



**UNDER CONTROL?**  
**ALCOHOL AND DRUG REGULATION, PAST AND PRESENT**  
21-23<sup>RD</sup> JUNE 2013

BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

**Friday 21<sup>st</sup> June**  
**9.30 – 11.00 Parallel sessions 1**

**1.1 Drugs, regulation and policy**  
**Chair: Dr Patricia Barton**

**SOUSA, Micaela de, PITA, João Rui, PEREIRA Ana Leonor (University of Coimbra), Panel 1.1**  
**Drug regulation in Portugal and joining the EEC 1986-2012**

The first legal document to establish a strict authorization procedure of drug introduction in Portugal was the Decree n° 41448, 18<sup>th</sup> December 1957. From this time onwards, the drug had to prove quality, safety and efficiency in order to be introduced into the market. In many European countries, these aspects were only considered after the thalidomide tragedy (1960). Despite this pioneering action, Portugal was not able to follow the technological and scientific development that took place in the following years and thus failed to adapt the referred drug legislation to the international parameters. In 1986 Portugal joined the European Economic Community, which forced the transposition of community directives related with drugs into the internal law and which then culminated in the creation of the *Estatuto do Medicamento* – Decree n° 72/91, 8<sup>th</sup> February. The institutional answer was the creation of Infarmed, in 1993. In 2006, due to the European revision of the drug legislation (2004), a new *Estatuto do Medicamento* – Decree n° 176/2006, 30<sup>th</sup> of August, was published. With this work, the authors intend to demonstrate the European influence in the drug regulation in Portugal and explore the way in which the legislative changes affected the drug market of the country.

**SPILLANE, Joe (University of Florida), Panel 1.1**  
**What happens when we write from the frontlines of the Drug War?: A criminal justice perspective**

With the modern war on drugs now more than a century old, it has become commonplace to frame control policies in martial terms. If the war on drugs were an actual war, historians have, to date, produced many fine monographs on the origins of the war, and taken us into the war-rooms of the generals to consider grand strategy, but have produced few details on the lived experience of war. The comparative inattention of historians has left us with an inadequate sense of the historicity of drug war's conduct, which, far from being a static and predictable consequence of prohibition, is highly contingent and dynamic. The criminal justice system in particular demands closer examination. From police surveillance to institutional commitment, criminal justice represents a series of highly discretionary decision-points, any one of which had profoundly life-altering consequences—and, at a certain scale, could change entire communities. Attending to the front lines requires re-directing our gaze toward the city drug squads, courts, and jails whose day-to-day activities were of the greatest interest to drug sellers and users, where broadly similar legal regimes could produce dramatically different effects.

**KAMMINGA, Jorrit (University of Valencia), Panel 1.1**  
**The recent history of shared responsibility in international drug control (1998-2012)**

At the United Nations General Assembly Special Session on drugs (UNGASS) in 1998, Member States committed to the principle of 'shared responsibility' to address the global drug problem. Since then, the international community has been trying to reinforce this concept. At the March 2011 session of the UN Commission on Narcotic Drugs (CND), a thematic round-table discussion was devoted to the "revitalisation of the principle of joint and shared responsibility as the centrepiece of international cooperation to confront the challenges posed by the world drug problem." The author spoke at this session on behalf of the NGO community. In March 2012, the topic was selected again, underlining the need to increase knowledge on how the principle works and how states are implementing it. The proposed paper explores the principle of shared responsibility and how it has been used since 1998. Does it go beyond political rhetoric? For example, what is the real value of the United States publicly recognising their shared responsibility with regards to the situation in Mexico? How does the concept evolve when there is no longer a clear distinction between drug producing and drug consuming countries? What have states done to turn this important principle into meaningful action?

**1.2 Histories of tobacco control**

**Chair: TBC**

**MATEI, Petre (University of Bucharest), Panel 1.2**  
**On tobacco in Romania: from Devil's herb to dangerous drug**

This paper intends to present how tobacco turned into "iarba dracului" (devil's herb) in Romania, towards the end of the 18th century. We are interested both in how the Romanian Orthodox Church demonized tobacco and in its impact on the traditional mentalities. There was an evolution of tobacco's condemnation. Briefly, it moved from strictly religious arguments at the middle of the 18th century, through the religious condemnation using medical arguments (slow suicide, thus sin against God, beginning of the 20th century), to arrive finally to a condemnation based exclusively on medical arguments (diseases, premature aging, impotence, death etc). Under the impact of secularization/medicalization, the fears evolved. The religious condemnation in Romania was, to a certain extent, provoked by similar reactions in the Orthodox Russia (already attestable in the 17th century), but there are certain differences, as to the ways the Church tried to discourage the Romanians from consuming tobacco: hagiographies which were modified to include tobacco among the sins, manuscripts written by Orthodox hierarchs, who associated tobacco with the devil and with certain ethnic groups (pagans, Turks, Gypsies etc). Such groups, already seen as deviant, were used as a counter-model to discourage people from smoking: people should not smoke because that is what the pagans, Turks, Gypsies do.

**LUBLIN, Elizabeth (Wayne State University), Panel 1.2**  
**Controlling youth and tobacco in Meiji-period Japan**

Following the introduction of tobacco into Japan in the late 1500s, smoking with a pipe became common among Japanese irrespective of political and economic standing, age, and gender. The popularity of smoking, however, really took off after the importation of cigarettes in the early Meiji period (1868-1912), as Japanese flocked to puff on this new commodity, drawn by its whiff of civilization and enlightenment. Growth in domestic manufacturing of cigarettes eventually prompted the government to impose taxes on first tobacco and then on cigarettes before establishing monopoly control over production and sales in 1904. While the government was motivated to regulate tobacco largely out of interest in the revenue to be gained, social commentators, physicians, educators, and moral reformers called for regulation largely because of the negative impact they saw consumption having on the bodies and minds of smokers. One of their biggest voices belonged to Nemoto Shō, who submitted a bill to the

national legislature in 1899 to ban smoking by minors. This paper will introduce that bill against the backdrop of state regulation and will argue that its remarkably speedy passage resulted from Nemoto's strategic use of nationalistic rhetoric and larger concerns about controlling youth.

### **1.3 Policing and surveillance**

**Chair: Dr James Kneale**

**JENNINGS, Paul (Bradford University), Panel 1.3**

#### **Common objects and rare events: Policing drinkers and drinking places in late-Victorian and Edwardian England**

This paper takes as its starting point the observation of late nineteenth-century temperance campaigners that contrasted high levels of prosecution for public drunkenness with the very low numbers of publicans who were prosecuted for the two offences of permitting it on their premises or serving drunken people. It examines first the statistical bases of that observation before going on to explain why it should have been the case. In so doing, it ranges across the impact of changes to the law, the operation of the licensing system and the actuality of the policing of the offences but also considers the wider economic, social and cultural context. Law, licensing and policing were important but they interacted with broader changes. Overall we witness in this period drinking places becoming better conducted within the overall context of a society becoming progressively less drunken and more orderly. The paper may therefore be seen as a case study of policing drinking which demonstrates the importance of bringing multiple perspectives to bear on the subject.

**MARCHANT, Alexandre (University Paris Ouest), Panel 1.3**

#### **'Enforcing the prohibition on the ground': Police practices in the matter of heroin trafficking in France 1970s -80s**

In the 1970s and 1980s, as in many other Western countries, France was confronted with a serious increase in heroin addiction, termed an "epidemic" by media and politicians. Voted in a context of emergency and moral panic, the 1970 Act reactivated the long-term inherited prohibition also imposed by the international conventions, making the fight against narcotics trafficking one of the most important issues of law enforcement. Based on police archives (files from Central Office of Police against illicit drugs trafficking-OCRTIS), this paper aims to understand how was concretely enforced "on the ground" the restriction of the Offer of a prohibited substance. Crossing three "moments" in the heroin traffic organization at that time (in the hands of the Marseilles' mafia in the frame of the famous *French Connection* until 1973; then the "ants" traffic through which users-dealers used to go directly for supplying in Thailand or Malaysia ; finally the return of organized crime with Chinese mafias from Hong Kong or Singapore supervising the smuggling of Asian "Golden Triangle" heroin to Europe), the paper will describe these police practices (different types of investigation, undercover procedures) and identify three main characteristics, each showing the impossibility of concretely enforcing the prohibition: the shift between tools and targets (national jurisdiction fields against transnational and multiethnic traffic networks), institutional factors (tensions between different police agencies) and finally the cultural representations (difficult transposition into French practices of the US paradigms of "crusade" and "drug war").

**HICKS, Elliott (University of Essex), Panel 1.3**

#### **Policing the London drug culture 1945-71**

This paper shall examine the policing of the patterns of illicit recreational drug-use which developed in London during the mid-twentieth century, focusing upon the period after 1945. It shall consider how the powers of police to combat illicit drug-use were constructed, and the manner in which they were interpreted and exercised by officers across the capital. I posit that the operationalisation of the law on drugs was deeply contingent upon the symbolic and practiced aspects of space – and its consequent legal status – which drew the strategic gaze of the police toward the public sphere of the city in which their powers could be exercised without impediment, and upon the construction of and concentration upon certain typologies

associated with drug-use. The paper goes on to discuss the informal tactics adopted by officers to compensate for the shortcomings in their abilities to interdict the drug-user, particularly the deployment of undercover operatives, and the representation of these methods in the press and popular fiction of the period. Whilst in some quarters the officer immersed in the policing of the London drug culture was cast in reassuring tones, elsewhere s/he was a figure around which multiple anxieties coalesced.

#### **1.4 New drinks, new cultures**

**Chair: Dr Angela McShane**

#### **MITTELMAN, Amy (Independent), Panel 1.4**

##### **Creating bourbon: Distillers and the federal government 1862-1963**

Bourbon whiskey is a distinct product with a considerable cachet. How did this alcoholic beverage achieve its market position? What role did the United States government play, through tax and regulatory policies, in creating and shaping the definition of bourbon? This paper will attempt to answer these questions through exploring the history of bourbon manufacture in the United States. Whiskey has a long history dating back to the colonial period. Even George Washington was involved in distilling at Mount Vernon and corn whiskey played a critical role in the Whiskey Rebellion which was the first test to the new government's federal authority. However corn whiskey is not the same thing as bourbon. The legal definition of bourbon manufactured in the United States is a whiskey whose fermented mash contains at least 51 percent corn, is distilled at not more than 160 proof and is aged in new charred barrels. Bourbon distillers are allowed to bond their liquor for up to twenty years. To understand why bourbon currently holds that definition we must go back to the Civil war and the imposition of federal taxation on the liquor industry. Federal taxation put the liquor industry under the control of the state at a much earlier time than most industries.

The turning point in the process of bourbon becoming the product it is today was the late nineteenth and early twentieth century when federal legislation including the Bottle-In-Bond Act and the Pure Food and Drug Act helped shape the market definition of bourbon. The final step in solidifying bourbon as the quintessential American liquor came in 1964 when Congress stipulated that no imported whiskey could be called bourbon. This paper will explore the history of bourbon from the Civil War to the 1960s.

#### **GABAY, Elizabeth (Independent), Panel 1.4**

##### **A side effect of gin regulations: the development of punch in Britain**

Between 1729 and 1751 Parliament passed a series of Acts raising the duty payable on cheap spirits in an attempt to control excessive gin consumption. The 1736 Act in particular sparked impassioned debate concerning alcoholic consumption. Health, crime and the financial importance of the Sugar Colonies were all issues raised. 'Mother's Ruin' (gin), the drink of the urban poor and associated with crime, eventually declined in popularity. Punch, made with the more expensive brandy, arrack and occasionally rum, was drunk by all classes and an 'inspiration' towards debate and conversation. Punch was also the subject of moral condemnation as seen in Hogarth's 'Modern Midnight Conversation' (1732-33) which shows the drunken effects of consuming several bowls of punch. Using the evidence of debates, letters and recipes, I will show how the impact of moral judgement, stirred by the Gin Acts, led to the style of punch evolving during the eighteenth century, from the undiluted drink of the early 1700s, to the classic punch with a ratio of one measure of spirits to four or five measures of weak (water, milk or tea). In the early nineteenth century, gin resurfaced as a fashionable ingredient in punch.

**Friday 21<sup>st</sup> June**  
**1.30 – 3.00 Parallel sessions 2**

**2.1 Addiction in Asia 1**

**Chair: Dr Saeyoung Park**

**KINGSBERG, Miriam (University of Colorado), Panel 2.1**

**Subjects into 'addicts': Opium and imperialism in Japanese Manchuria 1905-45**

This paper uses the most comprehensive known quantitative data set on narcotics use in the prewar world to explore the distinction between the 'drug user'—the value-neutral consumer of narcotics—and the 'addict'—a politicized representation of the drug user. Prior to World War II, Japan was the sole nation to regularly collect data on opiate-related mortality. In the epicenter of the global narcotic economy, the Kwantung Leased Territory city-state (northeast China), the Japanese imperial regime published this information in statistical gazetteers annually for most of its life (1905-1945). Although imperialists depicted the stereotypical addict as a Chinese coolie, racially inferior and incapable of self-sovereignty, their own data showed great diversity among drug users. Mortality statistics, in combination with other sources, also reveal a disproportionately high rate of drug consumption among Japanese migrants, a fact that I correlate with their transience. The gap between data and interpretation suggests that the regime may have collected information in part to provide an illusion of knowledge and control, rather than as a foundation for policy. The particular political sensitivity of 'addiction', moreover, highlights the importance of narcotics to the justification of Japanese imperialism.

**MILLS, Jim (University of Strathclyde), Panel 2.1**

**India's hemp drug addicts: The cannabis user in science and empire 1870-1939**

By 1939 R.N Chopra, Professor of Pharmacology at the School of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene in Calcutta, could confidently and accurately state that 'the number of hemp-drug addicts in the whole of British India at the present time works out to be 855844'. His report was the product of over a decade of research in South Asia and became the official position of the Government of India which selected him to prepare responses from the colonial administration on drugs matters for the League of Nations. This paper examines Chopra's claim by placing his report back in the context of the range of surveys of cannabis consumption produced by British scientists and administrators during the period of colonial rule. It took little more than a decade after the British assumed direct control of India in 1858 before Hem Chunder Kerr produced the first of these, and other examples include the massive report of the Indian Hemp Drugs Commission of 1894 and the 1918 Assam Opium and Ganja Committee's work. The paper examines changes over time in representations of consumers in these reports, from the painstaking efforts of Victorian investigators to create elaborate hierarchies of user to the blunt deployment of the term 'addict' in Chopra's work. It argues that tracing these changes reveals the transformations in both colonial and scientific assumptions from the nineteenth to the twentieth century, and also provides a glimpse of the origins of the ideas about cannabis consumers that would go on to dominate the international drugs regulatory system.

**2.2 Regulating spaces of intoxication**

**Chair: Dr James Kneale**

**ROBINSON, Richard (University of Helsinki), Panel 2.2**

**High spirits: The impact of tourists on alcohol's history in Brighton and Hanko**

In my PhD study, I am researching alcohol's role in two seaside resort towns, Brighton (in England) and Hanko (in Finland) in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. With respect to this conference, I propose to consider the influence of tourists on the towns' drinking cultures, since their desires and behaviour (as well as the perception of such) implicitly affected the regulation, the practices and the debates surrounding alcohol in each location. They also shaped the construction of the resorts' identities, and thus formed a barrier

to the temperance-induced redefinition of urban centres, based on increased alcohol controls, fewer drinking establishments and moral surveillance, from around the turn of the twentieth century. Whilst analysing the extent to which the towns' drinking environments were unique on a national level, I will, somewhat paradoxically, attempt to connect various facets of alcohol's history between the two locations. My intention is to demonstrate how local debates and issues surrounding drink transcended countries' borders, particularly in respect of those holiday destinations like Brighton and Hango which at times assumed subversive, even liminal, identities. I will argue that the further removed their drinking behaviour and attitudes were from other towns in England and Finland, the greater the points of historical comparison that existed between these two resort towns.

**ZESTANAKIS, Panagiotis (University of Crete), Panel 2.2**

**Drug addiction and geographies of leisure in 1980s Athens: An interactive relation?**

Until the late 1970s drug addiction was an almost non-existent problem in Athens. This situation changed radically since the first years of the 1980s. Being illustrated as a new threat by the Greek media and the cultural industry, drug addiction emerged as a novel threat. Above all, at the level of representation, drugs were connected to geographies of leisure. In this respect, particular spaces of entertainment (relatively new in Athens) such as discotheques, music halls and cafeterias were stigmatised as dangerous. Furthermore, specific points of the city, such as the notorious neighbourhood of Exarchia were portrayed as parts of "a zone of deviance" where drug dealing had a fundamental role. The topic affected intergenerational and gender relations during the decade. Given that most of these places were popular among young people, leisure choices emerged as a key issue of dissent within families. Taking advantage from a broad variety of primary sources such as press articles, lifestyle magazines, posters and interviews from Athenians of two generations (young people who lived in Athens in the 1980s and their parents) I shall try to illustrate the relations between the "threat of drugs", leisure choices and changes in geographies of entertainment.

**LATHAM, Alan (UCL), Panel 2.2**

**The common sense spatialities of liquor licensing: Regulating alcohol in New Zealand and the 1989 Sale of Liquor Act**

In August 1989 the New Zealand Parliament passed into law the Sale of Liquor Act (1989). Far reaching in its intent, the Act's supporters claimed that it would modernise New Zealand's approach to alcohol, and the licensing of its sale. Released from the accumulation of over a century of often eccentric and frankly bizarre regulation, New Zealanders were to be returned to the normal society of drinkers. Those opposed to the Act saw things differently. New Zealand was caught up in a dangerous and ill thought-out experiment. New Zealand was not like the rest of the world. To let New Zealanders loose in a society where alcohol was widely available was to invite moral and medical perdition. This paper will examine the complex of spatio-temporalities that played into the making of the 1989 Sale of Liquor Act, and the regime of licensing that it established. Tracing out the debates around the Act, and its subsequent implementation, one encounters populations of French drinkers caught in the slow but inevitable grip of liver cirrhosis, a substance ethanol which put together with a whole range of other materials like food or chairs and humans, may or may not combine to make a temporarily erratic, irrational, and thus dangerous entities, American drivers aggregated in tables of 'drunk driver' related deaths, supermarket liquor aisles tempting suburban house wives into spontaneous purchases, to name just a few examples. The paper will outline the common sense spatializations that organised the debate around reforming liquor licensing in New Zealand, and how these common sense spatializations create quite fantastical landscapes.

**2.3 Making the carceral state**

**Chair: Prof Joe Spillane**

**BARRETT, Marsha E. (Rutgers University), Panel 2.3**

**'Politics is a rough business': Nelson Rockefeller's war on crime and racial liberalism**

Concerned with being tagged soft on crime, Nelson Rockefeller politicized illegal narcotics abuse and the crimes associated with it to secure victory in the 1966 gubernatorial election. As Marsha Barrett contends, Rockefeller's ability to harness the drug issue for votes presaged his later drug laws of the 1970s. Rockefeller drug laws officially signaled a turn towards punitive policy, as drugs and drug abuse continued to be associated with urban crime.

**DURFEE, Michael J. (SUNY Buffalo), Panel 2.3**

**'Taking back the streets of America': Black-lash and the origins of crack-era reform**

Demonstrating the full entrenchment of punitive logic by the 1980s, Michael Durfee argues that an unprecedented "Black-lash" emerged set against the rise of crack-cocaine. Characterized by urban, minority-based grassroots calls for increased police enforcement and stiffer penalties for drug offenders, the Crack Era witnessed a distressing increase and further institutionalization of incarceration as a means to combat the drug issue.

**2.4 Barmaids, pubs and control**

**Chair: Dr Paul Jennings**

**MEASHAM, Fiona (University of Durham), Panel 2.4**

**The 'barmaid question': Victorian attempts to ban women from working in English public houses**

This paper considers the 'Barmaid Question' from the 1880s-1920 and associated campaigns to prohibit women from working in English public houses. In the late nineteenth century the Victorian pub was a workplace and leisure space where discourses of respectability, sexual propriety and rational recreation played out at a pivotal period in the formation of a unified working class. Analysis of archival sources are here utilised to explore the positioning of organisations – including women's groups, trade unions, the licensed trade, the temperance movement and government bodies – in campaigns for barmaids to be banned, regulated or their work elevated to skilled status. Rather than a cosy consensus around the barmaid in English history, this paper argues instead that the role and legitimacy of the barmaid was contested, with barmaids characterised as victims or predators, yet also symbolising pre-Hollywood glamour and the emergent modern working woman. Despite the failure of the Barmaid Bill 1906 to prohibit women from bar work, the 'Barmaid Question' had ripple effects throughout the twentieth century illustrating the complex relationship between women's contested presence in male-dominated licensed leisure venues both as customers and staff, and ongoing anxieties about women's drinking, public drunkenness and sexualised roles within in the pub.

**BECKINGHAM, David (Cambridge University), Panel 2.4**

**Under whose control?: Banning the barmaid in early 20<sup>th</sup> century Glasgow**

Peter Bailey (1998) famously defined the barmaid in relation to what he termed 'parasexuality' - part of the lure of the public house, her sexuality knowingly commercialized yet contained and controlled behind the physical divide of the bar. But what of premises where women carried drinks to customers? This paper uses the Glasgow magistrates' decision to prohibit the employment of barmaids in public houses to revisit Bailey's analysis. The magistrates effectively enforced the barmaid ban through the annual licensing sessions, but they made an exception for bona fide restaurants, which could continue to employ women as waitresses. The distinction between these and indeed the definition of barmaid and waitress were ultimately made in relation to the physical placement of the bar counter. The barmaid ban offers the chance to assess the place of women in the refreshment facilities of the early years of the twentieth century; but it also reveals important insights about how control worked in and through the imprecise mechanisms of the licensing system.

**FINE, Amanda (Open University), Panel 2.4**

**Reflections from ethnographic interviews with a landlady: forms of informal social controls in an 'alternative' pub**

This presentation is part of a sociocultural study which uses ethnographic methods to focus upon the activities and clientele in an 'alternative' pub. The pub is governed by a young landlady and her approach to managing the site is discussed. Themes of informal social controls and how some of these are structured within the setting are detailed with recent examples from the field. The site's music policy is looked at and is currently understood as an inversion of commercial drinking venues in the surrounding area.

**Friday 21<sup>st</sup> June**

**3.15 – 4.45 Parallel sessions 3**

**3.1 American drug revivals**

**Chair: Amy Mittleman**

**RORABAUGH, William J. (University of Washington), Panel 3.1**

**High times: Hippies and marijuana in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1960s-70s**

In the mid-1960s, youthful cultural rebels identified as "hippies" exploded in large numbers in the San Francisco Bay Area. While longhaired hippies who wore brightly colored clothes were identified with rock music, casual sex, and psychedelic drugs, notably LSD, they also consumed a lot of marijuana. More than any other item, marijuana came to separate straights from hippies. Why was marijuana the hippie drug of choice? Marijuana's illegality appealed to the hippie desire to defy norms. Bay Area police rarely enforced the law against users who possessed only small quantities. Selling pot also provided a chance to earn a living. Hippies also saw pot as natural, which marked the beginning of the "green" sensibility. Indeed, one slang word for marijuana was "green." One could grow one's own, especially on a rural commune. Then, too, pot, unlike alcohol, was not corporate. Nor was it marketed with slick TV commercials. In a time of the Vietnam War, racial tensions, gender role shifts, cultural transformation, and spiritual seeking, marijuana provided a method for personal coping. To smoke pot was to drop out of the "rat race," to escape at least momentarily from myriad pressures, to affirm personal commitment to a non-martial sensibility, and to reject "the system" in an act of rebellion.

**CLARK, Claire (Emory University), Panel 3.1**

**The return of heroin: The crisis of the 1960s and the revolution in drug treatment**

Methadone maintenance clinics and therapeutic communities revolutionized US drug treatment in the mid-1960s. But treatment was not prevention. Social turmoil and curious baby boomers inspired a spike in heroin use in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The shifting demographics of patient populations altered the institutional response to addiction. A new generation of poly-drug users from varied backgrounds posed a challenge for the emerging treatment infrastructure, which was designed to respond to the client profile of the iconic "junkie." "They weren't like hard core heroin addicts," said one ex-addict who had entered Synanon in 1966. "You're dealing with a different mentality. You had to deal with them differently." The new addicts clashed with their parent drug culture, and with the two treatment methods that the previous cohort of recovering heroin addicts had recently embraced. The heroin epidemics called into question methadone's status as a solution to the addiction problem and bolstered therapeutic communities' claim that addiction was a byproduct of psychological immaturity. As the population of "at risk" youth expanded, the stigma associated with addiction was reduced and treatment programs proliferated; at the same time, novel disciplinary measures were introduced to deal with a "new breed" of addicts.

### **3.2 The Minimum Unit Pricing story**

**Chair: Dr Henry Yeomans**

**KATIKIREDDI, Srinivasa Vittal (MRC Social and Public Health Sciences Unit),**

**Panel 3.2**

#### **The development of minimum unit pricing in Scotland: A policy case study**

Minimum unit pricing (MUP) of alcohol is an innovative policy intervention designed to reduce alcohol-related consumption and harms. It has been passed as legislation in Scotland but has yet to be implemented due to delays arising from legal challenges. Understanding how the MUP policy has emerged and developed may help inform future alcohol advocacy efforts. We draw on a number of political science theories to allow a range of explanations to be identified (a 'multiple-lenses' approach) using data from document analysis and qualitative interviews with policy stakeholders. Punctuated-Equilibrium Theory (PET) suggests policymakers use their limited time to address a few issues in detail (which can experience major policy change), while paying little attention to most other policy areas. Alternatively, multi-level governance emphasises the diversity of actors seeking to influence policy within different governmental levels (venues). The same policy issue can therefore be considered at European Union, Westminster Parliament or Scottish Parliament level. Meanwhile the advocacy coalition framework highlights the potential for changes in the relative power of competing networks of actors to influence policy. We conclude by drawing attention to the implications and potential lessons (derived from the different explanations arising from each political science theory) for alcohol advocacy efforts.

**PATTERSON, Chris (MRC Social and Public Health Sciences Unit), Panel 3.2**

#### **British and Scottish newspapers' representations of minimum unit pricing: A quantitative content analysis**

Minimum unit pricing is a novel approach to reducing alcohol consumption and its related harms. The media is known to influence public acceptability of public health interventions and hence their feasibility. This paper aims to report how the newsprint media constructs alcohol as a policy problem and appraises the case for minimum unit pricing. Articles about minimum unit pricing published in ten British and Scottish newspapers between 2005 and 2012 were identified by systematic database searches. Manifest content was coded and analysed to examine how newspapers reported on minimum unit pricing, and how those representations varied over time and by publication region, publication genre and article format. We illustrate a steady increase in reporting on minimum unit pricing between 2008 and 2012, punctuated by peaks in line with major developments. There was a small, but statistically significant, increase in articles' support for minimum unit pricing over time. This increase in supportiveness was most pronounced in Scottish publications and serious (broadsheet) genre publications. We also highlight differences in how articles from different regions, genres and formats describe the alcohol problem; report on social groups affected; report on drivers of the problem; and frame arguments for and against minimum unit pricing.

**HILTON, Shona (MRC Social and Public Health Sciences Unit), Panel 3.2**

#### **UK newsprint reporting of the minimum unit pricing of alcohol policy: A qualitative content analysis**

Minimum unit pricing is an innovative legislative policy intervention that aims to reduce alcohol consumption and harms by increasing price in a more targeted manner than increases in alcohol duty alone. Media reporting is known to be hugely influential in determining public acceptability in the lead up to the introduction of new public health interventions and legislation. However, research on the connections between the media and health policy, and more specifically the media and alcohol policy is an underdeveloped area. This qualitative study examines the UK newsprint media's framing of the minimum unit pricing policy during the development and passing of the Bill. Latent content analysis was conducted on seven UK and three Scottish national newspapers between 1st January 2005 and 30<sup>th</sup> June 2012. In this paper we examine the dominant discourses and framing of issues on the effectiveness and

evidence for the policy; the potential impacts of the policy on the drinks industry and the public; and the legality of its adoption within Scotland. Understandings of the news media's coverage may help inform the advocacy strategies of those seeking to influence policy development or public acceptability of public health interventions in the addictions field.

### **3.3 Tobacco and cocaine in Asia**

**Chair: Prof Jim Mills**

#### **PARK, Saeyoung (Davidson College), Panel 3.3**

##### **'One mind', one nation under tobacco: North – South Korean relations and patriotic smoking since 1980**

Historicizing tobacco consumption and addiction in South Korea leads to two observations. First, as with opium, a government monopoly managed the circulation of tobacco for much of its modern history. Secondly, the profitable promotion of tobacco directly conflicted with the state's public health duties. Scholars of drug and alcohol monopolies elsewhere have also observed similar paradoxes fueled by conflicting imperatives of promotion and regulation; however, nationalist politics have exacerbated this contradiction in the Korean case. As this paper argues, the emergence of a "patriotic smoking" discourse (1980s-present) has undermined efforts to curb smoking as well as complicated the understanding of smoking as addictive behavior. This paper traces patriotic smoking from the calls to promote North-South Korean unification through tobacco consumption (2000-1), to the "smoke domestic" campaigns of the 1980s that were a response to the market entry of foreign tobacco. Ultimately, this paper suggests that a closer examination of the language of tobacco in Korea exhibits contradictory understandings of addiction that are founded upon a troubled relationship between the citizen's body and the state.

#### **YANGWEN, Zheng (University of Manchester), Panel 3.3**

##### **The political redefinition of tobacco in Maoist China**

Tobacco has led a very different social life than opium, even though they both came to China during the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) and share the same mode of consumption. Contrasting their life histories will reveal the similarities and differences of the two sister products; it will also shed new light on the history and politics of modern China. The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) mounted an effective campaign and miraculously eradicated opium smoking after they took power in 1949. It seems that the regime forgot about tobacco because it had no clear policy towards its consumption. This however was not the case, as my paper will examine the social life of tobacco smoking in Maoist propaganda art works. They lay bare the politics of Mao China and the politicisation of tobacco smoking. They also help us gauge its significance for the post-Mao era, when smoking exploded as supply met if not exceeded demand, and as children of Mao era who were exposed to the propaganda grew into the consumers of post-Mao China.

#### **BARTON, Patricia (University of Strathclyde), Panel 3.3**

##### **Pharmaceutical and medical theory: Charting the addictive lure of cocaine in South Asia and Britain 1880-1915**

From 1900, legislation controlling the trade and limiting use of cocaine to medicinal purposes only was enacted by leading provincial authorities in colonial South Asia, culminating in All-India legislation in 1906. India was one of the first countries to legally recognise cocaine as an addictive intoxicant and, thus, seek to define the legal parameters within which it could be utilised. It did so a decade before metropolitan Britain. 'Cocamania' was considered to be a growing medical and social ill in the sub continent at the turn of the twentieth century, linked to the spread from a medicinal to recreational use of an imported drug. The intoxicant was described by medical authorities, legislators and temperance campaigners alike as highly addictive, more so than morphine, and was declared to be the root of growing criminal behaviour among hopelessly addicted urban educated youth. In contrast, there would be no

similar legislation to restrict the sale and possession of cocaine in Britain until the impact of the Great War cocaine media scandals and the pressure mounted on the British government by its wartime allies. British representatives to the pre-war international drugs conferences had introduced the concept of treating cocaine as an addictive intoxicant similar to opium and its derivatives, but did so at the behest of its colonial possession. A social problem in India provided the metropolis with a useful negotiating counterweight against its European and American critics, but as late as 1915 Prime Minister Grey would publicly argue that Britain itself did not suffer from a cocaine problem. Yet, within a year, the anti-cocaine discourse in the United Kingdom would follow a pattern which had appeared in India nearly two decades earlier: of a highly addictive drug foisted on unsuspecting youth by criminal gangs and distributed by prostitutes and the loose characters associated with the literati. This paper seeks to analyse why there was this historical gap in the creation of a discourse of cocaine addiction and its associated medical and social dangers between colonial South Asia and the United Kingdom. What does this gap reveal about the pharmacological, medical, scientific and social knowledge underpinning the differing legislative trajectories of metropolis and colonial possession? There has been an assumption in much of colonial medicine that such knowledge was transferred from Britain to its empire, but the cocaine story reveals a different pattern. It considers the medical and scientific theories that developed about addiction in South Asia from the late nineteenth century and why the discourse on cocaine addiction progressed differently to that of other intoxicants in the sub-continent. As such, the paper contributes to the wider understanding of the historic knowledge of addiction and the rationalisation of when addiction theories demand that an intoxicant moves from the licit to illicit domain.

### **3.4 Addiction through the ages**

**Chair: Dr Angus Bancroft**

#### **BERRIDGE, Virginia (London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine), Panel 3.4 Addiction through the ages**

The paper will survey the historiography of addiction and the current state of play in historical writing about addiction, primarily to alcohol and drugs, but also tobacco. It will report on the initial findings of a cross-national historical study of concepts being carried out as part of the FP7 ALICE RAP programme. Here cross-national comparison of concepts in the period 1860-1930 shows how many concepts applicable to habitual use of drink and drugs were emergent in these years. The research shows that there were significant differences between the concepts used in different European countries and among the professional and scientific interests which promoted them. The paper concludes that the Anglo American tradition of 'addiction history' may have been over dominant and that we need to be more aware of European differences.

#### **MOSKALEWICZ, Jacek and HERZYNSKA, Grazyna (Warsaw Institute of Psychiatry and Neurology), Panel, 3.4**

**The changing meaning of addiction in Polish medical journals in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries**

The paper presents results of a study on the history of addiction carried out within the framework of the ALICE RAP project with the participation of researchers from Austria, Italy, Poland and the UK. This paper is restricted to the Polish historical experience and its aim is to follow changing meanings of addiction in the Polish medical journals from 1860 until 1930.

A systematic search was made in the Polish medical bibliography using the following key words: alkohol (alcohol), alkoholizm (alcoholism), choroby psychiczne (mental diseases), chroniczne zatrucie (chronic poisoning), dipsomania, dyspsomania (dipsomania), morfinizm (morphinism) morfinomania (morphinomania), nałóg (addiction, habit), narkomania (narcomania), nikotynizm (nicotinism), pijaństwo (drunkenness). Several dozen articles in 26 medical journals were identified. In addition all volumes of two journals were systematically searched through as well as selected medical textbooks. The results of this research show that psychiatry was a major owner of the problem of addiction in Poland, with a strong focus on the risks associated with alcohol use. Initially, in the 1860s, alcohol was perceived as a source of mental disorder but towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century it evolved to become alcoholism - a

mental disease in itself. At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and particularly after Poland regained independence, medical overtones were replaced by social concerns. In addition to medical treatment, including compulsory treatment, temperance and prohibitive solutions were also considered.

**MOLD, Alex (London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine), Panel 3.4**  
**From inebriety to addiction: terminology and concepts in the UK 1860-1930**

This paper will explore how addiction terminology was used in medical publications in Britain between 1860 and 1930 by exploiting the possibilities of digitised resources. Specifically, it will identify differences in the use of concepts over time and between sources. Drawing on keyword searches in digitised specialist and general medical journals, and successive editions of medical textbooks, coupled with the analysis of key quotations, the paper will seek to identify if quantitative research on digital resources confirmed conclusions drawn from qualitative research. The paper will demonstrate that 'habit', 'chronic poisoning', 'alcoholism', and 'addiction' were all used regularly in various contexts from 1860. References to 'inebriety' and 'dipsomania' started in the 1860s; 'morphinism' in the 1870s, and 'morphinism' and 'narcomania' in the 1880s, with similar trends observed between medical journals. Searches on combined terms further indicated that 'habit' and 'addiction' featured more in discussions of drugs, rather than alcohol. The combined digital and standardised searches chiefly showed the rise and decline of 'inebriety' and of 'alcoholism' as terms, and the ascent of 'addiction' (to drugs). Methodologically, the chosen approach allowed a clear and detailed picture of the historical use of selected terms, which confirmed existing conclusions but also added new dimensions such as the decline of 'alcoholism'. However, the digitised searches also raised a number of unanticipated problems, the implications of which will be discussed.

**Friday 21<sup>st</sup> June**  
**5.00 – 6.30 Parallel sessions 4**

**4.1 Moderating risk**  
**Chair: Prof William Rorabaugh**

**JONES, Charlotte and KNEALE, James (UCL), Panel 4.1**  
**The Temple of Temperance: The role of the Turkish bath as an antidote to drunkenness in Victorian Britain**

During the Victorian period, approaches to the regulation of alcohol consumption tended to juxtapose ideas of inebriety as a moral problem and as a disease. This paper examines the role of the Turkish bath in approaches to the regulation of alcohol in Britain during the nineteenth century and examines how the Turkish bath movement drew upon the popularity of the temperance movement to promote the bath as an alternative to drinking, as a prophylaxis and as a treatment for the habitual drunkard. Drawing on archival material, we suggest the discourse between the Turkish bath and inebriety was dominated by Turkish bath advocates proselytising its use in relation to the moral regulation of behaviour and also as a space of social integration through which the 'two nation' divide could be overcome. Finally the use of the Turkish bath as a 'moral therapy' will be considered from the perspective of the medical advocates of temperance who explored the treatment of inebriety through an organic rubric; particularly through addressing the physiological impact of the Turkish bath on the drunkard.

**YEOMANS, Henry (University of Leeds), Panel 4.1**  
**Moments of Normative Clarity: Regulating Drinking in a Context of Uncertainty**

Public and political discourse on alcohol abounds with a concern to promote non-excessive, moderate forms of consumption. But what is 'moderation' in regards to alcohol? Comparative research demonstrates that there is considerable variance regarding what constitutes moderate drinking throughout different countries (ICAP, 2010; Science and Technology Committee, 2012) and various historical periods. Current British definitions of moderation are expressed in the Department of Health's advice that consumption should not exceed 2-3 units of alcohol per

day for women and 3-4 for men (NHS, 2012). This unit guidance was originally proposed by the Royal College of Physicians in 1987 and, despite its official credence, one of its authors recently claimed that the limits had been “plucked out of the air” as there was insufficient evidence with which to form a judgment (*The Times*, 20/10/2007). Although more data exists today regarding the risks of drinking, certain limitations, such as the inability of aggregated data to explain or predict harm on an individual level, mean that the delineation of a ‘safe’ or ‘responsible’ form of drinking is anything but easy and clearcut. Nevertheless, medical advice and government policy is couched within judgments on where the boundaries between excess and moderation lie. So how and why are these judgments made? This paper investigates how policy-makers and health professionals seek to derive moments of normative clarity from essentially blurred scientific visions of drinking.

**MCSHANE, Angela (Victoria and Albert Museum), Panel 4.1**  
**The Goldilocks and the Three Bears routine: A material inquiry into drinking ‘too much’ and ‘just enough’ in Early Modern England**

A persistent obsession with establishing capacity and value in relation to intoxicating drink in mediaeval and early modern England saw thousands of retailers of drink being brought before the courts across the country for selling drinks in short quantity or at excessive prices. Yet, neither legislation nor the attempted enforcement of standard capacities and prices seems to have impacted on the culturally contingent ‘Goldilocks and the three bears’ question of how much drink was just enough or too much in early modern England? In this paper I suggest that such ideas had a great deal more to do with the complimentary physical attributes of vessel, drink and the precise situation of drinkers. Early modern ideas about the significance and agency of drinking vessels and their materials can be found in classical texts, sermons, lapidaries, court records etc and they reveal an important moral disjuncture between routine or customary and ritual practices. Short measure vessels of particular shapes, forms or materials were often demanded by drinkers in London Taverns, while Essex victuallers were constantly prosecuted by constables for selling drink in the customary local black pots and jugs – but there is no sign these were complaints brought by customers. Through investigating routine ideas of quantity, capacity and materiality of drinking, this paper seeks to illuminate an early modern conundrum: where drinking from tiny ‘fuddling’ gaming cups (containing a quantity of less than a ¼ of a pint) would routinely be understood as excess, while in certain ritual circumstances, drinking from a large baluster glass-full (containing an early modern quart or more), all in one go, could be seen as ‘enough.’

**4.2 Drugs and hospitalisation**  
**Chair: Prof Virginia Berridge**

**KRAGH, Jesper (University of Copenhagen), Panel 4.2**  
**Trajectories of morphine in Denmark, 1870-1955**

During the early 1870s, the term “morphinism” (*morfinisme*) was coined and entered into the vocabulary of Danish psychiatry. From this period and onwards, the users of morphine were mainly treated in mental hospitals. Archival sources of Danish mental hospitals show that a fairly large group of patients were diagnosed as drug abusers and that they spent a long time in these institutions. Despite the substantial number of drug users treated in mental hospitals, few initiatives were taken to prevent morphine dependence. Denmark signed the International Opium Conventions, but the first national narcotic law was ratified as late as in 1955. This slow pace of legislation, however, was not due to low consumption of morphine in Denmark. On the contrary, reports by WHO in the early twentieth century showed that Denmark were in the top of the list of countries with high morphine consumption rates. Drawing on archival material such as patient records of Danish mental hospitals, reports of the National Health Service, and government sources, this paper explores the trajectory of morphine in the period 1870 to 1955. It will be argued that changes in the public perception of morphine and in government control mechanisms were not only due to an increasing recognition of the potential dangers of using morphine. One of the main reasons for the changing attitude towards morphine in the 1950s was that morphine addiction was spreading to people of lower socioeconomic status.

**YONG-AN, Zhang and LU, Chen (Shanghai University), Panel 4.2**  
**The meeting of West and East: Western medicine and Chinese opium addicts in**  
**Chapei anti-opium hospital, 1935-40**

Shanghai, as one of the biggest capitals of the drug abusers in the modern China, had fight against drug for a long time, in which anti-opium hospitals played an important role. As one of the measures of the National Government's "Six-year Anti-drug Movement", in 1935, Chapei Anti-opium Hospitals (沪北禁烟医院) was founded by the local authority of Shanghai. Dr. Mei Chuo-sheng (梅卓生), who was graduated from the Columbia University in 1921, was the director and was in charge of the hospital. The hospital was different from the clinics before, it was specialized and most of the drug abstainers were volunteers. As to the treatment, the therapies adopted the combined methods between Chinese and western traditional medicines. The hospital became one of the meeting bases between the west and east. This paper devotes to explore the inner organization, operation, treatment methods, and impact on the drug addicts, and examine the interaction between the western and traditional medicines, the power-relationship between the doctors and addicts.

**4.3 Drinking in the home**  
**Chair: Dr Fiona Hutton**

**BARTON, Adrian (University of Plymouth), Panel 4.3**  
**'I don't really like the pub': Reflections on young people and pre-loading alcohol**

Recent research (Barton and Husk 2012) suggested that in the United Kingdom (UK) we are seeing a shift from the traditional 'pub-club' drinking pattern to a 'home-pub-club' pattern. In the latter model often excessive early evening drinking is occurring in the private sphere in the absence of external control, leading to problems when the drinkers enter the public sphere. Moreover, pre-loading has become a key aspect in the drinking patterns of many of the Night Time Economy (NTE) population with around 60-70% of people drinking some alcohol prior to going out and in the work of Barton and Husk (2012) 50% of people drinking significant quantities of alcohol prior to entering the NTE. However, whilst these statistics tell us about patterns of drinking they fail to provide reasons. It is generally assumed that the driving force behind this cultural shift in alcohol use is price. However, our feeling is that this is too simplistic. To explore this, we conducted a set of in-depth qualitative interviews with young people to ascertain why pre-loading is such an entrenched aspect of their drinking culture (n = 20). This paper provides the preliminary findings of that research. It shows, amongst other things, that beyond the price factor many young people seemingly need alcohol to cope with the NTE; that they prefer the safety and control of the environment that drinking in the private sphere provides.

**FOSTER, John (University of Greenwich), Panel 4.3**  
**Drinking away from licensed premises (mostly at home): The link between risk and time**

The United Kingdom has witnessed a steady rise in per capita alcohol consumption; much of this has been fuelled by drinking away from licensed premises. The aim of the presentation is to analyse ways in which drinkers who drink away from licensed premises bring temporal considerations of risk into play, and determine/ describe any risks to be associated with drinking. Drinking by young people often takes place in public places, such as parks, and this is included as 'drinking away from licensed premises' in the current study. Findings are presented from a qualitative study which sought to provide a tentative explanation for drinking away from licensed premises in adults and young people (age 13+) - and the perceived health risks in so doing. Drinking away from licensed premises was not seen as risk-free, risks such as fights breaking out at home or in a public place, drinking too much,

falling or becoming ill when intoxicated were described. However, long-term health risks were either not acknowledged or minimised by participants. There was a tendency amongst participants to view drinking as a discrete event or series of events, rather than as part of a long-term pattern. Other temporal themes identified were “setting boundaries” and “how alcohol can change one’s life.” The possible implications of these findings for public health are considered. There is also a call for more research to understand the reluctance of many adults and young people to consider the longer term impact of their drinking.

**BANCROFT, Angus (Edinburgh University), Panel 4.3**  
**Alcohol rituals and the problem of pleasure: The case of pre-drinking**

A growing body of work has recognised the pleasures of drug and alcohol use. I use ritual as a way of examining how pleasure is generated, experienced and also undermined in alcohol use. I use female students' accounts of pre-drinking, the intensive pair or group consumption of alcohol in a private home prior to going out for the night with the intention of ensuring maximum levels of intoxication. It has emerged as a distinct component of heavy drinking practice among young adults approximately between the ages of 18-25. I argue that pre-drinking has a specific purpose for young women in managing risk, as well as ensuring a shared level of intoxication in preparation for entry into public drinking spaces. Pre-drinking is highly directed, bounded, and ritualised. It was frequently, though not always, recounted as lacking in pleasure for these reasons. It was associated with preparation for entry to a particular kind of superpub or nightclub especially, where the emphasis was on further rapid alcohol consumption. Accounts of continued drinking in public were dualistic, emphasising pleasure and disgust, along with risk and vulnerability. Risk was experienced as individualised, and the women had shared responsibility for guarding against risk from unsafe others in the nightclub environment. One attraction of pre-drinking for female students was as a way of protecting and supporting female agency in conditions of generalised, individualised vulnerability. I conclude that 'pleasure' is just one desired outcome of intoxication and the attraction of drug and alcohol rituals include demonstrating and sustaining agency in the context of socially structured risk.

**4.4 Addiction in Asia 2**  
**Chair: Dr Miriam Kingsberg**

**YAP, Felicia (London School of Economics), Panel 4.4**  
**Addiction in colonial Malaya and Singapore during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century**

This paper will examine the realities of opium addiction in Malaya and Singapore during the early twentieth century. Not all users of opium in these territories were addicts, and the majority of users had in fact dabbled in occasional recreational smoking or used opium as means of alleviating pain or preventing malaria. Indeed, some pockets of governmental opinion had even argued that the majority of opium users in Malaya were no more drug addicts than the majority of tobacco smokers in England. This paper will accordingly evaluate the actual scale and significance of opium addiction within these territories. At a comparative level, this paper will examine the reasons for opium addiction more generally within the colonial context and how these may have been linked to other forms of addiction such as morphine dependency. The paper will also elucidate some of the chief priorities and concerns of colonial governments when seeking to control opium addiction within their territories, especially within the parameters of the Geneva Conventions of 1924-25. In particular, this paper will discuss the measures taken by these authorities to control opium addiction (such as through the rationing of supplies, smoker registration and improvements to recreational and medical facilities), as well as the effects of these measures. It will also examine related measures taken by the Chinese to curb the spread of addiction within their own community, such as through the establishment of anti-opium clinics. By examining these issues, this paper will shed compelling new light on the realities of opium addiction during this critical period, especially within the intriguing context of British Malaya and Singapore.

**GIBBON, Luke (University of Strathclyde), Panel 4.4**  
**Users or abusers?: '150 million cattle and horses of British India', opium and international drug control debates c. 1920-60**

This paper will focus on the creation and use of drugs markets statistics in international drugs diplomacy in the early twentieth century. Specifically, it looks at an off-the-cuff defence of consumption rates in British India in debates at the League of Nations– namely that levels of use in the colony were in line with internationally set estimates of legitimate use if the consumption of a vast cattle and horse population was included in calculations of per capita consumption. Despite the immediate anxieties and a failed attempt to find any evidential basis for this assertion by the British Indian administration this argument and calculative practice continued to be used in colonial and international debates and reports on drugs consumption in South Asia until at least the 1950s. This is not simply an instance of the use and abuse of statistical information in drugs control debates. Rather, this example asks us to look again at the creation and use of evidence in order to assess not only its own reliability but also the impact of an accusatory and adversarial diplomatic environment on the creation of an international drugs regulatory system in the early twentieth century.

**SNELDERS, Stephen (University of Utrecht), Panel 4.4**  
**The new lepers and the old: The global framing and treatment of drug use and leprosy c. 1900**

In the 1960s and 1970s, politically conscious drug users considered themselves as the new 'lepers' or 'witches'. As those groups had been stigmatized and persecuted in the Middle Ages, the users claimed, in modern times they themselves were subjected to similar processes. They were labeled as bad citizens and their drug uses criminalized as social offenses. In more recent years drug historians have taken up this line of argumentation and argued that the rise of drug regulation and prohibition in the decades around 1900 was intimately connected to sensibilities that opium and other drug use offended notions of good citizenship, and that drug users threatened not only the good health of but the political and social community itself. Interestingly, similar processes occurred at the same time in the framing and treatment of the 'old' lepers: leprosy sufferers in the European colonial empires, in the USA, in China and elsewhere. This paper investigates how a comparison with the framing of leprosy sufferers affects our understanding of the framing of drug users. It discusses similarities and differences in the process of making these groups deviant, and whether similar causative mechanisms were at work.

**Saturday 22<sup>nd</sup> June**  
**9.30 – 11.00 Parallel sessions 5**

**5.1 The politics of drink in Britain**  
**Chair: Dr John Foster**

**NICHOLLS, James (Alcohol Research UK), Panel 5.1**  
**What's the problem?: Ideology, contingency and 'evidence' in recent UK alcohol policy**

In his introduction to the 2012 Government Alcohol Strategy, the Prime Minister wrote that he would introduce minimum unit pricing to 'tackle the scourge of violence caused by binge drinking'. Three years earlier, he had rejected the same policy on the grounds that it would punish moderate drinkers for the excesses of an irresponsible minority. Now it appears minimum pricing may be dropped following a Cabinet revolt and a campaign by prominent trade associations. This paper will explore how policy dilemmas such as this reflect fundamental difficulties in defining alcohol as a political 'problem' – particularly, in recent years, between framing alcohol as an issue of health harms and / or antisocial behaviour. It will argue that recent developments towards evidence-based policy have done little to resolve the longstanding political challenges that alcohol poses. It will also suggest that these political questions are not simply consequentialist (i.e. how can problematic outcomes be prevented), but concern the social value of alcohol and, indeed, intoxication itself.

**GREENAWAY, John (University of East Anglia), Panel 5.1**  
**A perennially awkward issue: The Labour Party and alcohol**

The UK Labour Party has found alcohol policy particularly difficult to fit into party ideology or programmes. By the end of the nineteenth century Labour was split three ways on the issue: prohibitionists and temperance enthusiasts who saw drink as a contributor to poverty and social distress; libertarians who saw temperance as a distraction from the class war; and enthusiasts for state control along lines of disinterested management. These divisions persisted until the 1930s. But the post-1945 period saw equally marked tensions: from debates about nationalisation of drink in the new towns, to issues on tied houses and monopoly, to policy on alcohol-related health issues. After 1997 'New Labour' under Tony Blair liberalisation of alcohol sales represented part of an attempt to rebrand Labour as a modern party, no longer beholden to the 'nanny state' or old class-based politics. This backfired and the party seems not to have any coherent approach to such issues as minimum pricing or alcohol as a health issue. Part of the difficulty lies in the flexibility of the framing of alcohol policy. Is it a leisure, a trading, a health or a law and order policy issue?

**MELLOWS, Phil (Independent), Panel 5.1**  
**The dialectic of drink: alcohol and the neoliberal state**

How do we understand the often contradictory and incoherent twists and turns of government alcohol policy? Drink presents the state with a dilemma. Its role is to encourage industry, but the products of the drinks industry are problematic, seeming to threaten the health and order of the economy as a whole. The state negotiates a constantly shifting path through this conundrum. The neoliberal world that has developed over the past 40 years has brought with it a particular kind of state, and with it has emerged a peculiar kind of alcohol strategy, drawn from the orthodoxies of 'new' public health, but strangely in conflict with it. This paper will explore those conflicts in the light of recent alcohol policy in the UK.

**5.2 Drugs, alcohol and socialism**  
**Chair: Dr Howard Padwa**

**RAUDNE, Riina (Johns Hopkins University), Panel 5.2**  
**Entanglement of historical drinking culture and newly liberal political economy in post-Soviet Estonia**

Detailed epidemiological data have long illuminated the magnitude of alcohol-related health burden in Eastern Europe. Less has been known about why the harmful pattern of drinking persists, and descriptions of discursive underpinnings of alcohol culture and its political economy in post-Soviet settings have been less frequently elucidated. Drawing on a qualitative study of alcohol's cultural position in Estonia, this paper traces the development of one local post-Soviet political economy of alcohol through the 1990s. After the collapse of Soviet Union, no institution (or political party) immediately took over the regulation of alcohol policy in Estonia. Strong ideological backlash against excessive state intervention and Gorbachev's anti-alcohol campaign (1985-88) met at the beginning of 1990s with the pressure to rebuild the economy. Ubiquitously available alcohol served the myriad small businesses, the post-prohibition domestic market and the tourists from neighboring Finland, a country with a restrictive alcohol policy. The privatization of Estonian brewers by Scandinavian alcohol companies brought professional marketing to a virtually unregulated market in the mid-1990s. Since then, locally targeted political undertones have been featured quite significantly in the new alcohol marketing and PR practices, speaking to patriotism, neoliberalism and Estonian success. After joining the EU in 2004, Estonia's alcohol legislation has slowly become more restrictive, but discourses have been firmly established to counteract policy change to significantly reduce drinking rates. To reduce the burden of disease, public health advocacy must address not only individual drinkers' perceptions about alcohol, but challenge the wider discourses that also underlie the inclinations of some regulatory institutions and policy

makers.

**SIFF, Stephen and Sarah (Miami University / Ohio State University), Panel 5.2  
Red menace / drug menace: Anticommunism and the American War on Drugs**

Early in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, journalists and anti-drug crusaders borrowed anti-communist rhetoric and imagery to marshal support for campaigns against drugs. Presenting the “drug menace” as a subversive foreign threat to American values, they presaged the all-out offensive Richard M. Nixon undertook a half-century later. When Nixon declared a war on drugs that demonized behaviors he associated with political opponents, he not only enlisted the media and public relations experts, but drew heavily on the anti-communist playbook that had built his political reputation during the heyday of McCarthyism. Once-classified Nixon White House tapes released in 2002 illuminate how the president privately viewed his multi-level offensive against illegal drugs in the context of the fight against “communists and left-wingers.” This study will show how anti-communist rhetoric was adopted to justify the diminution of civil liberties—including loyalty testing, use of confidential informants, and seizure of private property— in pursuit of the drug war. The project fits nicely within a developing body of literature that examines, for example, the racial dynamics of the war on drugs, similarities between anti-drug rhetoric and that of Prohibitionists, and the relationship between drug-war posturing and electoral politics.

**5.3 Colonial and postcolonial histories  
Chair: Prof Jim Mills**

**AMBLER, Charles (University of Texas), Panel 5.3  
Decolonization and drug regulation**

This paper examines the relationship between the history of decolonization and the development and evolution of drug and alcohol regulation, with a particular focus on the UK and its dependencies in Africa. Tropical Africa was the subject of the first international drug regulation agreement, the 1890 Brussels agreement, that severely limited the production and trade in spirits. Strongly affirmed with the St. Germain-en-Laye treaty in 1919, beginning in the 1920s this alcohol control system faced increasing challenge--through popular resistance, anti-colonial rhetoric, and the efforts of new generations of colonial officials to manage an advantageous decolonization. At the same time, with a gradual adoption of regulations governing the legality of other drugs, specifically-African regulation merged into global control regimes. During World War Two and the two decades following, as pressures built for decolonization, the movement from a racialized “African” model of control to Africa’s incorporation within global control structures both influenced and was shaped by an emerging rights discourse and the remarkable persistence of shifting and often conflicting ideas about race and difference. The paper is based on materials from British official archives, colonial archives, and the archives of the World Health Organization as well as a wide range of contemporary publications.

**ERNST, Waltraud (Oxford Brookes University), Panel 5.3  
Alcohol in India**

This paper explores how the effects of alcohol and cannabis consumption on mental health were framed in racially specific ways by both Europeans and Indians trained in western medicine. The prevalent view was that alcohol-related mental problems were common among Europeans in India, while cannabis-insanity was a problem found exclusively among Indians. Although consumption of alcohol was considered to be widespread among some Indian communities, alcohol was rarely identified as a predisposing or exciting cause of mental illness. The paper explores how the medicalisation of alcohol and cannabis consumption in

British India was anchored in ideas of racial types and constitutions and imbued with colonial stereotypes concerning the cultural customs ascribed to different social groups.

**BOURMAUD, Phillipe (University of Lyon 3), Panel 5.3**  
**Inter-imperial drug control: Anti-hashish policy in Syria and Lebanon during World War II**

Haschisch has been a traditional product of Syria and Lebanon since at least Ottoman times, yet the political economy of cannabis was fundamentally altered over the twentieth century. Those territories came under French Mandate after WWI, and were, as such, submitted to colonial government and the supervision of the League of Nations. This supervision included the enforcement of international conventions, included that of the 1925 international opium convention, which recommended the prohibition of cannabis. From then on, the official prohibition of haschisch in the French mandate was predicated on Syrian and Lebanese factional politics, and inter-imperial rivalries with Britain. World War II was probably the apex of those tensions. With the territory occupied by British and Free France troops, French suspicions that Britain was instrumentalising the cannabis issue to undermine French authority were revived, while Arab nationalists used the cannabis issue to contest French domination as a whole, and its demoralising effects on the local citizenry in particular. This paper will examine whether these factors led to enhanced control of haschisch production, or made it on the contrary increasingly dysfunctional.

**Saturday 22<sup>nd</sup> June**  
**1.30 – 3.00 Parallel sessions 6**

**6.1 Developing models of control**  
**Chair: Prof Scott Martin**

**RYAN, Greg (Lincoln University), Panel 6.1**  
**'The tornado that circles round the liquor question': New Zealand anti-Prohibition arguments and strategies c. 1890-1930**

In January 1911 William Salmond, ordained Presbyterian minister and Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy at the University of Otago, published *Prohibition a Blunder* a trenchant, multi-dimensional critique of the 'vicious moral coddling' and seemingly relentless campaign by prohibitionists to remove alcohol from New Zealand society – a campaign that was to come close to the 60% of electoral support required for success at the 1911 general election. Assisted by a financial contribution from the New Zealand Brewers' Association, Salmond's pamphlet went to five editions within four months. Immediately this unlikely alliance of interests suggests that the commonly assumed binary between the non-conformist churches and prohibition ought not to be taken for granted. More generally it reminds us that prohibition arguments were keenly challenged by diverse and articulate opponents. Yet anti-prohibition is scarcely acknowledged anywhere in the historiography of alcohol debates in New Zealand and only spasmodically elsewhere. This paper touches on a range of economic, moral, political, theological and other arguments against prohibition as well as examining some of the strategies used to deploy them.

**OLSEN, Stephanie (Max Planck Institute), Panel 6.1**  
**British Bands of Hope: Educating children through temperance**

The Band of Hope, founded in 1847, was an influential multi-denominational, mainly working-class national movement. Frustrated at the slow speed of supportive legislation, temperance reformers saw the most effective way of creating a temperate society was through the education of the young. At its peak the movement attracted well over three-million juvenile members, all of whom were required to sign a pledge of total abstinence from alcohol. Temperance applied to character as well as to Teetotalism, however, and through its group meetings and its publications, the organization encouraged children to adhere to strict moral

precepts and broad Christian values, and to cultivate good character, often encapsulated in the term “manliness.” This paper will examine the extent to which religious and emotional conditioning was a part of this informal education (through stories, songs and organized meetings) in a bid to persuade children to remain temperate and responsible, often in contrast to their drunken, dissolute parents. The Band of Hope’s style of informal education instructed children in “proper” emotional responses and in appropriate behaviour at home, within their families, in school and at work. In particular, it emphasized male moral duties, in the home and in the wider world.

**VAN DER HOOGTE, Arjo and PIETERS, Toine (University of Utrecht), Panel 6.1  
Production, consumption and regulatory trajectories of cocaine in the Netherlands,  
1880-1930**

The history of cocaine, its therapeutic, medicinal history as well its recreational history have been studied and discussed quite extensively. Almost immediately after its ‘discovery’ as a local anesthetic and stimulant in the 1880s, the drug was praised for its wide range of therapeutic indications. Through several well-documented studies we know how cocaine transformed from a legal medical pharmaceutical into a illegal recreational drug during the first decades of the twentieth century. As historian Joseph Spilane has indicated the wonderous drug cocaine became so popular in the US that it rather swiftly became regarded as a public health problem. It was increasingly criticized for its toxicological and addictive properties. Doctors, pharmacists, priests, journalists and politicians warned against the dangerous effects of cocaine. In the process cocaine became regarded as a dangerous addictive drug and strict laws were enacted to proscribe its use. In our paper, we will compare the historical trajectories of cocaine in the Netherlands and the US. Our focus will be on how supply and demand of cocaine changed in both countries in the period under survey. Interestingly the Dutch came to play a special role as the world’s leading cocaine producer in the 1910s and 1920s. At the same time the Netherlands, just like most other western nations, signed the international treaties regulating the production, distribution and consumption of coca and cocaine. We will show how these apparent Dutch incompatibilities between production and control interests affected the development of formal and informal forms of coercion with regard to the medical and recreational use of cocaine in the Netherlands. And how this resulted in similarities and differences between the Dutch and American regulatory regimes.

**6.2 Trafficking drugs  
Chair: Prof Paul Gootenberg**

**RIMNER, Steffen (Harvard University), Panel 6.2  
Transnational journalism, Japanese drug trafficking, global opposition, 1915-21**

When an anonymous and elaborate scoop on the pages of Asia’s leading international newspapers reached the desks of the Foreign Ministry in Tokyo, the government was unprepared and panicked. Tokyo ordered the immediate abolition of its imperial “opium system”. Confidential Japanese government records reveal that the anticipated pressure of an antagonized Chinese public opinion, of international civil society and of global political consequences had plunged the Japanese opium system into the most serious legitimacy crisis of its history. Never before in the forty-year long buildup of the “opium system” had a group of investigators, informants, journalists, medical experts and diplomats attempted to identify the global contours of this highly profitable business, from British and German drug producers via Japanese intermediaries to Chinese consumers. What Tokyo was confronting was one of the earliest feats of transnational investigative journalism that created the same international public opinion it claimed to represent. The true engineers of the intelligence gathering that made the exposure possible were never identified by governments or historians. This paper presents them for the first time. The long afterlife of this anti-drug attack reveals it as the ideological and political foundation for the Chinese and international war against drugs in the interwar period. It culminated in the verdict of the Tokyo International War Crimes Tribunal which formulated “Japan’s real purpose in engaging in the drug traffic” as being “far more sinister than even the debauchery of the Chinese people” and thus an essential element of

Japan's official war guilt.

This paper is based on archival research in secret governments documents from London and Tokyo as well as private paper collections from New York and Sydney.

**GKOTSINAS, Kostis (Ecole des Hautes Etudes, Paris), Panel 6.2**  
**Drugs and crime in inter-war Greece**

In the first decades of the 20th century, a series of international conventions promoted the prohibition of narcotic drugs. During the Inter-war period, national states around the world adopted legal measures against the production of, the traffic in and the use of such substances. Thus, various practices, which up to then were authorized or at least tolerated and laxly regulated, became illegal. But infringement of drug legislation was not the only way in which drugs and crime were associated in practice and in theory. Using as an example the case of Inter-war Greece, a country where drug production, traffic and consumption took important dimensions, this paper intends to study in two sequences the ways in which drugs and crime were linked. Firstly, by examining through newspaper crime reports, police files and police officers' writings different types of drug-related crimes, ranging from smuggling and larceny, to murder, battery and sexual assaults. Subsequently, by evaluating the extent of these offences. To do so, I will place them in the wider historical context and I will investigate the ways in which the argument of crime-generating drug consumption was used and often abused by the Press and contemporary authors in a campaign against drugs.

**SUN, Jie (Shanghai University), Panel 6.2**  
**ATS in China: New challenges and policy options**

The pattern of drug production and consumption has changed significantly in China since the 21<sup>st</sup> century. According to multi-faceted data analysis on national and local level, increasing ATS (Amphetamine-type stimulants) use is reported and the illicit manufacture of ATS continues at high levels in China. This poses new challenges to anti-drug efforts. ATS have some new characteristics different from the traditional drugs. The sources of ATS are diversified. China not only imports ATS from other countries especially in the Golden Triangle but manufacture it domestically. China remains a significant transit country for the trafficking of ATS originating from South East and South-West Asia to international market. ATS abuse gradually shows a tendency of low age and plurality of consumer groups. Affected by excitation, hallucination and inhibition in CNS caused by ATS, abusers are prone to show mental disorders, resulting in behavior out of control, thus induce a series of social problems such as violent crime and transmission of AIDS and venereal disease. China has made great efforts to fight against ATS, but there is still a long way to go. In view of new features distinguishing from traditional drugs, new strategies should be developed to deal with ATS abuse from the perspectives of legislation, law enforcement, propaganda and education, rehabilitation, information system, international cooperation and so on. This paper will analyze new challenges posed by ATS in China through multi-faceted information, and then explore the countermeasures and problems of Chinese government, finally, offer policy options.

**6.3 Gender, deviance and alcohol**  
**Chair: Dr David Beckingham**

**SAXTON, Lauren (The Graduate Center CUNY), Panel 6.3**  
**Motherhood, drink and nation: The female alcoholic in national context**

In 1849 Swedish physician Magnuss Huss coined the term "alcoholism." Huss associated a wide variety of symptoms with this disease, with the result that everything from short-term drunkenness to chronic alcohol consumption could be considered a form of alcoholism. Despite this ambiguity, by 1880 public health officials throughout Europe felt comfortable discussing alcoholism in the same way as cholera or tuberculosis, and asserted that the disease had been pathologically defined. Comparison between British and French discourses in this

period, however, reveals that understandings of healthy and unhealthy alcohol consumption were tied to the specific settings in which public health officials developed and deployed them. A close reading of these discourses as they considered women and their consumption of alcohol in Great Britain and France highlights the varying and often contradictory conclusions that emerged from national debates over drink and its possible evils. This paper will consider the distinct presentations of alcoholic women and treatment programs offered specifically for women in both national contexts in the pre-World War I era. It will highlight the ways in which concerns over population growth became tied up in discussions of alcoholism, and the importance of gender in determining the line between acceptable and unacceptable consumption patterns.

**MOSS, Stella (Royal Holloway, University of London), Panel 6.3**  
**'Red biddy ruin': Methylated spirit consumption and the control of deviant drinking in interwar Britain**

This paper considers the phenomenon of methylated spirit consumption in Britain during the 1920s and 1930s. In the wake of claims about the increased prevalence of 'meths' consumption at this time, there emerged a range of moralised anxieties about deviant drinking, together with calls for the tighter regulation of meths sales to combat its use as an intoxicant. While the consumption of meths was not unknown in the era before World War One, the 1920s saw growing concerns about the manufacture and consumption of 'red biddy', a highly potent mix of meths and cheap red wine or port. That meths consumption was thought to be increasing provoked numerous legislative and medico-moral investigations, at both local and national level. Much of the ensuing debate centred on questions of control, given that the existing licensing apparatus contained no regulatory provisions relating to the sale and consumption of meths. With red biddy linked overwhelmingly to abject poverty and vagrancy, lobbying groups such as the Society for the Study of Inebriety focussed on the social and moral problems associated with meths drinking, together with the considerable medical dangers posed to the individual consumer. This paper casts fresh light on discourses about consumption and deviance, and in moving beyond representations of drunkenness associated with more common types of alcohol, adds new depth to understandings of intoxication and its regulation in modern Britain.

**HANDS, Thora (University of Strathclyde), Panel 6.3**  
**Treating the mad, the bad and the drunk: Medical institutional responses to the problems of inebriety in Scotland c. 1879-1914**

The Inebriates Acts of 1879 and 1898 resulted in the introduction of institutional 'solutions' to the problems of drug and alcohol addiction in Britain. The concept of inebriety was deployed within voluntary and compulsory medical institutions in order to target and control the behaviour of individuals and social groups. This paper examines Scottish medical responses to the Inebriates Acts using case studies of the State Inebriate Reformatory at Perth, Invernith Lodge Retreat and the Chrichton Royal Asylum. These contrasting case studies reveal that institutional treatment reflected different medical and political interests rather than a specific inebriate reform agenda. In late Victorian and early Edwardian Scotland, the concept of inebriety was used to confine the mad, the bad and the drunk within institutions that provided medical treatment and moral reform for deviant behaviour. This established a framework for medical and political intervention in substance use that has lasting implications for alcohol policy in present day Scotland.

**Saturday 22<sup>nd</sup> June**  
**3.15 – 4.45 Parallel sessions 7**

**7.1 Drink, drugs and citizenship**  
**Chair: Prof James Simpson**

**PLACK, Noelle (Newman University), Panel 7.1**  
**Citizens or criminals: Popular drinking, tax revolts and social control in the French Revolution**

In the days leading up to the storming of the Bastille, Paris was witness to an unprecedented popular uprising against indirect taxes. The recently constructed customs wall, which encircled the capital, was attacked and the houses and gates where guards were stationed were destroyed. Wine and wine drinking had a significant presence and played a particular role during these revolts. Not only were people driving cartloads of wine barrels through the barriers tax-free but toasts, slogans and celebrations were all infused with wine themes and consumption. Authorities and officials, however, had a very different reaction to these events – they defined them as criminal acts and brought a number of individuals to trial within a year. Elites had specific attitudes to popular drinking in the eighteenth century; in general they believed that drink and its abuses led to violence and criminal behavior and was the cause of poverty and depravation. This paper will explore the links between elite attitudes to popular drinking and their reactions to tax revolts and definition of criminal acts during French Revolution. Why were the people who stormed the Bastille described as heroes and those who attacked the barriers defined as criminals? Why were some acts defined as revolutionary and other as simply riotous? Tax revolts were about transgressing the authority of the state in terms of revenue collection, but there was also something about the loss of social control as wine figured so prominently in the events and discourse. Authorities were certainly uncomfortable with the prominent role of wine during key events during the French Revolution; they also held deeply seated prejudices about the popular classes and their alcohol consumption. No one has considered how these two phenomena were linked, but it seems worthwhile to re-think the relationship between popular drinking, tax revolts and official reactions to them.

**PADWA, Howard (UCLA), Panel 7.1**  
**Citizenship: A common bond between control and treatment**

The protection and enhancement of citizenship has played a key role in the development of both drug control and drug treatment practices in Europe and the United States. Nineteenth- and twentieth-century medical writings and cultural representations depicted drugs as substances that made users turn away from society, and neglect their duties to friends, family, and countrymen. Consequently, drug use was seen as an activity that jeopardized not only the physical and mental health of the individual, but also the social and political health of the community. By limiting the spread of drugs and drug use, prohibition served (among other things) as a way to protect social cohesion and ideals of citizenship from the potentially corrosive effects of drugs. Whereas control measures were designed in part to protect citizenship, treatment has served (among other things) as a means to restore it. As far back as the nineteenth century, treatment interventions focused on returning drug users to their socio-economic roles and their functioning as members of the community. Since then, mutual support and self-help groups have taught that contributing to the community is a critical step on the road to recovery, and the medical establishment has formally recognized “citizenship” as a key component of recovery. Thus in spite of the apparent ideological dissonance between “prohibitionist” and more “health-oriented” orientations, the two approaches towards drug addiction actually share a common root—a desire to preserve and enhance citizenship.

**HAYDOCK, Will (Bournemouth University), Panel 7.1**  
**Regulating the carnivalesque: Rationality, responsibility and distinction in the Coalition Government's Alcohol Strategy**

As under the preceding Labour administration, the Coalition Government has identified particular forms of alcohol consumption as problematic. By contrast, the majority of people in the UK are understood to consume alcohol in a 'responsible' way, leading to positive impacts on wellbeing and sociability as well as providing valuable employment for those in the alcohol industry – which 'enhances the UK economy' (HM Government 2012: 3). This paper seeks to unpack this concept of 'responsible' drinking, contrasting it with the carnivalesque approach to drinking that can be identified amongst many drinkers in the UK (e.g. Hackley *et al.* Forthcoming; Haydock 2010). It is argued that the way in which 'binge' drinking is defined suggests a particular cultural outlook that values some ways of enjoying oneself as more intrinsically valuable than others (cf. Measham and Moore 2008). This outlook can be understood in terms of Bourdieu's (1984) work on distinction through taste. It is argued that this approach to alcohol affects how the Government's alcohol policy is framed to target particular forms of drinks and drinking. Discourses of responsibility as linked with complexity and distinction have also been taken on board by the alcohol industry to be used as defences against potential regulation (BBC 2009; Graff 2012; Pernod Ricard 2009). It is argued that this emphasis on the cultural and moral discourses surrounding drinking, as well as constituting a form of symbolic violence, may dilute rather than enforce messages concerned with crime and health harms relating to alcohol consumption.

**7.2 Prohibiting cannabis**  
**Chair: Dr Dan Malleck**

**BOYD, Neil (Simon Fraser University), Panel 7.2**  
**The criminalization of cannabis and regulatory prospects: Lessons from Canada**

This paper will draw on recent research regarding the policing of cannabis offences in British Columbia, Canada, most notably in relation to the offence of possession. The author will describe the changes in Canada's cannabis industries from 1970 to the present, and will catalogue corresponding changes in the control of cannabis during a similar period of time, focusing on discretion in charging, the emergence of legitimate forms of medicinal marijuana use and the emerging problems of gang violence, largely related to the export market for cannabis cultivation. The paper will look at opposition to criminalization of use and distribution and the mobilization of this opposition at municipal, provincial and federal levels of jurisdiction. The author will chart a likely course for cannabis and its control in the relatively near term, noting the relevance of public opinion, the entrenchment of medical use, and the resources required to sustain a continuing criminalization.

**CAMPOS, Isaac (University of Cincinnati), Panel 7.2**  
**A cross-examination of Bonnie and Whitebread: The view from the border**

This paper examines marijuana commerce in the U.S.-Mexico borderlands during the 1910s and argues that, contrary to the reigning historiographical paradigm (Bonnie and Whitebread; Musto), Mexican immigrants did not play a major role in the emerging popularity of marijuana smoking on the U.S.-side of the border. I examine the critical evidence on the subject and demonstrate that only in El Paso, Texas do Mexicans appear to have played a predominant role in the marijuana market along the U.S. border. I then offer some tantalizing evidence to suggest that, rather than indicating that marijuana was beginning to flow out of Mexico as a commodity to serve the growing waves of Mexican immigrants surging north (as has been suggested by the literature), the high volume of Mexican buyers of cannabis in El Paso pharmacies can be attributed to the legal availability of pharmaceutical-grade marijuana in that could be freely purchased and then smuggled back for sale in Mexico (where the drug was already prohibited and widely demonized). The paper contributes to a growing skepticism regarding the early marijuana literature, particularly on the origins of state-level prohibitions in the U.S.

## **RATHAGE, Adam (Boston College), Panel 7.2**

### **Far from the border: The origins of cannabis prohibition in Massachusetts 1906-17**

My paper explores the origins and transformations of the regulatory processes that controlled cannabis in Massachusetts between 1906 and 1917. I argue that the initial regulation of cannabis in the Bay State was driven not by links to foreigners, crime, or insanity, but by legislatively active members of the New England Watch and Ward Society who championed an expansive anti-narcotics campaign that included cannabis without explicitly targeting it. Under the society's unifying motto, "the promotion of public morality and the removal of corrupting agencies," its influential citizens engaged in strategically applied legislative activism to petition the legislature for action on narcotics. Nonetheless, despite investigative commissions, continual refinement of anti-narcotics laws, and a sustained concern about the dangers of these drugs across the quarter century between its initial inclusion in Massachusetts law and its federal regulation, cannabis was never publicly highlighted as a specific threat in the state. As a national leader in anti-narcotics legislation, and one of the first states in the country to enact cannabis regulations, a case study of Massachusetts and a thorough examination of the local forces that prompted the state's attempts to regulate narcotics during the 1910s allows my paper to challenge the long dominant interpretations of marijuana prohibition established by Bonnie and Whitebread.

## **7.3 Alcohol, media and youth**

**Chair: Dr James Nicholls**

## **GRIFFIN, Christine (University of Bath), Panel 7.3**

### **Snap/star: Celebritising the self, young adults, social media, and the culture of intoxication Aotearoa, New Zealand**

In this presentation we use an innovative form of multi-modal discourse analysis (MMDA) to explore the ways in which various digital technologies and social media are integrated into young adults' drinking cultures in Aotearoa New Zealand (Levine and Scollon, 2004). Drawing on material from a 3-year study on young adults' alcohol consumption and social media use supported by the Marsden Fund, we consider how different groups of young adults engage with the celebritising process in the context of the night-time economy. In the neoliberal social order, discourses of individual freedom, self-expression and authenticity demand that we live our lives as if this was part of a biographical project of self-realisation (Rose, 1999). Within the global culture of celebrity this ongoing cycle of self-invention can be seen across several commercially mediated sites in which individuals celebrate and 'celebritise' the self (Hearn, 2008). Such practices are particularly pervasive in young people's uses of social technologies (e.g. mobile camera/video phones and social networking sites such as Facebook and YouTube). Young people in contemporary consumer cultures are exhorted to constitute themselves through continual processes of (self)-regulation, (self)-surveillance, (self)-improvement and transformation, in which celebrity operates as a cultural practice through which meanings are made (Allen and Mendick, 2012). Many young adults in post-industrial societies including Aotearoa/NZ also engage in normalised heavy drinking within a collective culture of intoxication, in which pleasure is commodified into commercialised packages that have been termed 'intoxigenic environments' (Griffin et al., 2009; McCreanor et al., 2008). Stories about drinking are circulated amongst friends and shared online by young people, often using digital images posted onto social networking sites. Images are also produced by commercial organisations such as the company 'Snapstar', which post photos and videos of (primarily youthful) guests at selected clubs and bars in NZ, the USA and Australia onto their website ([www.snapstarlive.com](http://www.snapstarlive.com) : strapline: "it's all about YOU!"). Our project involved semi-structured discussions with approximately 34 groups of Maori, Pasifika and Pakeha friends aged 18 to 25, by three researchers with relevant cultural backgrounds. This paper will focus on one strand of our project, in which a subgroup of 23 young adults took part in individual interviews with online access and ongoing website interaction to explore how they interacted with the Snapstar website and with their own Facebook pages.

**HUTTON, Fiona (Victoria University), Panel 7.3**  
**Consuming cultures: gender, alcohol and Facebook**

This paper will explore some of the issues surrounding young people, drinking cultures and their use of social technologies such as Facebook. Qualitative focus group discussions will be thematically analysed to identify key issues relating to the role of alcohol and social technologies in young people's drinking cultures. Gendered constructions of pleasure, 'extreme drinking', harm reduction and risk taking will be considered alongside the importance of social technologies in young people's drinking practices. The study is part of a wider Marsden<sup>1</sup> funded project that aims to move beyond examining the amounts of alcohol consumed towards a consideration of the places and spaces that young people inhabit to drink alcohol, as well as the function of social networking in facilitating alcohol related pleasures, risks and harms.

**SMITH, Lesley (Oxford Brookes University), Panel 7.3**  
**Alcohol marketing and drinking behaviours**

Alcohol marketing is a global industry, and in many countries alcoholic drinks are amongst the most heavily advertised products. Alcohol is promoted using various strategies including television, radio and print advertisements, point of sale promotions and product placement and portrayal of alcohol consumption in the broadcast and social media. An important question, and matter of much debate, is the extent these promotional activities influence drinking behaviour of young people. Many studies have been published which inform this debate. The focus of this presentation is the findings from a systematic review updated with recently published studies. The aim of the review was to evaluate the relationship between exposure to alcohol advertising and marketing and subsequent drinking behaviour in young people. A systematic review of cohort (longitudinal) studies was conducted according to published guidelines. To date 16 longitudinal studies have reported on the association between a range of above and below the line advertising and/or marketing exposure strategies. The data suggest that exposure to alcohol promotion strategies at baseline is predictive of both uptake of drinking and increased frequency of drinking in young people.

**Sunday June 23<sup>rd</sup>**  
**9.30 – 11.30 Parallel sessions 8**

**8.1 Policy making at the political process**  
**Chair: Dr Alex Mold**

**DUKE, Karen (Middlesex University), Panel 8.1**  
**Evidence, experts and advocates: The case of substitute prescribing policy in Britain**

This paper is based on research undertaken as part of the EU funded ALICE-RAP (Addictions Lifestyles in Contemporary Europe) project on stakeholders in substitute prescribing policy. In Britain, the research coincided with a policy shift towards a recovery orientated drug treatment framework and a heated debate surrounding the role of substitute prescribing amongst some of the key stakeholders. Based on documentary analyses and key informant interviews, the ways in which different stakeholders have utilised research evidence, built alliances and established consensus around their version of the substitution treatment debate will be explored. In particular, the discussion will focus on how research was used to problematize the debate and how it was employed to legitimise, justify and construct arguments around the possible directions of policy and practice. In addition to the use of evidence, the role of stakeholders in the production of evidence and knowledge will be examined. The important role played by key experts, both nationally and internationally, and the appointment of specialist committees in building consensus around the role of substitute prescribing in treatment provision will be considered.

**HOUBORG, Esben (Aarhus University), Panel 8.1**  
**Safe injection sites as a matter of concern**

In 2011 the Danish parliament passed legislation that for the first time makes it possible legally establish and run safe injection sites in Denmark. Prior to this the issue of safe injection sites has been a central issue in Danish drug policy debate, as it will probably also be in the future. A number of different stakeholders have engaged in discussions and negotiations about this issue. The paper will show how the discussion about safe injection sites involved questions about the content of and the relationship between penal and welfare/public health approaches to the drugs problem, and how the discussion contributed to new explorations of these issues. The paper will also show how stakeholders on different levels of drug policy from the supra-national over the national to the local got directly or indirectly engaged in the debate, and how the debate contributed to new explorations of the proper scale of drug policies – what should be considered supra-national, national and local?

**MOSKALEWICZ, Jacek (Warsaw Institute of Psychiatry and Neurology), Panel 8.1**  
**Stakeholders' views on methadone maintenance and its position in drug treatment in Poland**

The aim of the paper is to investigate major interests involved in methadone maintenance treatment and its slow development in Poland. The study is part of a comparative research project, ALICE RAP, co-funded by the EC within its research programme FP7. Work package 2 aims to develop a theoretical framework for cross-national understanding of addiction policies through stakeholder analysis. The stakeholders' views are collected in a series of in-depths interviews with around twenty major stakeholders: politicians, policy makers, treatment providers, drug users, NGO's, pharmaceutical industry as well as health insurance. In addition, their opinions are sought in publications from professional conferences, debates, media reports and official documents. Stakeholder analysis consists of a systematic review of the transcribed interviews with special focus on stakeholders' position including the following dimensions: central versus peripheral positions, international, national, local, the extent of power, partnership versus conflict, common versus diverging interests. The impact of general ideologies are also considered. Both quantitative and qualitative approaches are applied.

**8.3 Representing addiction**  
**Chair: Dr James Kneale**

**WALKER, Ingrid (University of Washington), Panel 8.3**  
**Message in a bottle: Pro- and anti-drug narratives in contemporary US media**

In the late 1990's, a transition to less regulated direct-to-consumer pharmaceutical marketing in the United States paralleled an intensification of the federal anti-drug effort through Congress's call for a media campaign directly targeting youth and parents. With other popular culture narratives, this advertising has deeply informed American cultural norms about drug use in the twenty-first century. The resulting tension between a pro-pharmaceutical drug market and anti-illicit drug criminal justice system represents broader social conflicts about drugs and health, user agency, substance efficacy, controlled use, and addiction. Through contemporary drug narratives, this talk will address questions of individual agency within a culture of medicalization of substance use. It will explore how an emphasis on individual health and medical supervision to regulate our bodies have become effective discourses of social power that we internalize and practice—what Michel Foucault theorized as “technologies of the self.” Questions related to what Nancy Campbell calls “problem-solving and problem-creating drugs” will be explored. Is there a difference between taking a drug to avoid depression and taking a drug to feel good? What are the bases for relevant critical distinctions with regard to licit and illicit substance use and consciousness? And can they be found within a medical model that strongly shapes cultural norms regarding drugs and psychoactive substances, especially in terms of how we conceptualize, discuss, regulate, and research them?

**STEPHENS, Robert (Honors Residential College), Panel 8.3**  
**Projecting the truth about addiction**

Cinema and modern conceptions of drug addiction emerged nearly simultaneously in the late-19<sup>th</sup> century. And since the turn of the twentieth century, the visual imaginary of drug addiction has had a powerful effect on popular conceptions of drug addiction and public policy. My paper, which grows out of a book-length study of drug addiction in the media, will focus on the complicated ways in which commercial imperatives, government intervention, industry self-censorship, and changing consumption habits have worked together to define drug addiction as specific set of cultural narratives that bear little resemblance to either changing scientific theories or some kind of tangible, sociological reality. Throughout the twentieth century and into the twenty-first, the visual representation of drug addiction has been a constant bone of contention. The common concern that has driven much of this debate has been the fear that the mere appearance of drug consumption on film would lead youth down the path to addiction, that it would spark a curiosity that could not be extinguished. This paper will trace the debates over the visibility of addiction since the renewed "War on Drugs" in the 1980s, focusing on the ways that visible narratives shaped public policy by obfuscating changes in drug use patterns and new scientific insights into addiction.

**EARNSHAW, Steve (Sheffield Hallam University), Panel 8.3**  
**Drink: dissolution: antibiography**

'In my picture ... I have tried to express the idea that the café is a place where one can ruin oneself, go mad or commit a crime. So I have tried to express, as it were, the powers of darkness in a low public house, by soft Louis XV green and malachite, contrasting with yellow-green and harsh bluegreens, and all this in an atmosphere like a devil's furnace, of pale sulphur.'

(Vincent Van Gogh letter to his brother Theo, describing his painting 'Night Café')

Through many centuries there has been an abiding idea that alcohol and dissolution are natural bedfellows, and to give one's self over to drink is in effect to temporarily cast off the everyday self. Most return to habitual modes of being the following day and restore themselves to personal and social narratives, to biography and autobiography. Van Gogh's painting from 1888 offers the view that we are beset by the possibility of eternal dissolution, that at nighttime we might lose our coherent selves for good. One persistent understanding of the power of alcohol is release from the burden of a coherent self. Alcohol is antibiography. Don Paterson's poem 'The Ferryman's Arms' (1993) similarly locates the dissolution of identity within a public house. Here, 'drawn, like a moth, to the darkened back room' he plays himself at pool. The self that wins walks out of the pub, leaving behind the 'losing opponent' self 'sullenly / knocking the balls in, for practice, for next time'. The poem sets the scene for a collection entitled *Nil Nil* and prepares the reader to accept the fissiparous power of alcohol as prequel to a self that will become nothing. The paper will meditate on these and other examples of writers and artists who yoke self, social space and alcohol together, using drink to dissolve biography.

**Sunday June 23<sup>rd</sup>**  
**12.00 – 1.30 Parallel sessions 9**

**9.1 War and drugs**  
**Chair: Prof Neil Boyd**

**HALLAM, Chris (London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine), Panel 9.1**  
**Morphia and morale: Drug control in World War II Britain**

In the age of total war in which the entire population is involved, the question of morale on the Home Front became an urgent one for governance. It was believed that 'the bomber will always get through', and that air attacks on cities would be likely to result in the mass wounding of bodies and in widespread panic and hysteria. The role of morphine became an especially important one in this context. The Ministry of Health and many doctors urged the siting of stocks of the drug at civil defence first aid posts, and a relaxation of the dangerous drugs regulations to enable civilians such as Air Raid Precaution workers to possess and provide morphia in order to provide pain relief and thereby maintain civilian morale. The Home Office, meanwhile, which was responsible for overseeing the regulations, was concerned to restrict drug use to authorised medical practitioners and prevent addicts gaining access to these new sources of morphine. The paper explores the themes and debates surrounding these conflicting imperatives.

**HOBBS, Jonathan (Independent), Panel 9.1  
Psychedelics and the British military**

The testing of LSD on British troops in order to determine its effectiveness in chemical warfare can seem at once absurd, funny and confusing. Popular impressions of chemical weapons revolve around slow-moving clouds of chlorine, mustard gas blisters or the invisible but deadly nerve gas sarin. It is far from apparent why the UK would have wanted to use LSD, a recreational hallucinogenic drug, as a military weapon. Although histories of chemical weapons research often gloss over psychedelic agents, psychedelics became a significant part of the UK's chemical warfare programme at Porton Down during the Cold War. This paper uncovers the way in which historical changes in public and professional conceptions of psychedelics affected their military adoption and challenges the modern notion of psychedelics as dangerous mind-bending drugs. A close study of previously-classified technical reports, memoranda and minutes of secret Government meetings provides a fascinating insight to the context in which psychedelic agents emerged at Porton. These sources in conjunction with the extensive secondary literature show that psychedelic agents were a serious and important aspect of chemical weapons research at Porton which, in turn, provides a fuller account of the history of psychedelic weapons in the UK during the Cold War.

**COLLINS, John (London School of Economics), Panel 9.1  
Exporting the US drug control model during World War II, 1939-45**

The outbreak of war would fundamentally reshape international drug control and set the basis for the regime that was to be enshrined in the 1961 Single Convention and which endures to this day. In concert with the shift in the international power structure, America was to emerge after the war as the dominant world power and the lead nation in international drug control efforts. Instead of recreating the previous ambiguous association it had held with the League drug apparatus, the US was to take centre stage in the new control regime. It then used its position to fashion the regime in its own image under the aegis of the United Nations. None of this, however, was predetermined. The seizure of control of the drug apparatus was not a natural outgrowth of a rising American geopolitical star. True this was an important enabling factor, but the shape of wartime control efforts and the post-war regime was in many ways the result of aggressive wartime diplomatic manoeuvring on the part of the American Federal Bureau of Narcotics Chief Harry Anslinger. By using America's wartime leverage to fundamentally alter the set of interests underpinning the regime Anslinger changed the arithmetic for the post-war system and helped set the stage for Single Convention. The most radical departure from old regime interests occurred in 1943 when Britain and Holland promised to adopt a policy of total prohibition of opium smoking and monopolies in their Far Eastern Territories upon reoccupation. This seismic shift was the direct outcome of an aggressive and risky strategy undertaken by Anslinger and his allies to threaten, pressure and cajole the British and Netherlands into acting in direct contravention to what they viewed as their own interests. Their eventual acquiescence in late 1943 ensured that the post-war regime would not revert to the deadlock of the interwar years. Instead it could witness the emergence of a reinvigorated supply control framework underwritten by traditional hard line advocates and newly supply focused colonial powers. It would also ensure that America could bring new pressure to bear on the traditional regime recalcitrants such as Iran and Afghanistan in the

closing years of the war and set the stage for a post-war production limitation treaty that would include all nations.

## **9.2 The ethics of drug control**

**Chair: Dr Noelle Plack**

**AVILES, Constanza Sánchez (Swansea University), Panel 9.2**

**The international drug control regime and the global drug 'problem': Evolution, obstacles to change and alternative policies**

The international drug control regime has more than a century of existence, but problems related to drug consumption, production and trafficking are still present in the world. However, the United Nations drug control bodies are reluctant to introduce changes into the current approach being implemented: punitive prohibitionism. Using international regimes theory, this paper analyzes the evolution of international drug control, the main obstacles to change within the UN system and some of the alternative policies being implemented at the national level and discussed at the international level. The goal is to understand the reasons of this resistance by examining one of its most forceful manifestations: the International Narcotics Control Board reactions to national initiatives deviating from punitive prohibitionism which perform a more flexible interpretation of its rules and principles.

**KREIT, Alex (Thomas Jefferson School of Law), Panel 9.2**

**Drug War defectors**

For much of its existence, the modern war on drugs has been a global policy. To be sure, some countries have adopted non-prohibitionist laws at the edges of drug policy. Switzerland has its heroin maintenance programs, for example, while the Netherlands permits the retail sale (though—importantly—not the manufacture or wholesale) of marijuana. But on foundational issues like drug production, the world has uniformly pursued a strict prohibitionist approach. Recently, however, a number of prominent international political figures have begun calling for a reassessment of the war on drugs. In 2011, a group of 19 leaders that included former Secretary General of the United Nations Kofi Annan and former Secretary of State of the United States under President Ronald Reagan George P. Shultz issued a striking report criticizing the drug war. At the April 2012 Summit of the Americas, Colombian President Juan Manuel Santos proposed the establishment of a global task force to review international drug policy with an eye toward dramatic reform. In June 2012, the government of Uruguay announced plans to have the state take over the marijuana market by growing and selling the plant directly to domestic consumers. The U.S., however, remains cool to the idea of rethinking global drug policy. The U.S. Office of National Drug Control Policy (ONDCP) criticized the 2011 Global Commission report, saying that “[m]aking more drugs available—as this report suggests—will make it harder to keep our communities healthy and safe.” At the 2012 Summit of the Americas, President Barack Obama emphasized the U.S. view that “[l]egalization is not the answer.” For the moment, most international leaders calling for reform appear to be focused on restructuring drug control on a global level. But if the U.S. and other countries remain resistant to these proposals, could one or more nations unilaterally defect from the drug war by legalizing drug production? Is Uruguay’s recent proposal an example of drug war defection? My presentation will consider what factors are driving the current calls for drug reform and identify the key legal and political constraints facing countries that may be interested in legalizing drug production within their borders. I will also ask what measures the U.S. might take to try and prevent other countries from liberalizing their drug laws. In assessing the current situation, I will draw lessons from the history of alcohol prohibition in the United States, when the manufacture of alcohol remained legal in other countries. Does this history shed light on how the legalization of marijuana production in one country could impact the drug trade in prohibitionist nations like the U.S.?

**MARCY, William L. (SUNY, Buffalo), Panel 9.2**

**The end of civil war, the rise of narcotrafficking and the implementation of the Merida initiative in Central America**

Central America has evolved into a major focal point of the War on Drugs. *The End of Civil War, the Rise of Narcotrafficking, and the Implementation of the Merida Initiative in Central America* proposes to examine how Central America has been transformed into a hub for narcotrafficking. Using primary sources acquired through an on-going declassification process with the U.S. Department of State, documents accumulated from non-governmental organizations such as the United Nations, interviews, and secondary sources such as newspapers and online journals, the paper plans to examine counternarcotics programs in Central America between 1992-2010. The paper will look at how Central American nations developed responses to narcotrafficking in the aftermath of their civil wars. At the same time, the paper will examine the development of organized crime and the flow of narcotics through Central America. The paper will then review how narcotraffickers have exploited weak political, judicial, and military institutions in Central America. Finally, the project will study the evolution of U.S. and Central American counternarcotics policies and the formulation of the U.S.-backed Merida Initiative to counter the influence of organized crime and narcotrafficking in Central America.

**9.3 Quantifying risk**

**Chair: Dr Will Haydock**

**MCALLISTER, Annemarie (University of Central Lancashire), Panel 9.3**

**Risk as presented to children: Temperance teaching in the Band of Hope**

The focus of many current policy initiatives is to minimise risk to children, constructing them as vulnerable beings to be safeguarded. However, the material I shall explore in this paper, produced for children over a period of a hundred years, not only foregrounds and focuses upon risk as a constant presence in everyday life, but in many cases actively encourages children to seek it out – and intervene. They are constructed as agents, rather than subjects or victims, and their mission is to intervene in adult society and exercise a protective function themselves. Not only were the majority of children in the nineteenth century, and earlier, seen as part of the labour force, but they were of necessity exposed to all aspects of life – including death, disease, deformity, and a wide variety of behaviour from the people around them. Arguably, this rapid induction gave them a fairly accurate grasp of the risks involved in life, and the Band of Hope addressed them as consumers, victims, and agents. In the first two roles they encountered risk of necessity, and in the third role they were encouraged to seek it out. With its wide range of activities and material to educate, entertain and empower millions of children, and its radical view of the place of the child, the Band of Hope is a particularly interesting social movement, and this paper will set its work against current theory on risk and protective factors for juvenile alcohol consumption.

**KNEALE, James (UCL), Panel 9.3**

**Moderate drinking before the unit: Medicine and life assurance in Britain and the US c. 1860-1930**

Moderate drinking ceased to be the main goal of the British temperance movement by the 1850s, but the idea of moderation continued to animate discussions here and elsewhere. This was partly the result of ongoing medical research and argument, but it may also have reflected the way these ideas travelled to unfamiliar places – including life assurance offices. A number of different strategies for separating moderate from excessive drinkers emerged from the dialogue between medicine and life assurance, from the teetotal insurance office that ended up giving policies to moderate drinkers to the use of a fixed daily limit by US firms in the early twentieth century. While these ideas of moderation seem to have disappeared into the background for much of the twentieth century, re-emerging as the ‘J-shaped’ curve of today, these early developments anticipate many of the questions surrounding uses of the ‘unit’ in Britain today: was moderate drinking safe, or simply safer? How did moderation ‘work’ for

rival experts, forms of knowledge and types of evidence? And what happened when limits were set by complex networks of actors with different goals?

**MALLECK, Dan (Brock University), Panel 9.3**

**Habitual risk: Insurance, professional authority and the medicalization of addiction in the 19<sup>th</sup> century**

In his influential textbooks on medical jurisprudence, Alfred Swaine Taylor observed that the opium habit, while generally a personal vice, was viewed by the emerging life insurance/assurance industry as a risky behaviour that might preclude an individual obtaining life insurance coverage. Taylor and others, such as the equally influential Robert Christison, debated in the pages of their books, the truth of this statement: whether opium habit limited life spans, and should be considered by the medical profession as something more than a personal problem, however iatrogenic it may be. When examining the medicalization of addiction, historians have tended to look to two sources for epistemological roots: medical science and the law. Yet neither of these forms of knowledge is removed from other social, political and economic influences. Like many professionals establishing both their authority and their financial viability, physicians were drawn to the insurance industry as a source of investment to secure their financial future. They were also wooed by the industry, since a medical doctor's certificate was useful, and eventually required, to guarantee that the applicant for insurance was healthy enough that insuring them did not pose an undue risk to the company and its investors. By the end of the century, many insurance companies were hiring physicians to manage corporate divisions dedicated to assessing risk, physician groups were setting prices for the medical exam (paid for by the insurance company) and medical literature on a range of illnesses often included commentary on how that illness might affect the patient's ability to obtain insurance. This paper looks at how the symbiotic but often fraught relationship between physicians and insurance companies affected the idea of habit as a medical condition. It uses the example of Canadian medical literature, highly influenced by both British and American developments in medical science and medical professionalization, to explore the intricacies of this relationship and whether and how life insurance affected medical ideas. It posits that historians need to pay attention to the influence of private industry which, even if not directly involved in the practice of medicine (such as the pharmaceutical industry), may have had considerable impact on the development of a disease theory of addiction.

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