
Gunter, Hansen and Touri’s *Alcohol Advertising and Young People’s Drinking* is a book on what experiments and surveys tell us about how advertising encourages youths to drink. I suppose an opening question might be why readers of a journal on the social history of alcohol would be interested in research that, according to some accounts, has little time for either history or the social. Effects studies, after all, examine the impact of persuasive messages under contrived experimental conditions, or else produce survey “snapshots” that simply describe broad associations between exposure to general alcohol advertising and consumption, without ascertaining how the observed patterns came to be. Actually, effects researchers are keenly aware of the need to account for the social at the level of interpretation. They recognise the dilemma of external validity, and one of the most eloquent writers on this problem is none other than Barry Gunter, lead author on this project.

It’s no surprise, then, that the book immediately reassures us of the authors’ intention to examine how advertising plays a *unique* role in youth drinking without assuming it is the main cultural driver. They concede that consumption among youth groups show variable patterns, that youth drinking is declining in some areas, and that in many parts of the world the most popular drinks among young people are often locally produced and unadvertised. This sets the scene for the book; its goal is to outline exactly what effects research has discovered on the role of advertising in drinking cultures, with a special eye on acknowledging the limitations of such studies, and drawing attention to the nuances in the effects case. Nevertheless, the overall point is to outline how effects research does support the argument that alcohol advertising contributes to the normalisation of drinking, where this is a precondition for unhealthy consumption and when it occurs among particular groups at particular times.

To further reassure journal readers, Chapters Two and Three of the book pay attention to the history of alcohol advertising and the social patterns of alcohol consumption. As Chapter Two makes clear, the nature of exposure has varied across time. The essential “problem” of alcohol advertising is that advertising practice has consistently dodged regulation by finding ways to reach underage audiences; exposure can only be conceived and measured, then, with an appreciation of how changing media technologies offer new ways to achieve this old trick. When it comes to “macro” studies charting associations between exposure to advertising in general and overall alcohol consumption across large populations – the question framing Chapter Three – the lesson is that the data from these studies are particularly good at noting overall patterns and differences that set the context for social drinking, and this information, seen for what it is, is valuable background information for “micro” studies of consumption within smaller groups.

This is not to say experiments and surveys simply show where there do seem to
be associations between exposure to advertising and positive orientations toward drinking. Chapter Four takes a closer look at the different sorts of influences that effects researchers have found, concluding that while the evidence of clear effects is patchy, the case for the hypothesis of strong media influence has been brought into sharper focus by the work of those who have endeavoured to conceptualise amorphous effects as quantifiable phenomena. For example where alcohol messages are mediated by the existing tastes, pleasures, ambitions and anxieties that young people already have, advertising practice has shown an increasing tendency to incorporate these factors in their persuasive appeals. Turning their attention to evidence about how young audiences are oriented to alcohol advertising, in Chapter Five, the authors point out that this process of “occupying” the tastes and habits of youth cultures also embraces use of other communication channels; we don’t just have to worry about the reach of the internet, but also the appeal of far more mundane point-of-sale strategies. In this sense, as Chapter Seven notes, its plausible that supermarkets may be as much to blame for naturalizing alcohol as any slick multimedia campaign.

One important aspect of the alcohol/media question yet to be explored in any depth is the matter of how news stories about drinking affect public opinion on the nature of the problem; and indeed the perception of whether indeed there is a problem vis-à-vis youth drinking. Chapter Eight outlines a strategy for correcting this omission. In the authors’ view, any research on the role of news in increasing young people’s awareness about the risks of alcohol needs to account for differences between news genres, in terms of their appeal to young audiences, a greater attention to the emotional registers of news (as compared to the conventional focus on themes and agendas), and the distinction between “thematic” and “episodic” news frames; where the latter are more effective in mobilising audience responses because they focus on immediate “crises” rather than long term trends.

In conclusion, Gunter, Hansen and Touri note that the question of what advertising does to young drinkers is indeed historical: “Much depends on the time period over which these trends are observed. Reduced or stabilising patterns of youth drinking observed in some countries since 2000 are heartening. Whether they represent lasting behaviour changes is something that only time will tell” (p. 199). When it comes to advertising and marketing, although the evidence for effects is difficult to evaluate, it is clear that the case for regulation remains a strong one, if for no other reason than breaches of codes that are already in place are proliferating across Europe as the means of sharing alcohol messages multiply. However, that very multiplication implies a convergence between alcohol advertising and other sorts of communication, such that research on advertising effects is best regarded as shedding light on how media normalize drinking as a social pastime. This is especially the case since “attaching primary blame to alcohol advertising is unlikely to get close to tackling a deep-seated societal problem that can only be reduced through combined action by manufacturers, retailers, bars and clubs, parents, schools, law enforcement agencies, health services and government” (p. 201).

Historically, Alcohol Advertising and Young People’s Drinking is significant as a detailed explanation of why recent developments, such as WHO’s 2009 move for a global moratorium on all alcohol advertising and other calls for tighter marketing regulations, are not anomalies that refuse to face up to the “failure” of social scientists to find clear evidence of strong advertising effects. The book establishes why it is possible to argue that such policies may have a place in wider interventions into social communication about alcohol, set against the backdrop of changing marketing practises
where alcohol advertisers have become more adept at reaching young consumers, speaking a language those consumers recognise and enjoy, and have become ever more skilled in flouting the spirit of existing industry guidelines while adhering to them in letter. If nothing else, it’s extremely effective as a summary of the difficulties of researching advertising effects, and the points of agreement and conflict that have emerged among researchers who have tried to quantify the connections between advertising and drinking.


One of the few unanswered questions in Thomas Vander Ven’s study of student drinking is why are we so bothered about it? There is an assumption among most people, I imagine, that students, being students, will get drunk. It’s what they do. But parallel to that we have an anxious discourse around young binge drinkers that has grown in intensity over the past decade. Countless campaigns and programmes have attempted to get those captive youth we call students to reflect on their behaviour and cut down on the booze. But, as Vander Ven points out, such efforts are wasted on the wasted: “The effects of such interventions are generally small and costly, and are least effective among the most hard-core college drinkers” (p. 174).

The frustration that students just won’t listen to reason when it comes to alcohol is, of course, part of a general concern about human beings who refuse to pursue rational self-interest. But what if there are benefits to getting wasted? This is the terrifying possibility that Vander Ven boldly addresses head-on by asking students themselves why they drink, what happens when they drink, what makes them stop and what makes the carry on. He sounds surprised that hardly anyone has tried this sort of thing before. “The history of the study of alcohol use in America is largely the study of disease and destruction,” he says (p. 164). But once you leave that “pathological frame” you enter dangerous territory. You wouldn’t want to disrupt the responsible consumption message by uncovering the power of positive drinking. Yet surely if we want to properly understand student drinking, or any sort of drinking, in order to reduce the very real risks associated with extreme intoxication, we have to face the fact that people are getting something of value out of it. If we choose to intervene, our intervention has to take that into account.

Vander Ven’s sample, undergraduates at three American universities, should have greater disincentives to drink than most. The vast majority of them are under 21 years of age, so it’s illegal, with the ultimate punishment being a premature end to their education. Organising an evening’s on-campus drinking requires finding a person who is over 21 to buy the booze, smuggling it past college authorities and consuming it in secrecy. Going to a bar requires fake ID, compliant barstaff and getting home without being caught drunk.

*Getting Wasted* unflinchingly describes these adventures and the misadventures, too: the vomiting and the violence, the hangovers and the missed classes, the alcohol poisoning and the black-outs, the shameful sexual liaisons and the broken relationships. Some people, a highly publicised few, die as a result of drinking, and the interviews with students reveal many near-misses at the extreme events quaintly known as “Shit Shows.” So why do they carry on doing it? Because it’s fun would be an obvious
and accurate, if unenlightening, short answer, but Vander Ven delves deeper.

Following psychologist Jeffrey Arnett’s terminology, he addresses the students as “emerging adults” (p. 53). Having finally escaped a prolonged dependence on their parents and a life that, in recent years, has become increasingly controlled and supervised (p. 85), they seize their chance to establish an adult identity. Drinking allows them to discover an “intoxicated self” released of inhibitions. As one 19-year-old says, “Beer is beautiful. As a shy person by nature, I forget all about it. I can talk to beautiful women much easier” (p. 55).

“Hooking up” is indeed one of aims of drinking, rather than an unintended consequence. And so is risky behaviour. The appeal of getting drunk with your mates is that anything can happen, providing a stockpile of crazy tales that can help bond friendships into the future.

“The practice of collective intoxication is loaded with emotional payoffs and satisfying interactions,” argues Vander Ven (p. 164). And perhaps the most interesting and potentially valuable insight to come out of his study is the phenomenon of “drunk support.” In order to keep going back to the bar, or to keep going back to the ridiculous drinking games contrived to speed up the process of getting wasted, students have to believe they are, to an extent, protected from the worst consequences by various social strategies and mechanisms. They must believe, in fact, that they are responsible drinkers. And drunk support suggests they are not entirely deluded in that belief.

Vander Ven is struck by the way in which “co-drinkers extend a tremendous amount of social support to one another when trouble arises” (p. 168). This ranges from holding a chum’s hair out of the way of a fountain of sick to the art of the “cock block,” a subtle, and sometimes not-so-subtle, device to ward off a (usually) male sexual predator from a (usually) female friend whose decision-making has been compromised by too much drink (p. 114). Drunk support gives emerging adults the opportunity to “try on adult roles” and rehearse for “real” crises later in life (p. 83). It also gives Vander Ven the basis for a constructive alternative to existing interventions in the college drinking scene. Students could be encouraged to get better at it, he thinks, and he concludes by urging officials to “find creative ways to energize the college student population to use drunk support to reduce dangerous drinking” (p. 181).

Although it’s not completely clear how that might happen it’s an original, and refreshing, conclusion firmly based in the principles of harm reduction, and on the real drinking experiences of students themselves. It makes Getting Wasted an invigorating contribution to a stale debate.

Reviewed by Paul Jennings, University of Bradford.

In a recent review in this journal of a history of beer, James Sumner (2011) discussed the question of judging a book intended as a popular history by the standards of academic historians. The same issue arises here in assessing Roger Protz’s history of brewing in Burton on Trent and, given this journal’s subject matter, it is one that is likely to recur. Sumner felt it was worth doing, as he put it, “because good ‘popular’ literature often provides a better introduction for the newly arrived researcher than the turgid tomes we tend to tax each other with.” In my own review of a popular history of the inns of Lancaster (Jennings, 2010), I did judge it by academic standards, since
the author had himself indicated the need for academic rigour in a subject area, the history of drinking places, in which he felt, quite rightly, it was too often lacking. The relationship between academic and popular history is indeed an interesting subject, if one which there is not space here to pursue. My own view, to put it as succinctly as I can, is that on the one hand academic history should aim to communicate to a wider public beyond a specialist audience and on the other popular history should adhere to basic principles of historical research and writing, such as the clear identification of the sources of information.

The book in question then is written by a well known writer on beer, editor of the annual *Good Beer Guide* and the recipient of the first Lifetime Achievement Award from the British Guild of Beer Writers. Accordingly, there is much of interest in the book on beer itself, including, for example, analysis of recreations of the original style of India Pale Ale. As to the history itself, this moves chronologically from medieval monastic brewing to the present day in the readable style one would expect from this author. As part of that story, the reasons for Burton’s rise as a brewing town are outlined, notably the special qualities of its water and its central geographical location with good navigable links. The seventeenth and eighteenth century Baltic trade is discussed as is the later, better known, trade with India. The transforming effect of the railway from 1839, with the link to Birmingham, and the consequent ability to supply a national market with the beers of Burton, is stressed. The result, as Protz describes it, was Beeropolis, a world centre of the brewing industry. The industry’s twentieth century fortunes are then charted in chapters entitled respectively “Wars and Recession” and “Into the Whirlwind” through to its virtual disappearance, before a coda with chapters with equally heartfelt titles, “Keeping the Faith” and “Burton Reborn,” looking respectively at Marston’s, a survivor from the nineteenth century, and the emergence of new micro breweries in the town. The book then ends with chapters on the former Bass Museum, now the National Brewery Centre, and the rediscovery of some bottles of Allsops Arctic Ale, brewed in 1875 for an expedition to locate the North Pole, plus an appendix on the recreation of a Burton ale.

As the topics of these last four chapters and the appendix perhaps suggests, the overall result to this reader was to create more of a miscellany than a fully realised history of brewing in the town. Another example is the book’s second chapter, which is devoted to the story of the Babington plot, which led to the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots, because the conduit for the correspondence happened to be a brewer who supplied beer to the castle in which she was imprisoned. To be fair, however, it is a miscellany which does include a core of an outline of brewing in Burton. It is an outline, however, which often lacks context for the developments it describes, for example the crucial late nineteenth century change in popular drinking habits. Such context as there is tends to sweeping, outdated, textbook characterizations such as that of a transition from feudalism to capitalism, which is placed in the seventeenth century, or of a cataclysmic Industrial Revolution or of the “vibrant new society” of the 1960s. It is also, to return to my opening comments, based on the end on a limited range of sources, with just sixteen titles listed in the section on sources and further reading, including a biography of Mary, Queen of Scots. The reader desiring more than the readable sketch offered here would do better to consult some of those titles.

**References**


James Sumner. Review of Martyn Cornell. *Amber, Gold and Black: The History of Britain’s*
In 1995 the South African Breweries celebrated its centennial with the construction of a facility, later named the World of Beer, that the company hoped would become a major local tourist attraction – attracting the millions of loyal consumers of SAB brands. At the dedication ceremony, the featured speaker was none other than the famously teetotalling Nelson Mandela, the newly elected first president of a post-apartheid South Africa. In his remarks Mandela nevertheless praised the SAB as a progressive corporation that had promoted black rights before it was popular to do so. The exhibits in the World of Beer sought to reinforce that perspective in a distinctive version of the history of beer in South Africa – one that predictably enough made the SAB brands the symbols of a new non-racial South African nationhood. This fascinating if somewhat uneven book, contests that version of history from a variety of perspectives, and in the process “transgresses conventional disciplinary boundaries in an attempt to construct the social and economic history of a commodity and its effects on society” (p. 11).

After summarizing the history of alcohol consumption in South Africa in an overview that adds little to the existing scholarship on alcohol use in Africa, Mager sketches in the distinctive drinking cultures and the alcohol economy that had emerged in South Africa by the 1950s, in the context of state control over the production and consumption of “traditional” grain beer and the prohibition of sales of European-type beer and spirits to Africans. Even after the gradual liberalization of alcohol regulation that began in 1961 (in an atmosphere of intense political repression), illicit shebeens, usually operated by women, dominated drinking cultures in urban South Africa. As the book’s title suggests, Mager links alcohol consumption to masculinity among both blacks and whites, but her central contribution – and it is an important one – is to describe the political economy of alcohol production and distribution.

The 1961 liberalization set in motion a dramatic expansion of bottled beer consumption in South Africa and among the black population. Mager’s discussion of this expansion and the role of the South African Breweries in it forms the heart of this study and represents an important, if particularly distinctive, case study of corporate power in modern South Africa. Her analysis closely links the emergence of the SAB as a monopolistic corporation to the larger economic and political developments that first led to a consolidation of the power of the apartheid regime in the 1970s and then in the 1980s to its demise. Within a decade of the liberalization of alcohol regulations, blacks had come to account for the consumption of more than half of bottled beer produced by the SAB, a development which Mager deftly links to the corporate wars that enabled the SAB to emerge as the dominant player in the South African beer industry. The SAB turned explicitly to US models to develop the appeal of its brands in a self conscious effort to create a “modern” industry. Their new advertising campaigns relied substantially on sports to convey a message connecting the dominant Castle lager brand and others to a distinctive South African masculinity. Her examination of advertising provides particularly eloquent evidence of the ways that the racialized views of the white management infected business thinking – with for example the notorious decision of the SAB to buy the rights to the Carling Black Label name in the 1960s in a misguided effort to attract African customers. It turned out, unsurprisingly, that African men were
drawn to much the same messages as whites – although the focus might have to be on male soccer camaraderie as opposed to rugby – the traditional Afrikaner game.

By 1980 the proportion of sales of beer by black customers had reached 80 percent of beer sales and the company had become much more sophisticated in their approach, linking their advertising campaigns not only to sports but to charitable activities in black communities. And at the same time, the SAB – ahead of much of corporate South Africa – began to project a fantasy image of a non-racial South Africa in which whites and blacks intermingled, even as political opposition became increasingly militant and aggressive and violence escalated. Mager is particularly strong on tracing the dramatic growth of the illicit private sector and the efforts – often supported by the SAB – to transform shebeen owners into legal publicans. Less illuminating is her somewhat over-interpreted discussion of the ways that beer drinking is connected to ideas of masculinity, black and white, in South African society – an analysis that misses an opportunity to illuminate how masculinity has been reconfigured in recent decades.

Mager concludes her study with an insightful chapter on the largely successful efforts of the SAB to remake itself as a global, rather than a South African, corporation, which in international terms has been marked by its acquisition of the Miller Brewing Company and the relocation of its headquarters to London. Equally compelling is the story that Mager recounts about how the “progressive” SAB incorporated a new labor regime in its conversion to a globalism and in the process directly challenged South Africa’s newly empowered labor unions. Drawing on a rich body of court documents, Mager tells the poignant tale of how the SAB developed, and ultimately successfully put into a place, an aggressive policy that would substantially reduce its workforce, targeting in particular those black workers, who because of the heritage of apartheid, lacked the education and skills that the SAB claimed were essential to the production of their new global brand. Tragic but equally unsurprising is the fact that many of these very same workers, often with decades of employment with SAB, were hired back through private contractors to do much the same work for sharply reduced pay and benefits.


In *Vintage Moquegua*, Prudence Rice recognizes the special place of wine within the political, economic, social, and cultural relations of colonialism. Although integral to the religious practices that Spanish colonial authorities were trying to impart to the indigenous populations of the Americas from the early sixteenth century, wine was also a central product in the mediation of relations between Crown authorities and Spanish settlers. Moreover, Rice explores the commercial development of the wine industry in colonial Peru to illuminate a broader process in which the world-capitalist system started to take shape.

The introduction and part one, subdivided into three chapters, together provide a comprehensive discussion of the different disciplinary perspectives and theoretical paradigms that inform the work, as well as summarizing relevant social, political, economic, and environmental conditions in both the Iberian Peninsula and the area of Moquegua in South America in the fifteenth century. One of the most interesting
and innovative aspects of the theoretical discussion is the incorporation of multiple, interconnected layers, or a “nested model” of core, semi-peripheral, and peripheral relationships, into the broader paradigm of World Systems Theory (p. 28). This provided a robust framework through which local power dynamics and socio-economic relationships in the Moquegua Valley wine industry are connected to and analyzed within larger political and economic relationships in the Viceroyalty of Peru, in Spanish America as a whole, in the Hispanic world, and in the emerging capitalist world system. While the different layers of the interconnected nested systems are discussed in detail throughout the book, this sophisticated theoretical model has the potential to do much more. Substantive attempts to bring the local, intermediate, and global levels into explicit dialogue are too infrequent in the main body of the narrative. Consequently, at times the different levels of analysis, dealing with the general relations of colonialism in Peru, the regional, economic, political and social networks of South-West Peru, the Moquegua wine industry, and the archaeological evidence found in the Moquegua bodegas, lack explicit connections, at least until the concluding chapter, which return to the theoretical frameworks outlined in the introduction to explain and contextualize much of the preceding detail.

Part two, subdivided into three chapters, provides a detailed overview of the discovery and colonization of Peru, giving specific focus to the establishment of the encomienda system and other colonial institutions, like the audiencia, corregimiento, reducción, hacienda, and church. Some interesting observations about the position of Moquegua within larger networks of power relations are made in this section, particularly regarding the jurisdictional rivalries that affected the relationship between the adjacent towns of Moquegua and Escapagua in the early colonial period, and the role of the Moquegua wine industry in shaping local Catholic traditions and cultures. Although these subjects are dealt with briefly, Rice has identified intriguing connections that can be explored further by other scholars.

The third part, again subdivided into three chapters, deals with the origins, development, expansion, and decline of the wine industry in the Moquegua Valley from the sixteenth to the twentieth century. This discussion focuses on the production and distribution of wine in colonial Peru, and on the larger economic systems this wine industry operated within, understandably, therefore, stopping short of exploring additional socio-cultural consumption issues. Most interesting here is the competition and conflict between local producers and the Spanish imperial state over the rights, and responsibilities, of supplying colonial markets with goods. Wine, variously a religious necessity, a dietary necessity, a luxury good, and a form of currency or exchange, became intimately involved in the complex political and economic relations of empire. While vineyards in south-central Peru became important suppliers to far-flung parts of Spanish America, especially Central America and New Spain (modern-day Mexico), the vineyards of the Moquegua Valley in south-west Peru primarily traded with the important mining towns of Alto Peru (modern-day Bolivia). The silver mining booms of the late sixteenth century and the later eighteenth century created high demand for alcoholic beverages in the densely populated urban centers of Potosí, Oruro, and La Paz, helping to produce a boom for Moquegua’s wine production in the late sixteenth century and Moquegua’s grape brandy, or pisco, production in the late eighteenth century.

In part four, Rice provides three chapters which delve into the artifacts of material culture discovered by her archaeological team in the Moquegua Bodegas Project. The detailed descriptions of the remains of industrial ceramics, domestic ceramics, and assorted non-ceramic materials help to fill in some of the gaps left by the documentary
evidence discussed elsewhere in the book. Here we learn that the colonial era bodegas were varied in type: some were occupied by whole families and others revealed evidence of only male workers; some engaged in diverse economic activities; while others specialized in vine monoculture; bodegas were owned, or at least occupied, by groups of varied socio-economic status; only a few vineyards seemed to be affiliated to religious orders; and, although both Spanish and indigenous people inhabited the area, dietary customs on the whole were more heavily influenced by indigenous customs than Spanish norms.

Parts three and four are the most interesting and successful of the book as a whole, offering rich detail about wine and brandy production processes, networks of supply and demand, and the overall development of south-west Peru’s colonial wine industry, as well as a fascinating exploration of the material conditions of life in and around the wine industry in the Moquegua Valley. The overwhelming focus of the book on Spanish settlers’ involvement in the Moquegua wine industry is acknowledged as a limitation of scope in the introduction, but parts of the narrative makes clear that the indigenous population, in addition to participating widely in the transportation of vineyard produce, had been engaged directly in wine production. However, the reason for this decision of scope was not clear. Perhaps a lack of source material precluded a detailed exploration of the economic and political relationships and networks in which indigenous producers of wine were involved. At times, however, it seems that the overall interpretive framework, placing the development of the Moquegua valley wine industry within the larger development of capitalism, and the integration of colonial Peru into networks of capitalist exchange, had driven this omission. I suspect that many historians of the early colonial period will struggle to accept Rice’s depiction of sixteenth-century Spanish encomenderos as “capitalist-orientated” (p. 271), and the resultant image, of increasingly capitalist Spanish producers, and non-capitalist indigenous producers, as too dichotomous. Another of Rice’s theoretical paradigms, adapted from a business studies model for understanding the “diffusion of innovations,” also contributes to this image, although perhaps unintentionally (p. 43). The terminology in this model, categorizing as “innovators” those actors who are “visionary, imaginative, venturesome,” and those who are “highly vested in the status quo and tradition” as “laggards,” seems value-laden to a problematic degree (p. 44). The implication of such terminology seems to be that change, or at least change leading to the progressive development of capitalism, is always the more beneficial or more desirable development. While Rice does not explicitly apply the category of “laggards” to Moquegua’s indigenous population, this model and its terminology seem to hinder a more nuanced analysis of the economic activities of all the actors involved in colonial wine industry.

Reviewed by Robin Room, Turning Point Drug and Alcohol Centre, Melbourne.

This book will be a basic resource for anyone interested in the history of Australian public drinking places and their varied roles in Australian society. The book opens with the sentence, “The pub is an Australian icon.” But it then has immediately to go on to the difficult issue of terminology. Australian usage has varied over time and place, between “hotel,” “pub,” “inn,” “bar,” and a number of other terms. The most common in the twentieth century was “hotel,” which reflected the historical requirement by
Australian colonial authorities that places licensed to sell alcohol also had to provide meals and lodging. As Kirkby and her colleagues detail, these functions were in fact largely separated at least in cities and suburbs for much of the twentieth century, but any place selling alcohol on-premises was and still is often called a “hotel.”

Section or chapters in the book describe the colonial beginnings of Australian hotels, the long history and the flow and ebb of government licensing restrictions – most famously, the six-o’clock closing hour imposed in much of Australia between the First World War and the 1950s or 1960s – and the overlap of drinking establishments with various other community pursuits. Among these are sports, prostitution, criminal activities, gambling – illegal in former times, the “pokies” (legal slot machines) now – and the pub as a community centre, as a fairground and as a clubhouse. Copiously illustrated, mostly with old photographs of insides and outsides of hotels and of associated activities, the book’s strength is as a social and cultural historical description of the many roles of hotels in Australian society, and of the substantial changes in those roles over time.

The book makes a brave effort to cover the whole of Australia. But the history in the different states is different and separate enough to make this difficult, and the narrative sometimes slows down as some local colour is given about a whole range of places, often without much explicit analysis of what lay behind the differences.

On liquor licensing and the interplay between temperance movements, alcohol industry interests, and state licensing and policing, the basic story is given, but the authors have no hesitation in showing their colours, which are fairly hostile to alcohol controls. The 2008 winding back of closing hours in Newcastle, NSW is mentioned (p. 149), but the effect mentioned is not the substantial reduction documented in late-night violence on Newcastle streets, but rather the claim that it hurt hotel revenues (nine of the 14 hotels affected had been sold two years later). The book’s general characterization of liberalisation of licensing laws is as “enlightened” (p. 108), and chapter on liquor licensing is titled “Never on Sunday.”

Despite this disposition, the book does usefully correct the main previous historical study of Australian pubs, by J.M. Freeland in 1966. Freeland had attributed the advent of the stripped-down tiled public bar with a floor covering of sawdust, view with distaste and on its way out when he was writing, as an adaptation to the rush-hour service of six o’clock closing. But Kirkby and colleagues are convincing that the story is more complicated, reflecting a move towards a “streamlined, moderne-styled pub” that had beginnings before six o’clock closing, but which reached its height under the influence of a 1930s “health and hygiene discourse” insisting on modernized bathrooms and hygienic surfaces (pp. 241-46).

The book is written for a general audience, but some nuances of vocabulary will probably puzzle non-Australians. It is a book based on wide reading, drawing on a wide variety of material from newspapers, the alcohol trade press, government inquiries, and memoirs, as well as secondary material. But scholars wishing to follow up on it will sometimes be frustrated: there is just a paragraph at the back describing “sources” for each chapter, so that the source for a particular statement is not always apparent.

Reviewed by Scott C. Martin, Bowling Green State University.

David Fahey’s volume on the Women’s Crusade in Oxford provides many useful insights into the conduct and nature of the female temperance activism that preceded the establishment of the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union. Using a wealth of local history and archival material, Fahey describes in detail one instance of the brief but intense flurry of women’s direct action against saloons in 1873 and 1874.

Oxford, the home of Miami University and other educational institutions, had a strong tradition of temperance activism. By the early 1870s, drinking establishments and the problems of violence and disorder they promoted motivated local women, who heard of Crusaders from other areas of Ohio, to take action in Oxford. As Fahey shows, middle-class white Oxford women united against the drinking establishments that allegedly ruined the lives of local men and their families by congregating outside them (or inside, if permitted) to sing, pray, exhort, and monitor the identities of customers. As in other towns, at least some of Oxford Crusaders had cause to worry about the effects of the liquor trade on men in their own families. Amelia Guy, the president of Oxford’s Women’s Temperance League, Fahey notes, may have had an alcoholic husband, and certainly had a stepson who drank to excess (p. 142). Though similar to many of the other Crusaders in Ohio and elsewhere, Oxford temperance activists tended to come from solidly middle class, as opposed to wealthy, families. Fahey notes that many “women from moneyed families failed to join Crusade ‘street work,’” (p. 114) even if they agreed with action against liquor establishments in principle. The Oxford Crusaders proved remarkably successful: after two months, all drinking establishments had been shut down, though the Crusade abruptly ceased, making lasting gains difficult.

For the most part, however, Fahey’s study of the Oxford Women’s Crusade confirms the general patterns described by Jack Blocker in his broader study of the Crusade. Fahey’s study makes a useful contribution, though, in demonstrating how much the Women’s Crusade depended on male support, both moral and financial. Oxford’s male religious community encouraged women to begin a crusade, provided logistical support and a degree of physical protection, and established a monetary fund to defray any legal or other costs associated with saloon visitations.

Fahey regarded this volume “as much a history of Oxford as it is of the Crusade,” (p. 12) and it fulfills this goal, providing extensive archival information on the local context of reform, economic conditions, and prominent citizens. The book also includes a lengthy appendix detailing the life of the Guys, a leading family who were involved in the Crusade.

The book’s usefulness is undermined somewhat by its production, and here the publisher seems to be at least partly at fault. Consecutive footnotes throughout the book, in Roman rather than Arabic numerals, prove cumbersome. Minimalist copyediting failed to improve organization or narrative flow, and the lack of an adequate subject index detracts from the volume’s value to scholars. Still, the book provides a wealth of information about Oxford and the Women’s Crusade. It will interest historians of gender, of alcohol and temperance, and of Oxford, Ohio.
Drugs are seen by policymakers as objects that intrude on culture, generating addiction, crime, and a range of wicked and intractable social problems. This viewpoint is an epistemological limitation which attributes unwarranted agency to drugs, and that leads governments of all stripes to continually reproduce damaging and inadequate policy responses to drug use. *Drugs and Culture* is a fantastic set of essays which address the many inadequacies in the kind of thinking about drug use that predominate in media commentary and policy formation. The book examines the myriad ways in which drugs and drug use are used to perform and regenerate culture through meaning focused action. The book consists of 16 chapters in three sections, covering “Knowledge: Science, Medicine and Discourses on Drugs”; “Consumption: Cultures of Drug Use”; and “Policy or Politics: The Cultural Dynamics of Public Responses.”

Ross Coomber explores how myths about drugs tend to revert to the mean. When one myth is busted, it reappears rapidly, or attaches to a new drug. They are remarkably resilient. The rhetoric changes little between the “gin babies” of the 1700s and the meth babies of today. Policy and public discourse are fairly well evidence-proofed. Coomber takes four recurring myths around drugs: dealers commonly adulterate street drugs with a range of vile substances, some drugs, especially heroin, cause addiction on first use, the related myth that dealers hook naïve youngsters with free samples and various other nefarious methods, and that violence is a normal feature of drug market transactions. These myths do the work of establishing drug use and trade as set apart from normal activities, as something conducted by uniquely evil or base individuals. Many users and dealers buy in to these myths and judge their own experience, if differing from the mediated “reality,” to be exceptional.

Tom Decorte finds that scientific and social scientific knowledge of illicit drugs is hampered by the difficulty of data collection on an illegal activity and the distortion of data arising from the fact that the ethically and legally easiest research is with the most pathologised, medicalised sections of the drug using population. One of the major distortions of scientific research and reporting on the risks of illicit drugs is that the criminal justice system is rarely assessed as a risk itself. Decorte outlines the use of rituals and rules of thumb that allow cocaine users to maintain controlled use, which can be damaged by repressive forms of drug control.

Patrick Peretti-Watel examines epidemiology as a technology of knowledge which breaks down individuals into component risk factors and then reconstructs them as risky subjects. There are problems in the way epidemiology is applied to drug use and other complex human behaviours – dangers of tautologising, generating “risky populations” from the data rather than from actual risk exposure, creation of artefactual correspondences, and the continual identification of new risk factors whose relationship to health gets ever more tenuous, multi-factorial, and multi-causal. Epidemiologists are rightly cautious and tentative. However there appears to be an inverse relationship between the strength and validity of a finding in epidemiology and the glee with which politicians legislate on the matter. Epidemiology developed from the study of involuntary risk exposure, and has since been analogised to voluntary behaviour such as drug use. The process of analogisation has tended to medicalise drug use, which is spoken of using disease analogies, such as contagion, dose effect, remission, and of late, vaccination.
Peter Conrad and Thomas Mackie examine the mutations of opiate addiction and the tensions between medicalization, moralisation, criminalisation, pharmaceuticalisation and welfareisation. Didier Fassin examines the continual reproduction of medicalization in different relationships to pathology and normality, and finds it increasingly concerned with normality rather than pathology and deviance – which chimes with the shift in policy towards the management of normal behaviour, rather than the restricting of deviant action. Michel Kokoreff surveys the rise and part demise of sociological research on drug use in France. He highlights the importance of generational renewal in social science. The drug problem in France defined by the post-68 counterculture – the Home Minister in 1971 spoke of drugs as the means for an assault on societal values by anarchists.

Randall Collins explores the ritual aspects of drug use in culture. Rituals provide the observer with access to the fundamental meaning and function of drug use. Rituals can bind users together, they exclude outsiders, the naïve or the scornful, and they intensify intoxication. He provides a ritual typology. The apparently ritual free practical use of the substance often following its first discovery, solitary use, hierarchal aesthetic focused ritual, and ritual transgression. Drugs are turned into objects of culture through rituals. I would add the techno-rituals of medicine, the placebo, ritual as cure, that transform drugs into psycho-pharmaceutical medicines.

Geoffery Hunt et al. consider dance drug scenes around the world in the context of globalisation and the emergence of hybrid cultures reliant on global cultural flows. There appears to be a process of new, relatively homogenous and exclusive dance culture appearing in several places at once, which as it becomes popular and more localised then fragments along class, ethnic and subcultural lines. As a drug culture becomes more working class or involves more working class youth it loses any hope for political romanticisation by the media and academic elites. So we often hear laments about how ecstasy and raves were better in the 1980s (before those chavs got past the bouncers), cannabis was better in the 1960s (while the plebs were too busy using alcohol and amphetamines), and so on.

Maitena Milhet and Catherine Reynaud-Maurupt explore the growing use of natural hallucinogens, including magic mushrooms. They categorise use as enchanting, confusing or visionary. Users seek variously to re-enchant the world, rendering it and others full of fascination, to confuse and lose themselves themselves, and to experience epistemological and ontological revelation, a sense of profound insight into the world. In addition to their schema, some of my students in class discussions have identified the value of hallucinogens and especially dissociative drugs in the challenge they give to the user. Molly Moloney and Geoffrey Hunt add to the developing understanding of female drug use as more than the victim/follower role into which women drug users have often been pushed. They examine the use of ecstasy in performing masculinity and femininity. Rave space is experienced as freeing from gender norms but also fraught for women because of assumed vulnerability. Frank Zobel and Wolfgang Götz put drug use in a regional European context and examine the varied national and cultural geography of drug use and drug use trends across European countries.

It is often assumed that policy is in some sense above culture or abstracted from it. The Policy or Politics section is particularly innovative in drawing together work on the various policy cultures that shape the response to drug use. David T. Courtwright and Timothy A. Hickman consider the recent history of culture wars and public health demands. They find that drug prohibition is far too useful to give up. Illicit drugs provide a ready-made target for politicians keen to get a bit of street cred. Peter Reuter
presents the extensive evidence that the enforcement of drug prohibition works as a generator of public health harms. Phillipe Bourgois draws on his work with middle-aged homeless heroin users, the very marginal of marginal men and the structural harms imposed on them. He finds their moral economy and the cultural constraints on US drug policy come up against public health strictures on needle sharing and other safer injection practices. They have access to the best high-tech medicine at the county hospital, but no needle exchange or GP care. Nacer Lalam and Laurent Laniel, use the concept of knowledge resistance and professional boundary setting to consider the French drug enforcement agencies apparent evidence blind spots. Finally Henri Bergeron examines the working of culture in public policy which individualises drug use and embeds drug problems as solely features of the drug and the psychology and body of the user.

The book makes a significant contribution to our understanding of drug use and especially how public policy develops a hidden, unspoken culture that elides and ignores inconvenient evidence. It provides a critical toolbox of methods and concepts to apply to drug use and the structured limitations of the high status, highly valued, but often inadequate, evidence that policymakers use and misuse.