for their traditional nature such as the Old House at Home; volunteers in Portsmouth drew attention to establishments that provided various forms of entertainment such as The Deco which provides regular social and game nights.

Alongside this, volunteers from both areas echoed the arguments set out by Geoff Hunt and S. Satterlee (1986) who stated that public houses can unintentionally create divisions amongst the demographics. The volunteers drew attention to establishments which have become associated with particular social groups and have since grown reputations for violent natures. The sense of resilience in the decline in the brewing industry and public house trade that has fuelled the resurgence in Romsey is comparative to Portsmouth as the testimonies noted stated that public houses within Romsey have become "quieter" and placed the blame on the actions of the landlords who were stated as not "trying anymore". The volunteers from Portsmouth drew on the resilience factor by stating that there are "some closures but some are opening in their places" and stated that within the area there is "no major drought in pubs". Nevertheless, when discussing the closures and the changes in public houses differences between the two became clearer. As those from the urban background of Portsmouth noted that whilst closures do occur and does result in a feeling of the "loss of nostalgia" the closures do not seem to affect

the community cohesion as much as it would in a rural area due to the nature of distance between the population as a whole. Conversely, in Romsey, the effect of the closures has had a bigger impact as public houses provide a "place to go at the weekend or after work … a nice place to socialise".

Conclusion

Overall, through this chapter, the theories and academic teachings discussed in the previous chapter have been able to be explored through a comparison of the impact of the closures of public houses within Romsey and Portsmouth. The vast differences in scale of these two areas present initial differences and roles of public houses within the areas. However, through the use of personal testimonies and questionnaires, the role of public houses remains the same across both. As a place of high socialising and cultural refence, public houses have further been cemented as an intangible element of British heritage and culture. Nevertheless, the closures do present different impacts as the decline in public houses in the smaller areas held a greater societal impact. In a comparison of the maps used by Lower Test Valley Archaeological Study Group (2006) and Steve Wallis (2017) to document the number of public houses within both Romsey and Portsmouth, respectively, despite the vast differences in scale between the two areas, the numbers of public houses in the centres of the areas are very similar in quantity. Notwithstanding the vast differences between the two areas documented within this chapter, the wide range of public houses enhance the characters of these areas through a strong association with the historic and economic natures (Wallis: 2017, 8).

Last drop in the Barrel

Challenges for the Future

Introduction

Public houses present a binding force that unite all demographics to form the heartbeat the communities. Yet, when these establishments close, a segment of the collective national essence is lost (Tierney Jones, 2016). Through the multitude of challenges faced by public houses explored previously, the solutions and prospects of sustainability are crucial in maintaining this key element of traditional British culture and heritage. This leaves an open space for organisations and governing bodies to step up to the role of stewardship and introduce reforms to relieve the pressure of these crises. The role of organisations and charities, such as the Campaign for Real Ale and the British Beer Alliance have continued to campaign and petition against change and pressures in order to raise awareness. In some cases, these actions have caught the national attention and have resulted in political change for the benefit of public houses. However, in many cases the crises remain. Nevertheless, as will be discussed, the community drive between the protection of this heritage asset continues through the rise of community bodies and social action groups.

In-house solutions and the Work of Independent Organisations

In order to challenge the pressures on public houses, innovative responses are key for some establishments to counter and target new audiences (Walker: 2014, 3). As discussed in the second chapter of this thesis, through the introduction of the 2007 Smoking Ban in England, some public houses were able to adapt and construct purposeful areas. This in turn has diversified the cliental within public houses by opening them up as a family suitable environment. Malcolm J. Moseley (2000) argues that developments such as these are vital. Moseley notes that unless establishments expand to cater for various clientele, domestic and tourist, the future of the rural communities' services will continue to decline; due to the economic conditions and further pressures facing public houses (Moseley: 2000, 423). In addition to this, some establishments have utilised this further to expand their involvement within their local communities by providing a support space of a meals

on wheels service or a space to provide school meals for (Moseley: 2000, 426). Furthermore, many public houses have introduced weekly themed entertainment. For instance, the St James Tavern in Winchester alternates between bingo nights, jazz evenings and weekly lectures once a week; in order to cater for difference audiences. However, Andrew Walker (2014) counters this to argue that innovation of responses capable by public houses, is restrained by the flexibility of finances and the facilities available to them (Walker: 2014, 3). Nevertheless, the rise of social, events such as live music, increases the desired sociability and atmosphere, that are unique to the heritage importance of public houses.

The concern over social loneliness and the issues surrounding age and isolation have been highly recorded in the mass media and has become of high importance for governmental policy. Marian Barnes and Lizzie Ward (2015) draw attention to this by stating that there is a correlation between the levels of isolation and the levels of chronic alcohol use (Barnes *et al*: 2015, 112). However, as predominantly drinking establishments, the aid that public houses can offer seems obscure. Yet, their role as social hubs offer a source of escapism. The British Beer and Pub Association (2019a) has adopted this initiative through the introduction of a social action movement (*British Beer and Pub Association*, 2019a). This aims to promote and educate publicans within public houses about medical conditions, primarily Alzheimer's, to ensure these public houses can accommodate their needs. The purpose of this is to increase the community focus of the establishments and to utilise the space public houses have to offer as safe spaces and meeting areas (*British Beer and Pub Association*, 2019a). As mentioned throughout, the saviour of many public houses, remains the community focused mentality.

The pressures public houses face on an individual basis can be relieved to some extent through cooperation with other services', and in some cases other public houses within the same location. The Pubwatch initiative promotes this further (*National Pubwatch*, 2019). This is a voluntary programme which aims to support areas with multiple public houses; through sharing relevant information concerning advice in regard to good practice; and establishing a safe local environment to promote consumption in public houses (*National Pubwatch*, 2019). Alongside this, Jon Card (2014) notes that public houses are further able to relieve the pressures,

through the products available to consumers (Card, 2014). As seen previously, public houses have previously been under tight controls through the breweries and tied house systems; preventing the diversification of products. However, due to the changing attitudes towards the health implications of alcohol consumption, the availability of non-alcoholic products by public houses would continue to cater for the growing audiences. In addition to this, Jon Card (2014) argues that through the period of decline, there has been a renewed interest in micro-breweries and real ale (Card, 2014). Through this, it is evident that the taste of beer and the fondness of public houses has not faded within the British public (Card, 2014).

In addition to tackling the issues, public houses face under their own merit, many organisations have evolved out of a growing concern for the rate of closures. Founded in 1971, during the mass concern highlighted by Christopher Hutt (1973) in the second chapter, the organisation Campaign of Real Ale (CAMRA) (2019a; 2019b; 2019c; 2019d; 2019e) now boasts a membership in excess of 200,000 at the time of writing (*Campaign for Real Ale*, 2019c). Established by a group of men in the North-West of the country, who were dismayed at the high prices but low standards of products and service, they aimed to ensure protection and better options for the consumer (Hutt: 1973, 30). CAMRA has been involved in multiple milestones in the protection of public houses on a national level. The organisation was a key part in the reforming policy, through the 'Beer Orders', which was explored previously and is currently in the forefront of the campaign against the rise of taxations on beers (*Campaign for Real Ale*, 2019a). At the moment, a third of the price of a pint of beer is made tax, forcing publicans to increase prices for the consumer or to close for good, leading CAMRA to campaign for measures to be undertaken by the government to protect the existing establishments (*Campaign for Real Ale*, 2019a). Central to the missionary aims of CAMRA, is to bring attention to the important role public houses play as social centres and an integral piece of the cultural heritage that the United Kingdom is made up of (*Campaign for Real Ale*, 2019a).

As seen throughout this thesis, high attention is placed on the social enhancement public houses facilitate. Through research undertaken by CAMRA, it is possible to demonstrate that people are noticeably 'happier' when a "good" public house is nearby or within the vicinity of their local area (Tierney Jones, 2016).

Alongside promotional work, CAMRA has established the creation of the 'Best Pub Awards' which aims to provide recognition for the best cask ale pub through nominations by regional CAMRA members (*Campaign for Real Ale*, 2019d). The awards practice has been enforced since 1988. Yet only one establishment in Hampshire has achieved this recognition (*Campaign for Real Ale*, 2019d). The community saved public house, The Wonston Arms was awarded the title in 2018 and was praised for its involvement in many community fundraising opportunities (Unknown, 2019). Whilst highlighting the good about public houses, the award aims to inspire other public houses and to showcase what is considered to be "good pub practice" (*Campaign for Real Ale*, 2019d). Similarly, CAMRA has published a reoccurring publication, 'CAMRAS's Good Beer Guide' now in its 47th edition (*Campaign for Real Ale Books*, 2019). This included lists of independent recommendations based on the evaluations of CAMRA members (*Campaign for Real Ale Books*, 2019).

In addition to the Campaign for Real Ale, other organisations aim to support public houses and other local businesses by targeting specific issues and areas. For instance, the Plunkett Foundation (2019a; 2019b) aims to increase support for public houses and community businesses in local rural areas; by raising the awareness of the impact and social benefits, these places can have for these areas (*Plunkett Foundation*, 2019a). In order to do so, the Plunkett Foundation has established many funded grants and projects to support growing community groups, such as the 'More Than A Pub' project, which will be explored further on in this thesis (*Plunkett Foundation*, 2019b). Alongside this, the British Beer Alliance (BBA) (2018) has established the 'Long Live the Local' campaign calling on people to support their favourite establishment, whether it is geographically closer or not (Churchard, 2018). The campaign also petitions against the rise in business rates, beer duty and for an increase in protection against tough trading environments; and conditions by calling on local people to contact their local MPs (Churchard, 2018). Major support for public houses does not just stem from large organisations but assistance through smaller celebratory events, that evoke large social action movements. For instance, the 'British Pub Week' aims to celebrate the positive social aspects of the public house and increase social cohesion (Tierney Jones, 2016).

Social Movements and the Rise of Community Public Houses

As discussed heavily throughout this thesis, public houses remain at the heart of the community. There is an expanding amount of literature within heritage studies that expresses this belief and identifies the need to encourage local communities to participate in all aspects of heritage (Smith: 2006, 35). This can range from management, interpretation and conservation of the important local heritage aspects. Yet, Laurajane Smith (2006) notes that most community outreach is often related to marginalised subfields and occurs due to agitation by the communities demanding greater inclusion (Smith: 2006, 35). Nevertheless, community groups continue to challenge the dominance surrounding the theory of 'Authorised Heritage Discourse' which was introduced in the first chapter of this thesis (Smith: 2006, 28). Community groups enforce demands for heritage practitioners to recognise and argue that many communities are bound together through common, social and cultural experiences and not primarily the in geographical locations (Smith: 2006, 28).

In support of Smiths argument, Ian Shepherd (1993) states that in many cases the interest of the local communities is the best form of protection for sites and areas that are deemed less then nationally important (Shepherd: 1993, 179). The 'nostalgia' associated with cultural and social aspects of communities is assumed to be intrinsically linked with conservative ideals and is synonymous with the call for social continuity; often at times of cultural change (Smith: 2006, 41). The major cause of the retention of village services is stated as the growing amount of community involvement which is thriving in rural areas. However, this is not universal as has differing results in urban areas (Moseley: 2000, 428). Nevertheless, the evidence stated above and throughout this section argues against the notion stated by Christopher Hutt (1973) that the changes being forced upon public houses was not been resisted by locals, due to their indifference (Hutt: 1973, 10).

The primary involvement of community assets is focused around the notions of 'sharing' cultures and allowing others to 'learn' from and spread the notions on to further generations (Smith: 2006, 44). Whilst the Campaign for Real Ale (CAMRA) (2019b) has claimed that eighteen public houses close each week, a report published by the Plunkett Foundation has revealed that there has been a rise in community owned public houses (Mann, 2019). In figures released by CAMRA, over

100 public houses are owned by local community groups across the United Kingdom and a further ten public houses are leased by a community group (*Campaign for Real Ale,* 2019e). These figures demonstrate a 30 per cent rise in public houses as recorded in 2017 with fourteen new community run public houses expected to open that year (Mann, 2019). Within Hampshire there are currently three public houses listed as community run; The Wheel Inn in Bowling Green; The Plough in Longparish; and The Fox and Hounds in Denmead (*Campaign for Real Ale*, 2019e). Further to this, in 2017, the community saved public house The George and Dragon in Yorkshire was voted the CAMRA 'Pub of The Year', and now functions as a village library, shop and also provides access to allotment spaces (*Campaign for Real Ale*, 2019e) (*Campaign for Real Ale*, 2019d).

The involvement of these community groups differs in responsibilities as, whilst some areas focus on fundraising for necessities, other community groups establish volunteer management groups in charge of running the day-to-day operations (Moseley: 2000, 429). Not only does this present a vital source of hope for the future of public houses in rural and urban areas, it presents an innovative method for bringing communities together and endorsing social cohesion (*Campaign for Real Ale*, 2019e). The growing sector of community public houses has been supported by various schemes and programmes; including the 'More than a Pub Programme' (Mann, 2019). Led by the Plunkett Foundation and supported through joint funding from the Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Governments and the charity Power to Change, the programme offers £3.85 million worth of funding towards start-up costs and grant schemes (*Power to Change*, 2019). This nationwide project aims to not only increase the amount of community public houses but as seen with the 2017 CAMRA Pub of the Year, it scheme aims to develop public houses into community centres (*Power to Change*, 2019). Through the inclusion of shops, libraries, police surgeries and provisions for the elderly through prescription services and lunch clubs, the programme aims to develop public houses as trading services (*Power to Change,* 2019).

The project takes similarities with schemes introduced in France through local 'syndicates of initiative' (Luard: 1993, 353). this scheme has established a dedicated day which invites those who wish to learn about olive tree farming to get involved

(Luard: 1993, 353). This and schemes of similar nature have gained praise and recognition through the ability to impart knowledge; and provide access to a record of traditions which are seeming to disappear due to political and social reasons (Luard: 1993, 353).

Nevertheless, whilst community action can be seen as a strong and viable solution to the closure of public houses in Hampshire and across the country, issues still persist. In addition to the issues presented in the second chapter of this thesis, community run public houses also face further economic issues. For instance, raising the necessary fundraising and the high rents placed on house prices and land (Walker: 2014, 13). Despite this, the number of benefits that are associated with community public houses are vast. A primary goal for governments and local authorities at the time of writing is aimed at addressing the issues faced through social isolation. The growing reliance on community action groups in rural areas aids in targeting this by promoting social cohesion and improving the wellbeing of local communities (Mann, 2019). Further to this, they are becoming increasingly important tools for local authorities as they have the capacity to make a difference and can be used to gather information to be used within planning policy; which in itself is a powerful tool in the protection of community interests (Walker: 2014, 38).

National Governments and Local Authorities

Andrew Walker (2014) directs his report to the strong aspiration held by many councils and local authorities; to defend public houses and especially community owned public houses as vital assets (Walker: 2014, 12). Ian Shepherd (1993) argues that in most cases, council involvement in the conservation of heritage assets stems from a realisation, through fostering care over them, they can then be further used as an agent for economic development (Shepherd: 1993, 179). Whilst Shepherd argues that this is highly concerning for archaeologists, it does allow for a widened sense of public awareness of these heritage assets and may lead to the rise in community action groups (Shepherd: 1993, 179). In recent years, governments and local authorities have become increasingly involved in the stewardship of heritage assets (Fladmark: 1993, xiv). Whilst this does present a considerable amount of benefits, it has resulted in a highly compartmentalised situation between governments, academics and voluntary groups; as each area tries to establish their own territory

leading to polarised and sometimes confrontational issues (Fladmark: 1993, xiv). Nevertheless, the rise in stewardship has coincided with the rise in understanding of value. Whilst both concepts are often mentioned together, value is understood to be socially dependent and is supported by sustainable practices that are shared amongst generations (Gillman: 2010, 196).

Governmental intervention into the closures of public houses has been minimal. Yet, some governmental policies have aided public houses. The report conducted by the Monopolies and Mergers Commission discussed in the second chapter of this thesis presented many arguments for a revision to the tied house system; which were adopted into governmental policies. As part of this reform policy, the licensing system was also addressed through the Licensing Laws (2003) (*Institute of Alcohol Studies*, 2017) (*Licensing Act*, 2003). The major parts of this reform targeted opening hours to state that they would be at the discretion of the licensee to judge on an economic basis but had to conform to the main hours of between 10 am and midnight (Hutt: 1973, 150). Whilst this gave publicans the freedom to target certain audiences, Hutt (1973) argues it alter the traditional atmosphere of rushing inside in order to make the last call (Hutt: 1973, 150). In addition to this, licenses were also reformed in policy from a blanket system, to multiple different forms in order to fit the needs of the premises (*Institute of Alcohol Studies*, 2017) (*Licensing Act*, 2003). However, this did allow for other establishments such as cafés, the opportunity to apply for a license, increasing the competition on public houses (Hutt: 1973, 150).

However, government intervention into drinking culture and public houses remains limited and often becomes spun in the media (Nicholls: 2009a, 229). Calls by governmental bodies for a reduction in drinking habits can be presented as the demands of a 'nanny state' putting limitations on the freedom of choice for the general public. Yet, support is strewn as alcohol promotion (Nicholls: 2009a, 229). This was evident in the 2001 general election campaign as the Labour party under Tony Blair distributed text messages to young voters stating "CLDNT GIVE A XXXX 4 LST ORDERS? VTE LBR ON THRSDY 4 EXTRA TIME" to encourage them to vote for Labour to extend opening hours (Nicholls: 2009a, 229). Yet, whilst this came into effect through the 2005 Licensing Act and was presented as an end to the

archaic drinking culture and the end to 11pm calls for last orders, criticism stemmed from the affect this would have on the health of drinkers and the rise in drink related crimes (*BBC News,* 2005). Whilst the intervention by national governmental bodies is often restricted due to the concern associated with the public media, the role of local authorities can be crucial in enforcing protective regulations (Walker: 2014, 3).

Through discussions held in conjunction with this thesis between local authority groups; the lead drive for the national planning policy sent down by central government is a focus on redevelopment and the construction of residential areas. However, this presents questions for the resources for the protection of public houses available. Nevertheless, there are elements within this policy system that can be applied to public houses and can aid their retention within communities. Local authorities, such as councils and parishes are vital for the sustainability of public houses and other community institutes (Walker: 2014, 3). As institutions which allow for engagement with local citizens into the matters and decisions that are taken which would affect their surroundings; local authorities present themselves as a regulatory answer to the closure of public houses (Walker: 2014, 3). However, due to budgets and the demands of governmental policy, local authorities are often stretched. In a survey of 49 representatives of local authorities highlighted by Andrew Walker (2014), 33 stated that they felt that the existing regulations to protect public houses from demolition and change of use failed (Walker: 2014, 1). In addition to this, 41 representatives from the surveyed local authorities stated that they wished that planning permission was a requirement before the conversion of any public house (Walker: 2014, 1). Despite this widespread desire to address the pressures placed on public houses, the areas of change in which a local authority could intervene are restricted to planning policies. Nevertheless, in recent years expansion in government policy does demonstrate a willingness and highlights the ability local authorities possess (Walker: 2014, 4).

In 2013, the autumn statement released by the Conservative government announced a relaxation of business rates on small business, including public houses (*HM Treasury*, 2013). This reduced the high levels of taxation on small businesses and promoted the growth of small businesses and high streets. Nevertheless, local authorities remain in the decisive position to help implement planning policies, that

can ensure security for public houses by shaping the local environments in the interest of the communities (Walker: 2014 1). The Localism Act introduced in 2011 allowed local communities the right to nominate assets which they deemed valuable to the wellbeing of the local environment (Walker: 2014, 1). Whilst this gave an element of power back to the local residents, it does not definitely provide protection for public houses as unlocking the value, they hold is not straightforward (Walker: 2014, 3). Nevertheless, through petitioning local councils and parishes, it provides access to the variety of tools and controls they can proactively implement (Walker: 2014, 4). This includes listing public houses as 'Assets of Community Value', adjusting the local plan, implementing Article 4 actions and following the Sustainable Communities Act, which Andrew Walker (2014) explores in full (Walker: 2014, 4). By placing an Article 4 protection policy on a property, local authorities place strong regulations on properties, meaning that any form of redevelopment needs to go through deliberations with the local authorities (Walker: 2014, 6). However, whilst these are very powerful forms of legislation that can slow down development and allow for public consultation, many local authorities are wary as they can be complicated to establishment and may lead to disputes with developers (Walker: 2014, 6).

Following the 2011 Localism Act, Andrew Walker (2014) argues that a key form of planning protection local authorities should adopt would be to list them as Assets of Community Value (Walker: 2014, 4). This would place a six-month suspension on any form of sale or redevelopment of a property in order to allow the community time to ask questions or to raise the funds to place a bid themselves (Walker: 2014, 4). Whilst this does require a minimum of 21 signatures to submit a nomination before it would be put forward for consideration, it would support the expanding world of community public houses as mentioned previously and promote further social cohesion (Walker: 2014, 4). This form of protection has been already been enforced in certain areas for the protection of public houses, as 450 are currently listed (Walker: 2014, 4). Alongside this, changes in local plans, which are documents which layout the councils' approach to the management of assets are vital in the protection of public houses (Walker: 2014, 5).

East Hampshire District Council present a highly positive approach to this through the incorporation of a strong form of public house protection within their planning documents (Walker: 2014, 5). East Hampshire request planning permission before any form of redevelopment and will only grant it if no other potential occupier can be found, alternative public houses are available to fit the needs of the local community and that substantial evidence has been submitted which denotes the non-viability of that particular property (Walker: 2014, 5). These policies present a prime example of the powers that a local authority can possess and how they can prevent the closures and mass redevelopment of public house. Whilst the forms of regulations local authorities that are aforementioned can protect the redevelopment of public houses, many councils are under pressure to meet targets centred around housing. Therefore, public houses may not be deemed of immediate protection. Nevertheless, through the Localism Act, discussions into valued assets between local authorities and community groups have been made possible (Walker: 2014, 38).

Conclusion

Overall, through this chapter it is evident the concern held by many for the impacts discussed previously on the fate of this iconic British heritage asset. Whilst the decline may be seen primarily as a loss to the business prospects of the country, the social and community impact is far greater as many organisations base the reasoning behind their campaigns on this. These organisations, such as the Campaign for Real Ale and the Plunkett Foundation offer public houses formative assistance to aid the pressures faced through governmental policies and through changes to consumer consumption. Through petitions, such as those against the rise in Beer Duty, have aided governmental policies and continue to appeal against the burdens. However, these fail to cover all aspects and some public houses continue to face increased issues. Nevertheless, Derek Gillman (2010) argues that governmental promotions of public houses and other heritage assets should not stem from a desire to preserve a national heritage; but should be for the benefit of communities (Gillman: 2010, 197). Through this, community support groups have gained momentum as another rescue option. These groups have been able to utilise the collective declining community services and combine them into one

establishment that has the facilities to cater for all. This has further increased the community hub aspect of public houses and further cemented their role as a vital asset to British culture and heritage.

Last orders at the Bar

Conclusion

Introduction

The aim of this thesis was to present a correlation between the decline in public houses and the understanding of British heritage. Focusing the research on the impact of the decline of public houses in Hampshire, this thesis has aimed to explore the various reasons for decline and the impact on different geographical and demographical areas. Key to this thesis was exploring the connection between public houses and British heritage and culture. Through the analysis of the understanding of this correlation and the notions of British heritage, this thesis aims to conclude that a central part of both aspects is the role and importance of the community. As heritage professions are challenged to involve communities within various projects, the decline and pressures facing a key and intangible heritage asset brings into question the protection granted. Through this, this thesis aims to challenge the notion of public houses as a sole drinking institute and establish their role as a central part of the British community.

Summary of Research

In order to fulfil the aims of this thesis set out at in the introduction it was clear that the initial chapter must explore the concepts of British heritage and the understanding of British drinking culture. This allowed the chapter to set out the underlining theory that would be implemented throughout the succeeding chapters. Through this, the chapter was able to set out the argument that the concept of British heritage and culture can not be conclusively defined. The changing nature and the high levels of subjective interpretation possible further exploits this as it allows for multiple interpretations and arguments over the duty of care for heritage assets. Whilst the arguments set out by Laurajane Smith (2006) and John Cornforth (1988) debate this through various theories there is a conclusive argument for the further involvement of community groups. In addition to this, the nature of the understanding of British drinking culture was explored in conjunction with this and further highlighted the evolving nature of this through the changing attitudes towards excessive drinking and the attitudes of the consumption of alcohol by women over time.

This changing consumer viewpoint towards the levels of alcohol consumption was also discussed in the second chapter of this thesis as a substantial cause for the decline in public house. The rise in awareness for the health implications and the growing popularity of teetotal movements have reduced the footfalls within public houses considerably. In addition to this, the difference in prices has directed consumers to purchase products in supermarkets to consume in their homes instead of public houses. However, this chapter concluded that whilst the change in attitudes held a large impact on the sustainability of public houses, it cannot be concluded as the primary factor behind the decline. The expansion and mass mergers of the brewing industry as discussed heavily by Christopher Hutt (1973) heavily impacted public houses as through the expansion of the 'Big 6' and tied house systems, public houses faced constraints and closures. Contrary to this, implementation of legislation acts such as the 2007 Smoking Ban in England, presented a challenge for public houses to counter and adapt. Claire Churchard and Georgina Townshend (2017) argue that whilst some public houses were forced to close, the introduction of the ban has resulted in rapid growth in public houses. Despite the pressures placed on public houses, this chapter also delved into the role they hold in many communities. A key element of this was the importance of sociability. The public house has created a safe a communal space for gatherings and socialising for a very long time. Yet, whilst the use of them are evolving from the tradition working mans public house, the sociability aspect has remained a constant.

The primary focus of this study was the effect on the closures of public houses within Hampshire. In order to explore this further and present an understanding of the effect of closures within different geographical and demographical areas, the third chapter within this thesis explored a comparative case study. The areas chosen were Romsey and Portsmouth due to the vast differences in scale and populations. Despite this, there were some similarities in the cases of both areas. Whilst on different scales, the importance of trade routes was key to both areas and lead to the rise in public houses and coaching inns within both. However, the development of transportation systems and the rise of major brewing industries, lead to the decline of public houses within Romsey. The use of maps of both areas highlight the decline of public houses further. Nevertheless, the use of testimonies has allowed the chapter to explore the decline on a personal level.

These concluded that the closures of public houses were experienced different in both area. Whilst the closures of public houses in Romsey had a greater impact on residents, the overall decline in public houses was not welcomed in either region. In addition to this, emphasis was placed on the sociability aspect of public houses as integral places within the community to go and converse with friends and family.

Throughout this thesis, the importance of community involvement has been central. This is evident in the final chapter of this thesis. The actions of community groups have worked to combat the closure of public houses and further endorsing the role they play within community cultures. The impact of the loss of public houses is evident to disrupt the amalgamation of communities and has spurred on assistance from multiple organisations. Projects introduced by organisations such as the Campaign for Real Ale (2019a; 2019b; 2019c; 2019d; 2019e) and the Plunkett Foundation (2019a; 2019b) have aimed to petition against the rise of taxation and establish funding opportunities to support public houses with various projects. These organisations have acted as a voice on national levels to invoke action to preserve and aid these institutions of British culture. The roles of local and national authorities have remained minimal but is evident in its protection of these assets. However, the acts of urgent preservation have been left to community groups and for public houses themselves to tackle the issues discuss within the second chapter of this thesis. This has further invoked the arguments set out in the initial chapter of this thesis by advocating the rise of community involvement within cultural and heritage conservation and preservation.

Prospects for Future Research

The research explored throughout this survey has focused on a very singular area. As of this, there is further room for the nature of this thesis to be expanded upon. Notably, as this thesis explores the decline of an established British cultural heritage asset and the impact on this on the nature of the understanding of British heritage; further exploration of this topic may be considered for different counties or regions within the country. As there are strong connections between the brewing industry and numerous areas around the country; this thesis can be replicated in different areas. In addition to further individual studies, the basis of the research and theories explored within this thesis can be expanded upon to track the decline and

impact. This may able to investigate the trends in the decline of public houses further and will present a fully comparative study of the impact on a national level. Furthermore, the research explored with this thesis has drawn upon the importance and the role of communities within heritage conservation and support groups. Thus, the prospects for further research may allow for the exploration of other community assets with heritage undertones which could be compared through the changes in different geographical and demographical regions.

Further to this, the overarching concept of the exploration of a comparison between the decline in drinking cultures and the effect on the understanding of a national heritage can be explored globally. Currently, there have been multiple studies exploring this avenue, primarily in Scandinavian countries, such as Norway, and also in Canada. However, many of these studies focus on the sociological impact and influence through the changes in the levels of alcohol consumption as a primary effect; for instance, the piece put forward by Ole-Jørgen Skog (2006) assess the changes and attitudes in the consumption levels of alcohol and coffee during the nineteenth century (Skog: 2006, 287). In addition to this, the differences in drinking cultures and habits present further avenues for the exploration of future research following this thesis. Historically, the cultures and rituals surrounding the consumption of alcohol present influences for individual countries and regions. As explored, the British drinking culture draws on the comparative notions of regulated, traditional public houses and the rise of excessive, determined drinking. The cultures and attitudes towards alcohol consumption of other nations may present additional avenues to explore and would allow for the basis of a comparative study between the understanding of British drinking culture and another nation.

Conclusion

The decline in public houses can be interpreted as more than a loss for the business sector of the country, but also a loss to the cultural fabric of the British community. The chapters presented within this thesis have investigated the importance in the role of public houses through an original investigation constructed through a combination of field research, personal testimonies and academic publications. These have been utilised to address the heavily discussed concern surrounding public houses through a medium which addresses the issue on a

localised basis. This has been able to conclude that throughout both academic research and investigations into public houses, that the role of the community is central. The closures of these bring into concern the prospects for local communities and increase the threats of isolation. Despite the role of these establishments primarily for the consumption of alcohol, the role of these heritage assets provides regular and local connections to an understanding of British heritage and culture. As heritage professionals are pushing for greater involvement and inclusion of community groups, the decline in this community centred heritage assets drives the segregation between the academics and the public further; disrupted the nature of British heritage to a greater extent.

Word count: 18,548

Appendix

Appendix 1: Supplementary survey used in conjunction with this thesis.

"Last Orders at the Bar:" The loss and transformation of the British Heritage depicted through the decline in Public Houses' in Hampshire.

Introduction

The current socio-political status of the United Kingdom within the European and Global context has brought into discussion the state and history of 'British Identity.'

The aim of this thesis is to investigate the correlation between the closure of public houses in Hampshire and the changing understanding of 'British Heritage' and 'British Identity.' Thus, this survey aims to utilise the information gathered to provide an in-depth and localised understanding.

Whilst the survey aims to collect initial responses and a framework for further research; if you would like to discuss the topic in more detail and potentially provide testimonies for the thesis, a contact email address is on the last page.

Consent Form

- I voluntarily agree to participate in this research study.
- I understand that I can withdraw my participation at any point or refuse to answer any question without any form of consequences.
- I understand that participation involves personal connections of identity and local connection to explore the evocation of emotions.
- I understand that I will not benefit directly from participation in the research.
- I understand that all the information I provide will be treated with confidentially.
- I understand that in any subsequent reports on this research, my identity will remain anonymous.
- I understand that extracts from my interview may be quoted within the thesis.
- I understand that I am free to contact any of the people involved in the research to seek further clarification and information.

I agree to the terms stated above *
- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

Which part of Hampshire do you live in? *

Which age bracket do you fall under? *
- ☐ Under 18
- ☐ 18-24
- ☐ 25-34
- ☐ 35-44
- ☐ 45-54
- ☐ 55-64
- ☐ 64+

What is your gender? *
- ☐ Male
- ☐ Female
- ☐ Non-Binary
- ☐ Prefer not to say

What is your relationship status? *
- ☐ Single
- ☐ In a relationship
- ☐ Married
- ☐ Divorced
- ☐ Widowed
- ☐ Prefer not to say

Do you have any children under 18? *
- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Prefer not to say

Do you prefer to drink at home or in pubs/similar establishments? Please provide reasons. *

How often do you visit a pub? Please specify in average days per week/month. *

Are there any factors which prevent you from going to the pub? If so, please provide examples. *

Have you noticed any changes in the pubs you visit in your area? For example, since the introduction of the Smoking Ban (2007). If so, please provide examples of these changes and any particular pubs. *

What makes a pub stand out for you? Please provide examples. *

Do events such as 'dry January,' or similar, affect your drinking habits? *

If yes, please expand on your answer.

How do you feel about the availability of low-percentage or non-alcoholic products? Please rate on a scale of 0 (have no interest in them at all) to 10 (would like to see a wider range of options). *

Have no interest in them at all   Would like to see a wider range of options

Please give a reason to your above answer.

How do you feel the closures of pubs have affected your relationship with your local community? *

Would you like to see pubs becoming more involved in local communities? For instance, hosting events, coffee-mornings etc. *

What do you understand about the terms 'British Heritage' or 'British Identity'? *

Thank you for completing the survey

For any questions or queries concerning the survey or the overall study or if you would wish to provide any more information and/or testimonies, please contact:

████████████████████████

Appendix 2: Consent form used in conjunction with the testimonies used within chapter three of this thesis.

"Last Orders at the Bar:" The loss and transformation of British Heritage depicted through the decline in Public Houses' in Hampshire.

With the decline of public houses due to economic pressures and the changing consumer market, it has invited a study into the affect on the understanding of British heritage.

- I……………………………………………………….…… voluntarily agree to participate in this research study.

- I understand that I can withdraw my participation at any point or refuse to answer any question without any form of consequences.

- I understand that I can withdraw my participation and permission to use results from my interview within three weeks following my interview; in which case the material will be deleted.

- I understand that participation involves personal connections of identity and local connection to explore the evocation of emotions.

- I understand that I will not benefit directly from participation with the research.

- I agree to my interview being audio-recorded.

- I understand that all information I provide will be treated with confidentially.

- I understand that in any subsequent reports on this research, my identity will remain anonymous.

- I understand that extracts from my interview may be quoted in within the thesis.
- I understand that signed consent forms, original audio recordings and transcripts of my interview will be retained by the researcher.
- I understand that under freedom of information legalisation I am entitled to access the information I have provided at any time while it is in storage as specified above.
- I understand that I am free to contact any of the people involved in the research to seek further clarification and information.

Signature of research participant

Signature of participant   Date

Signature of researcher: I believe the participant is giving informed consent to participate in this study

Signature of researcher   Date

Preferred contact methods details (optional)

Appendix 3: The questions directed to volunteers who undertook the testimonies.

- How do you view the public house within your local area?
- What stands out for you in a public house?
- How would you like to see public houses adapt or act within a community?
- Are there any public houses within your area that stand to you? Good or bad?
- How do you see a public house as a part of the local community/heritage/identity?
- Have you noticed any changes within your area concerning public houses?
- How do the closures or changes of public houses in your area make you feel?

██████

Bibliography

Adda, J., Berlinski, S. & Machin, S. (2012) Market Regulation and Firm Performance: The Case of the Smoking Bans in the United Kingdom*. The Journal of Law & Economics*, 55, (2), 365 – 391.

Alcohol Change (2019) Dry January. Available at: https://alcoholchange.org.uk/get-involved/campaigns/dry-january . [Accessed 17 July 2019].

Barnes, M. & Ward, L. (2015) Older Women and Alcohol. In Staddon, P. (ed.) *Women and Alcohol*. Bristol: Bristol University Press. 101 – 117.

BBC News (2005) All-day Drink Licences Available. Available at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/4241537.stm . [Accessed 18 August 2019].

Bearne, S. (2019) 'I'm Not Spending Money on That': The Rise of The Teetotal Student. *The Guardian.* Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/education/2019/feb/19/im-not-spending-money-on-that-the-rise-of-the-teetotal-student . [Accessed 18 July 2019].

Beer and Brewing (2019a) Home. Available at: https://beerandbrewing.com/ . [Accessed 20 August 2019].

Beer and Brewing (2019b) The Tied House System. Available at: https://beerandbrewing.com/dictionary/x9Kdc4PlhJ/ . [Accessed 9 August 2019].

Beresford, P. (2015) The Context for A Social Model of Alcohol Use. In Staddon, P. (ed.) *Women and Alcohol*. Bristol: Bristol University Press. 15 – 29.

Billing, M. (1995) *Banal Nationalism*. London: Sage.

Blok, G. (2016) Bothersome and Besotted: The Struggle Against Public Drunkenness in Urban Spaces. In Mamadown, V. & Van Wageningen, A. (ed.) *Urban Europe*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press. 227 – 233.

British Beer and Pub Association (2019a) BBPA and Alzheimer's Society to Promote Dementia Friends Initiative to Pubs. Available at: https://beerandpub.com/2019/07/26/bbpa-and-alzheimers-society-to-promote-dementia-friends-initiative-to-pubs/ . [Accessed 10 August 2019].

British Beer and Pub Association (2019b) Beer Duty. Available at: https://beerandpub.com/policies/tax-trade-and-the-economy/beer-duty/ . [Accessed 29 August 2019].

British Liver Trust (2018) Sharp Decline in Youth Drinking, New Report Shows. Available at: https://www.nhs.uk/news/lifestyle-and-exercise/young-people-turning-their-backs-alcohol/ . [Accessed 7 July 2019].

Campaign for Real Ale (2019a) Beer Duty. Available at: https://www.camra.org.uk/pubs/save-our-pubs-campaign/lower-duty-rate-for-draught-beer/ . [Accessed 12 August 2019].

Campaign for Real Ale (2019b) Campaigns. Available at: https://pubheritage.camra.org.uk/ . [Accessed 14 August 2019].

Campaign for Real Ale (2019c) Home. Available at: https://www.camra.org.uk/ . [Accessed 4 July 2019].

Campaign for Real Ale (2019d) Pub of the Year. Available at: https://www.camra.org.uk/pubs/awards/pub-of-the-year/ . [Accessed 12 August 2019].

Campaign for Real Ale (2019e) Some Communities Run Their Local Themselves. Available at: https://www.camra.org.uk/pubs/campaigns/community-pub-ownership/ . [Accessed 12 August 2019].

Campaign for Real Ale Books (2019) Good Beer Guide 2020. Available at: https://shop1.camra.org.uk/index.php/camra-shop-homepage/welcome/good-beer-guide/good-beer-guide-2020/ . [Accessed 18 August 2019].

Card, J. (2014) How to Save a Pub at Risk of Closure. *The Guardian.* Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/public-leaders-network/2014/jul/17/how-to-save-pub-risk-closure . [Accessed 19 August 2019].

Churchard, C. & Townshend, G. (2017) A Breath of Fresh Air: How the Smoking Ban has Changed the Pub Trade. *The Morning Advertiser*. Available at: https://www.morningadvertiser.co.uk/Article/2017/06/19/How-the-pub-trade-has-changed-since-the-2007-smoking-ban . [Accessed 29 August 2019].

Churchard, C. (2018) 'Long Live the Local' Campaign Launches to Garner Support for Pubs Under Pressure. *The Morning Advertiser*. Available at: https://www.morningadvertiser.co.uk/Article/2018/07/19/Long-Live-the-Local-campaign-launches-to-garner-support-for-pubs-under-pressure-BBPA . [Accessed 21 August 2019].

Cornforth, J. (1988) The National Heritage: The Development of an Idea Since 1870. In Gough, S. (ed.) *Treasures for the Nation: Conserving our Heritage*. London: Lund Humphries. 12 – 15.

Demant, J. & Landolt, S. (2014) Youth Drinking in Public Places: The Production of Drinking Spaces in and outside Nightlife Areas. *Urban Studies*, 51, (1), 170 – 184.

Department of Health and Social Care (2013) *Change4Life Alcohol campaign Urges Us to Check Our Drinking*. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/news/change4life-alcohol-campaign-urges-us-to-check-our-drinking . [Accessed 12 July 2019].

Donnelly, L. (2017) Rise of Teetotalism: Almost Half of Brits Shun Regular Drinking. *The Telegraph*. Available at: https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/05/03/rise-teetotalism-almost-half-brits-shun-regular-drinking/ . [Accessed 12 July 2019].

Drinkaware (2019) Current Campaigns. Available at: https://www.drinkaware.co.uk/about-us/our-campaigns/ . [Accessed 29 July 2019].

Eidsvik, H. (1993) Cultural Landscapes: The Need for a Political Perspective. In Fladmark, M. (ed.) *Heritage: Conservation, Interpretation, Enterprise*. Shaftesbury: Donhead Publishing LTD. 43 – 49.

Flack Manor Brewery (2019) About. Available at: flackmanor.co.uk/about-flack-manor/ . [Accessed 2 August 2019].

Fladmark, M. (1993) Introduction. In Fladmark, M. (ed.) *Heritage: Conservation, Interpretation, Enterprise.* Shaftesbury: Donhead Publishing LTD. xiii - xvi.

Gillman, D. (2010) *The Idea of Cultural Heritage*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Gutzke, D. (1994) Gender, Class, and Public Drinking in Britain During the First World War. *Histoire Sociale/Social History*, 27, (54). 367 – 391. Available at: https://hssh.journals.yorku.ca/index.php/hssh/article/view/16578 . [Accessed 3 July 2019].

Hampshire County Planning Department (1974) *Romsey Conservation Study*. Winchester: Hampshire County Council.

Haskell, P. (2001) Country and Town. In Webb, J., Quail, S., Haskell, P. & Riley, R. (ed.) *The Spirit of Portsmouth: A History*. Chichester: Phillimore & Co. LTD. 13 – 35.

Herring, R., Berridge, V. & Thom, B. (2008) Binge Drinking: An Exploration of a Confused Concept. *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health*, 62, (6), 476 – 479.

HM Treasury (2013) *Autumn Statement 2013: Key Announcements*. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/news/autumn-statement-2013-key-announcements . [Accessed 18 July 2019].

Hunt, G.P. & Satterlee, S. (1986) The Pub, The Village and the People. *Human Organisation*, 45, (1), 62 – 74.

Hutt, C. (1973) *The Death of the English Pub*. London: Arrow Books.

Institute of Alcohol Studies (2017) Licensing Laws. Available at: http://www.ias.org.uk/Alcohol-knowledge-centre/Availability-and-licensing/Factsheets/Licensing-laws.aspx . [Accessed 27 August 2019].

Kakar, A. (2018) "I Do Feel Out of Place": Why Young People are Risking their Social Lives to go Teetotal. *New Statesman*. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/education/2019/feb/19/im-not-spending-money-on-that-the-rise-of-the-teetotal-student . [Accessed 18 July 2019].

Lang, B. (1988) The National Heritage Memorial Fund: A Continuing Role. In Gough, S. (ed.) *Treasures for the Nation: Conserving our Heritage.* London: Lund Humphries. 20 – 23.

Licensing Act 2003, c. 17. Available at: http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2003/17/part/6 [Accessed 27 August 2019].

Lienard, S. (2019) Dry January: What are the Benefits and Drawbacks? *BBC Good Food.* Available at: https://www.bbcgoodfood.com/howto/guide/dry-january-benefits-drawbacks . [Accessed 19 July 2019].

Lloyd, G. (2015) *A History of Point: Portsmouth's Spice Island*. Portsmouth: Gower Lloyd.

Long Live The Local (2019) Beer Tax. Available at: https://www.longlivethelocal.pub/beertax . [Accessed 29 August 2019].

Lower Test Valley Archaeological Study Group (2006) *So Drunk He Must Have Been to Romsey*. 2nd edn. Romsey: Lower Test Valley Archaeological Study Group.

Luard, E. (1993) Heritage is in the Hearth. In Fladmark, M. (ed.) *Heritage: Conservation, Interpretation, Enterprise*. Shaftesbury: Donhead Publishing LTD. 347 - 354.

Mackiewicz, A. (2015) Alcohol, Young Women's Culture and Gender Hierarchies. In Staddon, P. (ed.) *Women and Alcohol*. Bristol: Bristol University Press. 65 – 83.

Mann, R. (2019) Community Pubs are 'Stronger Than Ever', According to New Research. *The Morning Advertiser.* Available at: https://www.morningadvertiser.co.uk/Article/2019/01/23/Community-pubs-are-thriving-according-to-new-research . [Accessed 17 August 2019].

Measham, F. (2004) The Decline of Ecstasy, the Rise of "Binge" Drinking and the Persistence of Pleasure. *Probation Journal*, 51, (4), 309 – 326.

Miller Llana, S. & Traub, C. (2018) Culture Shift: What's Behind a Decline in Drinking Worldwide. *The Christian Science Monitor*. Available at:

https://www.csmonitor.com/World/Americas/2018/1003/Culture-shift-What-s-behind-a-decline-in-drinking-worldwide . [Accessed 19 July 2019].

Moseley, M.J. (2000) England's Village Services in the Later 1990s: Entrepreneurialism, Community Involvement and the State. *The Town Planning Review*, 71, (4), 415 – 433.

National Pubwatch (2019) Home. Available at: http://www.nationalpubwatch.org.uk/ . [Accessed 10 August 2019].

NHS (2018) Young People Turning Their Backs on Alcohol. Available at: https://www.nhs.uk/news/lifestyle-and-exercise/young-people-turning-their-backs-alcohol/ . [Accessed 16 July 2019].

NHS (2019) Binge Drinking. Available at: https://www.nhs.uk/live-well/alcohol-support/binge-drinking-effects/ . [Accessed 13 July 2019].

Nicholls, J. (2009a) Beer Orders: The Changing Landscape in the 1990s. In Nicholls, J. (ed.) *The Politics of Alcohol.* Manchester: Manchester University Press. 216 – 232.

Nicholls, J. (2009b) Conclusion: The Drink Question Today. In Nicholls, J. (ed.) *The Politics of Alcohol*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. 249 – 262.

Nicholls, J. (2009c) The Pub and The People: Drinking Places and Popular Culture. In Nicholls, J. (ed.) *The Politics of Alcohol*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. 180 – 198.

Nicholls, J. (2012) Time for Reform? Alcohol Policy and Cultural Change in England Since 2000. *British Politics*, 7, (3), 250 – 271. Available at: https://link.springer.com/article/10.1057/bp.2012.7#Sec2 . [Accessed 27 August 2019].

Office for National Statistics (2018) Adult Drinking Habits in Great Britain: 2017. Available at: https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/healthandsocialcare/drugusealcoholandsmoking/bulletins/opinionsandlifestylesurveyadultdrinkinghabitsingreatbritain/2017 . [Accessed 19 August 2019].

Oldham, M., Holmes, J., Whitaker, V., Fairbrother, H. & Curtis, P. (2018) *Youth Drinking in Decline*. Sheffield: University of Sheffield.

Oxford English Dictionary (2019) National Heritage. Available at: https://www.lexico.com/en/definition/national_heritage . [Accessed 13 July 2019].

Plunkett Foundation (2019a) About Us. Available at: https://plunkett.co.uk/about-us/ . [Accessed 14 August 2019].

Plunkett Foundation (2019b) How we Help. Available at: https://plunkett.co.uk/how-we-help/ . [Accessed 14 August 2019].

Portman Group (2015) A Concise Guide to the UK's Changing Drinking Patterns. Available at: http://www.portmangroup.org.uk/docs/default-source/default-document-library/concise-guide-to-uk-drinking-habits.pdf?sfvrsn=0 . [Accessed 16 August 2019].

Power To Change (2019) More Than A Pub. Available at: https://www.powertochange.org.uk/get-support/programmes/community-pubs-support-programme/ . [Accessed 18 August 2019].

Rimell, W. (2017) Tipsy Pig Celebrates a Year in Business after Taking Town by Storm. *Romsey Advertiser*. Available at: https://www.romseyadvertiser.co.uk/news/15715330.tipsy-pig-celebrates-a-year-in-business-after-taking-town-by-storm/ . [Accessed 2 August 2019].

Shepherd, I. (1993) Explaining the Local Heritage: The Role of a Regional Archaeologist. In Fladmark, M. (ed.) *Heritage: Conservation, Interpretation, Enterprise*. Shaftesbury: Donhead Publishing LTD. 174 – 184.

Skog, O. (2006) Studying Cultural Change: Were the Changes in Alcohol and Coffee Consumption in the Nineteenth Century a Case of Beverage Substitution. *Acta Sociologica*, 49, (3), 287-302.

Smith, L. (2006) *Uses of Heritage*. Oxon: Routledge.

Tierney Jones, A. (2016) How to Save your Local Pub. *The Telegraph*. Available at: https://www.telegraph.co.uk/food-and-drink/pubs-and-bars/community-spirit-how-to-save-your-local-pub/ . [Accessed 19 August 2019].

Tilden, F. (2007) *Interpreting Our Heritage*. 4th edn. North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press.

Triggle, N. (2017) Pub Smoking Ban: 10 Charts That Show the Impact. *BBC News*. Available at: https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/health-40444460 . [Accessed 29 August 2019].

Unknown. (2015) Dining Group Sells Cromwell Arms to Brewing Giant Fullers. *Romsey Advertiser*. Available at: https://www.romseyadvertiser.co.uk/news/11717801.dining-group-sells-cromwell-arms-to-brewing-giant-fullers/ . [Accessed 2 August 2019].

Unknown. (2018) FULL STORY: Mystery Surrounds the Closure of Town Centre Pub. *Romsey Advertiser*. Available at: https://www.romseyadvertiser.co.uk/news/16276722.full-story-mystery-surrounds-the-closure-of-town-centre-pub/ . [Accessed 2 August 2019].

Unknown. (2019) Pub with a 'death sentence' named Britain's Best Boozer. *The Metro*, Friday, 1 March, 24.

Vickers, A. (2001) Labour 'Texts' Young Voters to Combat Apathy. *The Guardian*. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/media/2001/jun/05/digitalmedia.ukgeneralelection2001 . [Accessed 22 August 2019].

Walker, A. (2014) *Public Houses: How Councils and Communities Can Save Pubs*. London: LGIU.

Wallis, S. (2017) *Portsmouth Pubs*. Stroud: Amberley Publishing.

Webb, J. (2001) Leisure and Pleasure. In Webb, J., Quail, S., Haskell, P. & Riley, R. (ed.) *The Spirit of Portsmouth: A History*. Chichester: Phillimore & Co. LTD. 141 - 154.

Yates, P. (2013). *Time Gentlemen, Please?*. 3rd edn. Winchester: The City of Winchester Trust LTD.