

Abolishing Wine O'Clock: The Long-Term Consequences of Sober Schooling

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Motivation

- **Alcohol consumption** is responsible for **4.7%** of the global burden of disease worldwide (WHO, 2024)
- **7% of the world pop aged 15+** live with alcohol use disorders (WHO, 2024)
- **Consuming alcohol** is (still) deeply ingrained in many cultures



Figure 1. "No power to drugs!" (PM Söder, 2024)
Oktoberfest declared a Cannabis-free zone

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- **Consuming alcohol** is (still) deeply ingrained in many cultures

This paper: Evaluate the effectiveness of a **public policy to reduce alcoholism**

This paper

Setting: We evaluate the consequences of a "controversial" reform:

Banning alcohol from school canteens in France (1956)

Context:

- Until 1956, schools typically served alcohol to children [▶ Example](#)



Figure 1. Lunch in the school canteen (1930s), *Tulle Municipal Archives*

This paper

Setting: We evaluate the consequences of a "controversial" reform:

Banning alcohol from school canteens in France (1956)

Context:

- Until 1956, schools typically served alcohol to children [▶ Example](#)
- France's alcohol consumption just off the charts

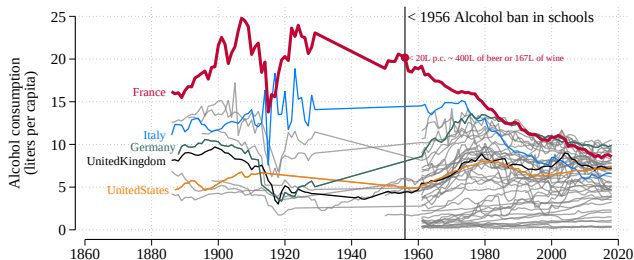


Figure 1. Global annual alcohol consumption p.c., *Wine Economics Research Centre*

This paper

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Research Q

1. Did the reform affect students' outcomes **later in life**?
 - health
 - substance (ab)use (alcohol, smoking)
2. Did the reform affect **students' children**?

Preview of findings

Identification:

Local randomization regression discontinuity based on sorting cutoff in January (Cattaneo et al., 2024)

→ Compare students born before and after (several) birthdate cutoffs

(Preliminary) Results:

ITT effects of **one additional year** of sober schooling:

- **improved** adult health (self-reported)
- **no impact** on adult drinking and smoking (self-reported)

Causal Evidence on consequences of alcohol availability

- **Higher minimum legal drinking age (MLDA)**
 - improves **public health** (mortality, morbidity, hospital admissions, binge drinking) (Carpenter and Dobkin, 2011, 2017)
 - reduces **crime** (Carpenter and Dobkin, 2015)
- **Alcohol sales bans**
 - reduce **domestic violence** (Luca et al., 2015)
 - improve **children's health** (Petrusevich, 2024)
 - reduce **road accidents** (Nakaguma and Restrepo, 2018)
 - reduce **mortality** and **crime** (Barron et al., 2024; Jacks et al., 2024)

Contribution:

- Study **long-term** health effects
- Evaluate public policy when drinking was at its **cultural peak**

Correlational evidence on consequences of alcohol consumption

Lower **age at first drink** (AFD) associated with

- alcohol use disorder (Dawson et al., 2008; Warner and White, 2003)
- risky behavior, suicide attempts (Dawson et al., 2007; Livingston et al., 2023; Swahn et al., 2008)

Transmission of Alcohol Use Disorder (AUD)

- Children of parents with AUD are more likely to develop AUD, influenced by both genetic and environmental factors (Kendler et al., 2024; Maes et al., 2023; Kendler et al., 2015)

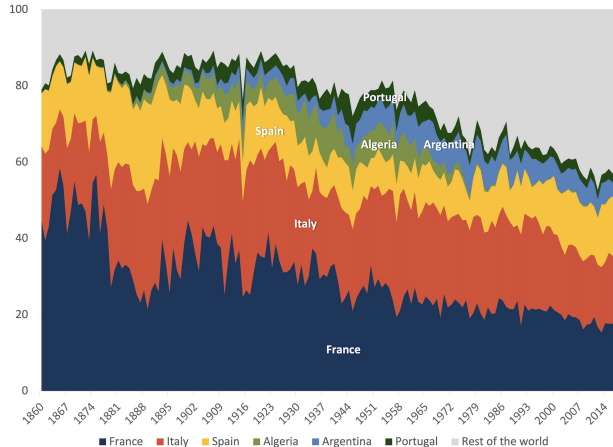
Contribution: Causal evidence of early life alcohol exposure on adult drinking

Background: Alcohol deeply ingrained in French culture

1. The wine industry was **economically vital**
2. Genuine belief in **health benefits** of drinking wine
3. Wine as a symbol of **national pride** and identity

Background: Significant economic importance of wine industry

Figure 1. Shares of global wine production (% volume)



Notes: Data from Wine Economic Research Center, *Annual Database of Global Wine Market*.

Background: Significant economic importance of wine industry

Public efforts to promote the consumption of wine for economic reasons:

- **1900**: France declares wine, beer, & cidre “**hygienic**” **beverages** and grants tax benefits
- **1928**: France refuses to participate in LoN study on alcoholism if it included wine and beer
- **1930s**: Public campaign advertises wine consumption as “**patriotic duty**”
- **1931**: National Committee for Wine Promotion (CNPFV): “wine propaganda must start at primary school (...)”

Background: Significant economic importance of wine industry

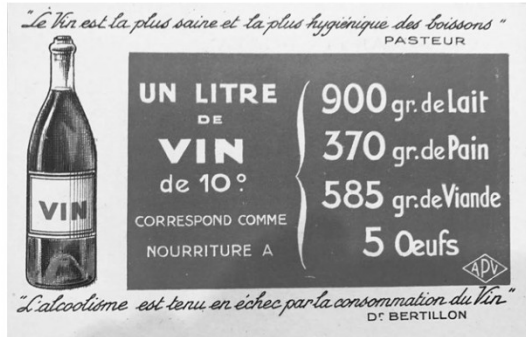
Figure 2. French stamps, 1929–39



Notes: French postage and cinderalla stamps, France 1929–39. Source: Phillips (2016), Fig. 8.1.

Belief in health benefits of wine consumption

Figure 3. Promotional material from the Association of Pro-Wine Propaganda, c.1930s

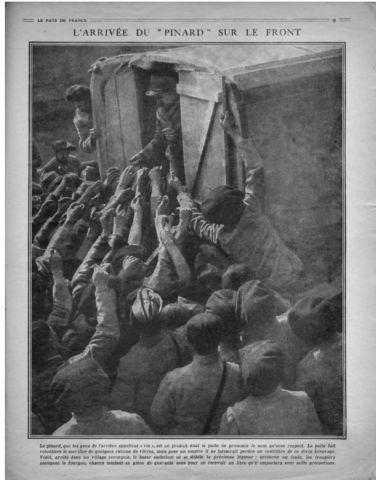


Source: National Archives of France, cited in Bohling (2018), Fig. 7.

- Louis Pasteur: *"Wine is the healthiest and most hygienic of beverages"*
- Academy of Medicine **promotes wine as healthy food** versus spirits as unhealthy drugs
- **1932**: The French Olympic Committee asked that athletes *"be accorded a free daily allowance of a liter of wine"*.

Wine as a symbol of national pride and identity

Figure 4. The arrival of “pinard” at the front



- “The soldier will gladly sacrifice several food rations, but **would not give up a centiliter of this divine liquid** for an empire”.
- Wine as a symbol of national triumph, strength, and celebration

Source: *Le pays de France*, 21 June 1917, cited in Bohling (2018), Fig. 7.1.

Reform: Alcohol ban for students under 14

Figure 5. School Canteen Menu 1952

<i>Matin</i> Petit déjeuner: tartines beurrées Café: lait ou café au lait Midi: Potage aux légumes Soupe: Soupe grasse - sauce aux légumes Pommes de terre - bière pain d'épice	<i>Vendredi 27 Juin</i> <i>Soir</i> Gouter: tartines beurrées Café: lait ou café au lait Souper: Potage de viande Macaroni fromage Gratin Bière
<i>Samedi 28 Juin 1952</i> Petit déjeuner: tartines beurrées Lait: Café ou café au lait Midi: Potage aux légumes Blanquette de veau sauce blanche Pommes de terre - bière, biscuits	<i>Soir</i> Gouter: tartines beurrées Lait: Café ou café au lait Souper: Potage légumes Saucisson à l'ail Purée de pommes de terre
<i>Dimanche 29 Juin 1952</i> Petit déjeuner: tartines beurrées Café au lait Midi: Soupe aux légumes - Sardinies Rôt de veau petite pois carottes pommes de terre Saumon - bière vin	<i>Soir</i> Gouter: tartines beurrées Lait: Café ou café au lait Souper: Potage légumes Jambon, Asa de légumes et p. de terre Bière
<i>Lundi 30 Juin</i> Petit déjeuner: tartines beurrées Lait: Café ou café au lait Midi: Potage légumes Soupe: Soupe grasse - sauce aux légumes Pommes de terre - bière fromage	<i>Soir</i> Gouter: tartines beurrées Lait: Café ou café au lait Rôt: Potage de viande Bière

Source: Armentières Municipal Archives.

1950s: Under Prime Minister Pierre Mendès France, the gov't started **campaigning against France's wine-related alcoholism.**

Directive, issued August 8, 1956:

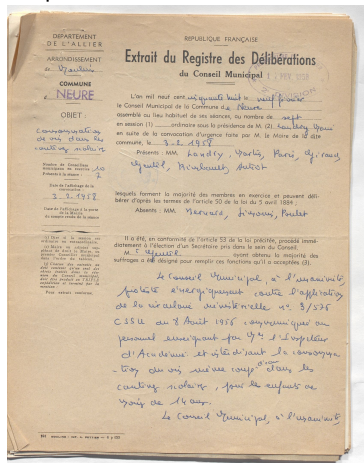
- To students under 14 **"no alcoholic beverages will be served**, even if it is wine diluted with water, beer or cider."

"The table beverages permitted are as follows: water, milk, fruit juices, in particular grape juice or apple juice."

- Students 14+ can have up to 1/8L of wine per meal, **given parental consent**

The reform was indeed controversial

Figure 6. Deliberations of Neure Municipal Council 1958



*“The Municipal Council, **unanimously, strongly protests** against the implementation of ministerial circular no. 3/576 CSSU of August 8, 1956 (...), which prohibits the consumption of wine, even diluted with water, in school canteens for children under 14 years old.”*

Figure 7. Deliberations of Tonget Municipal Council 1958

*“The Municipal Council, considering that milk is not a beverage much appreciated during lunch and that fruit juice would impose a significantly higher cost, **decides to maintain the provision of wine** at approximately 3 or 4 liters for 90 students having their meals in the canteen.”*

14

Treatment structure

- Primary school (*école élémentaire*) is mandatory for kids aged 6–14.
- Enrollment in year in which child turns 6

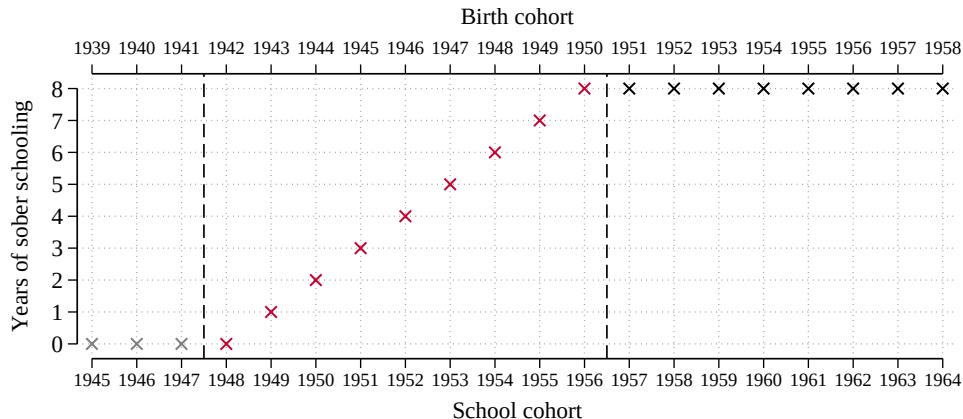


Figure 8. Years of sober schooling after reform in 1956

Data

1. **SRCV** (Annual survey on Resources and Living Conditions, 2004-2019, ca 10-30k indivs)
Income, living conditions, health, housing, well-being, social exclusion, etc.
2. **ESPS** (Biannual survey on Health and Social Protection, 1998-2014, ca 20k indivs)
Health status, health care utilization, health behaviors, etc.

Local randomization RD

Local randomization approach (Cattaneo et al., 2024):

→ compare students in window around **January 1st cutoffs**

→ For each cutoff $c \in \{\text{Jan 1 of 1943, 1944, ...}\}$ estimate

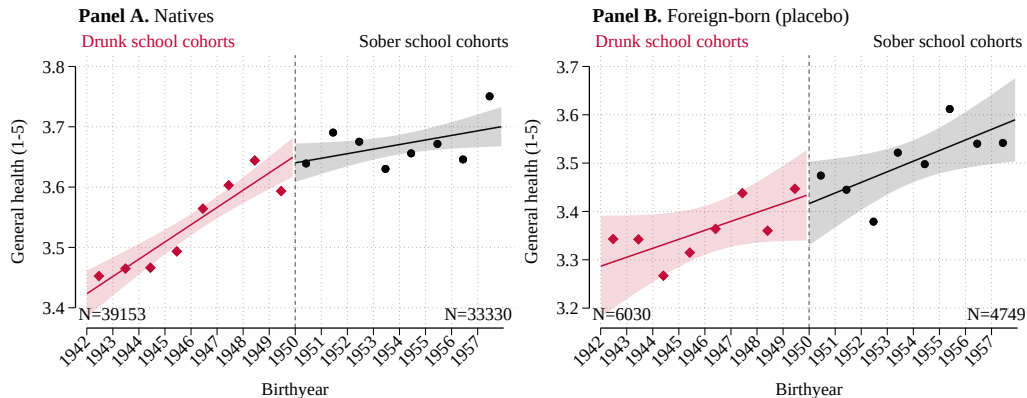
$$Y_i = \beta D_i + \text{SurveyYear}_{s(i)} + \varepsilon_i \quad (1)$$

- $\text{SurveyYear}_{s(i)}$: Survey year FE
- D_i : dummy(born “right” of cutoff)

→ β delivers ITT effect of **one year less exposure** to alcohol

Descriptive evidence

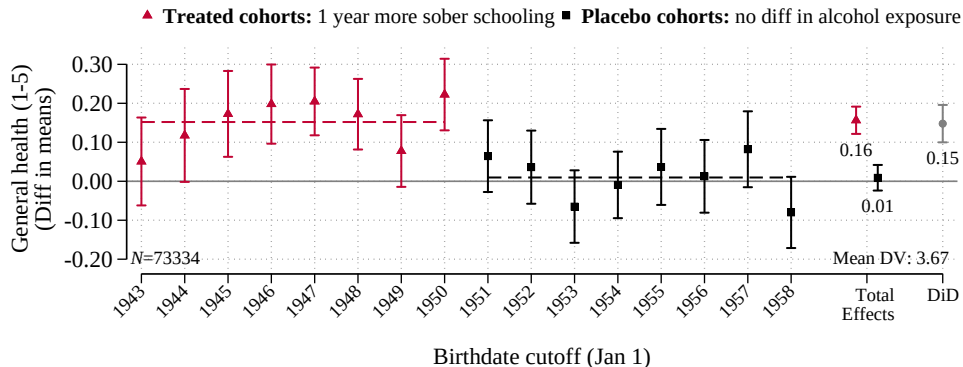
Figure 9. Regression kink in general health [1 (very bad) – 5 (very good)]



Notes: Binned by birth year. Linear fit conditional on survey year FE. Data: SRCV, waves 2004–2019.

Results: General health

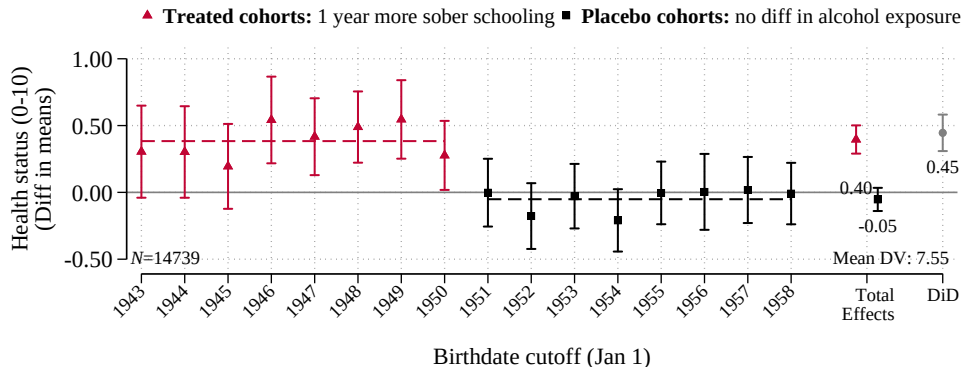
Figure 10. Local Randomization RD: General health [1 (very bad) – 5 (very good)]



Data: SRCV, waves 2004–2019.

Results: General health

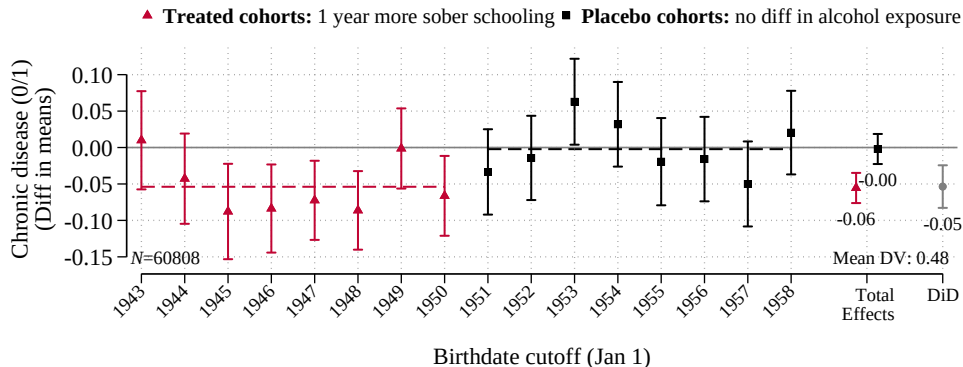
Figure 11. Local Randomization RD: General health [1 (very bad) – 10 (very good)]



Data: ESPS, waves 1998–2014.

Results: Chronic illness

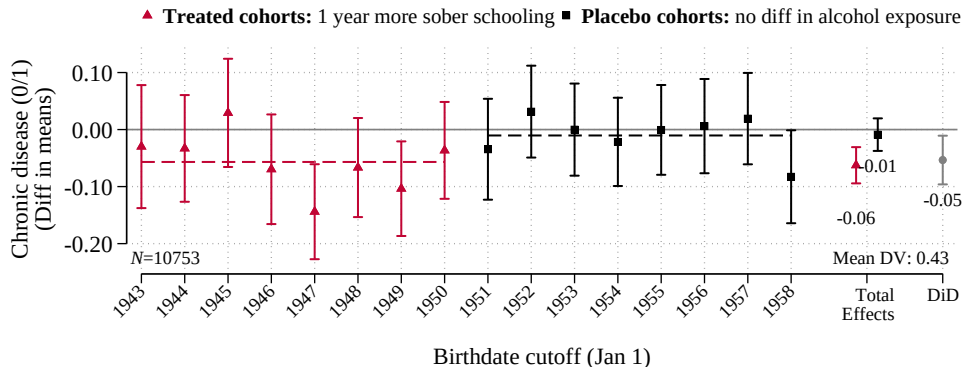
Figure 12. Local Randomization RD: Chronic Disease (0/1)



Data: SRCV, waves 2007–2019.

Results: Chronic illness

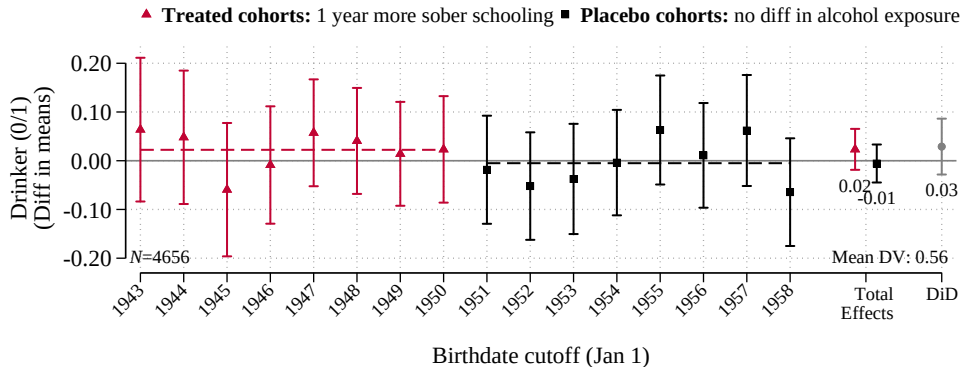
Figure 13. Local Randomization RD: Chronic Disease (0/1)



Data: ESPS, waves 2002–2014.

Results: Local Randomization RD

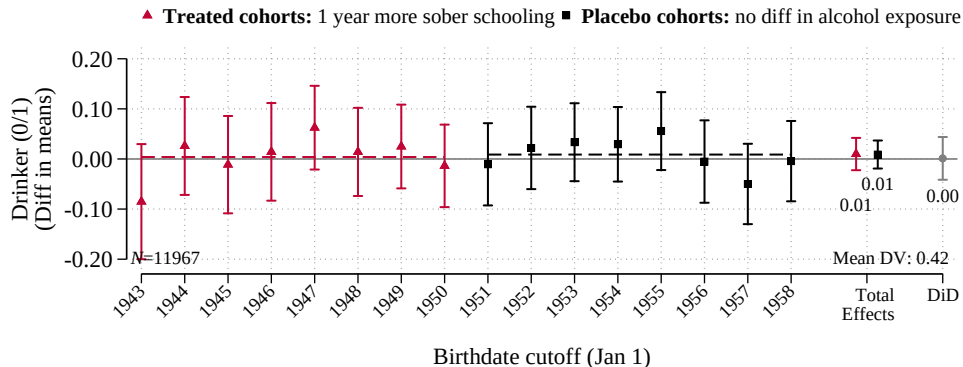
Figure 14. Local Randomization RD: Drinker [1-at least once per week, 0-else]



Data: SRCV, wave 2017.

Results: Drinking

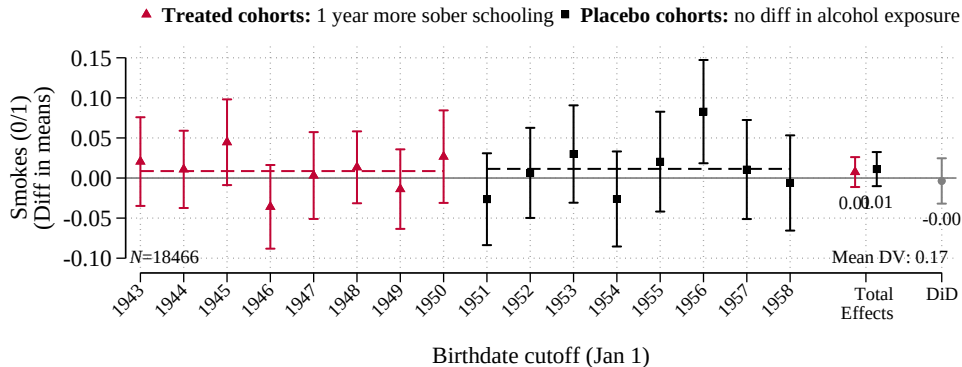
Figure 15. Local Randomization RD: Drinker [1-at least once per week, 0-else]



Data: ESPS, waves 2002–2014.

Results: Smoking

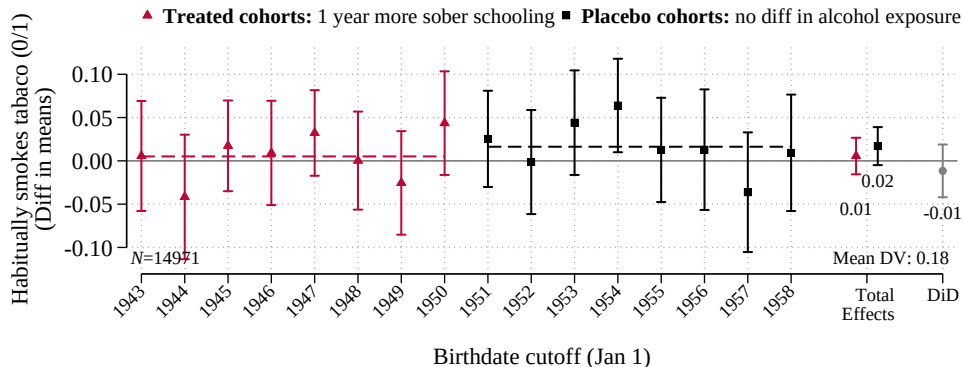
Figure 16. Local Randomization RD: **Smoker** (0/1)



Data: SRCV, waves 2008, 2010, 2013, 2017.

Results: Smoking

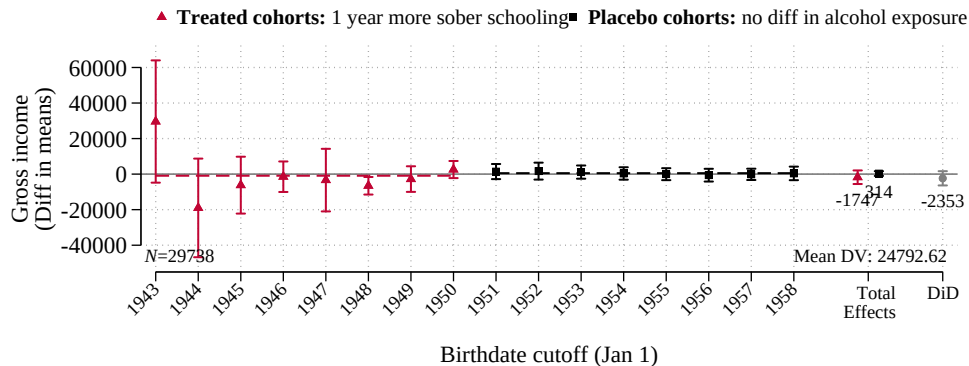
Figure 17. Local Randomization RD: **Smoker** (0/1)



Data: ESPS, waves 1998–2014.

Results: Income

Figure 18. Local Randomization RD: Gross income



Notes: Excluding retired/ inactive individuals. Data: SRCV, waves 2004–2019.

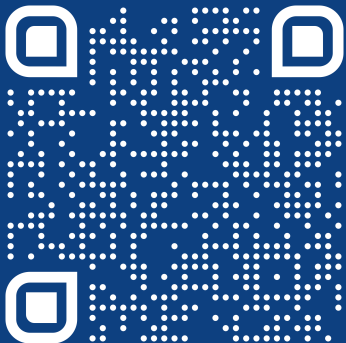
What's next?

1. **Better health data: HDH** (Health Data Hub, 2008–present, everyone who is covered by the national health insurance system)
2. **Linking parents to children** in SRCV and EEC (employment, wages, education)

Conclusion

- **Long-term health benefits** of alcohol ban in school
- No effects on adult smoking or drinking behavior
- No differences in adult income levels

Thank you!



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[AlipourJv](https://twitter.com/AlipourJv)

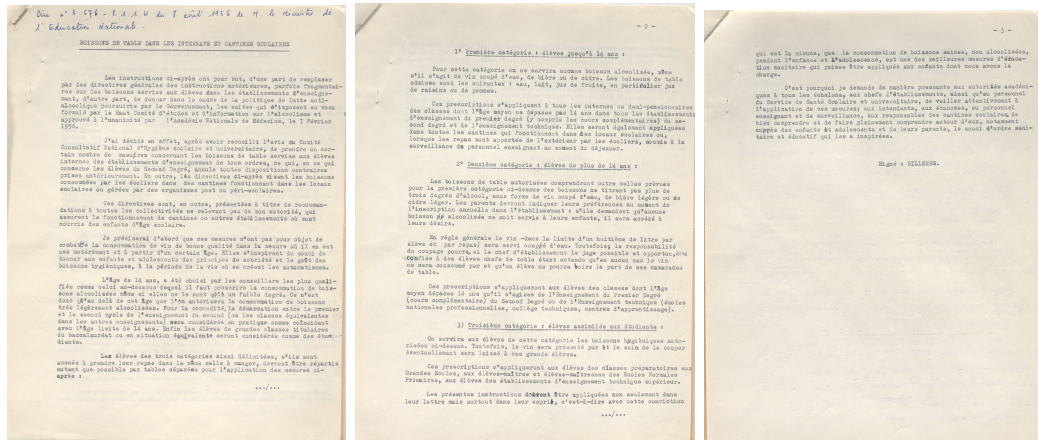


sites.google.com/jv-alipour

Appendix

Circular No. 3-576 (August 8, 1956)

Figure 19. 1956 Directive prohibiting serving alcoholic beverages to students under 14



Notes: Circular No. 3-576, issued on August 8, 1956 by the Ministry of National Education, *Allier Departmental Archives*

Ex: Wine consumption per student 1941/42

Académie de Toulouse Inspection Académique du Lot
copie au 29/1/42
L'inspecteur d'Académie du Lot
à Monsieur l'Intendant, Directeur du Ravitaillement général
du Lot à Cahors.

J'ai l'honneur de vous faire parvenir ci-joint l'état des besoins des cantines
académiques et des internats jusqu'à la fin de l'année scolaire, 1941-1942, résultant
de l'enquête ouverte auprès de tous les chefs d'établissements publics et privés.
Le nombre de rationnaires ~~est~~ de 2190 enfants. Il n'apparaît
en conséquence, que les suppléments demandés n'ont rien d'excessif, sauf peut-être
pour certaines rubriques qu'il vous sera aisé de distinguer.

Je vous serais très obligé de vouloir bien examiner ces demandes
avec la plus grande bienveillance.

Cahors le 24 Janvier 1942
L'Inspecteur d'Académie,
signé: Delbos

Copie transmise à Monsieur le Préfet à titre d'information.
Cahors le 24 Janvier 1942
L'Inspecteur d'Académie,
10
Fait à domo

Académie de Toulouse Inspection Académique du Lot
ÉTAT DES BESOINS EN DES CANTINES ACADEMIQUES
PREMIER LA VIN DE L'ANNEE SCOLAIRE 1941-1942

Pain de seigle.....	50930 Kgs
Pain alimentaire.....	8360 Kgs
Levures seches.....	1233 Kgs
Conserves de viande.....	2449 Kgs
Conserves de légumes.....	7181 Kgs
Conserves de poisson.....	5960 Kgs
Charcuterie.....	4570 Kgs
Macaronerie.....	450 Kgs
Matières grasses.....	5800 Kgs
Miel ou semoule.....	5400 Kgs
Chocolat.....	1800 Kgs
Fromage.....	2760 Kgs
Confitures.....	8200 Kgs
Sucres.....	910 Kgs
Vin.....	80 Hect.
Mélange café ou brioche grillée.....	300 Kgs
Fruits seches.....	500 Kgs
Savon.....	120 Kgs
Savons seches.....	250 Kgs
Alcool à brûler.....	5 Litres

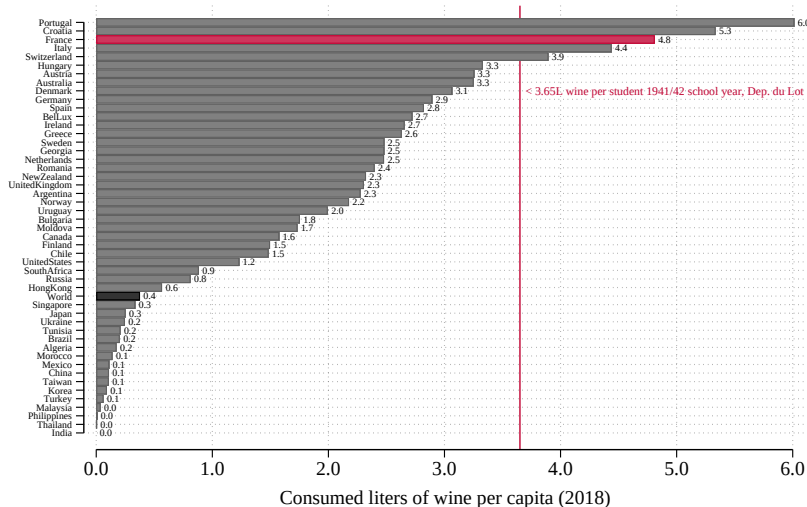
Bien que la question n'ait pas été posée, il y aurait lieu également
d'envisager la distribution d'œufs en assez grande quantité.

Cahors le 24 Janvier 1942
L'inspecteur d'Académie,
signé: Delbos

Notes: 1941/42 school year statement of canteen needs: 8000L for 2,190 students $\approx$ 3.65L per student, Lot Departmental Archives.

Ex: Wine consumption per student 1941/42 (cont'd)

Figure 20. Global wine consumption 2018



Notes: Data from *Wine Economics Research Centre*. [← return](#)

Ex: Invoice/Expenditures Report

VINS, SPIRITUEUX & VINAIGRES en Gros

LIQUEURS
ET VINS FINS

Madère - Vermouth
et Sirops

Téléphone: 102
R. de C. - Pithiviers 1640

Anc^{re} M^{re} Thiercelin, Couture-Courtois & Couture Frères

G. COUTURE

SUCESSEUR

Faubourg de Beauce
PITHIVIERS

M. Cantin scolaires Doit
le 17 janvier 1931

92 lit Vin Rouge	2.60	239.30
26 lit Vin Rouge	2.60	67.60
		306.90
		257.40
		371.90
		638.30

100 Gr. Grande de la Beauce et de Gâtinais

VINS, SPIRITUEUX
ET VINAIGRES
en Gros

LIQUEURS
ET VINS FINS

Madère - Vermouth
et Sirops

ANCIENNES MAISONS THIERCELIN, COUTURE-COURTOIS & COUTURE FRÈRES

G. COUTURE, SUCESSEUR

Faubourg de Beauce, PITHIVIERS

TÉLÉPHONE: 102

R. C. Pithiviers 1640

M. Cantin scolaires de Pithiviers Doit
le 21 décembre 1930

99 lit Vin Rouge	2.50	247.50
102 lit Vin Rouge	2.50	255.00
		502.50
		371.90
		279.60

100 Gr. Grande de la Beauce et de Gâtinais

VINS, SPIRITUEUX
ET VINAIGRES
en Gros

LIQUEURS
ET VINS FINS

Madère - Vermouth
et Sirops

ANCIENNES MAISONS THIERCELIN, COUTURE-COURTOIS & COUTURE FRÈRES

G. COUTURE, SUCESSEUR

Faubourg de Beauce, PITHIVIERS

TÉLÉPHONE: 102

R. C. Pithiviers 1640

M. Cantin scolaire de la place des Bœufs Doit
le 25 janvier 1931

99 lit Vin Rouge	2.50	247.50
		371.90
		279.60

100 Gr. Grande de la Beauce et de Gâtinais

Notes: Invoices for Wine supplied to the Pithiviers School Canteens(1930-1931), *Pithiviers Municipal Archives*

Ex: Invoice/Expenditures Report (cont.)

Argenteuil

VILLE D'ARGENTEUIL
-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-

CANTINES SCOLAIRES

RELEVÉ DE QUAT-RAINS N° 23 28 508 du 2- Décembre 1941

160 kgs fèves	7.00	1,260.00
15.400 kgs pommes de terre	1.95	30,120.00
1.00 kgs légumes	4.00	4.00
2.00 kgs navets	1.00	2.00
1.00 kgs carottes	2.00	2.00
40 kgs margarine	1.75	70.00
10 kgs sel	0.68	6.80
4 litres huile	0.85	3.40
Viande		
100 kgs pain	3.00	300.00
20 kgs farine	4.50	90.00
50 kgs farine adréales	5.00	250.00
30 kgs sucre	6.00	180.00
1 kg. Café	16.00	16.00
1 kg. chocolat	9.00	9.00
5.00 carottes	11.15	55.75
500 g. carottes	22.50	11.25
50 l. vin	1.50	75.00
70 kgs légumes secs	1.10	77.00
Viande		
610 kgs pain	18.00	10,980.00
600 g. pain	18.15	10,890.00
50 kgs farine		
15.00 farine		
75 kgs carottes		
75,660.18		
18.00		

Pithiviers

CANTINES SCOLAIRES

Achat des Denrées & Dépenses correspondantes

Personnel : (3 femmes) 2,070, fr. 50

Charbon : 1,200, kg. h. 85, 80. 204.

Vin : 130, litres à 2,50. 325, 50

Matériel : Nettoyage 145, 95

24 timbres aluminium 15, 00

22 - d'f 25, 00

Réparation d'un panier 10, 00

1 casquette 2, 00

2 lettres à 2, 50 5, 00

Lavage & repassage des torchons 12, 00

Légumes : 420, kg. de pommes de terre à 0,55. 231, 00

125, kg. carottes à 0,50 62, 50

100, kg. haricots à 3,50 350, 00

3 semaines bottes de poireaux 2,50 75, 00

3 douz. 1/2 oignons à 4, 00 12, 00

1 douz. ail 4, 00

120 choux à 0,70 84, 00

Nettoyage : 5 morceaux savon à 2,50 12, 50

5 morceaux savon minéral à 0,40 2, 00

2 litres extrait de jus à 1,20 2, 40

10, kg. cristaux à 0,70 7, 00

Spéciale : 11, kg. Cacao à 2,50 27, 50

20, kg. sel à 1,50 30, 00

0,50 kg. sucre à 2, 00 1, 00

2 bouteilles caramel à 3,10 6, 20

Lait : 40 litres 60, 00

Viande : 24, kg. saucisson cheval à 5, 00 120, 00

100, kg. cheval à 3,50 350, 00

7, kg. cheval à 5, 00 35, 00

2, kg. 240 cheval à 11, 00 264, 00

Pain & farine : 800, kg. de pain à 1,95 1,560, 00

5, kg. farine à 2,50 12, 50

T O T A L 4,600, fr. 11

Rabais : Spéciale & Pain -

Pithiviers

Année 1931.-

CANTINES SCOLAIRES

Achat des Denrées & Dépenses correspondantes

Personnel : (2 Femmes) 2,247, 50

Charbon : 1100 Kilos à 30 frs 330, 00

Vin : 220 litres à 2,50 550, 00

Matériel : réparations posé au feu, bassines, 19, 00

repasé 1 couteau à pain 2, 50

2 couteaux à 0,75 1, 50

achat de 3 ds. cuillères à 12,75 38, 25

3 ds. fourchettes à 12,75 38, 25

3 ds. godalets à 2,10 6, 30

1 éponge métallique 1, 75

36 assiettes ordinaires à 0,40 14, 40

Légumes : 150 Kgs pommes de terre à 0,85 127, 50

500 Kgs - à 0,90 450, 00

25 Kgs carottes à 0,30 7, 50

14 Kgs oignons à 0,80 11, 20

500 Kgs pommes de terre à 2 fr 100, 00

100 Kgs - à 1,10 110, 00

115 Kgs haricots à 2,30 - transport 264, 50

Légumes divers 130, 00

Spéciale : 60 Kgs de souilles à 6 frs 360, 00

3 Cms végétalins à 7,25 21, 75

19 Kgs margarine à 11,60 220, 40

26 Kgs sel à 1,35 35, 10

200 gr poivre à 36 frs 7, 20

18 Kgs cristaux à 0,70 12, 60

4 morceaux de savon à 2,40 9, 60

5 morceaux savon minéral à 0,70 3, 50

7 litres extrait à 1,30 9, 10

1 bidon Miror 2, 00

7 Kgs souilles à 8 frs 56, 00

7 litres caramel 21, 00

2 Kgs 500 fromage râpé à 20 fr 10, 00

1 flacon caramel 2, 40

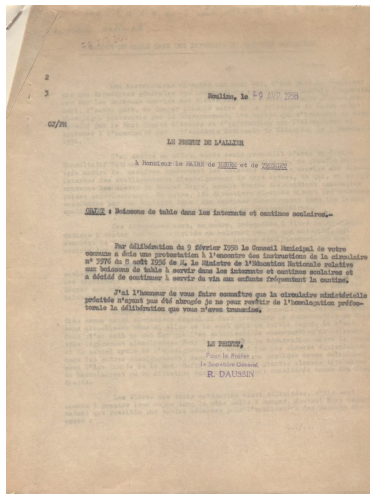
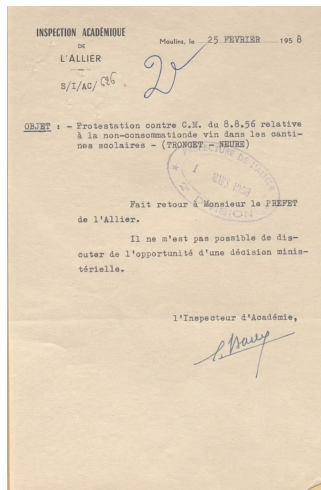
rebat sur les fournitures 7,15 % 77, 45

T O T A L 1,110, 00

Report 7,360, 94

Notes: Left: Expenditures Report for School Canteens in Argenteuil (1941) *Argenteuil Municipal Archives*
 Middle: Primary School Expenditures Report for School Canteens (1928) *Pithiviers Municipal Archives*
 Right: Primary School Expenditures Report for School Canteens (1931) *Pithiviers Municipal Archives*

The Dismissal of Opposition to Circular No. 3-576



Notes: Left: Academic Inspectorate Note on Protest Against Ministerial Circular No. 3-576(1958), Allier Municipal Archives, Right: Prefectural Response to Municipal Protest on Ministerial Circular No. 3-576(1958), Allier Departmental Archives

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