

2014

Sense of Place, Place Attachment, and Rootedness in Four West Baton Rouge Parish, Louisiana Bars

John Winsor McEwen

Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College, jmcewen@ju.edu

Follow this and additional works at: https://digitalcommons.lsu.edu/gradschool_dissertations



Part of the [Social and Behavioral Sciences Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

McEwen, John Winsor, "Sense of Place, Place Attachment, and Rootedness in Four West Baton Rouge Parish, Louisiana Bars" (2014).
LSU Doctoral Dissertations. 1500.

https://digitalcommons.lsu.edu/gradschool_dissertations/1500

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate School at LSU Digital Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in LSU Doctoral Dissertations by an authorized graduate school editor of LSU Digital Commons. For more information, please contact gradetd@lsu.edu.

SENSE OF PLACE, PLACE ATTACHMENT, AND ROOTEDNESS IN
FOUR WEST BATON ROUGE PARISH, LOUISIANA BARS

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in

The Department of Geography & Anthropology

by

John W. McEwen

B.S., Jacksonville University, 2005

M.S., Florida State University, 2009

August 2014

Acknowledgements

Naturally, there are many people to thank. First, to my parents, thank you for creating me and letting me be the person that I want to be, for letting me make my own decisions and my own mistakes and for loving me. Kent, I think you are the best advisor that I could have had for this program. You were always there when I needed to bounce ideas off of you, and you let me do my own thing once we had everything figured out. Additionally, you helped me get funding for all of my coursework and two graduate assistantships, these skills will be handy to have down the road. To Craig Colten, thank you for putting your trust in me as your editorial assistant at the *Geographical Review*.

I would like to thank my initial two committee members, Dydia DeLyser and Helen Regis, you both provided the necessary insight for me to think more critically about my research and the subject matter. To my two replacement committee members, Mike Pasquier and Kathe Managan, thank you both for your service. Additional thanks go to Annemarie Galeucia and Chris Thompson for all the discussions about theories, ideas, and methods. Meredith, you got me the rest of the way to the end. Thank you for allowing me to join you on the island.

Finally and most importantly, my great thanks go to all of the wonderful people that shared their stories with me at Chuck's Lounge and Charlie's Lounge in Addis and at Jack's Place and Sugar Patch Lounge in Port Allen. I don't want to slight anybody and there are too many people list by name, but, hopefully, you know who you are.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements.....	ii
List of Tables	v
List of Figures	vi
Abstract.....	x
Chapter 1 Introduction to Research and Outline of the Chapters	1
Chapter 2 Place and Place Relationships in Anthro-Geographical Literature	6
Chapter 3 Methods, Fieldwork, and Ethics in the Field	50
Chapter 4 The History and Population of West Baton Rouge Parish, Port Allen, and Addis	81
Chapter 5 Bar Typographies, Regionalization of Bar Terms, and Bar Society	139
Chapter 6 Biographical and Ethnographic Surveys of Charlie’s Lounge, Chuck’s Lounge, Jack’s Place, and Sugar Patch Lounge	180
Chapter 7 Introduction to Results	251
Chapter 8 Sense of Place.....	269
Chapter 9 Place Attachment.....	296
Chapter 10 Rootedness	329
Chapter 11 Conclusions and Final Thoughts	362
References.....	377
Appendix A: Guided Interview Questions for Bar Owners, Bartenders, and Bar Patrons.....	389
Appendix B: Map and List of West Baton Rouge Parish Bars Both Current and Former.....	391
Appendix C: Quotes and Anecdotes on Perceptions of West Baton Rouge Parish, Port Allen, and Addis from Interviews.....	393

Appendix D: A Complete Accounting of Quotes and Anecdotes on Sense of Place	400
Appendix E: A Complete Accounting of Quotes and Anecdotes on Place Attachment.....	406
Appendix F: A Complete Accounting of Quotes and Anecdotes on Rootedness.....	415
Vita.....	426

List of Tables

3.1: Dates of fieldwork at the four study sites	73
3.2a: Keeping track of hours covered at Charlie’s Lounge	74
3.2b: Keeping track of hours covered at Sugar Patch Lounge.....	75
4.1: Baton Rouge area population growth, 1920–2010	114
4.2: Baton Rouge area population density, 1920–2010	116
4.3: Workforce commuting data in the Baton Rouge area.....	117
4.4: Baton Rouge area age demographics, 1920 & 2010.....	119
4.5: Baton Rouge area gender demographics, 1920 & 2010	119
4.6: Baton Rouge area race demographics, 1920 & 2010.....	120
7.1: Age distribution of informants.....	257
7.2: Strength and average length of relationship	263
B.1: List of extant and former West Baton Rouge Parish bars.....	392

List of Figures

2.1: Conceptual diagram of the components of relationships with place specific to the present topic and subject.....	7
2.2: Re-creation of Pred’s (1984) diagram of components of place as historically contingent processes	26
2.3: Re-creation of Scannell and Giffords (2010) conceptualization of the tripartite framework of place attachment.....	31
2.4: The disparate definitions and conceptual relationships among sense of place, place attachment, and rootedness.....	48
4.1a: Territory of Orleans: counties and parishes, 1805	85
4.1b: Present day Louisiana parishes	86
4.2: Cinclare Sugar Mill in 2012.....	89
4.3: A train running through Addis during the flood to aid afflicted residents	91
4.4: West Baton Rouge Parish, its city, two towns, and locations of the four study bars	94
4.5a: The first Texas & Pacific railroad depot at Baton Rouge Junction	95
4.5b: Baton Rouge Junction.....	96
4.6: The Bank of Addis, now home to the Addis Historical Museum.....	98
4.7: The namesakes of Port Allen: Henry Watkins Allen and Theophile T. Allain	100
4.8a: Ferryboat service between Baton Rouge and Port Allen	107
4.8b: The site of the former ferry landing on the levee in downtown Port Allen.....	107
4.9: An aerial view of the Port Allen Lock looking to the east	109
4.10: Baton Rouge Metropolitan Statistical Area	111
4.11: Baton Rouge area population growth rates 1920–2010.....	113
4.12: Geographical distribution of race for West and East Baton Rouge Parish.....	121

4.13: Representation of the rise and fall of drinking establishments in West Baton Rouge Parish from the 1930s to the present	124
4.14: All that remains of a bar called Nick’s located on U.S. Highway 190	125
5.1: The bar inside Jack’s Place	144
5.2: The inside of Chuck’s Lounge	146
5.3: Distribution of pubs in the United States	147
5.4a: The inside of an English pub	149
5.4b: The interior of an American pub	149
5.5a: Judge Roy Bean Saloon in Langtry, Texas	150
5.5b: Orient Saloon in Bisbee, Arizona	151
5.6a: White Horse Tavern in Newport, Rhode Island	153
5.6b: A contemporary tavern in Northern Minnesota	154
5.6c: Interior of a tavern in Northern Minnesota	154
5.7: Venn diagram showing the confluence of bar types which intersect to form dive bars	157
5.8a: The 15,996 bars, lounges, pubs, saloons, and taverns from the final data set of drinking establishments in the Continental United States	162
5.8b: The 4,121 bars from the final data set of drinking establishments in the Continental United States	163
5.8c: The 1,676 saloons from the final data set of drinking establishments in the Continental United States	164
5.8d: The 5,350 taverns from the final data set of drinking establishments in the Continental United States	165
5.8e: The 4,664 lounges from the final data set of drinking establishments in the Continental United States	166
6.1: The sign for Jack’s Place	184

6.2: The wall mural and sign for Sugar Patch Lounge	185
6.3 The marquee for Charlie’s Lounge above the main entrance	185
6.4a: The sign for Chuck’s Lounge and marquee sign located on the roof circa 1980s	186
6.4b: Chuck’s Lounge in the present decade with the signs above the entrance absent and replaced by a marquee sign	186
6.5a: Charlie’s Lounge at its original and present locations	195
6.5b: Charlie’s Lounge in the present day	195
6.6: The interior of Charlie’s Lounge	197
6.7: The marquee sign in front of Chuck’s Lounge	204
6.8: A panorama view of Chuck’s Lounge on 1st Street in Addis’ main residential neighborhood	204
6.9: The main entrance door to Chuck’s Lounge.....	205
6.10: The bar area at Chuck’s Lounge	206
6.11: The seating area and karaoke stage inside Chuck’s Lounge	208
6.12: The pool tables inside Chuck’s Lounge.....	209
6.13: Chuck Tuminello tending his bar.....	210
6.14: “Chuck’s Bar” Softball team	213
6.15: Exterior back door of Chuck’s Lounge.....	215
6.16: Mardi Gras banner hanging above the front door of Chuck’s Lounge	217
6.17: The building that houses Jack’s Place	228
6.18: Panoramic view of the interior of Jack’s Place.....	229
6.19: The pool tables inside Jack’s Place.....	230
6.20: Aerial view of Sugar Patch Lounge	239
6.21: Exterior view of Sugar Patch Lounge	241

6.22: The main bar area inside Sugar Patch Lounge	243
6.23: The back half of the inside of Sugar Patch Lounge	244
7.1a: Population pyramid of customer informants.....	259
7.1b: Population pyramid of bar owner and bartender informants	259
7.2: Scatterplot of length of relationship plotted against the age of each informant	261
11.1: Diagram of the Unified Theory of People-Place relationships composed of sense of place, place attachment, and rootedness	366
B.1: Currently operating and presently closed drinking establishments in West Baton Rouge Parish	391

Abstract

This dissertation explores place and the relationships that people have with place: sense of place, place attachment, and rootedness. These three concepts have each been researched and discussed on their own in journal articles, books, and book chapters, but the terms rarely appear in the same sentence let alone the same research article. In the United States, places of drink are historically linked to community and social interactions, and such establishments often possess a solid core of loyal patrons for whom going to their bar is a natural and routine part of their daily and weekly life. This research brings drinking establishments to the fore of American geography as containers of material culture and collective history that influence and are influenced by the people that spend time in those places and utilizes them as the laboratory for collecting empirical data on people-place relationships. Applying ethnographic research tools and theoretical geographic thought to empirical data, this research studies these places and the people in them situated relative to elements of the surrounding local culture, history, and community in four bars in West Baton Rouge Parish, Louisiana. The result is a theoretical discussion of real-world data and a new unified theory that brings sense of place, place attachment, and rootedness under not just under the same umbrella, but as the core of a single system of people-place relationships.

Keywords: alcohol, bars, drinking, East Baton Rouge Parish, Louisiana, place, place attachment, rooted sense of place, rootedness, sense of place, West Baton Rouge Parish

Although the words “he”, “him,” and “his” are used sparingly in this dissertation to enhance communication, they are not intended to be gender driven nor to affront or discriminate against anyone reading this material.

Chapter One: Introduction to Research and Outline of the Chapters

. . . being from *somewhere* is always preferable to being from *nowhere*.

—Keith Basso (1996, 148)

Introduction to Research Questions

In 1620, a group of religious separatists from England sailing across the Atlantic Ocean seeking religious freedom landed at what is known today as Plymouth Rock. The original destination was the mouth of the Hudson River, over two-hundred miles further along. Beer, specifically a lack of it, is why the pilgrims were forced to move up their arrival time to the New World (Sismondo 2011).

Before the medical field understood germ theory, people often became sick and even died from drinking contaminated water. The alternative was fermented beverages which did not pose the health threat that water did. As the beer stores on the *Mayflower* dwindled, Captain Christopher Jones grew concerned that his crew would not have an adequate supply of the nutrient-rich beverage for the return journey to England. The captain decided to drop off his passengers at an alternate site so that they would not consume the remaining beer supply to be used for the return voyage. The rest is history (and geography), or so the tale goes.

Just as beer was imperative to the health of sailors during the era, so too were fermented beverages for settlers in the scattered colonies that would later join together to form the United States of America (Lender and Martin 1982; Sismondo 2011). Taverns were essential to the survival of new settlements, and establishing a place to dispense

alcohol and beer would be a priority in every colony. New settlements could not even be considered whole and complete without a tavern tied to a community's identity (Sismondo 2011). In colonial communities, taverns served as courtrooms, post offices, libraries, news centers, town halls, community centers, and even churches, when necessary (Lender and Martin 1982; Sismondo 2011). To put it concisely, taverns served as the source of everything that a solid community could need: nourishment for the body, society, community, and the soul.

Through time, the tavern has evolved in the United States. Today, drinking establishments are ubiquitous, banned, confined to red light districts, hidden down alleyways, or right up the block, and no two are the same.

Research Questions

This dissertation research explores place and the relationships that people have with place: sense of place, place attachment, and rootedness. In the United States, places of drink are historically linked to community and social interactions, and served as the breeding grounds for ideas that shaped the United States in its early development (Sismondo 2011). Such establishments often possess a solid core of loyal patrons for whom going to their bar is a natural and routine part of their daily and weekly life. In geography, the concepts of sense of place, place attachment, and rootedness are each researched and discussed on their own, but the terms rarely appear in the same sentence let alone the same research article.

This research brings all three together into a unified theoretical framework by collecting, analyzing, and discussing the three terms individually and as part of a whole. Simultaneously, this research brings drinking establishments to the fore of American

geography as containers of material culture and collective history that influence or are influenced by the people that spend time in those places. Utilizing ethnographic research tools, and applying theoretical geographic thought to empirical data, this research studies these places and the people in them as they are situated relative to elements of the surrounding local culture, history, and community in four bars in West Baton Rouge Parish, Louisiana.

The laboratory of this study is a type of bar which might also be referred to in popular culture as blue-collar, working-class, or dive bars. No single work or body of literature can be cited as the source of inspiration to study bars, as the idea came to me originally out of pure personal curiosity based on my own experiences in similar places. My original idea was to study each of the five bars that have been important to me during the time of my early- to mid-twenties.

After some consideration, I abandoned this idea in favor of focusing fieldwork on four bars located in West Baton Rouge Parish, Louisiana in the town of Addis and the city of Port Allen, on the west bank of the Mississippi River. The idea being that I would be going into new places with fresh eyes and no prior experience, and only my preconceptions of what those places would be like.

This research explores the relationships that the people who patronize these four bars have with them as places. Though the relationships that people have with these places may be built on personal social and community experiences, memories and history, and the physical nature of place, the focus is on the different types and strength of those relationships with place: sense of place, place attachment, and rootedness. This research explores all of those relationships in a common setting. To my knowledge

neither these bars nor any others have been studied utilizing this approach. Thus, this study presents original research on an empirical as well as theoretical level.

Outline

This dissertation is structured with a focus of the results on the people, who they are, and their relationship with a particular place, together with the place itself. This is not a comparative study of four different bars. In this study I went to four different bars similar in their qualities in terms of first impressions, and located in two similar small towns. In Chapter Two I discuss the concept of place in geographic and anthropological literature, leading into notions of the relationships that people have with place from their sense of place to place attachment to rootedness. Chapter Three provides discussions about preparing to go into the field, the ethics of interviewing individuals in environments such as bars wherein potential informants may be intoxicated, and how to navigate potential pitfalls regarding alcohol and interviewing in the field. Chapter Four introduces West Baton Rouge Parish and two of its three towns, Addis and Port Allen, with a history of the parish from the era before European contact to the Twenty-First Century.

Chapter Five explains how bars fit into the human landscape of the United States and examines different types of bars, regionalization of terms for bars, and bar society. Chapter Six covers each of the study bars individually and includes the history of the bars, physical descriptions, and who the regular customers are; effectively, brief ethnographic accounts of those places based on over a year of data collected through participant observation and interviews with owners, bartenders, and customers.

In Chapters Seven through Ten, I present the results based on collected interview data from a number of individuals at each of the bars, with the discussion of sense of place, place attachment, and rootedness split across three chapters. In this way, the dissertation takes a look at each one of the relationships people have with place on their own so that the three can then be brought together into a unified theoretical framework. This new theoretical framework will allow for and facilitate future discussions of the relationships that people have with place, examine how they are different and the same, and how geographers, anthropologists, and any member of the social sciences community can have a more clear vision of place relationships. Advancing this subdiscipline of place studies will prevent future researchers from having to sift through the current literature of what sense of place is and how it relates to rootedness or how people form an attachment with place. The dissertation then closes with final thoughts regarding itself, the research presented within, and directions for future research.

Chapter Two: Place and Place Relationships in Anthro-Geographical Literature

Things fall into *place*, because there is a time and *place* for everything. She won first *place*, and her success put me in my *place*, but not being a good loser, I muttered, “God warns us about people in high *places*.” Finishing in last *place* is a *commonplace* occurrence for those of us who cannot even find our *place* in line. Can you find your *place* in this text? I can’t *place* him, but I’ll *place* my bet that though we want to find our *place* in the sun, there’s no *place* like home.

—Miles Richardson (2003, 43)

Place is both a noun and a verb. Place is used to describe the good and bad of our existence whether it is finding our place in the sun as opposed to being put in our place (Richardson 2003). Place exists to hold meaning (Richardson 2003), and to create place out of space is to identify where like things can be located, where specific process and events will occur, and where others will be excluded (Sack 1992). The research presented in this dissertation is situated among studies that demonstrate relationships between drinking establishments as place, specifically, “the environments in which people live [and] the alcoholic beverages they consume,” (Gruenwald, Remer, and Lipton 2002, np) and the people in those places of drink. Research on the geography of drinking behavior has generally focused on the environmental contexts in which consuming alcohol occurs, how different places affect drinking practices, and how changes in local community and cultural systems affect drinking behavior (Gruenwald, Remer, and Lipton 2002; Jayne, Valentine, and Holloway 2008a) but not so much on these places as everyday lived spaces.

At the core of this research are the relationships that people have with place: sense of place, place attachment, and rootedness. From the perspective of the principal contributors to the geographical literature on the subject of place (Relph 1976; Agnew 1987; Sack 1988; Tuan 1990; Cresswell 2004), relationships with place are the product of three primary elements. The primary elements that combine to create a sense of place are: the history of a place, the physical environment or landscape of a place, and the community (including the people) of a place (Figure 2.1). This dissertation will explore the place of the bars in peoples' lives, the place of the people in the bar, and the spaces within the bars to apprehend those relationships with place.

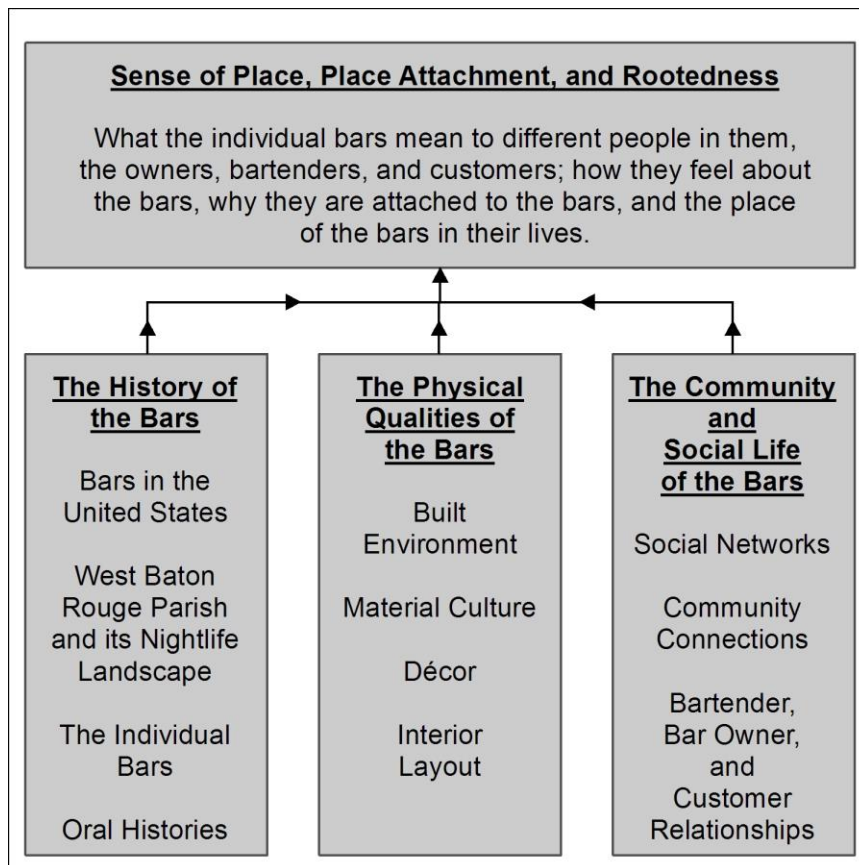


Figure 2.1: Conceptual diagram of the components of relationships with place specific to the present topic and subject

Sense of place, place identity, and rootedness, while not necessarily used interchangeably in the geographical and anthropological literature, are often used without having been given a clear definition as to what each means relative to the others, and what it means to be rooted in place versus place identity, or the strength of an individual person's sense of place. Keep these terms in mind as this chapter reveals not just what place is in geography, but the different perspectives on sense of place, place attachment, and rootedness that have been presented in the geographic literature over the last five to six decades.

Place

Before discussing the types of relationships that individuals can have with place, it is necessary to have a basic understanding of place in terms of its components and how geographers define it. There are multiple definitions and conceptualizations of place offered in the geographical literature, this section will cover some of those that have been given by key thinkers on place such as Yi-Fu Tuan (1975; 1977; 1990), Edward Relph (1976), John Agnew (1987), J. Nicholas Entrikin (1991), and Tim Cresswell (2004).

Place can be a difficult subject to explore (Keough 2010), but the concept of place serves as the foundation for geographic inquiry because, "we should recognize that geographical reality is first of all the place where someone is," (Relph 1976, 5). As Relph (1976, 43) explains:

The essence of place lies in the largely unselfconscious intentionality that defines places as centers of human existence. There is for virtually everyone a deep association with and consciousness of the places where we were born and grew up, where we live now, or where we have had particularly moving experiences.

Although the essence of place lies in the unconsciousness of it (Relph 1976), there are components of place which indicate that place need not be confined strictly to the unconscious; place can be discussed just like any other thing that is imbued with meaning, and inhabited by others (Pred 1983) and not just a single person that experiences it. Regardless of how each individual person experiences place, place is still the “fundamental means by which we make sense of the world and through which we act,” it remains up to geography as a discipline to understand being in the world and of being in place (Sack 1988, 642).

Cresswell (2004, 2) introduces us to place by explaining that space is turned into place through the “hauntings of past inhabitation.” Place is space that is made meaningful through attachments that people make which gives place its most simple definition “a meaningful location” (Cresswell 2004, 7), and even, “To be in the world, to be situated at all, is to be in place,” (Casey 1993, xv). Similarly, anthropologist Arturo Escobar (2001, 143) states that, “. . . places gather things, thoughts, and memories in particular configurations.” This follows the three basic components of a meaningful place: location, locale, and sense of place (Agnew 1987).

First, places such as a city, a building, or a room in a house, tend to have fixed locations on the earth’s surface so that we know *where* something is. Knowing where a place *is*, means that it can be located not just in a particular location but also relative to other places. Location provides the simple notion of where (Agnew 1987). Although this would seem to be a straightforward idea, location can affect the other two components of place specified by Agnew (1987).

The second leg of the definition of place is locale, the structural or the material setting (built or natural) of a place that allows for social relationships to have a place to occur. The actual layout of a place can influence relationships between people and how they interact with the place in general (Agnew 1987). Adding to this, material setting does not have to be limited to the physical layout of a place. It can also include what the physical setting is made of whether it is the tile floors of a kitchen or the soft cushions of a living room couch. Décor such as the arrangement of the bar, stools, chairs, and tables, the posters, beer signs, and other decorations such as those commonly found in a bar can also be counted among the components of the material setting of a place.

Third is the sense of place that is formed when people develop an emotional attachment to a place (Agnew 1987). We have a sense of place about where we live, where we have lived, and even places that we have yet to visit (Sack 1988; Jackson 1994). However, the place that we have a sense of is not limited to how physically big or small a place is (Tuan 1975). As citizens of a country, we may experience a particular feeling when we return from abroad in the moment that the customs official stamps our passport and says, “Welcome home.” The town that a person grew up in may have all of the same material components as any other town but if it is the location where a person was raised, then that town can have a special sense of place to that individual. Even a location as personal and private as a favorite chair by a fireplace is imbued with a sense of place for the person to whom it has special meaning (Tuan 1975). Presumably, the same may be true for a favorite spot or bar stool for a regular patron of a particular bar.

Physical location, material setting, and the history of a place make it appear as though it would be an easy undertaking to grasp the *sense* of a place. By Agnew’s (1987)

definition, anybody could wander into a place and know the place. If a man walks into a neighborhood bar, then he already knows the location. The location would consist of the street address, the type of building that the bar is in, the city, or the area (downtown, residential, or rural). The locale, or material setting, is easy enough as well. The inside of the bar may be dark or brightly lit. There may be a long wooden bar with a brass foot railing and stools with worn vinyl. The man would just as likely see an area with pool tables, dart boards, or a poker table. No doubt customers and a bartender would also be present, each with unique individual but also collective characteristics.

Although the components of place may be outlined easily enough (Agnew 1987), the etymology of the term itself is fairly complex, consisting of a tension between, “indicating a location or a site relative to some pre-given area, scale, or grid and also as a locale or abode,” that is connected to a Greek word *plateia* which means “broad way” or “open space” (Larsen and Johnson 2012, 636). Further complicating matters are the terms *topos* and *chora* which are sometimes equated to “place” and “space,” respectively (Larsen and Johnson 2012).

Over the course of Western thought, space superseded place as modern thinkers developed the Greek concept of *kenon*, meaning “void” and objects lost their place, becoming merely locations in space (Casey 1997; Malpas 1999; Larsen and Johnson 2012). The complex etymological and philosophical history of the concepts of space and place means that the two are virtually inseparable, both concepts that people are so familiar with in their everyday lives such that a single definition for the concept of place is either elusive or overly simplified (Casey 1997; Malpas 1999).

However, we do not only know place through what the eyes see and what our minds process (Tuan 1975). We know place through experience, through living in a place and through passive and direct modes of experience. We turn place into an abstract idea that we know just as we know ourselves and other people (Tuan 1975). In this way, place becomes a unique experience for each person. For just as the above paragraph can convey the idea of a bar, it is equally impossible, on the other hand, for a person to convey what he truly senses about a place thus giving place its different meanings from one person to another.

Soren Larsen and Jay Johnson (2012, 633) provide an overview of the concept of place in phenomenology and being-in-place studies explaining that, “places emerge out of the interplay between structure and agency to produce specific contexts for meaning, action, and thought in the reproduction of social power.” Anything that exists requires a situation, a context, a boundary line, or horizon to set it apart from what it is not because its own edges give it presence against some backdrop (Larsen and Johnson 2012). In short, place is place in part because it is not what it is not and in part because it serves as the whole container of the sum of relatively homogenous individual pieces.

Though geographers have worked to bring place to the fore of academics by demonstrating its importance and significance in order for humans to find meaning and for social action to occur, humanistic geography emphasizes place as the, “center for meaning and emotional attachment,” where, “places are created as humans respond to, interpret, and manipulate their environs,” (Larsen and Johnson 2012, 636). Following this humanistic definition of place, others have identified place as both a product and an agent in social life processes (Kobayashi and Mackenzie 1989), thus moving the concept of

place away from the modernist definition of place as a mere location in space (Larsen and Johnson 2012) towards a center of felt value (Eyles 1989).

The anthropological literature further elaborates on this more humanistic concept of place. Miles Richardson (2003) gives the best definition of what place is, and of what makes place. It is not just a point on a map or a region of the world, but something that just is. Richardson (2003, 30) explains that, “When Neandertals scooped out the pit [grave] and laid one of their kind into its embrace, they created a place distinct from surrounding nature,” and, in creating place, “they gave voice to a quality among themselves that was beyond the physicality of the body, dead or alive,” Richardson (2003, 30).

Place—*distinct* from surrounding nature.

So much is said in those four words about place. Place is not distinct *from* nature, it is distinct from the *surrounding* nature. Place is still nature in this definition, contra to a modernist view where place is something that is distinct from the surrounding *nature* where nature is what surrounds a place; thereby making a place distinct by the fact that it is apart from the nature that surrounds it (Richardson 2003) and that place consists of a unique set of characteristics at a unique location (Sack 1988). Yet, while place is distinct from what surrounds it, in Richardson’s (2003) definition, place remains a component of what surrounds it. Place is inherently nested in places, and the places where one place ceases to be distinct from the surrounding nature and becomes part of the surrounding

nature, the boundary is also a place that is distinct in that it is a place where the distinction between two places is made.

Thus, place is at once inseparable and separated from surrounding nature where the place that is the boundary between place and the place that surrounds it occurs. As Ary Lamme (Lamme and Oldakowski 2007) explains, places, for instance regions, are part of a continuous scale with higher and lower orders of regions that often overlap (Zelinsky 1992) whereby the relationships formed take on a structure similar to that of a spider web. In this web-like structure, removing one strand, one tiny strand, can alter the shape of every part of the web whether it is a relatively small segment, connecting only two other strands, or if it is the strand upon which the entirety of the web's structure depends.

Sometimes, when a strand or a place is removed from a web of strands or places, the shift in how the structure of the strands or a network of places operates will continue unimpeded without the slightest hint that anything is amiss. Yet sometimes, when an important enough piece of the web is removed, the entire web may fall into chaos and become entirely unrecognizable relative to its former self. This is perhaps an extremist view in an analogy of how important place can be to the surrounding nature. However, when it comes to *attachment* to a place, when a specific place is integral to an entity's being and has been subsumed into what it is, whether it is just a person or an entire community, then losing a place really can have a disruptive effect (Hummon 1992; McHugh and Mings 1996; Rogers 2010; Smith and Cartlidge 2011).

Moreover, place is *created*. Just a single strand in a web may be important to a spider's overall creation and the spider knows if it is safe for it to walk on or if it is sticky

and meant for a future meal, place is what is imbued with the meaning that is the reason for its creation and existence. The relationships that people have with place flow back and forth from place to person, from person to place, and is the reason why people return to a place or go there for the first time to be a part of that flow (Jackson 1994), or why people may leave a place to escape being a part of that flow altogether. In the sense of obliviousness to place, some people may not even acknowledge even a hint of meaning in a place, because the flow escapes them or they walk right through it without noticing, like passengers moving through a seemingly placeless airport terminal (Cresswell 2004).

The idea of placelessness lends itself to philosopher Jeff Malpas averring that, “it is not place as such that is important, but just the idea of human responsiveness—a responsiveness that need not be grounded in any concept of place or locality at all,” (1999, 30). This suggests that, in humanistic geography, phenomenology of place is sometimes taken for granted in the face of the locality of a place (Larsen and Johnson 2012) or that locality is perhaps still held as antecedent to the qualities of place. If the act of place creation and meaning provided by Richardson (2003) were combined with the notion that locality does not necessarily have precedence to the phenomenological aspects of place (Malpas 1999) then it could be said that one creates the other. In an anthropo-geographical sense, the locality of place is begotten by its qualities, and the qualities of place are begotten by its locality in a continual cycle of creation, meaning, introspection, and reflection.

Place Creation and Meaning

Continuing on with place creation, where key thinkers on place such as Edward Casey (1997), Tuan (1977), Relph (1976), J.B. Jackson (1994) and others begin a

discussion of place with the roots of the concept in classical philosophy, Richardson (2003) takes us back to a time before humans even had philosophy or philosophers.

Richardson (2003) describes prehistoric Neandertal rituals of burying their dead. When a Neandertal died, “the living prepared a pit, placed the body in it, and often positioned around it an array of other items, especially tools of flint or bone, but also in separate cases, goat horns and the lower jaw of a wild boar,” (Richardson 2003, 29). A ritual is an action performed for a specific prescribed purpose; therefore, in burying their dead, the members of the pre-historic society created a place with meaning, but what meaning? What meaning does creating a place out of the surrounding nature carry? Potential outcomes of participating in such a ritual are that the past is echoed in the present and the memory of those who have been lost can be carried forward to the future (Kay 2012).

The argument that Richardson (2003, 30) presents is that the pre-historic society created a meaningful place out of concern for the living in order to recognize that, even in death, by creating a special place to lay a dead corpse, was to acknowledge that it was not, “just another bit of smelly debris.” As equally important as the physical aspects of the burial spot (the pit dug in which to place the body and the material items laid with the body) was the *act* of burying the body. Through the actions of creating a physical place to bury a body and placing physical items with the deceased’s corpse, a place was created that signified to the Neandertals not just that a death had occurred and that there was a spot where the dead would lay in perpetuity (or at least until the body was excavated and removed to be examined for scientific purposes), but that there was meaning in the burial act.

Through that meaning, the meaning of what is signified is that a place is distinct from the nature that surrounds it. Richardson (2003) explains that people can reflect on and act on the meaning itself, the meaning of the place. Furthermore, reflecting and acting on meaning gives voice to feelings, how one feels about a place, or feels about meaning, and, through reflection, those who create place along with its meaning speak to and of themselves. In speaking to one's self through action and reflection, and reflection upon the buried dead, Neandertals were able to proclaim, "You are; I am," (Richardson 2003, 31). This, Richardson argues is the first evidence of two-legged beings, primates, with a consciousness of self, and, in the case of creating a pit to bury the dead, leads to a self that is tied to place and a place tied to self, and the awareness that we exist.

When the burial pits were dug, not just a place, but a material setting was made that was apart from the surrounding nature. Through the act of burying the dead and the continual ritual of creating meaning with new burial pits dug up by the living, the site of burials became not just a place for reflection but a place for interaction. Therefore, at the intersection of site and *interaction*, place is not just distinct from what surrounds it, but a material setting, an image of place, not just the image seen with the eyes, but the image of place seen by the self through reflection is also created that carries with it the meaning of place.

Regardless of the frequency with which burial pits are dug, the action of burying a former living Neandertal or human being may never become as mundane as brushing one's teeth. The difference then is not in the activity but in the intention with which the activity is carried out as well as the meaning implied in the action. For if an individual performs any action in a meaningful way, having in mind something more than the mere

action itself [. . .] then one elevates the physical action to the place of the ritual,” (Kay 2012, n.p.). Even if it is the first occasion for an individual to perform the ritual, if the ritual has understood meaning then that connects the individual with other individuals and with past instances of the ritual, even if the action was carried out by others who are long dead. For instance, if a person gives thanks to a higher being after brushing their teeth, then that can create a perceived connection between the self and others who have performed the same action across time and space (Kay 2012).

Considering the contemporary activity of drinking at a bar, instead of honoring those that have passed away (not that this does not occasionally happen) people gather to share conversation, commiserate, socialize, or keep to themselves. Whether an individual is conscious of it or not, a person that performs such rituals as going to spend time at their regular bar every day, a few times, or even just once per week performs an action in which others also take part on a regular basis. Furthermore, knowing that others have performed the same ritual in the past and that the ritual will persist going forward through time connects individuals in place, and through space and time (Kay 2012). Shared experience becomes the foundation of community and it is through shared experience, knowledge, and understanding that community, even a sense of community, is created (Kay 2012). More importantly, once such a community is established, those who are committed to the rituals and traditions of the community become connected to others who are part of the same community whether it is another person on the bar stool 12 inches to their right or on a bar stool in a similar place 1,200 miles distant.

But it must be more than the simple action of spending time in a place such as a bar, performing similar activities such as drinking a beer, or simply being from the same

town that ritual transcends the mundane. If one recognizes that there is more to being a part of a community or place than just being a part of the action itself, then one is connected to place through meaning and connects with other individuals and with other points in time thus weaving the ritual action into the other elements that make up the fabric of their life (Kay 2012). Without meaning, repeated actions such as going to a bar, or attending a funeral are simply habits that do not connect the individual to one's own past or to other individuals, thus preventing establishing any meaningful relationships with community or place.

In his book, *Wisdom Sits in Places*, anthropologist Keith Basso (1996) described how Apache culture in part of what is now the southwestern United States gives names to places that do not only indicate and describe place, but also carry a deeply involved meaning, typically with an underlying life lesson such as: Water Flows Inward Under A Cottonwood Tree, White Rocks Lie Above In A Compact Cluster, Trail Goes Down Between Two Hills, or Water Flows Down On A Succession Of Flat Rocks. Apart from just describing how a place is, the names carry even more meaning when the physical places are viewed from the same perspective from which they were viewed by the person who gave the places their names. In other words, the place names imply not just how the place looks, but the perspective from which it should be viewed or the way the place should be seen and perceived.

Basso (1996, 152) closes his book by recounting the creation of a new place and a new place name in the local Apache culture:

On a late spring day a few years ago, an Apache youth from Cibecue spent the morning fishing on the upper reaches of Cibecue Creek. He caught several trout, which he strung on a stick by their gills and carried to a spot where he planned to fish some more. There he placed his catch on a tiny spit of sand. Suddenly, a mature bald eagle bolted from the sky and sacred bird and impulsive youth fought for the trout lying beside the stream. The eagle won, the young man was badly raked, and a year or so later one of his maternal uncles bestowed a commemorative place-name on the small patch of sand. He named ‘Itsá Ch’iyaa’iltqólé (Eagle Hurtles Down). Another Apache place came into being that day, and another historical tale—which advises *never* to challenge eagles—now hints tersely at some of the reasons why.

In just three simple words, “Eagle Hurtles Down,” a place is created that not only reminds the listener *what* happened at a place but how the lesson of what happened might be applicable to their own lives.

Through naming places in the Apache manner, a sense of not just what happened at a place is established, but an image of that place or the significant event that happened at that place is established. In this way, anybody who is familiar with the place need only hear the name of the place to be told the story of that place, and anybody who is unfamiliar with the place can quickly grasp in their mind’s eye a picture of the place, thus allowing for a nearly universal, “genre of experience,” regarding a place (Basso 1996, 148). This is similar to modern consumerism of place (Sack 1992) such as Disney, Hollywood, or the beach, where, through advertising and by recollecting experiences of those places to others, place is consumed indirectly or secondhand before it is consumed in person.

Though pre-historic Neandertal culture or contemporary Apache culture grants meaning to place either through ritual or story-telling, contemporary Western culture

performs the same task. However inelegant, uncreative, or banal the task of place-naming may be in modern culture, the result is nevertheless the same. To wit, in the United States, places are named in honor of a person, e.g. Washington, D.C. which is named for the first president of the United States, Jacksonville, Florida, one of many southern cities named for the seventh president of the United States, or Humboldt Bay in California named for the Prussian naturalist, Alexander von Humboldt. Place names also commemorate events through association such as the Little Big Horn River which flows from the Bighorn Mountain range and is remembered as the river by which Sitting Bull defeated General George Custer, or Plymouth Rock in Massachusetts which is held to be the traditional spot where pilgrims on the Mayflower first disembarked from their trans-Atlantic journey due to a shortage of beer/spirits on their ship. Alternatively, place names can be apparently meaningless such as Cut and Shoot, Texas, Eighty Four, Pennsylvania, or No Name, Colorado and may even have corporate origins such as Dish, Texas (named after a satellite television company), Truth or Consequences, New Mexico named after a television game show, or Celebration, Florida which was built and named by the Walt Disney Company.

Regardless of the origins of some place names in the United States, they may still carry meaning to the people who are familiar with those places. Like the traditional Apache method of naming places and ascribing meaning to them, the place names are, for all intents and purposes, devoid of meaning unless the person hearing the place name spoken is aware of that place and the story behind it and its name.

In the simplest of terms, space becomes place when meaning is added (Basso 1996; Richardson 2003; Cresswell 2004), and it is anthropology which presents to

geography not just what the meaning of places can be, but how it comes to have its meaning or is bestowed its meaning by Neandertal or human culture, modern or otherwise. Because place is not just the physical material that constitutes it, it is important to move beyond their visible components and consider attachments, connections, meaning, and experience (Cresswell 2004) as well as the relationships that people have with place. From a phenomenological perspective, experience of place is based on its three elements (Agnew 1987; Cresswell 1996), location, locale, and sense of place. Additionally, place attachment and rootedness may also shape our experience and therefore our relationships with place in addition to sense of place.

People and Place

Although producers of place out of space (such as Neandertals or Apaches) generally act in accordance with representations, it is those who consume and experience space and place upon whom representations are imposed (Peet 1998), and it is consuming space and place that leads to the relationships that people have with places (Sack 1988; 1992). The relationships that people have with place and the concepts of sense of place, place attachment, and rootedness, are best examined interdisciplinarily. Disciplines apart from geography that examine the concepts are diverse and include anthropology, environmental psychology, landscape architecture, history, and sociology (Cross 2001). The concepts are also complex in their relationships with each other through the multitude of overlapping definitions of each (c.f. Cross 2001; Scannell and Gifford 2010) found across the aforementioned disciplines. The following section outlines those three key types of relationships that people have with place as well as a few subterms such as

place identity (Proshansky, Fabian, and Kaminoff 1983), rooted sense of place (Hummon 1992; Hay 1998a), and being-in place (Heidegger 1962; Richardson 2003).

Sense of Place and Place Identity

According to Tuan (1975), sense of place is not acquired in passing, and to know a place requires time of residence and involvement in the place. Knowing a place requires knowledge of the past, not just abstract knowledge or facts about history, but a communal past that is part of one's own experience and memories of a place (Tuan 1975). This is contrary to the definition of sense of place as it is used in this dissertation which views the concept as the feel that an individual has of a place and which is generally acquirable in passing versus based on length of residence or quantity of experiences with a place.

As Agnew (2002, 16) puts it, sense of place is the, "symbolic identification with a place as distinctive and constitutive of a personal identity and a set of personal interests," and through sense of place, place, "comes into clearest focus when we see ourselves from the outside," (Sack 1992, 30). Furthermore, despite that sense of place is generally considered to be a unique view of individuals' experiences in a place, it is also something that is generally assumed to be shared by all those who experience a particular place (Sack 1992) however, no two individuals may necessarily share the same sense of a place.

In sociology, David Hummon (1992) outlines sense of place as the subjective perceptions that people have of their surroundings and how they feel or do not realize they feel about those surroundings. There is a duality about sense of place that involves both an interpretive perspective on place and an emotional reaction to it (Hummon 1992). In this way, sense of place is both how one is oriented toward a place and how

understanding place and how one feels about a place fused to create the meaning of a place to a person (Hummon 1992).

John Brinckerhoff Jackson (1994) provides actual background information on sense of place, explaining that the term is used chiefly by architects and adopted by urban planners, interior decorators, and apartment and condo associations. Linguistically, the concept of sense of place is derived from the Latin *genius loci*, and in classical antiquity people believed that a space, building, or community derived its uniqueness from the presence or guardianship of a supernatural entity (Lewis 1979a). *Genius loci*, “thus implied celebration or ritual, and the location itself acquired special status,” (Jackson 1994, 157).

Travelers to new places such as Rome visited the city to take in the atmosphere of a place or the qualities of its environment. Recognizing the uniqueness of a place then has become inherent in the idea of sense of place and, over time, sense of place persists, bringing people back and serving as a reminder of previous visits. Some places that cause the same feelings as a visit to Rome are parts of the everyday world and are easily accessible but also distinct from that world. Although they may be insignificant in terms of the event of visiting, we are still refreshed with each visit to them. Furthermore, our experiences of those places vary in intensity, from private and solitary to social and communal (Jackson 1994). For example, a collection of individuals may each spend time drinking and socializing in a bar as a single body while individuals within the group may still have meaningful, private experiences on their own.

What makes those experiences what they are is the change in our mood, and what follows is a, “sense of fellowship with those who share the experience, and the instinctive

desire to return, to establish a custom of repeated ritual,” (Jackson 1994, 158). These places to which we return are extensions of the home and are connected with ritual and an exclusive fellowship or membership. Such places come in the form of the dwelling or neighborhood such as a school, church, lodge, park, or even a local bar.

Jackson then describes the qualities he associates with a sense of place as, “a lively awareness of the familiar environment, a ritual repetition, a sense of fellowship based on shared experience” (Jackson 1994, 159). Additionally, Jackson suggests that a sense of place is not associated so much with the physical qualities of a place such as the architecture, as it is with an event or daily, weekly, or seasonal occurrences that we recall or to which we look forward. This last comment highlights the lack of a common definition of sense of place, as Agnew (1987) explicitly stated that the local is a component of sense of place (an element not included in Jackson’s (1994) definition).

So it is a sense of time and ritual over time that lends to the creation of a sense of community and sense of place, recall the Neandertals that created a place of meaning and reflection by burying their dead. Bethany Rogers (2010) advances this notion of sense of place in her dissertation by returning to the importance of architecture in place meaning in the context of a post-disaster atmosphere of New Orleans neighborhoods, fusing architecture with sense of place, ritual events, and remembrance of a single catastrophic event. Essentially, the nature of the built environment plays a strong role in conveying sense of place in addition to the less tangible aspects of place.

In a more structured sense, Allan Pred’s (1984, 282) diagram of place and sense of place consists of three basic components (Figure 2.2). The components diagramed by Pred are (1) social and spatial division of labor as well as sedimentation of social and

cultural norms, (2) biographical formation, personality development and development of consciousness, and (3) transformation of nature. Paralleling Pred's (1984) diagram, if sense of place is developed within—through long-term residence or accumulating a multitude of experiences (Hay 1986; 1990; 1998a; Tuan 1990)—it follows that there must be an outside-in, or top-down way of viewing or perceiving place. The reverse of sense of place as natural perception or organic is that place is branded and labeled. This is captured by the term, place identity (Carter, Dyer, and Sharma 2007), a term coined by environmental psychologist Harold Proshansky to describe, “the physical world socialization of the self,” (Proshansky, Fabian, and Kaminoff 1983, 57) or, “the self-definitions that are derived from place,” (Scannell and Gifford 2010, 3) and how we identify ourselves by association with place.

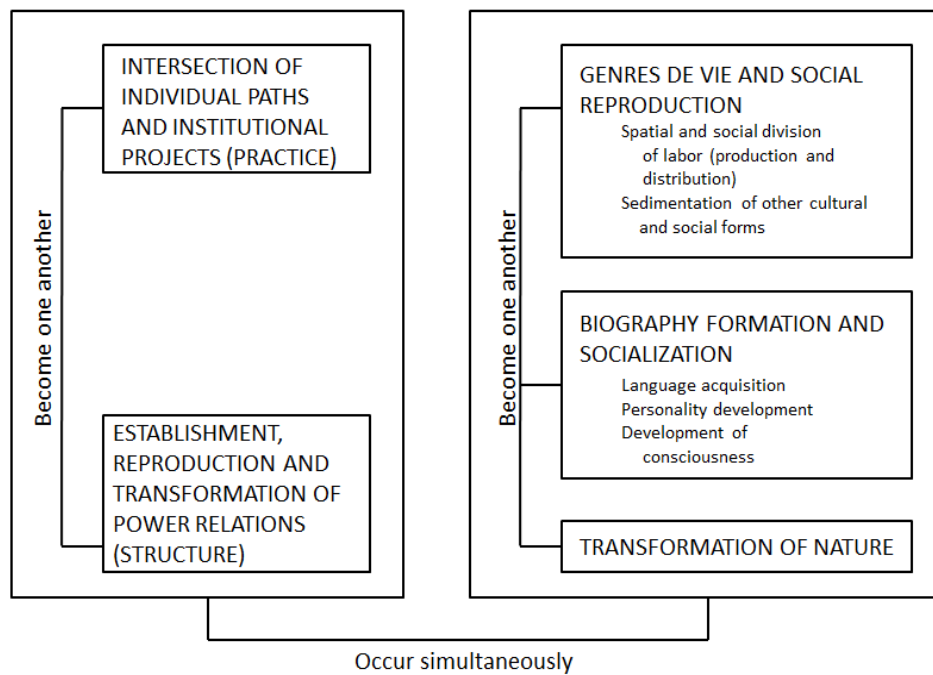


Figure 2.2: Re-creation of Pred's (1984) diagram of components of place as historically contingent processes

An example of place identity is provided by Jennifer Carter, Pam Dyer, and Bishnu Sharma (2007, 764) in which, “rural and long-term residents strive to retain their sense of place, but may shun place-identity as branding and labeling a manufactured and packaged place.” On the other hand, others suggest that place identity occurs when similarities are drawn between self and place, and people, “incorporate cognitions about the physical environment [. . .] into their self-definitions,” (Scannell and Gifford 2010, 3).

In a conference paper on sense of place, sociologist Jennifer Cross (2001) identifies several different ways that we can have a sense of place and the forms in which relationships with place occur. Though many of the relationships that she describes are more closely akin to place attachment, she explains what she calls “commodified relationships.” Commodified relationships represent choosing a place with a maximized combination of desirable features that a place offers. The desire that people have for a certain combination of features in a place may be based on personal history, but the match between person and place has more to do with the attributes of a place and what that person considers to be a desirable place. In short, place identity is based on, “the comparison of [a] person’s image of the ideal community with the physical attributes of a community” (Cross 2001, n.p.) or in layman’s terms akin to individuals forming cliques with individuals like themselves.

Our individual experiences and perceptions of the world are largely mediated by our native culture where culture is the combination of perspectives and forces of meaning and social relations of the everyday life of that culture (Sack 1992). Though collectively individual people may all experience or be aware of the sights, sounds, smells, and history of a particular place, those experiences impact each of us differently and to

different degrees. It is how we each feel about the result of processing what we are aware of that gives us our unique sense of place that, though we may be able to tell another person about it in words, we would never be able to convey completely our understanding of a particular place emotionally (Sack 1992). The problem of sense of place therefore is how to combine the perspective of a particular person inside the world with an objective view of that same world from the outside (Nagel 1986). Because of this, we are neither totally isolated from the rest of society—or the group of people with whom we experience a place—nor are we totally integrated into it much like the relationship between place and surrounding nature (Richardson 2003).

In terms of its relationship to place identity, if sense of place is how we perceive a place to be or what a place is, then place identity is how perceptions are imposed *onto* a place or how place is *conceived*, either as a reflection of us or us as a reflection of it whereas we are, “reflective agents: we understand ourselves in terms of our own experiences,” (Sack 1992, 84). Sense of place is not really that complex, therefore, the relationship between sense of place and place identity could be considered as a pair. Though the two have distinct descriptions (perceiving place vs. conceiving place), they both essentially exist hand-in-hand.

If sense of place is simply the way that place is perceived and place identity is place that is conceived, then the two—sense of place and place identity—exist in a symbiotic relationship. Before one can conceive of place identity, either in the positive: “This place is a reflection of me and I am a reflection of it,” or in the negative: “I do not care for this place, it is not who I am,” a person must have a sense of it. Perceiving the sense of a place would allow a person to conceive of who they are or who they are not

relative to place and if they will eventually become connected (attached) to a place that they feel represents who they are (Scannell and Gifford 2010). A sense of place can lead to identifying with a place (place identity). This, over time, may eventually lead to place attachment.

Place Attachment

One of the fundamental aspects of human nature is a tendency to develop strong emotional ties to a place (Relph 1976). Though not necessarily used interchangeably, the term “topophilia” introduced by Tuan (1990) best captures the idea of what place attachment means without actually having to explain it (Cross 2001). At the most basic level, topophilia is the bond between a person and a place (Tuan 1990) or the attachment formed between a person and a place and is founded on a sense of place and place identity.

Generally, the concept of place attachment is associated with positive feelings about a place (such as Disney World for a child) versus negative (such as a concentration camp for a Holocaust survivor) referred to as place alienation (Cross 2001). Place attachment is often also associated with community attachment (Hummon 1992; Low 1992; Riley 1992; Hay 1998a; b; Gerber 2001) and the desire to remain physically and emotionally close to a particular place (Ainsworth and Bell 1970). For Robert Hay (1998b, 5), “Sense of place differs from place attachment by considering the social and geographical context of place bonds and the sensing of places, such as aesthetics and a feeling of dwelling. Insider status and local ancestry are important toward the development of a more rooted sense of place.”

Much geographical writing on place attachment is paired with understanding how people of various ages form attachments to place whether it is among the elderly/senior citizens and/or retired individuals (Kong, Yeoh, and Teo 1996; McHugh and Mings 1996; Smith and Cartlidge 2011), a specific ethnic or culture group (Smith 2002), or in a post-disaster context (Rogers 2010; Smith and Cartlidge 2011). Effectively, place attachment is the bonding that occurs between individuals and their meaningful environments (Scannell and Gifford 2010) whereas the opposite, place alienation (Cross 2001) would be represented by people who have a negative assessment of a place and who do not identify with it, or by people who do not gain satisfaction from interacting with that place.

Leila Scannell and Robert Gifford (2010) review place attachment and provide an organizing framework to understand it. Their overview is that researchers for the most part portray place attachment as a multi-faceted concept that characterizes the bonding between individuals and place. Among humanistic geographers, a bond with a meaningful place, sense of place, is universal and fulfills fundamental human emotional and psychological needs (Relph 1976; Tuan 1990). Others find that sense of place subsumes the concepts of place and identity and place attachment, or place dependence, including ancestral ties and a desire to stay in place (Scannell and Gifford 2010). The diversity of definitions of place attachment highlights different processes, places, and people, and Scannell and Gifford (2010) seek to structure a coherent understanding of place attachment.

Scannell and Gifford (2010) describe place attachment using a tripartite framework (Figure 2.3) whereby place attachment occurs at the confluence of person,

place, and process. In this framework, person refers to a culture, group, or the individual. Place, as discussed at the beginning of this chapter is both the socially constructed version of place but also the natural and/or built environment of a place. The third leg of the tripartite framework presented by Scannell and Gifford (2010) is the process. The process consists of affect, cognition, and behavior.

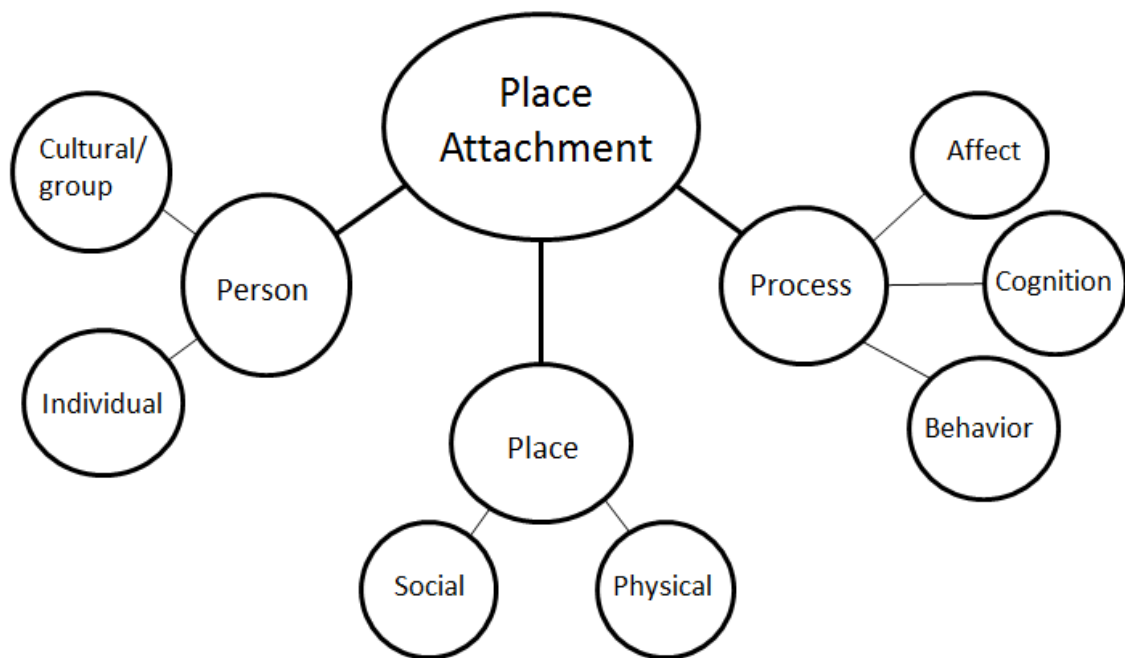


Figure 2.3: Re-creation of Scannell and Gifford’s (2010) conceptualization of the tripartite framework of place attachment

The idea is conceptually simpler compared to sense of place and rootedness (discussed below), “the individual’s own life, body, and experiences play a major role in attachment to landscape [or place],” (Riley 1992, 18). Attachment to place consists of the sentimental and emotional qualities that make a person feel as though they belong to or in

a place, and place attachment can become an increasingly intense and self-conscious feeling with an associated intense sense of place. This is a result of long residence or accumulated experiences in a place (Hay 1998a). Because place attachment consists of the emotional investment that has been made in a place and may be perceived, in a positive sense, as feelings of pride or having a general sense of well-being (Brown, Perkins, and Brown 2003), then, “the more ties there are [to a place], the stronger is the emotional bond,” (Tuan 1977, 158). By “ties,” what Tuan means is the connections to people and/or experiences in and with a place.

Having a weak place attachment on the other hand would mean that a person could pass through or experience a place and be able to completely forget the experience and dismiss any interactions with a place. An airport is a good example of this—a place where thousands of people pass through its space regularly with no historical, emotional, or biographical ties to the place. This has been a justification for some geographers to label places like airports as placeless (as explained in Cresswell 2004, 44–45) because there is supposedly nothing about them that leads a passer-through to identify with that place though they may still have a sense of place.

A more thorough definition of placelessness is that it is, “characterized by a lack of place-based identification and a lack of emotional attachments to particular places,” (Cross 2001, n.p.) whereby people do not have an articulated sense of place, nor do they identify themselves with it. Place attachment then is the opposite of *placelessness*, instead represented by *placefulness* where attachment to a place is developed over a given span of time. As Cross (2001) suggests, younger people may be less prone to developing a strong attachment to any particular place (such as a city or neighborhood), compared to

adults who have had more life experiences with a place thus leading to a closer connection between self and place. Place attachment involves the complex interplay of emotions, beliefs, and actions centered on place (Low and Altman 1992), and the opposite would be true for a person with weak or no place attachment. This is because interacting and experiencing the place becomes and is meaningful and symbolic based on that person's situation within that place and their relationship with it.

Part of place attachment is the ties between the people in a place. Hummon (1992) presents community attachment which is understood in terms of processes other than those involved in the broad ecological structuring of settlement patterns in modern urban society. For instance, long-term residence substantially increases sentimental ties to a locale along with social involvement with friends, familial relationships, organizational memberships (both formal and informal), or even local shopping. These prove to be the most consistent and significant sources of sentimental ties to local places (place/community attachment) (Hummon 1992). Hay (1998a) agrees with this though his focus is primarily on *place* attachment of people indigenous to an area, though he certainly leaves room for non-native locals to develop a strong place attachment through a sense of place even where place identity is lacking. However, though to a lesser extent, community attachment is also shaped by the objective features of the human-shaped and built environment and the individual's subjective perceptions of that environment.

In this way, place attachment and sense of place (through perception) are reciprocal where attachment is most strongly associated with social integration, action, and emotion (Low and Altman 1992) and the sense of place is fostered through thinking,

evaluating, and the perceiving individual understanding their own situatedness in a place (Casey 1993). These cognitive elements serve to facilitate person-place bonds through:

The memories, beliefs, meaning, and knowledge that individuals associate with their central settings [that] make them personally important. Place attachment as cognition involves the construction of, and bonding to, place meaning, as well as the cognitions that facilitate closeness to a place. Through the memory, people create place meaning and connect it to the self. (Scannell and Gifford 2010, 3)

This last sentence echoes precisely what Richardson (2003) explains in his discussion of place meaning creation and connects place meaning to the self with the example of Neandertals creating a place to bury the bodies of those that have died. This place-bonding is further facilitated by familiarity where to be attached is to know and organize the details of the environment mentally (Fullilove 1996). Through cognition place becomes, “incorporated into one’s self-concept” (Scannell and Gifford 2010, 3) or one’s identity.

One critique, by psychologist Maria Lewicka (2011) not of Scannell and Gifford’s (2010) conceptual framework, but of place attachment studies in general is that place attachment studies in the last forty years have focused more on the person component (as psychologists are wont to do) than on the place and process components (as geographers and anthropologists are wont to do). Though Lewicka’s (2011) critique may be valid regarding a lapse in focusing on place and process among psychologists, the gap is filled by geographers such as Jeffrey Smith and Mathew Cartlidge (2011) and by anthropology in the case of Richardson’s (2003) Neandertal burial site. For now, focusing

just on place attachment and the individual components of Scannell and Gifford's (2010) straightforward model is not the task at hand for the present research.

Other indicators of strong place attachment include a heightened sense of safety in a familiar setting, even if that place is in a bad situation such as a war zone (Billig 2006) and attachment to one's neighborhood may be associated with fewer perceived incivilities and less fear of crime in one's own area versus an unfamiliar one across town (Brown, Perkins, and Brown 2003). Similarly, place attachment is grounded in emotion. For example, from the literature on displacement, when individuals must leave places, such as their home in the face of a natural disaster, war, or as the result of "improvements" in which old familiar structures are replaced with new ones and accompanied by a shift in the atmosphere of a neighborhood, those individuals may experience strong emotions regarding those changes. The result of such a loss of place can result in grieving as in the loss of a loved one (Fried 1963), or feelings of sadness and longing (Fullilove 1996), and a desire to remain close to a place (perhaps both physically and emotionally) represent attempts to experience the positive effects of a place on the self (Giuliani 2003).

While the actor and the cognitive and affective behavior of the actor are two necessary dimensions of place attachment, there can be no place attachment without place. The question regarding place is: to what aspect of place do we connect (Scannell and Gifford 2010)? The main components of place that are examined in the literature on place attachment are the physical and the social aspects.

A notable example of examining both the social and the physical aspects of place is a study that viewed place at three different scales (the home, the neighborhood, and the

city) (Hidalgo and Hernández 2001). While the physical aspect of place amounts to length of residence, ownership or plans to stay in place (Riger and Lavrakas 1981) which Scannell and Gifford (2010) refer to as “rootedness” the social consists of the bonds formed with other people in a place, familiarity with others, and belongingness to a neighborhood (Riger and Lavrakas 1981) which could otherwise be referred to simply as community attachment.

Carmen Hidalgo and Bernardo Hernández (2001) found that the degree or intensity of attachment to place correlated to the scale of the analysis. On the physical scale, place attachment was stronger at the smallest scale, the home versus the city, while the social aspect of place attachment was more important than physical aspect of place attachment (Hidalgo and Hernández 2001). Despite the difference between the importance of the social versus the importance of the physical, both were found to be important to place attachment in general and that the scale or the spatial level is also an important consideration when examining place attachment. Although physical attachment is stressed as an important component of place in place attachment (Hidalgo and Hernández 2001), much of the research on place attachment and its related concepts has focused on social attachment—people are attached to places that facilitate social relationships and group identity (Scannell and Gifford 2010) more than they are to the physicality of a place.

A result of place attachment, when applied to individual groups or to groups of individuals, is that, “pockets of relatively homogeneous communities emerge, and within these neighborhoods, interpersonal attachments and networks develop,” (Scannell and Gifford 2010, 5). This is because people of similar socio-economic status, lifestyles,

and/or that are at similar stages in their lives will be attracted to places that best fit their identity. Recall from the previous section of this chapter that sense of place gives way to place identification, followed by place attachment.

This is where place identity comes into play as a person comes to realize that a place symbolizes one's social group and facilitates distinctiveness from another group (Twigger-Ross and Uzzell 1996). This indicates, as Rogers (2010, i) concluded that, "It's not just about the Buildings, It's about the People," where a physical location serves as either an arena for social interaction or as a group symbol (Scannell and Gifford 2010). Hidalgo and Hernández (2001, 275) arrive at the same conclusion as well that it is not just place to which people are attached (falling in line with Malpas' (1999) definition that locality is not antecedent to the phenomenology of place) but that, "place attachment is in reality attachment to the people," associated with that place.

Though the social aspect is clearly an imperative component of place attachment, a physical place must still exist for there to be an arena for bonding to a place to occur. This follows Malpas (1999; also c.f. Larsen and Johnson 2012) that there really must be some parity between locality *and* phenomenology qua the social and other non-physical aspects of place. Thus the question regarding the place of place in place attachment is not merely: what is it about the place to which we connect, but *how* do the physical features of a place affect how place attachment develops (Scannell and Gifford 2010)? The simple answer provided by Bradley Jorgensen and Richard Stedman (2001) is that it is not the physical features to which people become attached but to the *meaning* that the material represents. Again, place attachment studies continue to echo Richardson's (2003)

conception of place creation through the example of Neandertal burial pits running through Scannell and Gifford's (2010) review of the place attachment literature.

However important it is to understand the framework of place attachment, what Scannell and Gifford (2010) refer to as the person-process-place framework, equally important is the function that place attachment serves. Scannell and Gifford (2010) point out that there are several reasons for, or functions of, place attachment. They are security, or safety and familiarity, a place for self-restoration or goal achieving, or ritual sites that provide for continuity in life experiences. Though Scannell and Gifford (2010) consider these to be the *functions* of place attachment, they are really more appropriate when considered as the *why* of place attachment and are covered earlier in this chapter in the section on the functions of place.

Functions of Place in Place Attachment

Place serves different functions for people from a source of means of physical safety and survival to a site of emotional/psychological comfort and support to a place of constancy and familiarity. Highlighting the subject of the present research, bars are sites of nourishment, emotional support, physical safety, and are always available to return to everyday as part of an individual's daily routine, such as portrayed in the television sitcom *Cheers* where the same regular customers were in the same friendly bar day after day. Other people may view bars in an entirely opposite light. In movies and on television, bars are sometimes portrayed as having a seedy, dark, and smoky sense of place and as places where lowlifes go to get drunk, hookup with loose people for one-time sexual encounters, and swear and fight. Both views can be equally true depending on past personal experiences and preconceptions based on portrayals in popular culture.

First, people become attached to place because place means and is a means of survival (Shumaker and Taylor 1983). Place can be safe and secure, and provide physical security and nourishment such as food, water, shelter, and other resources in addition to the intangible but still real familiarity not just with the place but with how it can be utilized for survival. Beyond just the idea of mere survival, place attachment serves the function of supporting individual and group goals and can lead to place dependence where place is valued for the specific activities that it supports (Jorgensen and Stedman 2001). The reverse is true as well, as activities help to perpetuate the notion of the place where they occur. Reaching back to the resources that place can offer for survival, resources can also be used to achieve a specific goal whether it is as complex as extracting energy from the ground or as simple as finding that perfect spot to read (or write) a book.

Not only does place, through place attachment, support achieving goals, place and attachment to it can have restorative properties (Korpela 1989; Korpela and others 2001). Relaxing in one's favorite armchair by the fireplace in the evening before retiring to bed, stopping off at the neighborhood bar for a couple of beers and making light conversation with acquaintances, or returning to the site where a loved one is buried can all have restorative powers as we return to places to relax and/or reflect on our own place in this world.

Place attachment also provides continuity (Scannell and Gifford 2010) or familiarity and stability. "Individuals are more often attached to environments that they feel match their personal values [. . .] place create[s] continuity across time by reminding individuals of episodes that occurred there in the past," (Scannell and Gifford 2010, 6;

also Basso 1996). Places that are meaningful to a person's life such as a childhood home, the final resting place of a loved one, or the place to which one pilgrimages ritually are examples of the continuity and familiarity that place provides.

To summarize the concept of place attachment, it is, "a bond between an individual or group [of individuals] and a place that can vary in terms of spatial level, degree of specificity, and social or physical features of the place, and is manifested through affective, cognitive, and behavioral psychological processes," (Scannell and Gifford 2010, 5) and is also strongly correlated with age (Hidalgo and Hernández 2001). When paired together, sense of place and place identity, and place attachment lead an individual to develop higher level and more complex relationships with place, termed rootedness and rooted sense of place (Hummon 1992; Hay 1998a), discussed in the following section.

Rootedness and Rooted Sense of Place

Little has been written in the geographic literature on rootedness with the exception of Tuan (1980) who discusses the concept compared to sense of place, and Hay (1998a) who pairs the two terms together. The rootedness that Tuan (1980) introduces in an article in the journal *Landscape*, is a rootedness that was to be had only by individuals who are indigenous to a place with an unselfconscious being that was unattainable by members of Western/modern society. It is an, "inherently geographical concept [that is] central to the notion of home [with] temporal, cultural, and psychological connotations in its everyday use," (Terkenli 1995, 329).

At the core of rootedness is the sense of literally being somewhere (Terkenli 1995) and the idea is often conflated with sense of place when people talk about longing

to get back to their roots (the good old days) and restore a sense of place (Tuan 1980). This concept is somewhat confusing as it suggests a cyclical nature to forming and reforming relationships and bonds with place. Rather than having a sense of place, rootedness ties a single person or group to more-or-less specific people-place-time points of reference, thus preventing growth of that person or group (Terkenli 1995). Therefore, Tuan *differentiates* between rootedness and sense of place, arguing that they are not just concepts with different meanings but that the meanings are *opposed*—perceived (sense of place) versus taken-for-granted (rootedness). Rootedness cannot be arrived at through, “thoughtful and deliberative steps [. . .] whereas sense of place can indeed be [. . .] achieved and maintained,” (1980, 4) even though it may be based on the briefest of interactions with a place.

To say that one is rooted, would be a self-conscious recognition of an individual’s situation with regard to a place. This implies a distance between the individual and place which limits the sense that one is rooted to place attachment or just having a sense of place. To be truly rooted, a person must be completely at home in a place to the point that being in a place does not require reflection on that place or on the relationship between self and place.

Tuan (1980, 6) describes rootedness thusly, “Rootedness is not a condition that can be celebrated. People may not even be aware of home when they are truly at home, wrapped in the small satisfaction of day-to-day affairs, unconcerned with the past’s heritage or the future’s promises.” Essentially, one is a native in the place where that person is rooted and rootedness is a thing that is not obtained or gotten rid of, it is more or less, place as a given, a taken-for-granted state of being one with place. To clarify

further, rootedness is not intentionally obtained. One does not deliberately “go native” and become native to some place. Becoming native just occurs over time with increasing depth of experience in and with a place.

Rootedness is being unaware of being in place; though a person is not conscious of it, they are still experiencing it (Sack 1992). By this, Sack means that it is not considered dissected and analyzed with deliberate thought towards such a goal. The concept could be equated to breathing, or blinking, or a constant heart beat inside a person’s chest. Air is always moving in and out of the lungs, the eyelids are keeping the eye moist and protected from dust and detritus floating in the air when we blink, and the heart pumps blood out to the limbs and brings it back in (hopefully) constant rhythm. The conscious mind is not paying attention to it, but that does not mean that the body is not experiencing these things happening, it is simply not aware at the conscious level except when one of those things is interrupted. Generally speaking, the place in which an individual is rooted is constantly being experienced but on a preconscious level where that experience will remain until some change in the environment suddenly makes us aware of being in place (Sack 1992), perhaps all of a sudden in an unexpected place without having physically moved anywhere. Drawing from non-representational theory, it is knowledge without contemplation (Dewsbury 2003).

Cross (2001) describes rootedness as the strongest bond between self and community or place. However, the bond is not necessarily a positive one and Cross (2001) suggests that there are two types of rootedness, cohesive and divided. Cohesive rootedness is identified as being found in a person who has a positive assessment of the

place that they have a relationship with, and that it is a place with which they expect to continue to have a relationship.

Divided rootedness is similar to rooted sense of place described by Hay (1998a). People with a divided rootedness generally feel like they belong in two communities and identify differently, but equally with each place. As Cross (2001) explains, people with a divided rootedness in place typically have a strong attachment to the place where they were born and/or raised, but are also strongly attached to the place and community to which they have both physically and emotionally relocated. It is reminiscent of bumper stickers in Texas that say, “I WASN’T BORN IN TEXAS, BUT I GOT HERE AS FAST AS I COULD!”

Yet to rectify the problem of an unattainable rootedness, there is an additional concept which parallels Tuan’s (1980) rootedness that *is* obtainable over time by accumulating experiences, developing a sense of place that is far more than cursory, and having a strong, positive attachment to place. This is having a rooted sense of place (Hummon 1992; Hay 1998a). A rooted sense of place, as determined by Hay (1998a)—after three years of fieldwork with indigenous locals and people who were not born in but had lived a long time on a particular peninsula in New Zealand—requires long residence, social belonging through involvement in community, social activities and organizations, and an intense sense of and attachment to place (Hay 1998a, 261).

From a practical perspective, there have been little empirical measurements of rootedness as far as comparing how rooted one person or group is to another. In a psychological study of place attachment, researchers employed variables such as length of residence, home ownership, and organizational membership. Analysis of those and

similar variables indicated that people who could be described as rooted were more likely to read a local paper or belong to a local group or community organization (Taylor, Gottfredson, and Brower 1985). In the context of this dissertation, that would be discussing local events and people at a bar with other regulars on an almost daily basis. Additionally, homogeneity among individuals correlated to a higher likelihood that people that resided in a place with others similar to themselves were more aptly described as rooted versus people who lived in a place with people less like them (Taylor, Gottfredson, and Brower 1985).

Based on the comparatively sparse literature from Tuan (1980) to Hay (1998a), Rootedness is a concept that, unlike sense of place, place identity, and especially place attachment, has received little play not just in geography but in the fields of anthropology, environmental psychology, and sociology (c.f. the previous 20 or so pages). As a result, there is an apparent lack of empirical studies on the concept with the exception of the single qualitative approach (Hay 1998a), and one quantitative (Taylor, Gottfredson, and Brower 1985) analysis of the concept in the social sciences which could be easily remedied by including rootedness in a side-by-side study with sense of place, place identity, and place attachment, which is one of the goals of the present research.

Being-in

Not discussed in literature on rootedness is Martin Heidegger's (1962) concept of *Dasein*, literally, "being there," in German, which refers in the English language to the experience of the act of existing that people have in the world. As Richardson elaborates for the benefit of the less astute, a question and its answer come together to form the being-in: Where are you? Where are *You*? The you, the me, the us are the objects, the

animate objects that are situated as both physically and socially distinct from others. By replying “Here” to that question we have placed ourselves, bringing together the object, “You,” and the subject, “Where,” of our existence. In doing this, we transform from being-in-the-world to being-in-place (Richardson 2003).

Being-in-place occurs because, “for us to be, to claim a who, we have to have a place, a where to be,” (Richardson 2003, 43). We are nothing without place, and place is nothing without us; the place that we create, the where, is created through our actions, through our reflections, through our interactions, and through being-there. It is the cycle of place begetting activity, begetting us, begetting place. This shift from being-in-the-world to being-in-place is a shift from what is general and abstract to what is specific and concrete (Richardson 2003) so that *where* we are becomes a clue to *who* we are or identifying who we are by the place that we are in. Essentially, *Dasein* is sense of place, place identity, and rootedness rolled into one under a single umbrella concept.

But the contrast of being in-place versus being out-of-place carries with it some additional characteristics between the two. Richardson (2003, 45) outlines this dichotomy as:

<i>In-Place</i>	<i>Out-of-Place</i>
Being home	Being Away
Being with	Being alone
Participant	Observer

In this framework, when we are in-place, we are at home, with what is familiar, and it is an unconscious rootedness. In that sense, we are participants, essentially acting less on rational thought and simply being. On the flip-side, when we are out-of-place, we are

among strangers in foreign territory, thinking about where we are, not able to act on instinct and thinking consciously about where we are and actively observing ourselves and our environment with heightened or more alert senses.

From another point of view, the dialectic between *In-Place* and *Out-of-Place* changes polarity somewhat where the *In-Place* loses its positive connotations and the *Out-of-Place* begins to appear somewhat more attractive (Cresswell 1996):

<i>In-Place</i>	<i>Out-of-Place</i>
The world of the familiar	The world of the strange
Stifling, ordinary	Stimulating, exotic
To disappear	To stand out

From this point of view, *In-Place* becomes a happy little rut where what is familiar, what is known to us and what knows us means that we blend in and become ho-hum. Nothing changes and we don't change, our senses of place eventually grows dull and atrophies. Conversely, *Out-of-Place* is where we become cautious, where there is a heightened sense of awareness and our senses of place become abuzz with new stimulations from unfamiliar surroundings. Imagine a lone zebra standing with its black and white stripes caught in the middle of a pride of tan lions.

For us, like the unfortunate zebra, being out-of-place can be a harrowing experience, and being in-place still carries with it the lingering threat of becoming out-of-place—consider being displaced from one's home after a natural disaster. A zebra may be perfectly at home, secure, and in-place on the African savannah, but the threat of the out-of-place, of being surrounded by lions threatening one's existence causes the zebra to flee in the face of that danger. We are existentially dependent on being-in-the-world for any

sense of self identity (Larsen and Johnson 2012) and, like the zebra, we too sometimes, “flee in the face of the not-at-home,” of the out-of-place (Heidegger 1962, 234).

Bringing It All Together

On the surface, the relationships presented here that individuals have with place may all seem nearly identical with positive-sounding terms such as *rootedness*, *sense of place*, *place attachment*, *place identity*. But they clearly each mean something different even if it is just in the way we know we are in place, how we perceive versus conceive of place, or how we are anchored and attached to place. What is important is that the literature covered here recognizes that different people have different relationships with place regardless of time and experiences.

This opens the door for a continuous scale that would allow a researcher to establish an individual’s sense of place relative to another’s sense of place, place identity, or rootedness. This could possibly be achieved through qualitative or quantitative data collection analysis or a combination of both as attempted in the present research. With the passage of time and accumulated experiences come positive relationships with place. However, the reverse could be equally true. With the passage of time and the accumulation of bad experiences, an individual may experience place alienation instead of developing an emotionally positive relationship with place.

This chapter explored the well-defined concepts sense of place, place attachment, and rootedness (Tuan 1975; 1977; 1990; Buttimer 1976; Relph 1976; Pred 1984; Eyles and Williams 1985; Entrikin 1991; Shamai 1991; Hay 1998a) (Figure 2.4). To move the literature forward regarding these concepts, the present research will view sense of place,

place identity, and rootedness as different levels/strengths or types of relationships that people have with place.

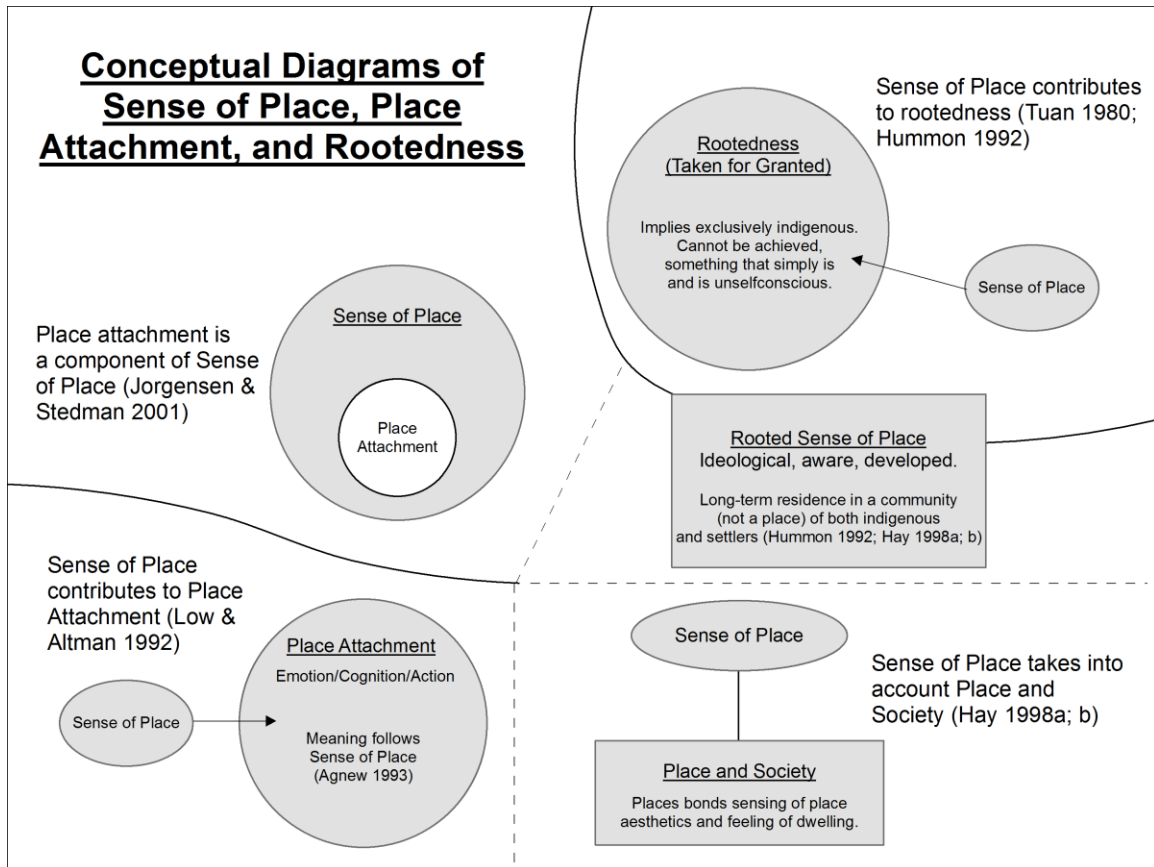


Figure 2.4: The disparate definitions and conceptual relationships among sense of place, place attachment, and rootedness (by no means exhaustive of the literature)

Sense of place, place attachment, and rootedness each describe different strengths of relationships that people have with places. Furthermore, space and place are not objective phenomena, but are experienced differently by individuals for whom place holds unique meanings (Relph 1976; Tuan 1977); however, objective understanding in the case of the present research is the responsibility of the researcher. Understanding

those relationships includes examining all of the different parts that come together to create the atmosphere and social dynamics of any place (Debnam 2009).

“Places are complex constructions of social histories, personal and interpersonal experiences, and selective memory,” (Stella 2007, 35). Understanding place then means knowing that, “the creation of place is not just about interaction with physical things at face value, but objects that represent spaces,” (Debnam 2009, 108) where, meanings crystalize into shared symbols and ultimately link people to a sense of common history and individual identity,” (Kahn 1996, 168–169) and, “place becomes something both fixed and fleeting, something you can walk on and something you can speak, a curious and uneasy product of both experiences and symbol,” (Richardson 1984, 1).

Whereas the literature reviewed here demonstrates that sense of place, place attachment, and rootedness have been most commonly considered separately yet with blurred boundaries over the past five decades, this research examines all three in the common setting of drinking establishments and, in the process, breaks down, blurs, and establishes boundaries between the three concepts. Chapter Three outlines how I went about collecting and analyzing data regarding these concepts in the laboratory of four bars in West Baton Rouge Parish, Louisiana.

Chapter Three: Methods, Fieldwork, and Ethics in the Field

Introduction

A research project such as this which studies the relationships that people have with unique places in a Louisiana parish and with dozens of informants requires a framework that draws on several methods of data collection and sources. Sense of place must, “be explored in such a way that the layers of experiences among respondents in one locale are gradually uncovered,” (Hay 1998a, 249). The methods of collecting data (historical, observational, and interview) from various sources are complex and need to be tied together, linking and triangulating data collected by one method to that collected by another. This leads to building a detailed understanding of the intricacies of a place.

Studying place through participant observation and ethnographic methods presents a challenge. There are no verifiable data, and the results of one interview can never be reproduced. The data are unverifiable because the only officially documented information about any place such as a bar would be the notable events in a place’s history or something relevant to some local cadastral or zoning system, and not the most mundane of day-to-day activities. Additionally, there is the question of how to approach gathering the information that I wanted to know; an emic approach explores how people think, perceive, and categorize their world whereas an etic approach relies on the interpretations of the researcher (Kottak 2006). The purpose of the etic approach is that it assumes that informants are so deeply involved in their own culture that they cannot interpret it impartially. When collecting observational notes in the field and interviewing I started with an etic approach, later probing individual informants to explain and help me

to interpret questions that arose from my observations, thus merging an emic approach to inform initial observations.

Naturally, the presence of a researcher (even if he is a regular) can interrupt or affect normal bar activity to some degree. This is unavoidable and, while in the field I strove to become a regular sight (as Michael Smith (1985) and Rocky Sexton (1990) did) in their studies so that my presence would have as little impact as possible and reduce how much I was seen as an interloper or intruder, becoming just another person in the bar (that happened to be doing a lot of writing in a notebook). The ultimate goal of my fieldwork was to create ethnographic descriptions of each bar through archival research, participant observation, and interviews with people in the bars to understand their relationships with the bars as places.

Ethics: Mixing Fieldwork and Alcohol

Clearly, interviewing and then later quoting gambrinous informants for just anyone to later read is a clear violation of the ethics of organizations such as the Association of American Geographers (2009) and the American Anthropological Association (2009). But what is ethics? James Proctor (1998) explains that it is systematically reflecting on morality in general and on the notions of good versus bad or right versus wrong. I did not encounter much at all in the way of geographical literature discussing the ethical ramifications of conducting research in settings where the informants and researcher may be consuming intoxicating beverages.

Of note in this regard is that an entire edited book on alcohol, drinking and drunkenness (Jayne, Valentine, and Holloway 2011) fails to mention the ethics of fieldwork in such places at all with the word not even appearing in the index. Even

anthropologist Philippe Bourgois' (2003) ethnography about a largely Puerto Rican neighborhood in New York City describes a rundown neighborhood in the early 1990's where people openly sold drugs on street corners and consumed drugs and alcohol in public while women were abused and raped both in private and in public. Even in that gritty account there was no serious discussion of the ethics of his work though the research faced some scrutiny from the academic community regarding the ethics of his research when it was published. The fieldwork in this study does not hold a candle to Bourgois' ethnography, but it is important to consider and, curious that, in the book there was barely a mention of the ethics of his fieldwork.

In geography, Hester Parr (1998; 1999; 2001) conducted research involving people considered by society and/or science to be mentally ill or unstable. Though research articles by her do discuss *how* she has gone about her research, none of them actually discussed the ethics of doing research into the lives of people who are considered to be mentally ill. Of her articles that discussed her research (Parr 1998; 1999; 2001), two discussed to a small degree doing covert research, using her body as a tool to intentionally deceive or get to know the people that she was studying but did not really frame her fieldwork in the context of the question of ethics.

In an article that explores themes of mental health and ethnography, and though the term "ethics" is not as peppered throughout the article as one might expect, Parr (1998, 29) does discuss covert research methods which she defines as, "participating with, and observing, peoples and settings, without informed consent, for the purposes of research." The reason for covert ethnographic research or the reason that it is necessarily covert, she explains, is that it is sometimes not feasible to conduct overt research because

with some informants it may not be possible at all to receive informed consent due to their perpetual mental state.

The covert nature of her ethnographic research arose based on a need to limit her otherness in certain situations in the field (Parr 1998). This is where, for Parr, the question of ethics really comes into play. As she explains, “the politics of deception entangled in manipulating my body, and hence using it as part of *my* identity, in order to position myself differently within particular contexts,” (Parr 1998, 34 emphasis in original) is lying about who the researcher is, deceiving potential informants and a way of presenting herself as part of the world that she is researching.

But for Parr (1998), to become what one is studying is sometimes necessary to achieve the research goals. However far one takes intentionally going native is a question of how much power over informants the researcher is willing to wield which gives ethics its definition: that it is the moral limitation placed on power (Jonsen 1992) This remains tricky when a person must wonder where to draw the line and make a moral distinction between lying and intentional deception thus leaving ethics in this line of work as a grey area where nothing is really right or wrong (Plant, Plant, and Vernon 1996).

Just as being labeled as mentally ill is a question of subjectivity, the question of intoxication is the same. Different people—according to their exposure to intoxicating beverages during their lifetime or their height, weight, body mass, and metabolism—respond differently to consuming alcohol in various quantities over different lengths of time regardless of their blood alcohol content. Intoxication wears off however, whereas the label of mentally ill tends to stick. So who is to say whether or not one is intoxicated? As the proposal I submitted to LSU’s internal review board states, I am not a medical

doctor, nor do I have any training to give me the skillset necessary to determine whether or not a person is intoxicated or to what degree they are intoxicated. Since it would be uncouth to attempt to administer law enforcement-style field sobriety tests to potential informants in the field, let alone carry the necessary analytical equipment to draw and test strangers' blood, my hands were tied as far as determining whether a potential informant is intoxicated at all and at what point they are no longer fit to consent to be interviewed.

But a plan that maximizes the ethics of doing fieldwork in bars whilst navigating the tricky path of dealing with potentially intoxicated informants is straightforward. Just as Parr did, it is important to get to know potential informants. Before beginning interviews with people in the field, I spent time getting to know the people at each bar. Not necessarily one-on-one, but I took the time, two to three weeks, to overtly observe potential informants. Always with notepad, pen, and recorder while I sat at the bar and took notes for everyone to see what I was doing and, when people in the bar asked me what I was doing, I told them as much as they wanted to know. More if I thought it might be necessary and they were willing to listen.

Parr (1998; 1999; 2001) came to know some of her informants by spending time with them, getting to know them, and letting them get to know her, often mimicking the mental and physical behavior of potential informants. She did not seek to pose as a person with mental health problems; instead she sought to utilize her body to subtly make what she calls "body talk" with the people that used the public spaces that she studied.

In the field, I generally followed Parr's methods to work my way into the environment of the bars that I was going to study so that the regulars in the bars would feel comfortable with me in their space even as an interloper taking notes and making

observations. Unlike Parr, I typically avoided drinking in the field, choosing to stick with Diet Coke, but occasionally other customers in the bar would buy a beer for other people (which often included me) and I graciously accepted. I knew my limits, and if I had to drink at all in the field, I kept it to about one drink per hour, spending no more than three to four hours at a time in the bars and no more than two drinks during a session of fieldwork.

How does this apply though to doing interviews and receiving informed consent? The better I got to know potential informants in the two to three weeks that I spent getting to know the bar and letting the bar get to know me, I observed and took mental notes of potential informants and kept track of when a potential informant usually arrived at the bar and if I could determine when they had reached or passed the ability to give informed consent to be interviewed. In this way, I kept in mind that if a potential informant always gets to the bar at 4 PM and is visibly intoxicated an hour or so later, then I need to make sure I interview him well before then and try and catch him for an interview before he has finished his first drink.

Returning to the ethical question: is giving informed consent once while sober enough such that I can make observations (not conduct interviews) while people that I am observing or that were once informants are intoxicated? Touchy; nevertheless, this goes back to getting to know the bar and letting the people in the bar get to know me as a researcher. The people that are usually in the bar and especially the bartender or bar owner knew what I was doing in the bar from day one and I always made the best effort possible to communicate my research goals to potential informants (Mann 1976). In this way, the only deception that I used was that I tried to fit in with the crowd just as I would

have under normal, non-fieldwork circumstances. Given the nature of how I approached fieldwork, despite the fact that people knew what I was up to, seeing my field notebook, and agreeing to being recorded when they granted me interviews, I still conducted clandestine research to some degree because I modified my behavior in order to fit in.¹

There are critics that disagree with covert and clandestine methods, considering them to be unsound and violations of individuals' rights to not be studied, while other researchers argue that knowledge gained through covert research and intentional deception is justifiable because of the new knowledge that results (Lugosi 2006). Regardless of the bents of different groups of researchers, it remains important to account for one's indiscretions in the field (Lugosi 2006), however slight they may be. To put it succinctly, if some method that a researcher uses or some behavior that the researchers undertakes is not fit to print, then it should not occur and should not be used.

The reverse is true as well. No matter how well following ethical guidelines in terms of methods employed by the researcher, there is always the potential for the participant-observer to witness or overhear potential data that should simply not be reported in the results. I never witnessed any criminal or illegal activity at any of the bars that I studied, but people talk and they talk about things that did happen, either at the bar or elsewhere. This begs the questions posed by Brenda Mann, "How much of what goes on [. . .] should I tell," (1976, 102). The guideline is to, "seek a delicate balance between presenting the most accurate picture of [the] field experience and protecting the people

¹ In military parlance, clandestine means that an operation is carried out in such a way that it goes unnoticed by the general population. At times, I sought to conceal my presence as a researcher in order to be perceived by my informants as just another customer at the bar.

involved in the study. In every case, the [researcher] must rely on [his] own judgment and sensitivity to [his] informants' needs," (Mann 1976, 106–107).

One thing to keep in mind in any fieldwork setting where ethics can be a tricky matter is that no matter how carefully one plans in advance, whatever the research design is, it is sure to change over the course of executing it, and ethical considerations should be open-minded and reflexively revisited during and after the fieldwork period (Briggs 2013) because, it is, "inevitable that misunderstandings, conflicts, and the need to make choices among apparently incompatible values will arise," (AAA 2009). Ultimately I relied on the ethics guidelines published by the Association of American Geographers (2009): respect persons and communities and the right of individuals to be informed that they are research subjects, share my results with the individuals affected by the research (or in this case that are researched), avoid, at all costs, interviewing people that are intoxicated, and account for any of my potential indiscretions in the field; there were none.

Data Collection and Sources

For the present research, I utilized a selection from the "standard suite" of qualitative methods (interview, archival research, and participant observation) to collect the data for this dissertation (Crang 2003). Archival work provided historical information and background context to understand each bar's place in its respective community and locality, and how each came to be the bar that it is today. Archival sources included title and deed histories of the bars, the surrounding buildings, and newspaper and community public records (Rogers 2010), as well as any old photographs of the structures that housed each bar over the course of the life of the bar.

Participant observation allows the researcher to, “look at people [. . .] in ordinary settings [. . .] and discern pervasive patterns such as life cycles, events, and cultural themes,” (Cresswell 1998, 59). Most importantly for me, I strived to be not just a participant observer, but both an observer and a participant (c.f. Richardson 2003, 39) where I participate and later reflect on that participation through observing my own thoughts and feelings about what goes on around me and between myself and other customers in the bars. For to be merely an observer would be out-of-place (Richardson 2003); but to be a participant is to be in-place. By straddling this dichotomy, I was at times a who in a place, while at other times I was a what, an observer, peering into the depths of the place.

This method provided information on the ebb and flows of the bars in terms of the weekday, weeknight, weekend, weekly, and monthly cycles of people that go to the bars, how long it takes someone to establish themselves as a regular in the bar and how people interact with each other, the bartenders, and the built environment and material culture of the bars themselves (LeMasters 1975; Spradley and Mann 1975; Smith 1985; Leyshon 2008; Rogers 2010). At the same time, stepping out-of-place and settling back into the role of observer allowed me to reflect on my being-in-place and allowed me to look back on my role as an in-place participant.

Working my way into talking to fellow bar patrons was a new experience for me as my personality tends to be less than extroverted. However, Sara Beth Keough (2010), seeking to conduct semi-structured interviews with fellow attendees of a radio broadcast of live music of a radio station, caught the eyes of regular attendees who approached her to inquire about her attendance and work. Because her informants approached her and

showed enthusiasm for her work, they became the subjects of her in-depth interviews. I took a similar approach to begin with but, in the interest of getting a full spectrum of thoughts and feelings about the bar, I also talked to other people who did not approach me. This was difficult at first, but I became more adept and confident at interviewing in the field as the data collection phase of my research progressed.

In survey research terms, the sample that I drew from the population of potential interviewees was a convenience sample, and mostly captive. Rather than utilize randomized selection to target potential informants to interview, this research utilized stratified judgmental sampling, where I identified potential informants who would most likely be willing and eligible to participate in the research. The convenient nature of the sample derived from the interviewees with whom I organically developed relationships at the bar who I did not have to seek out to establish a relationship leading up to an interview. The sample is also captive to some degree as well because my interviewees involuntarily provided me with data just by me listening to their conversations and observing their habits in the bar, but not completely captive since, when it comes down to interviews with individuals, some people chose not to participate in interviews at all though this only applied to a handful of potential informants.

A final deciding factor in survey research that applied to choosing the sample of informants from the available population was eligibility. Considering the sites for my fieldwork, some potential informants had to be deselected for multiple reasons, primarily intoxication. Because of the amount of time I spent around each of my potential interviewees, I came to understand the difference between when an individual was drunk, and therefore ineligible to be interviewed due to the ethics involved (e.g. Mann 1976;

Parr 1998; 2001; Herrold 2001) or simply seemed to be “a little bit out there” in terms of their personality.

For the people who were ineligible due to intoxication, the decision of whether or not to interview them was clear-cut; but for people who just had an off-putting type of personality, the decision was based on multiple observations of or interactions with that individual, as well as what I overheard other people saying about a particular potential informant. Some potential informants might have just seemed to have a chip on their shoulder of some kind or seemed to have an unstable disposition that may shift from seeming happy and friendly one day to being in a bad or angry mood the next day or even in a single afternoon. Because of this, and due to the nature of my guided interview questions, as well as my own personal safety, I decided that such potential informants were not eligible to be included in the sample of informants.

One-time and, if necessary, follow-up interviews (see the list of guided interview questions in Appendix A) served to fill gaps and provide additional information not uncovered by archival and participant-observation collection methods. By gaps, I mean finding out what “really” happened, how people feel about the history of the bars, and how bartenders and bar patrons think and feel about what goes on every day at the bar; the sort of information that no participant observer or archival researcher can learn about a place unless the right questions are asked of the people who were or are there when things go on at the bars, and who can say what they see, feel, and think, a method employed by Jonathan Everts (2010) in neighborhood grocery shops where participant observation was the primary means of collecting ethnographic participant observation

data that was further informed with narratives from shop owners and shopkeepers as well as interviews with regular customers.

This method is referred to as triangulation in which information from one source is tested against another to remove alternative explanations in order to prove a hypothesis wherein the goal is to test and verify the quality of information collected in the field through observation, participant or otherwise, and from interviews with informants (Fetterman 2010). As David Fetterman (2010, 96) explains, “[using] triangulations always improves the quality of data and the accuracy of ethnographic findings,” and, “aides the ethnographer in grasping a community’s fundamental ideas and values.”

Collecting on Sense of Place, Place Attachment, and Rootedness

The personal connections that people make over the course of their time spent at the bars are key to understanding relationships with place, and spaces filled with those connections and social interactions are also key to understanding place attachment (Low and Altman 1992). Interviews with bar owners, bartenders, and customers were geared primarily toward understanding informants’ sense of place, place attachment, and rootedness—both ideological and taken-for-granted (Hummon 1992; Hay 1998a)—as they have been understood through previous studies and conceptualizations of those ideas (Tuan 1975; 1977; 1980; 1990; Relph 1976; Pred 1983; 1984; Proshansky, Fabian, and Kaminoff 1983; Altman and Low 1992; Hummon 1992; Low 1992; Low and Altman 1992; Hay 1986; 1990; 1998a; Jorgensen and Stedman 2001).

Personal thoughts about the bars, feelings, ideas about the bars as places, what people think of the bars, the day-to-day activities that go on inside of them, personal experiences and memories, and their own relationships with the bars can provide such

insight. Insight into individual peoples' sense of place, their notions of the bars' identities, and their rootedness (Tuan 1980) or rooted sense of place (Hay 1998a) became a collection of different threads of experience to be untangled and woven together to create a textured tapestry of what the bars, as places, meant to the people that I talked to.

Beyond the relationships, thoughts, and feelings that the people I talked to have with each bar, relationships with other places (like the state and cities and towns in East and West Baton Rouge Parishes) also provided further insight and understanding as to why the people I talked to think and feel the way that they do about each bar. Other questions (Appendix A) about their relationships with other people in the bar, their biographies and relationships with other places—where they grew up, their education, religious or spiritual beliefs, family life, heritage and ethnicity, work and home life, and where they have lived—also yielded interesting clues as to how each of the people that I talk to have come to have their own unique relationships with the bars where they drink and socialize.

A key point to make here is that interview data I collected would not be used to generalize peoples' thoughts and feelings to a collective group of informants at each of the bars. Instead, the point is to understand the distinct ways that different people have developed their own relationships with place to generate an overall understanding of what sense of place, place attachment, and rootedness are by examining individual relationships with place.

Additionally, interviews (especially with bar owners) uncovered the history of the bars themselves. Answers to interview questions were used to create a narrative of the

history of each bar as far back as possible. Interviews with owners also provided further information regarding the bars' respective histories with the surrounding community and as communities of people in and of themselves.

Regarding collecting data on sense of place, place attachment, and rootedness at bars such as that have been around for decades in a small community might be expected to have less frequent turnover of regular customers and a stronger core of regular patrons. This would allow a bar such as Jack's Place that has been operating since the 1920s to become steeped in local culture and tradition as well as to be more sensitive to local history and have customers with strong senses of place, place attachment, or rootedness. This rootedness that each bar has in the surrounding community will be more easily visible through the informants (people, built environment and material culture, and historical data) that will be used to create a picture of the sense of place and place identity of each bar as the informants for this dissertation see it.

As Ian Debnam (2009) explains, it would be impossible to tell the story of the bars without including the history of the place in which the bars are located. Therefore, I also explored the history of West Baton Rouge Parish, Port Allen, and Addis as well as their relationships with the Mississippi River and the state capital on the eastern bank, which is covered in Chapter Four.

In summary, archival and participant observation data are more faithfully represented and understood through interviews that support my own understandings of the bars in this study. More importantly, however, interviews with people in the bars served as the mortar to help piece together understanding the bars as places by learning about their relationships, theories, and stories about each bar.

Getting into the Field

My plan was to follow E.E. LeMasters' (1975) and Sexton's (1990) leads by frequenting on a nearly daily basis the establishments that provided the data for this dissertation. This included attending as many activities related to the places as possible and conducting fieldwork over the course of an entire year, though I thought it would only take me a semester originally. Similarly, Rogers (2010) maintained a regular presence at her study sites every week while in the field, but never explained the total amount of time she logged at each study site or all of the sites together.

I began my fieldwork with an effort to find out what the best times were to visit each bar and find out what kind of research schedule would work best for talking to different people (customers, bartenders, and bar owners), witnessing different weekly events such as karaoke or any sort of regular group activity such as darts or pool, and just getting an overall feel for the weekly rhythms of each bar.

Creating ethnographies of each bar as individual places was also important. As Sexton (1990), Debnam (2009), and Rogers (2010) each take the time to describe the layout, décor, site, exterior, interior, texture, and emotional feel of the bars as places that are the focus of the studies. Because, according to Tuan (1977), the first step in delineating place is the building itself, as architecture is a human-created boundary that encloses space and allows place to be defined. Pairing data collected during interviews and from oral histories with ethnography of place to know the place and the relationships people have with it serves to better understand the behavior of bar patrons associated with the initial perceptual phase which begins upon entering a building (Sexton 1990) or how people first react when they enter the bar for the first time, the fifth time, *et cetera*.

I informally commenced fieldwork for this dissertation in the early months of 2011. An acquaintance introduced me to Chuck's Lounge on a Thursday karaoke night and I went there on and off for a few months until I realized that going there on any kind of regular basis just for fun was impractical because of the nearly 20 mile round-trip. A few months after that, while driving around Port Allen, I cruised down main street on the off-chance that there might be a local bar there. Lo, and behold there was Jack's Place and it became a regular hangout over Chuck's Lounge because it was so much closer to my home. At Jack's Place I became a regular enough customer that the bartenders and the owner's son knew me by name.

Over the next year or so, I kept going back to Jack's Place until dissertation duties and class kept me on the east side of the Mississippi River most of the time and I had to stay away for a while. During that year however I kept up appearances at Jack's Place and also kept going to Chuck's Lounge off and on and then even "discovered" another bar, Sugar Patch Lounge north of Port Allen on U.S. Highway 190. However I only paid a few visits to that bar while I developed my proposal.

I always paid attention to what was going on in those bars but never had the chance to go to Charlie's Lounge because every time I drove by it, it looked closed. Eventually I made it into Charlie's Lounge on a weeknight around eight in the evening to catch a glimpse of the inside and the people in there which led me to realize that it would be a perfect fit for my dissertation research along with Chuck's Lounge, Jack's Place, and Sugar Patch Lounge.

In the middle of July 2012, I began formal fieldwork at Charlie's Lounge, which I selected as my first site because it has a small base of reliable, everyday customers, a

single bartender that works every day from about 3 PM to 10 PM, and an owner who was in the bar every day. My assumption was that the more exclusive, yet friendly setting would help ease me into becoming a kind of regular at the bar and introduce me to interjecting into strangers' relaxed drinking time while I bugged them to grant a 20 to 30 minute interview with some college kid from Baton Rouge.

As is mentioned at several other points in this chapter, my experience with fieldwork until undertaking the present research had been limited to a little sight-seeing and rudimentary Spanish speaking when studying the diffusion of United States' fast food chains in Ecuador and to studying Waffle Houses and Huddle Houses in the southern United States. The *Geographical Review* special issue on fieldwork (DeLyser and Starrs 2001) provided excellent first-hand accounts on fieldwork and issues such as connecting with informants on a personal level (Parr 2001), having a field site almost literally in my backyard (Saunders 2001), and the ethics involved with interviewing people who may or may not be inebriated and who are therefore both reliable and unreliable sources simultaneously (Herrold 2001).

Unique Environments and Approaching Interviewing in the Field

A possible critique of studying bars which may seem quite similar on first glance and without having visited them, is that it is unnecessary to spend time in the field at two bars which are potentially similar. Specifically, an argument could be made that two of the bars, Chuck's Lounge and Charlie's Lounge in Addis, are so similar that time in the field could be better leveraged by spending more time at three more distinct bars rather than spreading fieldwork time a bit thinner at four bars, two of which are seemingly indistinct from each other.

However similar these two particular bars may appear, no two bars are exactly alike. It is true that both bars share the same base of customers and that some customers at one bar may be just as likely to go the other bar on any given night. Not only do the two bars present unique social environments and atmospheres, they both have distinct histories which pertains a great deal to the sense of place that people have of them and the attachments that people form with these individual bars. Unless a person were to actually visit Chuck's Lounge and Charlie's Lounge himself, he would have no idea how distinct the two places are in terms of their atmosphere, customs, and respective histories. Knowing that no two similar places are truly alike, it was imperative to conduct fieldwork in each bar in order to understand the norms of behavior in the bars such as how loud people could get, how people talk to each other, or how regular customers reacted to new faces in the bar. All of these are directly related to understanding sense of place, place attachment, and rootedness in unique bar environments.

Naturally, all four bars present unique environments for a young, relatively inexperienced qualitative geographer. Interviewing informants was never a matter of simply being in the bar and sidling up next to patrons in the bar to ask if they would kindly grant an interview. Earning the right to intrude on a person's time at the bar was a matter of being recognized as another individual in the bar whose sole purpose was not to drink or to pass time with friends. My approach to this was unique to each of the four bars that served as my field sites.

Charlie's Lounge, as it is described in Chapter Six, is a quiet bar. Along the main, middle part of the physical bar is where the six or so regular (almost daily) customers always sit. There was only one bartender employed there who worked every day from

about 3 PM to 10 PM, and a single owner who lived in an attached house through a door at the back of the bar. New faces during typical business hours were a rare sight in Charlie's Lounge, and a new face that kept showing up over and over for several days, a week, two weeks, three weeks drew some friendly suspicion; especially a new face with a spiral-bound notebook and a pen.

As an intruder, I quickly found my place at the bar to the side of where the regular customers sit. It was away from the regulars but in easy sight of them so they could watch me and what I was doing. My first interaction and introduction with anybody in the bar was with the bartender at the time. Over a few days and a week or so, the bartender, at the behest of her customers, queried me as to my business at the bar and relayed that information back to the regular customers (mainly local men in their late-50s and early-60s). Eventually, the men would ask me questions from across the bar ten feet away and I would respond, eventually moving over to sit nearer to them to be able to carry on longer conversations.

As the days turned into several weeks, whenever I entered Charlie's Lounge, the customers would turn around and greet me by name and, about once a week, offer to buy me a drink. It was during this period of fieldwork at Charlie's Lounge that my presence was generally accepted and people started asking me more direct questions about what I was trying to find out from hanging out in a bar. These were my cues to tell them that I had questions that I would like to ask them directly. As a general rule that I followed during the course of conducting interviews in the field, I would not try and get somebody to grant me an interview if they were spending time with their friends and having conversations.

Trying to get interviews was frustrating at first because it seemed that people were always engaged in conversations with their fellow regulars. But in that frustration I learned the importance of being in the field as much as possible, every single day. In striving to be in the field as much as possible I was rewarded about once a week with maybe two interviews. For bartenders and bar owners, catching them when they were not busy at the bar was usually a simple matter of arriving there right when the bar opened (usually about 2 PM) before customers started coming in and keeping the bartenders occupied with their job and friendly banter. For customers, getting interviews was about being in the bar every day and hoping that each day would be the day when it was quiet and a bartender that I might have already interviewed would half-jokingly suggest to a lone regular customer that he or she should, “talk to me for my paper.”

As I logged more and more hours in each bar, customers and bartenders that I had already interviewed and who knew that I was not asking anything complicated or sensitive, served as my best promoters; even more than me promoting myself. Through this word-of-mouth method and by simply being present in each bar and understanding the unique social environment that each had to offer, I was able to earn interviews while at the same time, as far as I could tell, not intruding on people’s lives to the detriment of them enjoying their time at their respective bars.

Conducting Interviews

The first time I recall ever doing research where I had to talk to or interview someone as a source of information was for my seventh grade Texas history class project. At my middle school, as with most middle schools across Texas, seventh graders were required by the curriculum to complete an original research project that related to Texas

history. In my case, original meant simply researching the history of the property that my parents owned and on which I grew up. The point is that during the course of researching the topic, I had occasion to interview several individuals, all fairly advanced in age, about the history of the area and, in the case of a couple of informants, what it was like to have lived on the land and in the house in which I grew up. As I recall, my mother accompanied me on these interview meetings and, I might as well assume, probably did more of the leg work than I actually did.

Talking to people I didn't know for my Texas history project made me nervous. With all but one of my informants, I had no previous relationship and so I had to interview complete strangers as a 12- or 13-year-old boy. I recorded the interviews with a tape recorder and hand written notes, and my mother used her stenographer skills to transcribe the recorded interviews. Beyond that I do not remember much else, except that I ended up turning in a paper that was a whopping 15 or so pages long.

It was not until several months and dozens of visits to the field for this project that I recalled that brief period in my life when I was first introduced to (read "forced into") writing an original research paper. Over fifteen years later, nothing had changed for me. Interviewing strangers still made me nervous. Additionally, the interviews were not conducted in a controlled environment with my mother there to guide me through the process. All of the questions on the guided interview sheet were written by me. The people that I was supposed to interview in the bar did not know who I was. All of the original introductions to the bartenders and the bar owners and to most of the customers had to be made by myself as I gradually established my presence as a friendly researcher rather than as an interloper in the unique social atmospheres of each of the four bars.

Thinking back on it, I had not come far from being a nervous tween to, for appearance's sake, a full grown man with a beard. Nevertheless, I adapted to overcome my nervousness and the apprehension that always accompanied my conscious mind when I was conducting interviews in the field whether it was with the genial bartender who knew me by name and was eager to participate in my research or the surly customer for whom I had to patiently bide my time until I could catch him alone in the bar for a candid interview.

The Interview

Interviewing people face-to-face was a new experience to me. I had conducted telephone surveys and focus groups, but never actually interviewed a person one-on-one and face-to-face. In her research with the mentally ill, Parr (2001) utilized "body talk" to try to connect with the people that she talked to in public spaces. Without attempting to pose as a mentally ill person, she wanted her informants to feel comfortable with her presence which lead her to take the approach of mimicking her informants' body movements. This often included holding a cigarette with a trembling hand, rocking back-and-forth in a sitting position, and occasionally consuming alcohol with them.

With that knowledge, I attempted to use the same technique to my advantage. If the customer that I was talking to was drinking (alcohol, of course) then I would make sure that I had a drink (Diet Coke, usually, and sometimes a beer or mixed drink if a fellow customer offered to buy me one) in my hand as well. If my interviewee sat in the bar stool facing the bar rather than facing towards me, I would too. If they laughed, I would chuckle. If they were smoking a cigarette, I would keep one in my hand as well.

Whether this actually worked, I would never be able to know without asking the people that I interviewed and engaging them in some sort of meta-interview about the interview.

Apart from attempting to connect with my informants through body talk, I utilized guided interview questions (Appendix A) that I had developed based on what questions I wanted to answer about peoples' sense of place, place attachment, or rootedness and also from questions that Rogers (2010) had used in her study of places in New Orleans' French Quarter.

Time in the Field

Though it is obvious that different methods of data collection used by previous geographers are tried and true methods of collecting data to understand the sense of place (Hay 1986; 1990; 1998a; Shamai 1991), community, culture, or identity in bars (Smith 1985; Sexton 1990; Debnam 2009; Rogers 2010), the two questions that remained unanswered until I began to spend time in the field were: 1) how much data do I need to collect and 2) how long I will need to spend in the field collecting those data until I have enough information to understand sense of place, place attachment, and rootedness at the four study sites. Table 3.1 includes the dates covered and amount of time spent at each of the four study sites. Approximately two months separated the first and last visit to each bar which averaged going into the field every other day for as little as one to as many as five hours at a time on a given day of fieldwork.

Table 3.1: Dates of fieldwork at the four study sites.

Bar	Start	Termination	No. of Visits	Total Hours
Charlie's Lounge	16 July 2012	28 September 2012	42	60+
Chuck's Lounge*	08 October 2012	14 March 2013	34	80+
Jack's Place	25 March 2013	28 May 2013	29	80+
Sugar Patch Lounge	28 May 2013	07 August 2013	36	85+
Four Bars	~11 months		~140	300+

*This included a two month long gap over the winter break in a post-proposal defense/general exam context.

When I first began fieldwork, it had not occurred to me to keep track of not only the hours that I spent in the field, but the times of day that I was at the bar. Keeping track of the time of day that I was at each bar meant that I would be able to learn the daily rhythms of the bar. As the terminal day of fieldwork approached almost a year later, it finally occurred to me to visualize what times of the day and week I had actually spent at each field site. Table 3.2a shows where I was in this regard after I completed fieldwork at the first site, Charlie's Lounge. The unshaded cells are the blocks of time that I had not visited the bar over the course of a given week in the life of the bar. Because it was my first field site, I did not have a system in place to monitor the hours spent at the bar. As a result, I had to go back to Charlie's Lounge again for a few visits to fill in the gaps.

After almost a year of conducting fieldwork, making observations, and keeping better track of the times of the day and week that I spent at the field sites, I had clearly improved (Table 3.2b). Having nearly wrapped up fieldwork at Sugar Patch Lounge, there were considerably smaller gaps left to fill in. Keeping track of the hours spent at each bar served as a proxy for determining if I had collected enough observational data at each study site. However, even when I had a good set of data at each bar, I still did not

always recognize when it was time to move on to the next study site, hence wondering how much time needed to be spent in the field altogether.

Table 3.2a: Keeping track of hours covered at Charlie’s Lounge

Charlie’s Lounge - Open 40 hours per week.							
	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
2:00 PM	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	CLOSED	
2:30 PM	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5		
3:00 PM	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5		
3:30 PM	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5		
4:00 PM	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5		
4:30 PM	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5		
5:00 PM	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5		
5:30 PM	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5		
6:00 PM	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5		
6:30 PM	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5		
7:00 PM	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5		
7:30 PM	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5		
8:00 PM	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5		
8:30 PM	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5		
9:00 PM	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5		
9:30 PM	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5		
10:00 PM	Occasionally open, but typically closed by 10 PM.						
10:30 PM							
11:00 PM							

Table 3.2b: Keeping track of hours covered at Sugar Patch Lounge

Sugar Patch Lounge - Open ~85 hours per week.							
	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
1:00 PM	CLOSED	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	CLOSED
1:30 PM		0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	
2:00 PM	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5
2:30 PM	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5
3:00 PM	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5
3:30 PM	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5
4:00 PM	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5
4:30 PM	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5
5:00 PM	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5
5:30 PM	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5
6:00 PM	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5
6:30 PM	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5
7:00 PM	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5
7:30 PM	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5
8:00 PM	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5
8:30 PM	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5
9:00 PM	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5
9:30 PM	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5
10:00 PM	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	CLOSED
10:30 PM	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	
11:00 PM	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	
11:30 PM	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	
12:00 AM	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	
12:30 AM	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	
1:00 AM	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	
1:30 AM	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	
2:00 AM	Usually closes around 10 PM on Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday because of lack of customers and now opens at 1 PM on Mondays and Sundays.						

For Smith (1985), three months was a sufficient amount of time to collect enough data that he felt provided him with thorough insight to a particular pub. Likewise, Sexton

(1990) conducted fieldwork studying Cajun bars for a summer and most of a fall season, nearly six months. Anthropologists James Spradley and Brenda Mann (1975) spent about a year observing, interacting with, and interviewing cocktail waitresses and bartenders at a college/working-class bar in a Midwest city just focusing on one particular aspect of a bar scene, the lives of cocktail waitresses. LeMasters (1975) takes the cake with his approximately five-year sociological take on a blue-collar bar in Wisconsin. It is entirely logical to assume that this five-year study was more the product of the fact that LeMasters was already a regular at that bar, thus making it easy for him to find the time to dedicate to a single bar as a sociologist.

Still others have spent what would appear to be considerably less time (weeks and months) in the same types of places, trying to understand bars as spaces of exclusion (Hunt and Satterlee 1987; Leyshon 2008), masculinity (Smith 1985; Campbell 2000), community (Hunt and Satterlee 1986; Cabras and Reggiani 2010), crime (Jayne, Valentine, and Holloway 2006), etc. (c.f. the special issue of *Drugs: Education, Prevention, and Policy* edited by Jayne, Valentine, and Holloway 2008b).

This question was left open as to the amount of time that would need to be spent in the field with the understanding that I first had to establish myself as some sort of regular (LeMasters 1975; Smith 1985) at each bar while at the same time conducting archival research and collecting observational data. The answer, as it turned out, was about a year, or a little over three months at each bar. When I terminated fieldwork, it was surprisingly anti-climactic. I just did not go back one day.

Data Analysis

As stated in the review of previous studies of bars, Smith (1985) provides an ideal beginning point for establishing a methodological framework of exploring, observing, and analyzing bars and the people in them. I utilized his method of becoming a participant observer in order to establish an abbreviated ethnography of the bars in this study. As important as it is to approach this research with a focus on the human-element of places, the built environment and material culture of places is also necessary to understand place because the physical environment, including architecture, the layout of a place, the way furniture is arranged, and the decoration on the walls can be, “an important way of anchoring identities and of constructing, in the most literal sense, a material connection between people and places,” (Lees 2001, 53).

This would not just be a case study of four different bars in some parish in Louisiana near Baton Rouge. It would be a pursuit of peoples’ relationships with a specific type of place that has received little attention in recent geographic literature (Debnam 2009) (with the exception of Jayne, Valentine, and Holloway 2008b). My data analysis would need to weave together the information collected by archival research, participant observation, and interviews in order to understand what sense of place, place attachment, and rootedness are not just individually, but relative to each other.

Much of my previous experience analyzing data involved crunching numbers through a statistical software program in addition to limited experience conducting focus groups, and writing up the results or coding answers from open-ended survey questions. My first attempt at fieldwork and data analysis that resembled anything like the data collection and analysis portion of the present research involved visiting about eighty

Waffle Houses and Huddle Houses in the southern United States to understand the correlation between the atmosphere in each diner and the diners' locale.

Unfortunately, this meager experience still left me feeling ill-prepared not just for interviewing people in the field, but with mining the interview transcripts for data related to the relationships that people have with place as well. To increase my knowledge and to give me a sense that I might have some idea how I would go about building my thesis with qualitative interview data, I turned to *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Geography* (DeLyser and others 2012) and its table of contents which would give me a feel for the various major points I would need to consider in undertaking qualitative methods and methodology, and whose contributors would guide me to other publications in their respective areas of expertise.

Upon terminating about a year of fieldwork, taking notes in the bars and conducting 41 interviews with 44 people (three interviews were with two people) I turned to transcribing the field notes from my field notebooks and transcribing the audio files from the interviews (not the most enjoyable task).² Ultimately, I arrived at 116 pages of typed up field notes (an average of 29 pages per bar, but ranging from 11 pages for Charlie's Lounge, the bar where I commenced fieldwork in July 2012 to about 60 pages for Sugar Patch Lounge where I terminated fieldwork in August 2013.

From 16 and a half hours of interview audio files, came over 330 pages of interview transcriptions. The transcriptions averaged about 8 pages per interview and ranged from as short as 3 pages for a 5 and a half minute interview with a customer at Sugar Patch Lounge to 40 pages for a 2 hour and 20 minute interview with the owner of

² Initially, I considered paying someone else to transcribe the interviews for me. However, had I done that, I would not have developed the intimate knowledge and relationship with the data that I now have.

Chuck's Lounge. Mining the transcribed interviews for data to use for the meat of the dissertation: sense of place, place attachment, rootedness, and for information about the individual bars and their history, was the next task.

Analyzing numbers from survey research data with open-ended, qualitative answers coded into categories or responses given based on a range of 1 to 5 or 1 to 10, it is easy to mine and analyze data that fit so neatly into categories or ranges of numbers. With entirely qualitative data from interviews, I had no idea where to start. So I simply grabbed some red, green, black, and blue pens and proceeded to read through the interviews one-by-one, marking up and color-coding passages and quotes in each interview that related either to sense of place, place attachment, or rootedness as well as information from informants that provided information about each bar, and its history, as well as information about West Baton Rouge and the local area. I then went through each of the interviews over again, reading through the interviews for each bar in turn and pulling out the relevant quotes and passages that I had highlighted during the first read-through, categorizing and grouping the passages into word processor files for each bar, the local area and for sense of place, place attachment, and rootedness. All together, the mined data totaled up to nearly 60 pages of quotes and passages from the transcribed interviews.

From that point on, writing up the results of a year's worth of data collected through ethnographic methods was more or less a matter of discussing and analyzing the information and how the data contribute to growing academic knowledge and understanding of the relationships that people have with place.

Conclusion

I started my fieldwork at a bar I had been to only once, Charlie's Lounge, and finished it up at another bar I had not spent much time at, Sugar Patch Lounge. Between Chuck's Lounge and Jack's Place, I was able to keep up the pace of daily fieldwork for several months and, by the time I began fieldwork at Sugar Patch Lounge, I thought that I had built up my confidence as a qualitative field researcher so that I was not as nervous to enter the field at a new and, unfamiliar bar.

The nervousness of being in a new place never did go away. It was there every time I showed up at Sugar Patch Lounge for weeks even though I was there nearly every day after beginning fieldwork there. But everything turned out OK; I did not get all of the interviews that I had hoped for there, only six, three with customers, two with bartenders, and one with the owner. However, my field notes were much more thorough and that made up, to a certain degree, for the lack of interviews.

Looking back, going into the field for archival work at libraries and museums and doing actual participant-observer data collection as well as structured interviews was fun. Though I started out not knowing how I would know when I was done with fieldwork and interviewing; one day, after I had been away from the last bar for a few weeks for personal business and travel in August 2013, just over a year after I had begun fieldwork, I realized that was it. I had conducted my last interview, I had scribbled my last observational notes in a notebook and I felt no compulsion to go back and learn more. It was time to actually analyze all of the data that had been collected and mine interview transcripts for information that would improve how geography understood sense of place, place attachment, and rootedness.

Chapter Four: The History and Population of West Baton Rouge Parish, Port Allen, and Addis

The power of place is derived from the stories and landmarks that enable dynamic connections between us and the landscape.

—Julie Rose (2012, ix)

On Louisiana’s deltaic plain, bordering the alluvial plain formed by the Mississippi and Red Rivers, West Baton Rouge Parish lies along the west bank of the mighty Mississippi River behind a levee. It is a levee that prevents the people and towns from being washed away when the river rises to flood stage from snow melt in states as far away as North Dakota and western Pennsylvania, as it makes its way from the northern United States to the Gulf of Mexico. Over the millennia, floods deposited alluvial soils that are optimal for agriculture and that served as a cornerstone for the area’s economy through the 20th Century to the rise of an industry-centered economy³.

Keeping in mind some of Peirce Lewis’ (1979b) axioms and Don Mitchell’s (2008) new axioms for reading the landscape, this chapter highlights the historical, economic, and demographic landscapes from the time before French explorers first entered the area that became West Baton Rouge Parish to the present. Lewis (1979b, 15) explained that the landscape is a clue to culture and that it, “provides strong evidence of the kind of people we are, and were, and are in the process of becoming.” Mitchell (2008) revisited Lewis’ (1979b) axioms and devised a new set of axioms for reading the

³ Except where additional references are cited, this account of the history of West Baton Rouge Parish is based on a permanent exhibit at the West Baton Rouge Parish Museum and Phillips (2012).

landscape with a Marxist perspective, explaining that visual evidence can obscure meaning in the landscape. Through knowing the history of a place like West Baton Rouge Parish, we can begin to see behind the curtain the visual evidence left behind by history, and get a feel for the sense of place of the parish and create a backdrop or context for places within that landscape; places such as the four bars that comprise a portion of the subject of this dissertation.

A Brief History of the Parish

From Native Lands to United States Territory

Some of the earlier people that inhabited the West Baton Rouge area made it their home from about 800 to 600 years ago at what is known as the Medora Site in the southern part of the parish (Phillips 2012). The site is typical of what is called the Plaquemine culture, one of whose prominent characteristics was mound building, and is located adjacent to the remains of a large, agricultural community. By the time Europeans arrived, the people that lived in the area had developed into highly organized tribes with diverse cultures due to the intermixing of cultures thanks to transportation provided by the Mississippi River (Phillips 2012).

Since the time that French explorers first arrived, three tribes have been associated with the West Baton Rouge area; primarily the Houma Tribe which had settled north of what is now Baton Rouge and also the Acolapissa and Bayougoula Tribes. When French explorers first encountered the local tribes, a dispute was said to be ongoing between the Houma and the Bayougoula tribes regarding the boundaries of hunting grounds (Rose 2012). As the French explorers found, the two tribes had placed a red stick (*baton rouge* by the French and *istrouma* by the locals), decorated with carved designs

and ornaments to demarcate the boundary of the hunting grounds. As a result of pressure from the French, the Houma and the Bayougoula formed an alliance that continued for several decades. Yet as a result of genocide, disease, wars, and oppressive Indian policies, the latter two tribes eventually merged with the Houma by the late 1700s, subsisting on an agriculture of maize, beans, squash, and melons as well as hunting and fishing.

By the late 1800s, native people were assimilated into other ethnic groups and had become largely invisible to the Spanish, French, and Americans that controlled the areas from Texas and across Louisiana to Florida. Some of their presence still remains on the landscape. The Houma are the state's largest Native American group but are not recognized by the federal government and only one percent of Louisiana's population identifies as Native American, but their mounds still stand in some places. Additionally, the community of Bayou Goula is located in Iberville Parish to the south of West Baton Rouge and is thought to be the site where French explorer Pierre Le Moyne d' Iberville first visited them in 1699 and used guides from the tribe for local knowledge to help explore the river farther north (Phillips 2012; WBRPM 2012).

As French explorers continued to enter the area, it grew to be more densely populated; the newly arrived Europeans moved further inland away from the river to wooded areas. To create more cropland, the French settlers cleared the dense woodlands (SCS 1982).⁴ By the mid-1700s, the French settlers and native people were trading animal skins, grains, tools, weapons, and crafts.

⁴ The name of the Town of Brusly (pronounced brew-lee), between Addis and Port Allen, is possibly derived from burning brush to clear the land as the French word for "burned" is *brulé*. Alternatively, the

Statehood to the Twentieth Century

From the time of the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, which transferred control of the area from France to the United States, until statehood in 1812, Louisiana was named the Territory of Orleans (Yodis and Colten 2007). The territory's governing council split the territory into 12 counties and parishes: Acadia, Attakapas, Concordia, German Coast, Iberville, Lafourche, Natchitoches, Opelousas, Orleans, Ouachita, Pointe Coupee, and Rapides (Figure 4.1a). At the time, Pointe Coupee and the other parishes on the west bank of the Mississippi River bordered the Spanish Territory of West Florida.

By 1820, Pointe Coupee Parish, along with many of the other original parishes was divided further, creating West Baton Rouge Parish with East Baton Rouge Parish on the east bank of the river (Kneass 1822; Yodis and Colten 2007). The new parishes no longer sat along an international border, as the United States by that time had gained control of the former Spanish territory on the east side of the Mississippi River. Over time, what was to become the state of Louisiana had already assumed its present political boundaries with the other surrounding states and territories: Mississippi to the east, Arkansas Territory to the north, and what was still New Spain on the west bank of the Sabine River.

Following statehood in 1812 and leading up to the Civil War, West Baton Rouge Parish, after it was created out of Pointe Coupee Parish, grew smaller and smaller, having to give up land to Pointe Coupee Parish and to Iberville Parish to the south which was originally was about the size that West Baton Rouge is today (Figure 4.1b) (Colton and Colton 1855; Gamble 1867; Taintor Bros. & Merrill 1874). This process was largely the

town may be named in honor of a steamboat captain named Henry Brusly who operated on the Mississippi River in the area in the 1830s (Sternberg 1996).

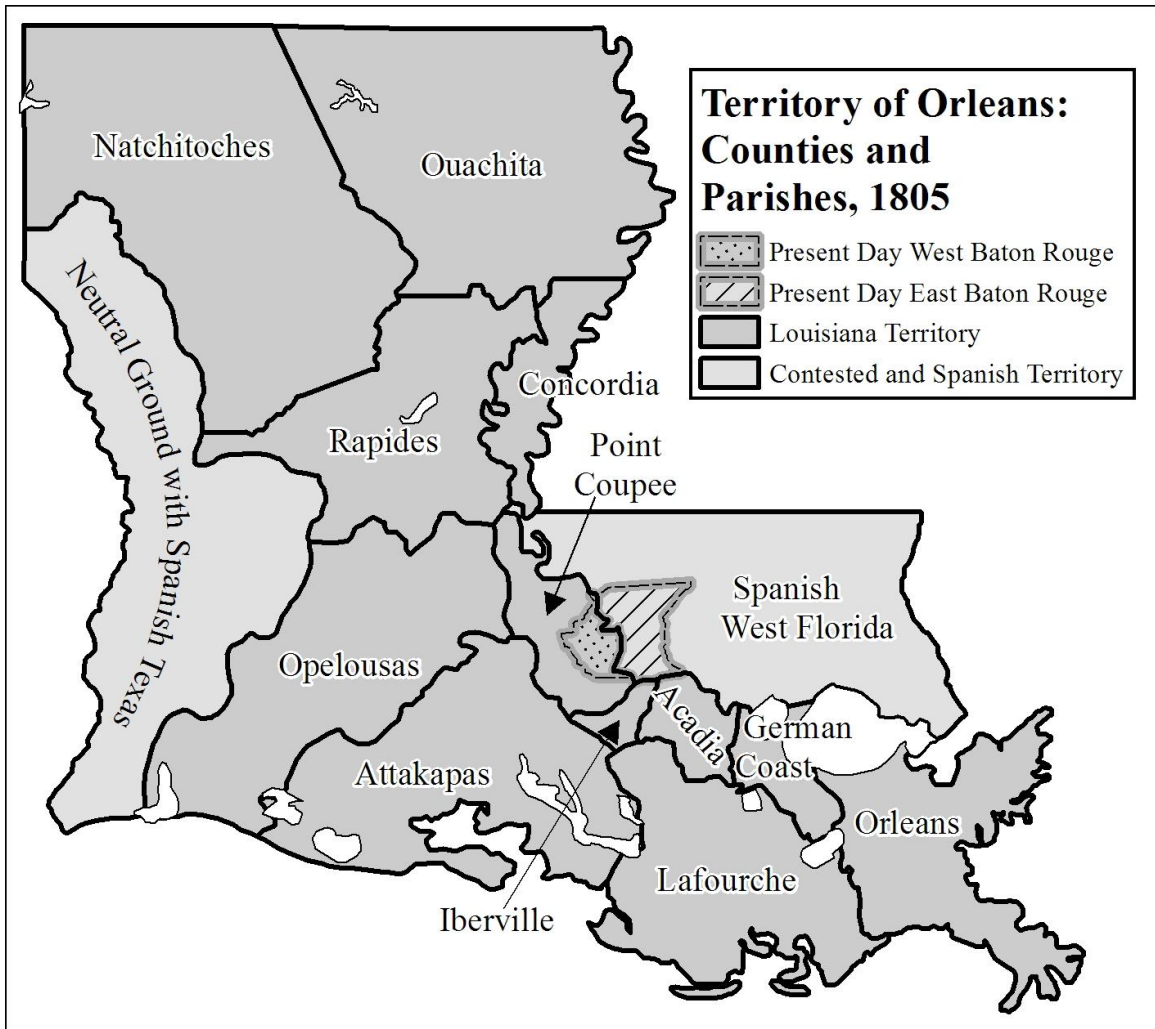


Figure 4.1a: Territory of Orleans: counties and parishes, 1805. (Cartography by the author)

result of the inability of contemporary technology to overcome the physical geography of the local area in order to establish lines of communication between different areas of the previously larger parish. In the mid-1800s, a plank road, and eventually a railroad had been built that connected the town of Grosse Tete, now in Iberville Parish to the banks of the Mississippi. But the road cut across the swampland that makes up most of the western part of West Baton Rouge Parish, and the voters of Grosse Tete opted to become a part of

Iberville Parish when offered the choice (Phillips 2012). Today, East Baton Rouge still retains artifacts of its former non-Anglo legacy in the form of place names such as Spanish town in Baton Rouge, while an aerial view of West Baton Rouge Parish clearly shows the remaining cadaster of long lots imposed by French governance in the 1700s.⁵

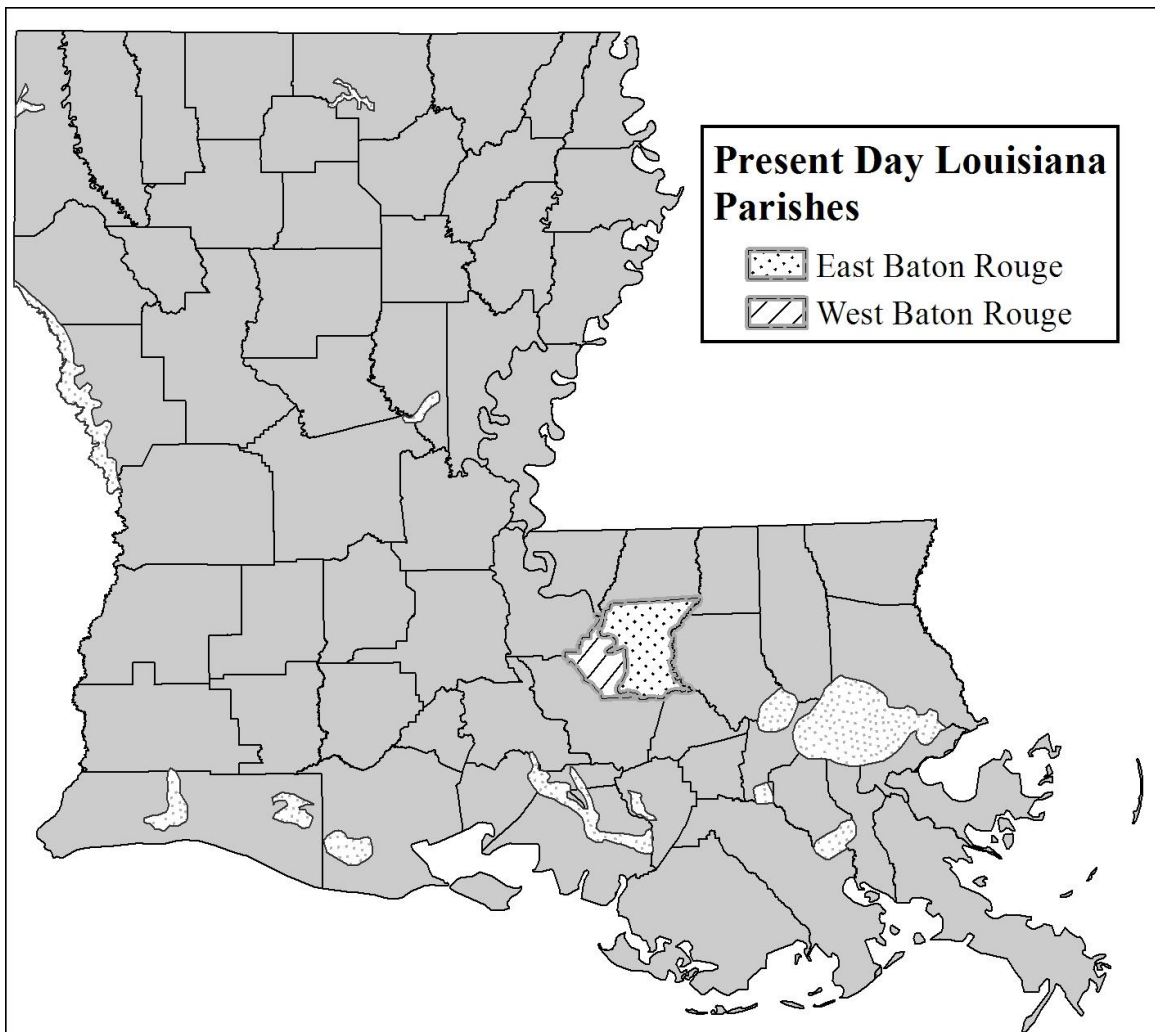


Figure 4.1b: Present day Louisiana parishes. (Cartography by the author)

⁵ The French long lot, or arpent, system of surveying farm lands guaranteed frontage of farmland on a bayou or river. Boundary lines ran perpendicular to the river and plantations were usually eight arpents wide along the water and forty arpents deep, about 1,536 by 7,680 feet.

Since the time of French settlement in the 1700s, cash crops (crops grown for profit, not sustenance) supported the state's economy, with products such as indigo and cotton providing much of the revenue up to the 1800s, when a plague wiped out most of the indigo crops (Phillips 2012). In order for planters in the state to succeed, they had to find a new cash crop and turned to sugarcane that had been introduced to the area by immigrants (voluntary or otherwise) from the Caribbean. In keeping with the tone of an internationally influenced landscape, many of the sugar planters had help with the industry from knowledgeable planters from the French West Indies who immigrated to Louisiana in the face of war and slave revolts, thus bringing the ability to develop crops on a larger scale and expertise in sugar milling.

Even with a large agricultural industry, West Baton Rouge Parish did not have a large population leading up to the Civil War. It had only 1,900 Whites, 148 free people of color, and 4,800 slaves. About three-fourths of the people who lived in the parish were the property of other people; nearly 70 percent of the enslaved population was owned by planters with 50 or more slaves each. By comparison, in 1860 Baton Rouge had a population of 5,400, two-thirds of which were white; essentially the inverse of the population profile of West Baton Rouge Parish. As a result of the combination of slavery and optimum agricultural conditions, large sugarcane plantations were plentiful in the parish with 30 percent of farms growing sugarcane with the rest growing subsistence crops. Twenty-five landholders (one of whom was Henry Watkins Allen, the future namesake of Port Allen) held a total of at least 900 acres collectively, one-third of the land area of the parish including the areas unsuitable for agriculture.

In 1861, the Louisiana legislature elected to secede from the United States and join the Confederate States with 113 representatives voting in favor to 17 voting against the move. Incidentally, a popular vote held in West Baton Rouge at approximately the same time did not favor complete separation with 70 percent of those who voted electing to cooperate with the Union. Nevertheless, the residents of the parish witnessed, first-hand, control of Baton Rouge and that section of the Mississippi River fall to the Union Army and Navy in the spring of 1862. After all was said and done, West Baton Rouge Parish was mostly worse for the wear with miles of levees broken by Union forces that allowed the river to wash over defunct plantations.

In the post-Civil War environment, the future for sugarcane looked bleak in West Baton Rouge. Some people still saw potential; in 1866, a British immigrant to Baton Rouge, John Hill, purchased the former Homestead Plantation and began raising sugarcane again, processing it into sugar at the plantation's sugar mill. He was the first person to bring sugar back to the parish after the Civil War. New buyers for the former slave plantations arrived from the North as well. One notable businessman was James Laws from Cincinnati, Ohio who sought to revive the sugar economy in the parish by purchasing a plantation in 1878 known before the Civil War as Marengo Plantation and renaming it Cinclare. The Laws Company proved to be integral to reviving the local economy and was the first to send a shipment of sugar from Louisiana to Ohio after Reconstruction. Over the decades, Cinclare, like other plantations, became a "company town" with its own currency, stores, housing, and railroad.

Though slavery had ended, blacks were still largely overworked and underpaid with little opportunity to escape their continued exploitation, and the lives of those who

worked at plantations such as Cinclare revolved almost solely around the company. Throughout the 20th Century and into even the early years of the 21st Century, the Cinclare company continued to modernize as sugar mills were closed and cane sugar was transported farther and farther away from farms to be milled at larger, centralized locations. Cinclare processed its last harvest in 2005 before it closed its doors for good (Figure 4.2). Reminders of the flourishing sugar industry still remain on the landscape in somewhat banal forms; Sugar Plantation Parkway that intersects Louisiana Highway 1, the Sugarmill Plantation housing development, and the Sugar Mill Apartments in Addis.



Figure 4.2: Cinclare Sugar Mill in 2012. (Photography by the author)

The Mark of the Twentieth Century

When the 20th Century arrived in West Baton Rouge Parish it brought industrialization technology with it that changed the agricultural landscape of the parish and how people earned their livelihoods. Traditional plantation culture had to make room for more economically efficient methods of processing sugarcane. Whereas on-site sugar

mills were a common sight on 19th Century plantations, new transportation technology, new roads, and new railroads meant that sugar mills could be centrally located to support milling operations for multiple sugarcane farms. As the 20th Century progressed, sugar mills faced difficulties keeping employees year-round, and mills began to rely on Hispanic workers from Latin America and the Caribbean. In addition to a workforce uninterested in working only seasonally at the sugar mills, the agricultural industry also faded as plantations turned into residential neighborhoods or were sold off bit-by-bit for other commercial development. The most visible mark of progress on the landscape in this regard was the number of mills that closed in West Baton Rouge Parish. In 1900 there were 16 sugarcane mills, half that in 1924, and only two by the mid-1970s.

Apart from technological innovation, in the spring of 1927, West Baton Rouge Parish began preparing for a coming flood (Barry 2007). Upriver, the flood had collapsed levees and submerged parts of seven states along the river. Citizens of West Baton Rouge Parish banded together, creating levee patrols to prevent sabotage to the levees by residents on the opposite bank, and alerting authorities to signs of seepage and weakness. Despite these efforts, a portion of the levee gave way in late May of that year and half of the parish flooded with the western areas of the parish suffering the most, with about 7,000 acres under water (Figure 4.3).



Figure 4.3: A train running through Addis during the flood to aid afflicted residents. The caption reads, “This large engine, part of the “Banana Special” from New Orleans to Baton Rouge, traveled cautiously over flooded tracks for fear of ‘washout’.” (Courtesy of the Addis Historical Museum)

Over the summer, the floodwaters receded, but irreparable damage had been done, especially to the sugarcane industry. Sugarcane plantations were already still recovering from a virus that impacted the crops, and the 1927 flood, coupled with the coming Great Depression created unhealthy economic conditions that led many sugar mills to close. As a result of the flood, the federal government provided funding to construct new levees which attracted workers and eventually new citizens to South Louisiana and West Baton Rouge Parish.

New innovations in the early decades of the 20th Century were not limited to agriculture, but came to peoples’ homes as well. It was not until the 1950’s that telephones were commonplace in West Baton Rouge and many people received news about the rest of the world over the airwaves through their radios, listening mostly to

broadcasts from New Orleans until a local radio station, WJBO, began broadcasting out of Baton Rouge in 1934. The first automobile, according to local lore, was owned by either a local doctor or the sheriff in 1910 when speed limit signs were first posted in Brusly to prevent cars from exceeding twelve miles per hour.

The parish improved upon and built new roads like Louisiana Highway 1 that runs north and south through the parish. These new roads were vital to transporting raw sugarcane to the centrally located mills as mule power was replaced by tractors and large trucks. Not just animals were replaced as one of the most basic necessities to conduct agriculture. People were replaced by machines and, after World War II, many of the new jobs were in the petrochemical industry which offered relatively high wages compared to working in agriculture and was in constant need of more workers to support the growing industry.

Apart from issues of growth, West Baton Rouge Parish also faced racial issues common to the Southern United States. In 1965, federal courts ordered that the parish's schools be desegregated, and protests such as sit-ins and demonstrations were held by whites and blacks alike. Cultural discrimination, also a common occurrence in Louisiana, was sometimes an issue also, as French-speaking students were forced to learn and speak English in public school or risk punishment. As the Civil Rights era neared, the social stigmatization of French-Louisianans that had persisted since the end of the Civil War began to fade with growing cultural pride and a movement to reintroduce the French language to Louisiana public education (Ward 1997).

West Baton Rouge Parish Communities

West Baton Rouge Parish is one of the smallest parishes in the state by population and smallest by geographic area (USCB 2010) and, according to the 1979 *Chronicles of West Baton Rouge*, provides a rural or small-town setting conducive to stable family life (Kellough and Mayeux 1979) while at the same time enjoying relatively easy access to one of the state's largest metropolitan areas. The parish has been the site of a number of settlements over the past 200 years, but only three, Addis, Brusly, and Port Allen, (Figure 4.4) were ever incorporated (Kellough and Mayeux 1979). The next two sections will discuss Addis where Chuck's Lounge and Charlie's Lounge are located and Port Allen where Jack's Place is downtown, and Sugar Patch Lounge is located to the north.

History of Addis

What was to become the present Town of Addis was incorporated as Baton Rouge Junction in 1908 by the people who lived in what, since the early 1880s, had been known by the same name. It was a railroad town of about 350 people, most of whom worked for the Texas and Pacific Railroad. Because there was already a community known as Baton Rouge Junction nearby on the east side of the Mississippi River, the community needed a new name and opted to change it to recognize John Wesley Addis, a mechanical superintendent for the railroad company who the people in the community viewed as instrumental in building up the Texas and Pacific facilities by pushing for a depot and a hotel at Baton Rouge Junction in the early 1900s (Malone 1968). In 1915, Addis became the second village in West Baton Rouge Parish after Brusly, to the north, which had been established in 1901. When the time to harvest sugarcane came around every year, Addis

became the center of activity in the parish with trains running through the town almost constantly to haul the crop (Figures 4.5a and 4.5b).

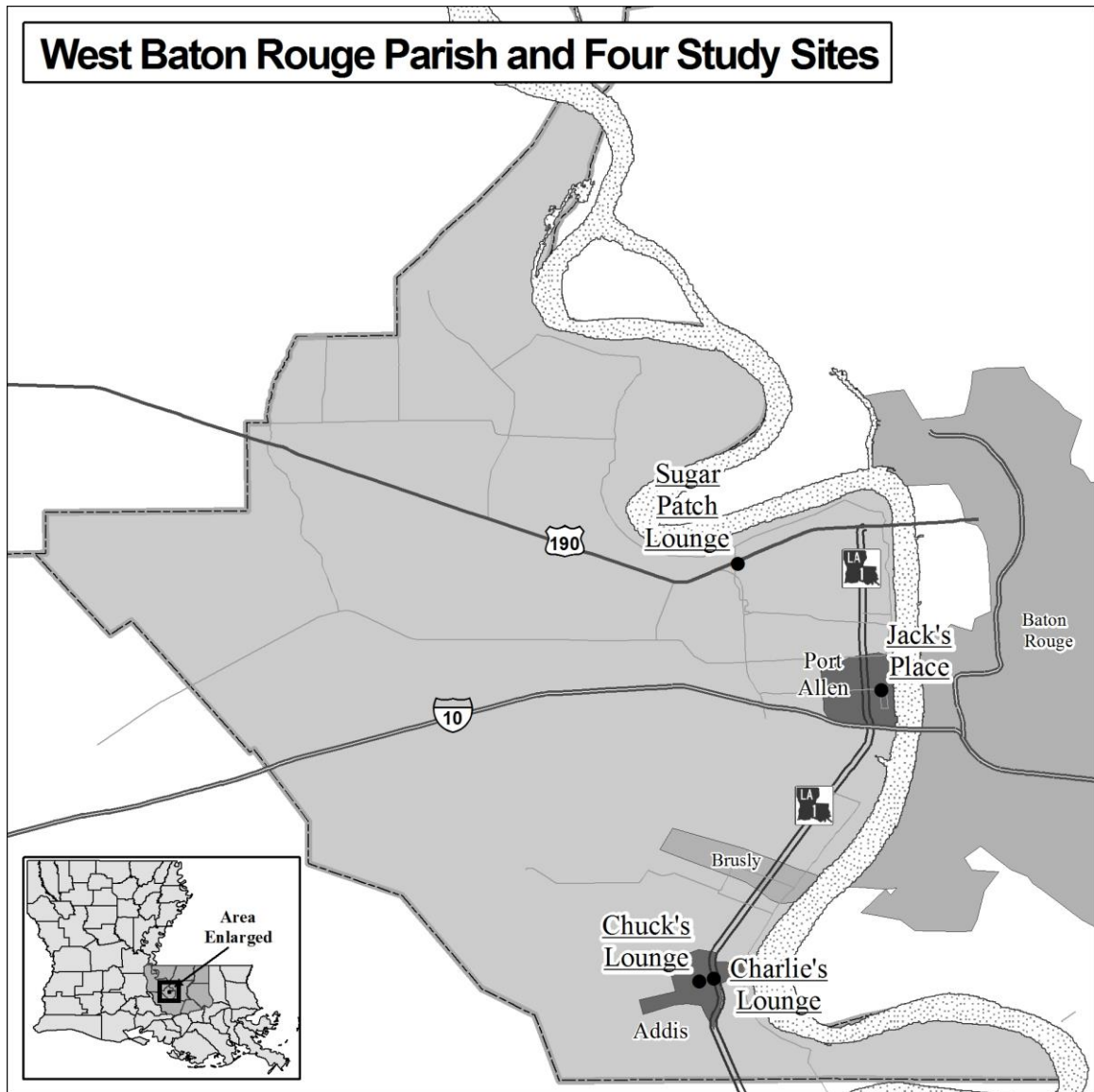


Figure 4.4: West Baton Rouge Parish, its city, two towns, and locations of the four study bars. (Cartography by the author)



Figure 4.5a: The first Texas & Pacific railroad depot at Baton Rouge Junction in an undated photograph. The sign above the three windows in the middle says, “Baton Rouge.” The caption reads, “Then known as Baton Rouge Junction, Addis’ first T & P Railroad Depot was erected in 1904. The beautiful old station was demolished in 1940 to make room for a new Depot built on the exact location.” (Courtesy of the Addis Historical Museum)

George E. Bookish, a Texas and Pacific telegraph operator who ultimately worked 57 years for the company (Addis 1990), petitioned the state for Addis to be recognized with a village charter so that the community would be able to use revenue from local “saloon’s bill of fare” to fund new roads which allowed the new citizens to avoid paying local taxes and let the new town be funded by revenue from alcohol sales (*Texas and Pacific Topics* 1952). Mr. Bookish became the new village’s first mayor, and

served two four-year terms before relinquishing his office for eight years, running again to hold the office from 1930 to 1952, and holding the office for a final time during the 1960s (Addis 1990).



Figure 4.5b: Undated photograph of Baton Rouge Junction. The caption reads, “Baton Rouge Junction Train 53 and Dummy in front of Baton Rouge Junction Depot People’s Hotel on left, and the first T & P Hotel on right.” (Courtesy of the Addis Historical Museum)

Local lore has it that Bookish, who was originally from Grosse Tete, about 15 miles west of Addis, spent his youth around the local railroad’s telegraph office and learned how to operate the communication system. When a local disease epidemic caught the region in the late 1800s and Baton Rouge Junction’s telegraph operator became too ill to perform his duties, the Texas & Pacific authorities had to find a replacement. To prevent the epidemic from spreading, towns were closed off from one another. Yet when the Texas & Pacific office in Baton Rouge Junction heard there was a young man in Grosse Tete who could operate a telegraph, they decided to smuggle Bookish to Baton Rouge Junction along the railroad in a box car so that the telegraph office in Baton Rouge

Junction could stay open and trains could continue to operate through the area (Various Informants 2013).

Though mainstream history books might consider it merely a footnote, the Town of Addis considered it important to note in its 75th anniversary pamphlet that, in 1951, Mr. Charles Tuminello, Sr. purchased the JBR Package Liquor Store and renamed it, Chuck's Bar (Addis 1990).

In 1977, the population of Addis had grown sufficiently large enough, to 2,500 people, to be recognized by the State of Louisiana as a town.⁶ Today, the only structure that remains of the original downtown of Addis is the former Bank of Addis which, over the years, served as a post office and grocery store, but now stands as a community museum on the National Register of Historic Places (Figure 4.6). Addis is all but completely surrounded by sugarcane fields, a few cow pastures, and a levee to protect the town from a river on its east. Louisiana Highway 1 is still the only major road running through town with a modern railroad switching yard where trains frequently cut-off one-half of the town from access to the main highway. Many of the homes in town to the east of the state highway appear to be 20 years or older with a row of much older homes built in the style of local architecture still standing, but with new developments of local revival architecture built using modern day housing materials.⁷ There are only two roads that exit the town. Apart from Louisiana Highway 1, the river road along the levee runs to the next

⁶ In Louisiana, the population requirements to be a village are to have a population of at least 300, a minimum of 1,000 to be a town, and 5,000 to be recognized as a city (USCB 1994).

⁷ The local architecture referred to here are houses with built-in porches, usually also raised several feet above the ground, a feature that served many functions such as preventing high waters from entering the house and keeping the home cooler in the summer and warmer in the winter (Kniffen 1936).

town to the north, a few miles away, and to Plaquemine, in Iberville Parish to the south. Otherwise, there are no roads that lead out of the town.

In 2005, Addis annexed adjacent land to accommodate population growth and its population surpassed that of Brusly just a few miles north. Much of the growth is attributable to people who moved from East Baton Rouge to be closer to jobs at the plants in the parish, but people from the New Orleans diaspora created by Hurricane Katrina contributed to the growing population as well.



Figure 4.6: The Bank of Addis, now home to the Addis Historical Museum. (Photography by the author)

History of Port Allen

The City of Port Allen is named for former Louisiana Governor Henry Watkins Allen, the second, and last, Confederate governor of the state (City of Port Allen n.d.a). Governor Allen was not a Louisiana native, having grown up in Virginia, and did not arrive in the state until nearly a decade after statehood. Before then, he had served in the Texas Revolution against Mexico, studied law at Harvard, and was later elected in 1846 to serve as a member of the state legislature of Mississippi, only coming to Louisiana in the mid-1850s whereupon he was soon elected to the state's legislature (Dorsey 1866). At the outbreak of the Civil War, Allen joined the Confederate Army as a Lieutenant Colonel, rising to the rank of Brigadier General by 1863 and was elected as the governor of the state in 1864. When the Confederacy collapsed a year and a half later, Governor Allen had to flee the state and the country, seeking refuge in Mexico City. Allen died not long after in 1866. His body was returned to Baton Rouge where it was eventually interred on what are now the Old Louisiana State Capitol grounds—a statue to him currently stands across the street from the county courthouse in the port town which bears his name.

The site and surrounding area now known as Port Allen, originally called San Michel, was owned by Dr. Michel Mahier in the late 1700s, however, the original settlement was forced to constantly move westward as river floods frequently reclaimed the land until the end of the first decade of the 19th Century when a more permanent community was finally laid out (City of Port Allen n.d.b). By the middle of the century, the community known as Sunnyside was officially laid out in 1854 and was called the Town of West Baton Rouge with an area to the north which retained the name of

Sunnyside. Even though what is today known as Port Allen is well-known to be named after the last Confederate governor of the state, there is some conflict as to if Governor Allen (Figure 4.7) was the first Allen for whom the city was named. Some reports suggest that it was originally called Allain. This would have been in honor of a local black (from a white father and a slave mother) politician who served as both a Louisiana state representative and senator, named Theophile Terance Allain (Figure 4.7) (Kein 2000; Louisiana Historical Association 2008). Supposedly, his name was replaced after three years in favor of a white namesake in post-Civil War West Baton Rouge Parish (*State-Times* 1958). This story may hold some water as Allain was a native son of West Baton Rouge, a prominent black businessman, plantation owner, politician, and member of the Southern University board of trustees for many years (Louisiana Historical Association 2008). Regardless, the city is now effectively named after the Confederate general Allen.

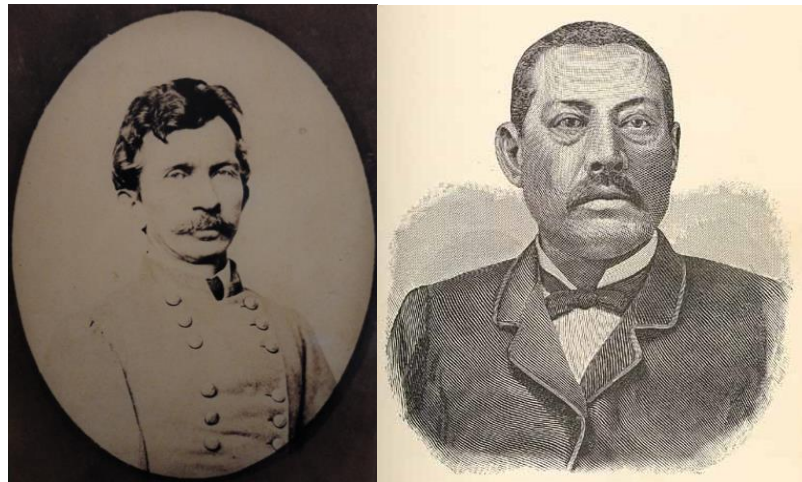


Figure 4.7: The namesakes of Port Allen: Henry Watkins Allen, 1820–1866 (left) (Courtesy of the West Baton Rouge Parish Museum) and Theophile T. Allain, 1846–1921 (right) (Courtesy of Documenting the American South, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)

Though the original French settlement was washed away by the river over the decades from that first European settlement to the mid-1800s, in the present day, Port Allen is strategically located between U.S. Highway 190 and Interstate Ten with, “a unique geography [that] affords the opportunity to be a focal point to all Southern Louisiana cultures, industries, and economic development while still holding its small town charm,” (City of Port Allen n.d.a). As the city grew from its origins as the last community to be chartered in the parish in 1916, its location directly across the river from the state’s capital proved to be advantageous. As the United States Government constructed the new interstate highway system from the mid-20th Century onward, Interstate Ten and the new bridge across the Mississippi River afforded the city, “all the comforts of small town living, yet put residents only minutes away from bustling Baton Rouge,” (Port Allen n.d.) along with being in touch with the rest of the world by way of one of the largest rivers in the world. By 1923, Port Allen had grown large enough to be recognized as a town, and in 1962, it was declared a city by then governor, James Davis.

Having grown from its origins as a ferry boat landing and an agriculture-based economy, the city now serves as the head of deep-water navigation on the Mississippi River with major employers such as Castrol, Inc., Community Coffee, Dow North America, Exxon, Wal-Mart, and United Parcel Service (UPS). Undoubtedly the city owes much of its growth to the Port of Greater Baton Rouge, built in the 1950s, which spans 85 miles of the river and serves as the second largest deep-water port in Louisiana and the fifth largest in the United States in terms of total tonnage (Port of Greater Baton Rouge n.d.).

Economy and Transportation

West Baton Rouge Parish is nothing if not for the sugarcane industry that supported it for two hundred years, the growth of the petrochemical industry, its location on the Mississippi River across from the state's capital, and the presence of railroad yards in Addis and Port Allen. The two most prominent sources of revenue for the parish are the petrochemical and the sugarcane industries. The primary agricultural products grown in the parish throughout the last century have been sugarcane and soybeans. In addition, cotton, rice, wheat, and corn are interspersed and sometimes double-cropped with soybean crops (SCS 1982; LSU AgCenter 2013).

Industry grew steadily in West Baton Rouge Parish from the mid-20th Century onward (SCS 1982; LSU AgCenter 2013). Most industrial growth occurred along the Mississippi River which provided a ready source of fresh water as well as transportation linked to the Gulf of Mexico and, indeed, to the rest of the world. In the 21st Century, Louisiana ranked number two behind Florida in harvesting sugarcane, an occupation that had formerly been a part of nearly every West Baton Rougean's life over the past two or so centuries.

Petrochemical Industry

In 1956, the Dow Chemical Company bought four plantations in the south end of the parish on the border between West Baton Rouge and Iberville Parishes. It was the first petrochemical company to locate in the parish and bring big industry (as well as 3,500 jobs) to support the economy of the two parishes. Technical vocational schools taught classes in heavy equipment operating, diesel mechanics, and truck driving to provide skilled workers to support the industry. From the 1950s to the early 1980s, the

petrochemical industry was booming in general and for West Baton Rouge Parish as well. Jobs in the petrochemical industry were plentiful for several decades until the 1980s when an economic recession and a world-wide decline in oil consumption culminated into the worst economic depression to hit the state of Louisiana since the Great Depression. Though the state recovered from the depression, the petrochemical industry in the area did not return to the same economic prosperity that it had enjoyed prior to that.

As of 2003, the Lower Mississippi River 2002–2003 Directory of Petrochemical Industries listed 109 plants and factories in what is known as the Mississippi River Chemical Corridor (Yodis and Colten 2007). Eight plants are located in West Baton Rouge Parish with a ninth, Dow located on the border with Iberville Parish to the south, and across the river there are an additional 14 plants located in East Baton Rouge as well (Yodis and Colten 2007). Some of the industrial giants include Exxon Mobil, Shintech (a manufacturer of products such as polyvinyl chloride (PVC) and caustic soda), Dow Chemical, and Union Pacific Railroad (Phillips 2012). These companies have become entwined into the landscape not just by their physical presence and as sources of employment, but lending their names to streets and community centers such as the Dow Westside YMCA south of Port Allen or the ExxonMobil YMCA in north Baton Rouge.

The presence of such a high profile industry in a small parish like West Baton Rouge does not come without a price. The waste by-products of production from the petrochemical industry have an impact on both people and the environment; in Louisiana, this has largely been a result of relaxed environmental regulations. Combined with minority and low-income populations that live in areas in close proximity to the petrochemical plants, issues of environmental justice have been a constant issue for the

state, but especially for people who live in what has come to be known as the Chemical Corridor (Yodis and Colten 2007).

Gaming

One result of the 1980s' economic recession for West Baton Rouge Parish is still visible in nearly any bar, small restaurant, or diner in the parish. In 1988, with the intent to boost the local economy, the voters of West Baton Rouge Parish approved a referendum that allowed off-track betting. Track officials at the Evangeline Downs horse racing track and casino in Opelousas, Louisiana predicted daily bets totaling \$50,000 to \$60,000 dollars which would be taxed at a rate of 2 percent by the parish. Though there are no Las Vegas-style casinos with poker, blackjack, and video gaming, most of the establishments that serve alcohol as well as truck stops have the maximum allowed three video poker gaming machines. All four of the bars in the present study, Jack's Place, Charlie's Lounge, Chuck's Lounge, and Sugar Patch Lounge, are registered as licensees with Louisiana's Gaming Control Board (2010) to have the gaming machines as well.

River Transportation

The first licensed ferry to offer regular service across the Mississippi River to Baton Rouge was granted by the local government in 1810. It was not until at least a decade later that a regular ferry actually began operating between what was still known as San Michel and Baton Rouge. By the early 1830s, one H. B. Favrot began operating a steam-powered ferry with the Favrot Family retaining exclusive rights to operate a steam ferry by an act of the Louisiana legislature in the 1840s. Ferry operations continued without stop throughout the 19th Century with the exception of the Civil War when the Union Navy controlled the river at Baton Rouge. Over the decades leading up to and

following the Civil War, the exclusive rights to ferry operations had changed several times and passenger business had grown to the point that several ferry boats operated with steam paddle wheeler boats plying the channel. About the middle of the 1910s, the Baton Rouge Transportation Company acquired the contract to operate ferries across the river and continued operations until 1968 when the New Interstate Ten Bridge was opened, severely reducing public demand for a ferry which took many times longer to cross the river compared to driving across the bridge.

The early 20th Century was the busiest time for the ferry business between Baton Rouge and Port Allen, with the Baton Rouge Transportation Company operating three ferries and a reserve ferry boat. The largest of the ferries could carry as many as one-thousand people and between 60 and 70 automobiles, depending on their size. As automobiles grew larger however, this capacity was reduced to about half that. Racial segregation was a routine part of life on the ferries as well. A number of blacks used the ferries for transport to and from work, but they were not allowed to enjoy the nicer accommodations that white passengers enjoyed such as dining and riding on the outside of the ferry where the breeze kept passengers cool in the heat of the summer months. Ferry operations and the people who worked on the ferries were an integral part of the life of West Baton Rouge Parish with several long-time employees, vendors who sold fruit and snacks, and young boys who would wipe dust from the windshields of the cars lined up to board the ferry.

The need to have a bridge across the river became apparent in the 1930s as the lines of cars waiting to board the ferry grew longer and longer, and pressure from citizens to build a bridge mounted. The Federal Emergency Relief Administration (the

predecessor to the Federal Works Projects Administration) proposed to build a bridge that allowed for both passenger automobile traffic and for trains to cross the river.⁸ Less than a decade later, in 1940, the new bridge opened to traffic with average annual daily traffic estimates at about 4,200 vehicles per day, doubling by the 1950s and growing to over 19,000 cars crossing the bridge every day by 1960.

In the 1950s, the United States began constructing the Dwight D. Eisenhower National System of Interstate and Defense Highways, part of which included Interstate Ten which would run through Baton Rouge. This portion of the Interstate originally used the bridge above Port Allen, on the same route as U.S. Highway 190. With the increased traffic flow, the northern area of the parish also hosted a number of restaurants and bars to feed and wet the whistles of highway travelers. Even up through the 1970s, the area was referred to as the “Gold Coast” for its number of bars and clubs and the general nightlife that was supported not just by West Baton Rougeans, but by customers from East Baton Rouge Parish and students from Louisiana State University as well. However, with a new bridge, completed in 1968, Interstate Ten ran a straighter path right along the southern edge of Port Allen and several miles closer to the southern portions of West Baton Rouge Parish. With that, the profitability of the Gold Coast faded away.

Additionally, with the new bridge, the ferries crossing the river from Port Allen to Baton Rouge and back every day were no longer needed (Figure 4.8a and 4.8b). The ferry boats were tied up and their crews went home.

⁸ Local lore has it that Huey Long dictated that any bridge built at Baton Rouge not exceed the height of ocean-going ships so that they would not dock farther up the river, causing the area to lose out on revenue from port operations. In reality, the Army Corps of Engineers explained that a rock ledge a little bit further up the river prevented the channel from being dredged any deeper and that it is the depth of the channel, not the height of the bridge that prevents ships from going any farther up the river.



Figure 4.8a: Photograph from an issue of the Dixie newspaper of West Baton Rouge dated April 9, 1967. The caption reads, “Ferryboat service between Port Allen, Baton Rouge ends when new span carrying I-10 across Mississippi opens. Boat franchise once supported Port Allen.” (Courtesy of the West Baton Rouge Parish Library Archives)



Figure 4.8b: The site of the former ferry landing on the levee in downtown Port Allen. The ferry made its last run in 1968 when the new Interstate Ten Bridge opened that spring. (Photography by the author)

Port of Greater Baton Rouge and the Port Allen Lock

At the confluence of several variables, West Baton Rouge Parish is the site of the Port of Greater Baton Rouge and the Port Allen Lock. A rock ledge prevents large ships from traveling much farther up the river than the Baton Rouge Parishes, the river runs an uncharacteristically straight course for several miles with the deepest part of the channel on the West Baton Rouge side, the Gulf Intracoastal Waterway was planned for nearby, and Interstate Ten and railroad yards provide easy access for multi-modal transportation and shipping across the Gulf Coast and to the rest of the United States.

Upon urging from the railroad and petrochemical industries and river communities, the state legislature approved a bond to establish the Greater Baton Rouge Port Commission to include docks, grain elevators and terminals. The port accommodates oceangoing ships 230 miles inland from the Gulf of Mexico making the port in the small parish an important point for international trade and one of the top ten ports in the United States in total tonnage. The primary cargo making up that tonnage is petroleum, steel, and chemicals coming into the port, and grains, timber, sugar, and petroleum products as exports (CanagaRetna 1999). More importantly to the residents of the parish though, the port is a source of jobs with around 3,000 people employed there.

In the early 1900s a canal lock in Iberville Parish in the town of Plaquemine provided access from the Mississippi River through the bayous to the Atchafalaya River and other parts of interior Louisiana. But as river transport vessels became larger, the Plaquemine Lock became outdated and the Army Corps of Engineers constructed the Port Allen Lock, (Figure 4.9) in the 1960s. The Port Allen Lock is an ever apparent feature on the parish landscape as anybody driving over the Interstate Ten Bridge or along

Louisiana Highway 1 over the canal can get a bird's eye view of the lock as barges transit through it to the Gulf Intracoastal Waterway and to the vast network of canals and waterways between the Mississippi and the Atchafalaya rivers.



Figure 4.9: An aerial view of the Port Allen Lock looking to the east. (Courtesy of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers)

Population and Demographics of West Baton Rouge

Because West Baton Rouge Parish has been relatively isolated from its large neighbor across the Mississippi River it is natural that its demographic profile would be different,

especially because of different rates of urban and agricultural growth and decline over the decades which would contribute to different age, gender, and race profiles. These in turn would also influence the overall sense of a place in terms of race relations, or how rooted a population might feel attached to or rooted in place when comparing a younger population to an older population (McHugh and Mings 1996; Smith 2002; Smith and Cartlidge 2011). To compare the smaller parish to the larger parish, I chose to look at U.S. Census Bureau data from 1920, before the Huey P. Long Bridge connected the two parishes and well after the Civil War. Additionally, 1920 was the first decennial census taken in West Baton Rouge Parish when the present city and two towns had all been established and their populations enumerated for the first time. The following is a general description and discussion of West Baton Rouge in terms of demographic characteristics comparing 2010 to 1920 and to its sister parish, the state of Louisiana, and the United States as well.

Population and Relationship with East Baton Rouge Parish

The Baton Rouge Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA), of which West Baton Rouge Parish is a part, includes seven other parishes apart from East Baton Rouge: Ascension, East Feliciana, Iberville, Livingston, Pointe Coupee, St. Helena, and West Feliciana (Figure 4.10). The decade from 2000 to 2010 brought major hurricanes, especially Hurricane Katrina, and a nation-wide economic recession, only to be topped off with an oil spill.⁹ The MSA experienced considerable growth compared to the state as

⁹ Hurricane Katrina made landfall between New Orleans and the Mississippi Coast in August of 2005, displacing a million people, about 15,000 of which were temporarily or permanently relocated to the Baton Rouge Parishes. This was followed up several weeks later by Hurricane Rita which made landfall along the west side of Louisiana. From April to June of 2010, a major oil spill occurred in the Gulf of Mexico off of

a whole, realizing a 14 percent increase in population, ten times that of Louisiana as a whole. Much of this growth was geographically distributed in the south and eastern portion of the MSA in Ascension and Livingston Parishes with West Baton Rouge Parish coming in a distant third with a growth rate of 10 percent.

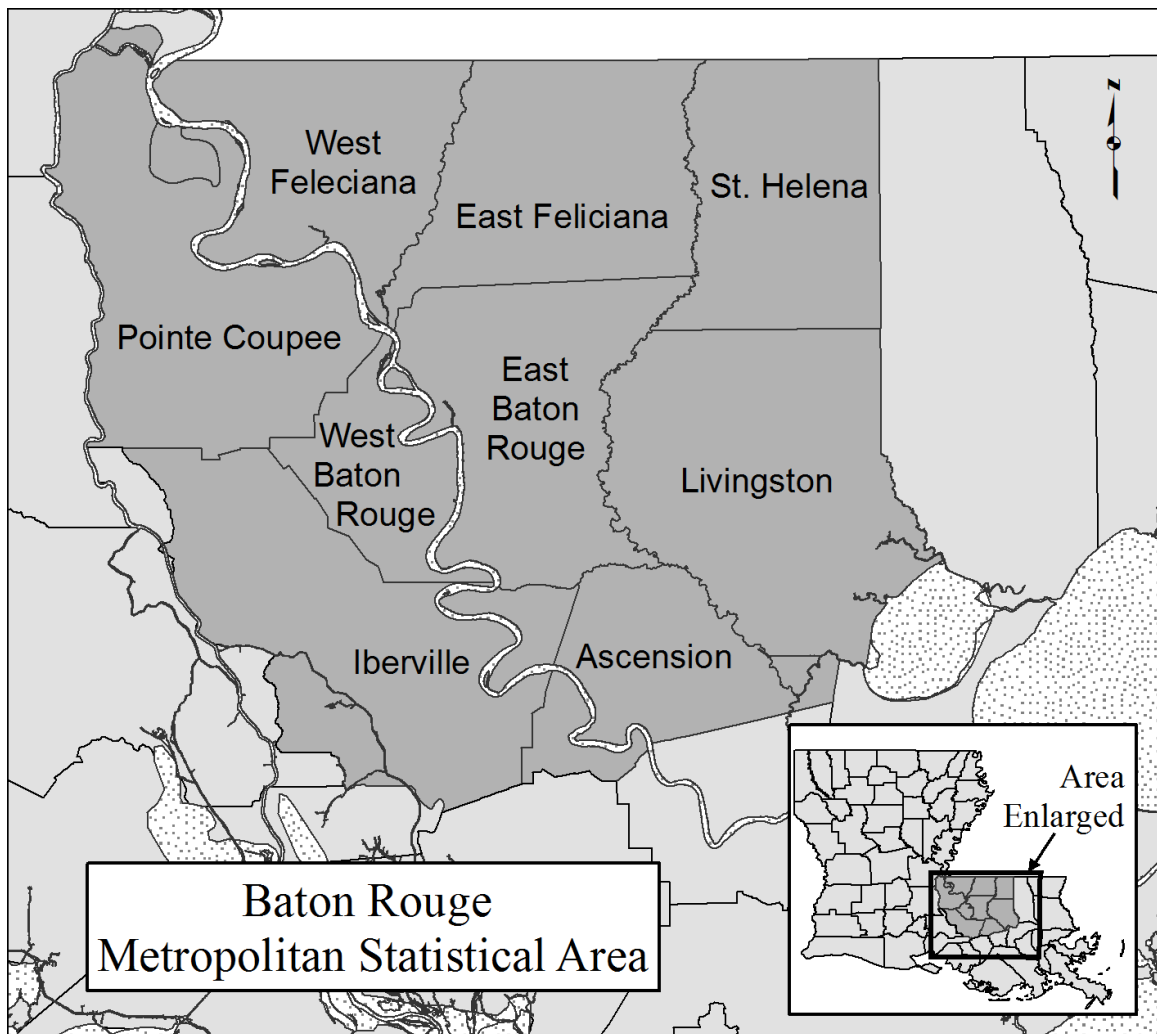


Figure 4.10: Baton Rouge Metropolitan Statistical Area. (Cartography by the author)

Louisiana's coast that impacted the tourism and aquaculture industries of the Gulf Coast, including Louisiana for several years.

Within West Baton Rouge Parish, which grew by about 2,000 people, the town of Addis and the city of Port Allen also experienced varying rates of growth relative to each other and other areas of the Baton Rouge MSA. Addis grew from a population of 2,238 in 2000 to 3,593 people, a rate of 60 percent while the larger city of Port Allen decreased from 5,278 to 5,180 people, a loss of almost 2 percent. In between the two on Louisiana Highway 1, the town of Brusly's population increased from 2,020 to 2,589 over the decade at a rate less than half (28 percent) that of Addis. Apart from Addis, Port Allen, and Brusly, West Baton Rouge added an additional 361 people to the rest of the parish. Just on the other side of the river, the state capital grew its numbers to 229,493, holding in place as the second largest city in the state after New Orleans having grown by less than 2,000 people at a rate of 3.8 percent, while East Baton Rouge Parish, in general, added over 27,000 people rising from a population of 412,852 in 2000 to 440,171 in 2010, an increase of 6.6 percent.

Looking back even further, and thinking about major events in the history of the United States in the past 90 years, relative to its larger neighbor, West Baton Rouge Parish has had fairly stable rates of growth (Figure 4.11 and Table 4.1 break down population growth from 1920 to 2010). By 1920, all three of the present incorporated places in the parish were established and the first major event to affect population growth was the Mississippi River Flood of 1927 which led to a decrease in the number of people living in the parish by 12 percent. But the parish recovered and by 1940, at the tail end of the Great Depression, the population was on the rise again but never at the same rate as East Baton Rouge. West Baton Rouge, unlike other parishes in the present day MSA, was separated from East Baton Rouge by the Mississippi River with only ferries connecting

the two parishes until 1940 when the Huey P. Long Bridge on U.S. Highway 190 was opened with two lanes east- and west-bound, and a railroad line.

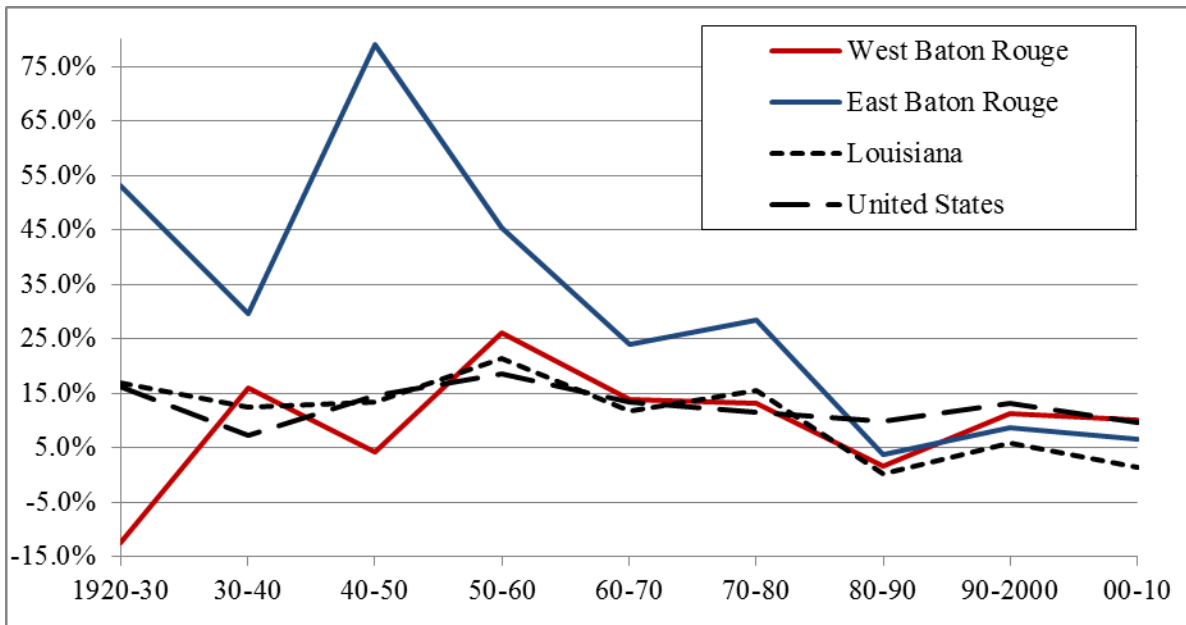


Figure 4.11: Baton Rouge area population growth rates, 1920–2010 (Source: USCB 2010)

Despite the new direct connection between the two parishes, the “Old Bridge,” by which the Huey Long Bridge is known by locals, is not conveniently located for everyday traffic. From Port Allen, it is about four miles to get to the bridge, and another seven miles using modern roads to get to downtown Baton Rouge. Even in the 21st Century, at modern highway speeds it can take as long as half an hour just to get from Port Allen to Baton Rouge and another half-hour to get back, suggesting that, even though the new bridge allowed for unprecedented mobility across the Mississippi River, going back and forth between the two might have been considered an all-day affair in the 1940s.

Table 4.1: Baton Rouge area population growth, 1920–2010

	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010
West Baton Rouge	11,092	9,716	11,263	11,738	14,796	16,864	19,086	23,788	21,601	23,788
East Baton Rouge	44,513	68,208	88,415	158,236	230,058	285,167	366,191	380,105	412,852	440,171
Louisiana ($\times 10^6$)	1.8	2.1	2.4	2.7	3.2	3.6	4.2	4.2	4.5	4.5
United States ($\times 10^6$)	106.0	123.2	132.2	151.3	179.3	203.2	226.5	248.7	281.4	308.7

(Source: USCB 1920; 2010)

In a post-World War Two environment, East Baton Rouge Parish grew tremendously at a rate of nearly 80 percent, effectively doubling, while West Baton Rouge Parish realized a gain of less than 500 people, only 4.2 percent. This would prove to be the norm for the remainder of the 20th Century and into the 21st Century for the parish with the exception of the decade from 1950 to 1960 when over 3,000 new residents were added on the west side of the Mississippi River, possibly spill over from East Baton Rouge Parish thanks to the Huey P. Long Bridge and increased mobility of United States citizens through the proliferation of the automobile after the Second World War.

If putting West Baton Rouge Parish within half an hour of Baton Rouge was an accomplishment for the Huey P. Long Bridge, then the New Bridge that allowed Interstate Ten to cross the Mississippi River a few miles to the south was nothing short of astounding when it opened in 1968, allowing the interstate to no longer have to rely on the Old Bridge and making East Baton Rouge Parish more accessible, not just for the city of Port Allen, but especially for the towns of Brusly and Addis in the southernmost

portion of the parish that are nine miles and twelve miles to the south of the Old Bridge on Louisiana Highway 1, a drive that today makes them between 20 to 40 minutes away from the old bridge at the north end of the parish depending on traffic.

Between 1980 and 1990, population growth was at its lowest for both East and West Baton Rouge Parish and for the entire state as well. This was in contrast to the rest of the South which experienced a growth rate of nearly 20 percent (Frey 2012) though it was typical of comparable areas across the United States where non-metropolitan areas grew by only 1.8 percent (just like West Baton Rouge Parish) and smaller metropolitan areas (under 500,000 people) grew by only 8.8 percent (Frey 2012), a rate that East Baton Rouge Parish was unable to muster, increasing at only half that rate. Louisiana's generally sluggish growth rate is due primarily to an outmigration that was prompted by an economic recession in the 1980s with over half of the parishes in the state experiencing population loss, primarily in the central and northern parts of the state (LaOPB 2008). Following an uptick in population growth rates from 1990 to 2000, both of the parishes experienced the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina in 2005, which gave a slight boost to population growth for both East and West Baton Rouge Parish. Though the disaster displaced tens of thousands of individuals from the southern portion of the state, many of those people from the coast sought and made new homes in the next closest large metropolitan area, Baton Rouge.

Apart from raw population numbers, West Baton Rouge Parish has held on, whether by choice or circumstances, to its peri-urban character despite its increasingly close proximity to Baton Rouge through transportation developments such as the Interstate Ten Bridge. The population density (Table 4.2) of the parish has been slow to

increase over the last century as farmland remained farmland and the western portion of the parish remained characteristically swampy and unsuitable for building homes.

Meanwhile, the parish’s eastern neighbor saw greater growth and urbanism as farmland gave way to residential areas as a result of the post World War II population boom and general economic growth in the United States from the 1950s to the 1980s (Figure 4.11 and Table 4.1).

Table 4.2: Baton Rouge area population density (per mi²), 1920–2010

	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010
West Baton Rouge	53.6	46.9	54.4	56.7	71.5	81.5	92.2	93.8	104.4	114.9
East Baton Rouge	92.7	142.1	184.2	329.7	479.3	594.1	762.9	791.9	860.1	917.0
Louisiana	34.7	40.5	45.6	51.8	62.8	70.2	81.1	81.4	86.2	87.4
United States	27.9	32.5	34.8	39.9	47.3	53.6	59.7	65.6	74.2	81.4

(Source: USCB 2010)

A look at parish-to-parish workforce commuting data (Table 4.3) between West and East Baton Rouge Parishes and with the rest of the state demonstrates a high level of dependence of West Baton Rouge Parishioners on jobs in East Baton Rouge Parish. All told, more West Baton Rouge commuters are employed in East Baton Rouge (45 percent) than in their own parish (37 percent) while another nearly 17 percent commute to other parishes in Louisiana. East Baton Rouge does not have anywhere close to the same rate of residents commuting east to west with a mere 1.5 percent finding work in West Baton Rouge. Expanding the scope to include workforce commuting between West Baton

Rouge and the rest of Louisiana, while other parishes contribute double the number of employees to West Baton Rouge Parish than it does to the state, East Baton Rouge Parish employs nearly 3 percent of Louisiana commuters from outside of the parish with most East Baton Rouge Parish commuters remaining in their home parish to work.

Table 4.3: Workforce commuting data in the Baton Rouge area

		To			Total Commuters
		West Baton Rouge	East Baton Rouge	Louisiana	
From	West Baton Rouge	37.5% (3,480)	45.7% (4,248)	16.8% (1,556)	9,284
	East Baton Rouge	1.5% (2,856)	88.5% (167,269)	10% (18,871)	188,996
	Louisiana	0.2% (3,043)	2.8% (50,641)	97.1% (1,777,373)	1,831,057

(Source: USCB 2000)

At the root of it all, the point to be drawn from Table 4.3 is that a higher percentage of people from the western parish have more regular or daily interaction with the eastern parish than the other way around, thus affording the possibility of bringing more of the urban state capital fast-paced lifestyle to West Baton Rouge Parish and allowing Baton Rouge to have considerable more influence on Port Allen, Brusly, and even Addis, than any of them could have on the considerably larger city.

While the parish-to-parish commuting numbers tell a story of a peri-urban parish that is highly dependent on its larger, urban neighbor for employment opportunities, information gathered from interviews with regulars in the four study bars (Chuck's

Lounge, Charlie's Lounge, Jack's Place, and Sugar Patch Lounge) would suggest otherwise. Otherwise meaning referring to the middle-aged, male bar regulars who work in skilled labor jobs in the petrochemical industry, who generally grew up in the West Baton Rouge Parish, and who were not employed outside of their home parish. This was especially true, I discovered for the male respondents at the two bars in Addis, where just driving up to and across the Interstate Ten Bridge over the Mississippi River takes ten to twenty minutes, and where there are jobs closer to the city of Plaquemine to the south in Iberville Parish.

Demographics of West Baton Rouge Parish: 1920–2010

Part of understanding a place like West Baton Rouge Parish and understanding how people may or may not feel attached to it as members of a community (McHugh and Mings 1996; Smith and Cartlidge 2011) can be accomplished by looking at the overall age of the population of such a place. Compared to East Baton Rouge Parish, West Baton Rouge Parish is generally a place for people still of school age and people closer to retirement age, though the differences between the two parishes, at face value are not that great (Table 4.4).

More people in West Baton Rouge Parish than East Baton Rouge Parish of working age tend to live (and presumably work) outside of their home parish. As it relates to place attachment, it is reasonable to assume that place attachment to the parish may not be particularly strong among the population of the parish as the percentage of the population near retirement age and older has shrunk and the share of the population of school or working age has increased by twenty percent. However, this is not to say that individual people or groups of people do not, on their own, have strong feelings of place

attachment to their parish or places in it. Likewise, though gender has not been tied to place attachment in the literature (Altman and Low 1992; Scannell and Gifford 2010), the gender profile of the parish is also non-descript with its 2010 population only slightly less female than that of East Baton Rouge Parish, and right in line with the rest of Louisiana and the United States in general (Table 4.5).

Table 4.4: Baton Rouge area age demographics, 1920 & 2010

	1920 (Life Expectancy: Mid-50s)			2010 (Life Expectancy: Late-70s)		
	8 to 17	18 to 44	Over 45	6 to 18	19 to 64	Over 65
West Baton Rouge	26.3%	39.6%	18.3%	24.8%	56.8%	11.3%
East Baton Rouge	24.5%	42.8%	17.8%	23.0%	59.1%	11.2%
	6 to 19	20 to 44	Over 45	6 to 18	19 to 64	Over 65
Louisiana	35.1%	37.0%	16.1%	24.7%	56.1%	12.3%
United States	29.8%	41.9%	17.4%	23.7%	56.5%	13.3%

(Source: USCB 1920; 2010)

Table 4.5: Baton Rouge area gender demographics, 1920 & 2010

	1920		2010	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
West Baton Rouge	50.0%	50.0%	50.8%	49.2%
East Baton Rouge	48.8%	51.2%	51.9%	48.1%
Louisiana	49.8%	50.2%	51.0%	49.0%
United States	49.0%	51.0%	50.8%	49.2%

(Source: USCB 1920; 2010)

West Baton Rouge Parish, as evidenced by its racial profile (Table 4.6) in the early 20th Century relied on a black labor force to drive its agricultural economy.

Compared to East Baton Rouge Parish, Louisiana, and especially the United States as a

whole, blacks have been an important base for the parish’s population. By the beginning of the 21st Century, the case had nearly reversed completely with whites making up nearly 60 percent of the population and blacks just over a third, a dramatic shift in nearly a one-hundred year period. By comparison, East Baton Rouge Parish is more diverse with whites making up less than 50 percent of the population, nearly equal to that of blacks, representing only a slight shift in the racial profile of the parish over the last century.

Table 4.6: Baton Rouge area race demographics, 1920 & 2010

	1920		2010			
	White	Negro	White (non-Hispanic)	Black	Hispanic	Multiple Races
West Baton Rouge	32.5%	67.5%	58.0%	37.9%	2.7%	1.2%
East Baton Rouge	48.1%	51.9%	46.7%	45.5%	3.8%	1.2%
Louisiana	61.0%	38.9%	60.1%	32.4%	4.4%	1.4%
United States	89.7%	9.9%	63.4%	13.1%	16.7%	2.3%

(Source: USCB 1920; 2010)

Though West Baton Rouge Parish does have 20 percent more whites than blacks in the parish, looking at the geographic distribution of races among census blocks compared to East Baton Rouge Parish shows something else (Figure 4.12). Though East Baton Rouge Parish has a nearly equal number of black and whites, the parish is quite segregated geographically. Census blocks that have populations less than 20 percent white live in the central area of the parish, near downtown Baton Rouge along the Mississippi River and in the north-central portion of the parish. That portion of the parish happens to be where several petrochemical plants are located, while the northeast and southeast portions of the parish are decidedly suburban and white. On the west side of the river, despite the greater disparity in population size between whites and blacks, the

parish is less geographically segregated. Though the southwest portion of the parish is primarily swampland and forests and the other unpopulated areas are used for agriculture, the populated areas tend to be comprised of a mixture of whites and blacks, suggesting that the two races mix more on a daily basis at the gas stations, grocery stores, and restaurants, than they do in East Baton Rouge Parish.

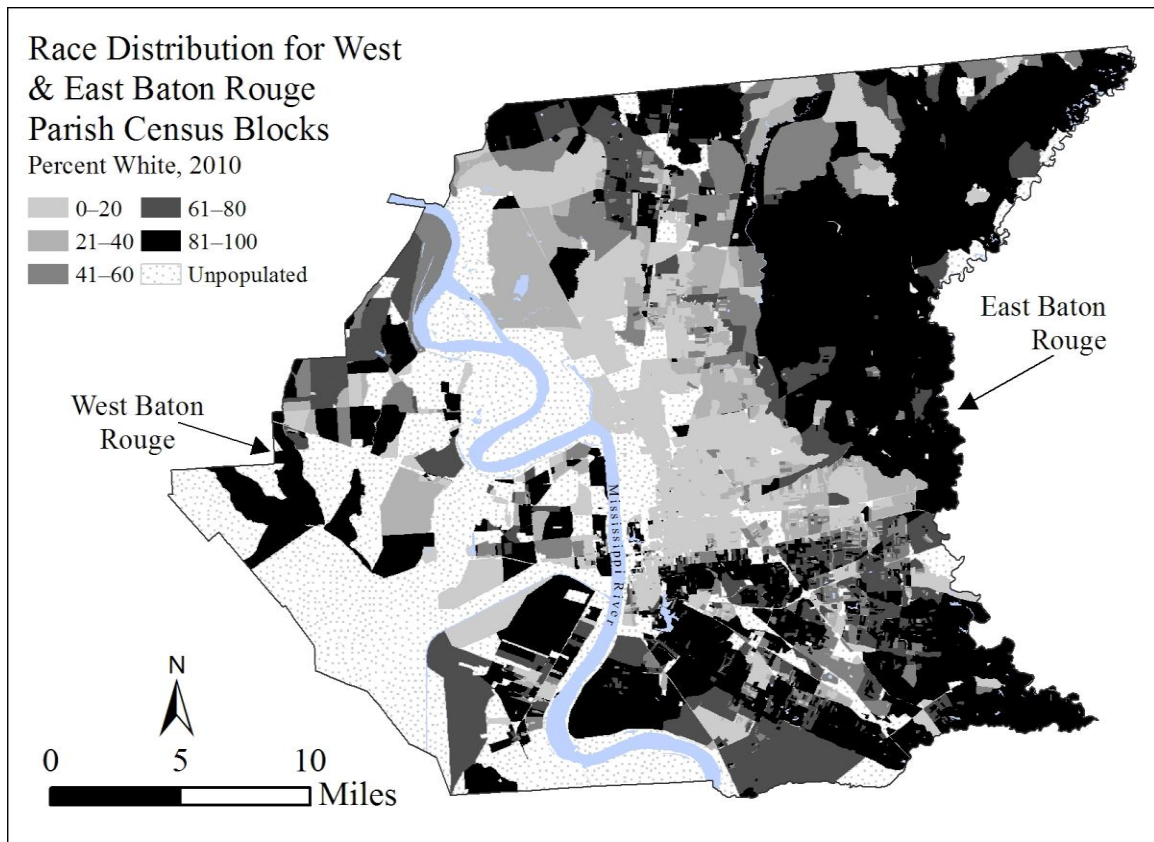


Figure 4.12: Geographical Distribution of Race for West & East Baton Rouge Parish. (Cartography by the author)

History of Bars and Drinking Establishments in West Baton Rouge Parish

Over the course of conducting archival research at the West Baton Rouge Parish Museum in Port Allen, and the Addis Historical Museum, there was little to uncover regarding the history of bars and drinking establishments in the parish in general let alone regarding

specific bars. All but a few minor tidbits of information regarding bars in the parish was derived from informants at the four study bars and that was strictly from older informants, people at least 60 years old who were mainly lifetime residents of the parish. This information came from not quite one-fourth of my informants and, though all of their recollections do not contradict each other, each informant provided different pieces to the puzzle that created the picture of the history of drinking establishments in the parish. Unfortunately, this knowledge did not necessarily extend to specific laws regarding drinking, though it did include some insight into the relationship between the rise and fall of drinking establishments along what was called the Gold Coast and the fall of blue laws and easing restrictions regarding drinking establishments and hours of operation for drinking establishments in West Baton Rouge and East Baton Rouge Parish.

There is no known record for when the first drinking establishment, whether it was a bar, tavern, saloon, lounge, et cetera, opened in West Baton Rouge Parish. To be sure, the oldest extant drinking establishments in the parish are Jack's Place, Chuck's Lounge, and a bar called Morley Marina. Morley Marina was not included in this study because, though its clientele is the same as that of the four study bars, it is not, due to its location, the kind of bar that people can just swing by for a drink on their way home from work.

Jack's Place, which opened originally in 1925 or 1927 as a restaurant and café during Prohibition in the United States, later came to serve alcohol as well, though the owner was not clear regarding when, exactly, Jack's Place first began selling alcohol, legally or otherwise. Chuck's Lounge, which opened in 1950, was originally housed in a wooden building that had served as the location for the JBR Package liquor store. There

is no information when Joseph B. Ragusa first opened his package/grocery store in Addis, but there were at least three others owned by him that were in Port Allen and East Baton Rouge Parish, and his stores were open at least as early as the mid-1940s.

Morley Marina opened in the 1960s or 1950s, if not earlier (Various Informants 2013). It is all that is left of a lumber town that lasted for less than two decades after the Cypress trees were quickly depleted and its founder died in a tragic accident (WBRPM 2012). Morley Marina is located in Back Brusly on a portion of the Gulf Intracoastal Waterway. From Louisiana Highway 1 in Brusly it is five curvy miles with a few sharp turns along an unlit two-lane road to a dead-end at the old bar and boat ramp. Alternatively, if one had a boat, access to the Intracoastal Waterway, and enough free time, one could also take their boat to Morley Marina and tie up at one of the floating docks. Between the ten-mile round trip or having to take a boat to reach Morley Marina, it simply does not fit the profile of the everyday, after-work-stop-for-a-beer kind of place.

Based on information gathered from informants, the number of bars in the parish grew from the 1920s and 1930s at least through the 1950s (Figure 4.13). Recall that the Huey P. Long Bridge carrying U.S. Highway 190 opened at the end of the 1930s, not only enabling people and cargo to cross the Mighty Mississippi without having to wait for a ferry, but also making it easier for people from East Baton Rouge Parish to come over to West Baton Rouge Parish for the growing breadths of entertainment that the western parish had to offer. Because the new U.S. 190 Bridge only gave easier access to the most northern portion of West Baton Rouge Parish, this is where the burgeoning nightlife took roots. Though names of specific entertainers were not readily recalled by informants because the activity took place long ago in their youth, informants did recall

that the names drawn to what was early on called Little Las Vegas included Hollywood stars and nationally (sometimes internationally) famous country, blues, and jazz musicians (Various Informants 2013).

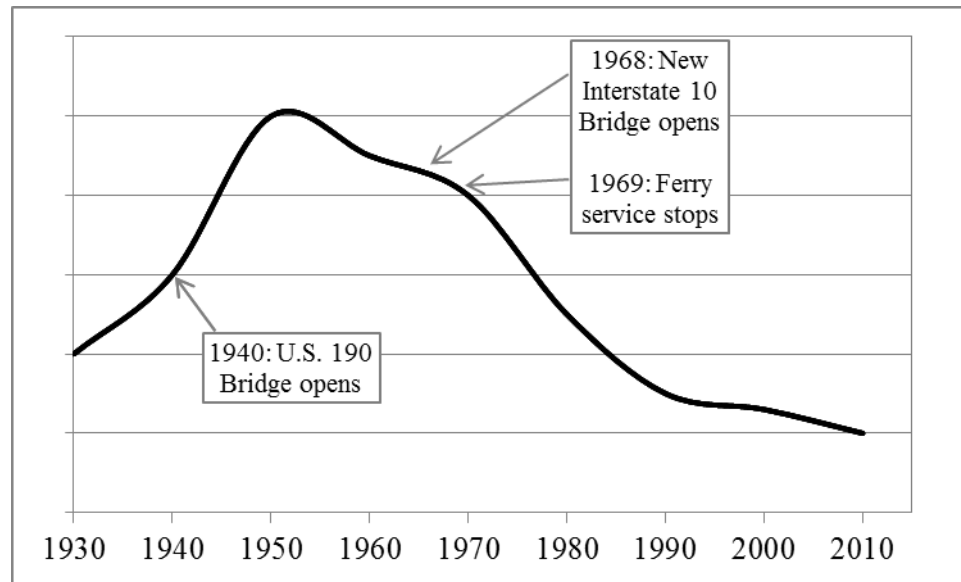


Figure 4.13: Representation of the rise and fall of drinking establishments in West Baton Rouge Parish from the 1930s to the present

As Soldiers, Sailors, Marines, and Airmen returned home from World War II, the sugarcane industry industrialized, and the petrochemical industry arrived in its infancy, the area known as Little Las Vegas came to be known instead as the Gold Coast, hitting its peak in the 1950s and 1960s. Bars such as the Candlelight, the Carousel, Nick's (Figure 4.14), and Sugar Patch Lounge, some of which were open 23 hours per day (closing only around sunrise to clean up the place for the next day) continued to prosper and draw in customers from East Baton Rouge Parish, taking advantage of the eastern parish's stricter blue laws regarding alcohol sales and the hours that drinking establishments were allowed to sell alcohol.



Figure 4.14: All that remains of a bar called Nick's located on U.S. Highway 190 across from the Candlelight Inn/Lounge. (Photography by the author)

The New Interstate Ten Bridge spelled doom however for the Gold Coast's several decades of prosperity as increased automobile ownership and access to greater shopping opportunities meant that West Baton Rougeans could more easily spend their money in East Baton Rouge Parish. Further hurting the entertainment industry in West Baton Rouge Parish were stricter laws regarding the hours that bars could be open. Bars had to begin closing at two in the morning which disincentivized drinkers from the east to venture to the west side of the Mississippi River. The only way some of the bars stayed open later than two in the morning was by allowing BYOB (bring your own bottle/beer) and charging customers a high fee for drinking glasses, ice, and a table to sit at. Gradually, the bars and clubs shut down until only a handful remained in business.

The only bars that remain now are the Candlelight Inn which, though a respectable nightclub in its time, is now a topless dance bar whose primary customers are lower-income blacks, Hispanics, and whites (perhaps the least segregated bar in the parish), a couple of bars, The Black Pearl and Leroy's (formerly Playboy Lounge), that

cater to primarily black customers, and a few casino/gas station/truck stops. All of this is along U.S. Highway 190 from the old bridge to the location of Sugar Patch Lounge, a six to seven mile stretch of what is now a four-lane divided highway (Figure 4.4). Sugar Patch Lounge remains as well, of course, yet it retained some semblance of its 1950s and 1960s identity as a drinking establishment patronized primarily by whites and still hosting live music at least one evening per week.

Bars and clubs that cater specifically to non-whites, particularly blacks, comprise one-fifth of the extant drinking establishments in West Baton Rouge Parish.

Unfortunately despite repeated attempts to query 43 (out of 44) white informants regarding non-white bars in the history of the parish, I only learned about a couple of bars apart from the perception that some of the present day black bars are partly responsible for more restrictive laws regarding bars and drinking in the parish relative to the heyday of the Gold Coast. Based on observations in the field, there are no black bars in Addis, two bars on Louisiana Highway 1 in Port Allen, and two establishments on U.S. Highway 190 in the area formerly referred to as the Gold Coast.

At best, I learned about three bars in the history of the parish that served specifically blacks and gave them a place to actually sit down inside and drink beer before segregation was formally abolished. From a single black informant, I learned that in Addis, on the west side of the railroad tracks, a black family operated an establishment called the Playhouse, the front of which housed the bar and the back part of which served as living quarters for the family that owned the business. The bar operated from sometime during the 1940s or early 1950s until the late 1960s or early 1970s and later did business as the Spider Lounge until it shut down. The building no longer stands as it was

demolished some unknown number of years in the past and there is no record of the bar in the Addis Historical Museum archives.

From one bar owner, I learned that in the 1920s, 1930s, and/or 1940s, a businessman operated a grocery or general store that housed a bar area where blacks could have drinks inside. At best, there was an actual bar and/or stools or tables and chairs for the customers to sit and relax, and at worst they had to stand or lean against a wall while drinking. Though the bar specifically catered to blacks, whites were allowed to drink in the bar if they chose to do so. A third bar operated on Court Street alongside several other drinking establishments in downtown Port Allen from the 1930s or 1940s until maybe the 1960s, but that is all that an informant knew to share about that particular bar. Beyond that, bars set aside especially for non-whites became legally not necessary when segregation was legally disestablished by the United States Government. Despite this, informal segregation persisted in the area and more, rather than less, almost completely persists today in the form of either segregation by choice on the part of non-whites or in the form of whites being generally unwelcoming to non-whites (as was the case with a white bar that operated for one year in Addis from early 2012 to early 2013).

The plurality of bars that are still operating in the parish are closest to Interstate 10 in Port Allen or on Louisiana Highway 415 at the next interstate exit to the west with three more operating on U.S. Highway 190, one west of Brusly on the Intracoastal Waterway and three in Addis (Appendix B). Over the years, each town/city has had its share of bars: in total Addis has been home to at least nine drinking establishments, five in Brusly, between fifteen and twenty in Port Allen, and a dozen or more in the Gold Coast area (still considered part of Port Allen). As many as half of these forty or more

establishments closed down years or decades in the past, yet still persist physically on the landscape of West Baton Rouge Parish and exist only in the memories of the people who once patronized them.

Perspectives on the Local Area and Lifestyle

Before concluding the chapter, this last section of Chapter Four does not so much discuss West Baton Rouge Parish versus East Baton Rouge Parish and the state's capital city as much as it shares the thoughts and feelings of the West Baton Rougean informants who supplied the ethnographic data collected from interviews in the field. Apart from the fact that the Mississippi River is more than a physical and political boundary between the two parishes, these anecdotes establish the perceived cultural and attitude divide between the two parishes. This divide serves as a context for the four study bars as it relates to the sense of place that people have about them, the attachments that people form with them, and some cues to notions of rootedness.

The general questions from the list of guided interview questions (Appendix A) that prompted the responses and exchanges between myself and informants were: "Are you from the area," "How would you describe it compared to Port Allen or Addis," and, "How would you compare it to Baton Rouge?" The responses were fairly consistent among respondents in terms of how residents of Addis viewed Port Allen and vice versa and equally consistent in terms of how all informants viewed life on the east side of the river.

From the West

From the west bank of the Mississippi River, East Baton Rouge Parish and Baton Rouge are generally viewed in a negative light (compared to West Baton Rouge Parish)

by the people whom I interviewed. Life on the east side of the river is perceived by the respondents to be faster-paced, impersonal, and more diverse than Addis, Port Allen, and West Baton Rouge Parish. The words of the people who participated in this research speak for themselves.¹⁰ It does not take long for some people to live in West Baton Rouge Parish to get a sense of life in East Baton Rouge Parish as they perceive it, most informants view the people of West Baton Rouge Parish as part of a tightly-knit community compared to East Baton Rouge Parish:

I've always said that I don't want to live in a big city because I like going to a grocery store and it taking an hour to run and get bread just because you know everybody. And you know everybody, and you genuinely care about people. It's not like, I don't know, Baton Rouge is just different because I've been to other big cities and people aren't as friendly and willing to get to know people. [When asked if the comparison was being made to other large cities in the south.] Yeah, I don't know, Baton Rouge is not friendly. Oh, I hate Baton Rouge. I used to live there. Over here, it's laid back, you know, nobody gets in a hurry around here, you know, it is, it's, I just like it because, you know, everybody knows everybody, you know. It's like Cheers, everybody knows your name. [Asked if the case is not the same in Baton Rouge] No, no. It's just too big. You know, I mean, after [Hurricane] Katrina and stuff, it just blew up and it just . . . we have here too, you know, Addis is grown double what we used to be, you know, and still adding. But it's still, it's still a small town, small town, you know, it's still close-knit, you know.

From newer residents to West Baton Rouge Parish:

Baton Rouge is over-congested, they're over thirty years behind in their highways and they're never going to catch up [. . .] people sit at a red light

¹⁰ For a complete accounting of the collected quotes and anecdotes on perceptions of West Baton Rouge Parish, Port Allen, and Addis, see Appendix C.

and they get on their phone and you'll sit at a red light three cars through it. I prefer this side [West Baton Rouge] of the river as far as, because it's much quieter, more like country. You get in Baton Rouge it's more like a city, because it, I was raised in the city, I guess, you know, and to me, this is more [a] country style of life, I guess on this side than it is on the other side. You not so busy that you, when you go in to Baton Rouge, when you get into Baton Rouge, everything's fast-paced.

From lifelong Port Allen residents:

[In East Baton Rouge Parish there are] too many people, there's too many people, it's too congested and over here [in West baton Rouge] you don't have all, I mean, you got a lot of people but, you know, not like it is in Baton Rouge. Port Allen and Baton Rouge is two different deals. You want to go to Baton Rouge with all that bullshit, you're going to Baton Rouge. You want to come over here to Port Allen] and have at least some kind of normal life, and not as much crime, we're getting more not, like I said, with that displaced stuff [Hurricane Katrina refugees]. But, as far as I'm concerned, I would live in Port Allen before I would go draggin' my ass to Baton Rouge.

And finally, from a lifelong resident of Addis for more than eighty years, comes the benefit of the doubt for Baton Rouge, "We're more friendly to one another over here. Course, if I lived over there, maybe I'd have a different idea about it. I don't know, I always got along with all the people that lived in Addis," (Various Informants 2013).

Most of the respondents do recognize that Addis has twice the population that it did at the turn of the millennium and that it is still changing. However, it still retains its small-town, close-knit community nature despite recent population and economic growth:

It's actually grown a lot. But there's not the Baton Rouge traffic, there's not all the murders and everything they got around there. Some parts of Baton Rouge you don't even want to go in. Here, here people can walk around at two o'clock in the morning. It's just more of a small town atmosphere and friendlier people to me. This town was a small town and it's growing now and a lot of people don't like that because they like the way it used to be around here . . . I mean a small town atmosphere and you get to where the traffic is getting bad. I'd rather the country style, laid back, slower style than that. Baton Rouge is way too fast and I didn't grow up in that environment and I'm not comfortable there. Too many people. Too much shit.

Furthermore:

Addis and the whole west side and Iberville Parish, they're growing, they're expanding, getting new business whether they are industrial or car places or whatever. But to this point [in time], I hope that it stays this way, we haven't lost our Southern home. You walk in [to Charlie's Lounge] and you feel accepted [this is coming from a white male in his early thirties] . . . somebody will talk to you for no reason. I mean, it's a . . . Baton Rouge, you're not gonna get that. Because everything is just so generic, everything's, not more mechanized, but it's more corporate business. In Baton Rouge, you're another person with two dollars and you're another person buying the same pack of gum and that's what it is, you lose face in Baton Rouge. You can't walk into a bar in Baton Rouge and say, "The little old lady next door to you died and she doesn't have burial assistance," they're not going to know who she was and they're not going to care. It's a friendly, small town area, but you're close enough to the city, you know, I'm losing the word . . . benefits? It's not the word but . . . amenities? That's it. You know, you're close enough but you still kind of feel country. Some [people] work over there but, you know, they get to come back to small town mode when they get home. So . . . have a few beers . . . at Chuck's!

There is also an apparent divide, not in terms of community or cultural perceptions between the City of Port Allen in the north and the Town of Addis in the

south end of the parish but in terms of different growth and development rates between the two. To wit:

[Addis is] more of a hometown, [with] more closeness, a lot of people's related here. I mean, you don't find that in Baton Rouge. Port Allen, I don't know, it's a uh, I've been to places over there. I mean, I guess it's its own little community and everybody knows everybody. I know a lot of people over there, but nobody I'm not gonna make no special trips up there for.

And from an octogenarian lifelong Addis resident:

We used to be called "the asshole end of the parish". That's really some language, but that's what West Baton Rouge and Port Allen did. Absolutely, "Where you from? Oh, that's the blank-word of West Baton Rouge Parish." Now what are we? Now who is the a[sshole]?

In Port Allen, respondents that live in the northern part of the parish did not have much to say about Addis when asked and tended to focus on Port Allen and how they perceive any present-day issues of living in the city. From the perspective of a younger West Baton Rougean there is some apathy regarding how distinctive the three incorporated areas of the parish are:

Me – What's the difference between Port Allen and Addis?

I – The only difference is they're like, "Yea Addis!" and over here, "Yea Port Allen!" there, like in the middle, "Yea, Brusly!"

Me –So there's a lot of community pride?

I – Yeah, that's about it, and everybody's the same.

A lifelong resident of fifty years offered quite a bit regarding Port Allen and the effects of Hurricane Katrina regarding people moving to the area from New Orleans.

When asked how he would describe the area:

It depends on what, really, really that's a whole question right there because of what's all going on in this city [Port Allen]. You know, normally I would say, "Hey, the whole city of Port Allen is one community," but here lately, you may have watched the news and seen all that [legal brouhaha going on in the Port Allen mayor's office], and guess what, that's pretty much divided us a whole lot. And, I'm gonna tell you another thing is, what's really bothered us was, was it . . . even that, that, I think, divided us more than what Katrina did, and everybody got displaced, a lot of people came to Port Allen, but Port Allen . . . changed our way of livin'. We used to, and we've got people that we do know, and some background, so we didn't care for. You know what I'm saying'? And once that happened, you would think some of them would leave, but a bunch of them stayed. But kind of disrupted, to me, disrupted my whole raising in Port Allen.

Other respondents who lived in Port Allen agreed with this sentiment:

Port Allen's basically quiet, you know, we've got a lot of new people here since [Hurricane] Katrina. You couldn't pay me to live in Baton Rouge. Too much traffic. Too many killings. It's just . . . 'cause a lot of people from New Orleans moved to Baton Rouge too. It's just, it's just outgrown itself. Can't handle the traffic. I tell you what, I'd much rather live over here in [Port Allen], the people are not friendly over there in Baton Rouge. [And when asked why not.] Because there is a mixture of, of them from New Orleans, you know, displaced people . . . So Baton Rouge, I wouldn't want to live in Baton Rouge . . . not at all. Because I've lived there, and because the crime, there's a lot of crime.

Overall, compared to East Baton Rouge, some respondents view the parish as:

Rural. I know West Baton Rouge Parish is the smallest parish in the state, and we actually grow the most sugarcane. Because most of our land is farmland. So yeah, consider it rural. [And the biggest developments as of late?] The biggest development would be all the stuff [retail business] added on LA Highway 415 [and LA Highway 1] like the strip malls and everything, when I was a child [nearly thirty years ago] that wasn't there.

The Bar Scenes

Bars in East Baton Rouge Parish are perceived to not be family friendly or as welcoming as the bars in West Baton Rouge at which most of the respondents are regular customers. Generally, the informants who are customers at Chuck's Lounge and Charlie's Lounge perceive their bars as more tight-knit, and the people of Sugar Patch Lounge and Jack's Place tend to keep more to themselves apart from interacting with others at their respective bars. A few examples for now will suffice, but these perceptions will make a more prominent appearance in Chapter Six which provides an in-depth treatment of each of these four bars. For now, however:

Baton Rouge people are a little hodgepodge of people that none of them really know each other at some of the bars. It's not as family friendly over there. It's too much of a mixture of different people's personalities. [In the Baton Rouge business district, bars are] more of a downtown crowd like lawyers, the political interest-type groups. I don't go over there because I hate the new bridge [Interstate 10 Bridge] that much. [. . .] I'll go there, but it's not some place I'm going to say, "Well, I'm going to go there instead of coming here [to Chuck's Lounge]." Beer's more expensive. I've went downtown [Baton Rouge] and that's for younger people, like my age [mid-twenties] and it's not bar, it's just, you know, same thing; you goin' there for music or hangin' out, but here [in West Baton Rouge], it's just, like I said, older people just want to sit around and have a couple of drinks and be friends.

Some respondents felt that bars in Baton Rouge, by virtue of the atmosphere created by the people that go to them, are too high-brow:

I feel like I have to get dressed up and impress people when I go over there because I feel like they're always judging people. We go downtown, like Roux House [a bar/club with live music and more frequented by young, urban professionals] and like Happy's [Irish Pub, an Irish-themed bar whose female bartenders where short plaid skirts and low-cut blouses that expose their midriff], Boudreaux and Thibodeaux's [similar to Roux House] . . . It makes me feel very uncomfortable. Because they don't know who we are, we don't know who they are, it's just kind of like a tension. Because, I guess, it's close to home. [West Baton Rouge bars are] a lot more friendlier. You don't have to walk in a bar and feel like everybody's lookin' at you. Or if they hear your accent and know you're from this side, or the west side of the river that, "Oh, wait, that's trash, they might try to jump me." And they use that stereotype. [The difference in the accent being . . .?] We have more of a Southern drawl, it's slower. You know, we talk a little bit slower more than most people. The west side of the river is gentler. We don't judge, as long as you're not drunk, hittin' on somebody's girlfriend, or talking shit about somebody. It's just that small-town, local, family feeling as opposed to where you might meet up with your friends [at a bar in Baton Rouge] but you're not going to know everybody in there. I can come here [to Chuck's Lounge] by myself any day because I know I'll know somebody to talk to, somebody to hang out with.

In West Baton Rouge Parish bars, people feel like they know each other better and get along based in large part on the idea that almost all of the regulars are from the same place as them:

Well, here [in Jack's Place], you actually speak to more people, when you're out in Baton Rouge, it's, more or less, you know, people are just trying to pick you up [as in men making passes at women]. It's not like they're just there to enjoy themselves.

Overall, the general sentiment of the regular group of people at Chuck's Lounge, Charlie's Lounge, Jack's Place, and Sugar Patch Lounge is captured by the following:

Aw, yeah, but, I mean, and another thing, it doesn't matter to me if you go to Morley [Marina], Charlie's [Lounge], Chuck's [Lounge], I mean, anywhere on the west side of the river here is a whole lot different. It's more, it's almost more like old fashioned. In fact, you go into places over there [in Baton Rouge] it's like there's so many people you just, I guess, you just a number sitting . . . What it is, is it goes back further to when everybody used to live [in smaller communities]. I mean, families helped each other. I'm making more uh, I don't know whatchoo want to call it. You get over there and this is your family and I'm going to help you out and all but it just, it just, it evolved from that. It's a whole different area here for some reason.

Finally, I asked one lifetime Addis resident in his late fifties where he would take a visitor from out of town, out of state, or especially out of the region that came to visit West Baton Rouge:

Morley [Marina] really is a relaxing place to me. Sit there, drink a beer, and watch some boats pass. We put our boats in there if we ever go to the camp and stuff. I got people from Texas, California, they come in, and Oklahoma, that I met over the years, they love to go back there, dance, listen to the music, dance, watch the boats, I mean, they don't see shit like that. Really the, on the one, if you really want peace and quiet after a day of work, it's either Charlie's [Lounge] or Morley [Marina], it's a smaller crowd and, you know . . . I mean, you know the people in there but you can sit there and talk with the group or sit over there and enjoy the peace.

Obviously omitted here is the view from the east side of the river, looking west, especially regarding the people that are regulars at West Baton Rouge bars and bars in the western parish in general. That would be the subject of a follow-up dissertation for an aspiring doctoral student. However, it is probably safe to say that the typical East Baton Rouge Parish bar-goer would have a reciprocal view of West Baton Rouge Parish as slow-paced, rural, boring (not much to do in terms of entertainment), perhaps lower-class, and even relatively uneducated.

Conclusion

There are just two exits off of Interstate Ten in West Baton Rouge Parish. To any traveller just passing through, unfamiliar with the parish, its people, its town, and its history, it could seem like an isolated place that is lucky to have a bridge connecting it with the malls, businesses, restaurants, and movie theatres in its much larger neighbor. It is not. West Baton Rouge Parish has a rich history touched by the entire world. Even before European explorers imprinted their culture on the area, indigenous people were already sharing ideas and material culture at a place that served as a cultural crossroads. The sugarcane grown in the parish is mainly of a Javanese variety, the slaves who worked the fields and operated the sugar mills were imported from the Caribbean and Africa, and many of the whites who owned the large plantations had Irish, Scottish, and German roots, some directly emigrated from Europe. Now, the Port of Greater Baton Rouge serves as a link to the rest of the world. The local Community Coffee plant imports coffee beans from Brazil and the petroleum refineries export around the globe. The landscape of West Baton Rouge Parish is covered with the remains of what used to be (Lewis 1979b;

Mitchell 2008). Still, the small towns retain their local flavor, a flavor that is perhaps most easily discovered in some of the oldest local bars in the parish.

The history and histories of the four bars that I study in this dissertation do not play a role in the history of the parish as far as the parish's historical association is concerned; nor do making and consuming alcohol, or places of drink intersect much with local history. In fact, the only mention of alcohol or the culture surrounding it in the parish are in the Town of Addis' 75 year anniversary pamphlet (Addis 1990) that mentions when Chuck's Lounge first opened, a sentence about common buildings on the Cinclare Sugar Plantation that included a company town bar (Phillips 2012, 183), and that the Gold Coast once had several bars which remained busy until the Interstate Ten Bridge opened in 1968 (Phillips 2012). Sanborn Fire Insurance maps from the 1920s and 1930s of Addis and Port Allen do not reveal much information about the bars that existed back then either except to label a boarding house and billiards room in Addis and outline the location of Jack's Place in Port Allen. Additionally, apart from current records from the West Baton Rouge Parish Assessors' office, or the Louisiana Gaming Control Board's Central Gaming Registry (2010) there is no primary source documentation about these bars. Therefore, for information on the history of the bars themselves, this research turns to the spoken word; talking to the owners, bartenders, and long-time regular customers about the individual bars and what they have to share about their bars and the nightlife history of their parish.

Chapter Five: Bar Typographies, Regionalization of Bar Terms, and Bar Society

This chapter focuses on bars in general, beginning with a taxonomy of bars and different terms used to label drinking establishments. Following that is a discussion of some of the most popular terms used to describe bars in the United States as well as an analysis that examines where those terms are used in different regions of the country. The chapter concludes with a discussion of race, gender, and sexuality in bars, being an outsider relative to the base of regular customers, and what it means to become and be a regular customer.

A Taxonomy of Drinking Establishments and Regionalization of Terms

Beyond the names of the four specific bars included in the present dissertation, it is worthwhile for a geography dissertation to examine the geography and regionalization of terms used to refer to drinking establishments in the United States of America. In colloquial American English, common terms that refer to drinking establishments are: bar, saloon, tavern, lounge, and club (more commonly) and joint, place, honky tonk, and pub (less commonly) (ReferenceUSA 2011). In cultural or sociological terms that would not necessarily conform to some regionalization are terms such as sports, college, urban, neighborhood, dive, country (club), cocktail, and dance (hall), among others. Paired with regionalized terms to refer to drinking establishments, more precise terms to describe specific bars would be: sports bar, college bar, neighborhood bar, dive bar, cocktail lounge, country club (not referring to an exclusive membership and a golf course), or even saloon and dance hall. These regionalized and descriptive terms are not based simply on the perception of a lone geographer; rather they were mined from a database,

an online business telephone directory called ReferenceUSA (2011). After cleaning up all of the extraneous and erroneous listings in the database, there were several tens of thousands of drinking establishments that do business under these different combinations of terms.

Generally, these terms should not breed much contention among the typical regular bar patron. A sports bar or tavern may 1) refer to itself as a sports bar and 2) actually present itself as a sports bar by its décor, if it has multiple televisions typically tuned to sporting events, or if it is a regular occurrence for people to gather to watch sporting events on television. The same goes for a country and western saloon that plays country music and often has regular line or square dancing to such music. However, one term encountered in the course of conducting fieldwork for the present dissertation and even for an article about local bars in a local culture/nightlife publication is “dive” (McEwen 2013). Even on the social networking website, Foursquare, “dive” is a category of bar that people use to label some of their favorite drinking establishments. In the course of conducting interviews at the four study bars, I frequently used the term “dive” to refer to each one of the bars to gauge the reaction of my informants, especially the owners of the bars. None were offended at the term, and a couple agreed that their establishment could certainly be put in a class of bars referred to as dive, and one simply shrugged off the term, saying he did not even consider his establishment a bar as much as he considered it to be a “pool hall” as it had 6 pool tables.

The aforementioned database of bars in the United State yielded some insight as to the most popular terms used to refer to drinking establishments in different areas of the country. This list is by no means exhaustive of every single business that serves alcohol

in the United States. However, all three of the four study bars with “lounge” in their name did happen to be included in the original list of more than fifty thousand businesses that used terms such as, “lounge,” “bar,” or, “tavern.” Jack’s Place of course did not make the list because it does not have any of those terms in the name.

Nevertheless, after several rounds of categorizing 20,408 individual bars into as specific a general category as possible, I arrived at 56 unique categories of drinking establishments. The most common categories were bar, lounge, pub, saloon, and tavern into which approximately three-fourths of the establishments were grouped. The remaining one-fourth of the drinking establishments used terms other than just those simple individual words. Some combined into “bar and lounge,” “lounge and club,” or “pub and tavern.” Others used more specific terms to describe the kind of drinking establishment that they purported themselves to be such as, “wine bar cocktail lounge,” or “vintage wine bar spirits,” or “night club lounge,” each of which implied a drinking establishment that would most likely not fit into the idea of the typical “American” bar, pub, saloon, tavern, or lounge.

Of the nearly 16,000 bars that used only a single simple term to describe the type of drinking establishment that they are, 4,121 were bars, 4,664 were lounges, only 25 were pubs, 1,676 were saloons, and 5,350 were taverns. What does this mean regarding the definition of each of these terms and the kind of drinking establishment that they connote? Additionally, what is the relationship between their definitions and regionalization of their use?

What's in a Word? Bars, Lounges, Pubs, Saloons, and Taverns

Sexton (1990) lists locations that may fit the definition of a dive bar that have additional characteristics that set them apart within the category of dive bar or share a similar characteristic such as serving as a place for regular patrons to socialize. The terms identified are “honky-tonk,” “saloon,” “bar,” “tavern,” “joint,” “lounge,” “dancehall,” and “club.” Each of these may have some overlap at multiple points. A bar may imply a place that serves only alcohol (beer, liquor, and wine) and that has a jukebox, darts, pool, or other forms of entertainment. A tavern might overlap but have the addition of serving food cooked in a kitchen with tables, and a bartender who doubles as a waitperson.

Joints, or possibly juke joints, are more difficult to typify and may also include the sub-types of blues or jazz joints. In colloquial usage, a joint can serve as an affectionate term for an establishment for individuals in a lower socio-economic cohort to come together and provide social support to one another. Lounge implies a laid-back establishment that might be quieter and a place where patrons are able to relax. Airport and hotel lounges are typically large rooms where individuals may sit, smoke, and chat while waiting for a room or for a plane to board. Lounges are also identified as a place that has club or social facilities.

The remaining terms honky-tonk, dancehall, and club each create an image of an establishment that is more lively than a bar or tavern. Although one would normally not deign to utilize a source such as Wikipedia.org for information for academic use, popularly contrived knowledge regarding cultural effects such as bars can provide insight to terms that do not so much have a definition as much as they do a description. The line between dancehall and honky-tonk is blurred to some degree as both may offer dancing

either provided by “professionals” or as entertainment in which the patrons themselves partake. In an effort to create a more distinct boundary between the two, dancehalls might be considered as places with more formalized or organized dancing and honky-tonks may be considered as places where impromptu dancing takes place between individual couples or in larger groups. Honky-tonk should connote images of a larger barroom with a dance floor and a live band or disc jockey (DJ) playing country music with people in cowboy boots, cowboy hats, and tight-fitting jeans cutting a rug around a dance floor or slowly two-stepping *a-la* the Brooks and Dunn song “Boot Scootin’ Boogie” (1991).

The remaining terms (bar, lounge, pub, saloon, and tavern) which are retained in wider usage in the United States will now be presented somewhat more thoroughly. In the spirit of channeling my inner college freshman, I turn to the reliable standard of the Google dictionary to elucidate the meaning of each:

bar (noun) /bär/ - a. a counter at which drinks, especially alcoholic drinks, and sometimes food, are served. b. an establishment or room having such a counter. synonyms: counter, table, buffet, stand.

Bars come with a multitude of modifiers. There are sushi bars, ice cream bars, wet bars, video poker bars, sports bars, cigar bars, and so on. They all have the common theme of being spaces in which bar activity typically revolves around a long fixture along which people can sit or stand and eat or drink whatever is being served by the bar. Some homes even have small bars in them. This would typically be a counter with high chairs in or near a kitchen area, possibly near an opening into the kitchen through which food and beverages can be passed. Most commonly, domestic bars might be used as a place in

the home to take a small snack or informal meal. Regardless of its specific use or location, the bar, as a fixture, tends to be the place within any drinking establishment on which barroom activity tends to be focused or is the spot from which the power to control the atmosphere of a barroom is derived. This is because the bartender or owner is most likely to be found working behind or near the bar and/or it is where most of the regular customers tend to congregate and socialize (Figure 5.1).



Figure 5.1: The bar inside Jack's Place. The picture was possibly taken in the 1950s or 1960s. The original owner and proprietor is seated on the stool on the right-hand side of the photo. (Photograph courtesy of Jack's Place)

lounge (noun) /lounj/ - a. a public waiting room, as in a hotel or an air terminal, often having smoking or lavatory facilities. b. a cocktail lounge. synonyms: living room, sitting room, front room, salon, family room; *dated*: parlor, drawing room.

The word lounge is nearly an aptonym (a name that is appropriate for a person's occupation or an object's purpose) in that the way that the word itself sounds implies its meaning, to relax or take it easy, or as a place to do either. Apart from the secondary definition modified with the word "cocktail," the word does not necessarily imply that it is a drinking establishment. However, when paired with a bar to serve alcohol, a lounge can become a relaxing place to have a drink and spend time with friends and acquaintances, casually discuss local events, family goings-on, sports, etc.

Perhaps the key implication of the definition is that the material setting of such a place must invite relaxation in the form of comfortable seating such as padded booths and tables that offer a degree of privacy or low tables and chairs that can be utilized by patrons in such a way as to keep a group small or put together with other tables and chairs to create a temporary setting for a larger group of friends and acquaintances to relax together. This happens to be the case with Chuck's Lounge almost exactly, however on karaoke nights and nights when there is a live band, the words relax and easygoing tend to be drowned out by loud music, dancing, and people letting their hair down as opposed to remaining more sedentary while enjoying drinks with friends. Figure 5.2 captures the inside of Chuck's Lounge with the movable seating and tables, the stage for karaoke and bands on the right, and the bar (behind the photographer) from which much of the power over the atmosphere of Chuck's Lounge emanates.

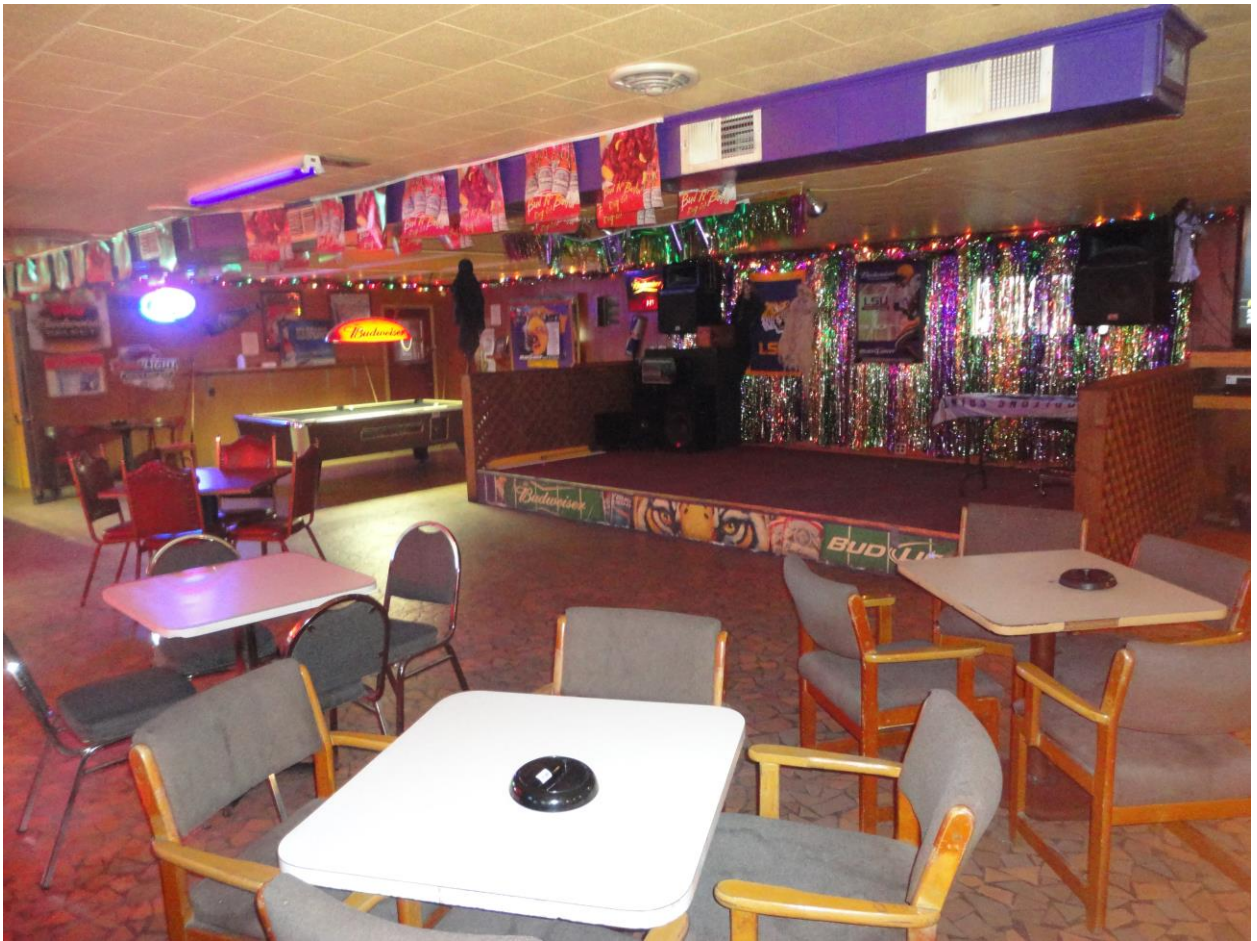


Figure 5.2: The inside of Chuck's Lounge table seating area and karaoke stage.
(Photography by the author)

pub (noun) /pʌb/ - a place of business where alcoholic beverages are sold and drunk.

British scholars Ignazio Cabras and Carlo Reggiani (2010) describe pubs as, “places where people drink, eat, play darts, take part in a quiz and watch sports [. . .] pubs also represent a natural place for social aggregation [and are] surrounded by social networks,” (2010, 947). Furthermore, English writer and

journalist Michael Jackson (1976, 5) states that, “the pub is an institution unique to England and there is nothing more English [. . .] Despite honourable efforts, the pub has not been successfully transplanted into other countries, because it is an organic part of the growth of English community life.” Regardless that Jackson implies that true pubs can only truly be found in England, 25 of the drinking establishments in the dataset refer to themselves as pubs (Figure 5.3).

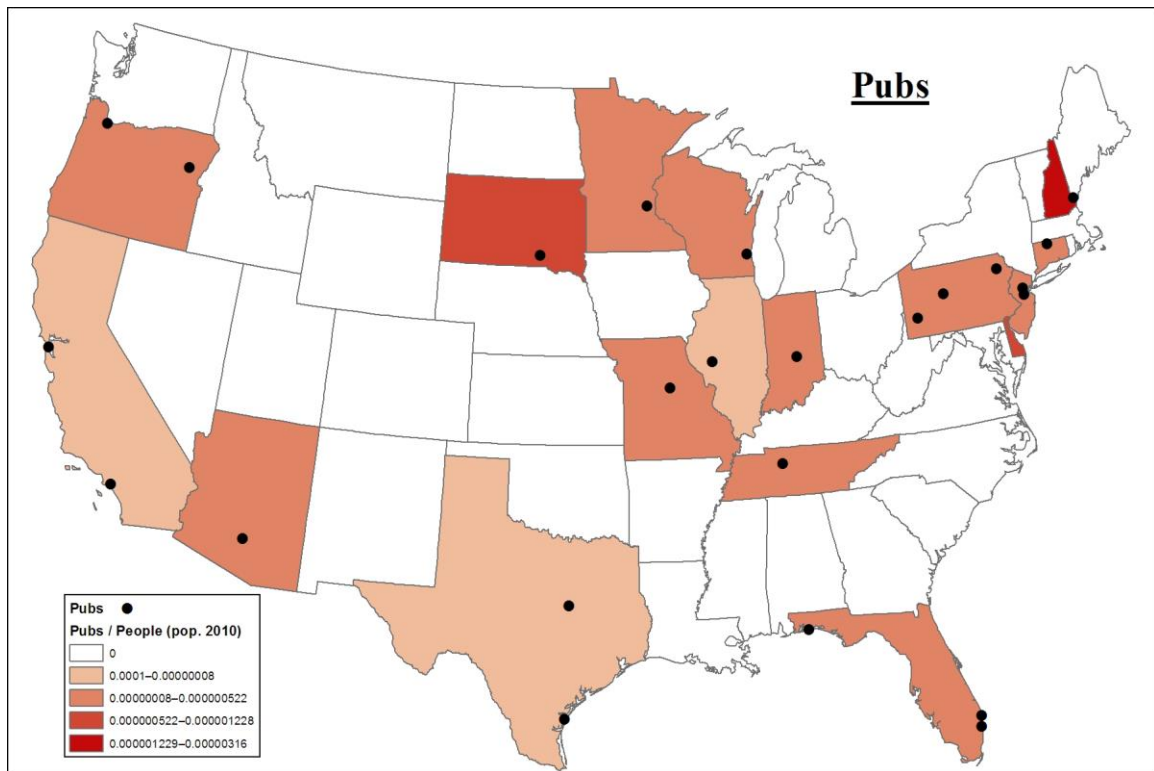


Figure 5.3: Distribution in the United States of the 25 pubs that are included in the final data set of some 16,000 drinking establishments. (Cartography by the author)

“Pub” is a term that did not receive mention from Sexton (1990). This term implies a more urban or town-like feeling. Additionally, a pub, such as an English pub, might serve food and serve as a family-friendly environment. In the present, smoking is

banned in pubs in England, decreasing the similarities between English pubs and many drinking establishments in the United States. In the U.S., places that are referred to as pubs that are clearly making an attempt at recreating the atmosphere (if not the experience) of an actual English pub do not exactly fit with or mimic a saloon, tavern, or lounge as described above. Regardless of this, it is important not to neglect U.S. pubs in a typology of bars of the United States.

Unfortunately, none of the academic papers that focused on pubs took the time to define a pub in terms of material culture, the people that go to them (mainly groups of friends versus families versus lone individuals), or what sort of activities take place at them (Jackson 1976; Smith 1985; Cabras and Reggiani 2010) (Figure 5.4a). Based on personal observation, English pubs in London are places where families can go to spend time together, eat food from a menu, be safe, and play board games, darts, or some form of billiards. In 2007, England banned smoking in pubs, so that they are now clean-smelling, non-smoky environments. In the U.S., pubs might also be expected to resemble their English counterparts. American pubs could generally be expected to have a bar where individuals may sit and drink beer as well as eat food from a menu, but the main focus would be on food and relaxing, not drinking, getting drunk, and making a lot of noise (Figure 5.4b). Likewise, because food is being served, and an American pub would most likely be a family-friendly setting, smoking would not be allowed inside either based on management discretion rather than based just on local or state ordinances. Compared to English pubs, American pubs would most likely have the concept of what a pub is thrust upon them rather than based purely on their existence as an organic part of a cultural milieu as in England (Cabras and Reggiani 2010).



Figure 5.4a: Just one of myriad images of the inside of an English Pub returned from a simple Google image search for, “traditional English pub interior.” This happens to be the inside of what is described as a, “traditional country pub.” (Courtesy of: www.agefotostock.com/en/Stock-Images/Rights-Managed/LOP-RS0066)



Figure 5.4b: The interior of an American take on the pub in Seattle, Washington. This image was collected from a Google image search for “American pub interior” and presents what is essentially an informal dining area with a bar and television most likely for watching sporting events. (Courtesy of: <http://www.magnolia-villagepub.com>)

saloon (noun) /sə'loõn/ - a. a place where alcoholic drinks are sold and drunk; a tavern. b. a large room or hall for receptions, public entertainment, or exhibitions.

Though the word “saloon” may conjure images of a dusty, lawless, Old West frontier town (Figure 5.5a) . . . a lone man newly arrived on a horse hitched up to a post . . . two creaky swinging doors clattering shut as he slowly strolls into the dimly lit, smoky establishment . . . a surly, or possibly diminutive bartender wearing a visor and sleeve garters on his upper arms . . . a group of men gathered around a table playing a barroom game (Figure 5.5b), the definition for “saloon” is relatively dry; especially for a term fraught with such masculine overtones. Regardless, saloons did feature in frontier towns to quench the thirst and empty the pocketbooks of men living on the American western frontier (Proctor 1984).

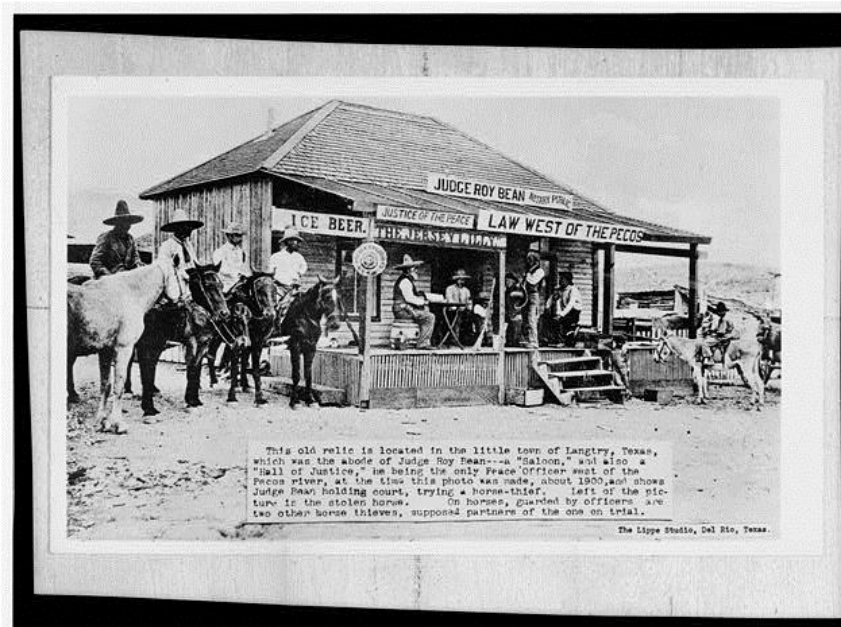


Figure 5.5a: Judge Roy Bean [Saloon] in Langtry, TX ca. 1900. (Courtesy of American Memory from the Library of Congress)



Figure 5.5b: Orient Saloon in Bisbee, Arizona . . . Faro game in full blast. Recognized: Left to right-Tony Downs (standing with derby), part owner; Doyle, a concert hall singer at corner of table, sitting, with derby; back of him standing is Dutch Kid; Sleepy Dick, the porter, to right with light felt; Charlie Bassett, with soft felt hat in rear next to wall; dealer is Johnny Murphy, and Smiley Lewis in silk hat.” By C. 5. Fly, ca. 1900 (Courtesy of the U.S. National Archives and Records Administration)

tavern (noun) /'tævərn/ - a. an establishment licensed to sell alcoholic beverages to be consumed on the premises. b. an inn for travelers.
 synonyms: bar, pub, cocktail lounge, lounge, taproom, nightclub, roadhouse, club; inn; rathskeller; *informal*: gin mill, nineteenth hole, dive, watering hole; *historical*: saloon, alehouse, speakeasy, public house.

Though one of the synonyms for “tavern” is “bar,” as are “pub,” “lounge,” and “saloon,” at least one history scholar, writing on the history of drinking in America, notes that, “The bar was probably the principal attraction of the numerous taverns of the day [colonial America]. [Where] the thirsty could obtain varied liquor bill-of-fare, many items of which were not to be had at home,” (Proctor 1984, 889). Notable about this

quote is that “bar” is indicated to be a feature within the tavern that is not necessarily related to other goings on within the tavern, whether it be a religious service, legal proceedings, or town meetings (though these events frequently transformed into drinking sessions).

The word “tavern” itself is derived from the Latin word *taberna* the original meaning of which was shed or workshop. In colonial America, taverns served as some of the earliest hotels, courthouses, post offices, and community centers (Lender and Martin 1982; Sismondo 2011). In the United States, taverns are some of the oldest drinking establishments and are woven into the lore of United States history (Lender and Martin 1982; Sismondo 2011). A few examples include Fraunces Tavern in New York City where General George Washington bid farewell to his officers in 1783 and which claims to be the oldest surviving building in Manhattan (Fraunces Tavern Museum 2014), the White Horse Tavern in Newport, Rhode Island which was constructed before 1675 (Figure 5.6a), and the Tun Tavern in Philadelphia which is purported to be the site of the first enlistments into the United States Marine Corps on 10 November 1775 and burned down in 1781 (Tun Tavern 2013), additionally, City Tavern also in Philadelphia is where the Continental Congress first met and is still operating (City Tavern 2005). Not all historical taverns are located in the northeast United States however. Jean Lafitte’s Black Smith Shoppe on Bourbon Street in New Orleans French Quarter claims to be the oldest operating bar in the United States since the 1770s.



Figure 5.6a: White Horse Tavern in Newport, Rhode Island c.a. 2009. (Courtesy of Wikipedia Commons)

In his book, *Blue-Collar Aristocrats*, LeMasters (1975) provides a thorough account of life and the people in a blue-collar tavern in Wisconsin. Despite his thorough sociological account, he uses the term “tavern” seemingly as a purely colloquial expression for any drinking establishment without actually describing the material culture of a tavern or the relationship between the different terms used for drinking establishments. At best, LeMasters provides a simple framework for the social life of the group of people who could best be referred to as regulars in any drinking establishment. Though LeMasters (1975) characterizes the idea of the Wisconsin tavern (which he generalizes to all taverns to some degree) as a site for blue-collar workers to drink in a relaxed environment, some taverns are characterized by a Google image search as upscale, posh, and more white-collar. However, the idea of the tavern has persisted from colonial America in some places in the country (Figure 5.6b and c).



Figure 5.6b: A contemporary tavern in Northern Minnesota. (Courtesy of www.lakesidetavern.com)



Figure 5.6c: The bar area of the tavern pictured in Figure 5.6b. (Courtesy of: www.lakesidetavern.com)

Dive Bar

“Dive bar” is sometimes used as a pejorative term to describe bars considered to be a shabby and disreputable drinking establishment (Dive 2014), possibly located in a basement (Palahniuk 1996), and is described in a *Playboy* magazine article as, “A church for down-and-outers and those who romanticize them, a rare place where high and low rub elbows—bums and poets, thieves and slumming celebrities. It’s a place that wears its history proudly,” (Wallace 2010). Additionally, an online article on the *Playboy* website describes “neighborhood dives” thusly:

The neighborhood dive is a no frills joint owned and operated by a native son with a name like Sully or Mac. These bars are open every day from 6 a.m. til[sic] 2 a.m (4 a.m. in New York) and cater to a tightly knit, fiercely loyal clientele that revel in the camaraderie, cheap drinks and proximity to home. Beyond being a temple of worship for the local sports franchises, a neighborhood dive doesn’t purport to have a “concept” or “theme.” There is no food to speak of, save for some pretzels on the bar (those who dislike e. coli are advised to stay away), a pegboard filled with individual packages of chips and perhaps a jar filled with pickled eggs (I dare you). With the possible exception of replacing a worn-out dartboard or updating the jukebox selections every decade or so, neighborhood dives don’t keep up with the times. They are enduring reminders that the more things change, the more working class drinkers remain the same. (Dunn 2011)

Despite the documented definitions that imply a wholly negative outlook on establishments considered to be “dives,” or *Playboy*’s romanticized definition, some people (myself, for one) use the term to affectionately describe their preferred watering holes. This is the case for the four study bars that are half of the topic of this dissertation.

Notably absent from the definition of “dive bar” is a description of the physical qualities of such places with the exception of Chuck Palahniuk’s (1996) description of a

dive bar being located in a basement in his book *Fight Club*. In American popular culture, the animated television show *The Simpsons* portrays one of the lead character's favorite bar, Moe's Tavern, as a dive bar (Simpsons Roasting on an Open Fire 2001). The regular customers at the bar typically include middle-age, slightly out-of-shape, blue-collar workers who are generally friendly to each other yet still enter into minor verbal and physical altercations with each other, and who are served fictional draft Duff Beer by a moody, lonely, single bartender. The bar is rarely frequented by other characters (such as doctors, religious adherents, and wealthy businessmen) in the series however, when non-regulars do enter the bar, they generally provide negative commentary regarding the visual aesthetics, odor, and regular customers of the bar.

Although the basic necessity for a business establishment to be recognized as a bar may be that it serves alcohol, there is no single category of drinking establishment. Because the world is not a homogenous culture and not all persons share the same interests or ideas of what constitutes a good time at a bar, different establishments serve different needs. To say that a family tree of bars is easily divided by categories such as urban versus rural, blue-collar versus white-collar, or club versus tavern would be futile. A Venn diagram would most likely be more suitable. For instance a dive bar may appear thusly (Figure 5.7):

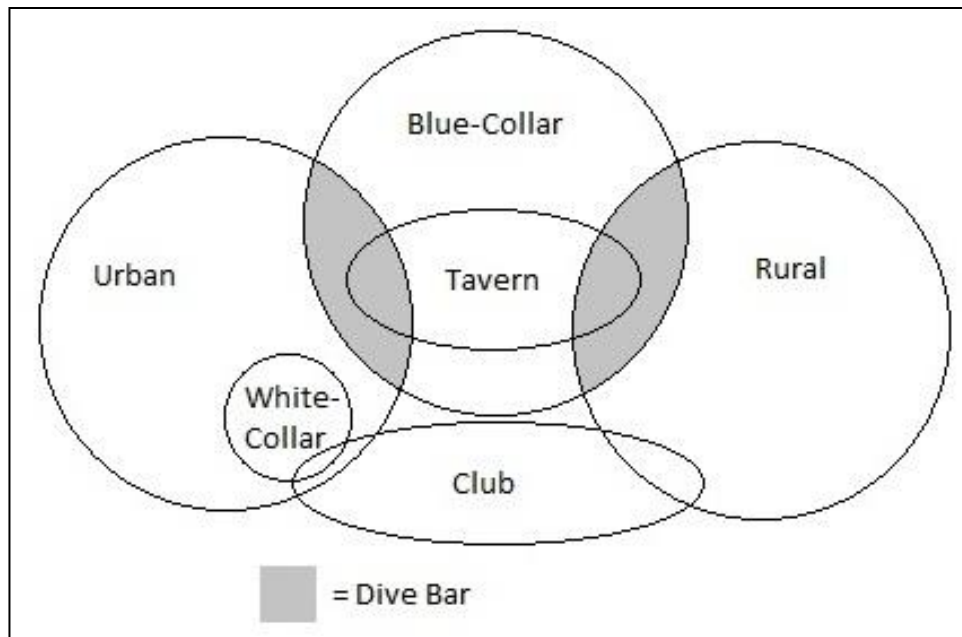


Figure 5.7: Venn diagram showing the confluence of bar types which intersect to form dive bars

Why is the dive bar considered in this way? Based on a preconceived notion, one would not expect a dive bar to be a setting for white-collar individuals. Likewise, a club implies a place where people go to dance or meet other people for romantic purposes. A tavern implies a place where people go for the purpose of drinking and perhaps to meet up with other people of a similar socio-economic profile. Blue-collar does not necessarily imply an uneducated group of people who work solely for minimum wage. As LeMasters (1975) explains, blue-collar workers are often skilled craftspeople or operators of expensive equipment such as cranes or bulldozers. Although a higher level of former education is not required, discipline, skill, and experience set blue-collar laborers who work with their hands apart from white-collar and service industry workers. When blue-collar people come together to spend time drinking in a place like a tavern, this can create a dive or neighborhood bar where patrons who are regularly at the bar have their

established place in the social structure of the bar and have integrated their personal lives into the social fabric of the bar itself.

While doing a little bit of exploring for a small article on local bars for a culture/nightlife publication in Baton Rouge, I visited a couple of bars that I had not been to previously (McEwen 2013). I had chosen to go to the first one because I had seen it before, it was located in a small shopping strip of businesses, it seemed to rarely have more than a half-dozen automobiles in the parking lot, and I assumed it would fit into the category of dive bars about which I was writing the article. Upon entering the bar, I could tell that it was exactly what I had been searching for and hoped that it would be. It had a single pool table, a fairly random and eclectic mix of décor on the walls and ceiling; it was smoky and just did not fit into the notion of being the type of establishment where white-collar workers might meet up in the evening for cocktails and business talk. The bartender on duty, who also happened to be the owner of the bar, welcomed me to the bar, asked what I would have and then proceeded to make friendly conversation about why I was there since it was my first time in that particular bar.

Without considering whom I may or may not offend with my choice of the term “dive bar” I let her know that I was writing a small piece for a local culture/entertainment publication and that I had been asked to write about “dive bars.” Asking me what I meant by that, I continued on by explaining that I had passed her bar before but had never been in it and that my hope for the visit was that the bar would fit into my idea of what a dive bar is. In addition to this, I proceeded to give a brief definition/explanation of my idea of a dive bar in terms of the clientele and its physical qualities.

Big mistake; the owner immediately took offense that I considered her bar to be a dive bar, insisting that it was a neighborhood bar which catered to people who lived in nearby residential areas and staff at a nearby hospital who came in late in the evening or early in the morning when their shifts ended. As I apologized for causing any offense, I attempted to explain that, from my perspective, “dive bar,” is an affectionate term that I applied to several of my favorite drinking establishments and that I intended my use of the term to mean a friendly, welcoming establishment with a solid core of loyal regular customers that did not necessarily serve as a nightlife hotspot for white-collar workers or for younger adults looking to have a rambunctious time dancing to loud music. To myself, I disagreed that the establishment was a neighborhood bar because I knew of no nearby residential areas from which a customer could easily walk rather than drive to the bar, and because it was located on a service road along a multi-lane divided highway near a cloverleaf exchange with an interstate. Regardless, I quickly backpedaled, ceding that, because it was her bar, she was exceedingly more qualified than I to label her business as a neighborhood rather than a dive bar.

This anecdote goes to show that it is important to consider labels when describing places such as bars that are not just businesses to the customers or especially to the owners, proprietors, or bartenders that have a relatively long-term personal relationship with the bar and the people in it who drive the overall atmosphere. For different people, the sense of the place can hold different meanings whether the bar serves as a home-away-from-home, is considered a neighborhood, possibly family-oriented bar, or is a dive bar that carries with it many negative connotations derived from personal experience or popular culture. Furthermore, having developed one’s own sense of a place, especially

for an owner or a loyal customer, means that a person may see themselves reflected in that place because they consider the bar to be a part of who they are and, as a result, prefer to consider a bar and its sense of place in positive terms and ideas because that is how they view themselves and would like other people to view them. This is an example of place identity.

Regionalization of Bar Terms and Distribution in the United States

This section moves beyond discussing the differences between the colloquial meanings of the terms bar, lounge, pub, saloon, and tavern and turns to how the different terms for bars are distributed within the United States and among the individual states. The following maps show the distribution for the nearly 16,000 bars in the final dataset collected from ReferenceUSA (2011) that used only a single term to identify what kind of drinking establishment they are.

Across the entire United States, there is one large region that has the largest geographic concentration of drinking establishments and less than a dozen smaller areas with relatively dense concentrations of drinking establishments (Figure 5.8a). The single largest region includes the Midwest and Great Lakes states across the Rust Belt to the Mid-Atlantic states and into southern New York and the lower half of New England. The smaller pockets are found in the larger metropolitan areas that are spread out across the rest of the country. The West Coast hosts concentrations of bars in the metro areas of Seattle, Washington to Portland, Oregon, San Francisco, and the Los Angeles and San Diego metro areas of California. The least dense area spans the Sierra Nevadas and Rocky Mountains to the Great Plains states and all the way across both the Lowland and Upland South. The Denver, Colorado and Phoenix, Arizona metro areas as well as the

major metro areas of Texas naturally have a higher density of bars to quench the thirst of the larger populations that live there. With the exception of the concentration of drinking establishments in Atlanta, Georgia, the densest concentration of bars lies along the Gulf Coast from Louisiana, at the heart of the Gulf Coast-Mardi Gras culture region (McEwen 2011), to Pensacola, Florida but dropping off and picking up again in Tampa, crossing Central Florida and then spreading north to Jacksonville and south to Miami along the Interstate 95 corridor.

The secondary information conveyed in Figure 5.8a is the number of bars per people (from the 2010 U.S. Census) in each state. Naturally, the closer that larger groups of people live to goods, services, and other businesses (as is the case in states with the largest populations such as California, Florida, or New York, the easier it is for a smaller number of those businesses to serve a larger population. However in states such as Montana, North Dakota, or Oklahoma, the population is more spread out which would require a larger number of bars for the population in order to maximize access to drinking establishments for people who live in more remote areas of those states. In Louisiana, the lone state that stands out in the south for the number of drinking establishments per capita, there are 423 establishments to serve the 4.5 million people that live there, with most of those concentrated in the more Catholic and densely populated southern half of the state.

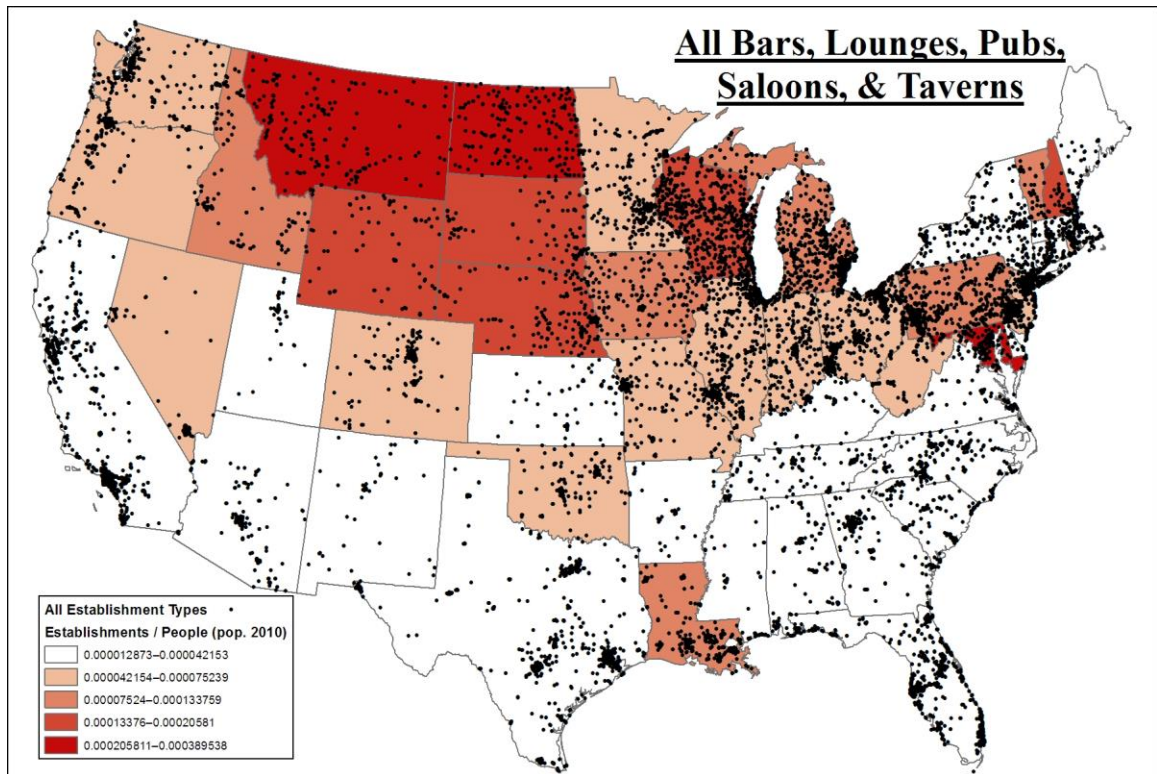


Figure 5.8a: The 15,996 bars, lounges, pubs, saloons, and taverns from the final data set of drinking establishments in the Continental United States. (Cartography by the author)

The remaining four maps show the same information but for each of the individual terms: bar, lounge, saloon, and tavern. Though the geographic distribution for each term tends to result in the largest regions for each term centered on Wisconsin, emanating toward the Mid-Atlantic states through the Rust Belt, the popularity of usage based on the per capita distribution among the individual states does reflect some regional cultural affinity for each of the four terms.

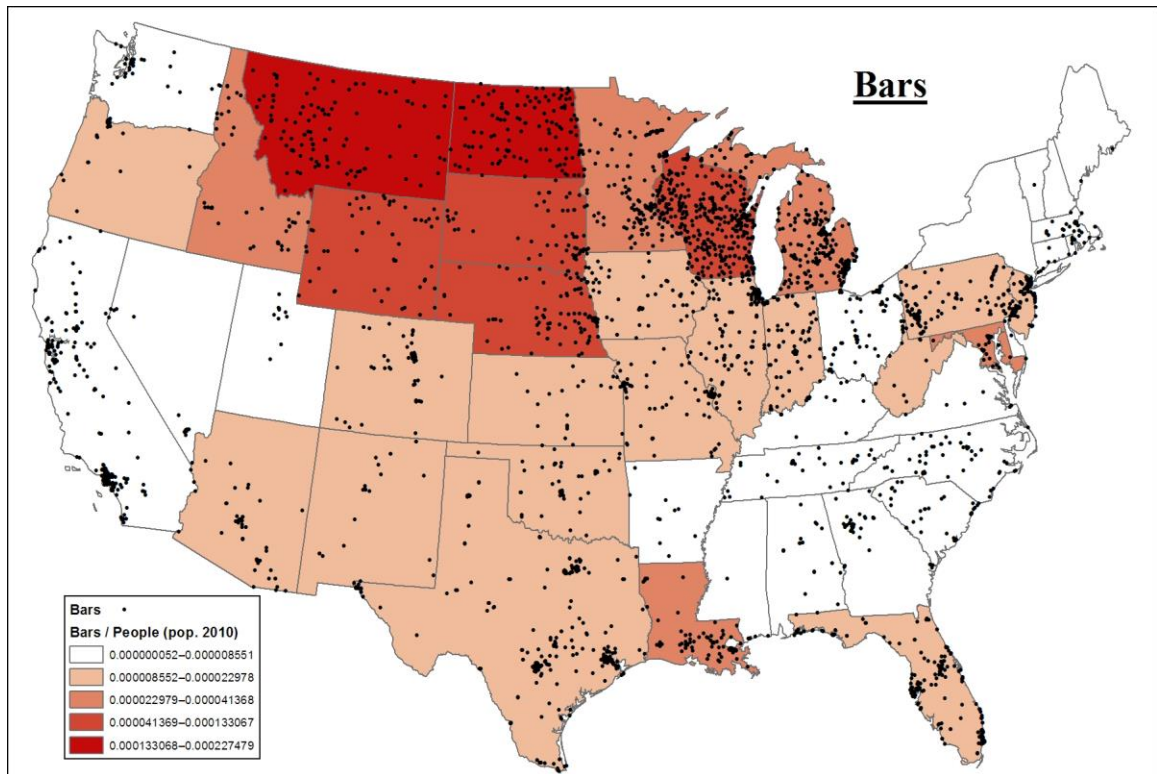


Figure 5.8b: The 4,121 bars from the final data set of drinking establishments in the Continental United States. (Cartography by the author)

The 4,121 drinking establishments that use just the term “bar” to label themselves predominate in the middle United States from the western Midwest across to the Northern Rocky Mountain states and down through the Great Plains to the Southwest. Isolated areas of popularity of the term are in Pennsylvania and New Jersey in the Northeast and in Central Florida along the Interstate 4 corridor from Tampa to Orlando, to Daytona Beach (Figure 5.8b). As far as Southern states go, Louisiana again stands out with 128 bars for its relatively smaller population. True to the notion that saloons tend to be associated more with drinking establishments west of the Mississippi River, 914 of the 1,676 in the continental United States with the West’s nearly 127 million residents with

just 762 for the more populous East's 180 million residents. Even Utah, with its tighter restrictions on alcohol sales has a few saloons in the Salt Lake City area (Figure 5.8c).

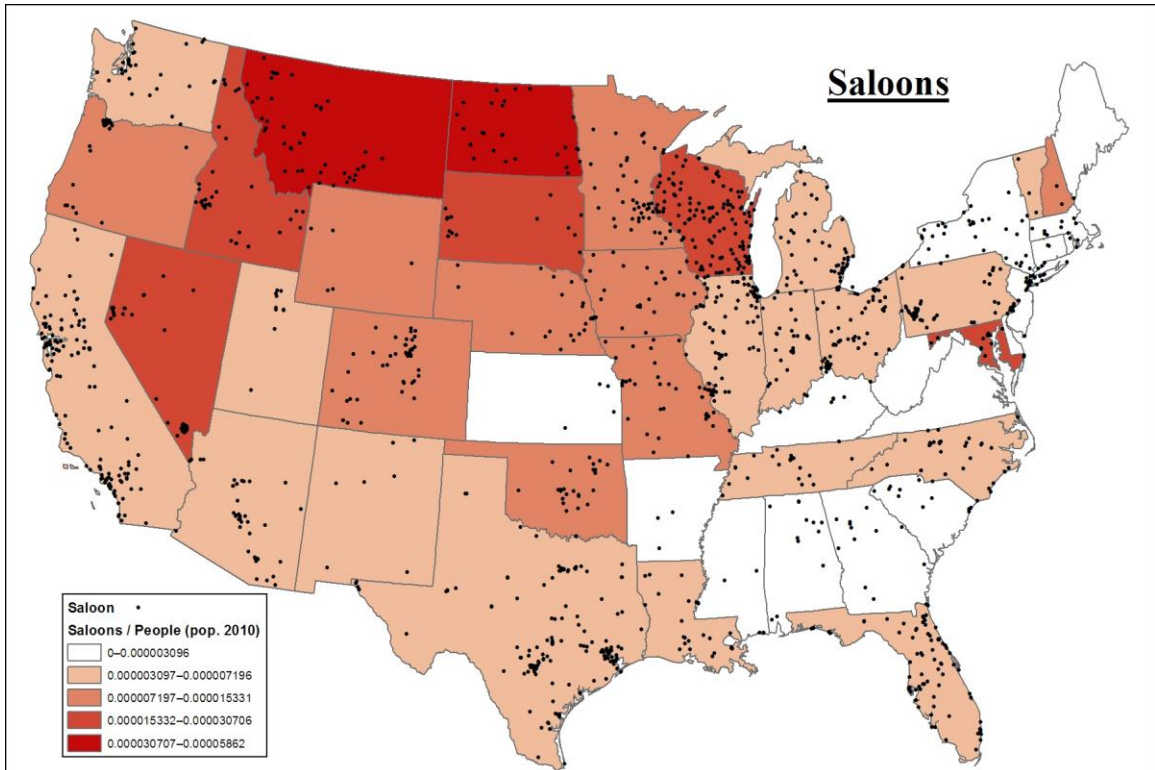


Figure 5.8c: The 1,676 saloons from the final data set of drinking establishments in the Continental United States. (Cartography by the author)

Taverns lie predominantly north of the Missouri Compromise line¹¹ and primarily in the Northeast, hearkening towards the history of the colonial United States when drinking establishments typically fit the definition of “tavern” (Figure 5.8d). Similarly, taverns are also favored in the former colonial Southern states that do not tend to favor using the terms “bar” or “saloon.” Likewise for southern Louisiana, taverns do retain

¹¹ The Missouri Compromise line of the mid-19th century lies at the 36°30’ north parallel which was used to divide Southern slave and Northern free states leading up to the United States Civil War.

some popularity, again possibly as a result of Anglo settlement in a post-French and - Spanish colonial era. Finally, the Northwestern states of Oregon and Washington have a similar level of popularity of use especially along the Interstate 5 corridor and into the eastern portion of Washington State.

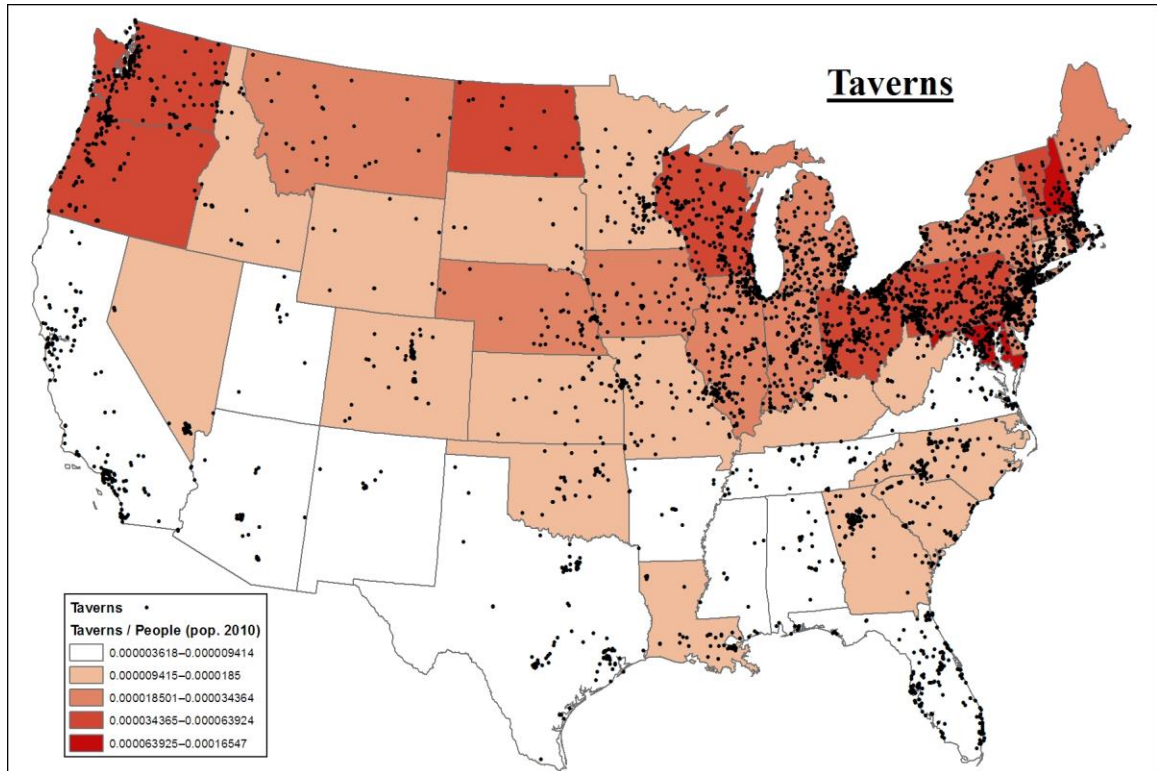


Figure 5.8d: The 5,350 taverns from the final data set of drinking establishments in the Continental United States. (Cartography by the author)

The remaining map (Figure 5.8e) is of the distribution of lounges which is saved for last because three of the four study bars identify as lounges. Lounges tend to be the most common term used across the United States with a relatively more even distribution compared to bars, saloons, and taverns. The Midwest, Great Lakes/Rust Belt, Mid-Atlantic, and Northeast states again exhibit the largest concentration of this term relative

to the rest of the country as a whole. Use of “lounge” is where the Southeast makes its debut with Tennessee, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Florida (particularly the portion of the state that is least affiliated culturally with the South), and Louisiana (the location of the four study bars demonstrating the greatest popularity of the term in the region). In Louisiana, 213 of the 423 drinking establishments (roughly 50 percent) from the dataset are lounges and, consistently, three of the four study bars (Chuck’s, Charlie’s, and Sugar Patch) are lounges as well.

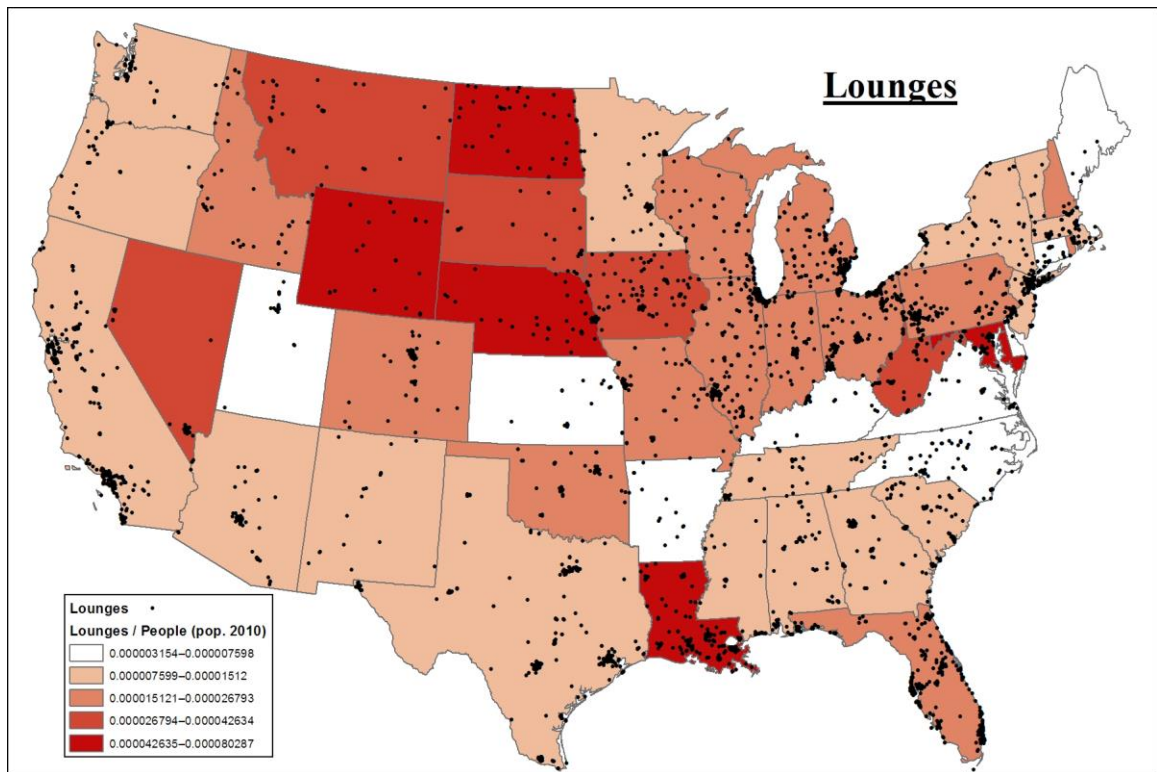


Figure 5.8e: The 4,664 lounges from the final data set of drinking establishments in the Continental United States. (Cartography by the author)

Bar Society

Speaking strictly of the four study bars, this section turns to race, gender, and sexuality which are an important aspect of the daily life of each of the study bars that deserve attention as each contributes to the sense of place for those who identify with or are identified by others as being outside the parameters of the normal/typical regular at each bar. Though women are represented as equally as men among the informants for this research, non-whites and individuals who identify with the LGBTQ community are not as equally represented in absolute terms. In survey research terms, it is probably safe to assume that non-whites and members of the LGBTQ community are represented in the sample population of informants at each of the four study bars. The end of this section turns to becoming a regular at bars in general and draws mainly from LeMasters' (1975) discussion of the axioms of regular membership at a blue collar tavern in Wisconsin.

Race

At each bar, if a black man walked into the bar on a given day, it was most likely that he was making the beer delivery to the bar. Between Jack's Place and Charlie's Lounge, I recall a single instance of a black man having a beer in the bar. It was at Jack's Place, and the young man came in, had a beer, and left. One younger black woman did occasionally drink at Jack's Place, but it was often in the company of white friends who were playing card games or pool. The only time I ever recall seeing a black man spend any real amount of time at Charlie's Lounge was during a Friday night poker game when most of the people in the bar were people who were not daily regulars were there.

At Sugar Patch Lounge, there were several instances of a black person spending time at the bar. One of the first occasions was when a black man, probably in his 60s,

came in and was warmly greeted by the same white people that would occasionally use the word “nigger.” I saw him at Sugar Patch Lounge on more than several occasions and he always seemed to enjoy himself and enjoy the company of the other bar regulars who sometimes treated him to a drink while he also returned the favor. On a couple of other occasions, younger black men in their 20s or 30s were seen at the bar, but they did not receive the same warm treatment as the older black gentleman.

Chuck’s Lounge is a somewhat different story compared to the other three. At Chuck’s Lounge, there were three black men that I observed there on any kind of a regular basis and on one occasion a black woman was in the bar but it was with a white female friend. One of the black men that frequented Chuck’s Lounge was not actually a regular but a man who would frequently be seen outside of the bar in the surrounding neighborhood but who occasionally came into the bar, sat at a table, did not drink and then left the bar. Many of the regular customers always regarded him with some suspicion regarding his intentions of being in the bar and hanging around outside in the surrounding neighborhood. A second black man, approximately 30 years old, was observed several times at the bar, often drinking with white men, but never alone and usually when the lone black regular customer was also at Chuck’s Lounge.

The single black regular customer at Chuck’s Lounge did happen to be one of my informants as well. Though he was always warmly welcomed and treated to beers by white regulars, the bar staff, and the bar owner, some of the same regulars that greeted him warmly and were friendly to his face were also not ashamed to use the word “nigger” in his presence. Though he experienced the life of a black man living in Addis his entire life, and had first-hand knowledge of what it was like to have to order beer at the back

door of the bar which was the only place where blacks could get beer at Chuck's Lounge during racial segregation, he did not outwardly seem to let the racism that he experienced in the past or the present get to him, and he seemed to attribute it to the effects of alcohol on the other customers when they expressed any degree of racism in his presence.

To be sure, there is no way that I, a white, 30-year-old, Southern man could ever understand what it is like to be black in any of the four study bars. I certainly would not feel comfortable venturing to a black bar on my own on a regular basis (primarily because I would not want to be perceived as intruding on a particular group of peoples' space) and, based on the history of race relations in Louisiana and the South in general, it would make sense that a black person would feel a sense of rejection in a space that was historically intended for whites, by whites. I never felt comfortable digging deeper into the thoughts and feelings of my single black informant (he seemed to get emotional at times regarding the subject), but I think the best way to put it was that he was glad he had made inroads into Chuck's Lounge and appreciated that attitudes were changing, however slowly, so that others could be accepted in a place like Chuck's Lounge regardless of their race.

Gender

As stated in the beginning of this section on race, gender, and sexuality, females comprise half of the sample population of my informants. Without considering the possible positions held within the bar by an informant, the initial assumption might be that each female informant is a bartender at each bar. Happily enough, the cross section of informants: males, females, bartenders, customers, and bar owners is generally representative of the cross section of the typical collection of people at the four bars as a

whole. With the exception of three of the twenty-two male informants, they are all strictly customers at the bar. Among the three exceptions, two are categorized as owners and the third as a bartender (though at the time of being interviewed, he was more frequently a customer rather than a bartender).

Among the twenty-two female informants for the present research, 7 were strictly customers, 4 were owners (though 3 of them often did drink at their own bar) and the remaining eleven were bartenders, all but one of them also participated in the bar's life as a customer either when their shift ended (if they had opened the bar that day) or if they came in during their day off. Thus is the dichotomy between males and females in the bar: women are both servers and customers who transition seamlessly between working behind the bar and drinking at it whereas to see nearly any one of the male informants behind the bar would have indicated that I was in an alternate universe.

For female bartenders, working behind the bar does not always appear to be an easy task, especially with male customers that cut-up with the bartender more than they do with the other male customers. Between male customers, joking, or talking about fishing or working at the plant is mostly a given. But between male customers and female bartenders (especially if there is more than two or three male customers present) the interaction contains more male bravado, with joking often venturing into off-color sexual innuendo, or implicitly (and sometimes explicitly) stating that female bartenders (more often than not the younger ones) are somehow inferior to the older, male customers. As one female bartender shared:

I mean, nobody'll bother you. You know, it's older, white men in here and they'll make their little sexual comment to you and you just kind of laugh about it and walk away and they won't come bother you.

Whenever I observed this, the female bartender would sometimes have an equally cutting response to shoot down the masculine ego or would sometimes just chuckle, smile, and half-jokingly say, "oh, shuttup!" On rare occasions, these interactions between male customers (generally a single habitual perpetrator at each of the bars) and the female bartenders would go too far and become too personal for the taste of the female bartender. As a result, despite that the female bartenders understand that their role in a mostly male environment is that they will sometimes suffer hearing crude comments, they will put a stop to it either by threatening to cut off the supply of beer to the offending customer or telling them that she will have to ask them to leave if they cannot quit making sexual or sexist comments and back off from the crude/personal comments.

Sexuality

To say that any of the four study bars are "straight" bars would be akin to describing the sky as blue. It goes without saying, especially for the regular customers (particularly male) who often perform their heterosexuality in such a way that might cause the typical heterosexual male, who is unfamiliar with the bar scene, some unease by the way that they interact with female bartenders. However, this seems to be par for the course in bars in general whether they are rural, white-collar bars, or urban blue-collar bars; some of the men being served by women often never forget to make some comment at the female bartender's expense at least once per visit.

Despite the overtly masculine and heterosexual nature of the culture at the four study bars, there is still a, not quite covert, but almost low-key LGB culture that exists alongside the heterosexual one. Though many of the heterosexual regular customers at the bars (which will not herein be named so as to not inadvertently disclose the identity of members of the LGB community at any of the four bars) are aware that there are some gay men, lesbian women, and bisexual individuals who frequent their respective bars, they, “don’t seem to mind too much,” (Various Informants 2013).

However, there is a noticeable dichotomy between how gay men and women are accepted by heterosexual individuals at some of the bars. At one of the bars, some of my informants pointed out that if a man were interested in meeting a girl at that bar, he might experience some difficulty in that endeavor because a number of the girls are not interested in men. Along with this somewhat accepting attitude, female couples can often be observed dancing together during karaoke or band nights, but also shooting pool, talking, and drinking with heterosexual groups and individuals as well. This mostly occurs among people in their 30s and younger, while older customers never appear to be outwardly put off by same-sex couples dancing or by occasional public displays of affection. For example:

I – I feel more comfortable [at some bars than another of the study bars].

Me – Because of the atmosphere that the customers create?

I – Yes.

Me – Okay, can you elaborate on that?

I – Um, well, last time I went to [another one of the study bars], I felt very uncomfortable because of the situation of me being gay, and I didn’t feel welcome.

Me – You know, it’s funny, I’ve noticed there [that] the dynamic is different because I’ve been there on nights and there are girls in there that are lesbian, there’s no doubt about it [based on observations of personal displays of affection between females], there’s even a couple of lesbian bartenders [who are out], and that’s not a problem [for the heterosexual, older, male customers]. But yeah, I’ve seen gay guys in there with those girls, and yes, you can tell it was different for them [how other customers reacted to them].

I – Yeah, and Saturday or Sunday there was an article in the *Advocate* [the local Baton Rouge newspaper] about how lesbians are more accepted than gay men. So . . . and I guess, you know, oh yeah, definitely accepted by men because what man doesn’t think two women is hot? And I hate to break it to you [to those men in general], but they don’t want you [chuckles]. But, you know, that’s why it’s more, I guess more acceptable. Um, I just don’t feel, I don’t feel comfortable at [those other study bars].

At one of the same bars where heterosexual customers seem to get along just fine alongside homosexual female couples, the (out) gay males that I interviewed did not view some of the same bars as having an equally welcoming unofficial policy towards homosexual males as they did towards gay females.¹² From the perspective of a heterosexual male with insight on the heterosexual male thought process regarding the subject, this may be for one of several possible reasons: 1) the typical heterosexual male finds sexual pleasure in witnessing two women who may or may not be engaged in a sexual relationship of any kind, 2) considering the generally overly masculine nature of the bar culture in the area, the typical heterosexual male might feel that some degree of control over the bar atmosphere is lost by having (what might be perceived to be less masculine males in the bar), and 3) to paraphrase a gay male informant, “some of the men are afraid that you’re going to come on to them,” which is a notion that the informant

¹² This conclusion is based on interviews with heterosexual and homosexual male and female informants.

considered silly because, “those men aren’t physically attractive anyway,” [still paraphrasing].

One male informant who happened to be homosexual explained:

I – A while back, there was an issue, you know, with being gay, some people didn’t like it, and, and like, the fact that I’m gay and I’m serving them drinks. But they got over it, and really quick once they got to know me.

Me – And was ignorance because they just thought they’d catch some “gay” bug or something?

I – Probably they flatter themselves because they thought I was gonna hit on ‘em, but, no . . .

However, at different bars, homosexual males are relatively open about their sexuality though, unlike females at other bars who dance with each other, the gay males do not necessarily perform their sexuality primarily because they spend time together at the bar as friends rather than as couples. Despite the completely non-threatening nature of homosexual males to older, heterosexual males in the bars, it is quite clear from observation, based on conversations overheard, and from interviewing older, heterosexual male customers, that gay men and women in the bar is ok with them as long as they don’t “act gay” or act “too gay.” Overall, the collective feelings of heterosexual regular bar goers towards the typical homosexual bar goers in the four study bars is not necessarily based on religious views, moral views, or cultural views, but appears to stem from unfamiliarity with a lifestyle that is not their own rather than from a sense of internal hostility towards a non-heterosexual lifestyle.

Becoming a Regular

The simple framework of not only being a regular at a drinking establishment but also of being a member of a group of regulars at an established bar consists of three axioms: 1) long-term continuous operation by an owner who is well liked by the steady customers; 2) an occupational and/or social class homogeneity which is needed to produce social cohesion; and 3) stable residential patterns which are necessary to create primary group relationships (LeMasters 1975).

Long-term and continuous operation by an owner is exemplified almost perfectly by each of the four study bars. At Chuck's Lounge, Chuck's octogenarian widow still lives in an attached house that has a no-longer used door which leads directly into the barroom. Likewise at Charlie's Lounge, Charlie's widow also lives with a similar setup; only the door into her home is used numerous times during business hours at the bar. At Jack's Place, the original owner's son, himself in his eighties, lives less than a one minute car ride from his bar, and at Sugar Patch Lounge, not only does the original owner's widow live in a house on the same property as the bar itself, but several of her daughters and employees also live in separate homes on the same property. The two exceptions regarding continuous ownership fall to Chuck's Lounge and Sugar Patch Lounge where the same people always owned the building that housed the bar, but with different individuals who have operated the bars over the last several decades. Regardless, this has had little impact on the regular customers' loyalties to the bars.

Having something in common, a lot of things, for that matter, can lead to social bonding and cohesion among bar regulars. LeMasters' (1975) example is of skilled construction workers and other blue-collar "aristocrats" in the bar who not only shared

occupational bonds but similar educational levels, economic conditions and similar personal experiences related to their blue-collar lifestyle. The same holds true for the regulars at each of the four study bars. In Addis, at Chuck's Lounge and Charlie's Lounge, many of the regular customers not only worked skilled and semi-skilled blue collar jobs, but for many, their occupations tended to be related to the petrochemical industry. The original owner of Charlie's Lounge worked in the oil industry, regulars at both bars worked as pipe-fitters, engineers, inspectors, etc., and even a number of the bartenders worked office jobs in the petrochemical industry in addition to tending bar part-time. Though the current owner of Jack's Place had a long career in the petrochemical industry himself, the regulars did not tend to share similar occupations or occupation in the same industry, but they still shared similar life experiences, economic standing, and education levels which were closely tied to local economic conditions and development in the City of Port Allen. Likewise at Sugar Patch Lounge, many of the regulars did have ties to the petrochemical industry. However, their standing as skilled and semi-skilled blue-collar workers and their life experiences tended to be the common denominator in their relationships at the bar.

In LeMasters' (1975) third axiom of the framework of social relationships in bars, stable residential patterns, and established residence in the local area also lead to primary group relationships. Though not every regular at the bars shared similar occupations or even had positive relationships with other regulars at the bar (not everybody likes everybody else), they did share their status as blue-collar workers with relatively long-term residence in the local area, specifically in West Baton Rouge Parish and the neighboring parishes. One of the most common responses to the question about

comparing West Baton Rouge to East Baton Rouge Parish or about comparing Addis and Port Allen to Baton Rouge was that the pace of life is slower in West Baton Rouge Parish. Many informants shared the experience of witnessing white-collar workers moving from more populous places such as Baton Rouge or New Orleans to areas near to their homes and their respective bars in West Baton Rouge Parish.

For informants who lived in Addis, the southern portion of the parish, the chief comment and/or complaint was how much Addis had grown in population in the past decade. In 2000, Addis' population was 2,238 and it grew to 3,593 by 2010, an increase of 60 percent, nothing to sneeze at and certainly not something that would go unnoticed by those who had lived in the town most of their lives. New apartment complexes and subdivisions with McMansions dot the side of Louisiana Highway 1 between the New Interstate Ten Bridge and the northern city limits of Addis. This residential growth starkly contrasts with the last sugar mill in the parish to close in 2005 and to the still fertile agricultural land still growing the sugarcane that is now processed in mills outside of the parish.

For the respondents in Port Allen, which witnessed a slight decline in population between 2000 and 2010, the chief complaint was of people who had fled Hurricane Katrina in 2005 or who had subsequently fled New Orleans in its wake. The main comment regarding this migration of New Orleanians to West Baton Rouge Parish was not that people had moved to Port Allen and stayed, but that evacuees/refugees from New Orleans had inserted themselves into Port Allen politics, economics, and society despite not having any familial roots in the area. I did not independently verify that this was something that had in fact happened. However, that it was a common perception among

my informants represented their sense of place and the sense that their rootedness was in jeopardy of being watered down not just in their bars but in the area which they grew up and lived in as well.

“A sense of belonging within a particular drinking place is the result of the individual becoming an accepted member of a particular drinking group—a ‘regular.’ If an individual is a regular in a particular drinking place then he or she can expect a certain type of treatment which differs from that given to non-regulars,” (Hunt and Satterlee 1986, 524–525). There are ways to determine if you’re a regular, such as if the bartender “know[s] and use[s] the patron’s name, know[s] his or her beverage preference and often having the beverage ready before it has been requested, introduce[s] the patron to other regulars with common interests, letting him or her know when other regulars have arrived, treating the patron to a free drink from time to time especially on occasions such as anniversaries or birthdays . . . [or the bar owner] lending or offering to lend small sums of money,” (Popham 1982, 64).

“The status of a regular depends not merely on regular attendance but also on knowledge of the shared rituals and practices of the drinking arena,” (Hunt and Satterlee 1986, 525). This was most definitely the case at three of the study bars. At Charlie’s Lounge, if you won the football board that week and received the \$50 pot, it was generally common courtesy to buy the few people in the bar a round of drinks with the winnings, though if the winner did not do so, he was not maligned by the other regulars. At Chuck’s Lounge, taking part in the roll-a-day is specifically for regulars only and people who bought into the pot when it was still relatively small. Roll-a-day is simple: the pot begins with about \$100 put up by the bar, when a customer comes in and buys a

beer, they can put in a dollar to roll five dice to try and achieve five-of-a-kind in a single roll which results in winning the pot which can sometimes grow to as much as a couple thousand dollars. Because of how large the pot can grow, it would not be fair for a person who has never taken part in roll-a-day to stroll in off of the street, risk only a single dollar and receive a return of hundreds of dollars to which regulars had spent months contributing. Lesser hands such as four-of-a-kinds and straights will at least win a free drink. At Sugar Patch Lounge, regular customers often treated each other to free drinks, bartenders would occasionally charge a cheaper price or nothing for a drink, and topics of conversation often tended toward whether or not a certain regular will or will not show up at the bar that afternoon or evening.

Having established an idea of what contemporary bar culture in America is like, the following chapter turns to the four study bars specifically. Chapter Six presents the personal views of customers, bartenders, and bar owners of each of the four study bars to establish the sense of place of each bar set in the context of West Baton Rouge Parish, Louisiana and local and contemporary American bar culture and society.

Chapter Six: Biographical and Ethnographic Surveys of Charlie's Lounge, Chuck's Lounge, Jack's Place, and Sugar Patch Lounge

This chapter makes the turn to what the dissertation it is really about: place. The discussion opens with understanding what is in a name by discussing the most basic fact about any place, its name. Presented next are the history, and perspectives about each bar based on information provided by the informants at each study site. The goal of the ethnographic viewpoint is to present a sense of place for each bar before leading into the main discussion of the data and conclusions in Chapters Seven through Ten.

Crossing the Interstate Ten Bridge from East Baton Rouge Parish into West Baton Rouge Parish is about the most mundane of events for the average East or West Baton Rougean (depending on traffic); certainly not an everyday activity of which the typical Louisianan might have conceived in the 18th or 19th Centuries. Nevertheless, it happens every day for thousands of drivers and their passengers. For those people more familiar with the crowded interstates, four lane feeder roads, chain theme restaurants, big box stores, and multiplex theaters, Charlie's Lounge, Chuck's Lounge, Jack's Place, and Sugar Patch Lounge might come as a shock, or at least a pleasant surprise to contrast the everyday urban landscape of East Baton Rouge Parish. Whether in downtown Port Allen, on a former state highway, a service road, or amidst the remnants of an area known ever so briefly as "Little Las Vegas," each of the four study bars deserves some phenomenological description so as to place the forthcoming results in the most objective context possible.

This chapter begins with perhaps the most basic thing that any one person can know about a place, what it is called, the name that it goes by, and the thoughts and

feelings that those names can evoke about a place. It then transitions to a biographical and ethnographic account of each bar, going through the history of each bar, the physical aspects of each place, the regular customers, and the general sense of place about each of the individual bars.

What is in a Name?

Something that may not be apparent to the casual viewer of these bars, or any business for that matter, is that out of the four of them, three prominently indicate some ownership of the bar. Not just legal ownership, but the fact that the name of the original owner is in the name. The reputation of the original owner is essentially at stake. Giving names to places does not only indicate place, but hearing the name can even carry with it the description of the place if one already has some perception of the place, and can carry deeply involved meaning such as its origins or who established the place. Place names imply not just how a place looks, but the perspective from which it should be viewed regarding its history and what went into its creation (Basso 1996). As it so happens, part of the guided interviews with informants included asking about the other bars included in this research. Their responses support the idea that place names contain meaning that not only indicate place but evoke personally held perceptions about a place despite the fact that, with the exception of Sugar Patch Lounge, the names of three of the study bars are generally not that creative.

Charlie's Lounge is named for the original owner, named Charles Crowson, who purchased the bar when it was located a bit farther south from where it is currently located on Louisiana Highway 1 in Addis. Chuck's Lounge is named for Charles Tuminello, Sr. who bought the business in the early 1950s when it was the JBR Liquor

and Package store (JBR are the initials of the original owner, Joseph B. Ragussa). Jack's Place is named for Jack Saia, and also has a specialty shot of alcohol that is named for him, Jack's Broken Finger. Sugar Patch Lounge is not named after a person (the original owner's last name was Blanchard). Instead, its name pays homage to the nearby sugarcane fields and to the history of sugarcane milling in the local area. Not more than a quarter of a mile or so away stands the remnants of one of the last sugarcane mills in the parish to close; a smoke stack about one hundred feet high.

Though the names of three of the four study bars are not creative, the last names of their owners highlight a role that immigrants, specifically Italian immigrants, played in the local economy. Jack Saia and Chuck Tuminello were of Italian descent as was Joseph B. Ragussa. Additionally, Chuck Tuminello's widow was born to Italian immigrants. Apart from the original owners of Jack's Place and Chuck's Lounge, Chuck's family also operated two bars (one for blacks and one for whites) in Brusly and Jack's son's mother's parents (whose surname was D'Agostino) operated a bar for blacks in downtown Port Allen as well. Though the surnames of the owners of Charlie's Lounge and Sugar Patch Lounge, Crowson and Blanchard respectively, are more common sounding English and French names, the fact that small businesses, specifically bars, were operated by individuals with trans-Atlantic familial histories again highlights the point made in Chapter Four: as isolated as West Baton Rouge Parish may seem on first glance, it is a place with long-standing global connections.

Charlie's Lounge has always been known as Charlie's Lounge. However, Charlie's Lounge was known by a different name before being purchased by the now deceased owner a year after the bar was first established and was called Freddy's.

According to Chuck's widow, Chuck's Lounge was originally known as Chuck's Bar but eventually came to be known as a lounge when women became frequent regulars, and the bar took on more of a family-oriented atmosphere that was not just a place for white, working-class men to drink. As Chuck's widow informed me, "a bar you walk in, walk out, or something like that, or have men, just men is a bar. A lounge is for ladies too," (Various Informants 2013).

According to Jack Saia's octogenarian son, the bar was not always known as Jack's Place. When the business first opened in the late 1920s during Prohibition in the United States, the business was a restaurant and café. As it evolved, spanning ten decades, from then to its present form, the bar was also known as Jack's Pool Hall and Jack's Bar. Today, there are three spots on the outside of the building that advertise the business as Jack's Place, a sign with those words along with images of beer and a rack of pool balls (Figure 6.1) as well as a lighted sign in a window, and wooden letters on the outside wall to the right of the front entrance of the bar.

Sugar Patch Lounge was originally opened doing business under that name though even the original owner's widow who now runs the business was not able to supply any amplifying information as she was not involved in establishing the business in the 1950s. In the mid- to late-1990s (again none of the informants were able to give accurate dates because they did not remember precisely), the business and the building that housed the bar were known as Joe Joe's, owned by the eponymous Joe Joe. This name stuck until the early 2000s when the building and business were known as Joe's, again for an eponymous proprietor. In 2007 or 2008, proprietorship was taken over again by the original owner's widow who named the bar Sugar Patch Lounge again, a name

which is prominently displayed in the form of a mural on the north outside wall of the building and on a sign above the entrance (Figure 6.2). Though there are only two pool tables in the bar, the graphics on the signs (an 8-ball on the mural and crossed pool sticks on the smaller sign) indicate that the lounge is a popular place to play pool even though there are no leagues that meet there or regularly scheduled pool tournaments.



Figure 6.1: The sign for Jack's Place. (Photography by the author)



Figure 6.2: The wall mural and sign for Sugar Patch Lounge. (Photography by the author)

Charlie's Lounge and Chuck's Lounge conversely do not display their names prominently. The sign that proclaims "Charlie's Lounge" is an easy enough to read marquee emblazoned on the metal siding above the entrance to the door (Figure 6.3), but it is set about 100 feet away from a service road that itself is about thirty feet to the side of the main four-lane, divided highway. Any person driving along the highway would not be aware that the bar is there until they were just passing it on the highway. In fact, I myself was not aware that the bar was there until after I had driven past the location on several separate occasions.



Figure 6.3: The marquee for Charlie's Lounge above the main entrance. (Photography by the author)

In past years, Chuck’s Lounge displayed “Chuck’s” on a sign erected above the main entrance next to a marquee sign that offered happy birthday wishes or advertised special events (Figure 6.4a). Currently, neither sign is present, and the marquee has either been moved or removed and later re-placed to a spot on the corner of the property near the main residential street through Addis on which the bar is located (Figure 6.4b).



Figure 6.4a: The sign for Chuck’s Lounge and marquee sign located on the roof (top right) circa 1980s. (Photo courtesy of the Addis Historical Museum)



Figure 6.4b: Chuck’s Lounge in the present decade with the signs above the entrance absent and replaced by a marquee sign (far right side). (Photography by the author)

Presumably, the individuals (Jack, Chuck, and Charlie) who established their bars and built up their business on their own bestowed their name to their bar out of pride rather than out of hubris or egotism. Likewise, the proprietors who operated Sugar Patch Lounge under the names Joe Joe's and Joe's presumably renamed it so as to indicate that it was under new management and possibly to let potential new customers know what kind of atmosphere to expect in the bar, assuming that the new owners already had a reputation for what kind of business they planned to operate.

Just as in Apache culture described by Basso (1996), place names, whether they are imaginative or not can evoke specific thoughts or feelings about that place when heard by different people. In the case of the informants for this research, bringing up one or more of the other three study bars evoked a verbal response that indicated the respondents' respective senses or perceptions of those other bars and sometimes even of the people that frequent those bars. In Charlie's Lounge and Chuck's Lounge in Addis, the typical question focused on just the other bar in town, especially since both bars shared maybe a dozen or so of the same customers.

Comparing Charlie's Lounge and Chuck's Lounge from the perspective of informants at Chuck's Lounge:

Pretty much 'bout the same. Different people go there [to Charlie's Lounge]. You got uh, I don't know, you sort of got your different, I probably know everybody that's in there right now, it's just a, you know, I know the owner here [at Chuck's Lounge] real well, we're good friends, you know, me and [the owner of Charlie's Lounge], I know [her], you know, but probably not the same type of friends here. But, you know, the uh, you know, it's a good bar. I don't dig [on] it no way, it's just not my bar. I'll go there.

Also, comparing the atmosphere of the two bars, “Charlie’s is . . . quiet. But it’s more conversation. And you come here [to Chuck’s Lounge] and it’s more music, a whole different crowd, pretty much, prob’ly a older crowd at Charlie’s and younger crowd here,” (Various Informants 2013).

Informants at Charlie’s Lounge expressed essentially reciprocal views of Chuck’s Lounge as a bit more fast-paced with a louder environment and perhaps a broader customer base:

They [Chuck’s Lounge] got a lot more people over there that’s wide open, I don’t do that no more, I just kind of chill out. They get loud and all sometimes. You listen to that all your life and you get burned out on it. It’s like, you one in a hundred, you’re on your own. Not that you would do bad, some people would . . . you don’t have what you have here [at Charlie’s Lounge] at other places.

By this, the older, white, male informant meant that Charlie’s Lounge is a quieter place (the jukebox is rarely, if ever played there) and there is a bit more of a personal touch to being served at the bar.

Chuck’s Lounge is also recognized for its different crowd from Charlie’s Lounge, “Most of the Dow crowd [plant workers] goes to Chuck’s and, like I said, they like a little loudness and I’m a little quieter,” (Various Informants 2013). Even before Charlie’s Lounge became a part of the nightlife landscape of Addis:

There was a time when Chuck’s was more of a college place, everyone from Baton Rouge, or a lot of people, when Baton Rouge shut down [the bars] at two [in the morning] or whatever the rules are, at one time when Baton Rouge did it first, a lot of people from Baton Rouge would come

here because it would stay open. Chuck's is a lot like Charlie's. At one time there was more strangers in there [at Chuck's] and there were more fights because of that, I think now pretty much it's just the locals go there now.

In Port Allen, there was less interaction or overlap of customers between Sugar Patch Lounge and Jack's Place (though I did occasionally see three of the informants at Jack's Place spending time at Sugar Patch Lounge. However, several informants from Charlie's Lounge and Chuck's Lounge did have some idea of how they felt about Jack's Place when the name of the bar came up in interviews. From one Charlie's Lounge customer who lives in Port Allen, Jack's Place used to be, "a guys' place. It was a pool hall until about 35 years ago when more younger girls started going there," (Various Informants 2012). A Chuck's Lounge customer described the bar as "Cold. 'Cause one, [she] went in there, [and] they could care less if they waited on you," (Various Informants 2013). A female informant in her mid-20s at Chuck's Lounge felt that Jack's Place was old or out of date and that, "nobody goes there anymore," (Various Informants 2013):

I – It's an old bar . . .

Me – This [Chuck's Lounge] is an old bar . . .

I – Yeah, but this is old in a different way. That one has stayed old, nothing ever changes, it's not, to me it's not very, like they don't have updated stuff in there, really.

However, the predominant view of Jack's Place from Addis bar goers was that it was a pool hall:

Jack's? Shit, we used to always go to Jack's. Everybody went there to play pool. Pool tournaments, pool leagues, just weekday just shooting pool, just, it's not like coming in here [to Chuck's] they got a table or two and they had shit loads of tables at [Jack's Place], if you wanted to go play pool, most of the time you went to Jack's.

The feeling was mutual from an informant at Jack's Place comparing the pool table situation to Chuck's Lounge, "Less pool tables [at Chuck's Lounge], you don't pay per hour, you pay per game, which sucks," (Various Informants 2013).

Sugar Patch Lounge is perceived more negatively than positively by informants at the other bars and this is partly due to its location on a heavily trucked U.S. Highway near what was formerly the Gold Coast but an area that is now known more for crime and low-income, non-white residential areas. From a lifelong resident of the parish interviewed at Charlie's Lounge, "Sugar Patch Lounge is like a bunch of travelers. [U.S. Highway] 190 ain't a good place. A lot of strangers in and out of there makes you look around every time the door opens," (Various Informants 2013). Similarly, a male informant in his late-40s at Jack's Place explained that, "It's nice, but, like I said, there's a lot of people that go in there that I don't know. It's nice. I ain't never had no problem there," (Various Informants 2013).

From this selection of quotes and anecdotes from various informants at each of the four bars, the name of each bar carries with it meaning for different people who have had different experiences with those bars. They are not necessarily right or wrong, it is just the way that different individuals feel and think about different places when they hear the name of those places. The remainder of this chapter explores each of the four bars

individually based on information gathered from people at the bars where they were interviewed, and will cover the history of the each bar as well as their atmosphere, the regular crowd, and the overall sense of place of each bar. Together, this will form a brief ethnographical account of the four bars.

Biography and Ethnography of the Four Study Bars

Personally, I tend to have my own expectations of bars, particularly bars that I expect to fit my taste. In a modernist sense, expecting a bar to be a certain way is derived from preconceived notions based on past direct (through first-hand experience) and indirect experiences (through advertising, second-hand accounts, or entertainment media).

However, in a post-modern sense of place, expecting a bar to which I have never been to present itself to me in a certain way is based on my own direct experiences with the type of bar which appeals to my own sense of self. In the spirit of ethnographic phenomenology, the following will attempt to establish criteria or a common frame of reference to know the four bars in this study without needing to actually visit them. This will be followed by presenting biographical and ethnographic descriptions of each of the four bars.

A Phenomenological Perspective

I have come to expect that a bar that is not popular among adults my age (late twenties to early thirties) is going to me more to my liking. The bar would most likely be owned by just one or two people, and operated and staffed by family and friends. I would also imagine that the bar has some kind of history, and did not open yesterday because, without a sense that there is at least some history behind the bar, then it is more difficult to sense that there is something special or unique about it that makes it important to the

owners, bartenders, and regular customers. Finally, I expect it to have a certain atmosphere in both the physical and the social sense of the word.

Physically, the typical bar that would appeal to me would have relatively dim lighting. Not so that the customers do not have to look at each other, or to hide any unsanitary or unclean areas of the bar from a customer's sight, but to create a relaxed atmosphere that contrasts with the bright lights of the inside of an office building, or of a grocery store. Essentially the way a person might maintain the lighting in their home: bright enough to see, dim enough to be relaxing, and not enough to run up a large electric bill. The stools at the bar would be well-worn faux leather or vinyl, and there would be additional seating for couples or larger groups in an area away from the bar in booths or at low tables with individual chairs or seats. The floor in the booth and table seating area might be short carpet such as that found in a business office, or it might all be worn concrete, linoleum, or broken tile in the entire bar.

There would be entertainment as well. Many bars offer video gaming machines where, for a quarter or two per game, individuals, couples, or groups can challenge each other at electronic matching games, cards, games of strategy, and even trivia. If there is enough space in the bar so as to not endanger the other customers, there would be one or more electronic dart boards with cheap, plastic house darts available to borrow from behind the bar. Additionally, there would most likely be at least one pool table that requires three to four quarters in order to convince it to dump out a rack of pool balls. In my experience, the fewer the number of pool tables, the more they can be expected to be in disrepair and the more the pool tables, the more they can be expected to be maintained in good condition in a pay-by-the-hour environment. There may even be outdated video

arcade games or a pinball machine in the bar as well, as determined by the tastes of the bar owner. Depending on what part of the United States one finds oneself, shuffleboard tables are a common sight as well, though in many bars in the south, if there is a shuffleboard table present, one can expect it to be in a relatively trendy bar in an urban environment.

Blurring the boundaries between what constitutes the physical and the social atmosphere are the sounds in such a place. As far as ambient noise is concerned, televisions and jukeboxes provide much of the background noise superseded only by the occasional sounds of a beeping electronic dartboard or the clatter of balls on the pool table. In the South, if football is in season, it goes without saying that the favorite local college or professional team will be showing on the television with the sound turned up so that all can follow along with the commentary of the sportscasters. During other times of the week, the TV may just be tuned to local news, CNN, or the Fox News Channel, or even afternoon game shows depending on the mood of the regular customers.

Jukeboxes are generally the most telling when it comes to bar patrons. In some bars, there may be a jukebox, but it might be old, with outdated songs on compact discs, presenting a limited selection of song choices. In such a bar, one might not even expect to hear music from the jukebox on a regular basis. Other bars are equipped with more modern music machines that have dispensed with compact discs in favor of the digital age of music files and provide internet access to songs not already a part of the jukebox's multi-gigabyte repertoire. Regardless of the format, the music chosen by the customers for the jukebox to play may span from classic and southern rock to modern and classic country (with a little rap or hip-hop interspersed) in a Southern rural or suburban bar and

from Eighties' hits and modern rock to modern folk rock that is often associated with members of the contemporary subculture referred to as "hipster" (Greif 2010).

Socially, a bar such as this, particularly a bar in the rural or suburban U.S. South would most likely be regularly patronized by middle-aged and retired or retiring individuals who have jobs that do not require a four-year college degree, but still require skill, experience, and expertise, a blue-collar type of crowd. In most cases, the daily flow of the regular crowd of customers would be something by which a clock could be set (if one were willing to grant about a quarter hour of leeway to said clock). On the other hand, a bar with the same physical characteristics but in an urban/residential setting would most likely draw a younger crowd of individuals who work entry-level or service industry jobs without a college degree to older undergraduate and graduate college students seeking a place to unwind from the incessant grind of college work.

Charlie's Lounge

From the outside, Charlie's Lounge is fairly nondescript. Opened in the mid-1980s, the bar was originally located a bit farther south on Louisiana Highway 1 from its current location. When it moved to its present location (Figure 6.5a), the bar shared its new home with a seafood store/restaurant, but later expanded on the inside and incorporated the floor space formerly occupied by the seafood store. The building itself is situated about two hundred feet from the main highway on a frontage road that runs parallel to Louisiana Highway 1 (Figure 6.5b).



Figure 6.5a: Above, Charlie's Lounge at its original location (on the right side of the building where the cars are parked) before moving up the street in the late 1980s, and at its current location (below), most likely circa early 1990s. (Photographs courtesy of the Addis Historical Museum)



Figure 6.5b: Charlie's Lounge in the present day with the frontage road in the foreground and the Addis Community Center two buildings down to the right side of the bar. (Photography by the author)

Walking through the main entrance doors in the middle of the front of the building transports a person from the bright light of a sunny Louisiana day to the cool dimness of a lounge. The inside of the bar area is roughly 60 feet wide and about 30 feet deep with hard, white, linoleum tile for the floor. The actual bar itself is constructed of lacquered wood with typical black vinyl bar stools atop chrome legs. The lights in the drop ceiling are rarely turned on as there is usually enough light from the outside filtering through the glass doors to support the light from the neon beer signs, flat screen televisions, and black lights behind the bar (Figure 6.6).

Behind the bar, amidst the bottles of liquor, the owner has added a personal touch: John Wayne commemorative plates. On one side, the plates all commemorate the films in which John Wayne appeared as a Soldier, Sailor, or Marine. To the other side, the plates celebrate the rest of the actor's movies in which he appeared as a cowboy or some other folk hero. Apart from the John Wayne plates, the owner has not added any more personal flair that stands out. The remaining décor is typical of any bar: beer banners and signs that reflect local culture, or incorporate the colors of local professional or college sports teams, and beer signs and mirrors provided by the beer and liquor distributors who keep the bar's cooler stocked with spirits.

Most days that the bar is open, the regular customers sit along the middle of the bar and late arrivals or new customers filter off to the sides where there is less opportunity/likelihood to become the center of attention. Every now and again, a customer or two will drift away from the bar to go play the gaming machines in the corner. Every weekday, the owner opens the doors of her bar at 2 PM, an hour before her

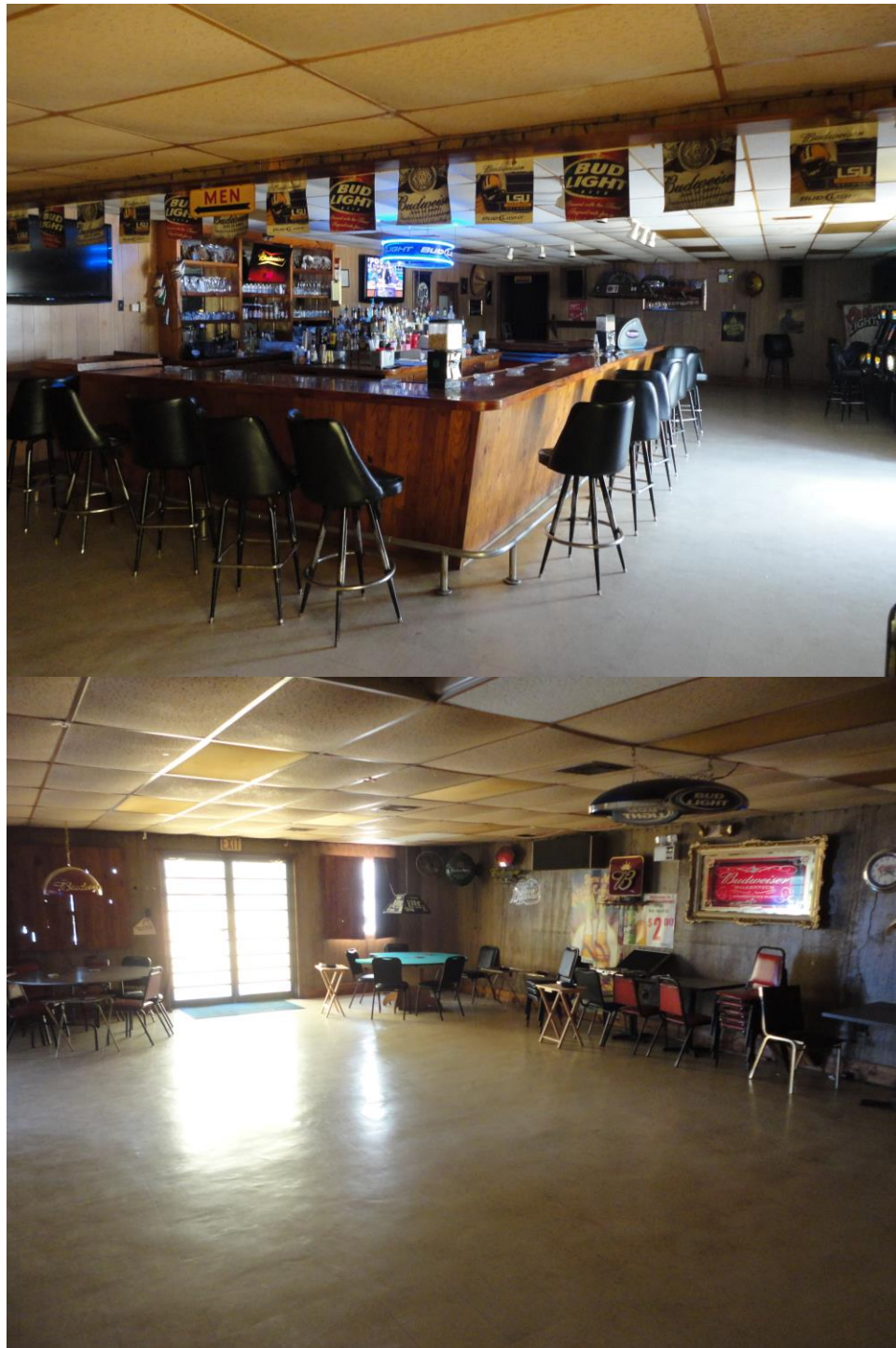


Figure 6.6: The bar in Charlie's Lounge (above) early in the afternoon before customers begin to trickle in. On the right-hand side of the picture are the three gaming machines in the bar. Below is the area where people play poker on Friday nights. The empty floor space used to be the site for a couple of pool tables, one of which was reintroduced to the bar sometime in mid-2013. (Photography by the author)

only employee begins the 3–10 PM shift tending the bar. On these days, Charlie’s Lounge fits the description offered by one customer who would recommend the bar to anyone looking for, “a quiet place to relax,” that doesn’t get too loud (Various Informants 2012).

On busier nights such as a Thursday, but especially on a Friday, the end of week surge of customers spills over to some extra tables and chairs that occupy the areas of the bar that are the former sites of pool tables. More often than not, the spillover consists of the female companions of the male customers who form their own talking circles. On Friday nights when Charlie’s Lounge is abuzz with the sounds of a dozen or more people playing poker, portions of the center of activity are siphoned off to the other corner of the bar where the poker tables are (Figure 6.6 bottom).

Charlie’s Lounge: 1985–2012

The history of Charlie’s Lounge is relatively shorter, spanning just about 30 years, and less colorful than that of the other three bars in this study. Charlie’s Lounge began as Freddy’s (whether it was a lounge or a bar is unknown) in December 1984. The eponymous Charlie had been injured on the job and was a regular at Freddy’s. After less than a year, Freddy decided that he wanted to get out of his business and chose to sell his bar. Charlie bought the bar in the early fall of 1985 and the bar began to operate under the name “Charlie’s Lounge.” The bar continued to operate at the original location until the early 1990s when Charlie and his wife decided to buy a building up the road because, “It was better paying for something that you’re going to own than paying rent,” (Various Informants 2012). Charlie passed away in 1997 and his widow has run the business ever

since, living in the home area that is part of the same building that houses the bar, and which can be accessed through a door inside the bar.

To say that the history of the bar is colorless is not to say that nothing exciting has ever happened in the bar, but life has slowed down over the years. This seems to suit the regular customers just fine however. In its earlier days, Charlie's Lounge was open for business every day of the week, but as customers got older, had families, moved away, or departed the world of the living, business slowed down to the point that the owner decided to reduce business hours to just weekdays from 2 PM to about 10 PM and sometimes until midnight on Friday nights.

Before business slowed down and clientele dropped off, Charlie's Lounge had two pool tables and hosted pool leagues and tournaments until it reached a point where people did not want to commit to pool league nights once per week (often because of having to work nights and evenings at local plants) and it was not always easy to find another person to take their place on a team. Eventually, the owner exerted her control over the bar atmosphere by choosing to get rid of the pool tables after several minor altercations over pool games occurred between customers in the bar. Around the same time, she got rid of dart boards as well because people did not play darts much either.

This occurred in the past ten years and, despite dispensing with two typical, if not essential bar amenities (darts and pool) there was no discernible drop off in clientele. The last time I visited Charlie's Lounge to conduct fieldwork was in late 2012, but I continued to visit the bar once per month or so over the course of conducting fieldwork at the other bars and, sometime around the middle of 2013, the owner brought back one pool table which still never seemed to receive much use during the day.

Another activity, typically held on Friday nights, at Charlie's Lounge is cards. The typical card game that people played was called Bourré (pronounced boo-ray)¹³ and is a game similar to Hearts or Spades. Quite a few people played, sometimes 30 or 40 people on a given card night. Eventually the card playing sessions evolved into poker nights with people playing the poker game, Texas Hold 'Em. Over time, people began to not join in as regularly but I still witnessed a few Friday nights with at least a dozen and occasionally as many as 20 people playing poker at two or three separate tables. The evenings when people play cards are more lively than the typical weekday evening when there is usually not more than 6 or 8 people in the bar and sometimes the jukebox even gets a little playing time while the Addis chief of police makes the occasional appearance and meets and greets with the other people in the bar.

Charlie's Lounge as a Member of the Community

Over the years, Charlie's Lounge has also served as a member of the community of the people of Addis. Generally, playing a supporting role in the community involves one of two things, or even a combination of those two things. Primarily, Charlie's Lounge has served as a place to hold birthday parties, wedding receptions, and other festive gatherings. There is a kitchen inside the bar where men and women can get together to cook and prepare food while the owner opens up the bar for business so that people can drink while they celebrate. For instance, if there is a wedding next door at the

¹³ Bourré is a trick-taking gambling card game primarily played in the Acadiana region of Louisiana. The object is to take a majority of the tricks in each hand and thereby claim the money in the pot. If a player cannot take a majority of tricks, his secondary goal is to keep from *bourréing*, or taking no tricks at all. A bourré usually comes at a high penalty, such as matching the amount of money in the pot.

Addis Community Center on a weekend, the owner will sometimes open for the reception if she is asked to by the wedding party.

For more serious life occasions, the owner will also host benefits to raise money for people in the community who have health issues and have difficulty meeting other financial obligations. These benefits often take the form of a potluck or some other gathering that involves people donating money to the cause. In the event that a person passes away and they did not have burial arrangements taken care of or if their families cannot afford to pay for funeral arrangements, the owner will also coordinate similar fundraising events to financially assist or pay for the cost of a funeral, burial, and a headstone for the deceased.

Apart from benefits to raise money for people going through strenuous life events that require money to get through tough times, the bar also serves simply as a gathering place, like a small town hall, making one reason to be a part of the bar community just to be around for the camaraderie of socializing with people of similar socio-economic or life-style backgrounds. According to the owner, a lot of the regular customers are people that work for the Dow chemical plant a few miles to the south or people whose jobs have business ties to the petrochemical industry. Because of this, sometimes all the customers will talk about is, “work, work, work,” and, at other times, the regular customers talk about non-work related topics such as fishing, hunting, or even cooking and recipes (Various Informants 2012).

The Regular Crowd and Sense of Place

For the most part, the regular customers, according to one informant are, “just middle-class, nobody rich, [and] they all work and just look for somewhere to go after,”

(Various Informants 2012). If you are a regular customer and ask one of them for help, they would be there, and the regular group of customers takes pride in knowing that they can depend on and support each other, “Just like if you needed something, I would be there for you. But if you go to another part of the country, especially if you get up in, like the North states, it’s terrible,” (Various Informants 2012).

Even so, according to a younger regular, “Some of them are a little rough around the collar; a little slow and maybe a little racist. [But] most of them are comedians. There’s family members that come in individually like brothers and sisters, and sometimes [provide] family feuds [for] entertainment,” (Various Informants 2012).

For some people, the regulars represent Charlie’s Lounge’s sense of place just by who they are, “They’re quiet, older people. Not old, just middle-aged. They don’t like noise on the jukebox; that’s why they never play the jukebox,” (Various Informants 2012). Some people even describe the bar in similar terms, “It’s an old timey bar, really no young people that come in here. It’s quiet; it’s more like the people who work who just come afterwards to just chill out before they go home. This is the only bar like this [in the area],” (Various Informants 2012). Similarly, to other people it is described as a place that is, “known as an older person hangout or an industrial after-work-grab-a-beer kind of place,” with, “a nice, friendly atmosphere,” (Various Informants 2012).

Because Charlie’s Lounge and Chuck’s Lounge are the only two real bars in Addis (not counting the local daiquiri bar), they each have distinct personalities recognized by the regulars in both bars. From both Charlie’s Lounge and Chuck’s Lounge regulars, Charlie’s Lounge is a comfortable, quiet, place where everybody will welcome you as a friend, and a good place to, “cut-up, bash your friends, [and] get

bashed,” (Various Informants 2012). Charlie’s Lounge is the opposite of Chuck’s Lounge only in terms of the prevailing atmosphere however, as many of the same individuals that go to Charlie’s Lounge will often go to Chuck’s Lounge as well if they are looking for a more lively atmosphere with a younger crowd, music on the jukebox, and louder conversation.

Chuck’s Lounge

About six and a half miles south of Interstate Ten on Louisiana State Highway One is Chuck’s Lounge in Addis Louisiana. The bar is located on a hard-corner (at the intersection of two streets in real estate lingo) in a residential area of 1st Street in Addis. As soon as a driver pulls off of the state highway onto 1st Street, the speed limit drops from 55 to 35 and then to 25 miles per hour as he drives past a couple of older but still operating industrial-type businesses. After that, there are a few older residential homes and just around the curve on the right is a marquee sign brightly lit advertising weekly drink specials and Thursday night karaoke (Figure 6.7).

From the Outside, In

Chuck’s Lounge is located in a low building with a low peaked shingled roof about fifty-feet wide and one-hundred feet long. The lot that it sits on is dirt and gravel with no marked off parking spaces, but people have figured out parking for themselves. There are a few street lights, and some older white, wooden two-story homes across the street (Figure 6.8). The outside wall of the building is light-colored mottled brick all the way up to the eaves. There are several windows, but their main function is more to break up the surface of the outside of the building than to let light into the inside of the bar. If it were not for neon beer signs that are turned on at night, they might not be noticeable as

windows at all. The door of the main entrance is thick and heavy looking. It is chipped and dirty with large signs securely affixed that indicate there are no outside drinks to be brought in and definitely no drugs, other illegal activity, or minors allowed (Figure 6.9).



Figure 6.7: The marquee sign in front of Chuck's Lounge. (Photography by the author)



Figure 6.8: A panorama view of Chuck's Lounge on 1st Street in Addis' main residential neighborhood. (Photography by the author)



Figure 6.9: The main entrance door to Chuck's Lounge. (Photography by the author)

The inside is fairly dark with recessed lights in the ceiling running above the bar and string decorative and black fluorescent lights providing a little bit more illumination behind the bar area (Figure 6.10). Otherwise the only other light sources are from the three TVs and some bright fluorescent lights hanging up above where the two pool tables are sitting at the back of the bar by the bathrooms. The drop ceiling is yellow-brown from years of cigarette smoke residue, and the floor is all broken clay tile. From the front door,

the bar extends toward the back wall for about twenty-five feet with eight bar stools and then goes to the left another ten feet with four more bar stools with black vinyl seats on top of black metal bar stool legs (Figure 6.10).



Figure 6.10: The bar area at Chuck's Lounge from the perspective of having just entered through the front door. (Photography by the author)

The surface of the bar is clean enough and has some bowls of mints or salty bar snacks, a little wooden foot rest and a video trivia machine sitting at the corner where there are a couple of old bubble gum machines but with peanuts and pistachios for sale instead of bubble gum. Ashtrays dot the bar at seemingly regular intervals as well. There is a TV at every node of the bar—by the entrance, at the corner, and at the end by one of

the big, white refrigerators that holds the large glass goblets for Chuck's Lounge's famous 22-ounce fishbowl draft beers.

Various decorations cover the wall behind the bar: NASCAR, sports, local culture such as fleur-de-lis, Saints, and LSU posters and symbols adorn some of the bar mirrors and are also obscured by some collectible shot glasses, and even Mardi Gras-colored tinsel of silver, gold, purple, and green. At the middle of the back wall is a karaoke stage with short, brown office carpet, some wooden railing and more Mardi Gras/LSU colors and decorations with purple, green, and yellow decorative lights. The stage is about twenty-five feet long by twelve feet deep and is just high enough to elevate a performer above the crowd but not too high to injure a singer that falls from the stage (Figure 6.11).

Seven small, square, tables that can reasonably accommodate four friends are arranged with three situated to watch karaoke and four others nearer to the bar. None of the tables are bolted to the floor which allows for larger groups of people to push the tables together to accommodate larger group gatherings. The tables also each have their own ashtrays, waiting for a group to gather round and inviting them to light up a cigarette. Next to the tables are three Louisiana-style gaming machines with video poker. To the right of the machines is a modern digital download jukebox that is connected to the internet so that even some of the most obscure songs can be accessed at the whim of a customer.

Out past the dance floor in front of the karaoke stage sit two pool tables. It is common for a bar like Chuck's Lounge to have at least one electronic dart machine, but looking back towards the gaming machines, it is clear that a at least two dart boards used to occupy that space and there is a faint outline of where the throw line used to be on the

floor. There is also a cigarette vending machine by the men's restroom that sells cigarettes for \$6.50 per pack.



Figure 6.11: The seating area to the right with the karaoke stage on the left looking towards the bar from the pool tables. (Photography by the author)

The men's and ladies' restrooms are directly across from each other tucked in a far back corner. The men's room is painted in black and gold colors for the New Orleans Saints and the ladies' room painted in purple and gold for Louisiana State University. On closer inspection in the men's bathroom, the black paint actually creates a chalkboard-like surface and there is chalk provided for people to write and draw graffiti without

actually damaging the walls in the bathroom. The bathroom paint schemes match that of the two pool tables, one covered in black and gold felt and the other in purple and gold (Figure 6.12).



Figure 6.12: The purple and gold and black and gold pool tables in Chuck's Lounge. In the far back right corner of the picture is the door through which black people bought alcohol to go or to drink before segregation was illegal. (Photography by the author)

Chuck's Lounge: 1951–2013

Quite a few of the most regular customers are highly aware that Chuck's Lounge has a rich history and is distinct for being one of the first, if not the first establishment to sell package liquor in Addis, and that it is a unique place also for being one of the oldest

continuously operating bars in West Baton Rouge Parish. Only two people are still alive that remember when Chuck's Lounge first started out as a business. One is an octogenarian man who first became a customer at Chuck's Lounge after serving with the U.S. Army in the conflict between North Korea and South Korea. The other is the original owner's widow, now in her late 80s, who provided the majority of the information about the bar and the business that her husband, Chuck Tuminello (Figure 6.13) built on his own with help from family and friends.

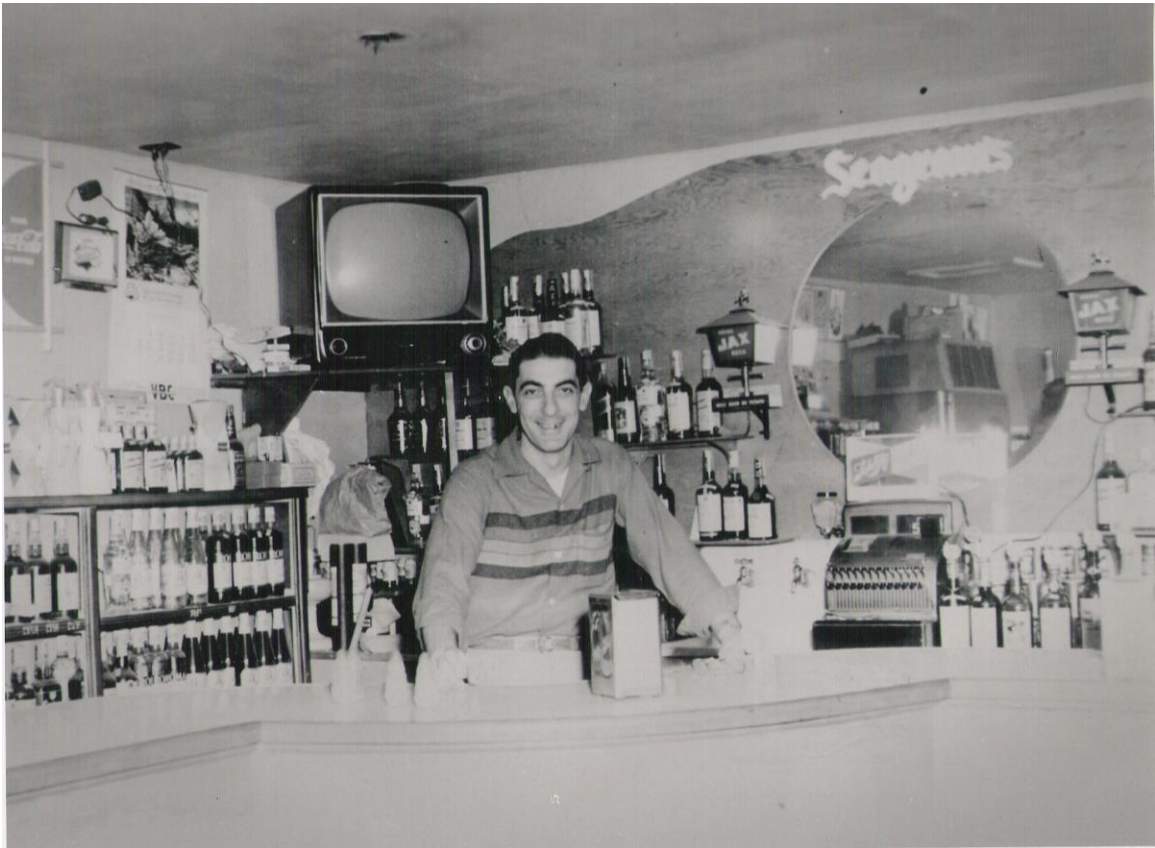


Figure 6.13: Chuck Tuminello tending his bar. (Photograph courtesy of the Addis Historical Museum)

Chuck purchased the JBR Package store on October 15th, 1951. After several months, he decided to apply for a class “A” license which allowed him to sell alcohol which customers could drink on the premises (Various Informants 2013). It might seem like an arbitrary decision to purchase a liquor store and turn it into a bar, but Chuck’s family were Italian immigrant business people and his father had owned a “colored saloon” in Brusly, north of Addis, so Chuck decided to go into the same business for himself and his family. Opening the bar happened to coincide roughly with the time that Dow Chemical began construction on a new plant several miles to the south and a sizeable amount of Chuck’s business during those years was from the construction workers who would stop in after work, go home, go to work the next day, and come back again (Various Informants 2013).

Over the years, Chuck himself was integral to developing Addis from a village to a town. According to customers who remember:

He was always popular with everybody around Addis, especially the town council and stuff ‘cause they used to come up here. On Sunday we had a, all the bar would fill up on Sundays after mass . . . church. Anyhow, he ran for chief of police and he was the only policeman we had for a long time. He was chief of police. But we didn’t have any trouble in here, you give him any trouble, he put you in the car and take you to the Port Allen jail. But he never had that much, I don’t know of any fights he had in here while he was operating it.

In the 1960s, the original building that housed the bar was replaced, but not all at once. Building a new structure to house Chuck’s Lounge occurred in about three phases. In the first phase, a new structure was built which was roughly thirty feet wide and maybe forty feet deep. As business grew, two more additions were added on which

increased the dimensions to about ninety feet wide by about forty feet deep. This occurred without having to shut down the business for a single day. This feat became a source of pride for Chuck and clearly still is to his wife today (Various Informants 2013). The evidence of having expanded twice is still visible in the pattern of broken tiles on the floor of the bar today; where the second phase of building began, there is a slight gap in the tiles where they do not quite fit with the original tiles, and again where the third phase of expansion began, where the pool tables are located now, there is another, more distinct gap by the edge of the karaoke stage.

Even though Chuck's Lounge originally served as a kind of afternoon and evening hangout for men in Addis (Figure 6.14), the bar eventually transformed into more of a [male/female] couples-friendly environment which, for Ms. Tuminello, is why it is a "lounge" and not just a bar. As she tells it:

As they [women] found out that their husbands go back and tell them, "You can go in there, Gert's [Chuck's wife] in there," and everything, "you don't hear nothing bad in there, you don't see no fighting in there because Chuck'll bring you to jail." And then the first thing you know, one brought his wife and then another brought his wife and, first thing you know, we started getting bands and dancing and everybody had a ball.

This is basically how Chuck's Lounge came to be what it is in the present day, from a package liquor store, to a bar, to a lounge with karaoke, live music, dancing, and a mostly couples-friendly environment. Chuck continued to run the bar until the early 1970s when he decided to get out of the business and leased it out to new proprietors while still retaining ownership of the building and the property (Various Informants 2013).



Figure 6.14: In this undated photograph, the original caption reads, “Chuck’s Bar’ Softball Team.” Fishbowls can be seen in the center of the picture. (Photograph courtesy of the Addis Historical Museum)

In the over forty years since Chuck got out of the bar business, perhaps at least a dozen, or maybe even two dozen different proprietors have operated the business, continuing to do so under and in honor of the name “Chuck’s Lounge.” Despite the rather frequent turnover of proprietorship, the current owner has been running the bar now for about ten years to great success and to the pleasure of Ms. Tuminello who still lives in a house attached to the bar by a door and a room which serve to sometimes only mildly attenuate the sounds of bands and karaoke that drift through on a Thursday, Friday, or Saturday night.

Segregation

As with any service industry business that has been around as long as Chuck's Lounge has, racial segregation is a part of its history. Even today, some of that history is still visible on the inside and outside of the bar. Inside the bar, in a far back corner is a door through which black people could purchase alcohol or liquor to go, or could sit and drink around a small table in a relatively small room which is now used for storage (Figure 6.12). From the outside, the door is visible as well, however, it appears to be rarely, if ever used (Figure 6.15).

The way that the process was set up is that there was a buzzer inside the room and when blacks came in the door, an intercom allowed them to tell the bartender what they would like to drink. The blacks were permitted to drink in the room, but could not come into the lounge. From the perspective of one black informant who grew up in Addis at the time, he recalls a less rosy scenario:

I – See that door [points to the back corner of the bar]?

Me – Yeah, I know that door.

I – They had a peep-hole. And then they'd come, "What in the goddamn hell you want?"

Me – Now, did you ever have to use the back door?

I – I used to come for my grandpa. They used to drink that cherry wine. Then my daddy owned a club back there [on the other side of the railroad tracks behind Chuck's] but sometimes he would run out of beer. He would come and buy from Chuck.



Figure 6.15: Outside view of a remainder of the era of racial segregation in the United States: the outside back door entrance blacks used to buy alcohol at Chuck's Lounge.
(Photography by the author)

The United States Supreme Court ruled in 1954 that segregation is illegal and, by law, people of any skin color are just as free to be customers at Chuck's Lounge as any

other person. However, after the federal government abolished racial segregation, black locals would still not come in to stay and drink, but they would come in to purchase wine or a six-pack of beer and then leave. Even still, on any given night of the week, the chance that a black customer will be in Chuck's Lounge is uncommon with the exception of one or two individuals who patronize the bar several times per week. Integration at Chuck's Lounge was gradual, and is not complete, just as at any one of the other three study bars today. In fact, during my year of fieldwork, I observed more black customers at Chuck's Lounge than at any of the other three bars.

Theme and Identity

According to the current owner, there is no specific theme or identity to Chuck's Lounge apart from the karaoke and live music nights. When she took over ownership however, she chose to add her own touch to the business by making the stage bigger because she, "like[s] bands and like[s] having fun," (Various Informants 2013). In the past, most of the live music acts were known for playing swamp pop with three-piece bands but as of late, the bands are large (four-, five-, and six-piece bands) that play more country music, rock 'n roll, and oldies music. Still though, Chuck's Lounge will mix it up occasionally with blues and zydeco bands as well.

Sports such as football and baseball are important to a number of Chuck's Lounge regular customers too. The paint schemes in the bathroom and the colored felt on the pool tables reflects the sports loyalties of the regular customers as well and, according to the current owner's daughter, were her idea to reflect the nature of those loyalties to the New Orleans Saints and Louisiana State University athletics programs.

Though not necessarily a theme, part of Chuck's Lounge's identity is the 22-ounce fishbowl beers that are served in large, frosty goblets, a unique feature that Chuck instituted after opening his business. Apart from the bar itself, fishbowls are perhaps the single most tangible element of the history of the bar and were frequently cited as one of the main attractions for some of the regular customers to Chuck's since it is, "Home of the Fishbowl," (Figure 6.16).



Figure 6.16: A banner advertising as a spot to watch the 2013 Addis Mardi Gras parade along with the famous fishbowls. (Photography by the author)

Regular Crowd and Sense of Place

When asked, at both Chuck's Lounge and at Charlie's Lounge, most informants believed that the customers at Charlie's Lounge and the customers at Chuck's Lounge were basically the same people. They are correct, of course, as evidenced by the fact that a number of the regular customers at Charlie's Lounge will also frequently patronize Chuck's Lounge, often in the same afternoon or evening, transitioning from one to the

other to seek a quieter or louder environment. However, virtually every other regular customer at Chuck's Lounge who is not at least a middle-aged white male does not venture over to Charlie's Lounge simply because it is not the lively environment that Chuck's Lounge so often is.

Many of the younger customers, both male and female, work at the local petrochemical plants or for some business tied to the industry, which makes the average Chuck's Lounge customer part of a blue-collar crowd (Various Informants 2013). As opposed to Charlie's Lounge where men sit at the bar talking, watching television, and cutting up and telling jokes, the younger customers at Chuck's Lounge prefer to, "dance and have a good time and occasionally get rowdy," (Various Informants 2013). Most everybody knows everybody too, just as at Charlie's Lounge, and the bartenders rarely see a face that they do not recognize, however they do not treat those customers any differently than their regulars and even make a little extra effort to make new faces feel welcome, a policy that the current owner enforces in her bar.

As many of the regulars at Chuck's Lounge like to describe the bar, it is, "Just a neighborhood bar . . . people that live around here, people that leave from a plant, stop by, have a few beers, most of the time not too crowded," where the people are, "Just very friendly. [Because] you don't meet a stranger in here [and] they make everybody feel welcome," which is something that makes it more distinct from other bars in the area for some people (Various Informants 2013). Still other regulars describe the bar as a:

Locally-owned, hometown-type bar, [the] type of bar you get off work, come by, have a few beers, and chill out. [Where] at nighttime it's sort of a different crowd [with] bands and karaoke [which] makes it a little different from the working crowd that comes in.

Finally, one younger, female regular provided, “I would say hole-in-the-wall but then I would follow that with ‘hometown’ . . . fun, fun, relaxing atmosphere,” (Various Informants 2013). This customer believed that hole-in-the-wall, instead of having a negative connotation, conveyed the idea that Chuck’s Lounge is off of the beaten path which is somewhat ironic considering that the bar is located on one of the oldest roads in Addis, though one that is no longer part of the main state highway system in the parish.

A Part of the Community

Just as Charlie’s Lounge is an integral part of the community, and sometimes a place where people can gather to commemorate life events (such as a wedding or the passing of a loved one), Chuck’s Lounge likewise is a member of the surrounding community. For example:

They do benefits, you know, if somebody in here has a hardship, they’ll do a benefit, you know, to help out and they’re involved with [St. Jude’s Childrens’ Hospital] motorcycle runs, dinners, Mardi Gras, that type of stuff [it is] always one of the main places.

Some customers feel that such community support lets the bar give back to the customers with one customer citing a benefit held at Chuck’s Lounge in honor of a female customer that passed away but whose survivors did not have the financial means to pay for funeral and burial costs.

Supporting regular customers is part of Chuck’s Lounge’s history too. As Ms. Tuminello puts it, Chuck, “paid their light bill, he paid their rent, he paid their notes, he paid their gas bills [and] a majority of them paid him back [even] if they had to pay

twenty dollars at a time,” (Various Informants 2013). Another regular customer adds that, compared to Baton Rouge:

Anywhere on the west side of the river [. . .] is a whole lot different. It’s more, it’s almost more like old fashioned. In fact, you go into places over there [in Baton Rouge], it’s like there’s so many people you just, I guess, you just a number sitting . . . What it is, is it goes back further to when everybody used to . . . families helped each other. It evolved from that. It’s a whole different area for some reason.

Typical Afternoon/Evening and Karaoke Nights

There are two distinct social networks that serve two unique functions. The regular night social network exists to provide and ensure a quiet atmosphere with little ruckus and the chance to have a conversation with several buddies along the length of the bar. The karaoke night serves to provide an organized, fun-filled atmosphere where anything can go as long as it is approved of by the DJ. It is difficult to have a conversation even with one’s self, but the point is to commune with the group as a group by way of the art of karaoke.

On a regular night at Chuck’s Lounge (any night that is not Thursday and sometimes not a Saturday), there is a particular flow of power and social activity in the bar. On a regular night at Chuck’s Lounge, the average age of the people at the bar is from approximately mid-40s to mid-50s, an older crowd compared to that of a karaoke night. Usually, about halfway through a regular evening between 6 and 7 PM, there is a group of bar patrons occupying the three to four stools near the front door at the long section of the bar. This group has been referred to as the, “core fun group,” (CFG) by one of my informants. It is not a group of specific people, but a specific group that can be

comprised of any combination of people. The key to becoming the CFG is that the people must collectively occupy the space at this particular spot at the bar.

This is the ego or power center of the bar on a regular evening. If the CFG consists of mostly older men then the group will generally not leave that spot, but will not stay much later than the early evening till around 8 PM. On the other hand, the CFG is sometimes comprised of a younger group of about six people usually about evenly split between males and females. This younger CFG will occupy the power center until some of the group begins to trickle off to a pool table at the other end of the bar. This is usually later in the evening around 9 PM and actually shifts the center of gravity of bar activity to the other end of the bar. An interesting note is that if the two potential CFGs are both in the bar at the same time, then the older men will usually be the CFG since they usually will have been in the bar since late-afternoon or early evening between 4 and 5 PM. When they depart the bar, the younger group will become the CFG, leaving the low tables out on the floor near the bar where they had been sitting to go sit at the bar instead.

There is an inverse relationship between the distance from the power center of the bar to the likelihood that a customer is a well-established regular of the bar or that they might have a strong relationship with the CFG. For instance, along the shorter section of the bar, there are four bar stools. These are typically occupied by individuals that sit and quietly drink alone. Likewise, the tables out on the floor are also usually occupied by customer groups that arrived at the bar together but that are there to have a good time and don't take their time at the bar as seriously as the CFG tends to do. At the farthest corners of the bar where the pool tables are located, the people that are seen occupying those do not even tend to cross over to the bar that frequently even to go get a drink.

The entertainment is not programmed or organized on regular bar nights. The three televisions usually each have a unique program on. The TV near the front of the bar usually has CNN, a travel channel, or a cooking channel—reality television programming really. The TV in the middle usually has sports, but sometimes is tuned to other channels like music or a channel showing a movie. The third TV at the end of the bar nearly always has some music program on it. Typically it is a program featuring a recorded live performance or karaoke and occasionally a sporting event.

When the bar is less crowded in the early evening, the bartender will usually play songs on the jukebox or ask a customer to pick some music. When the CFG of older men is present, they do not like the jukebox to be played loudly or for there to be other loud noises and they prefer it to be turned off or down when they are there. Otherwise, there does not seem to be a clear pattern of what group of people will attempt to control the jukebox on a given night. The other two forms of entertainment are the video trivia machine and three gaming machines. I have never seen anyone play the video trivia machine at the corner of the bar and I think I am the only one that played it with any frequency. The gaming machines are rarely lonely. Usually there will be at least one individual sitting at one of the machines. Occasionally there will be two people playing the machines, but rarely are all three in use.

Thursday karaoke nights present a different dynamic compared to regular nights. The main difference is who is in control of the bar space, and where the control center is located. On regular nights, the CFG is the controlling group of the bar, and it is usually located near the front door at the first few stools of the long section of the bar. On karaoke nights, the karaoke DJ, who has all of his equipment on the karaoke stage where

he sits, controls almost the entire bar activity exclusively while still following the crowd's desires for the most part. It is kind of like a representative democracy with a benevolent dictator as the head of state.

The DJ has been running the karaoke at Chuck's Lounge and other bars for more than just a few years. His wife is often present to help facilitate the crowd's enjoyment of itself by singing and dancing a little for the crowd when there is a lull in the karaoke. Karaoke at Chuck's Lounge works much as it does anywhere else. People who wish to perform a song tell the DJ what they want to sing and he pulls it up in his computer files and plays it (there is a hardcopy book of his songs, but, on his computer, he has almost anything somebody might ask for and people often just make requests without consulting the book). There is no written order for who gets to sing. In an ideal world, it would be first come, first served. Chuck's Lounge is not an ideal world. At Chuck's Lounge, the DJ accepts requests and then queues them in the approximate order in which they were made. Otherwise, if the bar is packed with potential singers, the order of requests is more closely adhered to.

The people making requests come from two places in the bar. Often, requests come from the area of the bar where there are a couple of tables by one of the pool tables. The other area from which requests appear is the short section of the bar where individuals and couples are standing or sitting. This is the area physically closest to the karaoke DJ that is not on the stage. If the DJ is favoring a particular group of singers, it is usually the group hanging around near him at the bar. In a reversal of a regular evening, the long section of the bar is the part of the bar where the people seem to be least interested in the goings on of karaoke. These tend to be older people who are devoted

regulars that go to the bar instead of being forced away by drunken performances of depressing country songs.

The people who sing and dance are the main acts, and although they perform at their own behest, they are always encouraged by the DJ who will sometimes sing along with the chorus if it is a song that he knows well. Besides there being people who sing on their own, there are also many duets and group sing-alongs performed. Women in their 20s and 30s who sing in groups of three or more tend to sing feminist-type songs such as Alanis Morissette's feminist hymn, *You Oughta Know*. When women sing in smaller groups or on their own, they are more likely to sing a country song or fast upbeat "strong woman"-type song such as Gretchen Wilson's *Redneck Woman*. Rarely is there anything in between.

Though I did not question informants regarding their personal lives, such as romantic and familial relationships, it would seem that how young men and women who sing karaoke perceive each other is expressed by the songs they choose to sing. The younger men in their 20s and 30s who sing also tend to perform their gender as they perceive it. When groups of three or more young men sing, they may sing a rap/hip-hop/booty song (that treats women as sex objects) or they may sing a patriotic-sounding song by country and western artists such as Hank Williams Jr., Toby Keith, or Alan Jackson. Conversely, when older men in their 60s or 70s sing, they tend to pick older country songs that view women as objects of love and romance rather than in a more sexualized sense. Nevertheless, the strong gentleman/woman-standing-by-her-man relationship still comes through in song. Additionally, when younger men sing on their own, they frequently sing lonely or working man country songs instead.

It is rare to see a male/female duet performed on the karaoke stage. It is not because there is some known rule against this. It is just that there seem to be few songs that couples want to sing together. However, when a mixed gender duet performs, the song *Whiskey Lullaby* is not an uncommon choice. The song is originally performed by country musicians Brad Paisley and Alison Krauss and is about a couple who split up and are so depressed without each other that they each literally drink themselves to death and are eventually buried next to each other under their favorite tree.

Since the TVs are silenced, there is no jukebox, and nobody ever plays the trivia machine, the only other form of entertainment besides karaoke is dancing. Dancing is rarely an organized event and is observed almost exclusively on karaoke nights and when there is live music. This dancing often occurs between couples when a slow song (usually a love- or romantic-song) is being performed. Group dancing is simply group booty dancing to contemporary and classic rap, and hip-hop music.

Chuck's Lounge may not be the oldest bar in the parish; Jack's Place has it beat by almost a quarter of a decade, but the history is rich, and the regular customers know it. As far as place attachment goes, Chuck's Lounge has just about the most loyal base of customers out of the four study bars. This loyalty is built on the atmosphere that the proprietor and the bartenders promote, and that the regular customers recognize and respond to: the traditions such as karaoke, live music, and fishbowls, and the fact that the bar itself is recognized as a place with its own personality that is rooted in Addis and is a key component of the history of the town.

Jack's Place

Before even arriving at the total concept for this dissertation, I had been going to Jack's Place on a fairly regular basis considering that I lived in East rather than West Baton Rouge Parish. When I first heard the following lyrics of a song played on the jukebox, I thought that it had actually been written about Jack's Place. As it turns out it probably wasn't even written with Jack's Place in mind, having been written by a native of North Dakota.

"Rack 'Em Up" by Jonny Lang

I used to hang out down at Jack's Pool Hall
You go down there and don't do nothin' at all
If you wanted to play some cards there was a game in the back
If you wanted a shot or somethin' you went and talked to Jack
If you had a little money you was a grade "A" fool
There was a guy down there who used to shoot a little pool

Rack 'em up
Till' the day he was dead that all they ever said
Rack 'em up

He didn't own a TV set, didn't own a car
He ate what whatever Jack was makin' back behind the bar
They said he had a wife, but she left him in tears
He hadn't been home in twenty five years

Rack 'em up

They came from all over thinkin' they were pretty hot
Put all their money on the table, wanna play the best we got
Nine in the corner, five in the side
Take a hundred dollar bill and just let it ride
I tell him listen son, ain't no disaster
There ain't no shame in being beat by a master

There is no particular person that I was ever aware of who fit the description of a pool master that just hangs out at Jack's Place waiting to show challengers the ropes, but hardly a day goes by that somebody is not shooting billiards on one of the old, regulation-size pool tables that occupy about two-thirds of the floor space at Jack's Place, which the owners, the bartenders, and most of the regulars recognize as the oldest continuously operating pool hall in West Baton Rouge Parish.

Hiding in Plain Sight

There is nothing in particular that distinguishes the building that houses Jack's Place as a bar. Unlike Chuck's Lounge and Charlie's Lounge that each occupy their own freestanding buildings on Louisiana Highway 1 (both former and present), Jack's Place is located at the intersection of the two main streets of downtown Port Allen, one of which happens to also have once been the route for Louisiana Highway 1. In addition to the bar, the building that houses Jack's Place is also the location for a barber shop and a payday loan service as well. When I first discovered Jack's Place on my own, it was because, as a geographer, it was important to explore the local area and find the local bars. On a whim, I happened to drive through downtown Port Allen one evening, expecting to find nothing and instead was treated to a marquee sign on the corner in front of the building that indicated there was a bar inside (Figure 6.17).

There is nothing particularly special about the outside. Like Charlie's Lounge in Addis, it might even be possible to drive past the building numerous times during the day before finally seeing the beer signs and the marquee lit up at night. For the new customer who is drawn through the front door at the corner of the building, he enters a bar that

conveys a quiet dignity on the inside (Figure 6.18). Jack's Place is unique on the inside, just like any other drinking establishment that has developed its own character over many years. It is modern (in the form of a digital download jukebox) and interspersed with old (in the form of ancient, but well-kept billiards tables), and banal patriotism (in the form of an American Flag) is interspersed with banal localism (in the form of Bud Light Mardi Gras posters).



Figure 6.17: The low, gray building in downtown Port Allen that houses Jack's Place. Port Allen's City Hall is just barely visible on the far left side of the photo. (Photography by the author)



Figure 6.18: A panoramic view of the interior of Jack's Place that greets customers just inside the front door. (Photography by the author)

Seating is somewhat limited in the bar compared to Chuck's Lounge. In the center of the bar area marked by office carpet on the floor are three small, circular tables with low, red-cushioned chairs stained by years of spilled drinks and marked with cigarette burns. To the right of the entrance are three more seats at the standard three video gaming machines that almost all service industry businesses in West Baton Rouge Parish have inside them someplace. Then there are six bar stools, black vinyl on top of black metal legs just like at Chuck's Lounge. Further inside the bar where the floor breaks starkly from office carpet to linoleum are several larger tables where card games occasionally take place on Sunday evenings and where people shooting pool can set their drinks or rest their cigarettes in ashtrays while sinking a solid or a stripe.

Apart from the video gaming machines, entertainment consists of electronic dart boards and six pool tables (Figure 6.19), two of which are antique and kept covered against the far back wall. Signs are located along the walls instructing pool players to keep both their cigarette butts and posteriors off of the edges of the pool tables. The pool tables themselves are the most unique feature of the bar. In most bars whose purpose is to serve drinks first and provide entertainment second, pool tables are smaller, about three and a half feet wide by six feet long and require players to pay to play each game by

inserting anywhere from seventy-five cents to a \$1.50 in quarters into a slot on the side of the table which releases pool balls that have been sunk into the pockets. At Jack's Place, the pool tables are what are known as regulation-size pool tables and, are large (four feet wide by eight feet long) and do not require players to pay for each individual game. Instead, players pay the bar by some set unit of time, typically an hour, and can play as many or as few games in that timeframe as they would like. For regulars who enjoy playing pool, it is one of the perks of Jack's Place that other local bars do not offer.



Figure 6.19: The six pool tables that occupy two-thirds of the floor space inside Jack's Place. (Photography by the author)

Upon commencing fieldwork at Jack's Place in the spring of 2013, there were other sources of entertainment in the bar apart from the pool tables and the gaming machines. Just as at Charlie's Lounge and Chuck's Lounge, there was a video trivia machine at the end of the bar. However, customers basically never played the machine, therefore the trivia games did not make any money for the bar, so the owner decided to remove it after it ceased to function properly. The same is true for the dart boards on the other side of the ATM machine on the same wall as the jukebox. The three dart boards

were electronic, common for most bars because it means that players do not have to perform the requisite math to keep score while simultaneously consuming alcoholic beverages. However, as with the trivia machine, the same fate eventually befell the dart boards, and they were removed from the bar and seem to have gone unmissed by customers since then.

Otherwise, the bar is quiet. Perhaps a half-dozen to a dozen framed photographic montages scattered on the walls by the pool tables display the young regulars who frequented Jack's Place in the past ten to fifteen years until they got older, married, and gave birth to progeny. Additional décor is in the form of beer posters and neon signs that have been provided by the beer distributors. Behind the bar however, is what might be considered a shrine to Mr. Jack, the original owner. Several pictures of the founder adorn the wall behind the bar. One is a black and white line drawing of Jack sitting on a stool at his bar, and another is an undated photo of him standing next to an unknown man. Apart from that is a sign advertising the eponymous drink of the bar: Jack's Broken Finger Shot, which is a slightly fruity reddish-orange alcoholic drink most commonly taken in the form of a shot though it can be drunk straight from a larger container as well. Finally, one of the last visible remnants of Jack's imprint on the bar are taps for draft beer that was served from kegs in a bygone era. They have gone unused for many years now as the owner opted to serve strictly bottled and canned beer which is somewhat more convenient than having to manhandle beer kegs around a bar.

History: 1920s–Twenty-First Century

Jack Saia opened a restaurant/café in the mid-1920s around the time of the 1927 Mississippi River Flood and during Prohibition in the United States, which lasted from

January 1920 with passage of the Eighteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution to late in 1933, when the various states repealed it by ratifying the Twenty-First Amendment. A long time ago, the café would be open at 4 or 5 o'clock in the morning to serve breakfast to farm and later plant workers coming off of night time shifts. Over the years, the restaurant/café evolved into the pool hall/bar that it is today, opening in mid-afternoon on most days and closing late in the evening and occasionally remaining open until early into the morning.

During the era of ferry service between Port Allen and Baton Rouge, the ferry dock on the west bank of the Mississippi River happened to be located about a block away from Jack's Place. Two ferries crossed the river every half-hour to forty-five minutes and Jack's offered a place for people crossing the river by ferry to pass the time and get a bite to eat. Because of where it is located directly across from Baton Rouge, people who lived in parishes on the west side of the Mississippi River were taken by train to Port Allen which served as a focal point of rail travel whether travelers were arriving from Addis and Plaquemine to the south, farther north, or even from the Atchafalaya wetlands to the west. It is largely due to this East-West connection that the current owner attributes Jack's Place's longevity.

Jack continued to operate the business well into his old age and he passed away in the early 1990s. After that, his only son purchased the building from his family and his other siblings who did not wish to be involved in the business of the bar. As explained by Jack's son, "Since Jack told me to keep the old landmark going, I said, 'Sell it to me.' The reason I bought the property was because my older sister was gonna tear down the

place. Bulldoze it down and plant grass,” (Various Informants 2013). So his family sold him the bar though he was not fond of going into the bar business.

During the first several years after Jack passed away, his son leased the business to various proprietors with the stipulation that they keep the bar the way that Jack had kept it with the pool tables, stools, tables, chairs, etc. However, none of the people that leased the business lasted long running the bar. One lasted three months, another a year and three months, the third about two and a half years, the fourth just another few months, and the last one about a year or so. They all burned themselves out financially and personally on the business, leading Jack’s son to take over the bar, and he has been the proprietor for the last two decades or so.

In the present day, being located on old Louisiana Highway 1 away from the present highway presents two sides of the same coin. Because Jack’s Place is no longer located on a heavily trafficked highway, it receives less drive-by patronage whereby people passing by in the past would see the bar, and stop in for a drink. As a result, this keeps the bar local in terms of the customers and, similar to Chuck’s Lounge, means that it is a little bit hidden which suits the current owner just fine since he does not bother to advertise the bar. Without a doubt, a bar such as Jack’s Place in a city the size of Port Allen does not require much advertisement in the media as most advertising for the bar is passed by word of mouth. On the other hand, of course, not being located on the main highway means that new customers are less likely to appear and so the bar must rely on younger customers becoming new regulars to replace the older customers as they reach the age where they can no longer spend time at a bar, or pass away as people tend to do.

Fortunately, this does not seem to bother the owner, as it keeps riff-raff, or potential trouble instigated by younger customers out of the bar, and makes the business easy to manage as well. As the current owner explains it:

We did not advertise, in fact, I wanted to keep it small. My dad was satisfied with the level of business that we had where he could handle himself. He ran it himself for a long time. He didn't pick up anybody, any help, part time help, most of the bartenders were males, and now it's better to have females [as bartenders] to draw in customers. Most of the people like to go back to the same spot they feel comfortable and being a safe environment, a joyful environment, and that is what I've tried to do was eliminate the bad side of the bars.

Regular customers agree that the atmosphere that the original owner's son has maintained over the years is what endears the bar to them, "It is a hometown bar. Never really noisy, not rowdy, there's rarely a fight, you know, because [the owner] clears that up fast, like in a hurry," (Various Informants 2013).

Apart from the owner, and despite its location, Jack's Place continues to get along at a comfortable pace thanks to the loyal regular customers. For one long time regular, "It's just good people. Mr. Jack and [his son] . . . great people. It's still a hometown bar, it's not . . . outrageous. [It] is one of the only places that I know of that you can go on original pool tables," (Various Informants 2013). This is something which distinguishes Jack's Place from the other older bars in the area, "Jack's has been here for so long, I think that's what makes it different. Because people don't like . . . it's the only pool hall in West Baton Rouge Parish that's been around for the longest," (Various Informants 2013).

The personal opinions of the base of regular customers is best summed up thusly:

The other bars are more, how do I explain it, it's not that they're not comfortable, I don't know how to say that right, it's just a different feeling. I don't really know how to describe it. Here, it's more social; people don't really get drunk, super drunk. I'm not saying they don't, they don't tend to as much. There [at other local bars] it's more of a party scene. Here, it's more of just, relax, have a few drinks, visit.

Jack's People

As things are right now, Jack's Place is more like Charlie's Lounge than Chuck's Lounge in terms of the pace of the atmosphere and the regular customers. This is partly a result of younger people choosing to spend their time at bars that are prone to be livelier in terms of the atmosphere and music rather than quiet with local news on the television and conversation about local politics and sports. However, this is not to say that Jack's Place does not get lively. On a typical day as the afternoon turns into evening, it is quite common for one of the female bartenders to urge one of the mostly male customers to put some money in the jukebox and play music.

Similar to Charlie's Lounge, on any given weekday afternoon, it is not hard to guess, or know, which regulars will be passing time at the bar. From a base of eight to ten customers, there is a good chance that about half will be at Jack's Place on a given day. They are an easygoing crowd too, "laid back," as one informant put it. People at other bars described the regular crowd at Jack's Place as, "mostly older people," meaning people in their 50s and 60s. Apart from being the oldest bar in the parish, what makes Jack's Place stand out from the other three study bars is the gender makeup of the regular customers.

At Charlie's Lounge, Chuck's Lounge, and Sugar Patch Lounge, there is rarely a time when a female customer will be in the bar without a male companion or without being in the company of three to four other females. However, at Jack's Place, on a typical afternoon or evening, women can easily make up half of the individual customers in the bar which typically does not exceed six to eight customers at a given time. When asked about it, the female informants agreed saying, "I think that's why I probably come here is because I'm comfortable here coming in by myself," and, "I don't feel bad as a woman, coming in here with all men. 'Cause I'm friends with all of them," (Various Informants 2013).

Most of the regular customers know each other too, either through drinking together at the bar or having grown up or attended school together:

Regular customers is, is just the same people that come, you know, we all grew up together, I mean, most of the people that come in here are the people that grew up together. Whether I'm ten years younger than them or they're twenty years older than me, vice versa. And the, the younger kids come in, doesn't matter, I mean, we all grew up together in Port Allen. There's some kinda way that, whether you're 50 years old, 40, or 30, some kinda way we know you or they know us, family-wise.

It is rare for the bartenders or even the regulars to have somebody come into the bar who they do not know. When asked how often they see someone who they do not know, bartenders and regulars alike responded that it was, "very seldom," or, "not often," when a new face came into the bar (Various Informants 2013).

In the sense that, "everybody knows everybody," Jack's Place is certainly its own little community of people and is, "one of the premier places to come as a hometown,

community place, [. . .] if you want to get a community bar, where everybody knows everybody and gets along, and all that . . . it's the perfect place to come," (Various Informants 2013).

Fourth of July

The fourth of July in the United States has to be a quintessential celebration of place. There is a sense of history and pride, gathering together to take the day away from jobs, discounted mattress and car sales, hot dogs and hamburgers, airshows, and fireworks after sundown to top it all off. At the corner of Jefferson Avenue and Court Street in downtown Port Allen, police conduct traffic past the entrance to the bar where barricades are set up to block cars so that people can walk right down the middle of the street up to the levee to take in live music, watch an airshow of vintage World War II fighter airplanes make a mock attack on the U.S.S. Kidd museum ship across the river in Baton Rouge, and buy some locally made Po' Boys, barbeque, and jambalaya from street vendors.

Apart from Mardi Gras celebrations that are unique to the region, Port Allen puts on a healthy gathering of locals who converge for the afternoon and evening of the Fourth of July every year, a situation in which Jack's Place is conveniently right in the middle. The bar itself does not do anything in particular to mark the event except to make sure that there is at least one extra set of hands behind the bar to service the bar that is packed, standing room only, full of customers coming in to get a drink or a daiquiri before wandering back out into the warm evening and back to the live music on the levee.

Much of the allure of Jack's Place is, similar to Chuck's Lounge, based largely on the history of the place, and the history of the people in the place. The regular customers

that I interviewed who had been customers for thirty or more years (since they were in their late teens) liked to mention Mr. Jack and what a good guy he was. Other regulars who have not been around as long still appreciate the fact that there is something special about a place that has been kept in the same family spanning nine decades. Even much younger customers, in their twenties and early thirties who have been going to the bar long enough, understand that there are certain guidelines for drinking at Jack's Place such as being respectful to others, respectful to the bartenders, respectful to the quiet nature of the bar and, certainly not least, respectful of the pool tables.

Combined, the history of Jack's Place and the way that regulars comport themselves drive the overall sense of place of the old pool hall. That the original owner's family has strong roots in Port Allen lends itself to the fact that Jack's Place, a landmark in downtown Port Allen, is itself rooted in the heart and mind of the local community.

Sugar Patch Lounge

As the bar's name suggests, Sugar Patch Lounge has something to do with sugarcane fields and the agricultural industry that was the most powerful economic force in the parish for well over a century. Though the cane fields are not in full growth in this recent aerial photo, the site of the bar is clearly surrounded by agriculture (Figure 6.20). This aerial photograph, taken in spring 2014, shows U.S. Highway 190 stretching out to the west. The small highway coming in from the lower left side of the photograph is LA Highway 415 which begins at Interstate Ten. On the right side is the Mississippi River, and heading to the east from the bottom right corner and out of the frame of the picture is the Gold Coast before U.S. Highway 190 crosses the Mississippi River over the Huey P. Long Bridge.



Figure 6.20: Sugar Patch Lounge, the white building in the bottom of the center of this aerial photo, with sugarcane fields stretching out to the west. (Photography by Meredith Zenge)

Raised In Cane

Despite that the bar is a family-owned bar that has been in the same family since it was first a bar in the 1950s, the owners, bartenders, and regular customers are not nearly as knowledgeable about the history of their bar as are the people associated with any of the other three study bars. The best that could be extracted from the current owner, the widow of the original owner's son came from the following exchange:

Me – This building belonged to your husband’s . . .

I – Dad.

Me – And how long had he been owning it for?

I – He owned it about 45 years.

Me – Okay, so do you know when this building was built approximately?

I – All I know is fifty years ago.

Me – Okay, and when it was built, somebody told me it was a [n auto] parts store.

I – Yeah, they had a parts store and then they had a uh, a uh, place where they had a plant out on the side and they would unload tanks of water from one place to the other and uh, I don’t know exactly what it was called but it was like a office thing for a while.

Me – And how long was it, how long did that business stay in here before it became a bar? So first it was a bar and then it was a parts house and then it was a bar again? So when it first opened as a bar, was it called Sugar Patch?

I – Yes, always been Sugar Patch.

Me – Because it was surrounded by sugar patches?

I – [Nods]

Me – And then, when was it Joe Joe’s?

I – It was Joe Joe’s after they changed the name from Sugar Patch to Joe Joe’s.

Me – When was that?

I – Been a few years . . . it was the ‘90s.

Me – How long was it Joe Joe’s?

I – Joe Joe must’ve had this place for about 3 or 4 years and then Joe Moore took it over.

Me – Was it still called Joe Joe’s when he took it over?

I – It was Joe Moore. It was Joe’s. He must’ve had it for like five years.

From the preceding exchange, it is clear that there can be no strong sense of history of place among the regular customers at Sugar Patch Lounge when even the owner who was married to an original owner of the bar cannot recall or does not know basic information about the history of the place.

At best, from the interview with the current owner, along with talking to other customers and bartenders who are mostly comprised of the owner’s daughters and stepdaughters, Sugar Patch Lounge must have been Joe Joe’s from about 1999 or so until 2002 or 2003, then just Joe’s from then until 2007 or 2008, and Sugar Patch Lounge again since then (Figure 6.21). This was as much detail as anyone could provide, even from customers, bartenders, and owners at the other three study bars.



Figure 6.21: Sugar Patch Lounge in 2013. The current owner and family members who all work in the bar live in the mobile homes in the back. (Photography by the author)

Sugar Patch Lounge is basically what is left over of the Gold Coast and its associated night life. When the current owner took control of the bar business again, she

made an effort to turn the place into a bar where people could enjoy music or karaoke in a clean environment:

It's way different, I mean, than what it was because, when she [the current owner] came in, they tore, it used to be the poker machines used to be on that wall over there, they used to have a bar that ran down the middle like, little bar where you could sit on both sides, they tore all that out. This [the bar area] was much smaller, they made the bar area wider which makes it easier when you work and, when you do get busy and you're workin' more than one person back here, you have more room to move and get around and stuff. But [the owner], she really did a lot when she came in here and remodeled.

Though there are no pictures of the bar that the owner has from the past because they were destroyed in a fire, pictures from the present show that the bar really is conducive to a lively, music-filled atmosphere. The front area of the bar is where the long wooden bar starts by the glass entrance door and provides seating for at least a dozen drinkers with standing room in between for anyone that needs to order a beer and return to their table (Figure 6.22). The tile is still new, the coat of paint on the light blue ceiling is still fairly new, and even when the lights are dim, the bar still gives off a cleaner-than-might-be-expected-in-a-bar feel.

On a typical weekday afternoon, if the bar only has a handful of customers inside, only the main bar area is utilized simply because that is where all of the amenities and entertainment are located: pool tables, jukebox, gaming machines, restrooms, and ATM. Though it is not ever closed off to customers, the second half of the bar is not utilized except when the bar gets crowded on a karaoke or a band night (Figure 6.23).

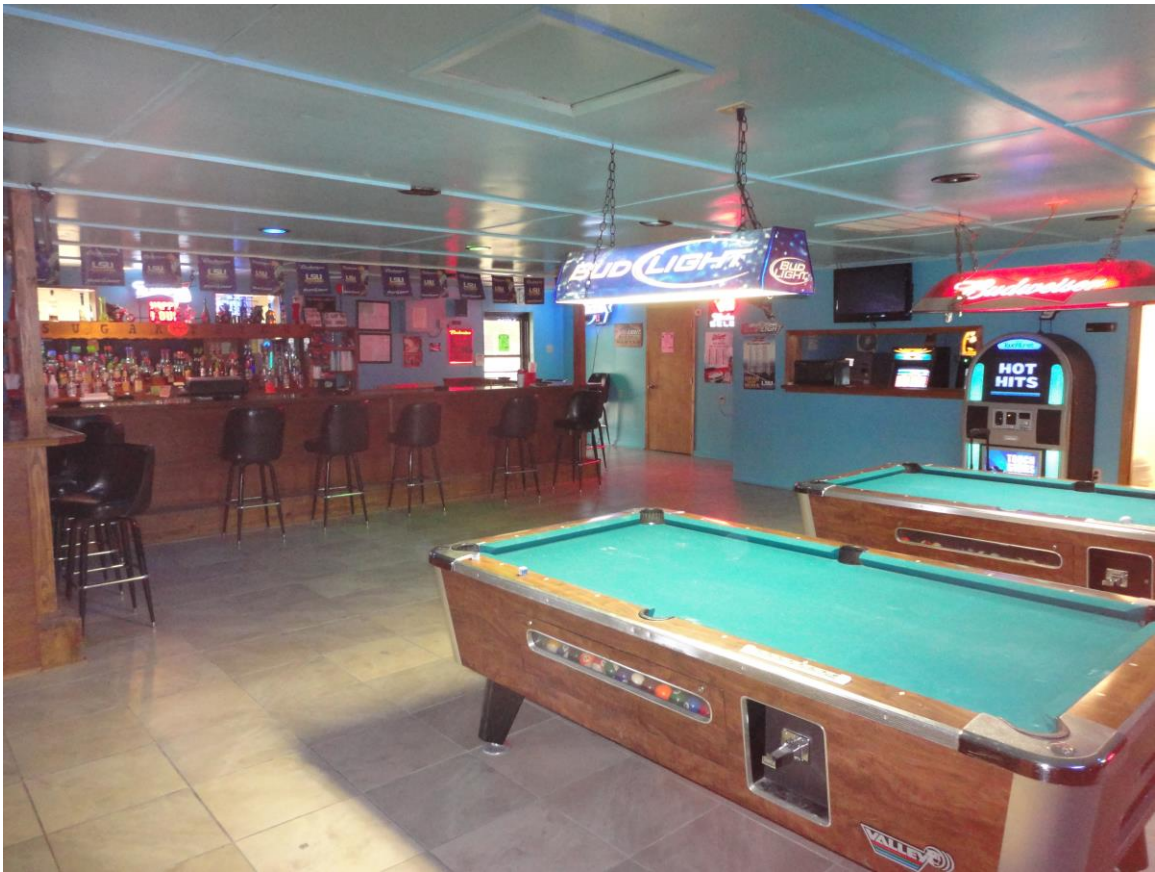


Figure 6.22: The main bar area inside Sugar Patch Lounge with the entrance in the center of the picture. The gaming machines are visible through a small hole in the wall just to the left of the jukebox. (Photography by the author)

The back half of the bar is distinct, yet not physically separated from the main bar area. The floor is red linoleum, the ceiling is sheetrock rather than painted wood and the walls are faux wood paneling. Seating is accommodated by high-top wooden tables attached to the walls which allow people to either sit comfortably in stools or stand at the 3-and-half-foot-high tables. On band and karaoke nights, the floor is frequently occupied by couples dancing or people just standing around, chatting loudly in small groups while the singing and music washes over the crowd.



Figure 6.23: The back half of the inside of Sugar Patch Lounge with high-top tables and a low stage for bands and karaoke. (Photography by the author)

Every Analysis Needs Outliers

The regular customers at Sugar Patch Lounge really did a most outstanding job as outliers in this study of sense of place, place attachment, and rootedness. Of all four bars, Charlie's Lounge seemed to have the most nonchalant customers, Chuck's Lounge had the most loyal, Jack's Place had the most proud, and Sugar Patch Lounge had the customers that were most likely to take their favorite bar for granted. By this I mean, the regulars at Charlie's Lounge did not take themselves seriously, but they recognized that Charlie's Lounge was the place where they could do that while jokingly insulting each other every day. At Chuck's Lounge, most people loved to drink fishbowls and are glad

to be a loyal part of the family of Chuck's Lounge's customers. The folks at Jack's Place exhibited the strongest sense of place and pride in how long the bar had been in business and proud of the tradition of the bar itself both as a place to drink and as the oldest pool hall in the parish.

At Sugar Patch Lounge, first, it seemed difficult to get people to take part in interviews because nobody but two or three regular customers were interested enough in the reason that I was at the bar every day with a notepad, pen, and audio recorder. Whereas at the other three bars, my presence and journalistic appearance tended to raise more peoples' curiosity. Apart from that, whenever there was a large crowd of regulars during the week, during a Tuesday, Thursday, or Friday night, the bar would be far too loud with music from the jukebox, karaoke, a band playing, or simply chatter for an interview to be recorded and conducted properly.

To be sure, Sugar Patch Lounge did not have an apparently high rate of turnover of regular customers, nor a relatively higher rate of new faces on a given day compared to the other three study bars. If anything, there was simply no culture of solidarity let alone collective sense of place among the customers regarding their thoughts and feelings about their regular bar. That is not to say that the people that I interviewed did not have anything positive to say about their bar, it just seemed that knowing the history of their bar was not imperative or necessary to the drinking experience and that they tended to live in the moment rather than consider the past or think about the future of the bar. Most likely, this can be attributed to the high rate of turnover in bar ownership over the past two decades and a sense of being unsure about what the future may bring for the bar.

Even though everybody seems to know everybody at Sugar Patch Lounge, there does not appear to be a solid core of regulars apart from one or two people who can be expected to show up at the bar on any given day of the week that the bar is open for business. The cadre of customers is best described by one bartender:

The people that are here, usually come, are locals and then we get a lot of out-of-towners, people that are working in town and they're here for, you know, like they might be here for six months or whatever and they come in. We got different ones. I mean, you know, we got a lotta working-class people come in here, we got some people that don't work that come in here, you know . . . it's a lot, it's a different group, you know, it's not like we not all white-collar people, we do have some white-collar people that come here too.

Sugar Patch Lounge is not a neighborhood bar by any means which is due primarily to its location where Louisiana Highway 415 merges with U.S. Highway 190 after the latter crosses the Mississippi River over the old Huey P. Long Bridge. Regulars at other bars held the common view that, because of its location in the parish, it was not the safest bar because there are frequently new faces and strangers whom the regular do not know that come in to drink (Various Informants 2013). One informant actually connected how they perceive the people at Sugar Patch Lounge with its location on U.S. 190:

I – It's nice, it um, Thursday night they have steak night and they have a band and stuff, they have karaoke during the week, I mean, it's a nice place, I just . . . sometimes the clientele over there is kind of shaky.

Me – And is that because it's in a different part of Port Allen?

I – I think that's it, because where it's located [on U.S. 190]. I think it's the people that live around there.

That is not how the regular people at Sugar Patch Lounge see things however:

It's a family-oriented bar I would call it. Everybody comes in here, they're treated like family, my opinion, whether it's just you're a customers or not. All the bartenders kinda like, 'cause they work for the family that owns the place. Most [people] that live around here come here once or twice a week or something like that. I feel comfortable in here.

Most regular customers hardly live walking distance from the bar, as the only nearby residential areas are located on the other side of the four-lane divided U.S. Highway 190 or Louisiana Highway 415. Despite this, some regulars still refer to Sugar Patch Lounge as a neighborhood establishment, "It's more of a neighborhood bar. We get different people because we get a lot of people that travel through this area and stuff, you get a lot of truck drivers and stuff like that," (Various Informants 2013). Overall though, for the owner who has operated the bar for the past half-decade:

I – To me, it's like a big country bar.

Me – Country because of the . . .

I – Because of the atmosphere and the people that come here. A lot of people won't go nowhere else.

Me – And the atmosphere, you mean like the karaoke is always country [music] and the jukebox is always country [music]?

I – Yeah, uh-huh.

Me – And how, is that something that makes it distinct from other bars in the area? I mean different from other white, working-class, blue-collar bars?

I – Yeah.

Bands, Karaoke, Steak, and Poker Runs

On Tuesdays there is karaoke and several dozen customers crowded around the bar or sitting at the high-tables talking or waiting to shoot a game of pool. Wednesday nights are the quietest nights at the bar, but activity ramps back up as the weekend approaches with a live band on Thursdays and steaks and baked potatoes cooking on a grill that customers may purchase for \$17 or \$18. Thursdays are typically the busiest nights in the bar and the nights when having more than one person tending the bar is an absolute must. Fridays are typically pretty dead in the afternoons, possibly because people are still tired from staying out till midnight or later on Thursdays, but karaoke starts up again, and though it is rarely as busy as on a Tuesday karaoke night, most of the same people that belted out tunes at the beginning of the week close out the week in the same fashion.

A once per year activity that takes place in West Baton Rouge Parish is the St. Jude's Poker Run in which motorcycle riders gather together and ride from one bar, to another, covering four or five bars in two or three parishes, collecting playing cards which they then use to make a good hand of poker and win a prize. Lately, Sugar Patch Lounge has served as the beginning and ending point for the charity event. On the day of the poker run that I attended in July of 2013, the bar was overflowing with at least one hundred people in and outside of the bar. Despite the cloudy sky and intermittent heavy rains on that particular day, people at the bar for the event were sitting outside under a tent eating jambalaya and buying tickets for door prizes and drawings for cash and other gifts. The next day after the poker run, the bar had returned to completely normal as if nothing had ever happened.

Recall the comment regarding the possibility that customers may simply be unsure about the future of Sugar Patch Lounge thus lending themselves to a sense of taking their bar for granted? When hand-delivering copies of the write-ups of the individual bars to the bar owners so that they could assist me with checking my facts, I learned some news about Sugar Patch Lounge. I had terminated fieldwork in early August 2013 and had not taken the time to visit any of the bars again until early April 2014, nine months later. However, while visiting with the owner of Charlie's Lounge, and explaining that I was giving write-ups of the bars to all of the owners, she informed me that Sugar Patch Lounge was once again operating under the proprietorship of Joe Joe, this was verified by informants that I talked to at Jack's Place as well later that same day.

Sugar Patch Lounge was the last bar that had been on the list to conduct fieldwork and collect data. It almost makes sense that the customers of Sugar Patch Lounge might feel the way that they do, that the bar could just as easily be closed or under new management as it could be the same as it was the day before. In fact, as I neared the end of fieldwork, I did not know that my last visit to Sugar Patch Lounge would be my last visit to the bar. I just did not return to the field the following day, or the next day, or the next day, or the following week, or any of the weeks after that. That was it, whether people noticed that I was absent from the bar or whether they just accepted that nothing at Sugar Patch Lounge is permanent, that seems to be the best way to describe the bar: a place to enjoy yourself, live in the moment, and not to worry about what tomorrow may or may not hold in store.

Not Just Bars

No single place has to serve just one function for one person. While the bars in this study tend to serve one main function in individual peoples' lives—whether it is a place of business, a place of employment, or a place of drink where people come to spend time together in a familiar, open-to-the-public, yet private atmosphere—the bars do serve multiple functions for many of the people who regularly spend time there.

At both Charlie's Lounge and Chuck's Lounge, the owner's home is built into the same structure that houses the bar, with a door that connects the home to the business. Though there are no living quarters attached to Jack's Place or Sugar Patch Lounge, the owners are never far away either. Jack's Place's owner lives about a 30-second drive away from his bar and can be there in a moment's notice, while the owner and family members that work at Sugar Patch Lounge live in mobile homes located on the same property as the bar.

No matter what the bars are, regardless of perceptions held by people who have never spent any time in any one of the bars or if they are simply laboratories for conducting fieldwork and collecting data for a research project, the bars are the lives and livelihoods for dozens of people. They are not just businesses. The bars, Sugar Patch Lounge, Jack's Place, Charlie's Lounge, and Chuck's Lounge represent so much more than just places to get a drink. They are sites of attachment, sources of pride, and containers of collective memory and personal identity. The following chapters delve into what people—the customers, bartenders, and owners—really have to say about these places and their relationships with them.

Chapter Seven: Introduction to Results

Place is a center of felt value.

—John Eyles (1989, 108)

The reason for this undertaking is to collect empirical data regarding sense of place, place attachment, and rootedness, how they are related to each other, and their place in the relationships that people have with place. These three concepts, introduced and discussed primarily in philosophical terms by Yi-Fu Tuan, Edward Relph, J.B. Jackson, Tim Cresswell and others, have not been understood and operationalized except in a small number of studies by Hay (1986; 1990; 1998a), Hidalgo and Hernandez (2001), Miriam Billig (2006), and Smith and Cartlidge (2011). Even as I re-read the literature review in Chapter Two to prepare to write this and the following chapters, I encountered some confusion as to the more or less precise definitions of the terms.

Tuan (1975) says that sense of place is not acquired in passing and requires time of residence and involvement in the place (this sounds basically the same as his definition of rootedness), whereas in sociology, Hummon (1992) defines sense of place as the subjective perception of one's surroundings and can include the emotional response associated with those perceptions. Concerning the physical qualities about a place, Jackson (1994) suggests that sense of place is not associated so much with the physical qualities of a place as it is with frequent and continued involvement with a place. It seems that geographers tend to favor a sort of exclusiveness to sense of place, one that not just anybody can grasp.

Cresswell (2004) provides the example of an airport terminal as a placeless place, a place with no sense of place. By Tuan's definition, a specific airport terminal would have little meaning to an individual that passes through it once, never to see it again, unable to connect with its unique past and the art by local artists or advertisements for local attractions on the walls. But for the young person selling expensive coffee and sandwiches who is in that airport terminal every day, the terminal is a site of labor and income. Therefore, to count an airport terminal out of the running for having a sense of place is not logical. Additionally, Sack (1992) has told us that the airport terminal has already been created for us to consume as a place before we consume it. We already have an idea of the airport terminal and already have some preconception about it, therefore, even with a specific place that one has never visited, a relationship with the place already exists in the form of established preconceived expectations about that place in general.

As indicated in the literature review in Chapter Two, the definitions of sense of place, place attachment, and rootedness need to be made clearer. Let sense of place be Hummon's definition, let place identity be Tuan's definition without mixing in rootedness, and let place identity and sense of place be fused together for the basis of forming place attachment. This would fall in line with Carter, Dyer, and Sharma (2007) and Scannell and Gifford (2010). Because without establishing a word, term, or phrase to capture the idea of it, how does a person walk into a bar having never been there and then describe it? Sense of place is the how, a subjective perception of a place acquired in passing with at least a single involvement in place and that may form the basis for later identifying with place either based on that initial contact, or with continued involvement in place as one becomes accustomed to that place.

Over the course of about a year from July 2012 to August 2013 I completed forty-one interviews with forty-four people at the four study sites. As discussed in Chapter Three, simply attempting to get an interview with someone was no easy task for me. The atmosphere of each bar from the first time I set foot through the door as a qualitative researcher set the tone for how I felt about trying to get interviews. It did not matter how friendly I felt the atmosphere was toward me after two or three weeks in the bar, it was always that first day that set that tone for me.

Introduction

In Addis, at Charlie's Lounge, the first study site, I completed eight interviews, at Chuck's Lounge it was sixteen interviews with nineteen people. In Port Allen, at Jack's Place, I gathered data from eleven interviews, and at Sugar Patch Lounge it was down to six.

Just listing the number of interviews gives the researcher the ability to discuss sense of place of each of these bars and why nineteen interviews were collected at Chuck's Lounge compared to only six at Sugar Patch Lounge. At Sugar Patch Lounge, pretty much anybody that walks in is a regular customer, regular meaning that the bartender or owner probably knows the regular's first name and what the regular customer usually drinks. Of course not all regular customers know all of the other regular customers. Since this pool of regular customers consists primarily of individuals who only frequent the bar once a week or a few times each month, it is difficult to establish a relationship with them as a researcher because there is almost no daily interaction with those regulars. Furthermore, it is more difficult, maybe even poor etiquette as far as rules

of the bar go to out-of-the-blue ask an infrequent regular to grant an interview without first establishing a relationship with them.

However, at Charlie's Lounge there is a core of about six or seven regular customers that can be counted on to be there any given afternoon of the week from late afternoon to early evening time. This group of core regulars (along with the bartender and the owner) became my convenient and somewhat captive sample of informants at Charlie's Lounge. The reason the individuals in this particular sample at this particular bar granted me interviews is because they came to know who I was and to understand what my purpose was as a researcher. Otherwise, the same individuals would most likely not have been willing to grant me an interview if I had walked in from the street one day and just started asking questions.

What does this anecdote indicate about Charlie's Lounge and its sense of place? Charlie's Lounge is quiet, people don't go there to be loud and active. People go there to have a quiet place to have a drink where other customers will not be inclined to bother them and (perhaps most importantly) Charlie's Lounge is safe. Generally, on any given evening, there is about a nine out of ten chance that whoever walks into the bar is already a regular and not a young outsider looking to be loud, drunk, and obnoxious to the point where it would alter the bar's atmosphere of being a quiet, dark, friendly bar to a place with nuisance customers and music playing on the jukebox.

Demographics

Turning to the four bars as a whole, how does the makeup of the entire sample of informants describe four of the oldest bars in West Baton Rouge Parish? Race is the most straightforward to discuss. Of all of my informants, one was black, a man in his mid-60s

who had grown up not being able to drink inside the bar because blacks could only purchase alcohol to go from the back door. Though black people are allowed in the bars because segregation is illegal, there is still de facto segregation that keeps historically white bars white in terms of the racial composition of the clientele. To the best of the knowledge of my field notes, only two of the bars ever had a black paying customer who was a regular at the bar. Otherwise, the only black people seen in the bars were there to deliver beer or conduct some other type of business with the white bar owners.

Gender adds another component to sense of place. The bars are masculine in terms of the atmosphere. Seven of my informants were female customers. Eighteen were male. That actually sounds like a reasonable ratio, nearly half of the informants that were customers were female but this certainly does not indicate any parity of power over place in terms of the atmosphere of each of the bars. However, women do control the atmosphere to some degree by way of their position behind the bar. Only one bartender I interviewed was a male and he only worked as a backup bartender when times got busy such as during Mardi Gras or on the Fourth of July. Eleven of the women I interviewed were bartenders, and though the younger female bartenders had more difficulty in enforcing respect towards them from the male customers, older female bartenders were much more adept at keeping male customers in check from even the most well-meant (though not excusable) attempt at playful insults and chatter between them and the female bartenders. Turning lastly to the owners, this group of informants is, surprisingly, female-dominated. Each of the study bars *was* established by a man. However, three of the bars are now owned and operated by the widows of those men.

The descriptive statistics of age from the informant database also adds to understanding the overall sense of place of the four study bars. Considering that it is the regular crowd of customers that establish and/or maintain the overall atmosphere of the bars over a long enough period of time, it helps to interpolate the age distribution and extrapolate some conclusions about the atmosphere of the bars.

Most of the regular customers range in age from 40s to 50s (Table 7.1) and represent the working class in West Baton Rouge Parish and the part of the working class that holds managerial/supervisory-type positions in their field of work. This group of regulars works hard and usually shows up at the bar from around five to seven in the evening on weekdays. The next older group, people in their 60s, represents the same working class group of people but who may prefer to frequent a quieter bar with a generally older group of regulars.

The one septuagenarian and one octogenarian I interviewed are regulars at separate bars. This age group of regulars represents people, men mainly—as hardly any women in the age group ever went to any of the bars—who grew up, worked, and lived in the area nearly their entire adult lives. Though their travels may have taken them all over the country and to different parts of the globe when they were younger, they still returned to their roots in the West Baton Rouge Parish area. These regular customers don't frequent the bar every day of the week, but it is usually no fewer than three days a week. They are well-known by all of the regulars in whichever bar they frequent, and are well-established in terms of both their drinking habits and even their spot in the bar where they prefer to sit. Though they can be the quietest people in the bar, they can also sometimes be the friendliest.

Table 7.1: Age distribution of informants

Approximate Age	Number of Informants
Customers 20s	3
Customers 30s	1
Customers 40s	8
Customers 50s	8
Customers 60s	4
Customers 70s	1
Customers 80s	1
Bartenders 20s	6
Bartenders 30s	1
Bartenders 40s	4
Bartenders 50s	1
Owners 50s	1
Owners 60s	1
Owners 70s	2
Owners 80s	2

Despite that it is the older crowd, the group of people who have patronized their bar for the longest, who drive the overall atmosphere of the bar, it is the youngest customers who can change the atmosphere of an afternoon on a whim. Most of the regulars in their 20s and the few in their 30s are not daily regulars, but tend to frequent the bar on weekend nights only or when there is a special event going on such as weekly karaoke or if there is a band. These are people, both young men and young women, who work jobs, presumably under heavier supervision than their older counterparts and who want to have a “good time” when they go out to the bars (Various Informants 2012; 2013). This specifically includes heavier drinking than the older crowd, playing louder,

usually contemporary country or rock/pop music on the jukebox, playing pool, and singing karaoke until the bar closes down at 2 AM.

Typically the regular crowd of younger people consists of much fewer people in their later 30s, people who may be married with children who need a babysitter and who can afford to either hire a sitter or drink at a bar, but not both. However, by the time this group of people reaches their 40s, their children are probably old enough to take care of themselves which allows the now middle-aged parents to resume spending time at their favorite bar, but at a slower pace than in their 20s. Thusly the cycle of maintaining a generally consistent atmosphere of fun, safe, and often quiet times at the bars continues.

Returning to gender, and combining it with age, the following two figures demonstrate that, from one perspective, it is older, middle-aged males who dominate the bar scene on the customer side of the bar where the customers drive conversation, decide what music gets played on the jukebox and even where people are sitting (Figure 7.1a). On the other hand, it is the female bartenders who are in charge of turning the volume of televisions up, or changing the channel or keeping the loudness of the jukebox to a reasonable level. Likewise, if a customer, usually a male, gets out of line regarding something said or done, it is the bartenders, typically younger females, whose job it is to maintain the good order and discipline of the atmosphere at each bar (Figure 7.1b).

However, from a political economy point of view, and at the scale of a single bar, it is still the owners of the bar who make the final call on anything that concerns the atmosphere and therefore the sense of place of each bar. Though every action must be taken with the well-being of first the business and second the customers in mind, the owners choose to have electronic dart boards, pool tables, jukeboxes, karaoke, bands, or

pot-luck style food available. Owners decide who is hired and fired and can even make decisions on whether a customer needs to be banned from the bar for a certain period of time, a time-out for grown-ups, so to speak.

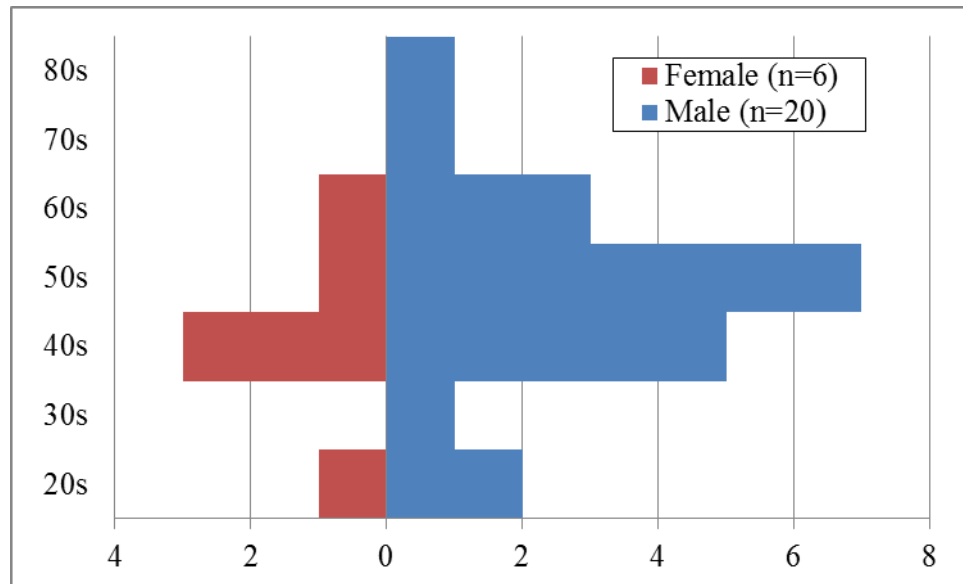


Figure 7.1a: Population pyramid of customer informants

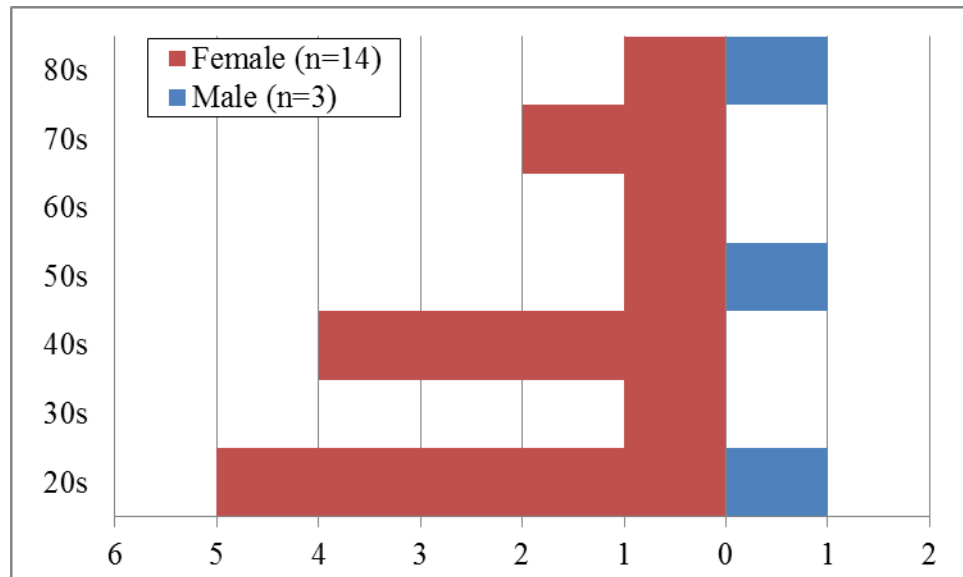


Figure 7.1b: Population pyramid of bar owner and bartender informants

Regardless that these descriptive statistics are based only on the forty-four individuals that were part of the sample of informants for this research, it is safe to say that these statistics do a perfectly satisfactory job at representing a cross-section of the people that frequent the four study bars in West Baton Rouge Parish. The following sections discuss the sense of place of each of the four study bars, followed by a discussion of place attachment from the point of view of the people who were interviewed, and then rootedness from the point of view of an outside observer.

Capturing Sense of Place, Place Attachment, and Rootedness

Determining the degree of an informant's relationship with each bar on a scale from just having a sense of place to being rooted in place is mostly subjective on the part of the researcher based on individual informants' responses to the guided interview questions. After completing each interview, I created a Word document with just a few sentences describing how I judged the person's relationship with the bar in which the interview was conducted. To be sure, this judgement is biased from the outset based on the researcher's impressions of the individual partly in terms of their age and partly in terms of their attitude toward being interviewed. If an informant seemed excited to talk about the bar, then most likely that person would be judged as having a strong attachment to the bar or even as being rooted in the bar. On the other hand, some informants who were judged to have a rooted relationship might also seem somewhat indifferent to being interviewed, but in a taken-for-granted sense as if they were being interviewed about something as mundane as their teeth brushing habits. Generally, the younger the informant, the higher the likelihood that person would be considered as having a simple sense of place with little, if any attachment to the bar. Figure 7.2 provides a scatterplot of

all of the informants, their age, and how many years they have been in a relationship with their bar. They are grouped according to the relationship that I, as the knowledgeable scholar of place relationships, judged them to have with their respective bars.

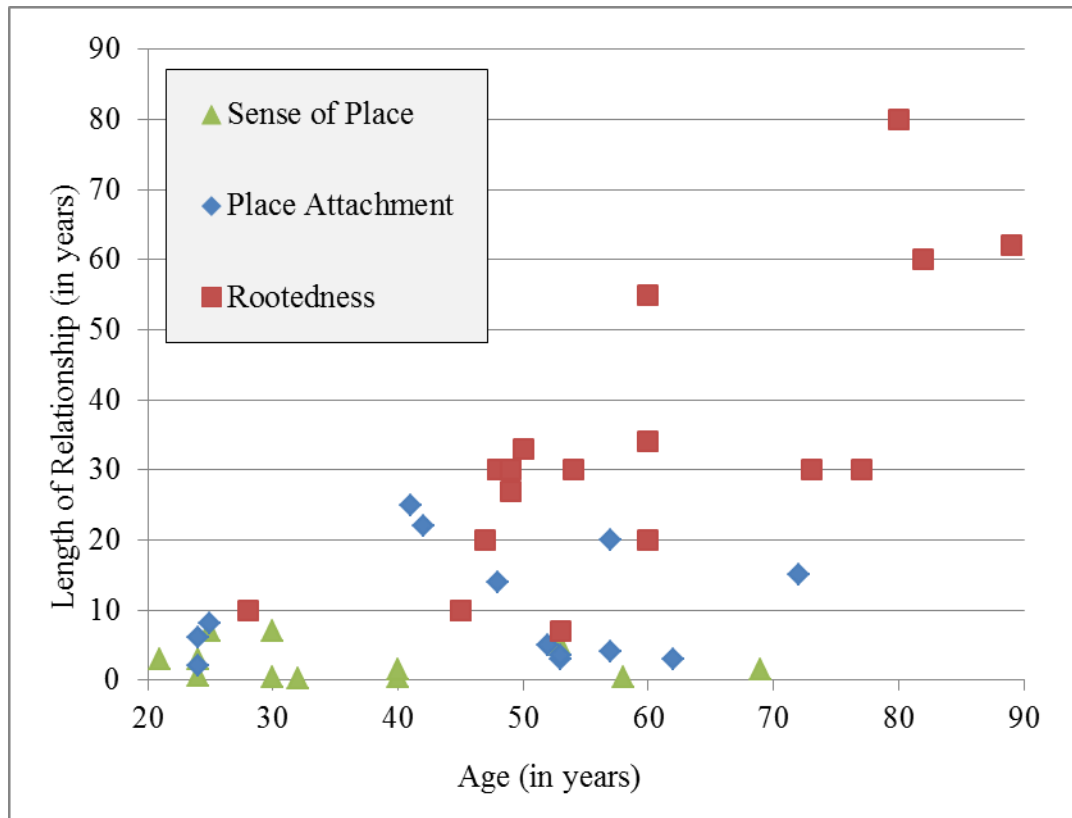


Figure 7.2: Scatterplot of length of relationship plotted against the age of each informant

As the scatterplot in Figure 7.2 shows, there is generally no correlation between age and sense of place as most of the informants who were younger, in the twenties, did not have more than a few months or years to develop a relationship with their bar and among older informants in the forties, fifties, and sixties, they had simply not been customers at their bar for more than a few years. However, with stronger relationships with place, there does tend to be a correlation between length of relationship and age.

However, there are two ways to interpret this. One, individuals who have simply been in a relationship with their place for a long enough period of time develop an attachment to the place as a matter of course. This does not explain why there would be older bar customers who have not been regulars at their bar for more than five or ten years. In this case, the conclusion is that older customers already have a well-developed sense of personal identity, what they like, who they like to spend time with, and in what kind of place they like to spend that time. Possessing this sort of acute sense of who one is and where one feels comfortable ties into developing place attachment relatively more quickly compared to younger individuals. Among informants who have a strong, rooted relationship with their bars, there is clearly a relationship between age (with a commensurate decades-long relationship with place) and having a well developed and rooted relationship with their bar.

Table 7.2 highlights the three different types of informants (customers, bartenders, and owners) and breaks down the number of each that has weaker to stronger senses of place as well as the average length of relationship for those groups and for the strength of the relationship with place. The numbers make sense, assuming that there has been no bias on the part of the researcher in subconsciously or unintentionally categorizing informants in such a way as to force the data to fit the theory. Among the informants, customers, on average, have longer relationships than bartenders which suggests that there is less turnover among customers than bartenders in terms of customers finding new places to drink and bartenders rotating in and out of working behind the bar. Of course, these averages are only descriptive and most likely are not statistically significant. Naturally, owners have the longest length of relationship with

place and ranges from 30 to over 80 years. This average might have been much lower 10 or 20 years ago when three of the bars' experienced a high frequency of turnover of proprietors. The reason for the average among the current owners is because the original owners elected to run the business of the bar themselves instead of leasing out the business to outside management.

Table 7.2: Strength and average length of relationship

Informant Group & Average Length of Relationship	Strength of Relationship - Number of Informants	Average Length of Relationship
Customers - 26 $\mu \sim 13$ yrs	Sense of Place - 8	$\mu \sim 2$ yrs
	Place Attachment - 7	$\mu \sim 13$ yrs
	Rootedness - 11	$\mu \sim 25$ yrs
Bartenders - 12 $\mu \sim 11$ yrs	Sense of Place - 4	$\mu \sim 3.3$ yrs
	Place Attachment - 6	$\mu \sim 13$ yrs
	Rootedness - 2	$\mu \sim 20$ yrs
Owners - 6 $\mu \sim 49$ yrs	Sense of Place - None	n/a
	Place Attachment - None	n/a
	Rootedness - 6	$\mu \sim 49$ yrs
All Informants - 44 $\mu \sim 17.5$ yrs	Sense of Place - 12	$\mu \sim 2.5$ yrs
	Place Attachment - 13	$\mu \sim 10$ yrs
	Rootedness - 19	$\mu \sim 32$ yrs

Looking at sense of place, place attachment, and rootedness, the strength of the relationship that informants have with place correlates to an increase in the average length of time in a relationship with the bar. This is reflected among the individual groups of customers and bartenders and among all informants in the sample of people in each bar. For sense of place among all informants, the length of relationships ranges from just three months to seven years. For place attachment the range overlaps, beginning at two

years and lasting for as long as 25 years. Finally, for the group of informants who were rooted, the average length of relationship was much longer at 32 years ranging from just seven years to 80 years (for two informants, for their entire lives).

Based on the information shared by the people interviewed for this research, the customers in each bar generally came to know it by one of several means. One of the ways is by word of mouth. For example, people that had moved to the area, for instance moving to Addis from a town in the next parish to the south, became a regular at their bar because friends or coworkers told them that they would like the bar; the invitee usually did, and so they decided to stay and make it a regular hangout. The other way that people came to become regulars at their bars was through happenstance or because there was a particular aspect of the bar that drew them in. These people happen to drive past the bar on a daily basis and, at some point in their life, they decided to stop in, eventually making a habit of it. Arguably, this is more organic because a customer comes to be a regular of the bar of their own accord as opposed to having someone who is already a regular customer advertising the bar to get them to visit the bar for a first time. People who have these kinds of relationships with bars can most often be expected to have at least a strong sense of place regarding their bar if not a strong attachment to place.

The third way that people develop a relationship with the bars (or any place for that matter) would be if they were alive before the place existed, grew up with the place, or cannot envision the place not being a part of their lives. These individuals either started the bar as a business, are the offspring of the original owner (for whom the bar has always been in their life), or have been going to the bar as a regular for 15, 20, even 60 years as is the case with one of the informants. For these people, the bar and everything

about it is taken for granted at the conscious or everyday level, yet when asked the correct questions, can give more information about the bar than most other people. Again, Table 7.2 breaks down how many people had what strength of relationship with place, how long they have had a relationship with the place, their age, and if they are a customer, owner, or a bartender.

Conclusion

Recall from Chapter Two that place comes into existence when we carve meaning out of or into surrounding nature. Sometimes place is created by one person or group who understand its meaning while other people may eventually grasp its meaning over time through ritual action and participating in the rituals associated with that place. Through ritual action, the self becomes tied to place, place becomes tied to self, and place is folded into self-identity. Place then becomes a place for interaction with other people and with the material setting of the place which, over time and through continued interaction with place leads to a stronger and stronger sense of place, eventually place attachment (ranging from good to bad), and over a long enough timeline even a rooted relationship with place where personal identity is thoroughly tied to place. In some instances, an individual may even come to see place as a reflection of their self and the self as a reflection of place and the meaning that is imbued in that place.

On the other hand, if it is the first time that a person has an interaction with a place that is collectively meaningful for other individuals, then the meaning may be lost on that person. However, becoming a part of place over time and participating in the same rituals associated with place, and becoming a part of the history of a place connects individuals through time and even space (assuming that similar places with similar

individuals exist elsewhere). As shared experience among individuals continues, it forms the foundation for a sense of community within a place. If one recognizes that there is more to being a part of a place than just being a part of the ritual, then one becomes connected to place through the meanings associated with the place. Without meaning, repeated actions are simply habits that do not connect the individual to place, thus making it difficult for a person to establish meaningful relationships with a community or place.

In the simplest of terms, the easiest way to determine where a person falls along the place relationship continuum from just having a first impression of a place to being truly rooted in a place is how much of the history of the place they know. Generally, someone with just basic impressions of a place does not know anything about the history of it. Those with a personal attachment to a place are familiar with bits and pieces of the history of the place while those who are rooted have considerably greater knowledge of the history of a place than anyone else; specifically, people who have had a relationship with a place either their entire lives or those who had a hand with establishing and growing the place.

Whereas the previous chapter focused on the bars from personal perspectives, the remaining chapters take on impersonal tones in utilizing quotes and anecdotes so as to shift the reader's attention away from the individual bars and instead generalize the data so as to focus on the concepts of sense of place, place attachment, and rootedness with regard to relationships with the bars in general rather than on specific and unique places.

This introductory chapter to the results will close by suggesting that sense of place, apart from place attachment and rootedness, can be captured by something as

simple as the lyrics of a song. Consider a favorite hangout, someplace from high school or college, and consider not just what the place meant, but what the people meant and what the activities that occurred in that place meant in terms of establishing what that place really means:

“When I See This Bar” by Kenny Chesney and Keith Gattis

Well I see the souls of so many friends,
And I see us all back here again.
With sandy floors and ceiling fans,
A Rastafarian one-man band with songs
That fill my memories like a tip jar.
Yeah, that’s what I see
When I see this bar.

I see tourists at Christmas time,
And I taste beers with a hint of lime.
I feel lonely cause it’s not the same,
Different faces and different names,
Living like pirates out among the stars.
Yeah, that’s what I see
When I see this bar.

Pieces of our past slowly slip away,
But time just stands still when I walk in this place.

And I see a kid coming into his own
And a man learning to move on.
Somehow trying to find his way,
A dreamer betting on blind faith
Chasing that sun and following his heart.
Yeah, that’s what I see
When I see this bar.

Pieces of our past slowly slip away,
But time just stands still when I walk in this place.

A few have moved on back to Maine,
Jacksonville and Key Biscayne.
Some are still living the dream,
Stuck in still life it seems.
No matter where they've been,
Or where they are,
Yeah, I see 'em here
When I see this bar.
When I see this bar.

I wonder where we go from here
(That's what I see when I see this bar)
Life ain't over but it's always near
(That's what I see when I see this bar)
I think about all the good times that we had
(That's what I see when I see this bar)
It makes me happy and it makes me sad
(That's what I see when I see this bar)
How could we be so close, now so far apart
(That's what I see when I see this bar)
That's what I feel, that's what I see
Yeah we were living like pirates and wannabe stars
That's what I see when I see this bar

That's what I see when I see this bar

The lyrics of the preceding song almost perfectly capture the types of thoughts and feelings provided by the informants of this research. After reading the descriptions of the four study bars in the previous chapter, it should be apparent exactly what these lyrics, or lyrics that could be written about the particular bars would mean to the people that provided data for the following chapters.

Chapter Eight: Sense of Place

There is no knowing or sensing a place except by being in that place, and to be in a place is to be in a position to perceive it.

—Edward S. Casey (1996, 18)

When I had to spend five days down in Belle Chase outside of New Orleans for the Navy, I stayed at a hotel in southwest downtown New Orleans. My first evening in the hotel, I decided to take advantage of the hotel bar's generous buy-one get-one free coupon that the desk clerk gave to me at check-in. After a long Navy day, I eventually made my way down to the hotel bar with a two-fold purpose: 1) get a couple of beers and 2) ask the bartender for advice on where I could walk to for a late evening meal since I was unfamiliar with that area of downtown New Orleans.

Before I was able to strike up a conversation with the bartender, I had to wait for the man next to me to finish talking about some big, expensive, tasty steak he had eaten someplace in Arkansas. Based on his conversation with the bartender, I assumed his job took him around Louisiana and surrounding states quite a bit. His current job was working clean-up for a company down in New Orleans in the wake of Hurricane Isaac. To keep up the friendly chatter, I asked where he was from or where he lived, or something like that. It turned out that he lived in Addis in West Baton Rouge Parish.

Here I was down in New Orleans with my dissertation research, especially fieldwork, fairly well removed from my mind for the evening and this incredible opportunity fell into my lap. I told him I lived in Baton Rouge, was studying bars in West Baton Rouge Parish, and wondered if I could ask him about any bars he might frequent

there; a reasonable thing to assume that he did since we were at a bar already. He had been to all of the bars in my study and, despite not having my audio recorder with me, I proceeded to ask him about them. Specifically, I asked him about Charlie's Lounge since that was the bar where I was conducting fieldwork at the time, the experiences of which were most salient in my mind. Without asking him any specific questions from my guided interview questions, I took the approach of asking broader questions about the four bars in general and his experiences in them.

He was in a motorcycle club and had played a lot of pool over the years. From what I could tell, he did not really care much for Charlie's Lounge because it was too quiet; a, "retirement home," he called it, despite the fact that he was just as old as the average male customer. But Charlie's Lounge also has not had pool tables for the last few years which makes it difficult for a pool enthusiast to have too much to do in a bar. Since he was from Addis, he had not spent too much time in the Port Allen bars, Jack's Place and Sugar Patch Lounge, but he did use to spend quite a bit of time at Chuck's Lounge, also in Addis, from which he grew up just down the street at a time when college students would still come from Baton Rouge to hang out in the 1970s and 1980s. But for him, even a place like Chuck's Lounge, which has been described by many of the customers at Charlie's Lounge as too loud or rambunctious, is not enough of a good time for him. Likewise, a similar bar in the city of Plaquemine, about five miles to the south of Addis on Louisiana Highway 1, that does have pool tables, did not appeal to him too much. This did not come as a surprise to me as quite a few of the regulars at Charlie's Lounge liked going to the similar bar in Plaquemine sometimes as much as they enjoyed hanging out at Charlie's Lounge because it is quiet enough, with good friends to spend time with.

What this individual really seemed to like was busier places with music and pool and places that people at Charlie's Lounge have described as too rowdy, where there are too many bar fights. He went to all of those bars pretty regularly, the Mad Hog Saloon, a bar that opened in early 2012 and located directly across the street from Chuck's Lounge, and between which a fairly well known competition had developed with both bars having live music on the same nights while the owners stood across the street and stared at each other's bar. And apart from the Mad Hog Saloon–Chuck's Lounge rivalry, he also liked a bar down on the northern outskirts of Plaquemine called Shooters that he also described as a kind of biker bar/pool hall where fights are (according to him) a regular enough occurrence.

Based on his sentiments and the way he talked about each of the bars from Charlie's Lounge to Chuck's Lounge to Shooters, he had a certain attitude about each one and a developed sense of them as individual places. Apart from the comments he made, he did not display any real attachment to any of the places that he spent most of his time at whether it was Mad Hog Saloon or Shooter's. Unlike regulars at bars in Addis who had expressed attachment, not just to their bars such Chuck's Lounge or Charlie's Lounge, but to their close friends and acquaintances that they spend time with at those physical places, some people such as the particular individual with whom I spoke at a hotel bar in New Orleans do not necessarily have a strong attachment to either the social aspect of places nor to their physical aspects.

My encounter outside of the field environment revealed a clear idea of a point of departure between sense of place and place attachment. Regarding specific bars, in a different sense, place attachment might not refer to a specific place, but may refer instead

to the type of place that somebody may find to be a more attractive place for them to hang out, a place with which they identify.

Sense of Place Refresher

Sense of place is the way that people describe their place attachment (McCreanor and others 2006). Describing a place as a comfortable, safe, place where it is fun to cut-up and socialize is the way some people describe their sense of place, and those positive aspects of their sense of place are why people are attached to a specific place. Likewise, however, the things that people would say about another place would be why they are not attached to it, because of their own unique perspective on that place whether they have been to that place or if their sense of that place is based on just what they have heard about it without any actual personal experience in that place.

While sense of place is the unique experience that we have with place, sensing place is not a one-way street. Sense of place is an experience created by the setting combined with what a person brings to it; we create our own place and place does not exist independent of our selves (Cross 2001). Sense of place, or having a sense of place, is the act of place creation and creating the unique place that every individual experiences. It is a continuous loop with roughly three stages that occur at the same time in sequence, like a rotary engine. First, we are introduced to a place. Then we have a sense of place. Third, our sense of place impacts the way we view place. We are then back where we started, as the next time we visit or interact with a place either by physically visiting it or visiting it in our mind; it is not the same place that it was to us when we were first introduced to it because we now have an existing sense of place that impacts our sense of place on the next visit. Our sense of place develops and evolves with

each new interaction, creating our sense of place and creating that place for us which changes our sense of that place.

When we are first introduced to a place, it can occur one of several ways. We could be told about the place. As one informant at Charlie's Lounge told me, a female acquaintance told him to try out the bar because she knew that he would like the atmosphere and the people. We could know nothing of the place yet decide to go there because we don't know anything about the place except that it exists. This is more complicated. A person might be out looking for a new watering hole. They know what one looks like, maybe physically, by its surroundings or by how it might look like on the outside to include the kinds of vehicles that are in the parking lot whether it's motorcycles or American-made pickup trucks. That would be their introduction to a place before physically visiting it and stepping inside. But the groundwork has already been laid for a sense of place to develop based on that first visit and the emotionally positive or negative reaction to that first visit might be based on the expectations placed on that first visit by the sense of place that one has about it.

Last is the sense of place that does not exist before visiting a place or even knowing that it exists. But this would be really difficult to accomplish. Unless you have been trapped in a cave with no light or even shadows playing off of a back wall, there is no place that you haven't been that you don't have a sense of, because that place that you have never been to has already been consumed by you as a consumer of place. Most people alive on this earth have never physically visited the moon. Of course we know it exists because we have seen pictures and heard accounts of what it is like to walk on the

moon. Likewise, many of us have never been to the bottom of the ocean but may have some impression of what it would be like to go: wet, dark, and crushing pressure.

Consider a small Podunk little town in the middle of nowhere on U.S. 79 running through East Texas. Maybe it is a place that has fewer people living in it than have walked on the moon or that have been to the bottom of the ocean. You're driving along U.S. 79 in East Texas, thinking about the recent rerun of *My Cousin Vinny* that was on Comedy Central the night before in the hotel, you come across a little town with maybe not even a stoplight, but a single flashing red or yellow light. Because the driver has consumed so many places like that small town through various media (radio, newspaper, television, books, magazines, movies, advertisements), no matter how little you know about the town, even the name, by the fact that you know it is a little East Texas town, the sense of place exists, there is an expectation of how that place will present itself to you. It is created in the mind before it is even known to the mind. So that first interaction carries with it expectations whether positive or negative and after that first interaction shows you what that town is, you are still creating what that town is whether it is or is not the way that you perceive it.

As Richardson's (2003) book *Being-in-Christ and Putting Death in its Place* explains, reading a book is writing a book. The author writes, but the reader reads the words and interprets them according to how the reader will interpret them regardless of the author's intent or meaning. Therefore, just as it is up to the reader to interpret an author's words, it is up to the creator of place, the individual experiencing place to read, to sense the place, the way it is to be sensed. What way is that? Is place to be interpreted the way place is meant to be interpreted? Or is place meant to be interpreted the way

advertising wants it to be interpreted? Or is place meant to be interpreted the way the individual is meant to interpret it? The web of cause and effects is infinite. Without the interaction of two distant places, the experience that an individual has with one either through direct interaction or by consuming place at a distance, the prior experience with one place gives the place creator/consumer an *a priori* sense of place that is based on all of the previous experience/consumption/place creations that occurred in an individual's mind: the place creator's lived past.

One of the most important aspects regarding maintaining a bar's sense of place for regular customers is consistency over time. This goes for both the physical aspects of the bar as well as the type of people that inhabit it. For instance, of the four study bars, Charlie's Lounge is the only one that has had the same person or people run the day-to-day operations of the bar over its entire lifetime. However, in the past, the bar hosted bands on a regular basis, had two or three pool tables, and dart boards. Young people often frequented the bar, but over the last decade or so, the bar has shifted from being a fairly happening place to a quieter place where even the jukebox is rarely played, there are no dart boards and no pool tables.¹⁴ On the other hand, Jack's Place (though owned by the same family since its inception) had several different people running the bar since the original owner died and his son took over managing the business of the bar. During this interim, however, the owner rented out the business under the condition that everything, the atmosphere, and physical features be maintained as is, thus maintaining a consistent sense of place. Of course, in the past decade, despite the owner consistently maintaining the physical feel of the bar, the customer base began to change. The younger

¹⁴ Since conducting field work at Charlie's Lounge, the owner has brought back in a single pool table; over a few visits there I never observed anyone playing pool on it.

clientele began to get married and have children and, no longer being able to maintain a regular presence at the bar, the clientele base transitioned to a mostly older crowd with a predominantly quieter atmosphere and low-key crowd.

For Sugar Patch Lounge, a bar which is over fifty years old, it has had at most five or so different people that operated the business over its lifetime: the original owner and his son, an owner named Joe Joe who renamed it after himself, a third owner who called it just Joe's after himself as well, and the current owner who is the widow of the original owner's son. She has been running the bar in its current state for the last five years. Though the bar was a happening place during the heyday of the Gold Coast in the 1960s and 1970s, the heyday languished a bit due to a drop in the customer base and due to poor management in the later years of the 20th and early 21st Centuries. Regardless, under the current management (which to some customers is seen as a return to its original business model and atmosphere), the bar is viewed by many of the informants as a country and western bar. This is due mainly to the songs typically sung on karaoke nights, played on the jukebox, or played by the Thursday night bands.

Sugar Patch Lounge is essentially the same as Chuck's Lounge in terms of the activities offered (jukebox, two pool tables, twice weekly karaoke, and weekly bands with a bandstand to go along with it). Chuck's Lounge is at least ten years older than Sugar Patch Lounge and there is a stronger sense of the bar's history among the regular customers. This despite having a series of different owners over a twenty some odd year period where the people who owned and managed the business did not last more than 2 or 3 years at a time until the present owners took over a decade ago. No one ever described Chuck's Lounge as a country and western bar. Most people described it as a Swamp Pop

or Cajun-type of bar (due mainly to the types of bands on Saturday nights). Ironically, the owners are not originally from Addis, hailing from Massachusetts instead. However, they have lived in Addis for the last 40 or so years, consider themselves to be locals, and have children born and raised in the area.

So what makes the sense of place of a bar? Is it the owners, is it the customers and the atmosphere created by the regulars, or is it the décor and what the bar has to offer? Yes, it is all of those things with no one of them having the same share of influence from one bar to the next. The remainder of this part of Chapter Eight shares the collected data from interviews with all of the informants (especially those with just a sense of place of the bars) and looks at what makes sense of place and how making sense of place varies from one bar to the next.

Defining vs. Describing Sense of Place

What is the difference between defining a thing and describing it? By defining a thing, boundaries are solidified regarding what a thing can and cannot be. Tuan (1975) believes sense of place is not acquired in passing and that knowing a place or having a sense of it requires experience and knowledge of a place and its history. Agnew (2002) describes sense of place as identifying with a place that is distinctive and constitutive of personal identity. These two perspectives on the concept of sense of place are really each definitions for separate concepts. Tuan's (1975) definition of sense of place is actually akin to the concept of rootedness (Tuan 1980) and Agnew's (2002) is akin to place identity which occurs when a person identifies with a place's sense of place.

The definition of sense of place which is most logical is Hummon's (1992): sense of place is a subjective perception that individuals have of their surroundings and the

emotive response that those surroundings may engender. In Hummon's (1992) definition, sense of place consists of two parts. The first is how an individual views a place or how they interpret their surroundings and the second is how a person feels about a place. Together, these two parts create the meaning that a place holds for a person. Instead of ascribing a definition of sense of place as Tuan (1975) and Agnew (2002) do, Hummon (1992) at least acknowledges that sense of place (despite his two part definition) is something that is more appropriately *described* rather than *defined*. It is with this idea in mind that this chapter provides empirical examples, provided by informants, of sense of place in a real-world setting.

The built environment plays a strong role in conveying sense of place in addition to the less tangible aspects of place. Generally the first thing about a place that any individual might be expected to take note of is the physical qualities of a place. For a place such as a bar, it would be the built environment, perhaps followed by noticing other characteristics such as the sounds and the smells of a place. Going with the example of a bar, close on the heels of taking note of the physical environment of a place would be noting the people in that place, how they view a new face walking into the bar, what they talk about, and what they listen to or watch on television.

All of these, the people and the built environment, drive the sense of place that an individual has about a place within moments of first interacting with a place. This follows Hummon's (1992) definition of sense of place rather than Tuan's (1975), but this does not mean that Tuan's definition should be discarded. Instead, Tuan's (1975) definition describes what happens to a person's sense of place over time. Over time, sense of place can become deeper and richer based on accumulating experiences in a place, learning

facts about a place and its history and interacting with the built environment of a place and the people in it. Even as a person moves into the realm of place identity and developing place attachment, sense of place will forever be the primary component of the relationship that a person has with place and will continue to be important, especially when a person's normal sense of place is impacted by changes to the atmosphere to which the person is accustomed.

The sense that a person has of a place is based on the atmosphere of a place, the qualities of its environment, its uniqueness, and in some cases the lasting impression that a place has on an individual (Jackson 1994). A place's sense of place can sometimes persist in a person's memory, and that memory may also serve to draw a person back to revisit a place, especially if the person sees themselves reflected in a place's feel, atmosphere, and qualities. When sense of place creates a desire to return, and to establish a custom of repeated ritual, then place identity will also become a part of the relationship that a person has with place which is the next step towards developing place attachment.

First Impressions

From having no relationship with a place at all, not even being aware of a place's existence, not ever having been told about a place, and not even knowing its name, we have sense of place thrust upon us. Never heard of Chuck's Lounge? Now you have. It's a lounge. What is a lounge? It depends, but if you know that a lounge is a type of drinking establishment (see Chapter Five), then you now have some sense of place of Chuck's Lounge. It must be named for somebody named Chuck whose given name, presumably, is Charles, but who was laid back enough to go by the less formal version.

So Chuck's Lounge might be a pretty easy-going place to hang out with easy-going regulars.

Except for being entirely ignorant that a place exists at all, it is not possible to have a sense of a particular place that registers absolutely zero on the sense of place scale. It is inevitable. By the signs and symbols of culture and society (Sack 1992), sense of place is more than just inherent in being aware of a place. Sense of place is inherent in the individual. It exists in the individual's mind, ready at hand to be associated with a place (a lounge, a country, a coffee shop, a school, a graveyard). They all already exist in the mind. Sense of place exists, ready for us to apply it to a place until the place's actual sense of place collides with the individual's ready at hand sense of place and forms the unique sense of place that every individual has based on their personal expectations of a place along with new, experiences that are driven by the people and the history of place that are already there. These are first impressions: ¹⁵

When I first walked in, I was like, "What the fuck am I doing here? I will never be able to connect with these people," and they are my family [now]. And it's taught me a lot about humility and not judging a book by its cover and, I don't know, it's just taught me a lot.

For a regular at Sugar Patch Lounge who had been a customer for just three or four months, what was most salient regarding this first interaction with the place was what a bartender conveyed to him about the regular customers:

¹⁵ For a complete accounting of the collected quotes and anecdotes on sense of place from informants, see Appendix D.

Me – When you first came in here, what did you think about it, you know, the inside, the people, stuff like that?

I – Oh, I liked the place. This is the first one [the bartender] that waited on me. She started filling me in, she said, “You don’t need to leave your money on the bar, you don’t know who’s gonna get it,” Well I don’t drink at a place where I can’t leave the money on the bar. She said, you know, “Well, just letting you know.” I said, “I hear you, if they take it and needed it that bad, they can keep it.” But you can tell by the people that are regulars than the people that’ll come and grab and snatch and run. I figure this is a nice bar, they’re honest.

For certain the way that a place might be described to a person who has never had direct interaction with a place would be the primary foundation on which sense of place is first established. Many of the informants had different ways that they would describe their bar to another person, but the subject of those descriptions were most likely to focus on the physical qualities of place sensed by the eyes and the ears and the regulars in the place. At some bars, even the most regular of customers had trouble articulating how they would describe the place to someone else which suggested a weak sense of place:

Me – How would you describe Sugar Patch Lounge in terms of its physical characteristics to somebody that’s never been here before?

I – They need to try . . . they need to come try it out.

Me – I mean, would you say that there’s something unique about it compared to other bars in the area?

I – Yeah, because, I mean, it’s clean, the people aren’t rude.

This was from an informant who was so regular at her bar that she was seemingly numb to the bar’s sense of place. It was something so every day, that describing sense of place

might be like describing the taste of vanilla ice cream. What is there to say about it?

Unless one has experienced the place, then there is no common frame of reference for two people to discuss it except that they have both already experienced it.

Generally, when asked to describe their bar to a person who had never been there, most informants did not simply describe their bar as quiet, or dark, or smoky, or loud, or safe. They described it in a way that seemed if they were advertising for the bar to some degree. This conveyed some sense of pride they had in the bar as well. From an informant at Charlie's Lounge, if a person is, "just looking for a quiet place. It's quiet and a place to relax. If it gets too loud, some of the customers will leave," (Various Informants 2012). Similarly at Chuck's Lounge, it's, "Just regular. I mean, they have the regular bikers, they have the regular, the regular work people, but it's been every, it's all very routine, even the newcomers, like you, become regular," (Various Informants 2013).

At Jack's Place, some of the informants felt that conveying that the bar was a good place to play pool was more of a selling point to get people into the bar:

Me – What about the physical nature, characteristics of the bar. How would you, how would you describe it?

I – The physical . . . it's a, old time, you know, like you see in the movies. You haven't seen it with Paul Newman and Tom Cruise? You, you need to see that. When we're talking about a bar like this you know with the walls and stuff.

Me – So you think that the way the bar looks is the way you would expect a bar to look?

I – Oh, yeah! This is like a, antique place. This is what I'm saying. You know, this is nostalgia.

After fact checking the comment regarding the movie with actor Paul Newman, it was apparent that the informant was referring to the 1986 film, *The Color of Money*, but most likely meant to refer to the 1961 film, *The Hustler*, to which the former is a sequel in which Paul Newman plays the role of a pool shark. On the other hand, Charlie's Lounge ditched the pool tables and is the only one of the four study bars that, at the time when I conducted fieldwork there, did not have pool as an activity in the bar. Getting the pool tables out of the bar was a method that the owner utilized to control the atmosphere where fighting over pool games had briefly become a part of the bar's sense of place which the owner felt detracted from the bar's atmosphere.

The white regulars did describe their bar from the perspective of the subjective observer comparing their bar to other bars:

I feel comfortable in here, you know, you know a lot of people here and um, it's not a place that . . . they don't have a lot of fights. It's chill. I don't have rap music that I don't know blaring in my face like, you know, it's more like, you can come here and shoot pool and everybody's like, fine. The other bars are more, how do I explain it? It's not that they're not comfortable, I don't know how to say that right, it's just a different feeling. I don't really know how to describe it. Here, it's more social; people don't really get drunk, super drunk. I'm not saying they don't, they don't tend to as much. There [at other local bars] it's more of a party scene. Here, it's more of just, relax, have a few drinks, visit.

Some informants chose to focus on the physical aspects of their bar as well, particularly the sights and sounds, such as at Jack's Place:

I – It could be changed, but it's a friendly bar.

Me – What do you mean, "It could be changed,"?

I – It could have like [be brighter on the inside], karaoke and stuff, and to where it would draw a crowd.

Whereas, at Chuck's Lounge, some people preferred the bar to be a little dimmer on the inside:

The one thing I do like, which I haven't turned these [the lights in the bar] down yet, but I will, is that I don't like to walk into a bar like a local bar like this and just be lit up. You know, you come in here to relax and when it's darker, you tend to relax a little more. It's just the setting, the mood setting.

Beyond just the lighting, there is the décor on the walls as well, much of which is supplied by the beer and liquor vendors who keep the bars' coolers well-stocked with alcohol:

Me – So about twenty years ago, when you worked here, now it's got beer signs, SEC baseball, all sorts of LSU and Saints stuff . . .

I – It had all the same types of things on the walls like the Miller Lite sign has been there forever, that's never moved. The Budweiser where their license and all that is, that's original. And way back in the day, I think there was one other one. But as the times change, the vendors come in and some of the, most of the signs belong to the vendors, so they have to keep 'em updated like the new Bud Light Platinum, Bud Light Lime . . .

Generally, however, what every informant's unique perspective on sense of place averaged out to was, basically, a Goldilocks sense of place:

Me – When you say “relaxed,” could you put that into terms of what, like, people do that would be relaxing?

I – There’s no, it’s not loud, it’s not bright, you know, it’s just kind of dark and everybody sits around and talks and have drinks. You know, it’s, it’s nothing really exciting, the only thing exciting is the people, it’s because you’re with friends and, you know, you can sit here and have a conversation, you know, without worrying about loud music or dancing, you know, it’s more of a . . . hanging out in your living room.

For some people, their sense of place is that it is “just right.”

Sense of History

For some of the informants, knowing the history of the place, or at least knowing that the bar had a past that was relatively substantial compared to other places was important to their sense of place. Regarding Charlie’s Lounge, “This place is more homey [sic] because I know the story, what the owner built, what the owner has done, and what the owner is maintaining as a small business,” (Various Informants 2013).

While at Jack’s Place:

I – Old timey, really smoky, good people for the most part. It’s just, I guess ‘cuz it’s so teeniney that . . .

Me – It’s what?

I – It’s small, teeniney. Little. [. . .] I don’t know what that means.

Apparently, “teeniney” for this informant, means that the bar is small and local, but more than local, a part of the fabric of the history of the community.¹⁶

Meanwhile, from the current owner of Chuck’s Lounge:

To me, it’s the aura of the place. This place has so much history and a lot of people around town know the history here. This has so much history, there is just, and it, it’s known by everybody, I mean, people have worn [Chuck’s Lounge] t-shirts in New York and have been like, “I’ve been there.” It’s crazy, the stories you hear.

Even with a weak sense of history, the past is still conveyed to those who are a part of the bar’s community, “I know it’s a little over sixty years old. When it opened, it was segregated. And um, you know the back door where the black people would buy their alcohol . . .,” (Various Informants 2013). Despite negative aspects of its history such as segregation, Chuck’s Lounge still has its charm. For one white, female informant, the history of the bar regarding the back door and segregation is a blemish on the sense of place, but other parts of its history are a positive such as the cheap fishbowls and that LSU students used to frequent the bar in the 1960s and 1970s. Additionally, the longevity of the bar is a source of pride for members of the bar community. Even though the bar has had a number of different proprietors over the decades, the fact that the bar persists while similar businesses come and go means that anybody who has ever bought a drink at Chuck’s Lounge is part owner of that longevity and the pride that goes with it.

¹⁶ Teeniney, with emphasis on the first syllable is a colloquial term used primarily in the U.S. Mid-Atlantic states. One book, *North Carolina: A Guide to the Old North State*, compiled by the Workers of the Writers’ Program of the state’s Works Progress Administration in 1939, explains that the term was (and possibly still is) used as a noun to refer to a small child such as a new born baby. Additionally, an online open-source pseudo-dictionary lists the word as an adjective meaning, “very, very small.”

Somehow, for Sugar Patch Lounge, the history of the bar, or acknowledging any general importance of its history never came up in interviews with any of the informants there, nor was any discussion of such history overheard in regular conversations among regulars in the bar. Despite this, even based on negative first impressions, Sugar Patch Lounge still has a loyal base of regulars even with a collectively weaker sense of place compared to the other bars. As a female bartender/customer explains:

I came in before [the current owner] took the place over. And I swore I didn't want to come back in this place because it was nasty and filthy, I mean, it was just dirty, grimy lookin', I mean, spider webs hanging from the ceiling and stuff, it was just a dirty place to me, and we stayed for a little while but I didn't want to stay in here. It wasn't the people, the place, to me, it wasn't clean at all. [Now,] it's way different, I mean, than what it was because, when she [the current owner] came in, they tore . . . they used to have a bar that ran down the middle, like, little bar where you could sit on both sides, they tore all that out. This [the area behind the bar] was much smaller, they made the bar area wider which makes it easier when you work and, when you do get busy and you're workin' more than one person back here [behind the bar]. But [the owner], she really did a lot when she came back in here and remodeled.

Regardless of first impressions, people are occasionally willing to give places a chance to redeem themselves and establish a more positive sense of place. For some people, age is not everything regarding the history of the bar and its sense of place. Jack's Place is over 80 years old and, though only by twenty years, Chuck's Lounge is not as old. From a Chuck's Lounge customer in her mid-20s:

I – Whenever I was younger, I went to Jack’s [Place] which was right up the street, but nobody goes to Jack’s anymore. I go to Delirious [Daiquiris bar] now to meet a friend of mine and have a beer or two.

Me – So what about Jack’s makes it . . . ?

I – It’s an old bar . . .

Me – This [Chuck’s Lounge] is an old bar.

I – Yeah, but this is old in a different way. That one has stayed old, nothing ever changes, it’s not, to me it’s not very, like they don’t have updated stuff in there really.

Me – Updated stuff like uh, like what?

I – Like they’re all old machines and their little touch screen thing [video trivia machine] and I haven’t been in there in a long time, I don’t know if they added that.

Overall, though, for those people who spend enough time in a place, it is basically impossible to not also have the history of a place imparted to their sense of place on the road to developing a deeper relationship with place. Knowing that a place has history is important, not because the fact that place has history is important, or what the history of a place is is important, but because if a place has a history, then it is safe to say that it has a future. If a place has a future, and an individual is a part of its present, then it is safe to assume that the individual will become a part of that place’s history. It breeds familiarity with a place and allows a person to become comfortable with a place, knowing that a place is secure, because the future of the history of a place is safe in their hands. Perhaps, the following quote is true of any place, “I like, I like a place with history. It’s a very friendly place, comfortable,” (Various Informants 2013).

Being a Part of Sense of Place

Just as people contribute to a place's sense of history simply by being a part of its present, this contribution also lends itself to sense of place, both for newcomers and regulars alike. The people in the bar contribute most of all to a sense of place, and for most informants, a well-behaved crowd contributes to a positive sense of place, even if other regulars were different from them such as younger versus older customers at Chuck's Lounge, "They have some kids in here, and most of them are well-behaved," (Various Informants 2013).

In some cases, the sense of place may shift over the course of an afternoon/evening at the bar from opening time when there is an older crowd just coming off of work and on their way home to the younger crowd who had already been home from work only to go to the bar later in the evening. This was most evident at Chuck's Lounge:

Me – When people come in, I noticed here some people sit over there, um, but, you know, but at about four [PM], usually the older crowd starts coming in and then by the end of the evening you get a younger crowd. How does the bar atmosphere shift from that 4 [PM] to 8 or 10 PM?

I – I don't think it's really the bar atmosphere that shifts. It's just the people change, you know. And of course we cater obviously to the ones, I call them the "old heads," you know, that been comin' in for years. They go home. They go home early and the younger crowd comes in and then we're just, "Hey, go put five dollars in the jukebox, play some music," you know. We [the bartenders] shift with the crowd. It's not the atmosphere that's changing, really.

Regardless of the final comment in the above, it *is* the atmosphere that changes, because the people change and, over the course of the evening, the sense of place of a bar such as Chuck's Lounge can evolve over the course of an evening, day-after-day. Older customers who like a quieter place to drink arrive early and leave early while the younger crowd that is interested in a louder atmosphere with more music arrives later and stays later. Thusly, a bar's sense of place is always changing and shifting with the regulars and other customers who drive the atmosphere at any given time.

But it is the bartenders who play perhaps the largest role in maintaining the everyday atmosphere and sense of place in the bars. From an informant at Chuck's Lounge, "the bartender really impacts the atmosphere," (Various Informants 2013) and from a female informant, a customer at Jack's Place:

Me – As far as bartenders go, I guess, how does the bartender play a role for you?

I – Actually, since [one of the current bartenders] has been [working] here . . . I come more often.

Me – So having a good bartender . . . what makes a good bartender?

I – She's very friendly and Johnnie-on-the-spot.

From this last response, it is clear that, for at least one customer, if not most, a bartender that facilitates an atmosphere where the customer feels cared about (friendliness) and important (is served in a timely manner) is important to the overall satisfaction of spending time in a bar.

A bartender put it best by describing how customers may, even on the busiest night, still try and stick with their favorite bartender when there is at least more than one working the bar. Being served by a particular bartender makes some customers feel a certain way about their place, not necessarily in the social structure of the bar, but their place as a part of the bar as a whole:

Me – So from where you stand, from that side of the bar, how would you describe your role as the bartender in terms of kind of managing the sense of place that goes on here?

I – Just that I'm always making sure that I'm talking to everybody that I can. They obviously know that I have to service everybody but um, you know, you talk to somebody to where you're like giving them one-hundred percent attention to them and you give them as much information or conversation as you can in a short amount of time while you're serving them and then you go serve the next one and then you always come back. And you just have to manage your time and spread it out.

Me – And that's important to the place?

I – Very important . . . very important to the owner too. [The owner] definitely wants us to be friendly and, you know, but a sense of order too. Obviously you gonna have people fighting every now and again, you know, and us to be the one to kind of neutralize it. If we decide, "Okay, if this one actually started something, they need to leave," have someone take them home. [The owner's] even taken people home before.

Me – Now, there's different bartenders. How does having a different bartender change what goes on at the bar or change the feel of the bar?

I – Just different personalities, you know. Uh, some customers may like me better than the other bartender or they may like her better than me, but that's where your variety is, you know, especially on karaoke nights, you have two bartenders. So you're gonna, you'll see [another bartender] and I'll be workin', she's got her few that prefer her, I've got mine that prefer me, and you'll see where they kind of segregate just to get me to serve 'em and just get her to serve 'em.

More powerful than the bartender even, the owner/proprietor of the bar has *de facto* dictatorial power regarding everything that goes on in the bar, especially when it comes to sense of place. At Sugar Patch Lounge, this is evidenced by having steak/band night every Thursday and karaoke every Tuesday and Friday. At Charlie's Lounge, the owner has decided that her bar is a quiet bar and, as a result, there is no pool and no darts, just television and poker nights on Friday, and the customers prefer it that way even to the point that the jukebox is rarely played. At Chuck's Lounge, the owner likes to have music, and there is even a raised stage for karaoke on Thursday and Friday nights and for bands on Saturday night. Furthermore, specific parts of the bar are decorated to reflect local sports traditions with the men's room painted black and gold for the New Orleans Saints and the women's purple and gold for Louisiana State University Tigers. Similarly, the felt covering on the two pool tables reflect support for those two athletics traditions.

However, at all three of these bars, there is no real set identity to any of the three bars compared to Jack's Place. Without a doubt, bartenders and customers at Chuck's Lounge and Sugar Patch Lounge, when asked, will occasionally refer to their bars as karaoke bars—more specifically as Country and Western at Sugar Patch Lounge—and Charlie's Lounge will sometimes be referred to as an “old folks' home” because of its older regular clientele. But at Jack's Place, the owner has clearly driven home the identity and therefore sense of place of his bar. When asked to explain the theme or identity of the bar at Jack's Place, one bartender shared that, “It's not like . . . this place isn't like most bars. This is a pool hall, technically, it's not a barroom. It's a pool hall that serves alcoholic beverages,” (Various Informants 2013). This sentiment about Jack's Place and its distinctiveness was echoed by another bartender as well saying, “It's a pool hall. I

think Jack's has been here for so long, I think that's what makes it different. Because people don't like . . . it's the only pool hall in West Baton Rouge that's been around for the longest," (Various Informants 2013).

An Established Sense of Place

Over time, with repeated and constant returns to visit and interact with a place, individuals develop their own unique sense of place. Fitting with Tuan's (1990) notion of sense of place, it is a sense of place that has been cultured and developed on its own and in conjunction with other individuals' sense of place but also relative to the sense of place that a person may have regarding another, similar place, such as a different bar.

Sense of Place through Indirect Contact

Developing a relationship with a place by first establishing a sense of place followed by accumulating experiences and memories over time through direct interaction with place would be the preferred method for developing one's "true" perceptions and feelings about a place (Hay 1986; 1990; 1998a; Tuan 1990). Alternatively, sense of place may develop not by direct contact, interaction, or experience with a place, but through second-hand knowledge and *a priori* expectations about a place (Sack 1992). For example, through storytelling and what basically could be construed as advertising (as in word-of-mouth), individuals have the opportunity to develop a sense of place for a person who has never been to a particular place. I delved into this notion when interviewing people at the four study bars by posing the question, "how would you describe this place to someone who has never been here," or how would they sell it to entice a potential newcomer to try out the bar.

Place Identity

Place identity is the concept that captures the idea that just as a particular style of clothes, a favorite beer, or the way that one decorates their home is part of a personal identity, possibly one that a person desires other people to recognize, so too can a particular place come to be perceived as reflective of one's personal identity. Seeing one's self reflected in a place is to some degree the physical manifestation of the self (Proshansky, Fabian, and Kaminoff 1983, 57), apart from one's own corporeal existence. Additionally, when one sees oneself reflected in a place, other self-definitions may also be derived from place as a person develops a relationship with a place, and consciously or not, begins to incorporate characteristics about that place into one's personal identity.

An example of place identity is if a person who is from a small town or community prefers a certain way of life at a given pace and who chooses to patronize a local corner/convenience store rather than shop at a larger store where interactions with other people and employees are less personal, and where convenience and quick service are emphasized over more personalized service.

On the other hand, if a person finds a place to be disagreeable with who they are as a person, then they will most likely not see the place as a reflection of the self or the self that is reflected in the place. This does not mean that a person is unable to maintain a sense of place. However, having an emotionally negative sense of a place would disincentivize a person to seek out future close interactions with a place and would serve as a roadblock on the way to developing personal attachment with a place.

Building toward Place Attachment

Assuming generally positive feelings, thoughts, emotions, experiences, and memories about a place, as a person's unique sense of place develops over time, and as a person grows to identify with a given place and incorporate it into their own identity, the trajectory of the relationship will most likely lead to developing place attachment. This occurs as a person settles on a place that offers the maximum combination of favorable features (based on the built environment and relationships with others in that place). Individual experiences and perceptions of place are largely mediated by native culture which is the combined perspective of meaning and social relations in everyday life (Sack 1992). However, even though individual people in a place may all share extremely similar views regarding a place and their relationship with it, no two individual's will have precisely the same relationship with a given place because similar experiences and specific demographic factors impact each person differently. How we feel about a place is the result of processing interactions with place that give us our unique sense of place though we may never be able to convey that sense of place to other people in words alone.

Chapter Nine: Place Attachment

Topophilia is the affective bond between people and place or setting.

—Yi-Fu Tuan 1990, 4

To summarize the concept of place attachment, it is, “a bond between an individual or group and a place that can vary in terms of spatial level, degree of specificity, and social or physical features of the place, and is manifested through affective, cognitive, and behavioral psychological processes,” (Scannell and Gifford 2010, 5) and is also strongly correlated with age (Hidalgo and Hernández 2001).

The previous section discussed sense of place of each of the four study bars, informed primarily by observations about the bars, their histories, their regular customers, and the daily routines in each bar. This chapter moves deeper into relationships with place by discussing attachment to place from the point of view of the individual informants based on their responses to the guided interview questions (Appendix A). The primary question that will be answered is what form their attachment their particular bar takes, and why.

For now, the literature on place attachment in humanistic geography claims that we form attachment to place because it fulfills fundamental human emotional and psychological needs (Relph 1976; Tuan 1990) and that place attachment begins with a well-developed personal sense of place. For psychologists Scannell and Gifford (2010), place attachment occurs at the point where person, place, and process meet. What is implied by the meeting of person and place is that a person with a well-developed sense

of place comes to identify with that place and has incorporated that place into some part of the personal identity. The final ingredient that bridges the gap between sense of place/place identity and place attachment is the process.

The process as it were consists of the sentimental and emotional qualities of the relationship that a person has with place. These qualities would generally be positive such as a feeling of belonging not just to the place but to the social and community aspects of place, i.e. referring to one's self as a regular at a bar and seeing that perception operationalized when one is greeted by name when they enter the bar or if the bartender knows what you would like to drink without having to ask. Operationalized sentiments such as these develop as a result of residence over a given length of time and accumulated experiences in a place (Hay 1998a).

Transitioning to Place Attachment

As Tuan (1975) and Agnew (2002) like to point out, having a sense of place has to do with longevity in terms of a relationship with place.¹⁷ However, in place of longevity, knowing the history of a place serves as an appropriate proxy, especially when it comes to place identity and incorporating a place into one's own sense of self. For customers at Charlie's Lounge, they are generally aware that the bar's history does not go much beyond thirty years and therefore did not experience the same transitions over the decades that the other three bars, Sugar Patch Lounge, Chuck's Lounge, and Jack's Place experienced since the early- to mid-20th Century. It did not have LSU students packing in on a weekend night such as at Chuck's Lounge, it did not once play host to pool

¹⁷ For a complete accounting of the collected quotes and anecdotes on place attachment from informants, see Appendix E.

tournaments as Jack's Place did, and it did not experience the peak and fall of the Gold Coast as Sugar Patch Lounge did.

Of all of the four bars however, Chuck's Lounge and Jack's Place have the richest histories that, though revealed in depth by some customers as demonstrated in the previous chapter on sense of place, some customers are just barely aware of, but aware enough that it boosts their attachment to place. For some Chuck's Lounge regulars:

I don't know a whole lot. I know it's been here a long, long time. I know people that talk about it like the regular customers, "Come in here when I was a kid . . .," or, "My dad would come drink a beer and I'd sit on the bar or get a coke," I mean, you know, but as far as, you know, everybody talks about the fishbowls. Mardi Gras over here, it's right on the parade route.

In Port Allen, though most people who are long time regulars at Jack's Place recognize it as an informal landmark in the city's downtown, not all of the regulars are completely familiar with the bar's history apart from the fact that it has been in business since the 1920s:

Well, I know it's, it's been established since . . . 1929? Originally was at the port, and they moved in here, I'm not sure what year that was. Who knows? A lot of history, a lot of, a lot of history. There, there are grown people that are, like your age, they grew up here [in the bar], my age, little older. A lot of people grew up in here.

This last sentence can be taken almost literally as in the past, children were allowed to spend time in the bar when their parents were there. In the present, as a result of underage drinking laws, the presence of gaming machines, and unhealthy second-hand smoke,

minors are rarely allowed in the bars except for momentary visits or early in the afternoon as the bar opens up.

Even from a customer of nearly thirty years:

Me – How familiar are you with the history of Jack’s Place?

I – Not very familiar.

Me – Not very familiar? Ok, but you’re still really attached to it.

I – Yeah, well, actually, I went to school with one of the owner’s daughters. So I guess that would kind of attach me . . .

For some reason, at Sugar Patch Lounge, the best that most regulars, even the owner (the original owner’s widow), could muster was that the bar once had a lot more bands, but could not even come up with exact years that the bar opened, apart from either the late 1950s or early 1960s.

On Being a Regular and Place Attachment

These positive emotions and sentiments that result in place attachment do not come without a price, however. There must be some emotional investment in a place as well that involves a give-and-take. For example, being a part of the roll-a-day club at Chuck’s Lounge whereby every visit to the bar for a drinking session a customer buys a drink and puts in a dollar for a chance to roll five dice in the hopes of achieving a five-of-a-kind in a single roll for a chance to win all of the other dollars that have been literally invested by other regulars. Knowing other customers and being a part of the general conversation is also part of investing one’s self in a place which may ultimately lead to

exchanging personal knowledge of the self with other individuals. Because a person has more ties to a place, the stronger the emotional bond will be (Tuan 1977) and the stronger the feelings of pride of belonging and of well-being (Brown, Perkins, and Brown 2003) regarding one's attachment to, and place in a place.

As I probed and prodded my interviewees (owners, bartenders, and customers alike) regarding place attachment and being a part of the regular crowd of customers attached to each bar, I realized that there was not necessarily a point in time based on length of residence as a customer at the bar at which one became a regular. For example, at one of the four study bars, there were quite a few customers that I witnessed who frequented the bar and for lack of a better word were regular customers. However, the regularity of their patronage did not necessarily mean that they were customers favored either by the bartenders and bar owners nor by the favored regular customers at that bar. As I perceived it, these *irregular* customers were not a part of the communal atmosphere of the bar as much as they might be considered hangers-on and, by their behavior, tended to be more disruptive of the generally communal atmosphere of the bar rather than contributory members of the standard sense of place. This was based on observing people who had at least a several years-long relationship with the bar and with other customers both in and outside of the bar setting.

On the other hand, I witnessed people who had a relatively shorter length of relationship at a different study bar but who, through generally positive regular interactions with other customers both inside and outside of the bar setting had become a part of the community and a regular at the bar in just a few months' time. Despite the fact that other regulars might have jovially negative comments regarding a relatively junior

regular, this person was recognized by other regulars and observed by me to be a contributing member to the standard bar atmosphere who clearly socialized well with other regulars, was invested emotionally in the bar because it had become such a regular part of his life, and overall blended in well with the bar meaning that, as a customer, he would be indistinguishable from any other regular customer in the bar.

When I asked bartenders what makes a regular customer (sometimes followed by what makes a *good* regular customer) the response was fairly simple, straightforward, and basic across the board. If a bartender knows a customer's face, knows what they drink, knows their name, and is an all-around good customer as far as not detracting from the good order and discipline of the bar, then he is a "good" regular customer:

I – [The owner] likes to tell us every day, the way we have . . . she wants everybody to feel at home . . . or whenever they walk in the door, she says . . . every time. I personally am not excellent at initiating conversation, "Hey, you're a new face, where you from, how'd you hear about us, what're you in town for?" And because the people that come here are so regular, it's really easy to spot the outsider, because you know everybody already.

Me – So, just in general, once you get to know somebody, who they are, what they're doing here, they're no longer an outsider?

I – Once you know what they drink when they walk in the bar.

The bartender is even recognized as serving an important role as gatekeeper because, "It is easier to become a regular if the bartender knows you," (Various Informants 2013).

On the other hand some "good" customers, even customers who have been regulars of the bar for the entire length of their legal drinking life, can occasionally

overstep their bounds. For instance, some customers may perceive themselves to be such a fixture in the bar that they even have a right to their own bar stool at a particular place at the bar. Regulars such as this may be tolerated with good nature by the bar staff and other regulars to the point that insistence that a particular spot at the bar is “their” spot as long as it does not result in negative interactions and emotions among regular customers. An example would be if such a customer were to all but insist that another customer (regular or not) vacate said spot so that they may sit in their regular seat at the bar as one regular customer told me he might have done had I been a regular customer at the bar rather than a visitor/researcher when I happened to be sitting in “his” seat one afternoon.

However, there are cases where other regular customers who are in good standing with the bar hold a regular seat by usually unspoken (but occasionally explicitly recognized) agreement with the bar staff and other regular customers. At Jack’s Place, a (now deceased) regular customer always sat in the same chair at a small table for two near the end of the bar. This customer came into the bar at about the same time on a daily basis, drank the same brand and amount of beer, got some small bar snacks to take home, and repeated the next day. Though I rarely witnessed him engaged in discussion with other regulars at the bar apart from the bar owner and bartenders, the regular customers at the bar recognized that this particular individual had a set routine, respected it, and would not have intentionally upset his normal routine even as a joke.

Furthermore, there were additional aspects of this customer’s routine which directly involved the bartenders at Jack’s Place. Typically, at all four of the study bars, bartenders would not provide table service to customers sitting away from the bar. If a customer wanted a round of drinks, he would have to go up to the bar and wait to be

served by the (usually) lone bartender. This was not the case for the customer in this anecdote. One reason that he sat at a table near the end of the bar was so that the bartender on duty could bring him his drink from just a few feet away behind the bar. The bartender would collect his money and bring him his change in an exchange that was understood to be unique for this particular customer. If another customer, even a long-time regular in good-standing as a regular attempted to receive the same service by sitting at a table away from the bar, then he would most likely be chastised in good humor for not being able to get up, walk over to the bar, and get his own drink like a normal adult.

Also key to place attachment is the sense or feel of belonging to a community (Hummon 1992). In an operationalized sense, part of belonging to a community is exemplified in the above paragraph whereby, only members of the community are aware of certain behavioral norms and customs regarding belonging to an exclusive community albeit one which welcomes new members. Even Hay (1998a) who makes a case for a form of place attachment which is more or less exclusive of non-members allows room for non-native locals to develop place attachment by coming to know and be a part of exclusive knowledge such as which regular customers are allowed their eccentricities and which are to be good-naturedly poked fun of for violating such norms.

The social aspect of place, the fact that a place facilitates social interaction and relationships as well as a feeling of group identity (part of place identity) further contributes to place attachment (Scannell and Gifford 2010). Considering a bar where most of the regular customers share similar lifestyles and socio-economic status, the regular customers will be attracted to a place because others who are a part of that place are recognized or identified as sharing similar lifestyles or having similar life stories,

especially when the researcher considers that the informants are mostly from and live in the same small parish in Louisiana situated across a river from a larger city which they mostly juxtapose against their own community.

To wit, when asked to provide insight on how they viewed themselves compared to or contrasted to the other typical regulars in their bar, many of the informants liked to simply describe the other regulars by saying, “They good people,” (Various Informants 2012; 2013). For the most part, when asked what it is that they like most about the bar in general, the answer was always, “the people,” (Various Informants 2012; 2013).

Me – What keeps you coming back?

I – The friends. The way people are, it’s a quiet place. I just enjoy coming here for the quiet atmosphere. And you can hear yourself talk. It’s good. I mean, I enjoy the people I work with, I mean, the owners are good people, and the people who come in here are good people.

Me – So it’s really about the people?

I – Yeah.

For some people, their bar just grew on them as they continued to go to the bar on their own to see specific people and new friends:

Me – What did you like about the bar or what appealed to you about it?

I – I guess mainly what started it was coming up to see [a friend who was a bartender], and, like I said, the girls that work here and then met a few people and uh, that came here, I guess, ‘cause it was close to their house or whatever. Come over here every now and then just to see people. My friends that have never come here before, they come here, they immediately love it. They come two and three times a week now. I never

go to Addis for anything. It's kind of out of the way, but I like that it's a little bit hidden. To come here it takes a little bit of effort.

Even for bartenders for whom the bar is a site of employment and labor (as well as for relaxing occasionally), they are still somewhat invested in the bar because it is an important part of their personal life:

This, to me, is like working for my family. I love [the owner], and the customers, they are very good people. They're really good to me. Getting to know the local people, it's, I didn't grow up in a small town, and it's a whole different feeling. I really like it.

The bars which serve as physical arenas for social interaction between individuals who identify with each other also become group symbols (Scannell and Gifford 2010) which transforms place attachment into attachment to the people associated with a place (Malpas 1999). However despite the importance placed on the social aspect of place attachment (Hidalgo and Hernandez 2001), there must still be a physical place which facilitates the social aspect (Malpas 1999; Larsen and Johnson 2012).

Before heading down the road of the importance of the physical, it is still not the tactile aspect of the physical place to which individuals are attached even as the physical place still serves as the arena for social interactions (Stedman 2003). Rather, it is attachment to the *meaning* that the material aspects of place present. This has been discussed in Chapter Two especially in the section regarding Richardson's (2003) perspective on Neandertal burial sites and the idea that it is the meaning associated with the physical that allows for attachment to a physical place to occur. Thus the circle is

complete that, despite the need for a physical site, it is still the social aspect of the physical by which place attachment occurs.

For some informants, even though they like the other regulars in their bar, they acknowledged that pretty much any bar in the area would have the same type of people, so it was the atmosphere (the meaning) of their particular bar (physical place) that served as the reason to stick with it:

I – More the environment, not necessarily the people. There's the same people at other places, same type of people.

Me – What keeps you coming back to Chuck's?

I – The atmosphere. It's chill.

Another Chuck's Lounge customer remembers his first time at the bar and why he liked it:

It was interesting because I started, had just started to work up the road [at a local business], I didn't know the place existed. And uh, I came down here with some guys from work and came in and the first thing I noticed is that it ain't full of kids. Everybody here us uh, my age [early fifties] or around my age. We came out here with a crew [of friends/coworkers] like always and it was just enjoyable. We could sit back there and cut up and have a good time. Beer specials, you know, two-dollar, what is it, a dollar fifty [fish]bowls, the beer's pretty cheap. It was a good experience.

For other regulars, it is not always about just being able to spend time with friends but the amenities or combination of amenities that their bar offers, especially at Jack's Place:

Three dollar pool on Sundays. A buddy told me they have regulation pool tables and then, on Sundays, this bar has, you can play pool for three dollars a day all day long so I get to meet people. I have friends that come over here and I can practice and the other guys, the older guys that play while they teach me so I'm learning, so I'm having a ball. [If] they didn't have the pool tables I wouldn't have come [to the bar to shoot pool].

This was somewhat ironic considering that this particular informant does not drink alcohol. However, when pressed to reveal how he felt about the bar now that he had been frequenting it if only for pool, the response was that he would go to the bar regardless because of the relationships he had formed with the other people in the bar.

Karaoke is also a big draw for other people:

Karaoke night. [I sing] a little bit of everything. I think the karaoke guy attracts a lot, like on karaoke nights because they've always, they put out there that, you know they doing karaoke and we got this going on. Then they get on Facebook and post on Facebook, you know, times we got stuff going on. So we get a lot of people come out for that and [the karaoke guy].

For some people, there was no particular thing that attracted them to the bar, but maybe experiencing the bar as a whole:

Me – Do you remember when you . . . first time coming into this bar either as a customer or a bartender and what you thought about it?

I – I just thought, "This thing is huge, just wide open, just all open," you know. And it just had a, I don't remember, I think they had a band the first time I came. And it was swamp pop and it was just packed and standing room only and it was just wall-to-wall people and I was like, "Whoa," and I was just taken back with just the energy that was in the room.

On the other hand, one of the main attractions of the bar for some people is as simple as being able to drink and not have to worry about driving home after having a few drinks:

Me – Why did you start coming here and do you remember your first time coming here?

I – Local, I live here in Addis, so, local bar. My main deal is it's local, close to my house and because of my job. Like I said I can't risk my license. I can walk home from here.

Overall, the following series of quotations regarding relationships with other regulars in the bar really operationalizes the social aspect (Hummon 1992) of place attachment:

Me – What kind of relationship would you say you have with this place in terms of the people or what it means to you?

I – For me, it would be all about the people. The camaraderie, just like you and me talking right now. It's friends, camaraderie with everybody I know here. Most of the people I know in Addis I know in here, mostly. I'll stop by here every day if I could, 'cause, like I said, my friends, it's all my friends here. And I want to see them, you know, catch up on what happened that day or that week or, however long it's been since I saw 'em.

Not a single person mentioned alcohol or drinking when asked about their relationships in their bars:

I cut up, so it's not . . . it's fun for me, but there's certain friends that I come to see every day and one of them is sitting beside you, and we aggravate anybody we can. I get along with everybody and everybody pretty much gets along with me. I guess it's just like friends. I like to hang

out with people that are interesting. Everybody gets along. It's like, [I] have my home, my mom, my kids, and then I have my bar family. I have my group of regulars and my other bartenders, my boss, and that's my bar family. Some of my closest friends, just soon as I could call my momma for something, I could call any one of them and, you know, be just as . . . it's a family in here.

Even when asked what the bar meant to them, not regarding their relationships with others, but what the bar meant to them when they thought about it, the responses still involved their relationships with other people in the bar. From a white, male informant in his 60s:

Me – What does this place mean to you as a bar?

I – Um, the bar, I mean, it's just a lot of good friends, it's, you know, local, you know, I know just about everybody in here, you know, and uh, got a lot of good friends I know.

Me – What kind of a relationship do you have with this bar would you say?

I – Well, I have a real good relationship because, you know, I've met the owner, and the sons of the owner, and the barmaids, and the people that come by here. So I have like a family. So I come over here, everybody knows each other, we shake hands, you know, and hug, and all that stuff.

Me – So the relationships aren't just strictly within the walls of this bar, they're outside the bar too?

I – Right, you become friends with people you know and a lot, some of them are like family to you, you know, especially me, I'm not from this area, you know, I've only been in this area seven years and I become close to a lot of people, you know, in the area . . .

Regardless of whether it is the relationships that people have with others, the beer specials, karaoke, or pool, many people have memories that make the bar special for them and which are part of the strong ties and bonds that they have with the bars as places:

Me – What are some of your most memorable moments for you in this bar, your favorite times in this bar, or . . .

I – I had my fortieth birthday here [laughs]. That was a . . . yeah, I had to be drove home, but just, you know, like when we have parties or . . . they're known for . . . [the owner is] really good with, if it's somebody our customers, it's their birthday coming she'll do a spread of food, she'll put a table over there. And she supplies it all, give 'em free drinks off-and-on through the night, you know, just to show her appreciation for them being a customer. There's so many memories . . . I love this bar. Most of them are about individuals, you know. I love the bands and when, before Mad Hog opened, I used to have bands every week. And we used to be packed in here every single week, you know, and I may get that back [since Mad Hog burned down], because it was fun and everybody was up [to] have fun and it wasn't so drama-fied.

Safety in Place

Further indicators of place attachment include a heightened sense of safety in a familiar setting. When asked how they felt in their particular bar, many of the informants danced around the idea of feeling physically safe and/or comfortable while others, primarily female informants used the word safe explicitly:

I – I feel very safe here.

Me – Would you feel safe at [another study bar]?

I – No, I feel more comfortable here. It's just a comfortable place. I like coming here and everybody knows me and I'm not scared to walk in by myself. I like coming here because I feel comfortable.

Alternatively, and to highlight the notion of place alienation (Cross 2001), other informants, when asked about other bars included in the study expressed doubts about their physical safety in some of the other bars despite that they were not bars that they patronized frequently or that they had even been to in years. What it boiled down to for most people was simply not knowing other people in other bars even though they had nothing bad to say about the bar itself:

I – It's nice [talking about another study bar], but like I said, there's a lot of people that go in there that I don't know.

Me – Ok, so unfamiliar, being unfamiliar with other people . . .

I – It's nice. I ain't never had no problem there.

Me – Ok, and how about [two other study bars]? You ever been there?

I – I [went there] twice, I think, years ago. I'm comfortable in there, but there's a lot of people I don't know. I'd rather go somewhere where I . . .

Me – Where everybody knows your name?

I – [Nods]

In this example, even though the individual being interviewed recognizes that other places may fit with his personality and offer physical amenities that suit his tastes, the place alienation derives from lacking any real social connection to the bar. In other words

if he went to the bar, he may feel socially alienated by the place itself even though he may otherwise identify with it. Thusly, forming attachment to place is prevented.

Without a doubt, the perceptions of an unsafe environment at other bars may be skewed by hearsay passed along to informants by other people. They may be skewed because they are based on long ago experiences either in those particular bars that may not actually be considered unsafe, or based on experiences at other bars not even related to the study bars, but which leave a negative perception in the minds of the informants when even asked to consider the idea of going to a different bar to drink. Regardless of the reason for believing that any one of the other bars may possibly be unsafe, this line of discussion regarding place alienation and place attachment reaches back to Chapter Eight about sense of place.

Whether or not another place, in purely objective terms, is actually safe is irrelevant in the mind of the informant who states such perceptions. That is because sense of place is unique to the individual (though it may, at times, also be quite similar to others'). Therefore, comparing an individual's subjectively incorrect sense of place to another's subjectively correct sense of place in terms of the physical safety offered by a bar would be to compare the former's weak sense of place to the latter's strong and more developed sense of place. To this end, it is necessary to again invoke Tuan (1975; 1977; 1990) and acquiesce to his argument that to know place, to know the true or subjectively correct sense of a place takes place over time and by accumulating experiences and memories. If any one of the bars were in fact physically unsafe, 1) I as the researcher would not have pursued fieldwork in such a place; and 2) the regulars in those bars who provided their personal insight into those places would undoubtedly have at least hinted

that the bar where they are a regular customer might potentially be an unsafe environment for a researcher attempting ethnographic fieldwork.

Beyond the confines of the bars, and despite what informants at some bars might have had to say regarding the safety at other bars included in this research, almost all of the informants concurred that the communities that they lived in, Addis, Port Allen, and West Baton Rouge Parish in general provided a safer living environment compared to Baton Rouge and East Baton Rouge Parish. Again, along the lines of Scannell and Gifford (2010) and Billig (2006), safety plays a strong role not just in attachment to the bars as places but attachment to the places where the bars are located (Addis, Port Allen, and West Baton Rouge Parish)

To summarize the point, place attachment is built on a strong foundation of sense of place paired with place identity and framed by positive sentiments, emotional bonds, and community involvement which are all part of engendering feelings of safety and belonging in a place.

Why this Particular Bar

Apart from a sense of safety that is a part of place attachment, most informants cite a variety of different reasons for always returning to the same bar to pass some of their free time. Those reasons mostly include just the atmosphere and the people and even meeting new people. For example:

Me – So what keeps you coming back to this bar?

I – My best friend [a bartender].

Me – And you made friends with her through working here?

I – Mmhhh, and [through] her family, and the people here . . . great.

Me – So how often do you come here?

I – I don't know, sometimes three nights a week.

For some people, such as one bartender I interviewed, it took quite a while to return to a place that held special meaning for her:

When I was 19, 20 years old [approximately 20 years in the past] I actually worked back here back then . . . and just because it's such a small town, everybody knows everybody [. . .] and then just reuniting with old friends and I knew [the current owner] and them before they owned the bar. It's just like a home away from home. It's a Cheers-like environment. I love the atmosphere; clean, nice, family-oriented. I like [another study bar] but this is still my favorite place.

Other people feel that just spending time at the bar with other people benefits their emotional and mental health. After having a tough or stressful day, one customer said that he feels, “not so stressed,” after spending time at the bar (Various Informants 2013). In one instance, an informant found companionship at the bar after losing a spouse, “I enjoy the uh, bartenders, I enjoy the people here. I like to talk. And it was company for me after [my spouse] passed away,” (Various Informants 2013).

For other individuals, returning to the same bar was not based on attachment to the place as much as it was based on having a single positive experience:

Me – So what kept you coming back to this bar? Was it the people, was it the fact that there's not that many bars to choose from around here?

I – It was the friendliness of the people, the location, and . . . honesty, it really was. Plus I had a good time.

Or just based on habit:

I used to come here when it was Joe's, and he had it and uh, then, for whatever reason he closed it and it stayed closed, what, a year or so? And uh, when it reopened, I just, on this side of the river a lot and decided to start stopping in and started spending more and more time here [. . .] I'd say at least two to three times a week.

Of course multiple individual people could stay at home on their own and drink, or go over to a friend's or neighbor's house and drink, but they still choose to spend time and money at a bar instead. Luckily, I thought to ask at least one informant the question point blank:

Me – You said you can or do drink at other peoples' houses, but what does hanging out at a bar versus somebody's house mean?

I – You . . . chances are you will meet more people in a bar. More different people. And drinking makes you more talkable, I don't even know if that's a word. And . . .

Me – Talkative?

I – Talkative. And it also makes you more honest. And you're more outgoing. You're more willing to talk to a stranger than let's say, if you weren't at the time. Alcohol makes you honest. Makes you talk, talkative, and honest, and outgoing.

Obviously, alcohol will make a person honest no matter where they are drinking it, but the arena that a bar provides facilitates socializing with old friends as well as making new friends, which is less likely to happen in the safety of one's home.

Losing Place

Whether an individual is more attached to the relationships with other people in the bar, or the memories, or the amenities that make spending time in the bar enjoyable, most people had a strong reaction to the idea of losing their bar. The general question asked was, “How would you feel if this bar ever closed down,” or, “How would you feel if this bar just burned down one day?”¹⁸ The responses ranged from casual indifference, indicating weak place attachment, to becoming watery-eyed at the prospect. Additionally, the regulars at one bar, Jack’s Place, as a whole, were more attached to their bar than the whole group of regulars at some of the other bars.

At Charlie’s Lounge, people were not so concerned at the prospect of losing the bar because they knew that they would still be able to go to Chuck’s Lounge even though it was not their first bar or choice:

It would disappoint me very bad. It’s the people that make the bar. I would definitely miss it. Big time. I’d just miss the people. I’m sure we [all the regulars] would find another bar to go hang out at. I’d hate to see her [Charlie’s Lounge] close; I would be going to another bar. I wouldn’t like it but uh, I’d probably go to Chuck’s or something and drink a few cuz that’s like halfway from here to my house, like three-quarters of a mile from my house to Chuck’s. But I wouldn’t like it like I like it over here.

¹⁸ As it so happens, a bar called Mad Hog Saloon opened across the street from Chuck’s Lounge in early 2012. I first began asking this question, sometime including the hypothetical bar burning down when I was conducting field work at Charlie’s Lounge and later at Chuck’s Lounge. I had asked this question of most of my informants at both of these bars. On Super Bowl Sunday in February of 2013, Mad Hog burned nearly all the way to the ground which caused me some consternation because it had been a hypothetical question that I, basically a stranger in town, had been posing to people in local bars. For a brief time, I was concerned that I might come under suspicion by local authorities of arson as part of some radical experiment regarding peoples’ reaction to suddenly losing their favorite place to drink.

Some informants expressed reciprocal thoughts at Chuck's Lounge, "If they [Chuck's Lounge] closed down? I don't know, I know a few people that go to Charlie's, it just kind of depends on where everybody else would migrate off to. I don't have any, I don't have a backup place," (Various Informants 2013). Even the owner of Charlie's Lounge would not miss the bar that much if she decided to close it down, "They [the regulars] probably come back. It depends on what somebody did with it. It depends. It depends if they got a young crowd or if on a Friday night they got a loud band then most of these [regulars] is not going to stay, (Various Informants 2012).

This last comment by Charlie's Lounge's owner is highly indicative of the idea that place attachment is driven largely by sense of place. If the atmosphere of the bar were to shift dramatically such as having a younger crowd or loud music, then there would be a commensurate decrease in the regular customers' collective place attachment.

At Chuck's Lounge, regular customers expressed stronger sentiments regarding the prospect of losing their bar, especially sentiments about missing seeing other regulars:

I would feel sad . . . We would probably stop going to bars for a while. We would miss the people. We don't know the people [at another bar] and here everybody's more relaxed and friendly. We would miss the people, and uh, just the good times I have here, I guess. I'm not really a big bar person. I don't get out much but when I do get out, this is where I come because this is where I'd be coming before I even worked here.

For those with particularly strong ties and bonds with Chuck's Lounge, they know that they would still manage to find a place to spend time with their friends:

I – God, I'd probably be um, it, it's a big part of me now. Because the friends that I had all through high school and all through college, I don't know anymore. And it wouldn't be for the people that I met here, you know, I have such strong ties with it now, it would be a big hole. So, we would have to find a new spot, definitely. I would be devastated at the loss of this place. But I would still have the people.

Me – Where would y'all hang out?

I – Oh, God only knows. We would find somewhere be it another bar, somebody's house . . . you know, this is just the building that we come to. It's not our relationship. It's just where we are. I'd be depressed, you know. I mean, it's a place I go to first only. I mean on weekends, I mentioned Nick's [a bar in Plaquemine], you know, I might go over there on a weekend and drink a beer. I know people over there, you know, but this is my bar. It's not my bar in ownership no more, but it's my bar to go to first. I don't come here every day, but when I want a beer, I'll . . . you'll see me here.

While for others losing the bar is about losing a physical place to meet up:

I – I'd be devastated.

Me – Why would you be devastated?

I – Because this place, when you walk in the door, you feel like family. They know, you know, everybody by their first name. Everybody's . . . there's not a strange face in here, you know what I mean. They make you feel welcome when you walk in the door. Like you're here to relax and forget about your shit [and] stuff. It's just like a neutral meeting place for people to come meet. 'Cause everybody wants to have a couple drinks every now and again after work, stress, kids, husbands, wives, whatever, bills. Just to not have that place to go. And it's different than other bars to me. It doesn't have that home, I don't know, like you're at home. You can be comfortable.

However, even an octogenarian regular who has been a regular at Chuck's Lounge since returning from the Korean War knows that places come and places go but that with enough time, "I think I'd only have to wait awhile before they rebuilt," (Various Informants 2013).

At Chuck's Lounge, people did tend to emphasize losing the physical place in addition to missing seeing their regular co-drinkers, but they also knew that they would be able to find some other arena for getting together. At Jack's Place, however, options for other nearby drinking establishments in Port Allen were limited as far as having a similar bar nearby that they could go to instead. Regarding how they would feel if they lost Jack's Place, the regulars responded:

I – Sad.

Me – Sad? What would you miss about it?

I – Coming here and enjoying myself and [talking to other regulars]. Well, I would be sad, of course. Even if I were to change jobs [this is from a bartender], I would still want to come here.

Perhaps as a result of the turnover of ownership and management at their bar, the regulars at Sugar Patch Lounge demonstrated the weakest levels of place attachment among all of the informants that were interviewed during data collection. For them, the bar was just a bar that could easily be replaced and there was scarcely any mention of missing getting to see fellow regulars. While strong place attachment was exhibited by tearing up in the case of Chuck's widow, the opposite was true at Sugar Patch Lounge, "Well, ha, I'd have to hunt, there's some more bars around there where I live. There's another one about five

miles from where I live and it, I don't think they're open that early," (Various Informants 2013).

In some sense it was akin to squeezing blood out of a turnip just to get some people to admit that there would be something in particular that they would miss about the bar:

Me – What would you do if Sugar Patch Lounge closed?

I – Find somewhere else to go.

Me – Is there anything in particular that you like here?

I – Yep, the people.

Me – What about the people?

I – I enjoy being around them. A lot of fun.

Certainly not the warmest sentiment regarding one's favorite bar. Even the owner was not too taken aback by the idea of the bar closing down:

Me – What would you do if this bar ever closed down?

I – Nothing. Maybe somebody else would come through here if we ever closed down.

However, at least one person had some warm fuzzies to express regarding closing down the bar:

The people, I mean, I made friends with a lot of people here and the fact, I guess, that I live right here [in a house behind the bar], you know, I would, I would miss the people that come in here. I'm really good friends, close friends [with] a lot of people that come in here.

Place Attachment as Participant-Observer

Regarding the researcher's role as participant observer and my own interactions in the bar, I was afforded the perspective of what it is like, in the first few weeks and months of patronizing a bar, to become somewhat of a regular. To be sure, however, at no point in conducting participant observation would I have considered myself to be a true regular at any of the bars because 1) I never came to know any of the regular customers outside of the bar setting as many of the other regulars did; 2) because my primary purpose for even patronizing the bars in the first place was to conduct research and collect data which, in the interest of avoiding going completely native, prevented me from becoming a true regular; and 3) I never developed the same emotional bonds or held the same sentiments as other native regular customers did with their bars.

I already had a relationship with two of the study bars before I commenced research. I had been to Chuck's Lounge on multiple occasions over the previous two years and had talked to one of the bartenders and a few of the customers as part of preliminary research for a class on ethnographic methods. I also patronized Jack's Place several times a month as an infrequent customer and the owner and a couple of the bartenders knew my face and that, as far as customers went, I was not any kind of trouble maker. This was not the case at Charlie's Lounge or Sugar Patch Lounge.

Why is it important that the researcher share his perspective on the early stages of becoming a regular at a place such as a bar? Only because asking my informants what the process (becoming emotionally and sentimentally attached to the bar c.f. Scannell and Gifford 2010) of becoming a regular was like for them did not yield any profound insights except from one bar regular who was still junior in status relative to other

regulars because the length of his relationship was only a few months. However, even for this informant, becoming attached beyond just being a regular customer did not carry much weight for him:

I – I moved here from uh, [redacted]. So I'm here for the long haul.

Me – Ok, so, so you're probably gonna keep coming to this bar . . .

I – Oh, yeah. Till they run me out probably. But I don't, I don't . . .

Me – Ok, so have you become, are you very attached to this bar, I mean if it closed down . . .?

I – No, I never get attached to bars. I've traveled on the road for thirty-five years. And I got off the road and went to [redacted], stayed there three years, then I moved over here because the opportunity, a job, a better job. [. . .] But I don't really get attached to bars.

The last statement highlights one of the key variables regarding place attachment which is longevity of residence or relationship with a place (Hidalgo and Hernandez 2001; Billig 2006; Scannell and Gifford 2010). As with the informant highlighted here, as an ethnographer in the field, I did not conduct fieldwork at any one of the four bars for a period exceeding much beyond three months.

Though I did develop some sentimental feelings about the time I enjoyed conducting fieldwork at each bar as well as an emotional sense of gratitude towards the informants of each bar, I never spent long enough at each bar to the point that I had any deeper emotional investment such as getting to know regulars outside of the bar setting or even being able to participate in other ways such as the roll-a-day game at Chuck's Lounge. Apart from playing pool with some of the regulars and occasionally treating

each other to drinks, the deepest my involvement with the bars as a “regular” was spending five or ten dollars on the football board at Charlie’s Lounge (I did win on one occasion at which time I was obliged to purchase a round of drinks for the handful of regulars that were present when I collected my winnings).

Returning to the simple rules for when a person is considered a regular, I did become a regular at each of the bars to the extent that the bartenders knew my name and my face, they knew that I either drank Diet Coke or the occasional Bud Select 55 (a 55 calorie beer with less than half of the alcohol by volume of a typical domestic beer), and they knew a little bit about my personal life. The other part of becoming a regular as far as the real regulars were concerned was not so much my name and what my usual beverage of choice was, but getting to know my face, and about me (who I was and why I was there writing in a notepad). Such information was typically passed along to them by the bartender who often acted as the intermediary/gatekeeper. This is the process that eventually earned me access to other patrons in the bar in order to conduct interviews.

Though I never became a true regular and for certain would not have become one by organic means, as in just finding a bar that I liked, developing a strong sense of place and place identity followed by place attachment with consequent sentimental ties and emotional investment, I was a regular for the purposes of the present research. To be sure, I did not develop feelings of pride regarding my relationship with any one of the bars (Brown, Perkins, and Brown 2003), nor did I become a part of the bar community especially through interactions outside of the bar setting, nor in the Tuanian sense did I develop enough particular ties to any of the bars which might have led to strong emotional bonds with them (Tuan 1977).

To Study Place Attachment

To truly study place attachment and how people develop attachments to a place over time would require a longitudinal study over a considerably longer period of time than the present research which occurred only over the course of about one Earth year divided into four roughly equal periods of time during that year. From a positivist point of view, to rationally approach place attachment would require identifying individual people who are new to a place and to follow their relationship with a place over time as that relationship grows and becomes stronger or as the relationship blossoms and quickly withers as a person realizes that a particular place is not for them, does not fit with their personal identity, or does not offer the maximum combination of favorable features (Cross 2001).

Along the lines of maximizing a given combination of favorable features regarding a place, Billig (2006) included multiple variables to study place attachment among households in an area of land in the Middle East, the ownership of which is disputed by two nation-states. In the case of Billig's (2006) study, the variables that she included were basic, relating to demographics, intermediate variables including attachment to the home, the tendency of the family to actually live a place for any length of time, and the length of time living in the area. Other variables included were more integral to the specific location and subject of the place attachment study and included political and religious ideology which drove the perceived right to occupy the territory, but also the perception of risk, physical risk to personal and family safety, due to living in a war-torn part of the world (Billig 2006). Psychology researchers have utilized similar variables to study place attachment in a revitalizing urban neighborhood but included

variables not just about the interviewees but about perceived incivilities among neighborhood residents, crime rates, and race and ethnicity of other residents to create a statistical model of place attachment based on those additional variables (Brown, Perkins, and Brown 2003).

An ideal base model for data collection in a longitudinal study of place attachment would take one of two forms. The simplest model would be to target potential informants who are new to a neighborhood, a bar, a school, etc. and to include informants who are not native to a place and interview and ask them questions regarding their involvement in the community of that place, how they felt about the place before they began a relationship with it, how they felt when the relationship first began, their expectations regarding the relationship, if they can identify a particular moment or event that stands out regarding their attachment to place, and any number of follow-up questions regarding how the informants might have answered such questions differently or the same at different points in time. Though arbitrary, it would be logical to include informants whose length of relationship with place is less than one year long, more than two years, five, ten, twenty, etc. to best understand individual peoples' relationships with a given place over as long a timeline as possible. The major drawback is that this data collection model does not allow for following single individuals over time as they grow in their relationship with a place.

The alternative to thoroughly studying how separate individuals develop attachment to place over time would be to target individuals who are in a new relationship with a place. To be sure, it would be more difficult to target individuals to serve as informants in a place such as a bar because of the extremely high likelihood that

such individuals may not have any longevity in the tenure with that place and may only patronize the establishment for no more than a few weeks or months. The optimal method would be to identify new students at a college or new residents to a neighborhood or city who presumably would be on the threshold of a multi-year relationship, with a new place. The concept would be the same then as described in the above paragraph to collect data from informants at various intervals of time such as after a single month of residence, six months, a year, two years, three and four years (in the case of college students especially), five, ten, twenty years, etc. Perhaps ten and twenty years would be a stretch, but not entirely inconceivable for a dedicated social scientist in search of a *magnum opus*.

This research did the best it could, however, to follow the former model which allowed for a reasonable amount of data collection to understand not only individuals' place attachment, but rootedness as well which is discussed in the following chapter. Hidalgo and Hernandez (2001) suggested that one of the limits of place attachment studies (c.f. the two hypothetical studies cited above) is that they tend to be geographically limited to neighborhoods and small towns without attempting to expand to a larger geographical area such as a large city, or home-in on a place at the scale of the home. Additionally, they found that social attachment is greater than physical attachment to place (Hidalgo and Hernandez 2001). Thus, the (mostly) qualitative data collected through ethnographic means for this research represent a hybrid of quantitative and qualitative data collected at the scale of the home (nested in a small town) and focuses more on the social aspects of place attachment rather than on the physical.

Thinking Critically about Place Attachment

A main theme throughout this dissertation was to critically discuss the concepts of sense of place, place attachment, and rootedness as they have been studied and considered in the overall body of social science literature to include human geography, cultural anthropology, environmental psychology, sociology, etc. Recall from Chapter Two that a primary critique not of the concepts themselves but of the body of literature that discusses them is that there is little engagement in an interdisciplinary sense, notably regarding sense of place and more so regarding rootedness. However, regarding place attachment, there has been, in the last several decades, some engagement among geographers, anthropologists, environmental psychologists, and sociologists.

Geographers Jeffrey Smith and Matthew Cartlidge in a 2011 article in the *Geographical Review* engaged with research from fellow place attachment researchers such as environmental psychologists Scannell and Gifford (2010), going back as far as Proshansky, Fabian, and Kaminoff (1983) and included even the secondarily seminal *Place Attachment* edited by Altman and Low (1992). In turn, Scannell and Gifford (2010) built upon past work by Jorgensen and Stedman (2001), Hidalgo and Hernandez (2001), and Billig (2006) as well. As a result of this interdisciplinary collaboration, place attachment has the best defined parameters for the concept resulting in the person-process-place tripartite framework for place attachment (Scannell and Gifford 2010) which has been demonstrated in its operationalized form in this chapter.

Indeed, the person-process-place framework stands up to scrutiny when viewed from an operationalized perspective. Individuals (the person) are recognized as possessing a sense of place and place identity, there is a social arena (the place) in which

ties are established and nurtured over time, and there is the third leg of the framework consisting of, but not limited to, pride, sentiment, knowledge of place, and a desire to return to place (the process). Because of how different social scientists have engaged with others' work, place attachment serves as the well-defined boundary or transition from sense of place to a deeper connection with place. When paired together, sense of place or place identity, and place attachment lead an individual to develop a higher level and more complex relationship with place, termed rootedness and rooted sense of place (Hummon 1992; Hay 1998a), discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter Ten: Rootedness

. . . the difference between ritual and mundane actions lies not in the type of activity being carried out, but rather it is the intention with which one carries out the habitual action . . .

—Michael Kay (2012)

Now that the previous two chapters have covered sense of place and place attachment by understanding the bonds developed between people and place, this chapter focuses on rootedness. The literature, led by Tuan (1980), identifies rootedness as the ultimate level of connection with place. Rootedness is not something that is consciously earned through long-time interaction and residence. It is a phenomenon that occurs at the unconscious level with the passage of time and accumulating experiences to the point that a person becomes an existential insider, a resident who is totally at home in their place (Relph 1976). From the point of view of an outside observer drawing conclusions based on observation and interviews, this chapter delves into rootedness, what it means in an operationalized sense, and what the relationship is between rootedness, and sense of place and place attachment. This completes the circle and fills in the current gap in geographic literature on place relationships that still does not completely understand how these three all fit together in the scheme of place relationships.

Tuan (1980) argued for strong connections between being an indigenous member of a place or a culture and truly being rooted in place. If place consists of an individual's complex of knowledge about a place (sense of place) and the physical aspects of place (locale), then to the rooted person this "habitus" (Bourdieu 1977) will be as unremarkable

as it is distinct to an outsider. The daily routines, the everyday things that are seen and the tasks completed are taken for granted and invisible; even when they are critical to sustaining and perpetuating the rooted lifestyle. To the outsider, to the not rooted person, the commonplace is of critical importance to understanding the rooted way of life in a place. It is therefore of utmost importance for the outside observer to understand what the rooted informant takes as boringly self-evident (Barfield 2010).

In this chapter, data from interviews with informants who have the longest amount of habitation, the longest time of relationship with the bars in this study provide insight to what rootedness looks like. In the previous chapter, place attachment was shown to be an association between individual and place which developed over time to be sure, but in a way that place is not taken for granted. Rootedness in place is not a thing to be taken for granted by those who are rooted in place. As long as nothing dramatic occurs to alter a place or one's relationship with it, it is not a thing that is considered. Also important, a person attached to place is not necessarily rooted, yet a person with a rooted relationship with place is also attached to it. A rough example is found by comparing the bar owners to the most regular of the customers.

At Jack's Place, there was not a day that I recall that the owner, much like his father before him, was not in the bar or in and out of the bar, socializing or tending to the business of the bar. At Chuck's Lounge, the current owner was in the bar every day if she was not out of town. Likewise at Charlie's Lounge, the owner, who lived in a separate part of the building in which the bar was housed, could wander through a door that connected her home to the barroom, and she was in there every single day. Sugar Patch Lounge probably provides an example of communal or familial, maybe even tribal,

rootedness. The owner (the original owner's widow) and her daughters and step-daughters were constantly in and out of the bar during the day when the bar was closed and during the evening time going about the business of the bar. A matrifocal family living in homes on the property behind the bar with the bar, a place, perhaps literally the center of not just their daily lives, but their lives period.

On the other hand, there are also a number of customers who have been regulars at the bars for years and decades. Though the bar and their friends at the bar may well be extremely important to their week, these customers are still not at the bar every single day the way that the owners of the bars are. They may be at the bar five days in a row, but they may not be there again for a few days. Though returning to the bar may be foremost on their minds after returning from an out of town trip, returning to the bar is a decision that is made at a conscious level. Similarly, bartenders may exhibit some level of attachment to the place not just because they enjoy their job, the people, and have emotional and sentimental ties to the place, but if they do not go in to work, then there is a penalty. They have no choice but to go there because it is their job.

When it comes down to it, it is the owners, the people for whom the bar as a place and as a business is their life. Just like a farmer must tend the fields every day while the crops grow quietly in the night around the farm house, waiting for the farmer to return to the field the next day, so too are the bars an unspoken way of life for their owners. Among regular customers, many informants who the primary investigator determined to have a rooted relationship with the bars cannot really recall their first experience with their bar. Generally that was because their first visit occurred twenty or thirty years in the past when they were in their teens or twenties. Just as the bar owners are to a farmer, so

too are the most rooted customers to crops in the field; a relationship without which the other would not survive.

Returning to Rootedness

Tuan introduces the term “rootedness” in a 1980 article in the journal *Landscape* as a concept to describe an indigenous, almost non-Western/modernist relationship with place that goes beyond sense of place and place attachment. As he describes it, rootedness is a geographical notion with the concept of the home at its core in all aspects of place including the social, the physical, the psychological, and the temporal (Terkenli 1995). Up till now, even with the myriad articles, monographs, and book chapters on sense of place and place attachment in geographical, anthropological, and environmental psychology literature, there is just a handful, less than a half-dozen that I came across for this research that seriously discuss rootedness.

Whereas sense of place can range from passing first impressions of a place to a strong idea of place that permeates the memory and is enfolded into a person’s identity, and place attachment generally focuses on people who are new to and become attached to a place or for whom place has come to have a special meaning over time (c.f. Chapters Eight and Nine), rootedness does not offer a finite, easily defined beginning point.

Where rootedness is introduced in Chapter Two, one of the highlighted points regarding the term is that people who are nostalgic about the past may often be overheard stating that they yearn for, “the good old days,” some non-specific place and date in the time-space continuum when things were better, or when things made sense and were the way they should be again. In this case, nostalgia represents, “the unattainable distance between the past and the present,” (Higson 2014, 120). In conflating the notion of

rootedness with having particular memories based on some ideal past state of being, the concept of the good old days represents an anti-change way of viewing how passing time brought with it a change to place whereby place is no longer recognizable for what it once may have been and which may come hand in hand with broken sentimental and emotional bonds of place attachment resulting in a desire to restore a sense of place (Tuan 1980).

Basically being mentally stuck in the past regarding place anchors a person or group of people to relatively specific place-time points of reference in the space-time continuum thus precluding that person or group from growing emotionally and sentimentally with a place as that place changes and evolves over time as new members of that place identify with it and as their identities are subsumed into the identity of that place. If anything, sense of place represents the antithesis of rootedness. An individual who desires for a place to transform into some previous iteration of “what it once was” in fact has a heightened and strong sense of place in terms of recognizing that they no longer recognize place and that it has changed. It is conscious thought, a cognitive perception of place whereby the individual is no longer being-in-place but out of place, a spectator, an outsider who no longer acts in place as they may once have done, but instead acting *on* place and attempting to exert some influence on it to change place, to mold it into something with which they may yet again identify because they are no longer attached to place but attached to another place that stands on precisely the same location and in the same locale but in a different point in time.

Tuan (1980) recognizes this Heideggerian/Richardsonian (1962/2003) notion of being-*in* where rootedness is an almost taken-for-granted relationship with place. Just as

a baby (assuming typical physical/mental growth and development) grows into an adult, so too does the rooted individual grow not just alongside, but within place. Due to this symbiotic person/group-place relationship, there is no need to yearn for a past point in time to which place ought to return. Place *is* and sense of place *is*. People and place *are*. In no way does this mean that the rooted individual is unaware that place has changed; quite the opposite, in fact.

Thinking critically about rootedness, Tuan (1980) is correct in saying that rootedness is not arrived at through thoughtful deliberation, though it is possible to retrace one's steps if one turns around and follows the footprints. Whether or not anybody was aware of change, if it occurred at a specific point in time or over a particular length of time, the rooted individual can look back and view place as it was, as it is, and even conceive place as it may one day be. At the same time, the individual may also recognize that they are not the same person either. For the rooted individual, all the iterations of place are neither good nor bad unless they are good or bad.

In all honesty, all of the talk and philosophizing about being-in place versus being-outside and without place, and changing and growing with place sounds as if it is from a Mitch Albom title such as *Tuesdays with Morrie* or *The Five People You Meet in Heaven*.¹⁹ In Chapter Two, rootedness is also considered to be a state of being-in place wherein the rooted individual experiences place but is not necessarily conscious of it which is why, in some respects, Tuan (1980) suggests that rootedness is not attained except through the inescapable chance that a person is native in a place.

¹⁹ Mitch Albom books such as these revolve around a central character growing and learning some life lesson over the course of the book through interactions with other people and places. Personally, the books' overtones are quite sappy and possess an overly feel-good quality.

If one is not inescapably native to a place, as in not from the local area or town where a bar is located but from the other side of a large river or the other side of the country, then what chance is there to develop a rooted relationship with place? Imagine then, as a twenty-something year old, moving from the Mid-Western United States to south of Interstate Ten in Louisiana, from the home of cornfields, pot roast, and basketball, to the home of sugarcane, crawfish, and football. What chance is there of developing real roots in a place to which one is not only not native, but to whom place itself may be somewhat foreign? Hummon (1992) and Hay (1998a) allow for a rooted sense of place whereby long residence, social belonging, involvement in community, social activities, and organizations paired with a well-developed sense of place and place attachment bonds all coalesce to the point where the rooted individual would be virtually indistinguishable from the individual with a rooted sense of place. After enough drive-thru daiquiris, sucking the meat out of enough crawfish heads, and enough New Orleans Saints playoff disappointments season after season, the native Mid-Westerner takes on the identity of a now-native Louisianan; a MidwesternCajun, if you will. You don't have to be born in a place to become a part of it.

Being-in

There is a dearth of examples of rootedness cited in the three main articles from which understanding rootedness for the purposes of the present research is derived (Tuan 1980; Terkenli 1995; Hay 1998a). Whereas the literature on sense of place/place identity and place attachment provided a framework and template into which quotes and anecdotes from interviews conducted in the field could be plugged to facilitate further discussion and critical thought, this is not the case regarding rootedness. This affords the

present research the opportunity to be the first to present real-world, operationalized examples of rootedness and rooted sense of place.²⁰

The following anecdotes and quotes are from interviews with informants who were judged to have a rooted relationship with their respective bars, and consisted primarily of the bars' owners and their family, and individuals who had been customers at their bar for decades or since their late teens or twenties. For lack of a better term, Heidegger's (1962) concept of *Dasein* is considered here to be the umbrella concept under which are gathered sense of place, place identity, place attachment, rootedness, and rooted sense of place. *Dasein*: the act of being there, of existing in the world, of unself-conscious dwelling, as observed in the following excerpts from quotes and anecdotes collected during fieldwork at Jack's Place, Chuck's Lounge, Charlie's Lounge, and Sugar Patch Lounge.

What rootedness and having a rooted sense of place boil down to are not necessarily as easy to describe as they are to simply understand from examples:

Me – I noticed that when [another customer] got up to leave, you moved over to that seat.

I – That's my chair. I had one [at another bar] too actually. Sometimes I come in here and they got a lot of people here for a wedding or a party and I move over to the side and I feel out of place over there but I'll sit there.

Sometimes, older regular customers even recognize how things have changed regarding sociability and younger generations à la *Bowling Alone* (Putnam 2000)²¹:

²⁰ For a complete accounting of the collected quotes and anecdotes on rootedness from informants, see Appendix F.

I – They, actually they used to have dart boards years ago and they used to have pool tournaments out of here, all local up and down from Jack Miller’s back in Plaquemine all the way to Jack’s in Port Allen. Um, that just, I think that’s something that just, the new generation hasn’t picked that up. So, like us, the older ones, you’re kind of getting old with it [as in the bar] and you know it kind of faded out. They just come in here and they’re more interested in drinking beer and laughing and just shootin’ some pool balls around.

Me – Why do you think they don’t, they aren’t interested in that sort of thing?

I – Just the gap in generations, I guess. The new thing for the younger generation to do, they just like to come sing karaoke, play some pool, and have a few drinks.

Many people do not necessarily consider the bar as anything other than part of their regular daily or weekly routine. Various informants who were judged to be rooted in place based on their responses and how they fit into the literature on rootedness (Tuan 1980; Hay 1998a) and being-in place (Heidegger 1962; Richardson 2003) shared similar sentiments:

It’s part of my day. My friends are here and my friends make my day. I normally stop here after visiting my elderly parents and I’ll stop by after work and just relax and wind down and get ready for work the next day. I can come here by myself any day because I know I’ll know somebody, I’ll have somebody to talk to, somebody to hang out with. A lot of my local

²¹ In his book, Robert Putnam (2000) analogizes a decrease in voter turnout and political involvement in the United States to the fact that even though the number of people who bowl had increased over a two-decade period, the number of people who participate in bowling leagues had actually decreased and therefore are not engaged in social interaction and civic discussions that would occur if they were to be a part of a bowling league with other people.

friends come in here. I know everybody in here. Pretty much any time of the day, I'm going to know half the people in here.

While for others, it's more than having someplace to go after work or know that anytime that they pop into the bar that they are going to know someone else who is there. It is about the strong connections they have to the people that goes even beyond place attachment:

Me – In 27 years of being a part of, owning, and running this place, what are your favorite memories here?

I – The people. Most of them are dead now. A lot of them are. The owner is like a momma, not a momma, but a very good friend. She cooks something back there, she brings me a plate, she knows I'm single, and tonight, I don't have a place, but I'm here anyway. I grew up when this place was a cow pasture, and cane fields and all that, they didn't have nothing around here. I just feel comfortable coming here without the city life part of it.

In this case, this person, in just two sentences, and without realizing what I was looking for in a response, managed to capture an ideal version of rootedness. He is rooted not with the bar as much as he is with his way of life, and where he lives in Addis, his *habitus*.

This state of being-in, of *Dasein* and *habitus* is derived largely from the basic fact that people are not only rooted in place or that they have a rooted sense of place, but that they are truly native to a place, one of the prerequisites of rootedness (Tuan 1980; Hay 1998a). In the case of several informants such as the one quoted above and the following

individual, their families are from the area and so there are generational roots in the area, not just in the bar:

Me – A lot of people said they can come over there [to Baton Rouge] and they don't feel as close to their families as they do over here [in Addis].

I – That's how we was raised.

Me – How long has your family been in the area?

I – Since before the Depression between the point, the cutoff and Addis itself. My daddy's daddy came here with the railroad. My mom's family was here at the point. Both sides of the family really been here forever. I don't know. Sometimes I don't know where I guess, I've lived other places, I've been all over the country working and just, I don't know, it just seems like a good place to live over here for some reason, I don't know. It's just close knit.

As a result of some people having been in the area and therefore having been customers of their bar for so long, they have a different perspective on place and, not just their relationship with it, but how other people treat it (i.e. respect or revere place). This is particularly the case at a bar such as Jack's Place that has been in business spanning nine decades:

I – Regular customers is, is just the same people that come, you know, we all grew up together. I mean, most of the people that come in here are the people that grew up together. Whether 10 years younger, than them or they're 20 years older than me, vice versa. And the, the younger kids come in, doesn't matter, I mean, we all grew up together in Port Allen. There's some kind way that, whether you're 50 years old, 40, or 30, some kinda way we know you or they know us, family-wise.

Me – Okay, and so when younger people come in here, how does that change the atmosphere of the bar from being a, you know, mostly regulars . . . ?

I – Well, to me, I guess . . . how to put this? I guess, I guess, really, to me, the younger ones do things that does [sic] change it for me. Not the bar itself, personally, because, you know, you know when I was growing up . . . you know, you didn't disrespect; you didn't do what they do now. To me, to me, you know, to me, you know, man don't want beer bottles on the [pool] table, they don't want this, and they want to argue and fight every now and again. I know, I know back then we did too, but it's way, way different. The age gap is different.

Me – So the younger people don't respect the traditions of the bar?

I – I'm not saying they don't respect the tradition. What I'm saying is this, it's like, I'm here, we got a couple of us sitting here right now, we're all over 40 years old, you know, and somebody that's younger than me and play their pool, then they'll do their thing and they whoop and holler, and they worried about what we're trying to do up in here. So they'll actually have no respect . . . you hold the noise down a little bit, nothing like that. Now, now this, this is my opinion. This is not Jack's opinion. This is not Jack's Place opinion.

Despite a cognitive realization of place, this again is an example of rootedness operationalized. A person doesn't realize or think about being in place, until they notice that something has changed. We do not think about breathing or our pulse until something changes or until something makes us stop and think about it, as this sentence just did.

Place as Home

Rootedness is home, even if it is not where one sleeps at night, home is the place where one simply feels comfortable as an existential insider (Relph 1976). Just “feels,” it is nothing specific, and nothing you can put your finger on. If it was something specific,

then a rooted person might not be able to be considered rooted because they are too cognitive of a place. This is the reverse of having a cognitive sense of place and having a heightened awareness of knowing one's place in place as covered in the chapter on sense of place where informants tended to talk about place in terms of its physical qualities. Generally, this is a feeling that individuals share, not collectively, but that they each tend to have in common, especially if they have been going to the bar since their youth:

Me – How attached are you to this bar?

I – Um, well, I mean, it's been a part of my life since I was nineteen years old. So, in and out. Even though I moved back to Houston and, you know, had my kids and whatever for ten years and then, when I came back, you know, it feels like I never missed a beat. You know, you walk in and pretty much, same old faces but new faces too.

This is particularly true of Jack's Place more than any of the other four study bars, even Chuck's Lounge. The owner of Jack's Place is aware of this even, especially of the dichotomy between younger and older customers who frequent his bar, "Most of the regulars we got here now, pretty much grew up here, since they were young. But the younger ones, they're all in their late 20s, late 30s, early 30s, they go somewhere else. Where everybody else goes. [Meaning one or two of the local daiquiri bars]," (Various Informants 2013).

Apart from bars, some people may not remember the first time they ever saw the home that they grew up in:

Me – When was the first time you came to Jack’s?

I – When I was 18.

Me – And you came in as a customer?

I – Yep. Play pool.

Me – You came in as soon as you turned 18?

I – It was about a week after I turned 18.

Me – Okay. Was coming here something that you looked forward to doing when you turned 18?

I – I never really thought about it.

Me – So why did you come here the first time? Did somebody invite you; did you come on your own?

I – I came with [my friends].

Me – So if that your first time in here, do you recall what your first impressions were of the bar?

I – I liked it. It was just homey kinda . . . it’s not too busy.

Me – Okay. Now, did you know [the owner] or anybody like that before you started working here?

I – Yes, I knew [the owner and his wife] um, because of my parents. My parents known [the owner] and his dad for many, many years. Since before I was born.

Me – So they were family friends and you were aware of the bar pretty much. Were they friends just through the community, through church?

I – Through the community. And my mom, my mom used to deliver mail here.

This was from a customer who has only been a regular (and onetime bartender at Jack's Place) for only about ten years. Reasonably, other older regulars cannot recall that far back. Especially after thirty years:

I – Let me think . . . first time . . . I don't remember exactly the first time.

Me – Well, what kept you coming, coming back here for 30 years?

I – Mr. Jack [the original owner]. Mr. Jack was here and, some of the old guys that was here used to come here, there was all old fellows that my family knew and that everybody knew already. You know [another regular] and all them, they were . . . we had the older people started dying off and then the mid-people took over and now kinda like, kinda like I can be the older one [chuckles], kinda like right there to where the younger kids are coming behind me.

Me – So you're part of the established group of regular?

I – I would think so. And I would think that after 30 years, I mean.

Me – Oh, sure. I mean, she [the bartender] was able to, she had your drink ready for you before you even said anything.

I – Because, you know, uh, you know, any, any bartender comes in here, they, even though they've new, once I'm here . . . it might take a little, little while. Then, then they know all I do is walk in . . . I want one and it's made.

Meanwhile, for other customers who have been regulars in their bar for 10, 20, 30, or more years, recalling their first experience in a place that is their home is less specific and calls up only vague memories:

Me – Do you remember what it was like for you the first time you came in here?

I – Not really. I'd be lying. It's probably, hell, it was packed. It was always packed back then [thirty years ago]. Had people from LSU over here every weekend and all.

Me – Okay, well, what's kept you coming back for thirty years?

I – It's local. They got nice people coming here, like [the owner] is real nice. It's just . . . local is the big thing.

Finally, for other customers who became regulars somewhat later in life, they can even recall their reasons for deciding to become a regular member of their bar's community, "Just a small bar. [It] just looked inviting. I was from Baton Rouge and had just moved over here [to Port Allen]. I was looking for just something small to kind of meet people," (Various Informants 2013). Over time, individuals either knowingly or unwittingly develop their place in the bar. This occurs in both a physical sense and a social sense. This was a difficult question for many of my informants to answer, especially since, because they were generally rooted, it was not something that they had ever really considered. Therefore, being put on the spot did not necessarily yield a comprehensive or conclusive understanding of knowing one's place in a given physical or social context. For those informants who did have an answer to the question, "What is your place in the bar," or, "How do you fit into this place," answers varied:

Me – Do you feel in place here, do you ever feel out of place in this bar?

I – I feel out of place when I'm not in a good mood. A lot, a lot of times people tell me I'm a little pissed off when I'm not drinking. And that's when I feel out of place, because I like to be that way, I don't want to come off as being unhappy with the people here, because it's the opposite. Um, that's the only time I feel out of place though.

Me – So when you're in a bad mood, or not friendly is when you feel out of place? Okay, and because you're in a bad mood or you're not feeling friendly, that makes you feel out of place because this is a place of being in a good mood and being friendly?

I – Yes. Not only because it's my job [as a bartender] to be that way, but because, like, I genuinely love everybody that comes here, with the exceptional few that get on my nerves. But I just don't want them to think that I'm upset with them in any way, or it's a burden to be here if I'm working 'cause it's not. I love working here . . . most days.

Other respondents tended to couch their responses in a social context as well, but not in as many words or with regard to how they *feel* emotionally about their “place” in the bar. Instead, they felt that just knowing other people in the bar and generally getting along with everybody else meant that they had a place in the bar as far as the social aspect of it was concerned:

Me – So you would say that you really belong to this group?

I – I think so. You know, in here, you basically know, because I've been livin' in Port Allen all my life.

Me – Yeah, so you basically know everybody.

I – Yeah.

For some people it is simply a result of longevity of their relationships with the others in the bar, e.g., “I mean, we've always hung out together,” (Various Informants 2013). However, for other individuals, being in place in their bar occurs at the confluence of both the physical and the social aspects of place:

Me – Is there any time you have felt like you don't belong here?

I – No, never, never. I've always been made comfortable here, always.

Me – And is that due to the type of place it is and the other type of people that come in here?

I – Yeah, and it's just nice, basically quiet, low-key, you know.

Generally, however, understanding how people fit in place was better understood by simple observation and taking note of where some people sat, if that was where they sat at the bar or in the bar on a regular basis, and how they interacted with others or respected others' space. Recall a brief description in the previous chapter on place attachment regarding one regular customer that has a particular chair at a particular table that he always sat at and another regular customer who had a favorite barstool that he considered "his."

I noted several times at Chuck's Lounge and Charlie's Lounge that the regular customers tend to always sit in about the same seat or area of the bar every time they are there. At Charlie's Lounge, one regular customer that had to sit to the side of the bar got up and moved to one of the two or three bar stools that he always sits at. That is basically where he can be the center of attention in the bar and also is near where the bartender stands when not waiting on a customer.

At Chuck's Lounge, this is not really the case so much for individuals, but if someone were to make a list of some of the regular customers in Chuck's Lounge on a given day, they could probably guess at which part of the bar the regulars would sit (near the entrance door, near the inside corner, or at a table) with perhaps an 80 percent success rate. The same was true for Sugar Patch Lounge with different groups of people tending

to select the same high-top table to gather around on Tuesday, Thursday, or Friday night when the bar has its busiest nights.

Likewise, several customers always sat at the end of the bar at Sugar Patch Lounge that was by the main entrance. The reason for this was two-fold: 1) during the summer when the air conditioner is blowing through the air ducts and out of the vents in the ceiling of the bar, it can be quite chilly to sit at certain parts of the bar, the warmest area happens to be the end of the bar by the door, and 2) that end of the bar by the door is where the bartender sits on a stool when not waiting on a customer at the bar. This gives the regulars who most often sit at that part of the bar a chance to carry on a conversation with the bartender and with each other.

At Jack's Place, one regular customer even has a stool at the end of the bar that he likes to consider his spot, and he will even wait for somebody sitting in it to leave so that he can move over and sit there. The rationale behind this is similar to at Sugar Patch Lounge and Charlie's Lounge because the stool at the end of the bar is near where the bartender relaxes when not serving drinks and is also next to the small table where the owner usually sits when he is at the bar and from which he holds court and carries on conversations with the customers who are sitting at the bar. Now, this is not all indicative of rootedness, except maybe in the case of the customer at Jack's Place who is somewhat adamant regarding his seat at the bar, but it does indicate that some people, even within a place in which they are completely in place, can still feel out of place when they are not in their familiar spot and able to interact with people in a manner that best befits their mood or preferences for being able to enjoy themselves, relax, and talk to others.

Rooted Sense of History

Among people who do make it through their youth to become a part of the established blue-collar aristocracy of their bar, most regulars with a rooted relationship with place know quite a bit about the history of their bar. Other individuals have even more in-depth knowledge about the bar's history that they like to share even about other bars that used to be in the area. From one Jack's Place regular:

I – I mean, this bar used to be over there [closer to the river before the current levee was built], then they brought it over here . . . landmark.

Me – So you're pretty familiar with the history of the bar then?

I – Pretty much.

Me – What about other bars, what happened to them? They just kind of gradually shut down?

I – They just folded. They just folded. I guess, I guess what happened to them was they had so many bars in one community, community couldn't support everybody, you know. You had a bar here, bar here, bar here, bar here. Guess what? Nobody's gonna make money. You might break even or whatever.

Me – So why do you think Jack's has persisted over the decades?

I – Uh, just . . . over the years uh, it's one of the original bars here since the '20s or whatever the year was and uh, it's just good people.

Me – So the people helped to . . . keep going?

I – Oh, yeah. Mr. Jack's and [the current owner] . . . great people. I mean, so you come in, it's still a hometown bar, it's not, you know, outrageous . . . things, you know. Don't get me wrong, it has tried, you know, all that. This is one of the only places that I know of that you can go on original pool tables. You don't have to put money in the pool table or nothing. These are old, original tables that you can play pool on.

In the case of this particular rooted individual, part of what makes the bar unique, or more historical, is that history is still alive in the bar both in the form of the original owner's son still running the bar and in having some of the original pool tables in the bar.

Paired with a rooted sense of history for some people is a sense of community as well:

I – It's very much a community. This, this bar, this pool hall is definitely a community where everybody knows everybody, friends that grew up together.

Me – So do you think that, the fact that this bar has so much history means a lot to the people that come in here?

I – It does. It definitely, it's like, it's like home to them. They're very calm, they are relaxed, they're not here to . . . party. They're here to visit their family, their pool hall family.

What this comment points to is that a sense of the history of a place, in this case a preferred bar, and sharing in the knowledge of that history with others leads to a collective respect for the traditions of such a place and a communal understanding that each individual is part of a specific community that is not, "here to . . . party," (Various Informants 2013). As a result of this shared sense of history and sense of a community:

Me – Do people receive community and social support through their connections at the bar?

I – Yes.

Me – Okay, what sort of, sort of . . .

I – Just all kinds of sort of things from, from uh, "I need help with this," or, "Do you know somebody that can fix my car, my washing machine,"

things like that. A place to rent, somebody needed a place to rent. There's always, everybody always know who's got what, car for sale.

Doubtlessly, one need not be rooted in order to be a part of this community. However, if an individual were not native, then how would one go about navigating the social and community norms associated with place without possibly offending another member of the bar community or somehow managing to break the rules. Without a sense of history, community, and what is proper behavior and etiquette, the community would cease to function and people who were a part of it may begin to feel as though they no longer have a place in the bar or no longer identify with the bar as a place or with the people in it.

Attraction to the Bar

For those individuals who are rooted in place, and therefore considered to be native to the bar, there may not be any one thing that attracted them to the bar as a place to drink outside of the home. For many of the individuals determined to be rooted after being interviewed (this was mainly true at Jack's Place), they just started going to the bar when they turned 18 or 21 years old, and that was that. Therefore, what keeps them coming back to the bar is not necessarily what attracted them to the bar in the first place, but what the bar has done and continues to do for them:

Me – What kind of relationship would you say you've developed with [this] place? I mean, what is it, what does the bar mean to you in terms of your life, your daily schedule, that sort of thing?

I – I guess it's just a place that you run into people, mostly it's just after work, unwind, drink a beer, you know, see somebody you don't see every night, you know, so often.

Me – So it's something that you can do here that you can't do at home?

I – Yeah, you at home, you know, you're more likely not to see somebody.

Me – So it's about seeing your friends . . .

I – Catching up on stuff. Especially when people come from out of town.

Other individuals feel the same way, even after a relationship with the bar that spans seven decades, it's always about friends and seeing people. Even more than that, some truly rooted people have not just been going to their bar for decades, but also have deep roots in the community and the local area. Another example of *habitus* (Bourdieu 1977):

Me – What's kept you coming back to this bar for 60 years?

I – Well, I never moved out of Addis. I was born here and I, I left for two years when I went into the service. I went to Korea. But I like draft beers, and I meet a lot of my friends here. The ones that's surviving [laughs], I got a lot of friends. But I was born, you know, that first street over here, that's Foret Street. My grandfather owned the property from the highway, the new highway from there, all the way to the woods half a block wide. My mother was born in the house on that end of it there. And I was born on the same street. If the post office wasn't there, you could look at the house. But it's not there anymore, they tore, they moved it and put another house. My wife was born about a block over the railroad tracks on Foret Street.

Me – So you've got a lot of family history in Addis. Even before Addis was, even existed then.

I – Well, my dad, my grandfather, when my grandfather and my mother lived down at that end, this town was known as Baton Rouge Junction. It wasn't even Addis. That's how long ago it was.

Furthermore, being a part of Chuck's Lounge is like being a part of the history that his family was a part of, and partly in remembrance of his heritage and identity. Being a part of the bar is akin to taking part in Christian Communion: "this do in remembrance of me."²² Acting on this sense of belonging and remembrance, this particular individual even found importance in taking ownership of his heritage, "I bought two of the lots [that my grandfather used to own] and my brother bought another one. So we still come in contact with the land but not the way it should've been," (Various Informants 2013).

Finally, other rooted people understand that their bar is the kind of place that is just right for them even though it may not be right for everybody else and that other places simply do not offer anything that would attract them to those other places:

Me – So what keeps you coming back here besides the fact that it's small?

I – I just think it's more comfortable than other bars.

Me – How are other bars uncomfortable then?

I – Just too many people, too much in-and-out.

Me – What does the fact that those other places have too much in-and-out mean in terms of other people and interacting with other people?

I – Well, just because I, like here, everybody knows everybody and you can come in here and visit and there's not constant strangers coming in and going out, coming in and going out.

²² This is excerpted from verse 19 in chapter 22 of the book of Luke in the King James Version of the Christian Bible. The full quotation is: "And he took bread, and gave thanks, and broke it, and gave unto them, saying, 'This is my body which is given for you: this do in remembrance of me'." The implication being that literally incorporating something into who you are (physically, emotionally, spiritually, etc.) strengthens that connection to the thing whether it is another person, a place, or, in the most literal sense, food (or beer).

The reasons for being attached to the bar, and for continuing to be a part of the bar community and having a place in the bar would seem to be constant and never ending. One rarely considers losing their place. It is taken for granted. It will always be there. Place is fixed.

Losing Place

But place is not fixed. Place comes to an end. Whether it is by returning home and finding that there is now a Wal-Mart where there used to be an empty cow pasture, or witnessing a home under attack, place will not always be there because place changes. It is altered, destroyed, and made new. Posing the question, “How would you feel if this bar closed/burnt down,” did not elicit the strongest emotional responses from informants who were attached to but not rooted in place. Many people said they would be sad or devastated, but mostly in the sense that they would just have to find someplace else to go drink and spend time with their friends.

For those informants who were rooted or who had a rooted sense of place, the prospect of losing place was recognized as part of life, just as losing loved ones is a part of life, but not something to which any typical person would necessarily look forward. The most poignant responses came from the bars’ owners, and did not correlate to expectations regarding the relationship between length of relationship with place and place attachment:

This is my second home, this is my, I made this the way I wanted it. The atmosphere in here is the way that I’ve always wanted it. I tell my bartenders, if somebody walks in that door [treat them as though] they belong here all their life. That’s the way it made me feel when I came

down here. And there's not a lot of places around here that make you feel like that. I'm a Damn Yankee²³ coming down here, you know.

Chuck's widow had the strongest response of all at the thought of losing Chuck's Lounge:

Chuck's son – [Responding on behalf of his mother.] You can come to her funeral. It'd kill her.

Me – Could you put in words how much the place means to you?

Chuck's wife – [Getting a little emotional and teary-eyed at the idea of Chuck's Lounge not being around anymore]. It's . . . when you think about it, you think Chuck's and Chuck's Lounge will *never* die. As long as I'm able . . . [breaks down tearing up again, then, emphatically] It is *him*. It's a part of *me*.

Other owners, even rooted owners did not feel as strongly regarding their bar, or what they had put into it, "I'd sell it in a heartbeat," (Various Informants 2012). However, when pressed on if they would really not miss it, this particular owner was still attached to the people if not to the business, "'cause [she's] got attached to a lot of them," (Various Informants 2012). Other owners would miss it not so much because it represents who they are but because they have just become so familiar with the place and it has become such a regular part of their daily/weekly/monthly/yearly routine:

²³ For those unfamiliar with the term, a Yankee is a person from the northern United States that comes down to the South, stays for a while, then goes back home. A Damn Yankee is a northerner who comes down to the South and never leaves. From the same informant, for example: "I came down here for Mardi Gras, I never went home," (Various Informants 2013).

I – Shoot, I’d miss everything about it ‘cause, you know, I’m so used to, to being around here and everything. Sure wouldn’t make me happy if we had to close.

Me – What about the building would you miss?

I – I guess, more or less, it’s a setting here, you know, I’m here all the time. I’ve worked here a long time. It’s my home.

And for those people who understand that losing place, just like losing loved ones is an inevitable part of life, “I would feel bad about it, but I am of the old school, I guess, that progress gotta march on. It never will be built back the same way. The family house is over here, I’m attached to it the way it is, but if it were destroyed, it’d be long gone,” (Various Informants 2013).

For rooted customers, their response to the prospect is surprisingly nonchalant and less emotional than those customers who seemed to be more just attached to and cognitive of the place/bar than actually rooted in it:

If the bar shut down . . . I really don’t think that this, there might be another place to go drink and it’s not in Port Allen, if this bar were shuttin’ down, you actually would lose a landmark in Port Allen that can never be replaced. I don’t care, this is one, one of the premier landmarks in Port Allen, Jack’s.

Other customers would even do what they could to save the place in the event of losing the building or the bar going out of business:

It would be very sad. ‘Cause, I mean, this is, it’s my hang out. You know, if I’d had a bad day, I’m coming to Jack’s and play pool, you know. Um, if I have a good day, I’m coming to Jack’s and, you know, place pool and have a drink [laughs]. And, honestly, if it did close down, I’d probably try and buy and reopen it.

These last two responses were from regulars at Jack’s Place who could not really conceive of going anywhere else to drink and pass the time the way they do at Jack’s Place. While no single customer at Charlie’s Lounge or Sugar Patch Lounge expressed any sentiments remotely as strong as the rooted customers at Jack’s Place, a few of the rooted regulars at Chuck’s Lounge couched losing their bar more in the idea of losing the opportunity to be social with others:

I – [I’d miss] seeing the owners every day. I’d be sad because there’s only one other place that I really go I wouldn’t like it. Because, first of all, everywhere else is more expensive. I go to French Quarter [a nearby daiquiri bar], but there’s a lot of people that you don’t know because they ain’t from here. If Jack’s closed, I would be sad.

Me – Why would you be sad?

I – ‘Cause it’s like home to me. It’s my second home.

Clearly, though place is an important part of some people’s daily routine, it is still taken for granted, not in the sense that it does not have value for them, but because it is just an everyday part of their life and a part of their identity, just like a person’s fingers and toes are a part of their hands and feet. They are taken for granted, but it does not mean that they are not important. It just means that we have never had a reason to put much thought into the idea that they may not be there one day.

Rooted

Between all of the four study bars, Chuck's Lounge, Charlie's Lounge, Sugar Patch Lounge, and Jack's Place, Jack's Place has been in business for the longest amount of time. With the exception of Charlie's Lounge, because it is only approximately 33 years old, there are really no customers, rooted or otherwise, who were not alive when their bar was opened. At Sugar Patch Lounge, the bar has always been there, but the base of customers does not include any person that can say that they have been going there for a solid two, three, or even six or seven decades. This is due to the fact that the bar has had several different owners in the past twenty years and was even shuttered briefly during that time, creating a gap in the continuity of the relationship for some people.

At Chuck's Lounge, the bar is not older than even the oldest customers, and certainly is not older than the original owner's widow, though it is older than the current proprietor. Either way, there is no person that can say that Chuck's Lounge has been a part of their life for literally the entirety of their life. This is not to say that there are not people who are truly native to Chuck's Lounge as a place even in a Tuanian (1980) sense given that it was not legal to be a part of the place before reaching a given number of years of age.

Of all of the people interviewed for the present research, only one person has had a truly lifelong relationship with their bar. That distinction goes to the current owner of Jack's Place, the original owner's son.²⁴ In one of his responses during an over two-hour long interview, he happened to provide an anecdote that best captures an operationalized example of rootedness that justifies the term better than any definition could, not just in a

²⁴ The sons of the current owner of Jack's Place share the distinction of having a lifelong relationship with the bar the same as their father, they were not directly interviewed for this research.

bar but in Jack's Place in particular. He grew up in the bar. Jack's Place also provided opportunities for his life which he took advantage of. He took his meals in the restaurant when he attended Louisiana State University, and Jack's Place served as a place that allowed him easier access to Baton Rouge on the east side of the Mississippi River because of its proximity to the ferry when it was still in service. Later in life, it wasn't always that the bar meant so much to him as that it meant a lot to his father who wanted to keep the "landmark" going, a concept that several of the most regular customers recognize.

In his own words:

Look, I said at the beginning, I was born and raised in this building next door, being raised in this establishment, this building, even though it wasn't a bar, a shoe shop, a barbershop, all these things are a combination of what I am attached to. And the, not because of the business itself, but because, I guess, your closeness to what goes on downtown. Since this is a downtown, the attachment is that it's downtown and it's close to everything. [Referring to growing up in downtown Port Allen] You can get to Baton Rouge, you don't need an automobile to move around, you can walk to the ferry, the shopping, the entertainment theaters, that sort of thing. Everything downtown is so close here. And that's the reason why [going] to LSU was so easy. I commuted, I didn't stay on campus. Nowadays, I think they want freshmen to stay on campus. No way. The reason for that, it was more reasonable to do what I was doing, commuting, catching the bus, or catching a ride, and the meals would be here, you'd miss dinner and supper, so you get used to doing that routine and being, a restaurant here to, that, that was the evening meal. Breakfast was a minor thing, but the main course was the supper, we call the supper, the evening meal. All those things is the reason why I'm attached to this location, as a favor to my father, saying that he'd like to have the landmark continue on. I'm an engineer, and this business is a rough business, you got to take and give, your temperament has got to be a certain way, even though I can adapt, I didn't like the, the things that went on. Being an owner, you're called every name under the Sun, you're

accused of everything, even though you don't do it, but all those things, they come in here, they tend to direct it, as you can see, and if you didn't have the temperament to absolve that, and that, that was one of the reasons why I went to LSU. The other reason is that, when you're in business, it's 24 hours a day, seven days a week, no vacations, no nothing, and your talents has to be directed towards the building. I elected to go the other route. Now I'm retired, I'm keeping the old landmark going, that's the reason why it's here.

The second part of this same anecdote lends itself to fostering place attachment (for customers) by maintaining a place that is consistent over time, one of LeMasters' (1975) three axioms of being a regular at a bar. However, Jack's Place owner's motives for keeping the bar the same as when his father owned it were not related as much to keeping its regulars happy as they were to keeping the bar the way his father would have wanted the bar, as a well-established bar in good standing in the community:

Believe it or not, when Jack passed away, I tried to lease the place out, I had five, really six, but five different operators for Jack's Place, and the lease I wrote up, they had to run Jack's, they had to call it Jack's Place, it has to be run according to the same way Jack would run it, because you're downtown, everybody in the area, community knows which acted, and how he ran his business. They had to follow his lead. I didn't know how to do that, I took everything in here, was here, I leased it with the, how can I say that, if you broke a chair, you replace the chair, keep it the same, you can maybe paint, clean up, if you don't like the chairs, you can replace them, this sort of thing. But the antique pool tables had to stay, and keep it running the same as Jack did. Five, five people signed leases, put it in their names, the reason I did that is for the liability. You gotta be careful in this business with alcohol, and things are going today. You don't want to be caught in a lawsuit. So, after five people I decided to take it myself, because they didn't either know how to run the business or whatever, and I watched each one of them go down.

To clarify this last anecdote, rootedness is not something that is acquired. No one can move into a place with a set of instructions and be functionally native. It takes years, indeed a lifetime of experience to become rooted in place. Just like learning a language may introduce a person to proper grammar, no true native uses proper grammar, following the rules of their native tongue in everyday speech. So too is the case with rootedness. It is not something learned. It is not something acquired with any intention.

Nor is rootedness built in. Rootedness, is grown into, just as the man who provided these last two quotes was born into and grew up in and alongside place. Rootedness is more than having a sense of place. It is more than being attached to place. Indeed, rootedness is almost about not being attached to place as in welding two different pieces of metal together to create a larger form. Rootedness, and having a rooted sense of place to a certain degree, is about being a part of a symbiotic relationship. In the case of a nation or a community, losing one rooted member would not mean the death knoll for a place. On the other hand, if Jack's Place lost its current owner, what would become of Jack's Place? Even given a specific set of instructions, five different proprietors were not able to keep the "old landmark" going in a way that not only preserved place, but preserved the long-established relationships that different people had with it.

In the case of Jack's Place, and certainly the case with many other places in the world, the relationship between the owner and the place is truly symbiotic. Without Jack's Place, the owner would not be who he is today. Without the owner, Jack's Place would never again be what it had been for over 80 years. Place needs people, and people need place. Without place, we are nothing, and without us, place cannot exist and we would be nowhere, not lost in space, but lost in ourselves with no sense of who we are,

no identity, no attachments, and no “where” to call our own and provide us with a sense of who we are.

Chapter Eleven: Conclusions and Final Thoughts

Above all, we need to know about places—and know the truth about them.

—Peirce Lewis (1979a, 44)

What Does It All Mean?

Over approximately the past five decades or so, sense of place, place attachment, and rootedness have been discussed quite a bit in geographic and other social science disciplines. Briefly reviewing the literature, sense of place is more of a concept, a notion that is talked about and discussed with flowery language and the idea from classical Romans that spirits exist in places and protect them (Lewis 1979a; Jackson 1994). Tuan has provided the most writing on sense of place, setting the foundation in *Topophilia* (1990), originally published in 1974, a 1975 article in the *Geographical Review* titled “Place: An Experiential Perspective,” and then with *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (1977). Over the years, philosophers of geography have defined sense of place, but not in an operationalized sense whereby data are collected in the course of an empirical study of the concept to at least provide some measurement not of sense of place, but where it begins and where it may eventually develop into place attachment.

Place attachment has received the most attention from multiple disciplines. Though the concept is qualitative in nature, it in no way has precluded attempts to provide a quantifiable measure of individuals’ attachment to place along with statistical models in positivistic attempts to generalize place attachment to larger populations; not that there is anything wrong with that. Among the three broader concepts discussed in

this dissertation, place attachment has received the most, perhaps the only attention where collecting empirical data is concerned, thereby moving beyond mere philosophical discussions of such intangible ideas as the relationship between an individual and a particular place. Perhaps that it is perceived as easier to measure is partly why place attachment has received more attention than sense of place in the literature. Without such empirical positivist research to provide generalizations, there would be no need for the qualitative researcher to go into the field and ground-truth statistical models in order to understand what drives generalizations and broader perceptions.

Regarding rootedness and rooted sense of place; Tuan (1980) first juxtaposed rootedness versus sense of place after recognizing that there is more than being cognitive of being-in place. Theano Terkenli (1995, 329) elaborated that the core meaning of rootedness is found in, “the sense of literally belonging somewhere,” and that it is, “a state of mind or being in which a person’s whole life and pursuits are centered around a broadly defined home,” and is captured by the term “existential insider” (Relph 1976). However well Tuan (1980) and Terkenli (1995) may have cited hypothetical examples, it was Hay (1998a) who closed the loop from sense of place to rootedness and demonstrated that even if a person or group of people are native to a place and are not rooted, that it is still possible to become native and develop a rooted sense of place. This was accomplished through empirical research and utilizing both quantitative and qualitative data analysis in order to operationalize the concepts of these place relationships.

Through all of the research on sense of place, place attachment, and rootedness, strong definitions and examples were postulated and provided. This did not necessarily

lead to confusion either amongst or on the part of those who discussed the concepts across disciplines or within geography alone. At no point in reviewing literature to prepare the present research did one article, book, or book chapter seek to discredit or modify another academic researcher's version of sense of place, place attachment, or rootedness. This lack of engaging with multiple definitions and conceptualizations, of course, resulted in the conceptual diagram seen at the end of Chapter Two wherein the disparate definitions and conceptual relationships among sense of place, place attachment, and rootedness meant that there was no unified theory of these relationships and how they fit together.

What Has Been Accomplished

What this research has accomplished, by collecting empirical data through ethnographic fieldwork and by analyzing those qualitative data may not be a unified theory, but it is, at least, a conceptual model founded on empirical data. Never mind that the primary investigator suffered through a year of having to spend time in bars on a nearly daily basis. Based on all of the past descriptions, definitions, and ideas of the three broad concepts discussed here, the data were analyzed with the basic understanding that is common to all of the previous discussions whether explicitly stated or not.

Sense of place is easy to understand because it is the basic perceptions that people have of a place whether it is based on *a priori* experience gained through being advertised to (Sack 1988; 1992), or if it is by the passage of time and accumulated experiences (Tuan 1990); having a sense of place transitions through incorporating place into one's identity to the point that a person becomes attached to place.

Place attachment is the result of strong emotional or cognitive ties to a place because place fulfills social and personal needs and a general sense of well-being, and is easily measurable relative to sense of place. Rootedness is the least easy to measure because it cannot be understood through single sentence quotes describing a place, nor is it quantifiable based on some indices of attachment. Rootedness and rooted sense of place are captured in stories that convey a lifetime of memories that demonstrate how intertwined person and place have become. Even physically removed, so the saying goes, “you can take the boy out of the country, but you cannot take the country out of the boy.”

The concepts discussed here are by no means simple. If they were, this dissertation might have been written years ago by someone else. But that does not mean that the ill-defined relationships among these concepts and how one transitions from having no relationship with a place to place attachment to rootedness occurs should not be simply described. Figure 11.1 is about as simple as it gets. It provides the basis for future studies of any one of these concepts alone or in conjunction with either one of the other two or all three together as this study has done. Importantly, it demonstrates that the system is a loop whereby those people in a rooted relationship with place drive sense of place as do any other person along the loop who may also impact the overall sense of a place, other peoples’ attachment to place, and rootedness.

Students of these concepts seeking to further geographic, anthropological, and/or environmental psychological understanding need to be mindful of the relationships presented in Figure 11.1 and to avoid conflating them while understanding that none of the three can stand alone. Sense of place leads to place attachment. Place attachment can

lead to rooted sense of place. Those who are rooted and a who possess a rooted sense of place drive sense of place in a cycle where all three concepts play out concurrently.

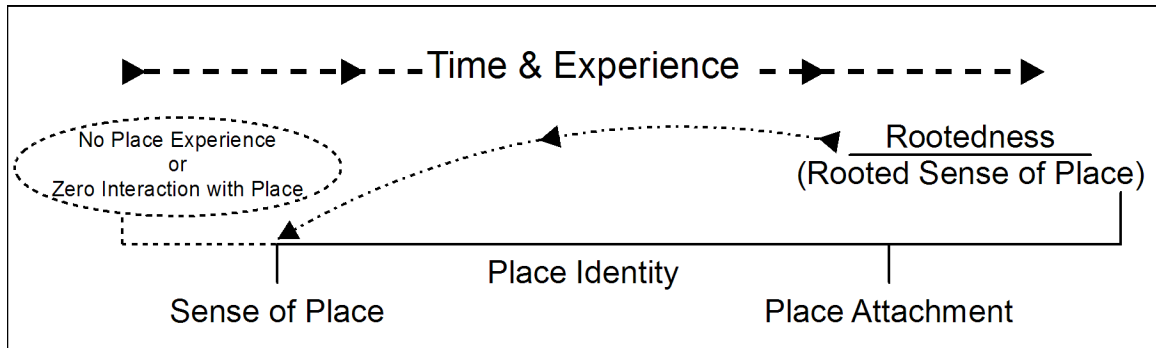


Figure 11.1: Diagram of the Unified Theory of People-Place relationships composed of sense of place, place attachment, and rootedness

Final Thoughts

In a mostly editorial article published in the journal *Southern Quarterly* in 1979, Peirce Lewis discusses defining a sense of place in late 20th Century America. He did not discuss defining sense of place; the word “a” differentiates between defining “sense of place” and defining “a sense of place.” Lewis (1979a) begins by invoking The South, that special part of the United States that, ill-defined though its geographical boundaries may be, has a distinct culture with a specific history relative to other major regions of the country. Indeed, Lewis (1979a, 25) even says that, “For all its sins, the South had defined a sense of place in clearer and more satisfactory terms than any other part of the United States.”

In general, Lewis (1979a) says, Americans do a poor job of talking and thinking in abstract ideas such as sense of place, suggesting that we are more inclined mechanically than philosophically. Because of this and from a planning and designing

perspective, our communities and cities and regions tend to suffer a lack of sense of place. Whether it was failure to preserve history at all, using a wrecking ball to redesign an urban neighborhood rather than a scalpel, or simply failing to recognize the unique and particular nature of a place, mid- to late-20th Century Americans suffered from a collective inability to maintain a relationship between themselves and the places they inhabit (Lewis 1979a).

For classical Roman civilization, it was, “reasonable to believe that living spirits inhabited certain places which were peculiarly theirs, and those spirits naturally protected those places against enemies,” (Lewis 1979a, 26). Despite levels of religiosity among Americans, not necessarily regarding a god, but anything about which we are passionate such as a beloved baseball stadium, a national war cemetery, or even a bar, the notion of spirits that exist to preternaturally protect a place is relatively silly. Nevertheless we are not above recognizing that there are intangible qualities about certain places that make those particular places special and worth defending; once again Richardson’s (2003) Neandertal burial site.

However, more relatable for many contemporary Americans than a thousands of years old gravesite is the American baseball stadium. A spring 2014 *Chicago Tribune* front page article touches on virtually all of the aspects of place that give individual places their unique sense of place not just for individual people, but for an entire city and for the fan base of a storied professional American baseball team. According to the article, Wrigley Field, which celebrated its centennial on April 23, 2014, “is a quintessential Chicago building: practical, quietly graceful, a creature of function, not fashion,” and is, “a vessel for human emotion: hope, dreams, escapism, nostalgia,

wonder—and, as Cubs fans know all too well, disappointment, disgust and bitterness,” (Kamin 2014, 1).

The architecture of Wrigley Field is integral to the overall experience of attending a baseball game there also. “Wrigley is cozy, intimate and built specifically for baseball,” and, “is the antithesis of the donut-shaped, multipurpose stadiums that made one American city indistinguishable from another in the 1960s and ‘70s,” (Kamin 2014, 10). Furthermore, when one takes in the ivy-covered outfield walls, they are taking in the same vista that greeted baseball greats Jackie Robinson, Hank Aaron, Billy Williams, and Ryne Sandberg. The material cultural that is a part of the design is original, thus meaning that there is no manufactured authenticity about many facets of the ball park: a single numberless clock sits atop the center field scoreboard, there are no large LED boards to show replays or to generate advertising revenue, and even the earth tones of green ivy, brown brick walls, and dark entranceways to the stands just feel natural.

Lastly, that the place where Chicago baseball is played is a “field” and not a stadium implies that it is a place to slow down, relax, and let, “the business and busyness of the city [be held] at bay,” (Kamin 2014, 10). The names of other baseball grounds that include the terms “park” and “field” are similar, such as PNC Park in Pittsburgh or Coors Field in Denver, where there is space to breathe and fans are meant to relax and enjoy a ball game (Kamin 2014) rather than feel as though they are just part of another manufactured sports experience. All of these aspects of place and of studying sense of place are the keys to future place studies such as this to include place attachment and rootedness as well. This does not go just for baseball stadiums but for religious and

spiritual sites (Finlayson 2012) or even the concepts of geomancy and feng shui as well (Yoon 2006; 2011).

To a range of degrees, how important certain places are is institutionalized around the world, commonly in the form of monuments that commemorate a moment in, or periods of, human time (Lewis 1979a). The 9/11 Memorial in New York City at the site of the former World Trade Center towers is particularly salient in the minds of many Americans who can actually remember where they were a decade and a half ago on that day—even more so if they live there or had friends and family who were killed there that day (c.f. White 2004). Arlington National Cemetery and the numerous gravesites of young men and women who gave their life in the subsequent Global War on Terrorism are sites that do not commemorate themselves but are sites meant to commemorate an event that happened at another far distant point on Earth. Regardless of where an event happened, the meaning lies not in the physical site itself as demonstrated in Chapter Nine on place attachment, but in the meaning that the site conveys.

The meaning that a site, that a place conveys does not have to commemorate an event or span of time. Meaning can be transplanted as well. Citing place names in the Western Hemisphere during the era when Europeans established colonies along the Atlantic coast, it was surely not by accident that European explorers named their newly established settlements in honor of places in their homeland: New Amsterdam/New York, New Spain, New Hampshire, etc. Whether or not a new settlement was actually anything like home, it at least shared the name of the place from which colonizers arrived and could therefore honor their homeland and, in name, carry on the sense of place of that homeland.

Returning to Lewis (1979a), the relationship between place and people is not a one-way street whereby people give meaning to place. It is a symbiotic relationship wherein the meaning given to place by people is in turn given back to the people who inhabit that place. Texas is an example of this concept and examples tend to be better than definitions:

Texas is a Place with a capital P, and if you doubt it, walk into a Houston bar with a Yankee accent and start making Texas jokes. Texans can do it, but Yankees would be well-advised to refrain. Obviously, there is nothing inherent to the soil of Texas which predestined it to be a Place (although I understand one can buy a bag of Texas dirt at souvenir stands at the Dallas-Fort Worth Airport), and Texas would not be a Place without Texans. [. . .] Texan turf is important to a Texan, and there is a pantheon of dead Texans to prove it. (Lewis 1979a, 28)

Alternatively, if a sense of place is absent:

Consider the case of New Jersey, a state so conspicuously lacking in a sense of place that most residents would think the phrase bizarre. Benjamin Franklin is supposed to have remarked that New Jersey served as part of a digestive tract that stretched between New York and Philadelphia, although he disclaimed knowledge about which end was which. [A friend of Lewis' alludes to] the Coastal Plain of southern New Jersey as an area "where the sea withdrew in disgust." [. . .] In sum, an overblown sense of place does not necessarily make Texas or Texans lovable, but the absence of a sense of place—the absence of a benevolent *genius loci*—is a near guarantee of trouble. One can love or hate Texas. It is hard even to detest New Jersey. (Lewis 1979a, 29)

As Basso (1996, 148) avers, "Being from *somewhere* is always preferable to being from *nowhere*." Having a sense of and bonds with a place is as indispensable to

human relationships with place as food is to satisfying nutritional requirements and as sex is to procreation of the species. We can overindulge in food and we can overindulge in sex with the result that we are either referred to as gluttons or are recognized as being perpetually horny. Overindulging in place, however, is how wars are often started—defense of the motherland, or grabbing up a strategic bit of land because, it has always been more Russian than Ukrainian, for example. Regardless of the consequences, Lewis (1979a) avers that people cannot survive without attachments to special places, attachments which would be impossible to form without a foundational sense of place. Furthermore, “the lack of a sense of place means a lack of responsibility to place,” (Lewis 1979a, 34).

We know that sense of place is not about the physical qualities of things, but derives from the intangible meanings which those things engender. Lewis (1979a) cites artist and conservationist Alan Gussow (1971, 27) who remarks that place is “a piece of the whole environment which has been claimed by feelings.” By this definition, place is subjective, and attempting to measure it (Lewis 1979a) and the relationships that people have with place is useless. Regardless, positivist social scientists continue to try and measure place and place attachment in terms of quality of life, of demographics, and other concrete indicators of place. What is meant by calling attempts to measure place as useless is that place (and the meaning that it holds) can only, “be directly known and experienced, intimately known, and passionately loved by its inhabitants,” (Lewis 1979a, 41).

This is what all places have in common: a sense of shared experience, and often experience not shared by others who do not have a prior relationship with that place.

These experiences are often brought to memory (particularly for individuals with a rooted place relationship) by tangible objects. These objects could be as grand as the Golden Gate Bridge in San Francisco where a loved one took their life in a suicidal leap, the St. Louis Cathedral in New Orleans where loved ones tied the knot, the Gateway to the West in St. Louis which reminds the nation of its Manifest Destiny, or a favorite stool at a bar where one has drunk to commemorate the happy times and drunk to forget about the bad.

All places, and the tangible objects related to them have meaning, and often have different meaning to different people, they teach life lessons or are meant to provide moral guidance, or are sites of resistance or triumph, the meaning of which is often conveyed through its name (Basso 1996), whether the name is taken literally or if the name simply invokes the memories or experiences associated with it. It is the peculiar and particular nature of a place which gives it its distinctiveness and which ties the present to its past (Lewis 1979a).

To tie the present to the past, it is important for it to be visible either through celebrations, monuments, or gathering together; what would New Orleans, Mobile, and the rest of the Gulf Coast be without Mardi Gras (Lewis 1979a; McEwen 2011)? What would Jack's Place, Chuck's Lounge, Sugar Patch Lounge, or Charlie's Lounge be without pool tables, fishbowls of beer, steak and band night, or half a dozen men listening to a silent jukebox while boisterously cutting up?

Without those, without shared experiences, without present reminders of the past, without other people with whom to share memories, there can be no sense of place. This dissertation has led from sense of place to place attachment to rootedness and now back to sense of place. Without sense of place, there is no foundation for place attachment.

Without place attachment, there is no framework to form rootedness or a rooted sense of place. Without rooted individuals or a rooted sense of place, there are no shared experiences and memories that can carry on a sense of place. With no sense of place there can be no piece of the environment distinct from surrounding nature to be claimed by feelings, and there can be no place.

Epilogue

When I first started trying to tell people what this dissertation was about and what I was going to study, all I could tell them was, “bars.” I couldn’t come up with anything besides that. It wasn’t until January 2012, a year and a half after I started my Ph.D. program, that I realized that it was place studies, and people’s relationships with place in which I was interested. Until then the only question I could come up with was, “Why do people go to bars?” There are three keywords in that question: why, people, and bars. There are two nouns and a question. The question being what is the relationship between them. I had read quite a bit of Tuan at the time, and had written a bit as well for a recent graduate seminar. So it just dawned on me, “I will study peoples’ sense of place of bars.” This quickly expanded to encompass place attachment and rootedness, as I realized that just looking at sense of place would be merely a descriptive study comparing only the level of relationship that stops at sense of place. I finally had something that had not been done before, something that would advance the discipline of geography. Even Tuan had not discussed these three concepts in relationship to one another, and the geography and anthropology literature often used them interchangeably to a certain degree while at the same time using place attachment to signal a deeper relationship with place, and rootedness an even more organic or symbiotic relationship between people and place. I

still had trouble explaining it to the people that provided data for this bar but whenever I couched it in terms of how they would feel about their bar closing down or the fact that they just, for the most part, go to the bar quite often without too much conscious thought, it began to make more sense to them. I hope it makes sense now.

The research that I have presented here, while forward thinking in how it has approached studying sense of place, place attachment, and rootedness, is a new beginning point for human geographers of all sub disciplines to continue to develop the branch of place studies.

What I have done here is to explore a slice, a sliver of people-place relationships in a distinct type of place with a homogeneous cadre of people who presented unique, yet similar, attachments to four similar bars.

In the way of the scientific method, it made great sense to explore place relationships among four similar places, with the research informed by people with more-or-less similar lives. This ensured that my analysis would yield results that were reasonably not spread too far apart ideologically from one informant to another or from one bar to another.

The alternative to having a homogenized set of bars and sources would have been to select rural, small-town, blue-collar bars, bars next to college campuses, and urban, big-city, white-collar drinking establishments that would each have distinctly different groups of regular patrons and clientele passing through. This would not have allowed my research to even know if the questions it asked of the bars and the people in them made any sense or if I was just collecting and creating oral histories without really trying to understand the relationships that people develop with place.

Going forward however, future studies should seek to examine not just the relationships that a specific group of people have with a place, but the different place-relationships that distinctly different types of people have with places. This includes not just looking through soda-straws at a single type of place as has been done here, spreading out geographically through space, cutting longitudinally through time, and laterally across demographic and socio-economic lines.

Just as Rogers' (2010) informants explained to her that, although the places she studied in her research and fieldwork were important places with unique physical qualities, the places could not be what they were or mean what they meant without the people that breathed life into those places. The same held as a constant truth throughout the course of my own fieldwork for this project. Nearly every time I asked a person why the bar was important to them, what about it was important to them, or what they would miss about the place if it ceased to exist, the answer was inevitably, "the people," (Various Informants 2012; 2013).

In the summer of 2013, after I had moved on from fieldwork at Chuck's Lounge, I paid a visit to catch up with some of the informants. One of the bartenders told me about a movie crew that had been in to film scenes for a film set in southern Louisiana, like in the swamps and bayous. The scene that was being filmed was supposed to be set in a biker bar which, from the outside, to an unknowing passerby, Chuck's Lounge might appear to be. The reason Chuck's Lounge's interior was chosen for the set was because the owners of an actual biker bar several miles to the south in Plaquemine wanted more money than the filmmakers wanted to spend for access to film inside the bar. Incidentally, Mad Hog Saloon, the biker bar across the street from Chuck's Lounge had

burned to the ground a few months prior to this. Funnily enough, as far as biker bars go, the filmmakers would never have driven by Mad Hog Saloon and even considered it to be a biker bar as the interior was relatively nicer compared to Chuck's Lounge, was more brightly lit, cleaner, and had nicer, newer furniture. The point is that regardless of the sense that we get of a place without having ever been there as in having place prepackaged for us to already have certain expectations of it, we still can't know a place until we have been there à la J.B. Jackson's description of sense of place. Even then, it is our own experiences, memories, and relationships with people that drive our attachment to place and, ultimately, on a long enough timeline, to sinking roots so deep into a place that it becomes as much a part of us as we become a part of it.

References

- AAA [American Anthropological Association]. 2009. Code of Ethics of the American Anthropological Association. [www.aaanet.org/issues/policy-advocacy/upload/AAA-Ethics-Code-2009.pdf].
- AAG [Association of American Geographers]. 2009. Statement on Professional Ethics. [www.aag.org/cs/about_aag/governance/statement_of_professional_ethics].
- Addis. 1990. Addis, Louisiana 75 Years 1915–1990: The Railroad Town. Port Allen, LA: West Baton Rouge Parish Library Archives.
- Agnew, J. A. 1987. *Place and Politics: The Geographical Mediation of State and Society*. Boston, MA: Allen and Unwin.
- . 1993. Representing Space: Space, scale and culture in social science. In *Place/Culture/Representation*, edited by J. Duncan and D. Ley, pp. 251–271. New York, NY: Routledge.
- . 2002. *Place and Politics in Modern Italy*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Ainsworth, M. D. S., and S. M. Bell. 1970. Attachment, Exploration and Separation: Illustrated by the Behavior of One-year-olds in a Strange Situation. *Child Development* 41 (1): 49–67.
- Altman, I., and S. M. Low, eds. 1992. *Place Attachment*. New York, NY: Plenum Press.
- Barfield, T. 2010. *Afghanistan: A Cultural and Political History*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Barry, J. 2007. *Rising Tide: The Great Mississippi Flood of 1927 and How it Changed America*. New York, NY: Simon and Schuster.
- Basso, K. H. 1996. *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language Among the Western Apache*. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press.
- Billig, M. 2006. Is My Home My Castle? Place Attachment, Risk Perception, and Religious Faith. *Environment and Behavior* 38 (2): 248–265.
- Bourdieu, P. 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press
- Bourgois, P. 2003. *In Search of Respect: Selling Crack in El Barrio*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Briggs, D. 2013. Emotions, Ethnography and Crack Cocaine Users. *Emotion, Space and Society* 7: 1–12.

- Buttimer, A. 1976. Grasping the Dynamism of Lifeworld. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 66 (2): 277–292.
- Brooks & Dunn. 1991. *Boot Scootin' Boogie*. Arista Nashville: Nashville, Tennessee. CD.
- Brown, B., D. D. Perkins, and G. Brown. 2003. Place Attachment in a Revitalizing Neighborhood: Individual and Block Levels of Analysis. *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 23 (3): 259–271.
- Cabras, I., and C. Reggiani. 2010. Village Pubs as a Social Propellant in Rural Areas: An Econometric Study. *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management* 53 (7): 947–962.
- Campbell, H. 2000. The Glass Phallus: Pub(lic) Macsulinity and Drinking in Rural New Zealand. *Rural Sociology* 65 (4): 562–581.
- CanagaRetna, S. 1999. *The Future of Southern Ports: Megaships and Megachanges on the Horizon*. Atlanta, GA: Southern Legislative Conference.
- Carter, J., P. Dyer, and B. Sharma. 2007. Dis-placed Voices: Sense of Place and Place-Identity on the Sunshine Coast. *Social and Cultural Geography* 8 (5): 755–773.
- Casey, E. S. 1993. *Getting Back Into Place: Toward a Renewed Understanding of the Place-World*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- . 1996. How to Get from Space to Place in a Fairly Short Stretch of Time. In *Senses of Place*, edited by S. Feld and K. H. Basso, 13–52. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press.
- . 1997. *The Fate of Place: A Philosophical History*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- City of Port Allen. n.d.a. Port Allen, LA: Southern Living with River Charm. Port Allen, LA: West Baton Rouge Library Archives.
- . n.d.b. City of Port Allen. Port Allen, LA: West Baton Rouge Parish Archives.
- City Tavern. 2005. City Tavern and Restaurant: A Triumph of Tradition. [www.citytavern.com/history.html].
- Colton, G. W., and C. B. Colton. 1855. *Colton's Louisiana*. New York, NY: Colton and Colton Co. [louisdl.louislibraries.org/cdm/singleitem/collection/LHC/id/88/rec/28].
- Crang, M. 2003. Qualitative Methods: Touchy, Feely, Look-see? *Progress in Human Geography* 27 (4): 494–504.
- Cresswell, J. 1998. *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Traditions*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- Cresswell, T. 1996. *In Place/Out of Place: Geography, Ideology, and Transgression*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- . 2004. *Place: A Short Introduction*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Cross, J. E. 2001. What is Sense of Place? 12th Headwaters Conference, November 2–4, Western State College. [www.western.edu/academics/headwaters/headwaters-conference/archives/Headwaters12].
- Debnam, I. 2009. A Sense of Community and Community Change: An Ethnographic Study of a Contemporary Louisiana Juke Joint as it compares to Historical Literature on the Subject. M.A. Thesis, Louisiana State University.
- DeLyser, D., and P. F. Starrs, eds. 2001. Special Issue: Doing Fieldwork. *Geographical Review* 91 (1 & 2).
- DeLyser, D., S. Herbert, S. Aitken, M. Crang, and L. McDowell, eds. 2012. *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Geography*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Dewsbury, J. D. 2003. Witnessing Space: “Knowledge without Contemplation” *Environment and Planning A* 35 (11): 1907–1932.
- Dive. 2014. Def. 2. Merriam-Webster Online. Merriam-Webster. 30 January.
- Dorsey, S. A. 1866. *Recollections of Henry Watkins Allen, Brigadier-General Confederate States Army, Ex-Governor of New Orleans*. New York, NY: M. Doolady.
- Dunn, Dan. 2011. The Imbiber: Barchetypes. Playboy.com [www.playboy.com/playground/view/the-imbiber-barchetypes]. 15 November.
- Entrikin, J. N. 1991. *The Betweenness of Place: Towards a Geography of Modernity*. London, UK: MacMillan.
- Escobar, A. 2001. Culture Sits in Places: Reflections on Globalism and Subaltern Strategies of Localization. *Political Geography* 20 (2): 139–174.
- Everts, J. 2010. Consuming and Living the Corner Shop: Belonging, Remembering, Socialising. *Social and Cultural Geography* 11 (8): 847–863.
- Eyles, J. 1989. The Geography of Everyday Life. In *Horizons in Human Geography*, edited by D. Gregory and R. Walford, pp. 102–117. Torowa, NJ: Barnes and Noble.
- Eyles, J., and A. Williams. 1985. *Senses of Place*. Warrington, UK: Silverbrook Press.
- Fetterman, D. M. 2010. *Ethnography: Step-by-Step*, 3rd ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Finlayson, C. C. 2012. Spaces of Faith: Incorporating Emotion and Spirituality in Geographic Studies. *Environment and Planning A* 44 (7): 1763–1778.

- Fraunces Tavern Museum. 2014. [www.frauncestavernmuseum.org].
- Frey, W. H. 2012. Population Growth in Metro America since 1980: Putting the Volatile 2000s in Perspective. Brookings Institution Metropolitan Policy Program. 20 March. [www.brookings.edu/~media/research/files/papers/2012/3/20%20population%20frey/0320_population_frey].
- Fried, M. 1963. Grieving for a Lost Home. In *The Urban Condition: People and Policy in the Metropolis*, edited by L. J. Duhl, 124–152. New York, NY: Simon and Schuster.
- Fullilove, M. T. 1996. Psychiatric Implication of Displacement: Contributions from the Psychology of Place. *American Journal of Psychiatry* 153 (12): 1516–1526.
- Gamble, W. 1867. County Map of the States of Arkansas, Mississippi, and Louisiana. Philadelphia: S. A. Mitchell, Jr. Louisiana Digital Library: Baton Rouge, LA. [louisdl.louislibraries.org/cdm/singleitem/collection/LHC/id/90/rec/31].
- Gerber, R. 2001. Developing a Sense of Community and Place in Different Cultural Settings and Environments. In *Children's Ways of Knowing: Learning through Experience*, edited by M. Robertson and R. Gerber, 62–78. Camberwell, Australia: ACER Press.
- Giuliani, M. V. 2003. Theory of Attachment and Place Attachment. In *Psychological Theories for Environmental Issues*, edited by M. Bonnes, T. Lee, and M. Bonaiuto, 137–170. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.
- Greif, M. 2010. What Was the Hipster? *New York Magazine*, 24 October. [www.nymag.com/news/features/69129].
- Gruenwald, P. J., L. Remer, and R. Lipton. 2002. *Evaluating the Alcohol Environment: Community Geography and Alcohol Problems*. Bethesda, MD: National Institute of Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism. [pubs.niaaa.nih.gov/publications/arh26-1/42-48.htm].
- Gussow, A. 1971. *A Sense of Place: The Artist and the American Land*. San Francisco, CA: Friends of the Earth.
- Hay, R. 1986. An Investigation of Sense of Place: A Case Study in the Cowichan Valley, British Columbia. M.A. Thesis, University of Victoria.
- . 1990. Sense of Place: Cross-cultural Perspectives from Banks Peninsula, New Zealand. Ph.D. Diss., University of Canterbury.
- . 1998a. A Rooted Sense of Place in Cross-Cultural Perspective. *The Canadian Geographer* 42 (3): 245–266.
- . 1998b. Sense of Place in Developmental Context. *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 18 (1): 5–29.

- Heidegger, M. 1962. *Being and Time*. J. Macquarrie and E. Robinson, trans. New York, NY: Harper & Rowe.
- Herrold, M. 2001. Which Truth? Cultural Politics and Vodka in Rural Russia. *Geographical Review* 91 (1 & 2): 295–303.
- Hidalgo, M. C., and B. Hernández. 2001. Place Attachment: Conceptual and Empirical Questions. *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 21 (3): 273–281.
- Higson, A. 2014. Nostalgia is Not What it Used to Be: Heritage Films, Nostalgia Websites and Contemporary Consumers. *Consumption, Markets and Culture* 17 (2): 120–142.
- Hummon, D. M. 1992. Community Attachment: Local Sentiment and Sense of Place. In *Place Attachment* edited by I. Altman and S. M. Low, 253–278. New York, NY: Plenum Press.
- Hunt, G., and S. Satterlee. 1986. Cohesion and Division: Drinking in an English Village. *Man* 21 (3): 521–537.
- . 1986. The Pub, the Village and the People. *Human Organization* 45 (1): 62–74.
- . 1987. Darts, Drink and the Pub: The Culture of Female Drinking. *Sociological Review* 35 (3): 573–601.
- Jackson, J. B. 1994. *A Sense of Place, A Sense of Time*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Jackson, M. 1976. *The English Pub*. London, UK: Collins.
- Jayne, M., G. Valentine, and S. L. Holloway. 2006. Drunk and Disorderly: Alcohol, Urban Life and Public Space. *Progress in Human Geography* 30 (4) 451–468.
- . 2008a. Geographies of Alcohol, Drinking and Drunkenness: A Review of Progress. *Progress in Human Geography* 32 (2): 247–263.
- , eds. 2008b. The Place of Drink: Geographical Contributions to Alcohol Studies. *Drugs: Education, Prevention, and Policy* 15 (3).
- . 2011. *Alcohol, Drinking, and Drunkenness: (Dis)Orderly Spaces*. Surrey, UK: Ashgate.
- Jonsen, A. R. 1992. The End of Medical Ethics. *Journal of the American Geriatrics Society* 40: 393–397.
- Jorgensen, B., and R. Stedman. 2001. Sense of Place as an Attitude: Lakeshore Owners' Attitudes Toward Their Properties. *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 21 (3): 233–248.

- Kahn, M. 1996. Your Place and Mine: Sharing Emotional Landscapes in Wamira, Papua New Guinea. In *Senses of Place*, edited by S. Feld and K. H. Basso, 167–196. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press.
- Kamin, B. 2014. Design Gives Wrigley Field a Firm Sense of Place: History of Ballpark's Architecture Offers Insight to Why It's so Adored. *Chicago Tribune*, 1, 10–11. 23 April. [www.chicagotribune.com/sports/baseball/cubs/wrigley/ct-wrigley-field-architecture-met-0423-20140423,0,4731653.column].
- Kay, M. 2012. The Right of Rites: The Role of Ritual in Society and Self. 19 February. [michaelakay.wordpress.com/2012/02/19/the-right-rites-the-role-of-ritual-in-society-and-self/].
- Kein, S. 2000. *Creole: The History and Legacy of Louisiana's Free People of Color*. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press.
- Kellough, E., and L. Mayeux. 1979. *Chronicles of West Baton Rouge*. Baton Rouge, LA: Kennedy Print Shop.
- Keough, S. B. 2010. The Importance of Place in Community Radio Broadcasting: A Case Study of WDVX, Knoxville, Tennessee. *Journal of Cultural Geography* 27 (1): 77–98.
- Kneass, W. 1822. Geographical, Statistical, and Historical Map of Louisiana. Philadelphia, PA: H. C. Carey & I. Lea. Louisiana Digital Library: Baton Rouge, LA. [louisdl.louislibraries.org/cdm/singleitem/collection/LHC/id/101/rec/22].
- Kniffen, F. B. 1936. Louisiana House Types. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 26 (4): 179–193.
- Kobayashi, A. and S. Mackenzie, eds. 1989. *Remaking Human Geography*. Boston, MA: Unwin Hyman.
- Kong, L., B. Yeoh, and P. Teo. 1996. Singapore and the Experience of Place in Old Age. *Geographical Review* 86 (4): 529–549.
- Korpela, K. M. 1989. Place-Identity as a Product of Environmental Self-Regulation. *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 9 (3): 241–256.
- Korpela, K. M., T. Hartig, F. G. Kaiser, and U. Fuhrer. 2001. Restorative Experience and Self-Regulation. *Environmental and Behavior* 33 (4): 572–589.
- Kottak, C. P. 2006. *Mirror for Humanity: A Concise Introduction to Cultural Anthropology*. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.
- Lamme, A. J., III, and R. Oldakowski. 2007. Spinning a New Geography of Vernacular Regional Identity: Florida in the Twenty-First Century. *Southeastern Geographer* 47 (2): 320–340.

- Larsen, S. C., and J. T. Johnson. 2012. Toward and Open Sense of Place: Phenomenology, Affinity, and the Question of Being. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 102 (3): 632–646.
- Lees, L. 2001. Towards a Critical Geography of Architecture: The Case of an Ersatz Colosseum. *Ecumene* 8 (1): 51–86.
- LeMasters, E. E. 1975. *Blue-Collar Aristocrats: Life Styles at a Working-Class Tavern*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Lender, M. E., and J. K. Martin. 1982. *Drinking in America: A History*. New York, NY: The Free Press.
- Lewicka, M. 2011. Place Attachment: How Far Have We Come in the Last 40 years? *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 31 (3): 207–230.
- Lewis, P. F. 1979a. Defining a Sense of Place. *Southern Quarterly* 17 (3 & 4): 24–46.
- . 1979b. Axioms for Reading the Landscape: Some Guides to the American Scene. In *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes*. Edited by D. W. Meinig, 1–32. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Leyshon, M. 2008. “We’re Stuck in the Corner”: Young Women, Embodiment and Drinking in the Countryside. *Drugs: Education, Prevention, and Policy* 15 (3): 267–289.
- Louisiana Gaming Control Board. 2010. Central Gaming Registry. [dpsweb.dps.louisiana.gov/wcgr.nsf].
- Louisiana Historical Association. 2008. *Dictionary of Louisiana Biography*. Lafayette, LA: Louisiana Historical Association. [www.lahistory.org/site16.php].
- Louisiana Office of Planning and Budget [LaOPB]. 2008. Demographics. Baton Rouge, LA: Division of Administration. [doa.louisiana.gov/opb/labench/demo.htm].
- Low, S. M. 1992. Symbolic Ties that Bind: Place Attachment in the Plaza. In *Place Attachment*, edited by I. Altman and S. M. Low, 165–186. New York, NY: Plenum Press.
- Low, S. M., and I. Altman. 1992. Introduction. In *Place Attachment*, edited by I. Altman and S. M. Low, 1–12. New York, NY: Plenum Press.
- LSU AgCenter. 2013. *Louisiana Summary: Agriculture and Natural Resources*. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University. [www.lsuagcenter.com/agsummary].
- Lugosi, P. 2006. Between Overt and Covert Research: Concealment and Disclosure in an Ethnographic Study of Commercial Hospitality. *Qualitative Inquiry* 12 (3): 541–561.

- Malone, R. A., Assistant Director of Public Relations, Missouri Pacific Railroad Company. 1968. Communication to Mrs. Paul B. Landry, Jr., 18 November. Port Allen, LA: West Baton Rouge Parish Library Archives.
- Malpas, J. E. 1999. *Place and Experience: A Philosophical Topography*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Mann, B. J. 1976. The Ethics of Fieldwork in an Urban Bar. In *Ethics and Anthropology: Dilemmas in Fieldwork*, edited by M. A. Rynkiewicz and J. P. Spradley, 99–110. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- McCreanor, T., L. Penney, V. Jensen, K. Witten, R. Kearns, H. M. Barnes. 2006. “This is like My Comfort Zone”: Senses of Place and Belonging Within Oruamo/Beachhaven, New Zealand. *New Zealand Geographer* 62 (3): 196–207.
- McEwen, J. W. 2011. Identifying and Delineating the Gulf Coast-Mardi Gras Culture Region. *Southwestern Geographer* 15: 104–126.
- . 2013. Off the Beaten Path: A Dive Bar Expert Shares His Favorite Area Drinking Spots. *DIG*, 12. 16 October. [<http://digbatonrouge.com/article/off-the-beaten-path-7198>].
- McHugh, K. E., and R. C. Mings. 1996. The Circle of Migration: Attachment to Place in Aging. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 86 (3): 530–550.
- Mitchell, D. 2008. New Axioms for Reading the Landscape: Paying Attention to Political Economy and Social Justice. In *Political Economies of Landscape Change*, edited by J. L. Wescoat and D. M. Johnston, 29–50. Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Springer.
- Nagel, T. 1986. *The View from Nowhere*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Palahniuk, C. 1996. *Fight Club*. New York, NY: W.W. Norton.
- Parr, H. 1998. Mental health, ethnography, and the body. *Area* 30 (1): 28–37.
- . 1999. Delusional Geographies: The Experiential Worlds of People During Madness/Illness. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 17 (6): 673–690.
- . 2001. Feeling, Reading, and Making Bodies in Space. *Geographical Review* 91 (1 & 2): 158–167.
- Peet, R. 1998. *Modern Geographic Thought*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Phillips, F, ed. 2012. *The History of West Baton Rouge Parish: People, Place, Progress*. St. Louis, MO: Reedy Press.
- Plant, M., M. Plant, and B. Vernon. 1996. Ethics, Funding and Alcohol Research. *Alcohol and Alcoholism* 31 (1) 17–25.

- Popham, R. E. 1982. Working Papers on the Tavern Volume 3: Notes on the Contemporary Tavern. Toronto, Canada: Alcoholism and Drug Addiction Research Foundation.
- Port Allen. n.d. Port Allen: In Quest of Progress. Port Allen, LA: West Baton Rouge Parish Archives.
- Port of Greater Baton Rouge. n.d. The Mississippi River and the Port of Greater Baton Rouge. Port Allen, LA: West Baton Rouge Library Archives.
- Pred, A. 1983. Structuration and Place: On the Becoming of Sense of Place and Structure of Feeling. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behavior* 13 (1): 45–68.
- . 1984. Place as Historically Contingent Process: Structuration and the Time-Geography of Becoming Places. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 74 (2): 279–297.
- Proctor, J. D. 1998. Ethics in geography: giving moral form to the geographical imagination. *Area* 30 (1): 8–18.
- Proctor, R. C. 1984. History of Drinking in America. *Southern Medical Journal* 77 (7): 886–892.
- Proshansky, H. M., A. K. Fabian, and R. Kaminoff. 1983. Place-Identity: Physical World Socialization of the Self. *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 3 (1): 57–83.
- Putnam, R. D. 2000. *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York, NY: Simon and Schuster.
- ReferenceUSA. 2011. Drinking Establishments in the United States. [www.referenceusa.com].
- Relph, E. 1976. *Place and Placelessness*. London, UK: Pion.
- Richardson, M. 1984. *Place: Experience and Symbol*. Baton Rouge, LA: Geoscience Publications.
- . 2003. *Being-in-Christ and Putting Death in Its Place: An Anthropologist's Account of Christian Performance in Spanish America and the American South*. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press.
- Riger, S. and P. J. Lavrakas. 1981. Community Ties: Patterns of Attachment and Social Interaction in Urban Neighborhoods. *American Journal of Community Psychology* 9 (1): 55–66.
- Riley, R. B. 1992. Attachment to the Ordinary Landscape. In *Place Attachment*, edited by I. Altman and S. M. Low, 13–35. New York, NY: Plenum Press.
- Rogers, B. 2010. “It’s Not Just About the Buildings, It’s About the People”: Architecture, Practice, and Preservation, in Post-Katrina New Orleans. Ph.D. Diss., Louisiana State University.

- Rose, J. 2012. Introduction. In *The History of West Baton Rouge Parish: People, Places, Progress*, edited by F. Phillips, ix–xi. St. Louis, MO: Reedy Press.
- Sack, R. D. 1988. The Consumer's World: Place as Context. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 78 (4): 642–664.
- . 1992. *Place, Modernity, and the Consumer's World*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Saunders, R. H. 2001. Home and Away: Bridging Fieldwork and Everyday Life. *Geographical Review* 91 (1 & 2): 88–94.
- Scannell, L., and R. Gifford. 2010. Defining Place Attachment: A Tripartite Framework. *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 30 (1): 1–10.
- Sexton, R. 1990. Passing a Good Time in Southwest Louisiana: An Ethnohistoric and Humanistic Approach to the Study of Cajun Bars/Clubs as Place. M.A. Thesis, Louisiana State University.
- “Simpsons Roasting on an Open Fire.” 2001. *The Simpsons: The Complete First Season*. Written by Mimi Pond. Directed by David Silverman. 20th Century Fox. DVD.
- Shamai, S. 1991. Sense of Place: An Empirical Measurement. *GeoForum* 22 (3): 347–358.
- Shumaker, S. A., and R. B. Taylor. 1983. Toward a Clarification of People Place Relationships: A Model of Attachment to Place. In *Environmental Psychology: Directions and Perspectives*, edited by N. R. Feimer and E. S. Geller, 219–251. New York, NY: Praeger.
- Sismondo, C. 2011. *America Walks into a Bar: A Spirited History of Taverns and Saloons, Speakeasies and Grog Shops*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Smith, J. S. 2002. Rural Place Attachment in Hispano Urban Centers. *Geographical Review* 92 (3): 432–451.
- Smith, J. S., and M. R. Cartlidge. 2011. Place Attachment Among Retirees in Greensburg, Kansas. *Geographical Review* 101 (4): 536–555.
- Smith, M. A. 1985. A Participant Observer Study of a “Rough” Working Class Pub. *Leisure Studies* 4 (3): 293–306.
- Soil Conservation Service [SCS]. 1982. *Soil Survey of Pointe Coupee and West Baton Rouge Parishes Louisiana*. Washington, D.C.: United States Department of Agriculture.
[soils.usda.gov/survey/online_surveys/louisiana/pointe_coupee/pointecoupee.pdf]
- Spradley, J. P., and B. J. Mann. 1975. *The Cocktail Waitress: Woman's Work in a Man's World*. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.

- State-Times*. 1958. [No Title]. Baton Rouge, LA. 5 May.
- Stedman, R. C. 2003. Is it Really Just a Social Construction? The Contribution of the Physical Environment to Sense of Place. *Society and Natural Resources* 16 (8): 671–685.
- Stella, R. T. 2007. *Imagining the Other: The Representation of the Papua New Guinean Subject*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Sternberg, M. A. 1996. *Along the River Road: Past and Present on Louisiana's Historic Byway*. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press.
- Taintor Bros. & Merrill. 1874. Map of the State of Louisiana. Taintor Bros. & Merrill: New York. Louisiana Digital Library: Baton Rouge. [louisdl.louislibraries.org/cdm/singleitem/collection/LHC/id/99/rec/32].
- Taylor, R. B., S. D. Gottfredson, and S. Brower. 1985. Attachment to Place: Discriminant Validity, and Impacts of Disorder and Diversity. *American Journal of Community Psychology* 13 (5): 525–542.
- Terkenli, T. S. 1995. Home as a Region. *Geographical Review* 85 (3): 324–334.
- Texas and Pacific Topics*. 1952. Cash on the Barrelhead: Citizens of Addis Pay No Local Taxes for Civic Improvements. June, 8–11.
- Tuan, Y-F. 1975. Place: An Experiential Perspective. *Geographical Review* 65 (2): 151–165.
- . 1977. *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- . 1980. Rootedness versus Sense of Place. *Landscape* 24 (1): 3–8.
- . 1990 [1974]. *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes, and Values*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
- Tun Tavern. 2013. [www.tuntavern.com/tun-tavern-history.html].
- Twigger-Ross, C. L. and D. L. Uzzell. 1996. Place and Identity Processes. *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 16 (3): 205–220.
- United States Census Bureau [USCB]. 1920. Fourteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1920, Volume III: Population. Washington, D.C.
- . 1994. Geographic Areas Reference Manual. Washington, D.C. [www.census.gov/geo/reference/garm.html].
- . 2000. Residence County to Workplace County Flows for Louisiana.[www.census.gov/population/www/cen2000/commuting/files/2KRESCO_LA.xls].

- . 2010. American FactFinder.
[factfinder2.census.gov/faces/nav/jsf/pages/index.xhtml].
- Various Informants. 2012. Guided Field Interviews conducted at Charlie's Lounge, Chuck's Lounge, Jack's Place, and Sugar Patch Lounge in West Baton Rouge Parish, Louisiana.
- . 2013. Guided Field Interviews conducted at Charlie's Lounge, Chuck's Lounge, Jack's Place, and Sugar Patch Lounge in West Baton Rouge Parish, Louisiana.
- Wallace, G. 2010. Jasper's Makes List of Top 'Dive Bars'. *Lompoc Record*. 24 July.[www.lompocrecord.com/news/local/article_77ae4958-97b5-11df-8938-001cc4c03286.html].
- Ward, R. K. 1997. The French Language in Louisiana Law and Legal Education: A Requiem. *Louisiana Law Review* 57 (4): 1283–1324.
- West Baton Rouge Parish Museum [WBRPM]. 2012. Exhibit: 300 Years of History in West Baton Rouge Parish. Port Allen, LA.
- White, G. M. 2004. National subjects: September 11 and Pearl Harbor. *American Ethnologist* 31 (3): 293–310.
- Works Progress Administration. 1939. *North Carolina: A Guide to the Old North State*. Raleigh, NC: North Carolina Department of Conservation and Development.
- Yodis, E. G., and C. E. Colten. 2007. *Geography of Louisiana*. Boston, MA: McGraw-Hill.
- Yoon, H-K. 2006. *The Culture of Fengshui in Korea: An Exploration of East Asian Geomancy*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.
- . 2011. Human Modification of Korean Landforms for Geomantic Purposes. *Geographical Review* 101 (2): 243–260.
- Zelinsky, W. 1992. *The Cultural Geography of the United States: A Revised Edition*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Appendix A: Guided Interview Questions for Bar Owners, Bartenders, and Bar Patrons

About the Bar

What are the days and hours of operation for the bar and why?

What are the busiest and least busy times of the day/week and why do you think that is?

What are the busiest times of the year and why?

What is the history of this bar?

How would you describe this bar to someone that has never been to it? What do you think makes it distinct from other bars?

Is there a specific theme or identity to this bar? Is the décor (beer signs, banners, ads, sports team memorabilia, etc.) meant to create a particular feel or atmosphere? Is it meant to be a Saints or a LSU Tigers bar?

Who decorated it? How was the bar decorated, all at once mostly or just over time?

Do people receive social or community support through connections made with other people at the bar?

Are there any clubs that are hosted here like darts or billiards groups?

Activity at the Bar

What do people talk about when they hang out together at the bar?

Do people ever come to the bar to watch sporting events? What teams do people root for?

What sort of special events do you hold here: birthdays, karaoke, poker, darts or pool tournaments?

Is there ever food offered or is there sometimes a potluck dinner associated with those events?

Customers and Regulars

Do you know most of the people that come in? How often do you see new faces?

How would you describe the regular customers? Do most of them know each other?

What do you think attracts them to this bar?

When do most of the regulars come in? Is the early afternoon/evening crowd much different from the late/closing time crowd?
Is there any sort of “chartered” group of regulars?

Personal Attachment to the Bar

How long have you owned the bar and/or worked here as a bartender?
Do you remember the first time you came to this bar? What are some of your most memorable moments in this bar?
What would you miss if this bar went away and didn’t exist anymore?
Do you ever think about not working here or owning the bar?
How attached would you say that you are to this bar?
Have you ever felt out of place here? Where would you feel out of place?
How is it that this bar has come to be important in your life? How is it that you have become attached to the bar?

About the Area and Other Bars

What is the history of the bar scene in the area in general? What were they like, why did they close, what did people do after they closed?
Are there any other bars nearby (walking or short driving distance) that you also go to on a regular basis?

Are you from here?

How would you describe this area: urban, rural, somewhere in between? Or compare it to other places, like Baton Rouge, Port Allen, Plaquemine, or Addis?
Do you have any pictures of the bar from over the years that you would share with me?

Appendix B: Map and List of West Baton Rouge Parish Bars both Current and Former

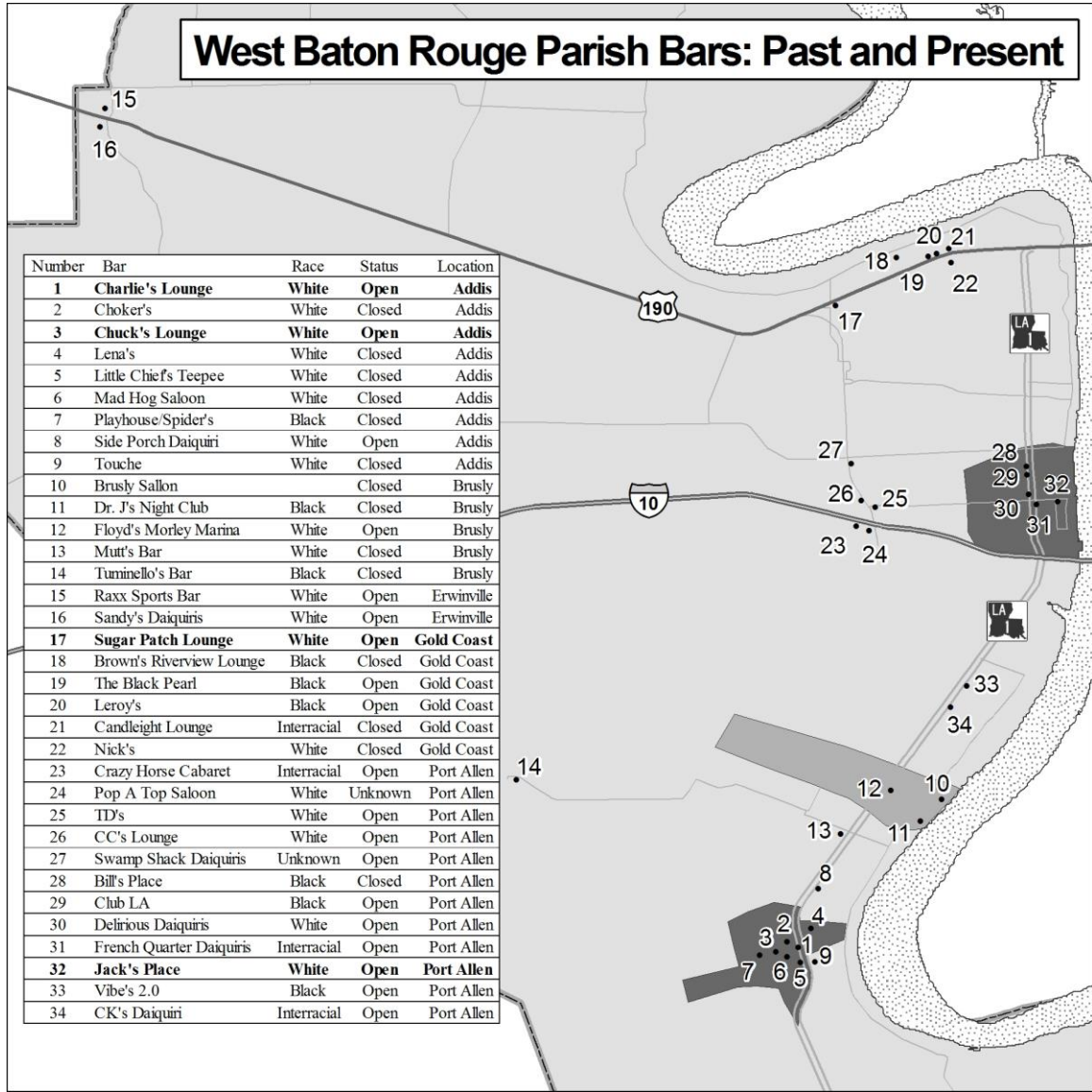


Figure B.1: Currently operating and presently closed drinking establishments in West Baton Rouge Parish. (Cartography by the author)

Table B.1: List of extant and former West Baton Rouge Parish bars

Open Bars (White)	Location
Charlie's Lounge	Addis
Chuck's Lounge	Addis
Side Porch Daiquiri	Addis
Floyd's Morley Marina	Brusly
Raxx Sports Bar	Erwinville
Sandy's Daiquiri's	Erwinville
Sugar Patch Lounge (formerly Joe Joe's/Joe's)	Gold Coast
CC's Lounge	Port Allen
CK's Daiquiri (Café)	Port Allen
Delirious Daiquiris (formerly Tony's)	Port Allen
Jack's Place	Port Allen
TD's (formerly Joe Joe's/The Spot/Bird's Nest)	Port Allen
Swamp Shack Daiquiris	Port Allen
Pop A Top Saloon	Port Allen

Closed Bars (White)	Location
Choker's (old washateria)	Addis
Lena's (by Benoit's)	Addis
Little Chief's Teepee	Addis
Mad Hog Saloon	Addis
Touche's	Addis
Brusly Saloon	Brusly
Mutt's Bar	Brusly
Nick's	Gold Coast

Open Bars (Black)	Location
Leroy's (formerly Playboy Lounge)	Gold Coast
The Black Pearl	Gold Coast
Club LA (formerly MVP Sports Bar)	Port Allen
Vibe's 2.0	Port Allen

Closed Bars (Black)	Location
Playhouse/Spider's	Addis
Dr. J's Night Club	Brusly
Tuminello's Bar	Brusly
Brown's Riverview Bar & Lounge	Gold Coast
Bill's Place	Port Allen

Open Bars (Mixed Race)	Location
Crazy Horse Cabaret	Port Allen
French Quarter Daiquiris	Port Allen

Closed Bars (Mixed Race)	Location
Candlelight Lounge	Gold Coast

Appendix C: Quotes and Anecdotes on Perceptions of West Baton Rouge Parish, Port Allen, and Addis from Interviews

Baton Rouge

“Baton Rouge people are a little hodgepodge of people that none of them really know each other at some of the bars. It’s not as family friendly over there. It’s too much of a mixture of different people’s personalities.”

“Baton Rouge is too dangerous. People don’t like the traffic in Baton Rouge.”

“Regarding bars in Baton Rouge: I don’t know if you’d consider them bars, but clubs and stuff, like that’s not my thing. Might be other peoples’ cup of tea . . . it’s just too many people and too rowdy, I guess.”

“I’ve always said that I don’t want to live in a big city because I like going to a grocery store and it taking an hour to run and get bread just because you know everybody. And you know everybody, and you genuinely care about people. It’s not like, I don’t know, Baton Rouge is just different, because I’ve been to other big cities and people aren’t as friendly and willing to get to know people.” Other big cities in the South? “Yeah. I don’t know, Baton Rouge is not friendly.”

Regarding the bar scene in Addis: “More of a downtown crowd like lawyers, the political interest-type groups.” “I don’t go over there because I hate the new bridge that much, my wife works there [at a bar near downtown Baton Rouge] but I’ll go there but it’s not some place I’m going to say, “Well “I’m going there instead of coming here [to Chuck’s],” Beer’s more expensive.”

One Chuck’s Lounge customer described the bars in Baton Rouge as unfamiliar and not having that home-town feeling because people just don’t all know each other in Baton Rouge.

From an Addis resident: “Oh, I hate Baton Rouge. I used to live there and I like Baton Rouge. Um, over here, it’s laid back. You know, nobody gets in a hurry around here, you know, it’s, it’s, I just like it because, you know, everybody knows everybody, you know. It’s like Cheers, everybody knows your name.” So you don’t get that in Baton Rouge? “No, no. It’s just too big. You know, I mean, after [Hurricane] Katrina and stuff it just blew up and it just . . . we have here to, you know, Addis is grown double what we used to be, you know, and still adding. But, it’s still, it’s still a small town, small town, you know, it’s still close-knit, you know, you can come, you can’t get through it any other way.”

How would you describe bars in Baton Rouge compared to Addis or Plaquemine? “I feel like I have to get dressed up and impress people when I go over there because I feel like they’re [customers in Baton Rouge bars] always judging people.” Which bars in Baton Rouge? Like downtown or like Tigertown [an area of five or six college bars clustered together near the LSU campus]. “We go downtown. Like Roux House and like Happy’s, Boudreaux and Thibodeaux’s . . .” How do you feel when you’re there? I mean you say you have to impress people. “It makes me feel very uncomfortable.” They’re judging you? “Exactly, exactly. Because they don’t know who we are, we don’t know who they are, it’s just kind of like a tension.” So when you first started coming here, you weren’t worried about people judging you? “No, because I guess it’s close to home.”

“Baton Rouge is so diverse, Port Allen . . . if you weren’t a certain way, you would be an outcast in Port Allen.” So Baton Rouge is not as cliquish, and it’s more diverse? “I’m sure they’re cliquish, but you don’t, when you go somewhere, you don’t see that. It’s not like high school. You don’t see that, you see all kinds of different people, but I’ve met all kinds of people, you know, so that’s different from here [Port Allen]. So if you’re pretty much new, if you go to the daiquiri shop [in Port Allen], they’re not gonna talk to you or be friendly to you.” You said that they were like, “What’re you doing here?” “Yeah, they’ll look at you like, ‘What’re you doing here?’” They feel like they’re being, their space is being intruded upon? “I don’t know what it is, it’s just they just think they’re the shit. And, I don’t know, that’s what I think.” Some people are kind of suspicious of outsiders or . . . “The usually treat outsiders better than people there. But if you don’t have a certain look, if you don’t know somebody, or they know . . . it’s like one big high school.” I see, so Baton Rouge is just not friendly, but . . . “It’s friendly, Baton Rouge is friendly, but I’m not going to say that other people, but you have more in Baton Rouge, you can go somewhere, you have that.” People don’t wonder, “Well, where you from, what you doing in here?” “Right, I’m sure there’s certain bars like that, but I’ve never gone to them. Because I’ve gone to LSU bars and I’ve never had that problem.”

“Well, here [in Jack’s Place] you actually speak to more people, when you’re out in Baton Rouge it’s, more or less, you know people are just trying to pick you up. It’s not like they’re just out to enjoy themselves.”

Port Allen vs. Addis vs. Baton Rouge

Comparing Addis to the east side of the river: “It’s way more different. There’s not a problem with anything. It’s actually grown a lot. But there’s not the Baton Rouge traffic, there’s not all the murders and everything they got around there. Some parts of Baton Rouge you don’t even want to go in. Here, here people can walk around at two o’clock in the morning.”

“Addis and the whole West Side and Iberville Parish they’re growing, they’re expanding, getting new business whether they are industrial or car places or whatever. But to this

point [in time], I hope that it stays this way, we haven't lost our Southern home. You walk in [to Charlie's Lounge] and you feel accepted . . . somebody will talk to you for no reason. I mean it's a . . . Baton Rouge, you're not gonna get that. Because everything [in Baton Rouge] is just so generic, everything's, not more mechanized but it's more corporate business. In Baton Rouge, you're another person with two dollars and you're another person buying the same pack of gum and that's what it is, you lose face in Baton Rouge. You can't walk into a bar in Baton Rouge and say, 'The little lady next door to you died and she doesn't have burial assistance,' and they're not going to know who she was and they're not going to care."

"A lot more friendlier [compared to Baton Rouge], you don't have to walk in a bar and feel like everybody's lookin' at you. Or if they hear your accent and know you're from this side, or the west side of the river that, 'oh, wait, that's trash, they might try to jump me.' And they used that stereotype. [The difference in the accent being] we have more of a Southern drawl, it's slower. You know we talk a little bit slower more than most people."

"The west side of the river is gentler. We don't judge, as long as you're not drunk, hittin' on somebody's girlfriend or talking shit about somebody."

"Small town versus big you know like metropolitan areas, some people believe it or not get to know you easier. At convenience stores they know you, Wal-Mart or supermarket, they recognize your face, they know what you want, what kind of products you buy."

"Everybody knows everybody. [Which is not the case in] Baton Rouge [which] is the size of Addis, Brusly, Plaquemine, and Port Allen together."

Regarding bars: "I've went downtown [Baton Rouge] and that's for younger people, like my age [mid-20s] and it's not bad, it's just, you know. Same thing, you goin' there music or hangin' out, but here, it's just, like I said, older people just want to sit around and have a couple of drinks and be friends."

"It's just that small-town, local family feeling as opposed to where you might meet up with your friends [at a bar in Baton Rouge] but you're not going to know everybody in there."

"I can come here [to Chuck's] by myself any day because I know I'll know somebody, I'll have somebody to talk to, somebody to hang out with."

"More of a hometown, more closeness, a lot of people's related here. I mean you don't find that in Baton Rouge. Port Allen, I don't know, it's a uh, I've been to places over there. I mean I guess it's its own little community and everybody knows everybody. I

know a lot of people over there but nobody I'm not gonna make no special trips up there for."

"Aw, yeah, but I mean, and another thing, it doesn't matter to me if you go to Morley, Charlie's, Chuck's, I mean, anywhere on the west side of the river here is a whole lot different. It's more, it's almost more like old fashioned. In fact, you go into places over there [in Baton Rouge] it's like there's so many people you just, I guess, you just a number sitting . . ." So it's hard for people to come together and mesh together? You must have read my questions, that's one of my questions. Um, so what, how do you think it got to be, is it just the fact that people in general, a lot of people in the parish have lived here all their lives and they know each other and that's kind of the factor in why people can be so close? "What it is, is it goes back further to when everybody used to live on the cutoff. [Down by the Dow plant.] I mean, families helped each other. I'm making more uh, I don't know whatchoo want to call it. You get over there and this is your family and I'm going to help you out and all but it just, it just, it evolved from that. It's a whole different area here for some reason."

"It's a completely different world. You come over here and you have, I mean, you have, not poor or less fortunate people in Baton Rouge, but there's a lot more over here and Baton Rouge has people that have money. It's just a different world."

The people are much nicer in Port Allen. And just like Jack's bar, Port Allen is slow pace, little . . . whereas Baton Rouge is like go, go, go, go, go, Port Allen is just like, 'myeh'."

"Everybody's related on this [the west] side of the river somehow or another. [. . .] This side of town is, it's not, I like it over here 'cause it's not congested with traffic. [. . .] Baton Rouge is over-congested, they're over thirty years behind in their highways and they're never going to catch up with them because the per capita people uh, the people sit at a red light and they get on their text phone and you'll sit at a red light three cars though it and I'm always that number four. Baton Rouge is uh, it's a college town, I would say. It's way overpriced for what they offer in my opinion, it really is, but they do that because it's college [kids]."

"Totally different from Baton Rouge." How is it different from Baton Rouge? "They not as rude as them other people [Baton Rougeans] are." Why do you think they're more rude over there? "More people over there."

How would you describe this side of the river and this part of Port Allen to either the rest of Port Allen or compared to Baton Rouge? "Oh, this side of the river way better . . . this is the best side. Everybody'll tell you like, 'West, West Baton Rouge better than Baton Rouge.' Too many people, there's too many people, it's too congested and over here you don't have all, I mean, you got a lot of people but, you know, not like it is in Baton

Rouge.” And having too many people means that people don’t get along or . . . “No, too many people means fights and gun shootin’ and arguin’ and . . .” And you don’t really get that over here? “ You don’t, if you’ve, you’ve been here a while and you noticed any fightin’? You might notice a little cussin’, but that’s a barroom.”

“I prefer this side of the river as far as because it’s much quieter, more like country. You get in Baton Rouge it’s more like a city, because it, I was raised in the city, I guess, you know, and to me, this is more [a] country style of life, I guess on this side than it is on the other side.” Country meaning um, what, that it’s . . .? “You not so busy that you when you goin’ to Baton Rouge, when you get into Baton Rouge, everything’s a fast-paced, you know.”

Addis

“It’s just more of a small town atmosphere and friendlier people to me. This town was a small town and it’s growing now and a lot of people don’t like that because they like the way it used to be around here . . . I mean a small town atmosphere and you get to where the traffic is getting bad.”

“I’d rather the country style, laid back, slower style than that. Baton Rouge is way too fast and I didn’t grow up in that environment and I’m not comfortable there. Too many people. Too much shit.”

“It’s nice to live here. The people are nicer.”

“It’s a friendly, small town area but you’re close enough to the city, you know, I’m losing the word . . . benefits? It’s not the word but . . .” Amenities? “That’s it. You know, you’re close enough but you still kind of feel country.” You don’t have to deal with Baton Rouge. “Yeah. Some of them work over there but, you know, they get to come back to small town mode when they get home. So . . . have a few beers . . . at Chuck’s!”

How has Addis changed and grown, because a lot of people talk about how much bigger it’s gotten? “It really started, the big boom started, well I bought in the subdivision back here in 1960. So that’s when it started expanding. They built the subdivision back here [on the other side of the tracks behind Chuck’s], now subdivisions popping up every so often all the way around.”

Compared to Baton Rouge: “We were more friendly to one another over here. Course, if I lived over there, maybe I’d have a different idea about it. I don’t know, I always got along with all the people that lived in Addis.”

Compared to Baton Rouge: “Calmer, safer, downhome people.”

Compared to Port Allen: “We used to be called ‘the asshole end of the parish’.” “That’s really some language, but that’s what West Baton Rouge and Port Allen did. Absolutely, “Where you from? Oh, that’s the blank-word of West Baton Rouge Parish.” Now what are we? Now who is the ‘a’?”

Port Allen

“Well, I tell you what, I’d much rather live over here, in the people are not friendly over there in Baton Rouge.” Why do you think they’re not friendly in Baton Rouge? “Because there is a mixture of, of them from New Orleans, you know, displaced people . . .”

Katrina people? “So Baton Rouge, I wouldn’t want to live in Baton Rouge . . . not at all. Because I’ve lived there, and because the crime, there’s a lot of crime.”

“The only difference is they’re like, “Yea Addis!” and over here, “Yea Port Allen!” they’re like, in the middle, “Yea Brusly!” So there’s a lot of community pride? “Yeah, that’s about it, and everybody’s the same.”

“Baton Rouge, to me, are more to themselves. In Port Allen, it is more welcome[ing].”

How would you describe the area of Port Allen? Is it rural, is it, is it very urban? “It depends on what, really, really that’s a whole question right there because of what’s all going on in this city. You know, normally I would say, “Hey, the whole city of Port Allen is one community.” But here lately, you may have watched the news and see all that [some legal brew-ha-ha going on with the mayor’s office], and guess what, that’s pretty much divided us a whole lot. And, I’m gonna tell you another thing is, what’s really bothered us was it even that, that, I think, divided us more than that was [Hurricane] Katrina hit, and everybody got displaced, a lot of people came to Port Allen, but Port Allen . . . changed our way of livin’. We used to, and we’ve got people that we do know, and some background, so we didn’t care for. You know what I’m sayin’? And once that happened, you would think some of them would leave, but a bunch of them stayed. But kind of disrupted, to me, disrupted my whole raising in Port Allen.” And how about Port Allen compared to Baton Rouge? “No, no, no, Port Allen and Baton Rouge is two different deals.” Okay, and how are they different? “You want to go to Baton Rouge with all that bullshit, you’re going to Baton Rouge. You want to come over here and have at least some kind of normal life, and not as much crime, we’re getting more now, like I said, with that displaced stuff. But as far as I’m concerned, I would live in Port Allen before I would go draggin’ my ass to Baton Rouge.”

“I love it better over here. I think the people are way more friendlier over here.” And what makes them unfriendly in Baton Rouge? “Because it’s so big and there’s just so many strange, you know, just strangers.”

“Port Allen’s basically quiet. You know, we’ve got a lot of new people here since [Hurricane] Katrina. You couldn’t pay me to live in Baton Rouge.” Why not? “Too much traffic. Too many killings. It’s just . . . ‘cause a lot of people from New Orleans moved to Baton Rouge too. It’s just, it’s just outgrown itself. Can’t handle the traffic.”

“I never thought Port Allen was country. It was always like a little city to me, not a town. But it’s not a bad place to live, and it never has been, now since Katrina came, we have a lot of different people. And one thing about Port Allen, you can’t just come here and move in and try and take over this town, it’s always been a tight-knit town. They’re all cliquish. [This sentiment regarding Katrina migrants is echoed several times by the people in Jack’s Place, and at Sugar Patch Lounge too, but hardly at all at either one of the Addis bars. I guess it goes to show how much of a difference 6 or 7 miles and a 10 minute drive can make.]

How would you describe the Port Allen area, basic classifications could be like urban, or rural, or someplace in between. “Rural.” So what makes it rural? “A lot of farmland. Um, I mean, I know West Baton Rouge Parish is the smallest parish in the state, and we actually grow the most sugarcane. Because most of our land is farmland. So yeah, consider it rural.” So after three decades of living here, has it grown or changed or gotten smaller? “I would probably say the biggest development would be all the stuff they added on [Louisiana highway] 415 like the strip malls and everything, when I was a child that wasn’t there.”

Morley Marina

“Morley really is a relaxing place to me. Sit there, drink a beer, and watch some boats pass. We put our boats in there if we ever go to the camp and stuff. I got people from Texas, California, they come in, and Oklahoma, that I met over the years, they love to go back there, dance, listen to the music, dance, watch the boats, I mean, they don’t see shit like that.” So is Morley still more of a weekend bar or a weekday bar? “Really, the, on the one, if you really want peace and quiet after a day of work, it’s either Charlie’s or Morley, it’s a smaller crowd and, you know . . . I mean, you know, the people in there but you can sit there and talk with the group or sit over there and enjoy the peace.”

Appendix D: A Complete Accounting of Quotes and Anecdotes on Sense of Place

Sense of Place

Regarding Charlie's Lounge: "This place is more homey because I know the story, what the owner built, what the owner has done, and what the owner is maintaining as a small business."

If you're sitting [near the center of the bar] do you get to control the atmosphere of the bar? "Well I can't say . . . you know how I am . . . I don't know if I do or don't but seems like everybody pays attention when I talk."

"Quiet compared to the other bars."

The owner got rid of the pool tables as a result of some altercations between men in the bar. This was a solution that she used to control the atmosphere in the bar. So even though the customers fostered an atmosphere where fighting was kind of normal, it was the owner who ultimately controlled the bar interior that the final say on the bar which modified the atmosphere so that fighting over the pool tables could not happen.

"I feel comfortable in here, you know, you know a lot of people here and um, it's not a place that they have a lot of fights."

"They have some kids in here and most of them are pretty well behaved."

From a bartender at Chuck's Lounge: "The history of the bar regarding the back door and segregation is a blemish on the sense of place but other parts of its history are a positive like cheap fishbowls and that LSU students used to come over to the bar quite often. Also, she thinks that it is great that the bar has been around for so long even though it has had many different owners since the original owner, and that everybody seems to have some kind of story one way or another about it."

Demonstrating a somewhat developing place attachment from sense of place: "I know it's a little over sixty years old. When it opened, it was segregated. And um, you know the back door where the black people would buy their alcohol. Um, one of my good friends used to own it, that's who [the current owner] bought it from . . ."

When you say "relaxed" could you put that into terms of what, like people do that would be relaxing? "There's no, it's not loud, it's not bright, you know, it's just kind of dark and everybody sits around and talks and have drinks. You know, it's, it's nothing really exciting, the only thing exciting is the people, it's because you're with friends and you know, you can sit here and have a conversation you know without worrying about loud

music or dancing, you know, it's more of a hanging out in your living room." [This happens to be from a bartender at Chuck's Lounge.]

From a Chuck's Lounge customer in her mid-20s: "Whenever I was younger I went to Jack's which was right up the street, but nobody goes to Jack's anymore. I go to Delirious [Daiquiris] now to meet a friend of mine and have a beer or two." So what about Jack's makes it . . . ? "It's an old bar . . ." This [Chuck's] is an old bar . . . "Yeah, but this is old in a different way. That one has stayed old, nothing ever changes, it's not, to me it's not very, like they don't have updated stuff in there really." Updated stuff like uh, like what? "Like they're all old machines and their little touch screen thing [the video trivia machine] and I haven't been in there in a long time, I don't know if they added that."

One Chuck's Lounge customer just made up a word to describe Jack's Place: "It's just, I guess 'cuz it's so "teeniney" that . . ." It's what? "It's small, teeniney. Little." What was the word you used? "Huh?" T . . . ? "Teeniney." I don't really know what that means. "Teeniney." Okay, how do you spell that? "T-I-N-I-N-E-Y, I don't know if that's a real word, I just made it up." Okay, so I'll have to quote that. "Do it!"

Discussing the physical qualities of the bar: "The one thing I do like, which I haven't turned these [the lights in the bar] down yet, but I will, is that I don't like to walk into a bar like a local bar like this and just be lit up. You know, you come in here to relax and when it's darker you tend to relax a little more. It's just the setting, the mood setting."

Regarding the décor: So about 20 years ago when you worked here, now it's got beer signs, SEC baseball, all sorts of LSU and Saints stuff . . . "It had all the same types of things on the walls like that Miller Lite sign has been there forever. That's never moved. The Budweiser where their license and all that is, that's original. And way back in the day I think there was one other one. But as the times change, the vendors come in and some of the, most of the signs belong to the vendors so they have to keep 'em updated like the new Bud Light Platinum, Bud Light Lime . . ." [The beer vendors/distributors have some hand in the décor of the bars.]

What makes this bar [Chuck's] distinct from other bars like Charlie's, from Mad Hog, or in general? "To me, it's the aura of the place. This place has so much history and a lot of people around town know the history in here, because when Chuck was alive, it was, they used to have LSU used to come in buses for the fishbowls and they do have pool tables. This has so much history there is just, and it, it's know by everybody, I mean people have worn t-shirts in New York before and have been like, "I've been there" It's crazy, the stories you hear."

[Chuck's] "It's chill. I don't have rap music that I don't know blaring in my face like, you know, it's more of like, you can come here and shoot pool and everybody's like, fine. I mean, nobody'll bother you. You know, it's older, white men in here and they'll make

their little sexual comment to you and you just kind of laugh about it and walk away and they won't come bother you."

Regarding Jack's Place: "Old timey, really smoky, good people for the most part."

"The other bars are more, how do I explain it, it's not that they're not comfortable, I don't know how to say that right, it's just a different feeling. I don't really know how to describe it. Here it's more social, people don't really get drunk, super drunk. I'm not saying they don't, they don't tend to as much. There [at other local bars] it's more of a party scene. Here it's more of just, relax, have a few drinks, visit."

From an informant who has been a solid regular for four months at Sugar Patch Lounge: When you first came in here, what did you think about it, you know, the inside, the people, stuff like that? "Oh, I liked the place. This is the first one [the first bartender] that waited on me. She started filling me in, she said, 'you don't need to leave your money on the bar, you don't know who's gonna get it.' Well, I don't drink at a place where I can't leave the money on the bar." [Leaving the money on the bar from which the bartender takes to pay for each of your rounds is customary at some bars and doesn't involve a constant interaction regarding money between the bartender and the customer.] "She said, you know, 'Well, just letting you know.' I said, 'I hear you, if they take it and needed it that bad, they can keep it.' But you can tell by the people that are regulars than the people that'll come and grab and snatch and run. I figure this is a nice bar, they're honest."

Describing the Bar to Someone Who has Never Been There

"Just looking for a quiet place. It's quiet and a place to relax. If it gets too loud, some of the customers will leave."

"Just regular. I mean they have the regular bikers, they have the regular, the regular work people, but it's been every, it's all very routine, even the newcomers like you become regular."

What about the physical nature, characteristics of the bar how would you, how would you describe it? "The physical . . . it's a old time, you know, like you see in the movies. You haven't seen it with Paul Newman and Tom Cruise? You, you need to see that. When we're talking about a bar like this you know with the walls and stuff." So you think that the way the bar looks is the way you would expect a bar to look? "Oh, yeah! This is like a antique place. This is what I'm saying. You know, this is nostalgia." [The movie that he is talking about is *The Color of Money* but what he probably actually meant was a movie titled *The Hustler* to which the former is a sequel, in which actor Paul Newman stars as a pool shark.]

Regarding Jack's Place: "It could be changed but it's a friendly bar." What do you mean it could be changed? "It could have lights [be brighter on the inside], karaoke and stuff, and to where it would draw a crowd."

Demonstrating a weak sense of place at Sugar Patch Lounge: How would you describe Sugar Patch Lounge in terms of its physical characteristics to somebody that's never been here before? "They need to try . . . they need to come try it out." I mean, would you say that there's something unique about it compared to any other bars in the area? "Yeah, because, I mean, it's clean, the people aren't rude."

First Impressions of the Bar

"[The first time in Chuck's] it was very, very busy, and I didn't feel very good. But one of the ladies that was here that night diagnosed me with rheumatoid, and that's really the only reason that it stands out. But I used to come home from work on occasion, and it was a bitch."

"I like, I like a place with history. It's a very friendly place, comfortable."

From a Sugar Patch Lounge bartender: "I came in before [the current owner/proprietor] took the place over. And I swore I didn't want to come back in this place because it was nasty and filthy, I mean, it was just a dirty, grimy lookin', I mean, spider webs hanging from the ceiling and stuff, it was just a dirty place to me, and we stayed for a little while but I didn't want to stay in here. [. . .] It wasn't the people, the place, to me, it wasn't clean at all." So it's a lot different. "It's way different, I mean, than what it was because, when she [the current owner] came in, they tore, it used to be the poker machines used to be on that wall over there, they used to have a bar that ran down the middle like, little bar where you could sit on both sides, they tore all that out. This [the bar area] was much smaller, they made the bar area wider which makes it easier when you work and, when you do get busy in you're workin' more than one person back here, you have more room to move and get around and stuff. But [the owner], she really did a lot when she came in here and remodeled."

The Bartender

From a customer: "The bartender really impacts the atmosphere."

When people are hanging out, what do they talk about normally, just in general? "All kinds of stuff, really. Sometimes I feel like a therapist back here sometimes with some of them [laughs]. They'll be talking about their personal problems, the spouse, the kids, and their job, just really everything." So from where you stand, from that side of the bar, how would you describe your role as the bartender in terms of kind of managing the sense of place that goes on here? "Just that I'm always making sure that I'm talking to everybody that I can. They obviously know that I have to service everybody but um, you know, you

talk to somebody to where you're like giving them one hundred percent attention to them and you give them as much information or conversation as you can in a short amount of time while you're serving them and then you go serve the next one and then you always come back. And you just have to manage your time and spread it out." And that's important to the place? "Very important . . . very important to the owner too. She definitely wants us to be friendly and, you know, but a sense of order too. Obviously you gonna have people fighting every now and again, you know, and us to be the one to kind of neutralize it. If we decide, 'Okay, if this one actually started something, they need to leave, have someone take them home.' [The owner's] even taken people home before." Now, there's different bartenders. How does having a different bartender change what goes on at the bar or change the feel of the bar? "Just different personalities, you know. Uh, some customers may like me better than the other bartender or they may like her better than me, but that's where your variety is, you know, especially like on karaoke nights you have two bartenders and this Saturday we have a band so we're gonna have two bartenders. So you're gonna, you'll see, if you gonna be here, you'll see that like [another bartender] and I'll be workin', she's got her few that prefer her, I've got mine that prefer me and you'll see where they kind of segregate just to get me to serve 'em and just get her to serve 'em." 'Cause y'all don't probly have, y'all don't uh, don't serve this part of the bar and she doesn't serve that part of the bar . . . "No. We're all over it." But they do group together . . . "They will group and then, [customers calling out specific bartender's name], yeah." In terms of people sitting in groups apart from the role of the bartender making that happen. When people come in I noticed here some people sit over there um, but, you know, but at about four [PM], usually the older crowd starts coming in and then by the end of the evening you get a younger crowd. How does the bar atmosphere shift from that 4 [PM] to 8 or 10 PM? "I don't think it's really the bar atmosphere that shifts. It's just the people change, you know. And of course we cater obviously to the one, I call them the 'old heads' you know, but that been coming for years. Like yesterday [an older customer], I been knowing him since when I was twenty and worked at Mutt's in Brusly. It's no longer there but, you know, just, we reminisce, and they don't stay long. They go home. They go home early and the younger crowd comes in and then we're just, "Hey, go put five dollars in the jukebox," play some music, you know. We shift with the crowd. It's not the atmosphere that's changing really."

As far as bartenders go, I guess, how does the bartender play a role for you? "Actually, since [one of the current bartenders] has been here . . . I come more often." So having a good bartender . . . what makes a good bartender? "She's [from a female informant] very friendly and johnnie-on-the-spot."

The People

"If the bar changed, it would be because these people stopped coming here."

Identity of the Bar

“It’s a pool hall. [All three bartenders I interviewed immediately corrected me and reminded me that Jack’s Place is not a bar, it’s a pool hall. Again, an indication that it is what the owner tries to get them to represent to customers.] It used to be, you know, like home, everybody just could talk and do their homework, but now it’s not like that, it’s just a bunch of old men.” What makes this bar distinct from other bar, you know, around here? “I think Jack’s has been here for so long, I think that’s what makes it different. Because people don’t like, it’s the only pool hall in West Baton Rouge that’s been around for the longest.”

“It’s not like . . . this place isn’t like most bars. This is a pool hall, technically, it’s not a barroom. It’s a pool hall that serves alcoholic beverages. I’ve been getting pool players lately, when I first started, we had lots of them.”

Appendix E: A Complete Accounting of Quotes and Anecdotes on Place Attachment

Place Attachment

Did you come to the bar when it was at its original location? “Yes, I moved with them.”

“I love the owners, I love the atmosphere, clean, nice, family-oriented. I like Chuck’s, but this[Charlie’s Lounge] is still my favorite place.”

“It’s just a comfortable place. I like coming here and everybody knows me and I’m not scared to walk in by myself.”

You feel safe here? “Yes, I feel very safe.” Would you feel just as safe at Chuck’s? “No, I feel more comfortable here.”

What keeps you coming back to Charlie’s Lounge? “The friends. The way the people are, it’s a quiet place. I just enjoy coming here for the quiet atmosphere. And you can hear yourself talk.”

Why did you start coming to Charlie’s Lounge? “Believe it or not it was quiet compared to the other bars.”

Why did you start coming back again? “‘Cuz it’s mostly local people and uh, I live like a quarter mile that way.”

Regarding attachment to the bar vs. the people: “More the environment, not necessarily the people. There’s the same people at other places, same type of people.”

At Charlie’s Lounge, there are some regulars that come every day and then leave for a year or so but when they are in the area they come back to the bar. Such as workers that are seasonal to one degree or another. I saw the same thing at Sugar Patch Lounge with truckers that are in town that call the bar’s owner to get a ride to the bar from whatever hotel they’re staying at down on I-10 and that catch a ride back to the hotel (I gave a trucker a ride once). At Jack’s Place, the owner’s son indicated the same thing about sailors off the ships in the 50s or 60s at Jack’s Place that came in on like six-month cycles. It may not be place attachment exactly, but it does indicate an affinity for a particular place to continue returning to it like salmon going upstream to mate or some other analogy that involves animals migrating to and from the same place.

After having a tough/stressful day, one customer feels, “not so stressed,” after spending some time at the bar.

What is your relationship with this place? “It’s good. I mean I enjoy the people I work with, I mean the owners are good people, and the people who come in here are good people.” So it’s really about the people? “Yeah.”

“When I first walked in, I was like, “what the fuck am I doing here? I will never be able to connect with these people, and they are my family. And it’s taught me a lot about humility and not judging a book by its cover and, I don’t know, it’s just taught me a lot. And my friends that have never come here before, they come here, they immediately love it. They come two and three times a week now.”

So how would you characterize your relationship with this bar now compared to when you first started coming here? “It’s a lot more love than hate. And it’s not a burden anymore. I don’t know, I sometimes try to distance myself a little bit when I feel a little bit overwhelmed about everything.” “I work every holiday, every year. But I still love it more than, more than I . . .”

So do you feel like you receive, I guess, emotional support through this bar now that you live alone? “Exactly.” So does that mean a lot to you? “Exactly.”

“I used to come here [to this building] when it was Joe Morris’ [. . .] and he had it an uh, then, for whatever reason he closed it and it stayed closed, what, a year or so? And uh, when it reopened, I just, on this side of the river a lot and decided to start stopping in and started spending more and more time here.” That’s quite a ways from your home [about 20 miles] do you drive over here every day pretty much from your home? “Not every, I’d say at least two to three times a week.

What keeps people coming back to the Bar

Quietness, peaceful, enjoyable. It’s a Cheers-like environment.

If my parents didn’t own it I never would’ve come here. I never go to Addis for anything. It’s kind of out of the way but I like that it’s a little bit hidden. To come here it takes a little bit of effort.

“I’ll stop here every day if I could, ‘cause I, like I said, my friends, it’s all my friends here. And I want to see them. You know, catch up on what happened that day or that week or, however long it’s been since I saw ‘em. Or I can come in to work and same thing.”

So what keeps you coming back to this bar? “My best friend [a bartender].” And you made friends with her through working here? “Mmhhh, and her family. And the people here . . . great.” So how often do you come here? “I don’t know, sometimes three nights a week. Yeah.” So what kind of a relationship would you have . . . would you say that you

have with this place? “Very personal.” A personal relationship? “We won’t get into that [laughs].”

“When I was 19, 20 years old [approximately 20 years ago] I actually worked back here back then [. . .] and just because it’s such a small town, everybody knows everybody and it’s really close to a lot of peoples’ houses. So they can be more careful not having to travel far. And then just reuniting with old friends and I know [the current owner] and them before they owned the bar. It’s just like a home away from home.”

“My main deal is it’s local, close to my house and because of my job. Like I said, I can’t risk my license. I can walk home from here.”

Querying a customer at Chuck’s Lounge: Do you ever go to Charlie’s Lounge? “I don’t go as much. I was used to this place to start with.”

What keeps you coming back to Chuck’s Lounge? “The atmosphere. It’s chill.”

At Jack’s Place: “A buddy told me they have regulation pool tables and then on Sundays, this bar has, you can play pool for three dollars a day all day long so I get to meet people. I have friends that come over here and I can practice and the other guys, the older guys that play while they teach me so I’m learning, so I’m having a ball.” However, he went on to state that if, “they didn’t have pool tables [he] wouldn’t’ve came,” to the bar to shoot pool, especially considering that this particular informant does not drink alcohol. [However . . .] You wouldn’t’ve bothered coming? “I would now.”

From a customer at Jack’s Place who does not frequently go to the bar: “Three dollar pool on Sundays, and [the owner] is an awesome dude.”

From a customer at Jack’s Place: “I enjoy the uh, bartenders, I enjoy the people here. I like to talk. And it was company for me [after the informant’s spouse passed away]”

What keeps you coming back to Jack’s Place? “The owners.”

“I like coming here because I feel comfortable.” Is it because it’s quieter that you like it better? [Nods].

From a customer of only four months at Sugar Patch Lounge: So what, uh, what kept you coming back to this bar? Was it the people, was it the fact that there’s not that many bars to choose from around here? “It was the friendliness of the people, the location and honesty, it really was. Plus I had a good time.”

At Sugar Patch Lounge: “I think the karaoke guy attracts a lot, like on karaoke nights because they’ve always, they put out there that, you know, they doing karaoke and we got this going on some, then they get on Facebook and post on Facebook, you know, times we got going on stuff. So we get a lot of people come out for that and [the karaoke guy].

The guy that does karaoke has a band also and he's well-known in the area, he plays with some, trying to think of the name. They used to play here on Saturday nights, and we're doing okay with it and then all of a sudden it just kind of got real slow."

If the Bar Burned Down (or just closed)

"It would disappoint me very bad. It's the people that make the bar. I would definitely miss it. Big time."

"I'd just miss the people. I'm sure we [all the regulars] would find another bar to go hang out at."

"I wouldn't like it, but uh, I'd prob'ly go to Chuck's or something and drink a few cuz that's like halfway from here to my house, like ¾ of a mile from my house to Chuck's. But I wouldn't like it like I like it over here."

"I'd hate to see her close; I would be going to another bar."

From the owner of Charlie's Lounge: "They'd probably come back. It depends on what somebody did with it. It depends. It depends if they got a young crowd or if on a Friday night they got a loud band then most of these [customers] is not going to stay." [This indicates that place attachment is driven largely by sense of place.]

From a customer at Chuck's Lounge: "If they closed down? I don't know, I know a few people that go to Charlie's, it just kind of depends on where everybody else would migrate off to. I don't have any, I don't have a backup place."

"I would feel sad. [. . .] We would probably stop going to bars for a while." "We would miss the people." "We don't know the people [at another bar] and here everybody's more relaxed and friendly."

"[I would miss] the people, and uh, just the good times I have here, I guess. I'm not really a big bar person. I don't get out much but when I do get out this is where I come because this is where I'd been coming before I even worked here."

"God, I'd probably be, um, it, it's a big part of me now. Because the friends that I had all through high school and all through college, I don't anymore. And it wouldn't be for the people that I met here, you know, I have such strong ties with it now, it would be a big hole. So, we would have to find a new spot, definitely." So what you're saying is more about missing the people and still finding a place to get together or something like that? "I think so, I hope so."

"I would be devastated at the loss of this place. But I would still have the people." Where would y'all hang out? "Oh god only knows. We would find somewhere be it another bar,

somebody's house . . . you know, this is just the building that we come to. It's not our relationship. It's just where we are."

Why drink at and return to the same place for drinking: So is it necessary do you think where you can drink for that to happen? I mean you said you can or do drink at other peoples' houses but what does hanging out at a bar versus somebody's house mean?

"You . . . chances are you will meet more people in a bar. More different people. And drinking makes you more talkable, I don't even know if that's a word. And . . ."

Talkative? "Talkative. And it also makes you more honest. And you're more outgoing. You're more willing to talk to a stranger than let's say, if you weren't at the time."

Honest because alcohol kind of makes you . . . lubricates your tongue, I guess? "Alcohol makes you honest. Makes you talk, talkative and honest, and outgoing."

"I'd be depressed, you know. I mean it's a place I go to first only. I mean on weekends, I mention Nick's [a bar in the neighboring city of Plaquemine], you know, I might go over there on a weekend and drink a beer. I know people over there, you know, but this is my bar. It's not my bar in ownership no more, but it's my bar to go to first. I don't come here every day, but when I want a beer, I'll . . . you'll see me here"

"I'd be devastated." Why would you be devastated? "Because this place, when you walk in the door, you feel like family. They know, you know, everybody by their first name. Everybody's . . . there's not a strange face in here, you know what I mean. They make you feel welcome when you walk in the door. Like you're here to relax and forget about your shit, stuff."

"Just like a neutral meeting place for people to come meet. 'Cause everybody wants to have a couple drinks every now and again after work, stress, kids, husbands, wives, whatever, bills. Just to not have that place to go. And it's different than other bars to me. It doesn't have that home, I don't know, like you're at home. You can be comfortable."

Regarding Chuck's Lounge: "I think I'd only have to wait a while before they rebuilt."

Regarding Chuck's Lounge: "I would cry."

Regarding Jack's Place: "I would be sad because, you know, the friends that I've developed here are, you know, I wouldn't see them again unless they would go to another bar, which, you know, to Sugar Patch, which I've been going to out there." [Again, there is no attachment to the place per se as much as there is to the relationships that this person has formed with some of the people in the bar, his affinity does not seem to be to the place as much as it is to some of the people because he would be just as happy at another bar that he goes to a couple of times per week to sing karaoke.]

“Sad.” Sad? What would you miss about it? “Coming here and enjoying myself and [talking to other regulars].”

“Well, I would be sad, of course. Even if I were to change jobs [this is from a bartender], I would still want to come here.”

“Well, ha, I’d have to hunt [chuckles] there’s some more bars around there where I live. There’s another one about five miles from where I live and it, I don’t think they’re open that early. You know, it might be more like uh, 5:30, six o’clock, something like that.” Okay, and since this one [Sugar Patch Lounge] opens earlier, you tend to come here instead? “Right. [. . .] I just hope it don’t close. I hope it outlasts me [laughs]. But if it don’t, I’m ready”

“I don’t get attached to bars. I’ve traveled on the road for 35 years [. . .] but I don’t get attached to bars.”

At Sugar Patch Lounge, exhibiting weak attachment to the bar and also to the place: If [the owner] were ever to close this bar down, how would you feel about that, what would you do especially considering that you live right next door? “Find somewhere else to go.” Is there anything in particular that you like here? “Yep, the people.” What about the people? “I enjoy being around them. A lot of fun.”

At Sugar Patch Lounge, exhibiting weak attachment to the bar and also to the place: “Nothing. Maybe somebody else would come through here if we ever closed down.”

“The people, I mean, I made friends with a lot of people here and the fact, I guess, that I live right here [in a house behind the bar], you know, I would, I would miss the people that come in here. I’m really good friends, close friends [with] a lot of people that come in here.”

Becoming a Regular

“It is easier to become a regular if the bartender knows you.”

What did you like about the bar or what appealed to you about it? “I guess mainly what started it was coming up to see her [a bartender], and like I said, the girls that work here and then met a few people and uh, that came here I guess ‘cause it was close to their house or whatever. Come over here every now and then just to see people.”

From a bartender at Chuck’s Lounge: “My mom likes to tell us every day, the way we have she wants everybody to feel at home or whenever they walk into the door, she says every time. I personally am not excellent at initiating conversation, “hey your new face where you from, how’d you hear about us, what you in town for?” And because the people that come here are so regular, it’s really easy to spot the outsider, because you

know everybody already.” So, just in general once you get to know somebody who they are, what they’re doing here, they’re no longer an outsider? “Once you know what they drink when they walk in the bar.”

When you came in here the first time with the people in here, did you know some of them? “Oh, yes.” Okay, so integrating into being a regular customer was, was a difficult or easy . . .? “No, nothings hard with me [laughs].” Okay, so you felt comfortable here, you felt welcome? “I was very comfortable.”

Relationships with Others

What kind of relationship would you say you have with this place in terms of the people or what it means to you? “For me it would be all about the people.”

“It’s friends, camaraderie with everybody I know here. Most of the people I know in Addis I know in here mostly.”

“The camaraderie just like you and me talking right now.”

“I cut up so it’s not . . . it’s fun for me but there’s certain friends that I come to see every day and one of them is sitting beside you, and we aggravate anybody we can.”

“I get along with everybody and everybody pretty much gets along with me. I guess it’s just like friends. I like to hang out with people that are interesting. Everybody gets along.”

“It’s like, have my home, my mom, my kids, and then I have my bar family. I have my group of regulars and my other bartenders, my boss and that’s my bar family. Some of my closest friends, just soon as I could call my momma for something, I could call any of them and, you know, be just as . . . it’s a family in here [Chuck’s].”

What does this place mean to you as a bar? “Um, the bar, I mean it’s just a lot of good friends, it’s you know, local, you know I know just about everybody in here, you know, and uh, got a lot of good friends I know.”

So the relationships aren’t just strictly within the walls of this bar, they’re outside the bar too? “Right, you become friends with people you know and a lot, some of them are like family to you, you know, especially me, I’m not from this area, you know, I’ve only been in this area seven years and I become close to a lot of people, you know, in the area and . . .”

Relationship with the Bar

What kind of a relationship do you have with this bar would you say? “Well, I have a real good relationship because, you know, I’ve met the owner, and the sons of the owner, and

the barmaids, and the people that come by here. So I have like a family. So I come over here, everybody knows each other, we shake hands, you know, and hug, and all that stuff.” This is a pretty strong expression of attachment considering that this informant has only been going to the bar at most a couple of times per week for the past year and a half.

“This, to me, this is like working for my family. I love [the owner], and the customers, they are very good people. They’re really good to me. Getting to know the local people. It’s, I didn’t grow up in a small town, and it’s a whole different feeling. I really like it.”

Knowing the History of the Bar

From a five-year long customer at Chuck’s Lounge: “[I don’t know] a whole lot. I know it’s been here a long, long time. I know people that talk about it like the regular customers, “come in here when I was a kid,” “my dad would come drink a beer and I’d sit on the bar or get a coke,” I mean, you know, but as far as, you know everybody talk about the fishbowls. They still have fishbowls. But that’s, I don’t know a whole lot about it. I know it’s a big to-do on Mardi Gras over here. It’s right on the [parade] route.”

Demonstrating a somewhat developing place attachment from sense of place: “I know it’s a little over sixty years old. When it opened, it was segregated. And um, you know the back door where the black people would buy their alcohol. Um, one of my good friends used to own it, that’s who Ms. Linda bought it from . . .”

[Despite being a regular customer for 27 years . . .] How familiar are you with the history of Jack’s Place? “Not very familiar.” Not very familiar? Ok, but you’re still really attached to it. “Yeah, well, actually I went to school with one of [the owner’s] daughters. So I guess that would kind of attach me to . . .”

“Well, I know it’s, it’s been established since . . . 1929? Originally was at the port, and they moved in here, I’m not sure what year that was. Who knows? A lot of history, a lot of, a lot of history. There, there are grown people that are, like your age, they grew up here, my age, little older. A lot of people grew up in here.”

First time in the Bar

“It was interesting because I started, had just started to work up the road [at a local business], I didn’t know the place existed. And uh, I came down here with some guys from work and came in and the first thing I noticed is that it ain’t full of kids. Everybody here is uh, my age [52 years old] or around my age.”

“We came out here with a crew [of friends/coworkers] like always and it was just enjoyable. We could sit back there and cut up and have a good time. Beer specials, you know, two-dollar, what is it a dollar fifty bowls [fishbowls], the beer’s pretty cheap. It was a good experience.”

So do you remember your first time coming to Chuck's Lounge? "Yes. 'Bout four years ago." Do you have any particular memories of coming in here for the first time? Did people already know you when you came in here? "Yeah. Because I was my mother's child." [This informant's mother is a bartender at Chuck's.] So you weren't coming into an unfamiliar environment or anything like that. "Right. I don't, I don't go to unfamiliar environments like I don't go anywhere I don't know. I guess I just don't feel comfortable with . . ." And what are some of your favorite memories . . . anything in particular? "Karaoke night. [I sing] a little bit of everything."

Why did you start coming here and do you remember your first time coming here? "Local, I live here in Addis so local bar. We knew all the owners since we started coming here but we knew the owners at that time."

From a Chuck's bartender: Do you remember your first time coming into this bar either as a customer or a bartender and what you thought about it? "I just thought, "this thing is huge, just wide open, just all open," you know. And it just had a, I don't remember, I think they had a band the first time I came. And it was swamp pop and it was just packed and standing room only and it was just wall-to-wall people and I was like, "whoa," and I was just taken back with just the energy that was in the room." What are some of your most memorable moments for you in this bar, your favorite times in this bar, or . . . "I have my fortieth birthday here. [Laughs] That was a . . . yeah, I had to be drove home but just, you know, like when we have parties or . . . they're known for . . . [the owners] really good with, if it's somebody our customers, it's their birthday coming she'll do a spread of food, she'll put a table over there. And she supplies it all, give 'em free drinks off-and-on through the night, you know, just to show her appreciation for them being a customer."

Memories

What are some of your most memorable moments in this bar? "There's so many memories . . . I love this bar. Most of them are about individuals, you know. I love the bands and when, before Mad Hog opened, I used to have bands every week. And we used to be packed in here every single week, you know, and I may get that back [since Mad Hog burned down], because it was fun and everybody was up [to] have fun and it wasn't so drama-fied."

Appendix F: A Complete Accounting of Quotes and Anecdotes on Rootedness

Rootedness

So you would say that you really belong to this group? “I think so.”

I noticed that when the bartender’s brother got up you moved over to that seat. “That’s my chair. I had one at Jay’s in Whitecastle too actually. Sometimes I come in here and they got a lot of people here for a wedding or a party and I move over to the side and I feel out of place over there but I’ll sit there.”

“It’s part of my day. My friends are here and my friends make my day.”

“The owner is like a momma, not a momma, but a very good friend. She cooks something back there, she brings me a place, she knows I’m single, and tonight, I don’t have a plate, but I’m here anyway. I grew up when this place was a cow pasture, and cane fields and all that, they didn’t have nothing around here. I just feel comfortable coming here without the city life part of it.”

“A lot of my local friends come in here. I know everybody in here. Pretty much any time of the day, I’m going to know half the people in here.”

“Lived here [in Addis] all my life [and now live in Plaquemine a few miles to the south]. I normally stop here after visiting my elderly parents and I’ll stop by after work and just relax and wind down and get ready for work the next day.”

From the owner of Charlie’s Lounge: In 27 years of running the place, what are your favorite memories here? “The people. Most of them are dead now. A lot of them are.”

Do you feel in place here, do you ever feel out of place in this bar? “I feel out of place when I’m not in a good mood. A lot, a lot of times people tell me I’m a little pissed off when I’m not drinking. And that’s when I feel out of place, because I like to be that way, I don’t want to come off as being unhappy with the people here, because it’s the opposite. Um, that’s the only time I feel out of place though.” So when you’re in a bad mood, or not friendly is when you feel out of place? Okay, and because you’re in a bad mood or you’re not feeling friendly, that makes you feel out of place because this is a place of being in a good mood and being friendly? “Yes. Not only because it’s my job [as a bartender] to be that way, but because, like I genuinely love everybody that come here, with the exceptional few that get on my nerves. But I just don’t want them to think that I’m upset with them in any way, or it’s a burden to be here if I’m working, ‘cause it’s not. I love working here. Most days.”

“I can come here [to Chuck’s] by myself any day because I know I’ll know somebody, I’ll have somebody to talk to, somebody to hang out with.”

“Just very friendly. You don’t meet a stranger in here. Everybody’s very, ‘Hey, man, where you from,’ you know. ‘Cause they obviously know they’re not from here. So they make them feel welcome.” So you think that makes it more distinct from other bars in the area? “It’s more established. I don’t know just how old it is and how long it’s been here. You’ve got generations where people who come in now, their grandparents used to come when it first originated [sic]. So they hear stories from their grandparents, ‘back in the day at Chuck’s . . .,’ and now that they’re of age they come. I mean even my own kids, they’re 17, 18, and 19, and my 18 and 19 year old have come in here just to see what Chuck’s was about. ‘Cause I’ve worked here, drank here.”

Regarding pool or dart clubs/leagues: “They actually they used to have dart boards years ago and they used to have pool tournaments out of here, all local up and down from Jack Miller’s back in Plaquemine all the way to Jack’s [Place] in Port Allen. Um, that just, I think that’s something that just, the new generation hasn’t picked that up, so like us, the older ones, you’re kind of getting old with it and you know it kind of faded out. They just come in here and they’re more interested in drinking beer and laughing and just shootin’ some pool balls around.” Why do you think they don’t, they aren’t interested in that sort of thing? “Just the gap in generations, I guess. The new thing for the younger generation to do they just like to come sing karaoke, play some pool and have a few drinks.”

“And it’s different than other bars to me. It doesn’t have that home, I don’t know, like you’re at home. You can be comfortable.”

Do you ever, how attached are you to this bar? “Um, well, I mean it’s been a part of my life since I was nineteen years old. So, in and out. Even though I moved back to Houston and, you know, had my kids and whatever for ten years and then, when I came back, you know, it feels like I never missed a beat. You know, you walk in and pretty much, same old faces but new faces too.”

I have seen you in here quite a few times, so is this bar an important part of your daily or weekly routine? “Yep.” Are you in here just about every day? “At least two or three times a week.” What do you, when you come in here, did you have a particularly stressful day or just because you come to see the people you know? “I actually just come to see people.”

How do you feel when you leave at the end of the evening? I mean, do you feel refreshed like emotionally refreshed, mentally refreshed or . . .? “Not really. I mean, just like everybody else.” But coming here is an important part of your day, a routine, a ritual a little bit? “I try to come every day. Some days I can’t every day.”

“You know, in here, you basically know, because I’ve been livin’ in Port Allen all my life.” Yeah, so you know pretty much everybody. “Yeah.”

“It’s [Sugar Patch Lounge] nice, but, like I said, there’s a lot of people that go in there that I don’t know.” Ok, so unfamiliar, being unfamiliar with other people . . . “It’s nice. I ain’t never had no problem there.” Ok, and how about Chuck’s Lounge and Charlie’s Lounge down in Addis? You ever been there? “I went to Charlie’s twice, I think, years ago. Chuck’s . . . I’m comfortable in there, but there’s a lot of people I don’t know. I’d rather go somewhere where I . . . where everybody knows your name.”

What keeps the regulars coming back here [to Jack’s Place]? “Most of the regulars we got here now, pretty much grew up here, since they were young. But the younger ones, they’re all their 20s, late 30s, early 30s, they go somewhere else. Where everybody else goes.”

So you said that it’s [Jack’s Place] an important part of the community, do people receive community and social support through their connections at the bar? “Yes.” Okay, what sort of, sort of . . . “Just all kinds of sort of things from, from uh, “I need help with this,” or, “do you know somebody that can fix my car, my washing machine,” things like that. A place to rent, somebody needed a place to rent. There’s always, everybody always know who’s got what, car for sale.”

When was the first time you came to Jack’s? “When I was 18.” And you came in as a customer? “Yep. Play pool.” You came in as soon as you turned 18? “It was about a week after I turned 18.” Okay. Was coming here something that you looked forward to doing when you turn 18? “I never really thought about it.” So why did you come here the first time? Did somebody invite you, did you come on your own? “I came with my friend Ashley and her mom.” So if that was your first time in here, do you recall what your first impressions were of the bar? “I liked it. It was just homey kinda . . . it’s not too busy.” Okay. Now, did you know [the owner or his sons] or anybody like that before you started working here? “Yes, I knew [the owner and his wife] um, because of my parents. My parents known [the owner] and his dad for many, many years. Since before I was born.” So they were family friends and you were aware of the bar pretty much. Were they friends just through the community, through church? “Through the community. And my mom, my mom used to deliver mail here.”

In his response here, the owner provides an excellent example of what it means to be rooted, not just in general, but in a bar and, in particular, in Jack’s Place. He grew up in the bar. He took his meals in the restaurant when he was going to LSU and it was a place that allowed him easier access to Baton Rouge because of its proximity to the ferry when it was in service, it provided him opportunities for his life which he took advantage of. And it wasn’t always that it meant so much to him as that it meant a lot to his father who

wanted to keep the 'landmark' going, a concept that several of the most regular customers recognize. "Look, I said at the beginning, I was born and raised in this building next door, being raised in this establishment, this building, it even though it wasn't a bar, a shoe shop, a barbershop, all these things are a combination of what I am attached to. And the, not because of the business itself, but because, I guess your closeness to what goes on downtown. Since this is a downtown, the attachment is that it's downtown and it's close to everything. You can get to Baton Rouge and you don't need an automobile to move around, you can walk to the ferry, the shopping, the entertainment theaters, that sort of thing. Everything downtown is so close here. And that's the reason why I went to LSU was so easy. I commuted I didn't stay on campus. Nowadays, I think they want you to stay freshman year on campus. No way. The reason for that, it was more reasonable to do what I was doing, commuting, catching the bus, or catching a ride, and the meals would be here, you'd miss dinner and supper, so you get used to doing that routine and, being a restaurant here to, that, that was the evening meal. Breakfast was a minor thing, but, the main course was the supper, we call the supper, the evening meal. All those things is the reason why I'm attached to this location, as a favor to my father, saying that he'd like to have the landmark continue on. I'm an engineer, and this business is a rough business, you got to take and give, your temperament is got to be a certain way, even though I can adapt, I didn't like the, the things that went on, being an owner. You're called every name under the Sun, you're accused of everything, even though you don't do it, but all those things, they come in here, they tend to direct it, as you can see, and if you didn't have the temperament to absolve that, and that, that was one of the reasons why went to LSU. The other reason is that when you're in business, it's 24 hours a day, seven days a week, no vacations, no nothing, and your talents has to be directed towards the building. I elected to go the other route, now I'm retired, I'm keeping the old landmark going, that's the reason why it's here."

[This second part of the owner of Jack's Place short monologue regarding Jack's Place, fits in well with one of the important aspects of place attachment as well as one of LeMasters (1975) three axioms of being a regular at a bar. However, his motives for keeping the bar the same were not related as much to keep its regulars happy as they were to keeping the bar the way his dad would have wanted the bar, as a well-established bar in good standing in the community.] "Believe it or not, when Jack passed away, I tried to lease the place out, I had five, really six, but five different operators for Jack's place, and the lease that I wrote up, they had to run Jack's, they had to call Jack's Place, it has to be run according to the same way Jack would run it, because you're downtown, everybody in the area, community knows how he ran his business. They had to follow his lead. I didn't know how to do that, I took everything in here, was here, I leased it with the, how can I say that, if you broke a chair, you replace the chair, keep it the same, you can maybe paint, clean up, if you don't like the chairs, you can replace them, this sort of thing. But the antique pool tables had to stay, and keep it running with the same as Jack

did. Five, five people signed leases, put it in their names, the reason I did that is for the liability. You gotta be careful in this business with alcohol, and things are going today. You don't want to be caught into a lawsuit. So, after five people I decided to take it myself, because they didn't either know how to run the business, or whatever, and I watched each one of them go down."

Do you remember the first time you came here, like why you came here? Did you already know like [the owners and the bartenders]? "Yeah, I'm kin to them." So what keeps you coming back to Sugar Patch? Do you live nearby and just . . . where do you live? "In back [in a house behind the bar]."

Knowing the History of the Bar

"I mean, this bar used to be over there [closer to the river before the current levee was built], then they brought it over here . . . landmark." So you're pretty familiar with the history of the bar then? "Pretty much." [I asked about other bars that he goes to or used to go to and he said there were plenty of them.] What happened to them? They just kind of gradually shut down? "They just folded. They just folded. I guess, I guess what happened to them was they had so many bars in one community, community couldn't support everybody, you know. You had a bar here, bar here, bare here, bar here. Guess what? Nobody's gonna make money. You might break even or whatever." So why do you think Jack's has persisted over the decades? "Uh, just . . . over the years uh, it's one of the original bars here since the 20s or whatever the year was and uh, it's just good people." So the people helped to . . . keep going? "Oh yeah, Mr. Jack's and [the current owner] . . . great people. I mean, so you come in, it's still a home town bar, it's not, you know, outrageous . . . things, you know. Don't get me wrong, it has tried, you know, all that. This is one of the only places that I know of that you can go on original pool tables. You don't have to put money in the pool table or nothing. These are old, original tables that you can play pool on."

"I'm very familiar with the history of Jack's, I know [the owner] has told me a lot. Um, also I work at the museum in Port Allen, so we do have history on this building."

First Time in the Bar

From a customer that has been going to the bar for 33 years: Do you remember your first time here and what it was like for you to come here and what the bar was like? "It's probably, hell, it was packed. It was always packed back then. Had people from LSU over here every weekend and all."

Why did you come to Chuck's? "Because it's been here forever." I mean had you heard, did somebody tell you about it or just . . .? "Well, I was dating my husband at the time, he had come down here before me and his father had lived here for a couple years, and so he

was, he loved the Teepee when the Teepee was there. But he always went from the Teepee over here.”

“Let me think . . . first time . . . I don’t remember exactly the first time.” [This individual was about 18 when he first went to Jack’s and has been a regular there for 30 years.] Well, what kept you coming, coming back here for 30 years? “Mr. Jack [the original owner]. Mr. Jack was here and, some of the old guys that was here used to come here, there was all old fellows that my family knew and that everybody knew already. You know [another regular] and all them, they were . . . we had the older people, me, and the ones in between, so we kinda . . . it’s an in between deal. So, when, when the older people started dying off and then the mid-people took over and now kinda like, kinda like I can be the older one [chuckles], kinda like right there to where the younger kids are coming behind me.” So you’re part of the established group of regulars? “I would think so. And I would think that after 30 years, I mean.” Oh, sure. I mean, she [the bartender] was able to, she had your drink ready for you before you even said anything. Because, you know, uh, you know, any, any bartender comes in here, they, even though they’re new, once I’m here [. . .] it might take a little, little while. Then, then they know all I do is walk in . . . I want one and it’s made.”

Regarding Jack’s Place: “Just a small bar. Just looked inviting.” [This individual has been a regular at Jack’s for 27 years.] “I was from Baton Rouge and had just moved over here [to Port Allen]. I was looking for just something small to kind of meet people.”

Do you remember what it was like for you the first time you came in here? “Not really. I’d be lying.” Ok, well, what’s kept you coming back for thirty years? “It’s local. They got nice people coming here, like [the owner] is real nice. It’s just . . . local is the big thing.”

Place in the Bar

One anecdote from Jack’s Place is from one of my informants that I noted several times that at Charlie’s Lounge and at Chuck’s Lounge, the regular customers tend to always sit in about the same seat or area of the bar every time they are there. At Charlie’s, one regular customer that had to sit to the side of the bar got up and moved to one of the two or three bar stools that he always sits at and that is basically where he can be the center of attention in the bar and also is near where the bartender stands when not waiting on a customer. At Chuck’s this is not really the case so much for individuals, but if someone were to make a list of some of the regular customers in Chuck’s Lounge on a given day, I could probably guess at which part of the bar they would sit (near the door, near the inside corner, or at a table) with an 80% success rate (a completely arbitrary estimation). The same was true for Sugar Patch Lounge as well, with different groups of people tending to select the same high-top table to gather around on Tuesday, Thursday, or Friday night when the bar has its busiest nights. Likewise, several customers always sat at

the end of the bar at Sugar Patch Lounge that was by the main entrance. The reason for this was two-fold: 1) during the summer when the air conditioner is blowing through the air ducts and out of the vents in the ceiling about the bar, it can be quite chilly to sit at certain parts of the bar, the warmest area happens to be the end of the bar by the door; 2) that end of the bar by the door is where the bartender sits on a stool when not waiting on a customer at the bar, this gives the regulars who most often sit at that part of the bar a chance to carry on a conversation with the bartender and with each other. At Jack's, one regular customer even has a stool at the end of the bar that he likes to consider his spot and he will even wait for somebody sitting in it to leave so that he can move over and sit there. The rationale behind this is similar to at Sugar Patch Lounge and Charlie's Lounge because the stool at the end of the bar is near where the bartender relaxes when not serving drinks and is also next to the small table where the owner usually sits when he is at the bar and from which he holds court and carries on conversations with the customers who are sitting at the bar. Now, this is not all indicative of rootedness, except maybe in the case of the customer at Jack's who is somewhat adamant regarding his seat at the bar, but it does indicate that some people, even within a place in which they are completely in place, they can still feel out of place when they are not in their familiar spot and able to interact with people in a manner that best befits their mood or preferences for being able to enjoy themselves, relax, and talk to others.

Is there any time you have felt like you don't belong here? "No, never, never. I've always been made comfortable here, always." And is that due to the type of place it is and the other type of people that come in here? "Yeah, and it's just nice, basically quiet, low-key, you know."

So what is it that you like about the people or what is it that makes you think that you fit in with them besides the fact that you know them in the bar? "I mean, we've always hung out together."

Favorite Memories

"You meet some good people here." So the people are really your favorite memories? "Pretty much."

Attraction to the Bar

What kind of relationship would you say you've developed with the place? I mean what is it, what does the bar mean to you in terms of your life, your daily schedule, that sort of thing? "I guess it's just a place that you run into people, mostly it's just after work, unwind, drink a beer, you know, see somebody you don't see every night, you know, so often." So it's something that you can do here that you can't do at home? "Yeah, you at home, you know, you're more likely not to see somebody." So it's about seeing your friends . . . "Catching up on stuff. Especially when people come from out of town."

What's kept you coming back to this bar for 60 years? "Well, I never moved out of Addis. I was born here and I, I left for two years when I went into the service. I went to Korea. But I like draft beers, and I meet a lot of my friends here. The ones that's surviving [laughs], I got a lot of friends. But I was born, you know, that first street over here, that's Foret Street. My grandfather owned the property from the highway, the new highway from there, all the way to the woods half a block wide. My mother was born in the house on that end of it there. And I was born on the same street. If the post office wasn't there, you could look at the house. But it's not there anymore, they tore, they moved it and put another house. My wife was born about a block over the railroad tracks on Foret Street." So you've got a lot of family history in Addis. Even before Addis was, even existed then. "Well my dad, my grandfather, when my grandfather and my mother lived down at the end, this town was known as Baton Rouge Junction. It wasn't even Addis. That's how long ago it was. And this was the main highway right out here [the street that Chuck's is on]. You came in if you was on the highway and you come out the other end, go to Plaquemine. But before that, you had to go on the river road, go all the way around the Sardine Point, which is a peninsula that sticks out, and back in to Plaquemine." And regarding his present day rootedness: "I bought two of the lots and my uh, brother bought another one. So we still came in contact with the land but not the way it should've been [chuckles]."

"Like home. This bar is more like home than a bar."

So what keeps you coming back here besides the fact that it's small? "I just think it's more comfortable than other bars." How are other bars uncomfortable then? "Too many people, too much in-and-out." What does the fact that those other places have too much in-and-out mean in terms of other people and interacting with other people? "Well, just because I, like here, everybody knows everybody and you can come in here and visit and there's not constant strangers coming in and going out, coming in and going out."

"It's very much a community. This, this bar, this pool hall is definitely a community where everybody knew everybody, friends that grew up together." So do you think that, the fact that this bar has so much history means a lot to the people that come in here? "It does. It definitely, it's like, it's like home to them. They're very calm, they are relaxed, they're not here to . . . party. They're here to visit their family, their pool hall family."

If the Bar ever Burned Down (or just closed)

"They would probably move it further down the road somewhere. Chuck's [crowd] would either move to the other, to another bar, or to the north, Side Porch [daiquiri bar] or whatever." So further south meaning to Plaquemine? "People work and they got all day, whether it's here or somewhere else, they gonna find a place to drink."

“This is my second home, this is my, I made this the way I wanted it. The atmosphere in here is the way that I’ve always wanted it. I tell my bartends, if somebody walks in that door [treat them like] they belong here all their life. That’s the way it made me feel when I came down here. And there’s not a lot of places around here that make you feel like that. I’m a Damn Yankee²⁵ coming down here, you know.”

[Gets a little emotional at the idea of Chuck’s not being around anymore]. “You can come to her funeral. It’d kill her.” Could you put in words how much the place means to you? “It’s . . . when you think about it, you think Chuck’s and Chuck’s Lounge will never die. As long as I’m able . . . [breaks down tearing up again, then, emphatically] It is him. It’s a part of me.”

“Seeing the owners every day.”

“If the bar shut down . . . I really don’t think that this, there might be another place to go drink and it’s not in Port Allen, if this bar were shuttin’ down, you actually would lose a landmark in Port Allen that can never be replaced. I don’t care, this is one, one of the premier landmarks in Port Allen, Jack’s.”

“I’d be sad because there’s only one other place that I really go and that’s the Pastimes [near downtown Baton Rouge], but as far as other bars in Port Allen . . .”

“I wouldn’t like it. Because, first of all, everywhere else is more expensive. I go to French Quarter [a daiquiri bar nearby], but there’s a lot of people that you don’t know because they ain’t from here.”

When asked how attached she is to Charlie’s, the owner replied, “I’d sell it in a heartbeat.” But would come back if there was music or something. However, she would miss the people, “Cause I’ve got attached to a lot of them.”

“If Jack’s closed, I would be sad.” Why would you be sad? “Cause it’s like home to me. It’s like my second home.”

“It would be very sad. ‘Cause, I mean, this is, it’s my hang out. You know, if I’d had a bad day, I’m coming to Jack’s and play pool, you know. Um, if I have a good day, I’m coming to Jack’s and, you know, play pool and have a drink [laughs]. And honestly, if it did close down, I’d probably try and buy and reopen it.”

²⁵ Colloquially, a Yankee is a person from the northern United States that comes down to the South, stays for a while, then goes back home. A Damn Yankee is a northerner who comes down to the South and never leaves. For example: “I came down here for Mardi Gras, I never went home.”

“I would feel bad about it, but I am of the old school, I guess, that progress gotta march on. It never will be built back the same way. The family house is over here, I’m attached to it the way it is now, but if it were ever destroyed, it’d be long gone.”

From the owner of Sugar Patch Lounge, the only one that it seems would actually miss the bar: “Shoot, I’d miss everything about it ‘cause, you know, I’m so used to, to being around here and everything. Sure wouldn’t make me happy if we had to close.” What about the building would you miss? “I guess more or less, it’s a setting here, you know, I’m here all the time. I’ve worked here a long time.” [She also lives behind the bar as do three of the bartenders, two of whom are her daughters.] “It’s my home.”

Living in the Area

“A lot of people said they can come over there and they don’t feel as close to their families as they do over here. That’s how we was raised.” How long has your family been in the area? “Since before the Depression between the point, the cutoff and Addis itself. My daddy’s daddy came here with the railroad. My mom’s family was here at the point. Both sides of the family really been here forever. I don’t know. Sometimes I don’t know where I guess, I’ve lived other places, I’ve been all over the country working and just, I don’t know, it just seems like a good place to live over here for some reason, I don’t know. It’s just close knit.”

The Regulars

“Regular customers is, is just the same people that come, you know, we all grew up together. I mean, most of the people that come in here are the people that grew up together. Whether 10 years younger, than them or they’re 20 years older than me, vice versa. And the, the younger kids come in, doesn’t matter, I mean, we all grew up together in Port Allen. There’s some kinda way that, whether you’re 50 years old, 40, or 30, some kinda way we know you or they know us, family-wise.” Okay, and so when younger people come in here, how does that change the atmosphere of the bar from being a, you know, mostly regulars . . . ? “Well, to me, I guess . . . how to put this? I guess, I guess really, to me, the younger ones do things that does change it for me. Not the bar itself, personally, because, you know, you know when I was growing up . . . you know, you didn’t disrespect, you didn’t do what they do now. To me, to me, you know, to me, you know man don’t want beer bottles on the [pool] table, they don’t want this, and they want to argue and fight every now and again. I know, I know back then we did too, but it’s way, way different. The age gap is different.” So the younger people don’t respect the traditions of the bar? “I’m not saying they don’t respect the tradition. What I’m saying is this, it’s like, I’m here, we got a couple of us sitting here right now, we’re all over 40 years old, you know, and somebody that’s younger than me and play their pool, then they’ll do their thing and they whoop and holler and all that, and they will, we watch a lot of TV in here. Trying to watch TV and they whoop and holler, and they worried about

what we're trying to do up in here. So they'll actually have no respect . . . you hold the noise down a little bit, nothing like that. Now, now this, this is my opinion. This is not Jack's opinion. This is not Jack's Place opinion."

Vita

John Winsor McEwen earned a Bachelor of Science degree in Geography at Jacksonville University in Florida in 2005. Upon graduating, he was commissioned as an Ensign in the United States Navy Reserve and currently serves as an Intelligence Officer. After a two-year hiatus from college, John returned to college at Florida State University in Tallahassee to complete a Master's of Science in Geography. He eventually found his way to the Department of Geography and Anthropology at Louisiana State University to begin doctoral studies under the tutelage of Professor Kent Mathewson. For John, earning a doctorate has been a fun ride and worth the effort, but he is happy to move on and embark on whatever the future holds in store.