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Koski-Jännes

BEYOND THE SOCIOLOGICAL IMAGINATION

A Festschrift in Honour of Professor Pekka
Sulkunen



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BEYOND THE SOCIOLOGICAL IMAGINATION A Festschrift IN HONOUR OF PROFESSOR PEKKA SULKUNEN

"Pekka has often claimed that he does not understand numbers, which I seriously doubt, since some of his first and still well-known publications created the basis for current international statistics on alcohol production and consumption" – Anja Koski-Jännes

"Actually, the strongest memory is of having Pekka describing to me his earlier observational study of drinking behaviour in public restaurants in Helsinki. What a project! Participant observation? Envy from those of us who had failed to pull the same trick to obtain funding for a similar study in the UK" – Alan Warde

"We were of course curious to know when Pekka had conducted field-work in Sicily or where he had found the information. 'I took it from a tourist brochure', Pekka told us" – Pertti Alasuutari

"I will never forget visiting the casino of Enghien-les-Bains north of Paris together with Pekka and other CEACG gambling researchers, when Pekka played the roulette even though none of us understood how it worked" – Virve Marionneau



UNIVERSITY OF HELSINKI
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

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Faculty of Social Sciences
University of Helsinki

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FOREWORD

This book is an attempt to express our great appreciation of Professor Pekka Sulkunen as a scholar, a colleague and a friend. In our gratitude and appreciation, we wanted to create some time-out from daily business to reflect upon Pekka's work over the years. The result is a total of 23 snapshots of memories and analyses of Pekka's work and career from colleagues and friends.

While planning and editing the book we realized just how long back and how wide the appreciation of Pekka spans; cutting through various research areas and friendships in worldwide contexts.

Of course, much more could be written and many more voices could speak in honour of Pekka; his work has affected researchers, students and readers to an extent that most scholars can only dream of achieving in a lifetime. And in view of his current work tempo, we have no doubt that there is more to come.

We look forward to his continuous involvement in our own and many other peoples' lives.

Helsinki, 15th of May, 2016

the editors

CONTENTS

| | |
|--|----|
| Foreword..... | 3 |
| The early PS files..... Jussi Simpura | 7 |
| Globalization of drinking patterns..... Pertti Alasuutari | 14 |
| Transgression and addiction – memories and theories Tiina Arppe | 22 |
| Us, others and Finnish individualism..... Anu Katainen | 29 |
| The semiotics of Sulkunen: What does the two-way window show? Antti Maunu & Jukka Törrönen | 35 |
| Petit manifeste sémiotique en l’honneur et à l’attention du camarade sociologue Pekka Sulkunen..... Eric Landowski | 43 |
| The sociological promise and the Enlightenment Arto Ruuska | 52 |
| The sociology of lifestyle governance: A research field Matilda Hellman | 60 |
| Drinking into intoxication Elina Haavio-Mannila | 73 |
| Images and realities of addiction..... Anja Koski-Jännes | 81 |
| Images and RAGI: Praise to a scholar who has successfully combined theory and method..... Sara Rolando & Franca Beccaria | 88 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| A professor's professor in the land of the semiotic sauna..... | 93 |
| Tom Babor | |
| Alcohol and society: Concepts chasing issues | 95 |
| Norman Giesbrecht | |
| Pekka Sulkunen and international alcohol sociology | 97 |
| Robin Room | |
| Pekka Sulkunen – a Nordic researcher | 100 |
| Pia Rosenqvist & Kerstin Stenius | |
| Streams of friendship and splits of cooperation | 103 |
| Irmgard Eisenbach-Stangl | |
| A thoughtful friendship..... | 107 |
| Sue Scott | |
| Consuming times | 110 |
| Alan Warde | |
| Real life interventions | 113 |
| Kati Rantala | |
| Being Pekka's student | 116 |
| Anna Alanko | |
| The task of a sociologist | 120 |
| Riikka Perälä | |
| Footprints in my academic career..... | 122 |
| Michael Egerer | |
| A thank you to Pekka | 124 |
| Virve Marionneau | |

THE EARLY PS FILES

Jussi Simpura

The PS-files lie hidden in the archives of Finnish socio-epidemiological alcohol research, deep in a cellar in central Helsinki, at about sea level. Pekka Sulkunen (PS) appears in tens of files in the collection of almost 3000 boxes of archive materials. This text is a review of the earliest PS-files.

PS IN THE JUNGLE OF FINNISH ALCOHOL RESEARCH

Since the early 1970s, the career of PS has navigated through the world's smallest research jungle, consisting of trees in nine genetically linked and symbiotic species known by abbreviations FFAS, SRIAS, PhysLab, NAD, 'TEHA' - and ALKO, STAKES, KTL, THL & NVC.

The jungle would originally come to grow around the FFAS (Finnish Foundation for Alcohol Studies), which was founded in 1950 on the proposal of a group of prominent scientists with good relations with the political apparatus of Finland. The FFAS was funded by the very independent and prosperous State Alcohol Monopoly (ALKO). It was largely independent of ALKO and other political or governmental interests in its decisions on research funding. Today, the FFAS is state-owned but still an independent foundation for research funding.

In the early 1950s, ALKO established two research units within its own organization, both of which would continue with ALKO until 1996. One of them became later known as Social Research Institute for Alcohol Studies (SRIAS), and the present-day Alcohol and Drugs Unit 'TEHA' at THL (National Institute for Health and Welfare) is, in fact, a direct descendant of SRIAS. THL was founded in 2009 after a merger of Stakes and KTL, former separate governmental expert units on welfare and health. The physiological laboratory of ALKO (abbreviated as PhysLab above) continued within the KTL (National Public Health Institute). Finally, the Nordic Council for Alcohol and Drug Research (NAD) was also part of the jungle – today merged into a part of the Nordic Centre on Welfare and Social Issues (NVC).

The FFAS has traditionally had only one permanent employee, the Secretary. This position has been held by some of the most well known figures in Finnish alcohol research: Kettil Bruun (from 1955 until the early 1980s), Klaus Mäkelä (until 2000) and Kari Poikolainen (2000-2010; also Acting Secretary in early 1980s). Bruun and Mäkelä in particular were important senior colleagues for PS. Today, Tomi Lintonen works as the Secretary of FFAS.

PS worked most of the 1970's in projects funded by the FFAS, then became employed at the SRIAS (1980-2000, serving as the head of the SRIAS in 1983-1986), while working in many projects together with the researchers funded by FFAS. As professor of sociology at the University of Helsinki since 2000, he continued as a member of the Board and Executive Committee of the FFAS for a number of years. Today PS is involved in an international study of control of gambling, a project partly supported by the FFAS.

FILES 68/E269.2 AND 68/E369.3

PS begins to appear in the FFAS files in the autumn of 1972, when the Board of the FFAS announced its annual grants, among them a two-year research contract with PS:

The project to be run by Pekka Sulkunen concerns world alcohol production and trade and aims at a description of the distribution between countries of the volume of alcohol production as well as the main trade flows (Board meeting 2/1972; translations from Finnish by JS).

These innocent lines hide years of preparatory work by Kettil Bruun and others, in order to encourage the World Health Organization (WHO) to pay more systematic attention to alcohol problems from a public health perspective, and to seriously consider the prospects for alcohol control policy. The first mention of PS in the annual reports is laconic:

The study is mainly based on international statistical materials. Researcher in charge: Pekka Sulkunen (FFAS, Annual report on 1972).

The real extent of the effort by FFAS to establish an international research network on the study of 'alcohol control policies in public health perspective' (the title of the book by Bruun et al., 1975) was discussed at the Board meeting in April 1973. The ambitious goals

were later fully revealed in a three-page background document prepared for the Board of the FFAS by Kettil Bruun (Board meeting, November 23, 1973, Appendix 3), aiming to help the WHO 'strengthen its efforts with alcohol-related programmes, to find an approach to alcohol as a public health problem, and to further develop its statements concerning the treatment of alcoholism'. Our hero PS appears in the first paragraph describing the contents of the international project:

Contents of the work: 1. The project by Pekka Sulkunen will produce a report that will cover recent trends in the production, trade and consumption of alcohol. 2. In connection with Sulkunen's project, the weakness of international alcohol statistics has become evident, and a first proposal has been made for a short-term program to improve world alcohol statistics. 3. Cases where radical one-year changes in alcohol consumption have occurred will be registered on the basis of Sulkunen's statistics. The project will study factors underlying such radical changes and the influence of decisions made in alcohol control policies based on these changes.

The document further describes four more aspects of the contents of the work, without explicit reference to PS. The formulation above in point 3 reflects the unexpected effects of liberalization of Finnish alcohol control policies in 1969. The first products of the work by PS were recorded in the Annual report of FFAS on 1973:

The world consumption and trade of alcoholic beverages:
The project has published two articles on changes that occurred in the 1960s. In 1973, the focus of the project has been in the compilation of statistical material. A publication on international alcohol statistics is being finalized for publication. As an appendix of the project, a separate project has been started in collaboration with the WHO, on the prospects of developing alcohol statistics. Researcher: Pekka Sulkunen, FFAS

The side-project on world alcohol statistics was organized separately with a working group of its own, and with Mr. Martti Lumio working with PS as an expert on statistics. The section on international collaboration in the FFAS Annual report in 1973 tells that

Pekka Sulkunen and Martti Lumio visited, among other places, the WHO and the FAO headquarters with a view of developing international statistics.

When deciding about continued funding to the work by PS and another project of the late 1970's, the Board gave the following short argument to support its decision:

Both projects have provided extremely interesting results.

Similar expressions of satisfaction by the board with the progress of the work by PS can be found all around the mid-1970s in the FFAS files.

In December 1975, the 'Purple Book' by Bruun et al. (1975) was published, with PS and Martti Lumio among the authors. It was a major stepping-stone for PS and his coming work. With the further extended funding he could continue the efforts to publish a doctoral dissertation with the title (originally in Finnish) 'Changes in alcohol consumption and changing living conditions since World War II'.

FILES ON SHELVES E270, E271, E272, E 273 AND ELSEWHERE: THE CULTURAL TURN OF THE 1980S

The traces of the work of PS in the 1970s and early 1980s can be found on several shelves of the FFAS archives. The compilation of alcohol statistics had collected extensive statistical reports, like the UN Yearbook of International Trade Statistics 1950-1970, or the World Trade Annual 1964-1970. Nevertheless, in the 1980s, the PS files begin to tell about a turn in Finnish sociological alcohol research. Increasingly, cultural, linguistic and semiotic studies employing qualitative methods start to appear in the program of the FFAS and the SRIAS. PS was a central figure in this turn, conducting studies such as the ones on the middle class and alcohol, the suburban pub and intoxication in Finnish movies.

In the working collective of the FFAS and the SRIAS, a method employed when planning new projects was the so called 'one-sheet-meetings', where everybody was invited to write only one page (not more) on the topic to be discussed. Among the many research projects that have sprung out of these one-sheet-meetings is the one on the suburban pub. For developing the ideas further, more extensive work meetings would be held at later stages. However, a very basic background paper on the study of suburban pubs written

by PS is dated in February 1980 and bears the modest title 'The pub study. Some viewpoints'. He expresses his worries about the earlier draft of the project plan:

I am afraid that our present plan perhaps strives at something of a too 'deep' approach to the topic, given our present conditions for doing research. In order to understand the pub as a special case of a suburban pub, we should be able to learn to understand the logic of the life in suburbs so thoroughly and with such a theoretic certainty that only a genius and his or her team can reach.

After this he proceeds to make proposals regarding the kind of practical steps that could be taken to avoid setting an overly ambitious goal. In May 1980, these and other practical steps were taken after another work meeting, evidently with great success. The worries of PS can be understood when we learn from the files that the title of the earlier project proposal was as follows:

Differentiation of on-premise alcohol-sale institutions and pseudo-urban way of living in the context of intra-familial interaction mechanisms of proletarianized population groups: a study on suburban pub.

This title may have been a joke, or not, and it is unclear from the files who had come up with it. However, it certainly provoked PS to try to produce something better, something that later was achieved by his research team on the suburban pub.

The files on a study on alcohol and Swedish schoolchildren of Finnish origin contain a four-page travel report to Eskilstuna, Sweden by PS (November 1986), with some preliminary observations, two hypotheses and an outline for a theoretical approach:

The schoolchildren with a Finnish background in Eskilstuna do not have any special problems likely to be connected with their use of alcohol.

But in general,

Alcohol problems among the Finns in Eskilstuna are strikingly visible on the streets, in restaurants and in the police statistics.

One of the two other hypotheses was that

An ethnically specific habit among the Finns [in Eskilstuna] is to solve problems and fill their leisure hours by drinking. This is inherited in the everyday life culture at home, providing a model for coping with problems.

The travel report contains one possible conclusion, with reference to French alcohol research and sociology that would become so important for PS in the 1980s:

So, drinking among Finns in Eskilstuna and their processes of becoming problem drinkers follow the pattern suggested by Dr. Philippe Carrer on alcohol culture and its connections to family culture in Bretagne. There, the originally matricentric culture in itself already strengthens the exclusion of males from the family.

Drinking and problem drinking is then described as a coping mechanism among fishermen in Bretagne and among Finnish male immigrants in Sweden. However, the travel report has an undertone that conveys that the drinking among Finns in Eskilstuna was perhaps not as dramatically loaded as expected. This small disappointment did not, however, stop the wave of cultural studies on drinking in Finland.

PS IN THE 1990S: THE FORCE AWAKENS, AND THE REST IS HISTORY

In the 1990s PS moves more and more in the direction of general sociology, towards the sociology of consumption and cultural sociology in particular. He writes a textbook in sociology and another one on qualitative research methods, and publishes more and more theoretically oriented articles. This is where his force totally awakens. His visibility in the FFAS archives diminishes although he works as the leader or a central background figure in many of the studies funded by the FFAS, or conducted at the SRIAS and its successors. The fulfillment of his career was his nomination as a professor of sociology at the University of Helsinki in 2000. And the rest is history – a history still in the making in 2016.

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GLOBALIZATION OF DRINKING PATTERNS

Pertti Alasuutari

When we were working on the co-authored monograph *Lähiöravintola* (Sulkunen et al. 1985, later translated into English as *The Urban Pub*, see Sulkunen et al. 1997), it became Pekka's task to pull the materials together into a coherent ethnography and to write the introductory and concluding chapters. When he showed us the fruits of his work, to our amazement the introduction started with an ethnographic snapshot of a Sicilian village called Adrano. He described how on midday Saturday, groups of men have gathered in the *piazza*.

The people of Adrano represent an age-old Arabic culture that was transferred to Sicily from Northern Africa and the Middle East over a thousand years ago. The men have grouped in front of the local offices of the three main political parties; Christian Democrats, Socialists and Communists. More important than politics, which serves as a reason for coming together, and divides the men into different camps, is the male community expressed in this vision, the men's age-old habit of getting together to discuss the matters of the community, usually in their family groups but in this case according to political views. (Sulkunen et al. 1997, 13)

Through this story, and the following one – a description of *The Pub and the People* (Mass Observation 1943), a classic participant observational study – Pekka related the object of our study to an international context, suggesting that the Finnish urban pub 'appears to be carrying on the ancient male tradition of getting together to pass time and to discuss important local affairs' (ibid.).

We were of course curious to know when Pekka had conducted fieldwork in Sicily or where he had found the information. There is no bibliographical reference to the story. 'I took it from a tourist brochure', Pekka told us.

This story illustrates Pekka's view on sociology. For some, sociology is a general science of society – a science that teaches us of universal laws of human interaction and of the stages that any society goes through on its journey to modernization. For Pekka, however, sociology is first and foremost an ethnography of the

culture of modernity: a unique cultural formation even though it has spread across the globe. Therefore, even if one studies a particular pub or square in a particular suburb or village, these field sites must be considered as case examples of a broader cultural formation.

But how should we conceive of this culture, the traits of which can be recognized in such far-off locations as the 1930s English pubs and age-old Arabic culture? How does culture travel? At the time of the Urban Pub research project these questions were not of acute interest to us, but have become the subject of my curiosity more recently. Therefore, in this paper I will reflect on the question of culture and society on a global scale.

THE PUB STUDY IN A GLOBAL FRAMEWORK

Pekka's take on sociology as an empirical science became clear to me already during the first time I met him in the spring of 1981. As a young sociology student I was planning to do my Master's thesis on restaurants as part of Finnish alcohol policy, and went to meet him as an expert in the field. I was particularly interested in the slightly liberalized alcohol policy that granted licenses to pubs in the recently built suburbs. I had written a seminar paper in which I had gone through existing research on the topic, and wanted to hear his opinion on my high-flying thoughts, influenced among others by Wolfgang Fritz Haug's Marxist critique of commodity aesthetics (English translation, see Haug 1986). After listening to me for some time he asked: 'Have you thought of going and taking a look at them?' I had to ask what he meant; the idea of conducting an ethnographic study was so strange to me.

This encounter was a crucial turning point in my orientation as a scholar. With Pekka's encouragement and some financial support from the Social Research Institute for Alcohol Studies, I decided to do my Master's thesis in the form of an ethnographic study. Pekka also introduced me to Paul Willis' (1977, 1978) working class ethnographies. The Master's thesis led eventually to the larger suburban pub project. In this project, we analysed particularly the ways in which the blue-collar men's frequenting the pub in their home suburb formed, in addition to work and family, a key component of their everyday life. We related their drinking culture and masculinity to similar studies of working-class culture in other industrialized countries.

Yet, in the study itself the focus was strictly on the people studied and on their immediate environment. The question of how that environment had acquired its form was not addressed. For instance, the chapter on a group of men playing dart, based on the Master's thesis research that I had conducted together with a student friend (Alasuutari and Siltari 1983), included no discussion on how and why this game had found its way to Finnish restaurants in the suburbs. The same goes for the chapter on the music played in the pubs, which sticks to analysing the lyrics, even though some of the songs are Finnish adaptations of foreign compositions, not to mention musical influences more generally. In the concluding chapter there is some discussion on how culture is carried on from one generation to the next, but none on how to account for transnational cultural diffusion.

At the time when we did the study, we were not interested in such questions at all. The notion of culture that we adopted from the Birmingham School of cultural studies and from Pierre Bourdieu's cultural sociology (which Pekka introduced to the English-speaking world at an early stage, see Sulkunen 1982) did not dwell on the diffusion of culture. Later on, the question of cultural hybridity created by mass culture and migration was introduced within cultural studies scholarship, but that wasn't until the late 1980s onward (see e.g. Hall 1988).

THE DIFFUSION OF CONSUMPTION PATTERNS

Interestingly enough, Pekka had scrutinized the blending of cultural influences across national borders much earlier. In an article published in 1976 he showed that in alcohol consumption, different regions are getting similar to each other.

First, the regional differences in the quantitative level of consumption are lessening because consumption is increasing more markedly in countries with a low level of consumption. Second, the structure of consumption is being levelled down in that in countries with a low level of consumption (of which many have been rather pronouncedly spirits-drinking countries) mild beverages are gaining wide favour more rapidly than strong ones. In industrial countries with a high consumption of beer, the use of wines and hard liquors is becoming general; in wine-drinking countries with a high consumption level, again, beer and hard liquors are gaining in popular favour. (Sulkunen 1976, 120-121.)

As to why national differences between levels and patterns of alcohol consumption were levelling down, in the article Pekka lists several reasons. First, he regards it obvious that drinking habits have taken on an international aspect, and according to him this is due to the progress made in the fields of communication and an increase in travel as well as other cultural contacts. He also mentions a growing consumer demand for luxury beverages, evident for instance in the demand for superior wines in the Nordic countries. Furthermore, he mentions alcohol policy, which in many countries has promoted a change in consumption habits from hard liquors to light beverages. Finally, he says that alcoholic beverages are susceptible to the influence of advertising. (Sulkunen 1976, 121)

Later on, Pekka returned to this phenomenon in his study on the case of France (Sulkunen 1989). In it, he elaborated on how three drinking cultures, in which either wine, beer, or strong beverages is the preferred drink, are mixed. In France that was because the central position of wine was weakening. The French have reduced their use of wine with ordinary meals, but it has retained its place as the drink for special meals. However, when drinking is a separate activity, other beverages than wine are increasingly preferred. As to why these changes have taken place, Pekka shows that particularly regarding consumption level there is a parallel diffusion of influences taking place from cities to towns and from towns to the country. On the other hand, beverage preferences diffuse hierarchically: people in the lower socio-economic positions strive for symbolic capital by adopting the patterns of the elite, and consequently these patterns become banalized and lose their symbolic value. The results of this process regarding hierarchical diffusion are presented in the Figure 1 below, copied from the article (Sulkunen 1989, 65).

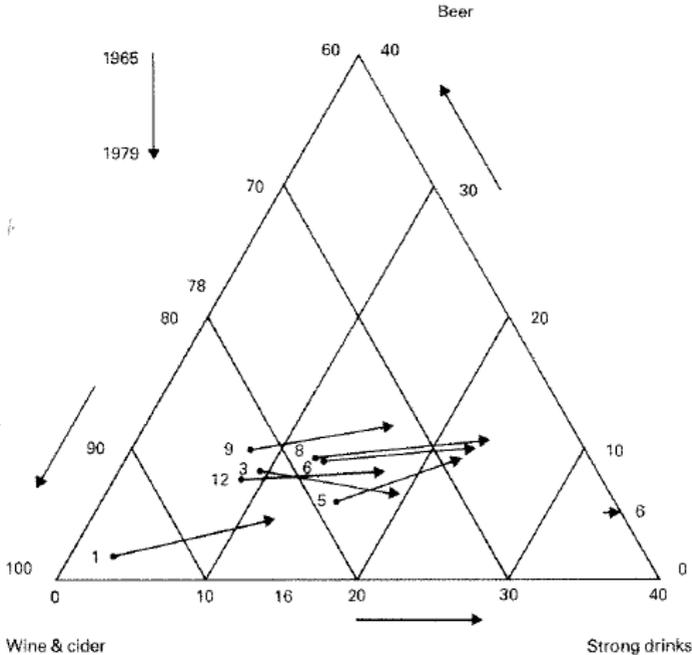


Figure 1. Distribution of alcohol consumption in French households between wine (including cider), beer and strong drinks by socio-professional categories. 1= Farmers and farm workers; 3= Independent professions; 5= Upper middle classes; 6= Lower middle classes; 8= Functionaries; 9= Workers; 12= France. Source: Sulkunen 1986

In the article on France, Pekka also comments on the question of the global convergence toward the centre of the beverage triangle pictured in the figure above. According to him, this phenomenon can be seen as a sign of modernization, by which he means that life styles in different countries have converged towards a cosmopolitan, uniform way of life.

One essential aspect in this modernization is adoption of life styles and consumption patterns from other cultures. Another is the increasing importance of taste and style: rising living standards have not only made available increased amounts of consumer goods; they have also created a concern for what kinds of goods are consumed and how. (Sulkunen 1989, 62)

By deeming the phenomenon modernization Pekka does not really give an explanation. Rather, it sounds like circular reasoning,

unless one considers modernization as a law-like process that sets functional requirements for social evolution. The article gives a convincing account of how the French have made their journey toward the centre of the beverage triangle: people in lower positions have imitated the elite, and people in the countryside and towns have copied the patterns of city people. But where do the new 'legitimate' drinking patterns stem from? Neoinstitutionalist world society theory sheds more light on this question.

THE GLOBAL GRAMMAR OF DRINKING

From a neoinstitutionalist perspective, the world system is seen as a single global society, albeit divided into some 200 nation-states. However, they are in many respects replicas of each other. They have a government, the usual ministries and agencies, and they apply the same global standards in, say, analysing the economy or counting and classifying the population (Meyer et al. 1997, 145-146). All these nations also have a flag and a national anthem, which represents the 19th and 20th century European musical tradition. In most cases you can also find certain cultural institutions such as art museums, theatres or symphony orchestras, which have become emblems of modern nations (Adams 1999, 2010, Alasuutari 2001, 2009). According to world society theory, such uniformity is not caused by functional requirements of social evolution or by coercion of a world government or a dominant country but rather, because of transnational travel of ideas enhanced by conformism. 'Modernization' is indeed one explanation, as an ideology rather than a law-like process: individuals and nations want to belong to the global tribe of Moderns (Alasuutari 2016).

Considering the institutional isomorphism, the growing uniformity found in alcohol drinking patterns is understandable. Although nations and individuals tend to stress their cultural uniqueness, they also want to be recognized as moderns, as part of modernity, which is why cultural differences diminish rather than grow, and fashions spread in all walks of life from dress to policy models. Actors want to compete and excel in comparison to others, but that is precisely why they want to take part in the same sports, play by the same rules. Comparable to 'pop-rockization' of popular music throughout the world from the 1960s onward (Regev 2013), a global template or grammar has been established in drinking culture. That is, moderns want to drink and master the

transnational behavioural codes of drinking beer, wine and strong beverages in various appropriate contexts. When it comes to strong drinks, civilized moderns are familiar with certain globally established types such as whisky and brandy, whereas lesser brands are primarily used as ingredients for cocktails. Along with a global template of drinks, also interior design styles travel. For instance, pubs or beer halls are typically rustic joints, whereas establishments specializing in cocktails are shiny and modernistic.

This transnational grammar of modern alcohol drinking culture does not imply that nations or regions do not differ from each other; it only means that they – and various socio-economic groups within local populations – can be located as dots within the beverage triangle. Yet the formation of the global conceptual grid of alcohol culture tends to level out grave differences because meanings attached to drinking and drinking problems have become global – the cultural construct of alcoholism is a good example. It also means that now and again fashions regarding taste in beverages spread globally like shock waves, making individuals throughout the globe synchronize their drinking patterns with each other. For instance, the recent decades have witnessed a global trend toward a taste for craft beers, with consumers getting tired of light lagers. Similar examples of global fashions can also be found from the spheres of management and policymaking (see Alasuutari 2016). Rather than focusing attention on the direction of such fashions and speculating on where ‘modernization’ is leading us, more research would be needed on the fact that global governance is based on different actors trying to affect people’s identities, tastes, and conceptions of reality. Carrying on Pekka’s research on alcohol consumption patterns in a comparative perspective would make an interesting example.

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TRANSGRESSION AND ADDICTION – MEMORIES AND THEORIES

Tiina Arppe

I met Pekka Sulkunen the first time in 1988, when he was deputizing for Erik Allardt in the University of Helsinki for the academic year 1988–89. I had just finalized my master's thesis and left the bundle a little hesitatingly on his desk; someone had claimed that this substitute guy was some sort of an expert on Lévi-Strauss, which tended to lighten up my mood a bit since I thought he might actually not be completely unfamiliar with the theoretical context (I was targeting the idea of the sacred in Mauss, Bataille and Baudrillard). It so happened that he was not, although to my great annoyance he also demanded that the thesis should be cut down to approximately half of its original size – nobody had bothered to tell me that there were, in fact, some sort of formal limits as to the size of a master's thesis (I later got my revenge by publishing the whole damn thing as a book¹).

The rest is history, as they say. Pekka persuaded me to continue at the University (in those days nobody talked about ‘careers’, or God forbid, ‘career planning’ – people who were passionate about this reading-writing-thinking thing just stayed); and to make his case more convincing he also found me a research subject and an organization willing to fund it. Thus I pursued my ‘career’ with a grant from the Finnish Foundation for Alcohol Studies, basically reading fascinating memoirs from the war-time Paris and concocting different sociological models to analyze them (the formal subject was the drinking habits of the French existentialists during the World War II²).

In connection with this project, we also made a most memorable business trip in the Bordeaux valley with Pekka, Jukka Gronow and some of the Alko staff (at the time the Finnish alcohol monopoly must have employed half of the social scientists around). Aside from being treated like the royal family and drinking the best wines

¹ Arppe, T. (1992). *Pyhän jäännökset* [The Sacred Remains]. Helsinki: Gaudeamus (231 pages).

² Arppe, T. (1998). Sanctification of ‘the Accursed’ – Drinking habits of the French Existentialists in the 1940s (A Case Study). In Galanter, M. (ed.). *Recent Developments in Alcoholism*. Vol.14 – The Consequences of Alcoholism. New York: Plenum Press, pp. 415–436.

I've ever tasted, we laughed so much that my stomach was completely cramped when I got home. Soon after this I headed for Paris to prepare my doctoral thesis with a three-year Academy funding, and although things were then somewhat slowed down research-wise, because I also had a baby during my stay (now a beautiful young woman preparing for her university admission tests), Pekka never stopped encouraging me (this, I think, is pretty much the experience shared by all his students – Pekka is always there when you need him).

As I returned to Finland in 1997, I found the same collegial and relaxed atmosphere that I had left behind, this time in the newly founded 'social intervention' seminar group, which gathered Pekka's doctoral students literally under his roof: in his cozy house we often enjoyed not only academic discussions but also Pekka's legendary hospitality (as most of his friends know, Pekka is a devoted host and an excellent cook). Many of those who were present at the time have also stayed within the Academia (or in its immediate vicinity), either as professors (Johanna Mäkelä and Jukka Törrönen), directors of research (Kati Rantala, Piia Jallinoja and Anu-Hanna Anttila), university lecturers (Maaria Linko) or just academic hangarounds living on miscellaneous researching and teaching jobs (me).

After my doctoral dissertation (2000), I've had a chance to work with Pekka in the Academy funded project 'Life Regulation Practices and the Nature-Culture Problem' which he led in the UH during 2004–2007. The theoretical framework, guiding the more empirically oriented studies³, was largely centered around a concept which also embodies much of Pekka's work in sociology – I am talking about addiction, of course. The elaboration of the concept was in this case somewhat complicated by the fact that among the researchers of the project I personally was drawn to the French structuralism-inspired vein, whereas Erkki Kilpinen was more inclined towards the American pragmatism⁴. However, Pekka was by no means discouraged by this slight paradigmatic discrepancy, on the contrary: he developed a whole new model of addiction which could be seen as an attempt to mediate between the two paradigms – I will call them here 'the transgression paradigm' and 'the habituation paradigm'. In the following I'll

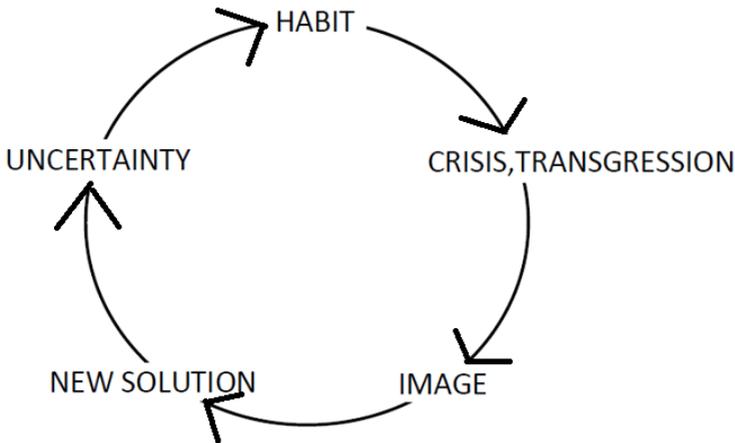
3 See for instance Arppe, T., Mäkelä, J. & Väänänen, V. (2011). Living food diet and veganism: Individual vs. collective boundaries of the forbidden. *Social Science Information*, 50(2), pp. 275–297.

4 See for instance Kilpinen, E. (2009).

make a short excursion to this model, coupled by an ‘intervention’, although maybe more of an intellectual than a social sort.

The principal axes of the new model are already presented in an article published in 2004⁵, in which Pekka also introduces two other concepts, ‘image’ and ‘desemioticization’, essential for his analysis. Addiction – here exemplified by alcohol abuse – is repetitive, compulsive behavior and, as such, constitutes a form of habituation. It is precisely this habitual, routinized aspect, which makes it so difficult for the addict to break loose. In other words, addiction is not a problem of individual motivation, like the traditional action theory would have it. Motivations, intentions and other cognitive processes step into picture only afterwards – the habit is there first. This is a familiar scheme to anyone acquainted with the pragmatist model of action.

In order to understand the role of transgression and images, the addiction-habit has to be seen on a time cycle divided into different phases:

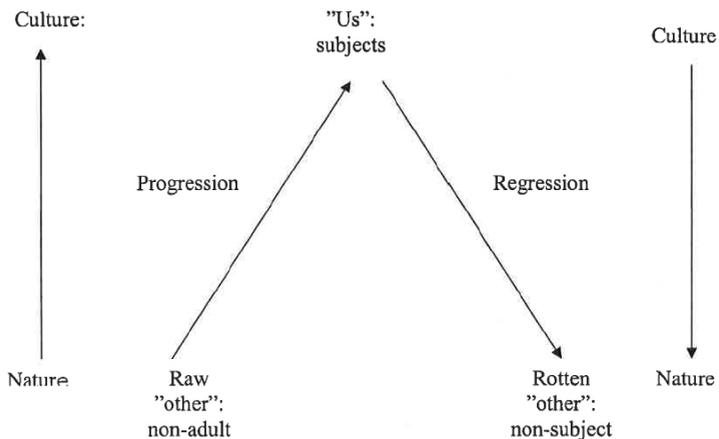


The starting point of the scheme is precisely the habit. In the so-called ‘normal life’ images intervene when the habit-driven action is faced with a crisis – this is when a transgression occurs in Pekka’s scheme. It is only at this moment when the more complicated cognitive resources intervene. However, from the viewpoint of ‘normal life’ the specific feature of heavy intoxication is the fact that

5 Sulkunen, P. (2004)

it is already, right from the beginning a transgression of limits (those of 'normal' or everyday life, precisely). This is why it mobilizes strong (affectively charged) images both in the drinker and his/her environment (although the interpretation of these images may vary from one person or situation to another). It is through these images that the actor and his/her environment interpret one another, i.e. attach some kind of meaning to each other's action. Intoxication is loaded with powerful cultural symbols, pertaining to our social being as humans; in many societies it represents adulthood, solidarity, equality and companionship – roughly speaking sociality itself⁶.

Besides the emotional charge they convey, the images connected to intoxication are in Pekka's model also reflexive in the specific sense that they always involve some sort of reflection of the opposition between nature and culture. Because of its transgressive character intoxication is by definition morally suspect and, as such, it also constitutes a cultural representation of the nature-culture - dichotomy itself. This sort of image/representation comprises an essential distinction between 'us' and 'others' (we belong to culture, the others to nature). Pekka illustrates this distinction by his own version of the culinary triangle of Claude Lévi-Strauss:



⁶ See for instance Partanen, Juha (1991).

Pekka claims that with 'liminal experiences' like intoxication we can observe differences similar to those analyzed by Claude Lévi-Strauss with South American myths and the position of cooking therein. In Pekka's scheme 'the other' can be seen either as culturally incompetent and 'raw' (non-adult) or as a 'rotten' alkie (non-subject), a dropout from the network of cultural definitions – in this case, drinking has been divested of all cultural rituals attached to it and collapsed into sheer boozing.

In Pekka's model the transformation of intoxication into a habit (addiction) generates an alteration in the interpretation of cultural images – this change is captured in the concept of 'desemioticization' which Pekka uses to refer to an implosion of meaning. The images that normally regulate behavior are emptied out. Behavior appears as devoid of meaning not only to an outside observer but also to the addict him/herself, since there is no more enjoyment involved – all that is left is a meaningless repetition in which habit has taken over. At this point we can no more talk about transgression, simply because the infringement has become routine: the drinker gets stuck into the habit-box of the habit-transgression-cycle and the movement (rotation) stops.

This is where I make my intervention (or, more conventionally put, my critique). I'm namely not quite sure how well the idea of the collapse of meaning fits into the situation described – at least from the viewpoint of an *outside observer* or a cultural Everyman, the aspect of disgust and rejection, associated with a wino's degradation, seems to remain intact. The reason for this, as I've argued elsewhere⁷, is that culture is not only a playground of cognitive (binary) oppositions, it is also a realm of affective forces and taboos, norms and moral interdictions, which profoundly shape our relationship to the other. A case in point is the 'rotten' other which is in no way merely an affair of a binary opposition (Us, the mature subjects/the rotten others or non-subjects), but at the same time object of an *affective rejection* (prohibition) and, as such, something positively disgusting.

Here also lies the essential difference between the transgression and the habituation paradigms: transgression is not only a 'crisis' faced by habituated action – it is also an infraction of a prohibition which belongs to the symbolic realm. The 'rotten' nature, in which the offender falls back or regresses to, is in no way the same pristine nature which in the topographical diagram is placed as the opposite of culture, as Pekka himself pertinently remarks. However, this also

⁷ See Arppe T., Mäkelä J. & Väänänen V. (2011), 286–288.

illustrates the fact that the alcoholic has not collapsed to some no-man's land beyond all cultural meanings, but rather that he/she is positively disgusting, irrational or frightening, at least from the viewpoint of a 'normal' person observing the situation. Hence, it can be argued that the fear or disgust felt towards the 'rotten' other is not due to a loss of meaning, but to a contact with an abject nature which is constituted by the fact that a cultural (symbolic) prohibition, carrying a strong affective charge, has been violated. It is precisely this symbolic prohibition which gives the untouchable reality its meaning. To sum up, in the transgression paradigm one cannot speak of an 'evaporation of meaning' – what is at stake is rather a stigma or a 'curse' which is thoroughly symbolic in nature (and, as such, could be compared to the psychoanalytic concept of repression).

The difficulty in the mediation between the two paradigms is also manifest in the fact that from the *alcoholic's viewpoint* drinking has become routine which means that addiction properly speaking no more involves an element of transgression. By contrast, the habituation paradigm can easily be used to explain the *addict's own experience* of drinking, which might well be described as 'desemiotization' or loss of meaning, since action has become mere compulsive repetition. However, a more Giddensian interpretation of the same might claim that in a reality that has collapsed into meaninglessness, repetition itself becomes a way of generating meaning – it could be seen as the last routine, which sustains the everyday: going out, meeting other alcoholics in the pub or on the street, hanging on. In that case, the repetition of a 'desemiotized' experience would itself be a mode of semiosis, and the 'empty solidarity' of the wino gang the last pocket of sociality in the lifeworld of a dropout.

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US, OTHERS AND FINNISH INDIVIDUALISM

Anu Katainen

In his 1992 study *New European Middle Class – Individuality and Tribalism in Mass Society* Pekka examined the mental landscape of the new middle-class, represented by regular ‘sky bar’ goers at the city centre of Helsinki. One of the key findings of the study was that the liberal argumentation against the restrictive alcohol policies among this specific group was based on the division between ‘us’ and ‘others’. To ‘us’ it would not make much difference if pubs and bars were open around the clock, or if wine was sold freely in supermarkets. Drinking and going to a bar to meet friends were seen as part of everyday life, not a special occasion as for the ‘rural people’ still following the traditional Finnish drinking habits. Moreover, being a regular in an exclusive bar that is in all measures something better than a suburban pub was considered an implication of a personal competence. The others, alcoholics and men ‘on the north side of the Long Bridge’, who ‘just sit’ at their local pubs, were seen as incapable to handle their drinking. Without controlling measures these non-competent people would start to drink even more. Even though Sulkunen’s informants acknowledged that for some restrictive policies might serve quite well and prevent them from drinking, alcohol control was considered a root of all problems, not a solution: competent individuals do not need external control, and in order to become a competent one must learn to control oneself without outside interference.

I started to familiarise myself with Finnish alcohol research in 2000, around the same time I got to know Pekka. Pekka had been appointed as a professor of sociology the same year I started my studies in Sociology. I found it very fascinating how alcohol and alcohol-related cultural images could serve such a powerful way to describe how people actually make sense and distinguish between social classes but without actually referring to social positions as such. This is especially notable in a country such as Finland where the concept of class was for long seen as irrelevant or even inappropriate. Even among many social scientists in 1990s Finns were often seen as a one big, homogenous middle class without any

notable signs of class differentiation, at least in terms of taste and style. Pekka's study on the new middle class opened up a way to study class differentiation in cultural terms by employing alcohol use as a lens. After finishing my master's thesis on lay-risk conceptions of the health risks of smoking, I started to plan a PhD study that would combine the approaches of the class research as exemplified in Pekka's study with the point of views of health sociology. As it came out (Katainen 2011), the study concerns two occupational groups, manual and non-manual workers, their meaning-making of smoking, and how smoking is intertwined in their daily lives.

When I was conducting the interviews with the middle-class, white-collar workers, my first observation was that there was something very familiar in the way they described and justified their smoking. They made remarks on colleagues who went outside to smoke even if it rained, or who frequented smoking booths that were generally considered smelly and unpleasant. By describing their colleagues they simultaneously expressed who they were, not only as smokers, but in a wider sense as individuals with values and aspirations. At the core of those expressions was the ideal of a self-controlling individual, which appeared in the interviewees' descriptions of the smoking habits that they considered inappropriate. Smoking, for them, was something that was consciously chosen. Smoking did not happen due to routine or dependency, but every cigarette during a day had to have its consciously chosen place and time. The similarity with Pekka's sky bar people was obvious. They talked about the same thing, their personal competence to handle things that for many people cause severe problems. As giving up daily smoking is very difficult and usually requires several attempts, the middle-class interviewees' emphasis of self-control came as a surprise. Alongside with Pekka's work, I would argue, the argumentation tells about the importance of this ideal especially with regard to middle-class identities.

After finishing my PhD I continued to work with a research plan we had put together with Pekka some years before. The new project would address the convergent trend in European youth drinking cultures by comparing Finnish and Italian teenagers and their alcohol related images. After we started to gather focus group data with teenagers, it was obvious that we were, once again, dealing with the same ideals of competence and self-control. Together with Italian colleague Sara Rolando, I compared Finnish and Italian teenagers' views on alcoholism (2014) and binge drinking (2015).

For Finnish teenagers the difference between ‘normal people’ and those who would develop a dependency was the competence to drink in a right manner. Not social circumstances, or alcohol’s addictive potential (matters that Italians brought up), but the personal capability to handle one’s drinking. Alcoholism thus indicated an inner, personal property: an inability to control oneself.

Other studies conducted within the CEACG group or IMAGES consortium, such as Michael Egerer’s (2014, 2015) studies on French, German and Finnish social workers’ and general practitioners’ views on addiction, and Virve Mariounneau’s (2015) study on French and Finnish gamblers, have presented strikingly similar findings, indicating that these very self-centred perceptions of competence and self-control are not only cornerstones of a middle-class identity, but that there might be something very Finnish in the ways they are emphasised especially when discussing about substance use and addiction.

In Virve Mariounneau’s and Maija Majamäki’s study (2012) on gambling justifications, Finnish gamblers would highlight the importance of personal development as gamblers, whereas French gamblers dreamed of winning large sums of money. For Finnish gamblers gambling meant something that is possible to master by means of statistics and personal skills, while French gamblers seemed to take gambling as a pleasure and a game of luck – perhaps a more realistic view when considering the odds in most games. Tanja Hirschovits-Gerz et al. (2011) have shown how compared to other countries, Finns put a lot of trust in addict’s possibilities of self-recovery. Michael Egerer’s research (2014), on the other hand, points out that Finnish social workers and general practitioners doubt their role as solvers of their customers’ and patients’ addiction related problems, and even question their responsibility to do so. Matilda Hellman’s and Robin Rooms (2015) comparison of Finnish and American addiction narratives in media furthermore shows that while Finns seem to trust and even take the centralized state sector’s role to take care of addiction problems for granted, the media portrayals of addiction have strong individualist dimension, emphasising the individual’s responsibility to overcome his/her problems.

The division between ‘us’ – competent, autonomous, self-controlling individuals - and ‘others’ – addicts and other non-competent people who have failed to control their lives – is a feature that is familiar to anyone studying user cultures or lay views

on substance use. There is something highly moral in the ways people make sense of drinking, smoking or taking drugs. According to Pekka (2002), the reason for this is that intoxication is a 'proto-semiotic' fact. Cultural meanings and conventions determine the ways in which substances are used and their effects experienced, but they also have their 'natural', physiological effects on the body. Altered state of mind is an exception to the normal course of everyday life, and intoxication therefore transgresses or at least plays with the boundaries of what is considered normal in culture. As Pekka puts it (ibid.: 266, 270), intoxication 'lies in the gray area between the usual dualisms of nature and culture, where the social is what is understood and ordered and the natural is what is unsaid and nameless. [...]Intoxication in any cultural milieu evokes images of "us" and "the others" because it is inherently both a symbol of belonging to a culture-i.e., a collectivity-and a symbol of transgressing the boundaries of that culture'. They ways in which 'us' and 'others' are articulated and defined thus reveal a great deal of the norms, values and beliefs of a given culture. Things associated with 'others' tend to be those we eagerly want to disassociate ourselves from.

Our studies show that self-centred values, competence and ability to control oneself, seem to rank high in the Finnish culture. The idea of the Finnish self-reliance or the culture of 'managing on one's own' is of course not a new one, but rather an important part of the self-understanding of our national particularity. The common stereotype is that Finns do not ask help or talk about their problems since everyone is expected to stand on their own two feet, and not rely on anyone else except themselves. This stereotype is often used as an explanation for the sad peculiarities of the Finnish society, such as why there are so many problem drinkers, why the suicide rate is higher than in other Nordic Countries or in Western Europe, or why Finnish men are so reluctant to seek medical help. Despite the fact that the idea of managing on one's own is a cultural stereotype, the studies referred above seem to indicate that there is some truth to the idea of some kind of particular individualism in Finnish culture. Or as Pekka (2013) has put it, 'it is very hard *not* to conclude that there is something individualistic in Finnish culture, after all [emphasis A.K.]'. In our cultural imagery the stereotype of stubborn, self-relying Finn is typically associated with working-class men. However, I would argue that the ideal type of Finnish individualism can be found in Pekka's new middle class, the sky bar goers who think they are leading highly individualistic lives and

consider preventive state interventions as personal insults that actually prevent people from realising their full potential and thus control autonomously their alcohol use.

In recent years Pekka's work has been more and more related to gambling, which gives an excellent opportunity to continue the analysis of Finnish individualism. Pekka has expressed many times that the key to understand addiction is to consider their cultural variations and images related to them. The division of 'Us' and 'Others' continue to be a central way of making cultural distinctions between 'normal' and problematic ways of consumption. Pekka's further empirical and theoretical research will hopefully show us in the future if there is something peculiar in the Finnish way of conceptualising addiction and in the ways we nurture the illusion of our all-embracing competence, making us more vulnerable in the face of addictive pleasures.

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THE SEMIOTICS OF SULKUNEN: WHAT DOES THE TWO-WAY WINDOW SHOW?

Antti Maunu & Jukka Törrönen

Pekka has used the apt metaphor of a *two-way window* to describe his position in the field of alcohol research. The idea is to have a look at society through the study of alcohol use and, vice versa, to have a look at alcohol use through the study of society. This grasp facilitates an understanding of both society and alcohol use in ways that are likely to produce politically relevant research. By employing this approach he joins a group of other remarkable Finnish alcohol researchers such as Pekka Kuusi, Kettil Bruun and Klaus Mäkelä (Sulkunen 1998a).

Pekka's version of the two-way window has been to look at alcohol from the perspective of cultural theory (ibid. 1305–06). It has involved a strong semiotic emphasis in the study of images, meanings and values related to drinking, its regulation, and society at large. This means that the two-way window of Pekka is not like any other window. It presupposes that the researcher employs specific concepts, tools and methods to define and articulate the phenomenon under study. These will inevitably shape the researcher's and his reader's understandings of the studied phenomenon. In this sense, the window is also a construction and a filter: it picks up some elements that are brought to the fore and ignores others, it sheds light on some shades and fades others out.

In this text we analyse Pekka's theoretical and methodological style of reasoning in his own version of the two-way window. We ask what Pekka's two-way window is like, and what it actually shows. We have both been Pekka's students, and in many ways we share his approach and concrete methods. On the other hand, we have also developed different perspectives into the mysteries of alcohol use and society, both together and separately, which might have provided us with some analytical distance. So, our text will be a kind of cross-illumination between Pekka's and our own theoretical and methodological perspectives – it will be our two-way window into Pekka's two-way window, if you like.

LIGHT IN THE WINDOW: STRUCTURAL SEMIOTICS

Semiotics was brought to Pekka by means of crisis. His dissertation (1980) dealt with the changing forms and meanings of drinking in Finnish culture between 1946 and 1976. While the setting is highly semiotic by nature, Pekka operated in a Marxist framework, perhaps spirited by the atmosphere of the 1970's. However, despite a Grand Tour in Marxist theory, Pekka did not find enough sufficient theoretical tools for analysing the cultures and meanings of drinking. Marx neither provided a window nor a peephole to drinking cultures (Sulkunen 1997).

In this state of mind Pekka bumped into French structuralism. Claude Levi-Strauss's oeuvre of analysing universal structures of social life through primitive myths and rituals was an important stimulus for Pekka's cultural turn. Compared to the intellectual, economic touch of Marx, the passionate and bodily themes of Levi-Strauss gave a radically different perspective on the often passionate, even archaic forms of Finnish drinking. This characterizes also the heated public and political debates around Finnish alcohol use. An early analysis by Pekka and Pasi Falk on drinking scenes in traditional Finnish movies (Falk & Sulkunen 1980/1983) underlined the importance of cultural images in shaping the ways in which people behave, think and feel about alcohol. This is a perspective Marx does not capture that well, but Levi-Strauss does.

Besides their differences, there are also some interesting similarities between Levi-Strauss and Marx, which may have made the transition from Marx to cultural structuralism easy for the young Pekka. First, both go deep down to the elementary structures of society and mankind. They are not satisfied with idiosyncrasies of the surface, but aim at truly universal facts. Second, both have a special analytic style in their writings. They use extensive and diligent conceptual apparatus to unveil the aspects of the worlds that they study, and they self-consciously use their framework within their own conditions. Third, both share a conflict-oriented ontology of the world. While the driving force for Marx is the eternal struggle between capital and labour, for Levi-Strauss it appears to be the constant battle between nature and culture. These characterizations are met also in another French sociologist who became important to Pekka in the 1980's, namely Pierre Bourdieu – and actually, they also characterise rather well Pekka himself.

Methodologically, however, the main source of inspiration for Pekka is apparently the semiotician A.J. Greimas. Pekka studied in

Greimas's circle in Paris after his dissertation in the early 1980s, and possibly this gave him a methodological width and strength which is uncommon even today despite the fact that qualitative methodology in general has taken giant steps since the 1980's.

The conceptual framework of Greimas's work is no less extensive and diligent than that of Levi-Strauss or of Marx, but it conveys one major difference. Being a linguist, Greimas had no ontological theory of the social world and its actors. His work is purely a methodological project, a massive analytical system of decoding the various dimensions of linguistic and other forms of meaning into more and more precise components for their examination and comparison. Greimassian semiotics is a 1000-piece tool kit for analysing cultural images, and, as such, it is of great help for finding forms, structures and logics in the amorphous cultural products. This has brought great rigor and accuracy to Pekka's work, and through him also to qualitative alcohol research and Finnish sociology in general. The most important tools for Pekka in the Greimassian toolkit have been the semiotic square, the actantial model, modalities and shifters, as well as the distinction between utterance (what is said) and enunciation (how it is said) (Sulkunen 1992; Sulkunen & Törrönen 1997a, 1997b). Perhaps due to his liking of logical and precise methods, in the 1990s Pekka developed a computer-assisted software WPindex for the help of qualitative analysis (Sulkunen and Kekäläinen 1992).

VISIONS ON THE WINDOW: CLASSES, VALUES AND IMAGES IN A CHANGING SOCIETY

It was during the 1980s that Pekka established his cultural and semiotic perspective. In the first half of the 1980s, Pekka delved into working-class suburban pubs with a group of colleagues. This produced a vigorous exploration in cultural sociology, 'The Urban Pub' (1985/1997). In fact, for the first of the two authors of this present text (AM), 'The Urban Pub' was a major influence to become a sociologist in the first place. Far-reaching semiotic analyses of mundane drinking, dancing and chatting in pubs produced stimulating diagnoses of the pub-goers way of life – and the Finnish society on the whole – this was indeed something worth following. Not surprisingly, the author in question went on to do his PhD on young adult Finns' nightclub partying from a semiotic perspective (Maunu 2014). Much like a Part Two of The Urban Pub, it analyses the offspring of Pekka's and others' suburban pub-

dwellers, who go to the city to have some fun, but who also share many social and cultural characteristics with their predecessors.

In a theoretical and methodological sense, 'The Urban Pub' utilizes structural semiotic perspectives. It analyses the various meanings of the pub and the suburban life surrounding it through various tensions. There is a tension between work life and drinking in the pub, between men and women, and between control and freedom. Ultimately, all of these tensions are interpreted in the light of a Levi-Straussian reconciliation between nature and culture. Greimassian tools are used to make sense of the music and lyrics of the pubs' schlager songs. They also draw a picture of a tensioned relationships between men and women which is further interpreted as a reflection of more general images that shape and structure Finns' gender relations in general. In terms of Levi-Strauss, schlagers appear to represent the myths of the 1980's Finns.

'The Urban Pub' also deals with the question of social class in a cultural perspective. In the spirit of Bourdieu and the Birmingham School, the suburban pub with its various subcultures is seen in a homological relation to the 1970s and 1980s Finnish suburban way of life. This, in turn, is further interpreted as a miniature of the Finnish working class in general (Sulkunen et al 1985/1997).

The idea of class-based images got in full bloom in Pekka's next big study, 'The European New Middle Class', which approached the pub life of the Finnish Yuppies in the late 1980s. It also sets out to be an analysis of the Western mentality in the age of individuality and after the collapse of collective movements. Here the logic of the two-way window is taken a step further: from traditional class mentality to a changing society where old classes are wiped out and new classes are emerging. One can still hear Marxist echoes here, both in substance and scope (Sulkunen 1992).

'The European New Middle Class' was also a methodological project in which Pekka developed Greimassian 'speech text theory' for analysing the mundane speech of the middle-class pub-goers. By paying attention to modalities, shifters, semiotic squares, speaker images and other microstructures of speech, Pekka got the ostensibly trivial pub talks to shed light on his grand research tasks. The key theme was pub-goers sense of autonomy and displays of free will in social life, both in their personal relationships and in relation to alcohol policy. At the same time, this was seen to be the structuring logic of the new, individualist Western societies (Sulkunen 1992).

During the 1990's, together with the second author of this text (JT), Pekka developed the Greimassian approach further in relation to linguistics, discourse analysis and narratology. The methodological concepts were directed towards the analysis of norms, values and positions. They opened a selective window for the analysis of messy empirical data, through which one could detect the invisible normative basis of society and the speakers' positions in it. In the analysis of norms and values, attention was paid to pragmatic modalities by highlighting the dimension of utterance (Sulkunen and Törrönen 1997a) and in the analysis of positions, speaker images, viewpoints (focalisations), projections and enunciative modalities were examined by emphasizing the dimension of enunciation (Sulkunen & Törrönen 1997b). This co-operation culminated to the publication of the "Blue Book" – Perspectives of Semiotic Sociology (Sulkunen & Törrönen 1997c) – with a circle of colleagues and students and a dissertation (Törrönen 1999).

During the 1990s Pekka also began to focus more on alcohol from the perspectives of welfare, consumer society and government. The public sector was transforming, institutions were reorganized or run down, and images and ideals of individuality and autonomy gained ground in these spheres too. In these works, Pekka directed his two-way window more strongly into policy. This strand of thought culminated in his book 'The Saturated Society' (2009).

FILTER EFFECTS

A sketch of Pekka's empirical work indicates that he tends to pick up wide themes, and is not shy of doing far-reaching interpretations and drawing elementary conclusions. Much like his great predecessors Marx, Levi-Strauss, Greimas and Bourdieu, Pekka reaches out to the fundamentals of culture and society. In Pekka's two-way window, the panorama filter is always on.

In semiotic terms, Pekka's analyses emphasise paradigmatic, classifying and differentiating relations over syntagmatic, combining and interacting relations. This way, Pekka's window shows the reality often as divided in various oppositions: self vs. other, us vs. them, state vs. consumer, middle vs. working class, and so on. There are clear Lévi-Straussian and Bourdieuvian connotations to be found here. With such a paradigmatic perspective Pekka keeps on distilling the meaning structures from

his empirical material until the earth, wind, fire and water finally meet.

While this logic is of great use in many research settings, it may also blur the vision for some other perspectives. Such a paradigmatic perspective bridges and translates people's lives to deep structural tensions and positions but does not capture how people develop different knowledges, skills and resources to live with these tensions. To grasp the latter one needs to apply narrative or other syntagmatic perspectives that put more emphasis on actors' experience, action and life course.

A paradigmatic and structural style of analysis often also overlooks the situational aspects of social action and meaning. In the late modern society, finite and stable meaning structures tend to become mobile, and they characterize less the culture as a homogeneous phenomenon. This also calls for syntagmatic or pragmatist perspectives that analyse the actual action going on in the situations, and the effects that situated action has on actors (e.g. Joas 1996).

In our own work, we have applied syntagmatic and pragmatic perspectives at the side of structural and paradigmatic methods. This has given many-sided, varying information on alcohol use in different social worlds. Instead of looking for the earth, wind, fire and water of society and culture, we have paid attention to changing scenes, traveling actors and their various situational appearances. We have also developed our conceptual and methodological tools so that they are sensitive to situational processes and vary according to the research tasks and data at hand. For us, thus, the two-way window has become a moving house of mirrors rather than a comprehensive panorama (e.g. Törrönen & Maunu 2007a and 2007b; Törrönen 2014; Maunu 2014; Törrönen & Rolando 2016). On the other hand, we are aware of that in Pekka's perspective, this kind of style of analysis may fog the window so that one loses the ability to see more significant structures, norms and values. What is important here is that without Pekka's pioneering works in social theory and semiotics, we probably would not have developed our ways of doing research in the first place, and definitely not in such pedantic grasps when it comes to methodology.

SOCIOLOGY AS A TWO-WAY WINDOW

The two-way window is a useful metaphor not only for alcohol research, but also for sociology in general. In his textbook of sociology, Pekka claims that sociology is a science of concepts and perspectives on the social world (Sulkunen 1998b). We work with phenomena of which everyone has opinions and experiences. We cannot figure out new planets or materials but we can point out new perspectives that show things in a different light, and thus give us possibilities to live with them in a new way. To us, this is what Pekka's sociology is ultimately about, and we are proud to carry on this task.

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PETIT MANIFESTE SEMIOTIQUE EN L'HONNEUR ET A L'ATTENTION DU CAMARADE SOCIOLOGUE PEKKA SULKUNEN

Eric Landowski

L'un sociologue, l'autre sémioticien, nous nous sommes rejoints à mi-chemin. Ou peut-être contaminés car nous voici l'un et l'autre un peu hybrides, l'un « sémio-sociologue », l'autre « socio-sémioticien ». Et du même coup tous les deux un rien marginaux sur nos terrains respectifs. Voilà qui nous donne au moins droit à quelques libertés, sans doute!

La liberté par exemple, face à nos objets d'étude, de ne pas nous cantonner dans une démarche « neutre » où nous ne ferions que « décrire ». Entre la vie de chercheur (le « labo ») et la vie tout court (en société), pas de frontière étanche. A l'opposé, une sociologie critique de son objet — une sémiotique impliquée par le sien : de part et d'autre, un regard sur les pratiques du sens dominantes qui n'a rien de détaché. Et qui plus est, des contre-propositions qui nous engagent dans un travail de nature en dernier ressort politique visant la transformation des rapports sociaux et des formes de vie. Cette option n'est pas dictée par des arguments extérieurs à l'exercice du métier. Et elle n'est pas non plus une simple affaire de préférence personnelle. Elle découle, sauf illusion, de la théorie même, de ses principes de cohérence internes. Elle est en ce sens *sémiotiquement nécessaire*, en tout cas pour ce qui concerne la « socio-sémiotique ».

Cette étiquette couvre à vrai dire deux choses différentes. D'abord, et depuis longtemps, une des branches issues de la sémiotique générale telle que conçue par Greimas : celle qui, comme son nom l'indique, vise la dimension sociale des objets signifiants ; comprise selon cette acception, la socio-sémiotique s'est développée depuis les années 1970 sous la forme de recherches portant sur des domaines si variés qu'elle couvre à

présent la plupart des pratiques de la quotidienneté⁸. Ensuite, plus ambitieusement, la même étiquette en est venue peu à peu, à partir des années 1990, à désigner l'un des corps de proposition théorique globaux qui s'offrent pour fonder l'analyse des faits de signification dans leur ensemble, autrement dit l'une des variantes de la sémiotique générale sous sa forme actuelle. Et sur ce plan, ce qui fait la spécificité de cette approche par rapport aux principaux autres courants post-greimassiens — sémiotique subjectale et sémiotique tensive⁹ — est une option théorique sémiotiquement originale bien que plutôt banale dans le cadre plus large des sciences sociales, à savoir l'idée d'une relation nécessaire, constitutive, entre sens et *interaction*. De cette option, il faut non seulement tirer toutes les implications théoriques mais aussi assumer toutes les conséquences dans la pratique. C'est ce dernier point qui justifie la présente réflexion en forme de « manifeste ».

Le but de l'entreprise a été en premier lieu de nous donner les moyens de rendre compte aussi exhaustivement que possible des mille manières dont nous construisons du sens tout au long de nos interactions aussi bien avec autrui qu'avec les autres éléments qui nous entourent. Pour ce faire, le modèle proposé dans *Les interactions risquées* intègre dans un cadre conceptuel unifié quatre régimes de sens. Il permet ainsi d'articuler d'une part la *sensibilité* à l'*intentionnalité* — l'esthétique au cognitif, le « sensible » à l'« intelligible » —, bases de la construction de sens sur lesquelles reposent respectivement des dynamiques d'« ajustement » et des stratégies de « manipulation », d'autre part un principe de *régularité*, condition de toute « programmation » de l'agir, et son contraire, le principe d'*aléa*, fondement du régime dit de l'« accident », ou de l'« assentiment » (éventuel) face à l'inévitable (Landowski, 2005).

Mais en second lieu, une fois ces distinctions posées, la logique du modèle conduit à franchir un pas de plus, à *prendre position* face à ces quatre composantes plutôt que de les considérer comme de simples variantes typologiques qui se vaudraient les unes les autres. A cet égard, le choix crucial de notre part consiste à prendre parti en faveur d'une pratique du sens bien définie : celle qui relève du régime de l'*ajustement* et de la logique sous-jacente de l'« union » entre des interactants dotés de sensibilité. Cela par

8 A titre de repères chronologiques, Greimas, 1976 ; Landowski, 1989 ; Floch, 1995 ; Semprini, 1995 ; Jackson, 1995, 1996 ; Marrone, 2001 ; Hammad, 2005 ; Landowski, 2005 ; Marsciani, 2007 ; Sulkunen, 2009 ; Petitimberty, 2013 ; Demuru, 2014.

⁹ Coquet, 1997 ; Fontanille et Zilberberg, 1998 ; Fontanille, 2015.

opposition, tout d'abord, au régime de la programmation, qui, en tendant vers une éternelle répétition du même, exclut par construction toute dynamique de création de sens. Par opposition ensuite à la sorte de démission sémiotique que suppose le geste d'assentiment au dictum d'une instance transcendante à laquelle, croyant ou fataliste, le sujet peut être tenté de s'en remettre plutôt que de chercher à prendre en charge son propre destin. Et par opposition enfin au régime de la manipulation, vis-à-vis duquel s'imposent les plus grandes réserves. Car ce régime a beau avoir été le seul pleinement reconnu par la grammaire narrative standard, il ne saurait être considéré ni comme le seul théoriquement concevable, ni comme de portée universelle, ni même comme le « meilleur » possible.

Au contraire, par la conception contractuelle et statique du sens qu'il présuppose¹⁰, par la philosophie utilitariste de la valeur et la vision idéaliste du sujet qu'il met en œuvre, et corrélativement par la forme de vie foncièrement pragmatique qu'il tend à instaurer, il constitue l'expression d'une vision du monde très particulière, celle que véhicule l'idéologie dominante dans nos sociétés post-modernes à la fois indéfectiblement « démocratiques » dans leurs principes et de jour en jour plus mercantiles dans les faits. Contre l'alliance incongrue, et à nos yeux choquante¹¹, entre cette idéologie et la théorie sémiotique dans sa version classique comme dans la plupart de ses développements actuels, nous prenons délibérément parti. Mieux, en procédant à la critique du soubassement conceptuel qui leur est commun — une vision de l'existence réduite à la gestion économique des valeurs et de la signification dans une perspective de domination et d'appropriation du monde —, nous militons pour ce qui en représente l'exact opposé : pour une *pratique écologique du sens* commandée par une exigence d'accomplissement mutuel dans des rapports de réciprocité entre soi et l'autre — que l'altérité en jeu soit celle de notre *alter ego* ou de tout autre élément composant notre environnement, notre « bios ».

En termes plus concrets, à un régime technocratique qui, à force de régulation bureaucratique et de trompeuse sécurité, programme l'insignifiance (problème sociétal majeur) en cherchant à éliminer

¹⁰ Estay et Dorra, 2014. En contrepoint, Landowski, 2014.

¹¹ Mais qui rend possible d'innombrables études sémiotiques appliquées à conforter la santé du système marchand par une rationalisation des approches empiriques régnautes en matière de technologies de l'information, d'organisation, de design, de marketing ou de publicité, le tout culminant désormais dans la grand-messe des communicants dite « Semiofest ». Tout à l'opposé, Pellerey, 2016.

toute marge de choix et jusqu'à l'existence même de sujets susceptibles de décider de leur sort¹², — à un régime fataliste où les sujets abandonnent la décision à une instance qui les transcende (le hasard, la figure révélée d'un Sauveur ou l'arbitraire de quelque puissance supérieure¹³), — enfin, à un régime démocratique privilégiant la vision volontariste de décideurs parfaitement conscients de leur propre désir et sûrs de leurs choix face à une masse d'exécutants qu'ils manipulent « pour leur bien »¹⁴, l'optique socio-sémiotique oppose un régime interactionnel où l'acte — le faire ou le ne pas faire, le faire ceci ou cela — ne résulte plus à proprement parler de la décision de quiconque face à un monde objet regardé à distance mais découle d'un ajustement sensible entre la dynamique d'une situation vécue et ceux qui la vivent¹⁵.

Que ce soit sur le plan des relations internationales, des politiques de l'environnement, de la sécurité, de l'éducation, ou sur quantité d'autres terrains « en crise », nous assistons chaque jour aux effets délétères et aux conséquences plus ou moins dramatiques de décisions individuelles ou collectives massivement orientées par l'application de principes de traitement de l'autre tantôt de type manipulateur tantôt de type programmatique, ou le plus souvent les deux ensemble selon des dosages divers. Loin de nous l'illusion de prendre l'ajustement pour un remède miracle qui serait facilement et partout applicable. Toute notre tradition de pensée en refuse l'esprit même, et des modes de vie dont il fut un des grands moteurs ne nous restent que quelques vestiges qui ne donnent lieu qu'à des reconstitutions généralement caricaturales dont le nom même n'évoque qu'exotisme ou archaïsme — zen, haïkido, *malandragem*, métis, hésychasme¹⁶. Et pourtant on constate que la logique qui sous-tend notre définition de ce régime rejoint et conceptualise, en termes sémiotiques, les principes d'action et les visées qui se trouvent à la base de la plupart des recherches de réponses alternatives aux grands problèmes du temps¹⁷. C'est à la consolidation conceptuelle de ce mouvement que

¹² Pour un exemple proche de la caricature, Latour, 1992. A l'opposé, Cervelli, 2013 ; Leone, 2013.

¹³ Lotman, 1990. En complément, Landowski, 2012.

¹⁴ Landowski, 1989 : 167-185 ; 1997 : 219-244.

¹⁵ Petitimberty, 2013 et 2016 ; Demuru, 2014 ; Ciaco, 2013 ; Landowski, 2004 : 153-158.

¹⁶ Sur les reprises caricaturales de l'esprit « zen », Jullien, 2009. Cf. par ailleurs Addis, 2013 ; Demuru, 2015 ; Detienne et Vernant, 1974 ; Petitimberty, 2015. Voir aussi les pages de G. Simondon sur le vieil esprit paysan d'ajustement à la terre (Simondon, 1958).

¹⁷ De François Jullien ou Augustin Berque à Edgar Morin ou Alain Badiou, la liste des contributeurs serait longue, même en se limitant à la France et groupes « écologistes » mis à part.

la sémiotique doit à notre sens s'attacher, plutôt que de se déclarer politiquement neutre tout en se mettant, par les pratiques professionnelles de beaucoup de ses représentants, au service du système marchand. En ce sens, « faire de la sémiotique », c'est bien, dans tous les cas, faire de la politique, pour un camp ou pour l'autre. Œuvrer pour la consolidation d'une « écologie » du sens, c'est choisir le nôtre.

Ainsi refondée et réorientée, la sémiotique greimassienne, au lieu de rester la discipline académique qu'elle est devenue en se refermant sur ses obsessions d'« Ecole » (dite de Paris), pourrait non seulement retrouver une place dans le concert des sciences sociales¹⁸ mais aussi, au-delà du cercle académique, se faire entendre dans l'espace public en tant que réflexion critique, promotrice d'orientations sociétales différentes¹⁹.

Ce choix en faveur d'une sémiotique dans le siècle, qui caractérise depuis le départ le « style » socio-sémiotique, peut certes passer pour un parti pris extra-sémiotique, d'ordre politique, ou inspiré par une éthique. Et il est vrai qu'une réflexion proprement sémiotique ne peut selon nous déboucher que sur une éthique du sens. Mais en même temps, dans la mesure où l'engagement politique dont il est ici question découle d'un choix raisonné entre des formes d'interaction dont la portée existentielle et politique diffère en fonction des *régimes de sens* qui leur sont sous-jacents, notre position ne nous semble pas déroger à la sphère de cohérence proprement sémiotique.

Or, sauf à avoir par avance trouvé « le » sens de la vie dans quelque texte qui en donnerait la Révélation, c'est bien à nous, sémioticiens — de profession ou d'intention, ou sans le savoir (ou à demi) — qu'il revient de le construire. Cela n'est à proprement parler possible que dans des pratiques d'interaction guidées par la quête de rapports de réciprocité ajustés aux potentialités de l'autre et par là même créateurs de sens, que ce soit sous la forme d'œuvres de l'esprit ou d'actes nous mettant en accord avec autrui et à l'unisson du monde.

¹⁸ A côté notamment du courant dit « anthropopoïétique ». Calame et Kilani, 1999 ; Remotti, 2003.

¹⁹ Sur cette réflexion critique et sur les propositions alternatives, voir les rubriques correspondantes de la bibliographie finale.

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THE SOCIOLOGICAL PROMISE AND THE ENLIGHTENMENT

Arto Ruuska

In June 2014, Pekka called me and asked whether I would be interested in helping out with a course that he was planning on the history and current issues of sociological thought. That is how I ended up both assisting him and lecturing on Scottish Enlightenment social theory in what turned into a series of lecture courses with the rather ambitious title: *The Sociological Promise from Hobbes to Post-modern Critics, Parts I–III*. In this piece, I will reflect on some of the key themes of those courses. By doing so, I endeavour to reconstruct and contextualize Pekka's conception of sociology, sociological theory, and its history as he has come to perceive it towards the end of his tenured academic career.

The notion of sociological promise derives, of course, from C. Wright Mills' modern classic, *The Sociological Imagination* (2000 [1959]). 'Sociological imagination' and the concomitant 'promise' epitomized Mills' alternative for the two then-dominant forms of sociological inquiry: the conceptual grand theorising of Talcott Parsons, and the 'abstracted empiricism' of quantitative social research in the vein of Paul Lazarsfeld and others. Neither of the two lived up to what Mills saw as the proper task of sociology, which was '*to grasp history and biography and the relations between the two within society*', so as to translate the personal troubles of people '*into public issues, and public issues into the terms of their human meaning for a variety of individuals*' (ibid. 4, 187). Whatever the subject of a particular sociological study, then, it was to be sensitive to three kinds of background questions: those concerning (1) the structure of society as a whole and how it differed 'from other varieties of social order'; (2) the historical making of that society and the forces changing it at the present; and (3) the '*kinds of human nature*' that were '*revealed in the conduct and character we observe in this society in this period*' (ibid., 4–5). Sociology needed a theory of social structure or social order; otherwise it would run the risk of psychologizing explanations. But that theory – and here Parsons would fail – had to be sensitive to

history and empirical evidence that spoke of the existence of many kinds of social orders, and also of conflicts within societies.

I think it is fair to say that Pekka's oeuvre echoes Mills' general outline for how sociology should be done, as witnessed, for instance, in his major book-length studies on the middle class, and the problems of lifestyle regulation in the (late) modern society, *The European New Middle Class* (1992) and *The Saturated Society* (2009). Relatedly, Pekka has been critical of contemporary sociology growing increasingly distant from this ideal (Sulkunen 2014a). Much in keeping with Mills, he has noted a trend of sociologists becoming 'mere behavioural scientists' – as he once put it – who study diverse phenomena and problems of social life without connection to any theoretical understanding of society as a whole. This can be seen as a reflection of the fact that the notion of society as it derived from the classical period of sociology has been subject to much criticism during the past few decades. Following William Outhwaite, Pekka has delineated three streams or sources of this criticism as follows: 1) action theory where agency is given priority over structure; 2) post-modernism, either in the form of epistemic critique of sociological concepts, or as moral criticism levied against social science for having been part of the 'modern project' of rationalization-cum-oppression; and 3) globalization theories and their criticism of 'nation' being the fundamental point of reference in most sociological notions of society. (Sulkunen 2007; 2014.)

While some eminent sociologists have argued to the effect that the whole concept of society that implies some unifying principle has become obsolete (e.g. Baumann 2000; Beck 2005), one could equally claim that we live in a world where a sociological theory of what keeps societies together is needed more than ever. Pekka has argued that the historical realisation of the key components of Western subjectivity – autonomy and intimacy – has added a whole new matrix of differences and conflicts over the more traditional struggles based on class, status and gender (Sulkunen, 2009; 2011). Indeed, contemporary conflicts often manifest as symbolic conflicts where there seems to be no common ground for negotiation over tangible interests. This does not mean that the core problematic of sociological theory, the one concerning unity and difference in society, has become obsolete. Quite the contrary, new sociological insights are needed for understanding both integration and conflict. While we may not find ready answers from Durkheim or Marx, sociology, in Pekka's view, still needs to stick to

the classical sociological way of theorizing, where the conditions of social order and the logic of conflicts are sought in ‘the social’ itself, rather than in some external force or ‘the political’ as such. Equally, sociology has to keep fighting what Bourdieu called ‘the anthropological monster’, the vulgar view of human nature as driven solely by self-interest and utilitarian calculus. In this task, Pekka held, perusal of the historical foundations of social theory is of much value.

The reason for going all the way back to early modern thinkers was that the idea of ‘society on its own’ first started to take shape in that era. Thomas Hobbes’ *Leviathan* (1651) was an important catalyst for this development, as much of Enlightenment social theory relevant to sociology today emerged as a reaction to Hobbes’ theory of the political society and its underlying presuppositions concerning the human nature. Writing in the wake of the Civil War in England and the more general crisis of divine and natural legitimizations of monarchies in post-Reformation Europe, Hobbes strived to provide a philosophical justification for the necessity of absolutist government. Famously, he postulated a conception of human nature where the only motive common to us all was self-interest that aimed at self-preservation, while the rest of our individual desires varied greatly. With no guarantee that others respect our life as they pursue their own desires, this led to pre-cautious action and war of all against all in the pre-political state of nature. The only way out of this misery – as reason suggested – was a social contract whereby every individual handed their right to defend themselves over to a sovereign ruler. Social order, thus, could be based only on political authority that took up and monopolized the task of judging and preventing injustices among disparate individuals.

The most notable strand of normative political analysis that emerged as a reaction to Hobbesian absolutism was arguably the one commonly identified with Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s theory of the social contract and the origins of inequality. Pekka has recently published on Rousseauvian Republicanism and its paradoxes, drawing especially on Reinhart Koselleck (Sulkunen, 2014a). He also gave insightful presentations on the subject during the lecture courses. However, here I want to move on to discuss the Scottish Enlightenment, where the normative social contract theories were substituted with more empirical and, in my view, more properly sociological analysis of society and social order by the likes of David

Hume, Adam Smith and Adam Ferguson. This is also a theme where Pekka's and my own scholarly interests overlapped the most.

In my own lecture that drew notably on Christopher Berry's (1997) work, I presented the general features of the Scottish turn towards a more sociological inquiry of society as follows (Ruuska, 2015). In epistemic terms, it built on a view that any theory of society was to be based on empirical evidence. Hume and others criticized the Hobbesian – and also the Rousseauvian – state of nature as 'philosophical fiction' that was of little use, as it did not correspond with the evidence we had of people having always lived in societies, '*joined by affection to one party*' while '*possibly opposed to another*', as Adam Ferguson (2007 [1767], 9) would put it. Relatedly, the methodological individualism and rationalism of the social contract theories was rebutted. Individuals did not form societies through deliberate contracts. Instead, societies pre-existed specific individuals. The character of individuals and groups, their beliefs and opinions took shape in historical societies. So did the various forms of government and their justifications that we could observe across times and nations. Furthermore, human beings were rational, for sure, but reason was not the basis of sociability and its variable institutional manifestations. Rather, we were ultimately moved by passions, selfish as well as benevolent, and this was the direction in which we were to seek for the causes and dynamics of our social behaviour. While the founding figure of the Scottish Enlightenment, Frances Hutcheson still argued that natural and universal benevolence was the foundation of virtuous sociability, David Hume and Adam Smith went on to place at the centrepiece the psychological faculties of imagination and sympathy by which we could assume a spectator's viewpoint to our own passions and actions, and enter into sentiments of others. This intersubjective feature of human nature facilitated the channelling and balancing our *selfish* and *unsocial* passions in *sociable ways*. This very idea opened a new way for conceptualizing the foundations and functions of social institutions in large societies that could not be held together by our necessarily limited benevolent affections.

For Pekka, it was precisely the dynamics of passions, sympathy and the institutions of society that had drawn him to scrutinize the Scottish Enlightenment more carefully since around the turn of the 21st century. Here he reflects the more general trend of the past few decades whereby especially Adam Smith has been 'rediscovered' and vindicated also by sociologists as an insightful theorist of the

social bond and society (e.g. Barbalet, 1998). In Finland, notably Risto Kangas' thesis on the history of sociology and the concept of society, *Yhteiskunta* (2001), paid close attention to Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* around the same time, and this was not left unnoticed by Pekka (Sulkunen 2002). Most recently, Pekka's interest in the Enlightenment has been stimulated by a renowned study on Bernard Mandeville and David Hume by Mikko Tolonen (2013), who also gave three lectures on the courses. Tolonen's reading of Mandeville and Hume advances the understanding of some of the key sociological insights of Enlightenment thought. Indeed, for Pekka, it went straight to the core of the question concerning social order in large societies that are constituted by autonomous agents (Sulkunen 2014b).

A doctor, satirist and philosopher of Dutch origin, Mandeville is commonly regarded as the proponent of a view that self-interest is not only the fundamental moving force of human nature, but also a source of public benefits if freed from the chains imposed by hypocrite moralists and politicians. Tolonen (2013), however, brings to light a change in Mandeville's thought in a later edition of his infamous *Fable of the Bees* that made room in human motivation also for benevolent passions, but even more notably for what Mandeville called self-liking. Self-liking or pride referred to a natural human inclination or desire to value and feel satisfied with oneself. The sociologically notable point here is that pride necessitated a social context where we could confirm our opinion of ourselves by others' approval. The necessity of taking regard to others' opinion of us modified and cultivated not only our expressions of pride but also our pursuit of self-interest. This engendered general moral conceptions of honour and individual sovereignty that were crucial to social order in large societies.

Hume and Smith developed this line of argument further in their theories of how we – by way of the psychological mechanism of sympathy – form emotionally founded judgments concerning our own and others' conduct, merit and demerit. These relational processes were the foundation of the key socially constructed virtue, justice, which modified and levelled the expression of our unsocial passions, hatred and anger. Importantly, Hume and Smith noted that in large societies where the social distance between individuals may grow wide, social cohesion has to be founded on generalized conceptions of justice, which have to be consolidated into institutional arrangements maintained and administered by a 'political society' or government (see Sulkunen 2014a; 2014b). 'The

social', rather than 'the political', still remains the fundamental foundation of social order. As noted above, governments are not formed through contracts or plans, and their authority is not based on deliberate acts whereby individuals give their consent to be ruled (Hume 1987, II.XII). Rather, governments take shape historically, as part of more general social processes, and it is '*time and custom*' that give '*authority to all forms of government and all successions of princes*' (Hume 2011 [1739/1740], 3.2.10). The social nature of this process entails that any government – both the most despotic and the most free – is dependent on the opinion of its subjects, on people's interests and their emotionally founded judgments concerning the virtues of the government (Hume 1987, I.IV.1).

For Pekka, the sociological relevance of the Scottish Enlightenment laid essentially in the idea – even if still somewhat elementary in its form in Mandeville, Hume and Smith – that a 'society standing on its own' hinges on general principles of justice and worth that also make social hierarchies and inequalities comprehensible and manageable. This very insight has since been elaborated by Luc Boltanski and Laurent Thévenot (2006) who hail from the school of Bourdieu, a major source of influence also for Pekka since the early 1980s (see Sulkunen 1982; 2009). In Pekka's view, their *theory of justification* steers clear from the one-sidedness inherent in the classical sociological integration and conflict theories. Conflict and integration have to be taken as 'equal partners' in any theory that aims to facilitate analysis of social order, unity and difference. Inequalities and differences will always be part of any social order, as Boltanski and Thévenot argue. A central – and we could say very Millsian – task for sociology is to translate the ensuing conflicts that often take the form of diffuse symbolic struggles into negotiable issues of concrete interests and justification. The underlying conflicts may be over conceptions of the common good, the meaning of dignity and the order of worth, or the principles of belonging and differentiation – the three dimensions of justification that are required by any social order, but whose contents are subject to historical change. (Sulkunen 2015.)

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THE SOCIOLOGY OF LIFESTYLE GOVERNANCE: A RESEARCH FIELD

Matilda Hellman

We eat, drink and game for a number of reasons: in order to fill up time, to manage stress, to dampen emotions, to punish ourselves – or just to create space for fun activities in our lives. This is our prerogative as prosperous people in consumer society. Our behaviour is supported by commercial promises, by a seemingly endless availability of products and consumption opportunities, by the attractions of defining and understanding ourselves through acts of consumption. At the same time, these very same societies are involved in a process of negotiating the limits for what are defined as excessive and problematic variants of these behaviours. The core of Pekka's work is situated in the intersection of these circumstances. This is also the research focus of the *University of Helsinki Centre for Research on Addiction, Control and Governance (CEACG)* – a research group that Pekka planned for a long time, but would finally come to found in the year 2011.

Figure 1. below is a simplified illustration the CEACG-research in four overlapping dimensions. These dimensions are basic building blocks for understanding governance of people and behaviour distinguished as matters to be transformed, normalized or prevented by (collective) interventions of some sort. Dimension A. concerns behaviours and people viewed as 'the governed'; B. concerns system structures and institutions in which we operate when we address these matters; C. concerns the modes and formats of control and governance aimed to prevent or change behaviour; and, D. concerns the symbolic articulation of what the problems are all about and how they should be dealt with.

In the CEACG-research, all dimensions of Figure 1. are seen as connected, even if research tasks have typically come to emphasize the different dimensions to different degrees. Comparisons between countries and systems have been of special importance as these offer explanations to different types of setups and relations. Many times, the cross-country comparisons have been decisive for drawing conclusions regarding what the different policy and

governance alternatives offer. In the next I will suggest how these four dimensions can be traced back to previous work by Pekka.

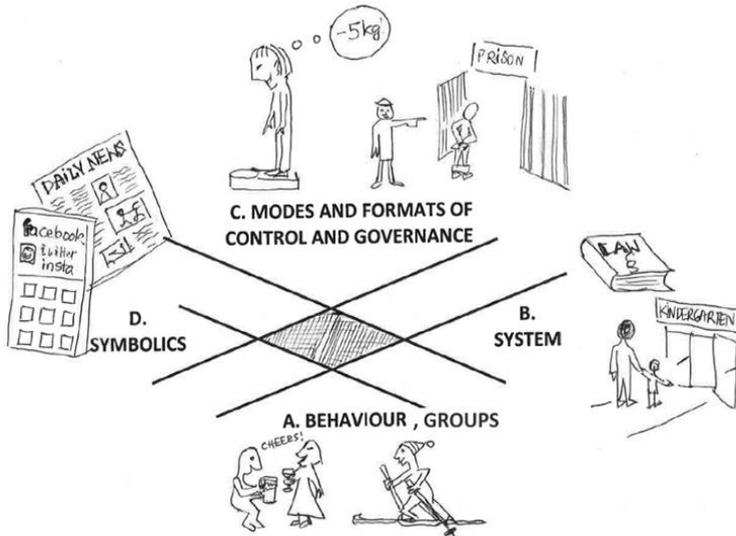


Figure 1. The construction of (A) 'the governed', through (B) frameworks of a system, its (C) modes and formats of governance and control, and all of this as part of a space provided by (D) cultural constructs of realities (Hellman 2015).

HABITS AND ADDICTION

In its simplest everyday sense, the concept of *habit* refers to action that is common practice, custom, convention, mannerism or routine. These are some of the words in the first two lines of the definition provided by the Collins Compact Thesaurus online dictionary. The third line lists synonyms with a more negative ring to them: 'addiction, dependence, fixation, obsession, weakness'. The word 'habit' is interesting precisely because it covers both of these aspects: habit as 'habitual', as repetitive action, as a typical way of doing and being, but also habit as in repetitive behaviours that are often viewed as problematic in one way or another. This latter cluster of significations is often attached to social and health-related potentially problematic behaviour such as drinking,

smoking, eating disorders, drug use and gambling (see e.g. Fraser et al. 2014).

When it comes to the study of dimension A. in Figure 1. (*behaviour, groups*) Pekka's work on pub visitors and middle class drinking practices is an excellent example of how the meaning-making of certain habits and practices works as a definer of a group's position in view of *system, governance, and symbolics* (dimensions B-C-D). (Sulkunen et al 1997; Sulkunen 1992). In these analyses Pekka and colleagues pointed out some ways in which control policy measures were conceptualized and justified in view of orders of competence. The interviewed drinkers would typically perceive some groups as less able and less competent and hence more in need of outside control measures. Certain views on societal order and the drinkers own position in this order were actively channelled in their concepts of competence and freedom related to drinking.

This path of investigations has since been followed up in Pekka's team for example in recent investigations into how smokers of different backgrounds attach significations to their habit and abilities to quit (Katainen 2006; 2011); how teenagers from different countries perceive different types of drinking (Hellman et al. 2013; 2010; Rolando & Katainen 2014), and most recently, how gamers of online massively multiplayer online role-playing games (MMORPG) view themselves as part of nerd cultures dividing their lives between online and offline whereabouts (Majamäki & Hellman 2015; Hellman et al 2016). In all of these studies, cultural contexts are displayed through the meaning-making of action that challenge rationality or everyday norms and rituals, creating tensions or dilemmas between different values in societies.

Substance use, smoking, food intake, gambling, and other potentially addictive and problematic repetitive practices are interesting behaviours, not the least because they often start out in joyful, pleasurable and stimulating leisure activities but are known to cause problems in their widespread, excessive or compulsive variants. Thus, a shift in signification occurs along the way as the habit intensifies and accumulates -- a shift which Pekka has framed as a shift in semiosis (Rantala & Sulkunen, 2012; Borch 2013)

Habits are thus understood as both voluntary and involuntary, changeable and constant. In the signification of voluntary choices, habits are viewed as preferred among other kinds or modes of activities by autonomous people in consumer society. Seen as versatile the habits automatically also entail ideas of adjustments,

ways of controlling or restraining them. By some sort of decision-making and power exercising outside or inside the concerned individual the behaviour is envisioned as normalized or neutralized in a desirable direction (Jager 2003). At the same time, habits very much confine autonomy: habits control perceptions by limiting what we are exposed to and what we integrate into our ways of thinking. They are destined by cultural and consequential circumstances and based on interaction of experience, human proclivities, and the social and natural environment that are also affected by social processes (Todorova 2014). Some problematic habits are difficult to control as they are strongly conditioned and upheld in cultural grammar and societal rationales.

GOVERNANCE AND GOVERNMENTALITY

The study of lifestyle-related policies in a welfare state framing presents researchers with many tensions regarding societal prioritisations between different worths and principles. In welfare societies, typically, prosperity is high enough both for the exercise of grand consumption and for the existence of systems and institutions for preventing and dealing with the problems that arise from grand consumption. When it comes to societal *systems* (B) and *modes of control and governance* (C), an important trait in Pekka's work is the ways in which idea world setups underpin systems and modes of governance (Sulkunen 2009). He often returns to tensions between different worths, such as the tension between intimacy and autonomy (e.g. Sulkunen 2009), the paradoxes of the concept of addiction (see Sulkunen 2015) or basic anthropological notions of nature and culture (Sulkunen 2002). In line with Pekka's approach of entangled meaning and structure, a great research interest of his has been how professions and institutions internalize views on addiction problems in different cultures. This has been studied in several country comparisons, such as the Academy-funded Images and Theories of Addiction consortium (IMAGES 2007-2010, see Egerer 2014). Studies in this area – that is the kind of studies that identify value-based tensions between interest parties in a system and flesh out how justifications and institutional culture bring about different emphasis -- are seldom as thoroughly and systematically completed nor as far-reaching in their argumentation as the work conducted and led by Pekka.

For example, in the book ‘Broken Spirits’ (Sulkunen et al 2000), Pekka and colleagues were able to capture the Nordic alcohol policy at a time of great transitions, and show how ideas and power structures were entangled, discerning structural consequences as well as a political zeitgeist that would underpin the changes. More recently, Pekka has returned to a theme that was already discussed thoroughly in the 2006 book on the flipside of “the project society” (Rantala & Sulkunen, 2006), namely the one of how new role divisions between the non-governmental and the state sector has come to change the Nordic welfare state project. This has been a focus for example in both of his latest Academy-funded projects: the Public Sector in Transition (JULKI 2011-2014), and GPE: Gambling Policy in European Welfare States (2014-2018). Moreover, several recent and forthcoming doctoral dissertations stemming from Pekka’s PhD seminar and the CEACG pertain to public task division aspects in addressing and governing vulnerable groups in the welfare state system (e.g. Kouvonon 2013; Kotanen 2012; Perälä 2012; Alanko forthcoming 2016; Rönkä forthcoming).

The crossing of the grey area in the middle of Figure 1. in terms of tying rationales and ideas to social interventions would not be possible without discerning the ways in which governance is integrated in humans, institutions, culture, and, the organized practices (mentalities, rationalities, and techniques) through which subjects are governed (see Shah et al. 2007). One of the most crucial theoretical links for this purpose has of course been the Foucauldian concept of governmentality.

The governmentality literature has been important in facilitating a conceptual bridge between conceptions of what individuals and populations do in relation to logics of adherent modes of control and governance. Governmentality theories allow for a manifestation of the fact that habits and lifestyles cannot be understood without an understanding of the rationales underpinning their regulation. The accountability of collective action must be formulated within certain understandings of what the problems imply for society.

Traditionally, when patterns of behaviour are tagged as societal problems an orientation back onto the right path is envisioned through the exercise of some sort of pastoral power that guides people’s conduct as members of a population organizing them as a political and civil collective in the same way as a shepherd who cares for his flock (see Foucault 1982). Strategies such as warning texts on packs of cigarettes or alcohol taxes are typically justified

and carried out with a view of a collective responsibility of the health and social well-being of the flock.

A crucial claim in the governmentality literature has been that modes and rationales of pastoral governance are changing (Pekka's thesis has e.g. been the one of a shift to epistolary modes, see Sulkunen 2009). The governmentality research has continued to develop its core theoretical concepts related to lifestyle governance, for example in terms of technologies of self, lifestyle politics, biopolitics, and neuropolitics – all highly topical in a digital and global era (see e.g. Mayer 2015; Rose 2009). In relation to some of these endeavours, Pekka has at times been rather sceptical as he sometimes finds explanatory models 'too neat'. For example, he has pointed out that the critical medicalization literature often makes errors when designating trends: seen in a functional governance perspective, some trends are much more moral than medical to their character.

Due to his well-known sharpness when drawing relationships between conceptual and societal change, Pekka recently became involved as an advisor in a Norwegian project regarding the financialization of social welfare (2012-2013). Here, the liberalisation of people's access to credit was studied as fundamentally changing the ways in which social welfare and risks are produced and distributed. As part of this project, Pekka made a critical observation with great relevance in view of the dominating discourse by social scientists of today. By analysing biographies by well-known Western neoliberalists, and observing their complete lack of an articulated ideology-based goal-orientation, he showed, among other things, that the concept of neoliberalism is impossible to disentangle from policies and institutions in historical situations. If this circumstance was to be properly integrated in work by social scientists of today, it would involve a great deal of more precision and concretizing for example in studies concerning the reorganization and reprioritisation of the welfare state.

THE MEANING-MAKING OF LIFESTYLES

In order to become a target of prevention and policy strategies, habits and behavioural patterns must become widely recognized and tagged as problems. Over the years, Pekka has come to pay a great deal of interest to the ways in which lifestyle-related behaviours are articulated as problems in cultural material.

In the area of cultural signification (*symbolics*, dimension D. in Figure 1), Pekka's work on alcohol in films has been path-breaking, showing how culture upholds and reproduces images of the right and the wrong, the good and the bad, and all nuances in between (Falk & Sulkunen 1983; see also Room, this book). Pekka has continued this path studying articulations of gambling problems in online discussion forums (Rantala & Sulkunen 2012), and addiction phenomena as construed in films (Sulkunen 2007). In line with his Images-theory (Sulkunen 2015, see also Beccaria & Rolando in this book) concerning the importance of the cultural constructs of the problems the CEACG research has produced several studies on media portrayals of addiction (e.g. Hellman 2010, Egerer and Rantala 2015). The connection between idea world setups and the technologies for addressing the problems is also integrated in his research method called the Reception Analytical Group Interview method (RAGI) (see Sulkunen and Egerer 2009). This method employs film clips as stimulation of discussions in focus groups.

Even though Pekka has many times mentioned his ambivalence of the opaque concept of *lifestyles*, this is a concept that holds great relevance for understanding his approach to the study of cultural signification. Lifestyle is 'a style of life', a typical way of being and acting over time. The 'style' may depend on any possible relevant circumstance, but what it means needs to be spelled out. And the ways in which it is spelled out will inevitably attract the interest of a semiotician.

One can perhaps say that in the social sciences the most important meaning-based logic of how 'style' is articulated has thus far been the one of uneven resources attached to status and power in society. Roughly speaking one can see two main social scientific research domains concerned with the focus of inequality dimensions of lifestyles – and Pekka's work does not really fit neatly into any of them. His work is neither situated in an epidemiological paradigm that maps socioeconomic factors correlating with alcohol use, overweight, diabetes, gambling debts, nor is it a neat fit with the dominating sociological traits on consumption and status in the field of lifestyles, consumption, culture and leisure. The European Sociology Association consumption network, in which Pekka originally was a driving force (see also Warde; Scott, in this book), has, over the years, gathered researchers interested in culture and consumption, some of which are following a Bourdieusian taste-distinction-status

manual, but also others, who perform different kind of meaning-based qualitative inquiries into problematic behaviour tied to different types of larger theoretical frameworks (e.g. globalization, risk, consumer society).

Despite of the inclusive nature of the consumption network, Pekka's researcher personae may simply be too dynamic and creative for fitting into existing boxes, or staying in these boxes in long periods. The closest concept that I find that could describe the focus of inquiries concerned with a cultural grammar of lifestyles (Figure 1) is the Foucauldian term of *dispositif* (Foucault, 1980). It refers to a sort of network of institutional, physical, and administrative mechanisms and knowledge structures, which enhance and maintain the governing ontologies and adherent exercise of power in different matters. In the question of lifestyle politics, the *dispositif* can be seen as tied to master narratives of what contemporary life should contain and bring about (see e.g. Fraser et al. 2014; Mayes 2015). The *dispositif* changes with different emphasis on its different parts in line with changes in attitudes, societal prioritisations and preferential explanations on the concerned matters. One of Pekka's greatest contributions to sociology has been that he has shown how understanding the ways in which societies and cultures articulate the *dispositifs* underpinning lifestyle-related questions will – inevitably -- give insight into the overall conceptual material within which political realities operate.

PUBLIC HEALTH AND PUBLIC SECTOR RESEARCH

Public health and epidemiology – and lately also psy sciences -- are the knowledge resources and frameworks most often applied in policy-making concerning addictions and lifestyles. These have typically exposed associations between certain habits such as smoking, nutrition, alcohol, on the one hand, to health status, levels of mortality, and societal costs of ill health, on the other. Globally speaking, this kind of research can be seen as the mainstream knowledge production underpinning societal action aimed at reducing lifestyle-related burden of disease and encouraging wellbeing among populations (Hellman et al. 2016). It is simply not possible to perform social scientific research in the area of addictions and lifestyles without being familiar with this literature.

As a concept *public health* functions both as a descriptor of a status of health among populations ('the health of the public'), and as a descriptor of an approach ('seeing health issues on the level of populations'). The latter connotation especially embeds the field's aims to deal, prevent and manage diseases, injuries and other health conditions through surveillance and through promotion of healthy behaviours, communities and environments. The institutionalized and publicly funded so called 'sector research' concerning lifestyle problems have in the Nordic countries been a natural part of the welfare project. In Finland, the most famous public research-based public health project has no doubt been the flagship North Karelia Project, which was launched in 1972, in order to reduce the exceptionally high coronary heart disease mortality rates in the North Karelia by adjustments of nutrition, smoking, physical activity, use of alcohol and psychosocial stress.

Around the same time as the launch of the North Karelia project, Pekka started appear in the files of the Finnish Foundation for Alcohol Studies (see Simpura, this book) and would continue as part of the Alko-based research team that moved to the National Research and Development Centre for Welfare and Health (STAKES) in 1996. (later on merged into the National Institute for Health and Welfare, THL). Pekka's own researcher background is thus long and strong in sector research making him a rather rare case in current Finnish academic sociology. At the same time, his own approaches, which draw on semiotics and anthropology, makes him an 'odd bird' in the mainstream public health paradigm. This double 'oddity position' might have contributed to the reflective position of Pekka as a scholar, perhaps supporting him to boldly move between fields and undertake complicated research tasks.

Pekka has a reflexive *modus operandi*, always critically scrutinizing the system of which he is part. When it comes to the field of addiction research, he has remarked on some conceptual somersaults required by statistical approaches to the study of physical or mental health in relation to lifestyles. Due to the signification of health issues as automatically tied to human bodies, public health typically imitates problem aetiology logics from the single unit level (broken leg) to the macro level (amount of persons with broken legs). The social problem ontology is in this tradition in its basic variant therefore the frequency of the problem in a population. Perhaps one of the most interesting developments to which Pekka has returned on several occasions concerns the

penetration of the concepts of dependency and addiction, which traditionally describe an individual's 'disorder of the will' (Berrios & Gili 1995) as diagnoses for mapping prevalence and need of treatment and interventions in populations (see e.g. Room et al. 2015; Taylor et al. 2016)

The new uses of psy-concepts in significations of societal phenomena, such as the addiction concept, has invited social scientists to incorporate a view on societies as organisms plagued with 'social pathologies' (see Furedi 2004). From the point of view of lifestyles that violate social norms and have a negative effect on society the meltdown of a system serves as a justification for controlling and adjusting breakages with normal and normative ways/styles of life. In their extension the social pathologies typically connote some sort of risky transgression such as in the case of illicit drug use, or a moral decay of society caused by pathological debt or overweight. Something is wrong in parts of the organism and it needs to get fixed in order for the entity to work.

Pekka's interest in the addiction concept is a natural continuum to his interest in tensions at the heart of current societies, both from the public health perspective, and from the perspective of a societal organism with a changeable dispositif. Pekka keeps returning to the question of how society can function in line with its responsibilities and aims of accountability, and his interest in this question is spurred by critical reflection of the different epistemologies surrounding the governance of habits and lifestyles.

THE FUTURE

In the above I have tried to flesh out the approaches so typical for Pekka's work. I have traced the CEACG group to a tradition that Pekka represents – a tradition that he has created and also secured for the future. I have suggested some circumstances surrounding his approaches such as the governmentality literature and the continuous critical reflection underpinning his work and his 'researcher personae'. Many, many other traits that may explain the phenomenon of Pekka are left out from my account.

Intellectual mobility is often due to a high level of creativity. Lately, the individualized Finnish perceptions of addiction problems, and the concept of medicalization have puzzled Pekka. Also, last year – seemingly, out of the blue -- he suddenly published a piece on the Kurdish question in the prominent *Telos* journal (Sulkunen 2015). While not all of us are as creative as Pekka, the

ontology and epistemology of the CEACG – created, reproduced and continuously reinvented by Pekka – offers a platform for any curious scholar to become dynamic enough for functioning in their own paradigm, just as Pekka himself. This is a platform steady enough and sensitive enough to integrate new questions in a changing society.

Seen in this light, the future of the CEACG can only be destined to contain great new endeavours.

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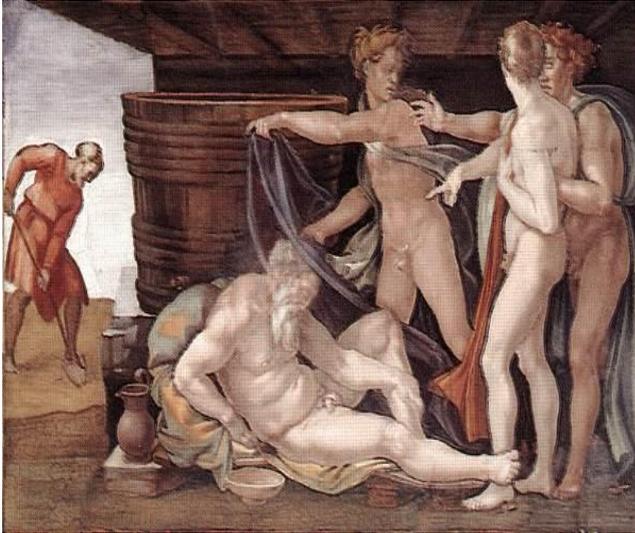
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DRINKING INTO INTOXICATION

Elina Haavio-Mannila



Michelangelo: Drunkenness of Noah

Michelangelo's (1475-1564) fresco (1509, now in Sistine Chapel) 'Drunkenness of Noah' shows Noah and his three sons. All of them have drunken into intoxication. On the left hand side Noah is shoveling in his role as a farmer.

According to the Genesis account, Noah laboured faithfully to build the Ark—no doubt the largest vessel yet constructed—at God's command, ultimately saving not only his own family, but mankind itself and all land animals, from extinction during the Flood. Afterward, God made a covenant with him, blessed him, and promised never again to destroy all the earth's creatures. The idyllic scene did not last, however, as Noah became drunk, had his nakedness exposed to his children, and ended up cursing his grandson to be a slave.

Noah is also well-known in the Nordic countries' popular culture. The Swedish poet Carl Michael Bellman composed a famous drinking song: Gubben Noak, gubben Noak, var en hedersman. När han gick ur arken, plantera' han på marken mycket vin, ja, mycket vin, ja, detta gjorde han. (Source: Wikipedia)

All the characters in Michelangelo's painting are men. Does this gender composition represent drinking into intoxication even nowadays? I try to answer this question on the basis of surveys conducted in some Northern European areas around the year 2000.

The consistency and/or variability of gender differences in drinking behavior has been examined cross-culturally, for example, by Richard W. Wilsnack et al. (2000). In this study, women's and men's responses to 16 general population surveys from ten countries were analyzed. Comparable measures of drinking versus abstention, and for example, heavy episodic drinking and intoxication were used.

In the same way as in other surveys, the study showed that women and men differed from each other. Men consistently exceeded women in typical drinking frequencies and quantities, in the rates of heavy drinking episodes and averse drinking consequences. Women were consistently more likely than men to be lifetime abstainers. The authors propose that gender roles may amplify biological differences in reactions to alcohol, and that gender differences in drinking behavior may be modified by macrosocial factors that modify gender role contrasts.

According to Wikipedia, alcohol intoxication (also known as drunkenness or inebriation) is a physiological state that may also include psychological alterations of consciousness induced by the ingestion of ethanol (alcohol).

Here I investigate alcohol intoxication in four north European countries: Sweden, Finland, Estonia and Russia. In my earlier studies alcohol use has been an independent variable but here I use it as the dependent variable.

My data consists of responses to representative population surveys. They were conducted by using either personal interviews or mailed questionnaires. The response alternatives were given on paper to be filled by a pencil by the respondents. Part of the surveys used were directed to both genders, part to women only. The randomly selected respondents are either 18-74, 18-54 or 18-45 years old. The data collection mostly took place in the years 1996,

1999, 2004, and 2005. Data from a large interview study conducted in 1971 by Kai Sievers, Osmo Koskelainen and Kimmo Leppo is used here, too.

INTOXICATION OF MEN AND WOMEN

Contrary to the gender structure in Michelangelo's painting, these studies show that nowadays women drink until intoxication, too. According to an early Finnish study of 18-54 year olds in 1971 (Sievers et al. 1974), 40.2 percent of men and 31.0 percent of women had drunken heavily during a month. In 1999, in the same age category, the percentages were lower: among Finnish men 47.9 and women 19.7.

In the other groups studied, the proportion of men drinking monthly or more seldom until intoxication varied between 41.2 and 34.7 percent. In St. Petersburg, the proportion was considerably smaller, 24.3 percent. In the other areas studied here, 8.2 – 13.0 percent of women reported having at least monthly drunken themselves up to the point of losing self-control, in St. Petersburg 5.4 percent. Gender differences in drunkenness were even larger in the age group 18-74 years.

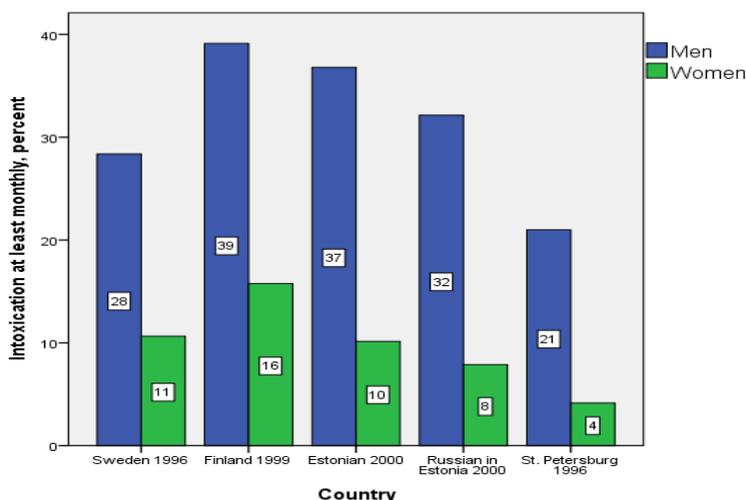


Figure 1. Gender differences in drunkenness in the age group of 18-74 years in Sweden, Finland, Estonia and St. Petersburg.

About one third of men but only about one tenth of women reported that they had drunken until intoxication in a month. In Finland and Estonia, the proportion of monthly drinking men was the highest, in St. Petersburg the lowest. In Estonia, Estonian people had drunken until intoxication more often than Russian-speaking people.

DRINKING INTO INTOXICATION OF FERTILITY AGE WOMEN

Other available representative data sets in which heavy drinking up to the point of losing self-control appears, are surveys of Estonian and Russian women in the fertility age of 18-45 years. These surveys were part of the REFER project coordinated by Elina Hemminki in Stakes, National Research and Development Centre for Welfare and Health in Finland. In Estonia the data was collected in 2005 (Part et al. 2007) and in St. Petersburg in 2004 (Kesseli et al. 2005). In this article these respondents are compared with women in Finland in 1999, who were investigated in a mail survey named FINSEX, Sexual Life of Finns (Haavio-Mannila et al. 2001).

The majority of the 18-45 year old women in these three areas had drunken themselves up to the point of losing self-control. In Finland 77 percent (N=487), in Estonia 72 percent (N=2 672, Part et al. 2007, 81) but in St. Petersburg only 55 percent of women admitted that they had sometimes drunken themselves until intoxication (N=1 147, Kesseli et al. 2005, 111).

In the surveys of women in a fertile age, getting drunk was directly associated with sex life. Before their latest sexual intercourse, 21 percent of Finnish, 20 percent of Estonian, and 30 percent of Russian women had consumed alcohol until intoxication.

WHO ARE THE HEAVY DRINKERS?

The social background of heavy drinkers was examined by using logistic regression analysis. It reveals the influence of some social and sexual factors on drinking into intoxication. In the combined data set of the four study areas (N=5 838), a regression analysis of seven variables explains 17.7 percent of the variation of heavy drinking at least monthly (the adjusted R square .177).

In regression analysis, beta (B) symbolizes non-standardized partial slope coefficients. The coefficient reflects the change in the criterion Y per one-unit change in the value of the associated predictor X. (Source: Wikipedia)

The beta values of becoming inebriated in the whole data set are: male gender (.199), young age (.180), number of sexual partners during lifetime (.104), being single (.085), masturbation during last month (.085), not having children (.080) and often orgasm in intercourse (.036). The seven predictors explain 11.6 percent of intoxication at least once a month.

Frequent intoxication is connected to fairly similar factors among men and women (Table 1). Young and single people, respondents who often masturbate, and who have had many sexual partners are likely to drink up to the point of losing self-control more frequently than other people.

| Predictors | Men | Women |
|---------------------------------|------|-------|
| Young age, years | .191 | .176 |
| Single | .103 | .52 |
| Has no children | .066 | .076 |
| Masturbation | .071 | .080 |
| No. sexual partners | .097 | .153 |
| Oral sex to partner | .071 | ns |
| Sexually interested in same sex | ns | .051 |
| Adjusted R Square | .130 | .110 |

Table 1. Variables predicting heavy drinking among men and women in four areas around the year 2000. Logistic regression analysis, beta coefficients, ns = not significant. The dependent variable in Table 1 is frequency of drinking until intoxication. Response alternatives are a few times a year, 1-3 times a month, and weekly.

There are three kinds of gender differences in the determinants of drinking behaviour. First, men who at least once a month drink until intoxication more often than other men have given oral sex to their partner.

Second, heavily drinking women are interested in other women, i.e. they have lesbian inclinations.

Third, having children has adverse effects on men's and women's heavy drinking. Childless men have drunken until intoxication more often than men with children have. On the contrary, women with children have used alcohol until intoxication more commonly than childless women.

The statistically significant predictors of drinking until intoxication in the four areas are shown in Table 2, which indicates that the beta coefficients are fairly similar.

| Predictors | Sweden | Finland | Estonia | St. Petersburg |
|---------------------------------|--------|---------|---------|----------------|
| Gender, man | .170 | .310 | .324 | .355 |
| Age, young | .242 | .157 | .206 | .165 |
| Single et al. | .152 | .056 | .098 | ns |
| Has no children | .123 | .136 | ns | ns |
| Masturbation often | .093 | ns | ns | ns |
| No. of sexual partners | .104 | .143 | .216 | .146 |
| Sexually interested in same sex | ns | ns | ns | .066 |
| Adjusted R square | .277 | .215 | .319 | .237 |

Table 2. Variables predicting heavy drinking in the four areas around year 2000. Logistic regression analysis, beta coefficients, ns = not significant.

Sweden differs from most of the other areas; gender differences are the smallest there. Also, the number of sexual partners is the least connected to heavy drinking in this country. Swedish cohabiting, divorced and single people drink more often until intoxication than married ones. In St. Petersburg people interested in the same sex more commonly than heterosexuals drink heavily.

CONCLUSION

Gender differences in heavy drinking still exist. Their size varies considerably by district, even in the north European otherwise fairly homogeneous societies studied here (Sweden, Finland, Estonia and Russia).

The largest gaps between men's and women's drinking into intoxication were found in St. Petersburg and among Russian-speaking Estonians. In these groups monthly heavy drinking was five times as common among men as among women. In Finland, Sweden and among Estonian-speakers in Estonia men drank into inebriation two or three times as often as women did.

Predictors of becoming inebriated were astonishingly similar in the different areas. They included male gender, young age, being single, not having children, masturbation, and having had many sexual partners. In St. Petersburg, men interested in men used alcohol into intoxication more than other men.

In working life, men and women are often separated. I have earlier shown that women in male-dominated or gender-balanced work environments drink more than in female-dominated ones. Gender equality at work increases gender equality in drinking. Does it also decrease men's sobriety?

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IMAGES AND REALITIES OF ADDICTION

Anja Koski-Jännes

Pekka has often claimed that he does not understand numbers, which I seriously doubt, since some of his first and still well-known publications created the basis for current international statistics on alcohol production and consumption (e.g. Sulkunen & Lumio 1977). Either way, his knowledge and ability to understand culture and society is beyond any doubt. Of his wide expertise and remarkable publications in this area, I will here focus on just one theme that is closest to our joint research interests: the images and theories of addictions. Along with this, I will provide some personal background on our common work history and research experiences.

I got acquainted with Pekka at the beginning of the eighties when I first received funding from the Finnish Foundation for Alcohol Studies and started to work with alcohol researchers. Pekka had started to study this area some years earlier but when we met he was involved in a project called 'Finnish intoxication on the screen'. Based on analysing the scenes where alcohol was used in Finnish films, he wrote together with Pasi Falk a highly intriguing article on the mythical fantasies of Finnish males reflected in their drunken comportment in these films (Falk & Sulkunen 1980). Their interpretation of these scenes was distilled in the famous triangle consisting of the opposition of women and spirits, the empty solidarity of the drinking group, and finally the cosmic loneliness of man – a feature that they were the most perplexed about. What was exciting about this article was its attempt to reach beyond the obvious, banal and easily classifiable modes of male intoxication in Finland and to connect the particular states of mind of the portrayed men to the historically specific state of society in which the events in these films took place.

This article created a lot of interest and vivid discussions both inside and outside of our group of alcohol researchers. An important point the article brought home was that there were several layers of meaning in the scenes of these films and related reality. These meanings were not just something that the authors drew from their imagination as from a magician's hat. Instead, they

sought their roots from the cultural, historical and group-related experiences of the characters depicted. It would be interesting, indeed, to replicate this study now with current film clips since some things in our society have greatly changed over the past four decades. For instance, the relationship between women and alcohol and more generally women's role in the Finnish society is quite different now, which could be reflected in the images of intoxicated males, too. Incidentally, as far as I know no one has thus far ventured to study the images of female intoxication in Finnish films. That could be another interesting area to study even in a comparative perspective.

In the eighties Pekka continued his research on Finnish drinking culture by leading a project on suburban working class pubs. The junior participants in this project were Pertti Alasuutari, Ritva Nätkin and Merja Kinnunen, all of whom successfully continued their academic careers in Finnish universities. The pub study resulted in an interesting ethnographic description of the blue-collar workers' life and its contradictions in a period when Finnish society was fast urbanizing and when traditional male and female roles were rapidly changing. In their book 'Lähiöravintola' ('The Suburban Pub', Sulkunen et al. 1985) Pekka analysed the pub as a stage with its particular roles and styles of behaviour typical of the period under study. Moreover, he made interesting observations about the functions and imagery of the popular jukebox songs played in these pubs. By this project, as well as by many others, he gave tribute to the vanguard of Finnish social policy and the head of the Alko Company in nineteen seventies, Pekka Kuusi, who advised young researchers '*to investigate the human condition by studying people's relationship to alcohol*' (Sulkunen 1998).

In connection with the pub study, Pekka took a keen interest in semiotic sociology and particularly the ideas of Claude Levi-Strauss and A. J. Greimas that offered him tools for many later studies. One additional source of this inspiration was came from possibly also the legendary 'book circle' started by Klaus Mäkelä and some others in nineteen seventies. In this group, that still keeps meeting on a weekly basis, we have studied and discussed many kinds of 'difficult enough' books on social theory, semiotics, linguistics, philosophy, evolutionary psychology, etc.

In 1997, Pekka received the prestigious Jellinek prize for his original contributions in the area of social and cultural alcohol research. In his keynote presentation at the Kettil Bruun Society conference in Reykjavik, he talked about the 'realities and images

of alcohol'. His point was to defend the relevance of studying the images of alcohol consumption and not only the facts, since even though 'social reality is indeed out there' people's actions are, nevertheless, governed by its images and through their actions these images become part of reality (Sulkunen 1998). As a social psychologist, I fully agree. This is why it was easy for me to accept Pekka's invitation to join in a research consortium named as the Theories and Images of Addictions (IMAGES).

In this consortium, my group at the University of Tampere conducted surveys and interviews on the social representations of addictions in the general population as well as among addiction treatment professionals and addicts in treatment. Our main aim was to study how various stakeholder groups perceive addictions in diverse socio-cultural contexts. Our international collaborators were in Sweden, Russia, Canada and France. The results revealed interesting cross-cultural differences in these views (Holma et al. 2011; Cunningham et al. 2013; Hirschovits-Gerz et al. 2011; Blomqvist et al. 2014). For instance, the perceived societal severity of diverse addictive behaviours greatly varied between countries. The Finns regarded alcohol problems as the most severe in a list of twelve societal problems, while the Russians and the Canadians ranked it as the fifth and the Swedes as the eighth severe problem (Holma et al. 2011). Lay, professional and addict views on addictions did not differ much; individual-centred and moral views mostly dominated in Finland (Koski-Jännes et al. 2012; Hirschovits-Gerz 2014). Furthermore, despite the more or less common scientific background and textbooks on addictive behaviours all over Western Europe, the views of Finnish and French treatment professionals on substance addictions were more affected by the respondents' cultural background than by their professional education, sex, age, work experience, or other such variables (Simmat-Durand et al. 2015; Koski-Jännes et al. in press). Societal and cultural conditions thus greatly affect the ways in which common issues are perceived and how scientific research is mediated in views and practices of both laypeople and professionals.

While we used traditional survey and interview methods, Pekka created the totally new, more projective Reception Analytical Group Interview (RAGI) method in order to study images of addictions. With the help of Michael Egerer, he gathered a large set of film clips representing scenes where various addictive behaviours were involved. These film clips were then used as

stimuli to unstructured group discussions among diverse stakeholder groups in different cultural ‘geographies’ as Pekka prefers to call the social contexts of their study participants (Sulkunen 2013). The focus group data were gathered from Finland, France and Italy and analysed in the doctoral theses of Michael Egerer (2014) and Sara Rolando (2015). The parallel use of different research approaches allowed us to draw stronger conclusions about the effects of different societal and cultural conditions on the prevailing images of addictions, such as the particular individualism of Finnish respondents when compared e.g. with French respondents (Majamäki & Pöysti 2012; Sulkunen 2013).

As the head of the IMAGES consortium, Pekka wrote already in 2007 an initial analysis of the representations of addictions in films. As his data, he used the film clips of scenes involving excessive smoking, drinking, drug use and gambling. Based on these data, he criticized the common emphasis on the lack of will power as the dominant sociological image of addictions because it tended to bias the views of addiction in individualistic and isolationistic way. Since addictive behaviours typically threaten not only the will but also other modal dimensions such as competence, ability and obligation he maintained that addiction should be seen as a more holistic ‘negation of agency, involving all modal competences’ and as a more interactive phenomenon than commonly depicted in social or medical research on addictions. However, this claim seems to fit better to the extreme cases of alcohol and drug addiction than for instance compulsive chain smoking, which just proves the necessity to also study specific types of addiction and their peculiarities.

My views on addiction, which mostly stem from clinical work and social psychology, are not far from those of Pekka. I see addiction as a social construction that is used to describe an interactive boundary processes between individuals and their socio-cultural environments. Its modes and expressions are in many ways affected by the groups they belong to and the conditions of society, as well as the models, narratives and media images available in each culture. Despite their peculiarities, there are also some basic similarities between different addictions that justify the use of this generic term. Firstly, addictions are provoked by stimuli that are capable of providing fast satisfaction. They are affected by the genetic dispositions of a person and they utilize partly similar neurobiological pathways and processes in the brain. Anybody can

develop liking or a habit into these behaviours but only when this habit becomes overwhelmingly difficult to avoid, it is worth calling an addiction. What makes some habits so pervasive is a result of interactive circular processes where a person reacts to various societal opportunities and demands by seeking the same rewards despite their ever-increasing costs to the person. Even though some people are more vulnerable to get trapped than others due to e.g. their impulsivity or other personal features, it would be misleading to regard addiction just as a 'genetically determined disease', since the whole process is conditioned by the products of society and embedded in social relations that can either inhibit or aggravate the problem.

Neither can the term 'addiction' just be substituted by 'heavy use over time' (Rehm et al., 2014) when talking about individuals; even if this can be a useful conceptualization when applied to the health and social consequences of addictive behaviours in a population. Anyone with clinical experience with addicts knows that there are some individuals who consume large amounts without notable problems and others whose consumption can be quite low, yet any time they start to use they get into serious trouble in terms of health or social consequences. Therefore, to understand these problem behaviours one has to gain insight also into their qualitative and developmental complexities as well as their meanings for the person in question. Furthermore, as Pekka notes, patients need explanations for their behaviour and help in their efforts to change. Some theory is therefore needed to provide structure for therapeutic practices. (Sulkunen 2015).

On our joint journey in the maze of addictions, my students and I have learned a lot from Pekka and his lively group of students in Helsinki. I have many fond memories of our discussions, interesting meetings, and lovely meals in your home, Pekka, for which I am more than grateful. Over the years I have learned to truly appreciate you as a person of great learning, perseverance and intelligence.

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IMAGES AND RAGI: PRAISE TO A SCHOLAR WHO HAS SUCCESSFULLY COMBINED THEORY AND METHOD

Sara Rolando & Franca Beccaria

From the perspective of researchers outside the university-based academia, who often have to get their hands dirty on the field, some works by Pekka could seem too theoretical for appliance in analyses. And indeed, this is the feeling that we had some of the first times we heard Pekka's presentations or read his papers. However, that was only a first impression, soon replaced by a more complete and enthusiastic opinion about him, formed during several years of collaboration with him and his team. This cooperation has been an interesting and fruitful experience.

The bundle of projects that we refer to as the 'Images projects'²⁰ represent a step forward in understanding not only the socio-cultural factors that influence alcoholic or other addictive behaviours, but also in the qualitative comparative research. The Images projects have given the cooperating research groups the opportunity to gather and analyse a significant amount of data, and at the same time to define and refine methodological approaches. These approaches are based on a solid theoretical basis and have shown to be efficient for focusing on the social phenomena under study.

Pekka is not only an inspired theoretician, but also a great researcher who has never lost his passion for data and field-work. Therefore, he has never stopped thinking about how to best develop methods to collect and analyse data. The Images theory and the Reception Analytical Group Interview (RAGI) method represent the result of such multifaceted skills, and these are, from our point of view, impressive contributions to the field of addiction studies. For this reason, our aim here is trying to sum up the value of Pekka's remarkable work.

²⁰ They include: the qualitative study part of Amphora WP4 and led by Matilda Hellman; the project "Images of alcohol use among adolescents - Qualitative comparison of cultural and class differences in Finland and Italy", led by Anu Katainen; the RAGI study, part of the Alice Rap project, WP3, where Michael Egerer coordinated cross-country analyses.

A first question some scholars could raise about the concept of 'images' - and one that we also came to witness in some reviews of our studies - is whether there is really a need to use a concept other than 'representations'. Actually, there are many reasons to prefer the concept of images, employed originally for example in Bourdieu's work (1980, 1979), suggested in the field of substance use by Room (2001), and later on further elaborated by Sulkunen (2002; 2007). According to Pekka, images represent an important semiotic turn in cultural sociology, a shift of focus from norms and functions to meanings. The first reason is that images do not imply a subject aware of an object he/she is representing. They are less conscious and broader classifications, explanations and interpretations. Indeed they are rather schemata of meanings – we could say a map of subjective ideas – which give sense to individual experiences and actions (Sulkunen and Egerer, 2009). Second, images are not necessarily based on personal experiences, rather they are imaginary. This does not mean that they are not related to behaviour, as they are conditioned by and able to condition it (Rantala and Sulkunen, 2010:5). Images are actually a sort of '*sens pratique*' that allows people to decode and adapt their role to different situations. Being influenced – yet not determined - by the environment, they are culturally embedded, but also maintain a natural, instinctive component (Sulkunen 2007). In this sense, images are mediating mechanisms between environments and behaviour.

The full meaning and the usefulness of the concept of images are expressed in the fieldwork when using the RAGI method (Sulkunen and Egerer 2009), aimed to increase the comparability between materials by minimizing the researcher's influence in the stage of data collection. The participants are shown short video clips and then asked to discuss them freely, while following a short list of written questions about how they frame the scenes and characters. We remember our hesitation and worries when we first applied this method to group interviews in 2009, within the qualitative study part of Amphora WP4, led by Matilda Hellman. We were concerned about the prescription of not intervening in the conversation unless absolutely necessary, about not been allowed to ask in-depth questions to the participants, and about the efficacy to investigate a phenomenon without posing any direct and personal question on the matter. The scepticism increased when - used to get kilometres of transcriptions - we found ourselves in front of a considerably

reduced amount of ‘words’ compared to the usual endless Italian discourses.

However, all our doubts gradually disappeared as analyses and comparisons proceeded. We soon discovered that data were qualitatively very good. When the group conversation proceeded in a natural way, without the intervention of the interviewer, emphasis was put on the dimensions most interesting or important for the participants, rather than for the researcher. This is particularly useful when analysing group conversations, where a great amount and variety of opinions is expressed, and even more in comparative analysis, where several materials with different bundles of opinions are expressed.

Besides, people seem to feel more comfortable and less worried about making a good impression when commenting clips, compared to when talking about themselves. So, paradoxically enough, their opinions come out more clearly and with fewer filters. In addition, video clips are powerful in capturing the participants’ attention and in stimulating reasoning as well emotional reactions – again: culture and nature. When talking about knowledge, this is particularly important in the case of adolescents, for whom the RAGI method is particularly effective. For example, the method was proven capable of involving equally those who already have personal experiences of drinking and those who have not, yet. It was also a good strategy with adults, who could be less willing to show their real emotions in a traditional focus group.

Results of RAGIs are particularly valuable because, as evidence the networks of meanings underpinning people’s choices and actions, allow for insight not only into their opinion about alcohol (or gambling, or eating disorders) but also into their self-definitions and their broader symbolic-based rationales. This helps a lot in understanding what aspects are in play beyond the phenomena under observation, even though – or perhaps precisely because - personal behaviours are not directly investigated. Indeed, when people interpret clips they make evident schemata of meanings based on their own experiences, and highlight aspects that give sense to their position about the topic under study.

Over the years, we have organised 32 group interviews with adolescents, 10 with parents and teachers, 12 with general practitioners and social workers, in all cases applying the RAGI method. Pekka’s team collected the same amount of data, under Matilda Hellman’s, Anu Katainen’s and Michael Egerer’s lead. This

impressive bulk of data represents a rare example of systematic comparative research, based on a common theory and on a method specifically aimed to increase the comparability of qualitative data. The significant number of joint publications resulted from this work represents, in our view, not only a step forward in our field of study, but also an important point of reference for qualitative researchers engaged in the difficult challenge of comparative research.

From an epistemological point of view, the RAGI method, that is investigating images, overcomes two main problems. The first is the correspondence between 'real' behaviours and expressed positions (Holstein and Gubriun, 1995), as behaviours are not the object under analysis, as well as values and norms. Nevertheless, they are taken into consideration as they are articulated in participants' images. Second, and most important for comparative research, images overcome the risk of assuming 'a single ontology' (Tigerstedt and Törrönen, 2007) by acknowledging the fact that what could seem similar in different cultures could not be so much. Indeed, participant themselves arise and articulate topics under studies, so that the deeper differences are shown immediately to the eyes of researchers.

Furthermore, still on the epistemological level, the approach based on images recognises that researchers' and interviewees' belong to the same symbolic world (Sulkunen, 2007), which is also clearly revealed in the comparative quality research. The long process of comparison compels observers to analyse their images as well as those of observed people, so that the outcome is always an increased understanding, not only about differences between cultures but also about the researcher's own culture.

To conclude, we want to express our appreciation for a scholar who has so successfully combined his theoretical and methodological skills, who has had the courage to face the challenge of qualitative comparative research, and the capability to give a significant contribution to this field of study. He has been able to achieve this also because of his excellent organizational and leadership skills, which has allowed him to raise funds and to grow-up a wonderful research group, now spread in different countries.

Thanks Pekka to have given us the opportunity to be part of this exciting and fruitful adventure. Furthermore, thanks to have shared with us many other stimulant thoughts and talks of different aspects of our society, to testify that your interests are not limited to the addiction field. These talks have been particularly

appreciated in convivial situations. Among others, we would like to highlight the paper on Kurdish Questions, and Pekka's conclusion (2015: 41) that is a wish for the entire society and to all of us. 'Citizens must enjoy individual autonomy, which implies that they will claim the right to be different, yet remaining equal as legal subjects and as competitive political actors'.

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A PROFESSOR'S PROFESSOR IN THE LAND OF THE SEMIOTIC SAUNA

Tom Babor

His curriculum vitae is a model of accomplishment. His research and teaching at undergraduate and doctoral levels are an intricate web of projects, seminars, tutorials, meetings and mentorings that are not only an expression of his intellectual curiosity, academic interests, and societal commitments, they are also the best possible way to train social scientists to follow in his footsteps.

Regulating lifestyles in the welfare state is a theme you would expect from a Finnish sociologist, but Pekka has brought this issue to new frontiers. He thinks fluently in three languages, allowing him to weave into his research the ideas of the Nordic, Latin and Anglo-American traditions. His courses and seminars attract the best and the brightest students. Many of them stay with his projects, if not his ideas, long after the course is completed.

His openness to people and ideas from different cultures perhaps came from the encouragement of his parents, who supported his decision as a high school student to take advantage of a foreign exchange program to study in Minnesota (USA) in the late 1960's. That formative experience undoubtedly advanced his university prospects, where sociology captured his interest. From there it was a short step to his mentor, Kettil Bruun, who introduced him to alcohol, not to mention Finnish drinking customs. Among the list of almost 200 of his publications, perhaps the one he is the most proud of is the 'Purple Book,' otherwise known as *'Alcohol Control Policies in Public Health Perspective'* (Bruun et al., 1975). According to the recollections of Griffiths Edwards, one of the books' co-authors, the 'more junior participants were by no means spectators and the background discussion was intensely participatory.'

The purple book gave alcohol science a voice in the health policy world, and helped to launch the careers of a formidable group of Nordic and American sociologists. Taking a cue from the project's mentors, Pekka was able to build a career that was as relevant in its public health applications as it was in its theoretical contributions to sociology. The themes first reflected in the purple book project: internationalism, theory-driven practicality, public health

relevance, collaboration among a multidisciplinary team of colleagues, and pride in the Nordic academic tradition, have been incorporated into many of Pekka's subsequent projects, each one making a new contribution to the understanding of social behaviour and its cultural underpinnings.

In many respects, Pekka's career has been like a series of semiotic seminars taking place in a Finnish sauna, a search for the meaning of meaning in a steam-filled room where colleagues share ideas in a relaxed setting, a place where every cultural phenomenon, from drinking to gambling, can be studied as communication.

In recent years fate has not always been good to Pekka in terms of his physical mobility, but that has not diminished his academic productivity and social influence. Working as usual with an international group of scholars, he has been applying the Purple Book's concepts to gambling behaviour and policy. Retirement is unlikely to deter his intellectual curiosity, so we can expect continued leadership and inspiration from one who knows no other course.

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ALCOHOL AND SOCIETY: CONCEPTS CHASING ISSUES

Norman Giesbrecht

I first met Pekka Sulkunen in the summer of 1972 when my wife and I went on our first trip to Europe – with stops in six countries in six weeks. Upon arrival in Helsinki we had drinks on a Friday afternoon at the office of the Finnish Foundation for Alcohol Studies, and then Pekka and colleagues took us out for dinner to what they called a working-class restaurant. In the course of an animated conversation involving a combination of English and Finnish, a man came over and intervened. As told to us later, he thought that we were all showing off, speaking English, and objected to it. However, he relented and understood after Pekka kindly explained to him that there were guests who were from Canada who could not speak Finnish, so the use of a foreign language was not ornamental but essential.

This small example might point to some central themes of Pekka's expansive, extensive and multidimensional body of work, involving hundreds of research papers, books, commentaries and critiques. Drinking styles, drunkenness, attempts at controls of alcohol problems, are not what they seem to be. Linear, simple or single-dimensional explanations are only an inadequate part of a multi-layered explanation.

His impressive body of work has dissected the many aspects of over a century of alcohol issues – cultural dynamics, policy making, and notions of personal and social control. A few examples include his analysis of the temperance movement and its links to current perspectives on alcohol policy (Sulkunen & Warpenius, 2000). Kettil Bruun's contributions to the roots of the total consumption model (TCM) and its application in different contexts provide insightful interpretations of a perspective that some accept as gospel and others as policy-making heresy. I was once again reminded of an underlying harm reduction agenda among the creators and proponents of TCM (Sulkunen & Warsell, 2012; Sulkunen, 1997). Pekka examines the symbolic use-values of alcohol, concluding that it may have very little to do with the beverage itself, reinforcing a common theme that we need to look

wider and deeper into to better understand the minutia of drug use (Sulkunen, 2009). His comments critique the standardized conflict of interest parameters that focus on alcohol and other drug producers but assume that links to governments or funding by them are conflict free (Sulkunen, 2010). In contrast to policies that stimulate easy access to alcohol and thus generate greater social harm or those designed to label, control and stigmatize the deviant user, he proposes mobilizing an interest away from alcohol or promoting an alcohol-free life style (Sulkunen, 1997).

I have been in Finland numerous times since that first trip in 1972. I remember chasing closing time with Pekka at Kosmos on Kalevankatu, an outdoor barbeque following an alcohol conference, and a winter sauna with a very hot wood stove. These are just a few good memories from a long-term friendship. I hope he does not really retire but keeps on analyzing the meanings of addiction, ethics in research, individualism vs social control, and many other topics. The techniques, resources and conceptual skills brought to bear in his contributions to date, suggest that Pekka Sulkunen will have continuing success in highlighting and dissecting emerging issues.

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PEKKA SULKUNEN AND INTERNATIONAL ALCOHOL SOCIOLOGY

Robin Room

Finland held a special attraction for sociologists elsewhere who became involved in alcohol studies in the 1960s or early 1970s. In Finnish society, unlike elsewhere, sociological perspectives on alcohol problems really mattered. And, for that matter, Finnish alcohol sociology looked outwards -- was engaged with the world. My first connections with Pekka reflected these frames. He and I were invited at different times onto the team led by Kettil Bruun which produced the 'purple book', the slim volume which became the core document of a new international public health paradigm for alcohol problems (Bruun et al., 1975). Behind the purple book stood a much fatter 'brown book' (Sulkunen & Lumio, 1977), which Pekka played a large role in producing, and which may be seen as the founding document for what is now the World Health Organization's Global Information System on Alcohol and Health.

In some ways, it seems to me, much of Pekka's later work in alcohol sociology expanded outwards from that early engagement. He played a crucial role in the International Study of Alcohol Control Experiences (Mäkelä et al., 1981), in which an international group of sociologists investigated how and why our societies had headed in directions other than those indicated in the purple book. Twenty years later, he led a further international study of the factors and forces involved in the unravelling of the strict alcohol control systems, which had been installed as alternatives to prohibition in most Nordic countries earlier in the 20th century (Sulkunen et al., 2000).

These studies focused on politics and policies. But it was Pekka's work on alcohol and culture which many of us found most inspiring and fruitful. His 'Sulkunen triangles' (Sulkunen, 1983), laying out societal differences within Europe in choices of alcoholic beverages, initiated a tradition of cross-national comparison still lively today. His work on what had happened in French culture and society to reduce alcohol consumption levels quite radically from the 1960s onward (Sulkunen, 1989) set a model which others have followed in analysing reductions in alcohol consumption in

southern European 'wine cultures'. For us in Northern California, the most inspiring of Pekka's initiatives on alcohol and culture were the studies of representations of drinking in Finnish movies he initiated with others around 1980 (e.g., Falk & Sulkunen, 1983). The excerpts from Finnish films that Pekka showed at international meetings, and his analyses of them, catalysed us into making our own studies of drinking in American films (e.g., Herd & Room, 1982). Pekka also stimulated a project on alcohol in French films (Stuedler, 1987), as part of his longstanding interchange with French sociology, and co-hosted an international conference on cultural studies of drinking (Paakkanen & Sulkunen, 1987).

Around when I moved to Sweden in 1999, Pekka started inviting me to lecture annually on a social alcohol topic in a general sociological course he coordinated, and to meet with the doctoral seminar for students whose dissertations he was involved in supervising. The course and the seminar extended to many topics besides alcohol. I also learned, browsing the sociology section of the Helsinki academic bookstore, that Pekka's contributions to Finnish sociology extend well beyond alcohol studies – for instance, that he wrote the main Finnish introductory textbook in sociology. So I realise that the view I can give is only a partial perspective on Pekka's sociological work and contributions to Finnish sociology. In terms of his participation in international alcohol studies, Pekka has been a flexible collaborator, always willing to offer or take on new ideas, and an inspiring project leader. His contributions have been many and enduring.

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PEKKA SULKUNEN – A NORDIC RESEARCHER

Pia Rosenqvist & Kerstin Stenius

It is well known that Pekka Sulkunen is preoccupied with international comparisons. This is also true for his contributions to the alcohol field and the broader addiction field. Together with several other Nordic alcohol researchers he was already in the early 1970s involved in the internationally influential project on the relation between the total alcohol consumption and level of harms in society. In his later research, and with his students, he has constantly presented illuminating comparisons between Finnish and particularly French and other continental alcohol cultures. But in what way has Sulkunen's perspective been Nordic? This is a natural question for us who have spent most of our professional lives within the Nordic field of cooperation.

Pekka's scientific production is impressive. Already in the 1980s he published articles on several themes with continuing importance: changes in social and economic policies and their impact on alcohol consumption and control; cultural studies on drinking (on the screen and in the urban pub) and changing consumption patterns and their interpretations. A look at his publications in the book series published by the Nordic Council for/Centre of Alcohol and Drug Research (now part of the Nordic Centre for Welfare and Social Issues) and in the journal *Nordic Studies on Alcohol and Drugs*, confirms our gut-feeling that there are two central themes where Sulkunen's influence on Nordic alcohol and drug research is particularly strong.

The first theme can broadly speaking be referred to as cultural-anthropological research. Sulkunen's and his colleagues' studies on pub's in Finnish suburbs and male drinking in these surroundings have been influential not only for younger Finnish researchers, but also particularly for Swedish scholars interested in drinking patterns in subcultures. Together with his article (with Pasi Falk) on Finnish men's intoxication on the screen, Sulkunen's work from the 1980s has also inspired later analyses of gendered drinking behaviour, not the least among female researchers.

The second theme concerns changes in the welfare system. This theme was introduced in an early text (1987) with Keijo Rahkonen,

criticising the Finnish society's handling of drunken men. But particularly from the 1990s, Sulkunen has been pre-occupied with the weakening legitimacy of state control policies in post-modern societies. The book *Broken Spirits*, initiated and edited by Sulkunen together with Nordic colleagues, has been frequently quoted by alcohol policy researchers in all Nordic countries. Further, Sulkunen with colleagues have published work on governance of life-styles in consumer society and the steering mechanisms of New Public Management. His theoretical perspectives on these matters will continue to be widely applicable in various types of inquiries.

Moreover, we want to acknowledge Sulkunen's role as teacher. More than probably any other alcohol and addiction researcher in the Nordic countries, Sulkunen has introduced new sociological perspectives and offered credibility and basis for research projects on topical questions. Sulkunen's leadership and lectures have been highlights of the Nordic research courses as well as research meetings. The SNAPS project – dealing with changing alcohol policy systems in the Nordics and leading to the above mentioned *Broken Spirits*-book was for years the flagship of joint Nordic research projects under the Nordic Council for Alcohol and Drug Research. From the perspective of the future for Nordic alcohol and addiction research, we must also acknowledge that Sulkunen has managed to raise an active group of Finnish sociologists who focus on addiction questions. We believe that this will have a lasting and fruitful impact on addiction research in the Nordic context.

Finally, how interested is Sulkunen in the Nordic societies? It may be that he is more interested in Finland, as a Nordic case, in comparison with other, non-Nordic countries. He also works with Norwegian consumption researchers. But clearly, and fine enough, the relation between Nordic research and Sulkunen is strong the other way: Nordic researchers are and will continue to be interested in Sulkunen!

On a more personal level, in connection with various projects, we have enjoyed his somewhat strange preference for much and rich food, such as Sauerkraut with sausages in a fancy German-French mixture, or 'les tripes' in a North-African-Jewish kitchen style, the bicycling and the music – either singing with him or going to concerts.

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STREAMS OF FRIENDSHIP AND SPLITS OF COOPERATION

Irmgard Eisenbach-Stangl

My first contact with Pekka was instructive: I had met Finns before, but never a male Finn whose name ended with a. German names ending with a are assigned to women and so my first sight of Pekka was a surprise.

My first meeting with Pekka took place in the context of the ICAA meeting in Vienna in 1981 - or was it already 1980? – when I organised rooms for members of the epidemiological section and thus also for him. I became a member of this group and later of its successor the Kettil Bruun Society and I have therefore met Pekka since then at least once a year at the annual symposium. I hope Pekka will agree that we met with pleasure, curiosity and sympathy but did not develop a close relationship: I did not belong to his ‘in group’ nor did he belong to mine. I never had to comment on one of his papers and he never had to comment on mine. Pekka’s work attracted me, but it remained ‘different’, it had this ‘French flair’ and focussed on questions, concepts and methods other than mine. I only came to a more complete understanding of his thoughts as late as 1996 when I listened to his well-structured and clear keynote presentation at the KBS conference in 1997 for having received the Jellinek prize.

We approached a few years later. In the meantime, I had finished a training as group analyst and had become more knowledgeable in psychoanalytic concepts. My research interests had expanded to the ‘inner world’, but especially to its interrelationship and interplay with the ‘outer world’. I had joined a working group on ‘Political psychology’ at the University of Vienna at about the turn of the millennium, which organised ‘Ring Vorlesungen’ (lecture series) every second semester. In the course of this development the concept of addiction had attracted my attention and I had begun to develop first ideas based on a cross-country collection of scientific texts addressing this issue (among them I remember texts by Anthony Giddens, Gilles Deleuze, Alain Ehrenberg and Peter Sloterdijk), but also on considerations emerging in other disciplines as for instance literature (Persian

wine poems as well as Sacher- Masoch's 'Venus im Pelz' as well as 'Die Geschichte der O'). And finally I had been invited by Klaus Hurrelmann from the University of Bielefeld to write a book on 'addiction' in the frame of a book series edited by him.

When drafting the book, I developed plans intimidating for myself and I decided to look for a partner – somebody with whom it was pleasant to work with personally as well as intellectually. I cannot remember how I came to contact Pekka, but it was in no way surprising: He was one of only a few colleagues with broad interests and knowledge in sociological questions needed for the undertaking. However, I remember well that Pekka was interested but mistrustful. He – as he confessed later – obtained the opinion of Klaus Mäkelä with whom I had collaborated in a long lasting project. And since Klaus was positive Pekka joined me for the draft of the book.

Our communication quickly became comfortably smooth and our meetings interesting and pleasant – but professionally we marked time. Though our ideas seemed to be consistent with one another their correspondence remained restricted to the surface. And since we did not explore our intellectual differences we did not proceed to a fruitful understanding of each other's concepts. Let me retrospectively try to offer explanatory thoughts on the progress in friendship and the simultaneous deficiency of professional collaboration.

I discovered slowly how intensively and systematically Pekka is rooted in structuralist thinking, which offers a safe clue for the decoding of things and of (societal) reality as a whole: language. My theoretical background in contrast is organised by phenomenology and symbolic interactionism, which emphasize the resistance of 'stubborn reality' against assessment, observe how social research gets fooled by their objects and consider concepts themselves to be fragile and to change over time and place. Though these two intellectual homes are hardly compatible open discussions presumably could have diminished the gaps or allowed to consciously live with them.

Yet there was another difference which might have had more weight: I had intended to use psychoanalytic concepts, at least in a selective and subordinated way. Psychoanalytic concepts do not seem to be popular in Finland and they reverse structuralistic thinking: They postulate the supremacy of a mostly unconscious and poorly conceivable 'inner world'. According to Freud and to many of his successors man is motivated and governed by the

unconscious, which – as the ‘Leibliche’ in German language – is conceived as a hinge between body and psychical apparatus and which ‘does not talk but it runs’. The French psychoanalytic school as imprinted by Lacan and structuralism in contrast emphasizes the role of talking and language. The unconscious according to Lacan is structured by images and language and affections are not ‘leiblich’ (part of the body) but made by words – ‘in the unconscious it talks’. How could Pekka and I ever have reached an understanding without talking?

Another factor which impaired the unfolding of our professional cooperation was the lack of money. To overcome this deficit we discovered Erasmus, or was it Socrates? Whatever the name of the program was, it paid for the exchange of University students and teachers. In our case the program mostly paid for the travels of Pekka to Vienna and my travels to Helsinki, but it also brought at least one Austrian student to Helsinki for half a year. I would not like to miss my experiences in teaching Finnish students in the frame of a lecture series with foreign guest speakers at the University of Helsinki: The Finnish students were inconceivably polite, quiet and shy (according to my understanding), and it was exceptionally exhausting but also satisfying to get them to discuss in the public. Pekka thought he had never heard them talk so much. Pekka was a welcome guest in my courses and he appreciated the discussions with Austrian students - who would have revolted if detained from talking – and he lectured at the institute of Sociology. Everybody was satisfied, not the last the administration of the University of Vienna that paid for my part of the exchange.

Teaching on addiction quickly displaced the work on a written text on addiction as the primary concern of the travels between Vienna and Helsinki also because of their pleasant side events. I loved the Jugendstil guesthouse of the University of Helsinki close to the Cathedral where Pekka organised my accommodation and I loved his food, especially the salmon with Sauerkraut. I am afraid that my Szegetiner Gulasch (pork with Sauerkraut) could not compare with his cuisine. In Vienna the chorus singer Pekka appreciated the concerts in the so-called Goldener Saal of Musikverein Wien. I have to admit that he brought my husband and me for the first time into this famous venue and thus got us to admire a main part of culture that we as good samples of our generation had despised as fossil until then.

A last interference in the production of the book is to be mentioned: the Ph.D. students of Pekka, whom he knew for years,

who were more like colleagues than subordinates to him, but for whom he felt responsible to care – that is to raise money. Instead of concentrating on the book we therefore worked on applications to Finnish Funds. The applications were often successful – mostly because of Pekka’s skills but also because addiction had become an ascending star on the heaven of the desirable objects of research. I lost track of students and projects at about 2005, when the book project finally died. But shortly later I could again contribute to Pekka’s activities. When I changed my work place in 2005, I met Matti Heikkilä in his last position as the STAKES executive director and long-time member of the board of my new working place, the European Centre for Social Welfare Policy and Research in Vienna. We repeatedly discussed addictions - my research area at the European Centre – what – to Matti’s mind – brought him to acknowledge this area as a valuable focus of exploration. At one of his last visits to Vienna shortly before his death he informed me on his promotion of an application of Pekka for a five-year research program.

The book on addiction never got written. But I met with Pekka again in the ‘Reframing addictions project’ – ALICE RAP – which was launched in 2011. I remember good talks in wonderful places as the Placa Real in Barcelona. We collaborated in the frame of the working area ‘Ownership of Addiction’ though in different work packages: Initially Pekka was the work package leader of ‘Images’, while I contributed to ‘Addiction through the ages’ and ‘Stakeholder analysis’. This time we had followed our unequal conceptual interests leading to different networks of cooperation. Contrary to me Pekka soon pulled back from the study: Did he more sensitively anticipate the falling apart of the giant undertaking and concentrate on his own concepts and projects?

I would be very interested in Pekka’s answers to this question and to others raised by our fragmented collaboration: I did not meet him since the first year of ALICE RAP. But beside his love for music, I hope time offered by retirement will bring him back to Vienna.

A THOUGHTFUL FRIENDSHIP

Sue Scott

I first met Pekka in August 1992, over breakfast. We were staying in the same hotel in Vienna for the first European Sociological Association (ESA) conference. Little did we think that he would go on to be President of the ESA or that I would follow on as Vice President. I can't really remember what we talked about – sociology I'm sure and probably the sociology of alcohol! Pekka was at the centre of this field in Finland and I was envious – it was (and still is) an underdeveloped area of social research in the UK and Alan Warde and I had failed in our attempts to get funding to repeat the Mass Observation Study of the 1930s. Whatever our discussion was about, a sociological connection was made and the beginnings of a friendship forged – a friendship that has grown over the intervening 24 years. I do know that Pekka told me that he was planning a conference, to be held in Helsinki in the summer of the following year, in order to explore the connections between developing sociological ideas about consumption, risk and culture and that he invited me to attend. I was excited about the prospect, not only because my research at the time was focused on understanding risk in the context of the AIDS crisis and I had an interest in consumption in relation to health, but also because I had wanted to visit Finland for a long time.

The conference duly took place in June 1993, coinciding with both an open-air Leningrad Cowboys concert and the wonderful Finnish midsummer. It was held in the conference centre of Alko – the Finnish state alcohol monopoly - where if you opened a drawer or a cupboard it seemed to be filled with beer or vodka! I was introduced to Finnish Sauna, but resisted jumping into the very 'baltic' Baltic!

If I said that the conference changed my life it might be overly dramatic, but it certainly made a significant difference – I met a number of people there who have subsequently become close friends and colleagues and also consolidated existing friendships. It was a very intense few days: Hard work, hard drinking and sauna parties! The conference was extremely stimulating and was also the springboard for the formation of what became the ESA

Consumption Research Network – still growing and going strong. For me it was also the beginning of my love affair with Finland, which Pekka has helped to foster.

Subsequently I invited Pekka to the University of Stirling for short periods, as a visiting professor, which enabled him to pursue his interest in Adam Smith and the Scottish Enlightenment – something I learnt more about from Pekka than I ever did in Scotland! I visited Finland regularly through the 1990s mostly through connections I had made at the University of Tampere, but I also met with Pekka and others in Helsinki and in 1999 Pekka invited me to be Visiting Professor at Stakes. I then moved to Durham and in the early 2000s Pekka spent some of his research time there – sampling the pubs of the North of England as well as pursuing research interests and book writing.

I continued to visit Helsinki to give lectures, seminars, and supervision sessions with Pekka's doctoral students. This latter was a particular pleasure and introduced me to the idea of group supervision. We had had many lively discussions and it was (and is) clear that Pekka was a rigorous and very encouraging supervisor – it has been a pleasure to see the students I first encountered almost 20 years ago go on to develop their own research and careers. Following on from this Pekka invited me to join the advisory group for a major Finnish academy funded project, which he was leading and again I have had many stimulating discussions with Pekka and the research team in recent years.

The other important aspects of these visits to Helsinki were social and cultural. There was a good deal of ethnography in bars and restaurants, but Pekka is also a generous host and often my visits provided an excuse for a dinner, or even a party if there wasn't already a reason for one. In addition to these social events, there was some serious Finnish acculturation to be done in the shape of watching – on Pekka's TV - Ice Hockey matches against Sweden, the general election results and huge numbers of Finnish citizens shaking the President's hand at the annual Independence Day celebration.

In recent years I have spent even more time in Finland as a Visiting Professor at the University of Helsinki, which has afforded opportunities to discuss sociology (and the state of sociology and Universities) with Pekka and to enjoy his hospitality. In this latter context we have instigated a 'new Finnish tradition' celebrating Scotland's national poet Robert Burns with a 'Burns Supper' on or around his birthday on the 25th of January. Bringing together

'peasant' food, strong alcohol (whisky in this case) poetry and national romanticism – with a touch of radical politics - seems to speak to the Finnish soul is, it seems to me, a very appropriate way to celebrate cross-cultural friendship.

I can't imagine that Pekka will really retire – he will go on reading, writing and talking sociology – and I look forward to continuing to do the latter with him, as well a certain amount of eating and drinking.

CONSUMING TIMES

Alan Warde

Pekka Sulkunen organised a conference in 1993 for a motley bunch of sociologists who thought that consumption might matter to society. It was held at Vuoranta, just outside Helsinki, in a building belonging to the state alcohol monopoly (ALKO) where the walls were paneled with beer and vodka (bottles thereof). Academic venues closest to Nirvana in my previous experience had been oak-shelved and book-lined. The apparent contradiction that a research organization (Stakes) dedicated to managing problem-drinking in Finland should inhabit a conference centre with free alcohol available 24 hours per day only struck me later. I could not but assume that I had been subjected to an experiment in aversion therapy; too much, and too easily accessed, and I would be turned off forever. Not so. I've seen some of the other participants since (if not on the first morning after the first night before) and it didn't work with them either. Hypothesis disconfirmed.

The sociological experiment fared better than the aversion therapy. The sociology of consumption not only survived this early sousing but also went on to much greater things. The conference provided the impetus for the development of the European Sociological Association Research Network 5 (RN05), to which Pekka was long time contributor. It has gone from strength to strength and is now one of the largest networks of the ESA. That could hardly have been predicted at the time. I remember some lively but not very conclusive discussion. Actually, the strongest memory is of having Pekka describing to me his earlier observational study of drinking behaviour in public restaurants in Helsinki. What a project! Participant observation? Envy from those of us who had failed to pull the same trick to obtain funding for a similar study in the UK.

The conference resulted in a determination to meet again, and a happy band of scholars have found the excuse to carouse annually ever since under the auspices of RN05. Sociology of consumption was a European development, a North European even initially primarily a Nordic venture. I would argue that this has something to do with the crisis of the best developed welfare states. Much of the means of everyday reproduction (the presumed purpose of

consumption before the cultural turn) was provided by the state from public funds. For the UK it became an important issue because of the privatization of utilities, housing and public services, which introduced market forces and consumer positioning. I reasoned that if I wanted to understand the policies of Margaret Thatcher I needed to understand better ‘consumerism’, ‘consumer’ motivation and consumer satisfaction. There wasn’t much to go on. In America consumer behavior, not sociology, had cornered the academic field and was predictably concerned with market research, serving to better explain how people could be persuaded to consume more of what producers were able to supply.

The debate in 1993 pitted elective lifestyles against cultural capital, and postmodern cultural theory against political economy. This was a formative period in debates about consumption among the interpretive social sciences (if I remember correctly the conference was itself a break away from, or competitor to another group with a more anthropological focus, which was also oriented to a new understanding of consumption.) These were exciting times; formative meant that no one quite knew where they were going, only where they had come from.

The conference was the first of my many visits to Finland and a long, privileged and much appreciated association with Finnish Sociology, which included a share in editing with Pekka and others the English translation of Kaj Ilmonen’s posthumous book *The Social and Economic Theory of Consumption*. I was also especially pleased to be invited to be a discussant in a ‘meet the author’ event at the ESA conference in 2009 of Pekka’s synthetic work of social theory and societal analysis. *The Saturated Society* is a wide ranging and multidimensional book, which combines a treatise in social theory with reflection on public policy, drawing on empirical research from his own field of alcohol studies. The core historical argument concerns how it became impossible for the state to intervene through welfare policies to shape people’s private lives and conduct in the later 20th century. Controversially, Pekka argues that the prevailing account of the demise of the welfare state, which blames Neo-liberalism and its agenda of de-regulation, is mistaken and that contemporary difficulties regarding lifestyle regulation (of addiction, risk, smoking, etc.) are the corollary of the completion, or the ‘saturation’ of the modernisation process. State paternalism gives way to making individuals responsible for their own fates.

I was also very lucky to spend a magical couple of years at the University of Helsinki, as the Jane and Aatos Erkkö Research

Professor at the Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies between 2010 and 2012 where, towards the end of my tenure, Pekka took up a position. I don't recall a great deal of theoretical discussion of consumption or drinking, but a fair amount of practical experimentation. In the interests of international comparative analysis I felt obliged to accept invitations to dinner, including one on the night of one of Finland's more unique societal rituals, The Independence Day Reception at the President's castle on the 6th of December. Every year, half the population spends at least three hours watching on television hundreds of worthy persons lining up to shake hands with the President. Obviously for the sociologist of fashion it was fascinating, but the phrase 'just like watching paint dry' also came to mind. It did not strike me that this was evidence of the victory of the postmodern ethos – except for the footwear! Notions of social elites and social capital seemed more to the point.

It would be a lucky coincidence that I might be able to draw to a close the issue of the relationship between postmodernism and cultural capital, or between culture and practice, in a project which, if the funding foundation is kind, will examine patterns of drinking in the UK. If the bid succeeds, it will bring full circle my interaction with the threads of Pekka's career. I will finally get to onto the starting blocks from which Pekka's illustrious engagement with sociological analysis began. Not so much Back to the Future as Forward to the Past! I'm not sure how one is supposed to conclude a chapter of this kind, but maybe it is more than usually fitting to say: 'Kippis, Pekka'.

REAL LIFE INTERVENTIONS

Kati Rantala

My closest collaboration with Pekka took place a long time ago. I was one of the many young researchers that he supported and gave opportunities to. While I was still finishing my doctoral thesis, I got the chance to participate in an evaluation research project that targeted a prevention program called Klaari. We wrote several articles on that basis, edited a book on project society, and organised courses on evaluation research.

Gradually, our productive teamwork tailed away due to a natural development, as I left the university, and started my 'independent' career in state research institutes. Thus, I also gave room for other emerging researches to enjoy Pekka's support, and to take part in his many new projects. From experience, I can (like many others) say that such a support is highly valuable for a young researcher when struggling to earn one's living in the field of research. However, it is not only support that is valuable but also the possibility to immerse yourself in the whole culture of research, with all its joys and complexities, while working with such a distinguished, enthusiastic professor.

AS A DOCTORAL STUDENT

When I started my doctoral studies at the Department of Sociology, University of Helsinki, I was a new comer from another university. After a while, I found myself in Pekka's Intervention seminar with other young sociologists aiming at the doctoral degree. Those were the golden days, I guess many would say, also those who took part in the same seminar long after me. We enjoyed enthusiastic and critical discussions around Pekka's dinner table. I admired Pekka's constructive, supportive and insightful summary after the discussion of a specific paper, as he tried to guide the poor, confused soul to the right direction after all conflicting comments from fellow doctoral students.

What also impressed me was that every now and then Pekka humbly exposed himself to our (sometimes merciless) critique when offering his own paper to the fore. I suppose young scholars-

to-be had to show off a little, having the chance to ‘attack’ a professor. But the message that Pekka always delivered, with his own example, was the sincere joy and gratitude in helping each other through critique – and most importantly, he represented the model of giving constructive criticism. Nonetheless, he was tolerant towards some others’ more prickly style. That is, I remember Pekka as an enthusiastic, supportive, and tolerant supervisor – and clever of course, and hospitable, but I suppose that all those qualities go without saying.

THE KLAARI EVALUATION

In the evaluation research project that Pekka orchestrated, our task was to evaluate Klaari, a preventive program by the City of Helsinki, aimed at preventing the alcohol and drug use of young people. During this project, we faced the true nature of intervention. The program leaders were very passionate about their mission to save Finnish youth, and we were probably just as passionate to explain why we thought that they were wrong in their communitarian approach where responsibility was delegated to all caring adults.

The name of one of the articles that we published on that topic was ‘The ethics of not taking a stand: dilemmas of alcohol and drug prevention in a consumer society – a case study’. In our view, the approach of Klaari was too idealistic, not ‘*meeting the needs of young people in greatest need of help*’, as we wrote in the abstract. Paradoxically, we faced quite complicated ethical dilemmas ourselves, while taking such a strong stand on not taking a stand. Namely, the jobs and reputation of the Klaari leaders were at stake due to our endeavors, not ours, in our academic circles. Then again, we had responsibility towards youth and taxpayers, and to our own analyses.

As the Klaari project started, Pekka was a starting his own career as a professor at the department of sociology, and I had a perfect vantage point to watch it from the next room. Witnessing the social climate at the department, and the continuous struggle for funding that Pekka took part in, and the fact that the academic battle never rests, not even as a professor, I more or less realized that becoming a professor myself is perhaps not the goal that I desire. But for the same reasons, I truly appreciate Pekka’s determination. In addition, he sincerely seems to think the best of people, not talking behind their backs.

AFTERWARDS

After Klaari, I have had the ‘unpleasant fortune’ to be involved in many similar interventionist settings while evaluating other projects or law reforms – important social endeavors that have individuals’ names attached to them. That is, a real person is often responsible for a ‘mission impossible’ (the target of critical evaluation) either as a project leader or as a civil servant, or a specific person has written a law draft with all the flaws that I eagerly aim at pointing out. Obviously, those people are representatives of a larger group or institution, yet they are also individuals who may face distressing situations due to critique, no matter how constructive one tries to be.

The possibility to experience this moral dilemma time after time was Pekka’s contribution to my career; he set me on this path sixteen years ago. I am very grateful for being able to focus on such tasks, where you always need to be aware of the responsibility that is inherent in your analyses. In these kind of research projects, the world is not made of abstract concepts or structures but of concrete efforts and people. But I would not evaluate the work of others if I didn’t believe that benefits of the work outdo the costs, like in the Klaari evaluation, my initiation rite.

But then again, who really knows who is right and who is wrong, and what are the correct criteria for evaluation in different contexts? I suppose that contributing to a better world tends to take place through so many indirect (and invisible) channels, that all is well as long as you can at least believe, with clear conscience, in the moral bases of your analytic choices. That is what I also admire in Pekka: in addition to his smooth and pleasant habitus, he is a true fighter: an optimistic struggler who works through obstacles, for a better world.

BEING PEKKA'S STUDENT

Anna Alanko

This piece of text is about being Pekka's student and the character that he has shown as a teacher. My claim for the honor is that I believe to be his most long-term student. I started to prepare for my masters' thesis in 2001 and my dissertation is still in process.

It all started for my part when I attended an information event for the master students at the Department of Sociology, in which the professors of the department introduced their seminars and their ways of working. I have no memory of anyone else, but I clearly remember Pekka's speech. He told us that his seminar works strictly under a four-stage scheme (including, if my memory is correct, of an idea-paper, a research plan, a data-session and a draft of the final thesis). Under the scheme, he claimed, the thesis would more or less write itself and be ready in two terms. Neither Pekka, nor his work, were at all familiar to me, but his plan sounded tempting. Before that I had thought that writing a thesis meant picking a topic, collecting data, loaning a great number of books from the library, printing a lot of articles, developing at least moderate stress symptoms, leading to some kind of alchemy under which one could possibly be able to do it. Pekka's system sounded superior and I enrolled immediately.

As the seminar began, the group started to write and present idea papers according to the scheme. I was working with depression narratives in the letters to the editor column in a women's magazine. Pekka presented his main comment at the first glance. He said something like, *'The narratives of depression seem to be narratives of agency loss'*. This notion still affects my work.

During the first term, Pekka was optimistic (a trait he has shown repeatedly). Just as he still does up until this day, he believed in every sheep in his herd (as long as we were willing to produce analyses and not 'reports'²¹; a word that has recently dropped out from his vocabulary). He was genuinely interested in everyone's topics, the research questions and data, reaching from the discussion of the Finnish doping-scandal (Antti Maunu, Antero

²¹ In Finnish, 'seloste'.

Kupiainen) or Helsinki as the city of culture (Päivi Karhio) to the ways of life of unemployed men who live alone (Anna Bruun). Pekka was convinced that if we only stuck to the “Impeccable CHIC-method” (controversy - hypothesis - instruments – contribution) everything would turn out well. This method states that the researcher should first point out the controversy in previous studies, then form a hypothesis, then choose the analysis instruments (he would often recommend the greimassian semiotic square), and finally produce fantastic sociological contributions.

As to myself, the future of the master’s thesis looked bright: I had a good topic, at the material, and I thought I had understood the semiotic viewpoint that Pekka recommended. Also, there was the four-stage-system that would enable me to get the dissertation made in two terms. In the meanwhile, Pekka invited us also to celebrate before Christmas, to art exhibitions, and to his choir concerts (for some reason, we attended eagerly bars and exhibitions, but not the concerts. He didn’t mind). During the seminars and other occasions, we also learned to know his extraordinary sense of humour (another one of the characteristics he has and still continues to show at all appropriate occasions). Some examples: *‘These books are junk! They should be burned’* [about some less ambitious works by contemporary sociologists who need to be anonymized in this context]; *‘People who are against gay marriage are just so tired of living in a hetero-family with children that they think everyone should go through the same’*.

In the end, it took me, and most of us, double the planned amount of time to finish the thesis. Pekka showed patience (another quality that makes a great teacher). We all finished the theses but not all used the semiotic methods in the final versions. Pekka forgave us.

After the masters’ thesis I started working. But as a sociologist operating in Finland, one kept running into Pekka: I ended up editing (among others) Pekka’s articles and exchanging emails with him in a publishing house and then to STAKES, the place where Pekka had come from. At STAKES, working in a project focusing on healthcare reforms, I got stuck with an ‘agency’ dilemma again: what kind of agents do healthcare reforms actually expect us to be? And, what if the patients are psychiatric patients, who often suffer from loss of agency?

After some years of ‘real work’, writing a dissertation started to sound tempting again. I applied for doctoral studies and started to

attend Pekka's doctoral seminar (with Michael Egerer, Anu Katainen, Virve Marionneau, Riikka Perälä and Arto Ruuska, to name a few). For a long time, the seminar met once a month, discussed two to three papers before noon and had a long lunch afterwards (again, another lovable habit of Pekka). The doctoral candidates commented on the papers first, and then came Pekka, starting by placing the C,H,I and C of the papers and ending up with great syntheses and semiotics-influenced fourfold tables. Pekka was in the process of writing *The Saturated Society* (2009) at that time, and often discussed themes originating from that work. We had high-flown discussions on the interactions of our topics and the current stage of the society, but since the work that we referred to was not published and at first not even written, we had no easy ways of making references. No one finished their dissertations before the publication of *The Saturated Society* but after a while, things started to happen: starting from Anu Katainen, who was the first of us to defend her dissertation in 2011.

During all these years, Pekka applied for and received funding for all of us. He also received funding that allowed himself to take leave and work in the University of Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies (UHCAS) which also led to the founding of our current research group the 'University of Helsinki Centre for Research on Addiction, Control and Governance' (CEACG). In my case, it went as follows: Pekka found out that Riikka Perälä and I had common interests such as the welfare state, citizenship and mental health and substance use issues, and proposed us to apply for funding from the Academy of Finland. The Academy granted the funding to the project that was named 'Public Service Provision Between New Public Management and Civil Society (JULKI). Autonomy and Risk Regulation'. The project members met regularly in Pekka's room in the UHCAS. Our themes were less regular. I don't believe the JULKI project has produced a single paper without referring to 'The Saturated Society' or the 'Intimacy and autonomy'-article²², and Riikka's work was always in some way associated with questions of drug treatment and mine related to mental health. However, also Pekka's famous article discussing the 'Kurdish Question' was related to the JULKI-project²³.

Pekka, back then my boss, was one of the first people at the university I told when I was going to have a baby. By then I had

²² Pekka Sulkunen (2011). Autonomy against Intimacy: On the Problem of Governing Lifestyle-Related Risks. *Telos: Critical Theory of the Contemporary* 156: 99–112.

²³ Pekka Sulkunen (2015). The Kurdish Question: The Black Holes of Democracy. *Telos* 171: 27–41.

been enrolled as a PhD student for much too long and only published one article. Pekka congratulated heartily. When I was later hospitalized for a pregnancy complication, he sent a comforting message, and when the baby was born, he was eager to meet her. (Family-friendliness – another great character).

Right now I have been more or less his student for fifteen years (although, since Pekka's leave and work in the UHCAS, he is no longer my official supervisor). While I have not been finished my dissertation during this time, Pekka has taught me invaluable things. Of those, I want to share the following:

- Professors are people. You shouldn't be afraid of approaching very established academics.
- Ask for money.
- Eat well. Most days you are not too busy to have a long lunch or a nice dinner.
- Protect your working time. Don't waste time on bureaucracy.
- Don't give up. When Pekka fell suddenly ill and lost his ability to walk in the summer of 2014, he had a sick leave of the length of a normal summer holiday, and returned to the business in early autumn first with a wheelchair and later with a walker. Now we need to choose accessible meeting rooms and restaurants and Pekka sometimes speaks about his rehabilitation, but otherwise he works as passionately as ever before. Nothing has really changed.

Now Pekka is retiring from his duties at the university. With a passion for research such as his, many things will probably continue. One exception is the administration related to the professor's work and to leading a research group. Getting that out of his system will probably be a relief, as he was never equally passionate about bureaucracy.

THE TASK OF A SOCIOLOGIST

Riikka Perälä

My history with Pekka dates back to the turn of the millennium, when I started to participate in his post-graduate seminar 'Interventio'. I was still searching for a proper research topic and research was only a part-time activity for me. I worked in a non-governmental organization and had a habit of presenting a new research plan in almost every meeting, based on my work in the organization. Pekka was not very interested in them. Actually, I could see that he was a bit bored. One time he handed my research plan back over to me with a question written into it: '*What's the point!!!*'. In the course of my PhD-project (that eventually realized), he posed this question to me over and over again and it irritated me every time as much as it did in the first time. Sometimes, the question went: '*So what?*'. Another irritating question! Yet, as I started to have graduate students of my own, I heard myself asking the same questions: what is the point and so what?

Pekka is not satisfied with easy answers. For him, being a sociologist should not be about presenting and repeating self-evident truths, but seeing the world from new and unexpected angles. He does not want to read in his students' texts about 'neoliberalism' or 'new public management' as answers to all that is wrong in the world. This is just restating the question, as he often says. He wants his students to be more ambitious. As Pekka reminds tirelessly: rather than getting stuck with the banal truths of our research topics, whether it is drug use, gambling or the use of addiction treatment services, we should think about what they represent on a more general level.

This is a not an easy task. '*Research is about uncertainty and being in a constant state of dimness. The sun rises and sets at the same time*', is one of my favorite quotations from Pekka.

His own work is a good example of trying to avoid easy answers and analyses. Think about his definition of addiction: the loss of semiosis and meaning. It really makes you think what addiction is about, and – if you are a clever decision-maker - new possibilities for treatment.

For me one of his most valuable realizations has been the idea of a saturated nature of contemporary society and its life-style regulation. As Pekka presents in *The Saturated Society* (2009): we should not see the current era as a break with the ideals and values of the traditional welfare states. On the contrary, we are living in an era, where their values have realized. Participation, autonomy, freedom – they were the utopian goals of the postwar Western welfare states. Now they have become ‘everyday’ and, paradoxically, this causes new kinds of problems.

The present day public authority, for instance, does ‘not take a stand’. He/she provides us with information. He is not governing from distance, as for instance governmentality theorists hold. He does not govern at all. We are all free to make choices. Too bad for you, if they are wrong ones.

I do not work in the university anymore. I am back in civil society, working in a non-governmental organization. I am much wiser than I was 16 years ago. Now I have Pekka’s ideas with me. Thank you Pekka!

FOOTPRINTS IN MY ACADEMIC CAREER

Michael Egerer

My story about Pekka can unfortunately not go as far back in history than many of the other authors' in this book. I also doubt, I can evaluate as well Pekka's impact on the Finnish sociology or the global addiction research. I have been too short time in the business. What I can and want to do, however, is to tell about the footprints Pekka has left in my (academic) life.

Pekka and I met by pure coincidence: In 2004, I was looking for a trainee position after I had finished my exchange year in Helsinki. Despite sending applications all around Finland, I ended up at the University of Helsinki and in one of Pekka's projects on addiction. Back then, I could not see what wide implications this coincidence would have for my life. I was already then positively surprised about meeting an approachable professor, who put at once great trust into my competence and sense of duty. Pekka not only gave me free hands in fulfilling my tasks, but also access to his own office. The first imprint was done: I was interested in sociological addiction studies.

After several small work episodes for Pekka it was time for the second footprint. He invited me to write my master's thesis under his supervision. The topic did not only unite two of Pekka's fields of expertise – addiction and film studies – but he used the opportunity also to introduce me to his semiotic approach (Sulkunen & Törrönen 1997a/b). In fact, an approach still one of the leading methods in my work at the University of Helsinki today. The second imprint: the world of modalities, narrative dimensions and speaker images became the way to look at my data.

With this toolkit I was ready to start my next mission, my dissertation. Pekka is a great teacher in sociology; his analysis of the contemporary society (Sulkunen 2009) had – and will have – a lasting effect on my sociological thinking. As a supervisor and boss, Pekka was so good in facilitating the team spirit: From the IMAGES group work meetings and the 'Suomenlinna seminar' with the 'Interventio' PhD-student group to the summer parties in his garden. During the time of my dissertation we also realised that we

share the passion for choir singing. The third imprint: making good research means belonging to a research team.

Finally, Pekka left his, thus far, last footprint in my academic life by employing me in his project on gambling policies in European welfare states. Starting with a completely new topic at his stage of his career demonstrates his lasting curiosity in the world and his wish to have a positive impact on people's lives. The fourth imprint for me: becoming part of the avant-garde of sociological gambling research.

I admit that this story might appear more as an utterance about my life rather than Pekka's. An analysis of the dimension of enunciation (Sulkunen & Törrönen 1997a/b), however, shows the many and central positions Pekka holds in the narrative about my academic career.

His retirement is well earned, but I hope he will continue to be the sender, helper or occasional subject in the story that is my academic life and leave his footprints there. I wish him all the best for his life as an emeritus and lots of time for his favourite researches without the administrative chores he had to carry.

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A THANK YOU TO PEKKA

Virve Marionneau

I have come to know Pekka as one of the leading sociologists in his field of addiction research, as an enthusiastic and encouraging teacher, and as a wonderful co-worker who is always looking out for his research group. Pekka has had an indelible impact on my career as a sociologists, since the first introduction book to sociology ‘Johdatus sosiologiaan’ (Sulkunen, 1998), that I studied for the entrance exam, to employing me in the IMAGES project, helping with my Ph.D. thesis and post doc, and constantly caring that we all have funding to continue our work.

We share a keen interest in the French society. Pekka has lived in Paris on several occasions, and I moved to Paris permanently in 2012. Pekka has been encouraging, and he has not only introduced me to many people but also to ideas, theories, and ways of looking at cultural differences. Pekka’s perspective of semantics and meanings (Sulkunen, 2002) and his work explaining agency and Bourdieu’s theory from an action-theory perspective (Sulkunen, 2009) have been particularly inspirational.

Pekka is always excited about new ideas and willing to have a bit of fun. I will never forget visiting the casino of Enghien-les-Bains north of Paris together with Pekka and other CEACG gambling researchers, when Pekka played the roulette even though none of us understood how it worked, or Pekka visiting Paris and meeting me in Café de Flore like famous French philosophers.

The CEACG research group that Pekka founded has been an important step in making sociological gambling research and other addiction-related research established in Finland. I could not name another research group that would have an equally wide-ranging and comprehensive grasp on issues related to how addiction-type conditions are regarded, treated, and governed. Pekka’s ability to consistently secure governmental funding for the research group is excellent proof that our work is important and appreciated. I hope we can make Pekka proud and keep the group together even after his retirement.

More recently, the Gambling in European Welfare Regimes project, for which we received funding from the Finnish Academy,

and the international Gambling, Science and Public Policy book we are currently in the process of writing, are proving to provide valuable contributions to gambling studies both in Finland and internationally. Pekka has tirelessly worked to advance both projects, while believing in all of our abilities to produce the best work possible. I am very grateful for Pekka believing in me and letting me be part of these projects, which I hope will be not only useful to the scientific community, to decision-makers, but also to me personally.

I will be sad to see Pekka retire, but he definitely deserves it, and I am sure that we will still keep seeing him around. It would be hard to imagine Pekka without a sociological project or two going on, and it would be equally hard to imagine our community of researchers without Pekka.

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